CLITIC DOUBLING OR OBJECT AGREEMENT: AN AMHARIC INVESTIGATION

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ABSTRACT: Object agreement is the realization of phi features on *v*, whereas clitic doubling is often analyzed as the movement of a D head in order to attach to a verb. In principle, these two phenomena are distinct, but in practice it can be difficult to distinguish them. In this paper, I take up the issue for the Amharic object marker, a morpheme that covaries with the phi features of an internal argument. Evidence from its distribution and morphological form indicate that it is a doubled clitic, but it also displays a handful of properties characteristic of agreement. Building on some of the most recent clitic doubling research, I develop an Agree-based clitic doubling analysis of the object marker that accounts for both its doubled clitic-like and agreement-like properties. Overall, the paper is a case study in how to distinguish clitic doubling and agreement in a particular language, and an investigation of how to capture the relationship between these two deeply similar phenomena in linguistic theory.

KEYWORDS: syntax, morphology, clitic doubling, agreement, clitics, Amharic

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Object agreement is conventionally analyzed as the realization of phi features on *v* (see e.g., Chomsky 2000, 2001). Clitic doubling is often claimed to be the movement of a D head into a verbal inflectional complex (see e.g., Torrego 1988, Uriagereka 1995, Nevins 2010). In principle, these two phenomena are distinct, but in practice it can be difficult to distinguish them. In this paper, I take up the issue for the language Amharic (a Semitic language spoken in Ethiopia), investigating the status of a morpheme which I will refer to as the object marker.

The object marker attaches to verbs and covaries with the phi features of an internal argument. For example, in (1), *-~~i~~w* is an object marker and it refers to the third person masculine singular direct object *tämariw~~i~~n* 'the (male) student.'[1]

(1) Almaz tämari-w-~~i~~n ayy-ätʃtʃ-**~~i~~w**
Almaz student-DEF-ACC see-3FS.S-**3MS.O**
Almaz saw the male student.[2]

In (2), the object marker refers to the third person feminine singular direct object *tämariwan* 'the (female) student' and accordingly has a different form: *-at*.

[1] Note that Amharic is head-final, unlike the Central Semitic languages.

[2] Gloss abbreviations: 1 - first person, 2 - second person, 3 - third person, ACC - accusative case, AUX – auxiliary, C – complementizer, DAT – dative, DEF - definite marker, F - feminine, GEN – genitive, GER – gerund, IMP – imperative, IMPF - imperfect, JUSS – jussive, M - masculine, NEG – negation, NEUT – neuter, NOM – nominative, NONPAST – nonpast tense, .O - object marker, PASS – passive, PF - perfect, PL – plural, REFL – reflexive, .S - subject agreement, S - singular Examples without any attributed source are from my own fieldwork.

(2) Almaz tämari-wa-n ayy-ätʃtʃ-**at**
Almaz student-DEF.F-ACC see-3FS.S-**3FS.O**
Almaz saw the female student.

The key question that this paper investigates is whether the object marker is the reflex of object agreement or a doubled clitic.

In the remainder of the introduction, I lay out my assumptions about agreement and clitic doubling (Section 1.2) and briefly discuss previous work on the Amharic object marker (Section 1.3). Initially, the object marker seems to behave like object agreement (Section 2.1), and some recent work (Baker to appear a) advocates for an agreement analysis. However, in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, I argue that the object marker is best analyzed as a doubled clitic, drawing on a wide variety of distributional diagnostics including the lack of a default (Preminger 2009). In Section 3, I present the many morphological properties of the object marker that support it being a doubled clitic. I develop a clitic doubling analysis of the Amharic object marker in Section 4, proposing that the object marker undergoes object shift and then m-merger (Matushansky 2006) to *v* after an Agree relationship has been established between *v* and the doubled DP (cf. Rezac 2008, Nevins 2010, Harizanov 2011). Section 5 concludes.

Viewed from a broad perspective, the paper is a case study in how to distinguish clitic doubling from agreement using multiple diagnostics. This is a fruitful strain of recent research both within individual languages (see e.g., Culbertson 2010 for French, den Dikken 2006 and Coppock and Wechsler to appear for Hungarian, Preminger 2009 for Basque, Harizanov 2011 for Bulgarian) and across languages (see e.g., Nevins 2010, Riedel 2009). Distinguishing the two phenomena is not a simple task, and the more languages that are addressed the more knowledge will be gained about how to accomplish it (and of course, the more knowledge that will be gained about the individual languages).

The paper also has a larger theoretical impact. It develops a systematic analysis of clitic doubling that synthesizes and confirms the latest results in clitic doubling research, helping to winnow a crowded field of competing analyses. Moreover, morphemes like the object marker – morphemes that seem to have properties of both agreement and clitic doubling – may at first blush seem difficult to treat since agreement and clitic doubling are separate phenomena in the theory. However, the paper demonstrates how current theories of clitic doubling in fact *predict* the existence of such morphemes. This not only reinforces these theories, but also, in the minimalist spirit, allows for an analysis of the object marker (and similar morphemes) without recourse to additional theoretical machinery.

1.2 The Differences between Agreement and Clitic Doubling

Object agreement is a reasonably common phenomenon cross-linguistically. From the 108 languages surveyed in Baker 2008, roughly 50% have object agreement, including Basque, Slave, Fijian, and Ojibwa. An example from Nahuatl is in (3), where the obligatory object agreement marker *k-* is third person singular in agreement with *šo:čitl* 'flower.'

(3) ni-***(k)-**te:moa šo:čitl **Object Agreement : Nahuatl**
1S.S-3S.O-seek flower
'I seek a flower.' (Stiebels 1999:790)

As for clitic doubling, its distribution cross-linguistically is unclear, but the best-investigated cases are Spanish, Greek, Romanian, and (other) Balkan languages.[3] (4) contains examples from Greek and Rioplatense

[3] On Spanish (standard and dialects), see e.g., Jaeggli 1982, Bleam 1999, Suñer 1988, Uriagereka 1995, Ormazabal and Romero 2010. On Greek, see e.g., Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003, 2004 and Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2004. On Romanian, see e.g., Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994. On Balkan languages, see Kallulli and Tasmowski 2008 (and particularly on Bulgarian, see Harizanov 2011). See also Borer 1984 on Hebrew, Aoun 1999 on Lebanese Arabic, and Banksira 2000 on Chaha (an Ethiopian Semitic language).

Spanish (a dialect of Spanish spoken mainly in the Rio de la Plata region in South America). The third person masculine singular clitics *lo* for Rioplatense Spanish and *ton* for Greek are optional, and they refer to the direct objects *Guille* and *Jani* respectively.

(4) **Clitic Doubling**

a. **Rioplatense Spanish**
(lo) vimos a Guille.
3MS saw.1PL a Guille
'We saw Guille.' (Jaeggli 1982:14)

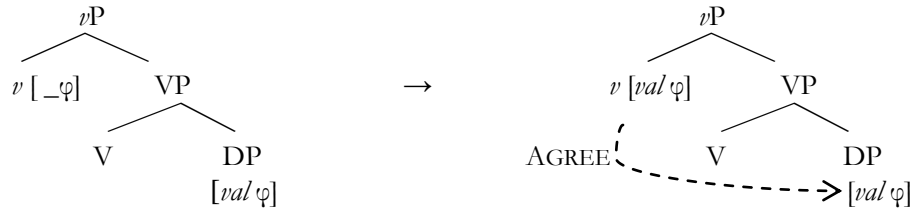
b. **Greek**
(ton) idhame to Jani
3MS saw.1PL the John.ACC
'We saw John.' (Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2004)

From a big picture perspective, there are not many differences between the object agreement marker in (3) and the doubled clitics in (4) -- they are all morphemes that covary in phi features with an internal argument of the predicate. In fact, much of the descriptive and typological literature do not differentiate them, and agreement is often used as a cover term for both phenomena (see e.g., Steele 1978, Corbett 2006, discussion in Woolford 2003).[4]

However, if a more fine-grained perspective is adopted, many empirical differences between canonical agreement (Corbett 2006) and clitic doubling emerge. These differences often concern distribution and morphological properties. For example, in (3), *k-* is obligatory and a prefix on the verb. However, in (4)ab, the clitics are optional and cliticize to the verb.[5] Although some unusual instances of agreement may be optional and/or cliticize, the clearest and best examples of agreement are obligatory and attach via affixation. Corbett (2006) carefully catalogues the canonical properties of agreement cross-linguistically, and throughout the paper I compare clitic doubling to canonical agreement.

It is necessary to clarify my assumptions about the theories of agreement and clitic doubling. To start with agreement, I adopt a conventional Minimalist formalization in terms of Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001), where Agree is a relation between a functional head and a DP that is established in the syntax. A functional head with unvalued phi-features (*v* for object agreement; the probe) searches downwards into its c-command domain for a DP with valued phi-features (the goal). This is shown to the left of the arrow in (5).

(5)



When the probe finds a DP with valued phi-features, they enter into the Agree relation and the DP values the phi-features on the probe. This is shown to the right of the arrow in (5), where *v* finds and Agrees with the DP complement to V. The valued phi-features on the functional head are realized at PF as the agreement marker. Object agreement is thus phi features on *v* which have been valued through the establishment of an Agree relation.[6]

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[4] This is why it is difficult to determine the cross-linguistic distribution of clitic doubling – it is usually lumped in with agreement in large-scale typological studies (exceptions include Baker 2008 and Corbett 2006).

[5] I use the terms 'prefix' and 'clitic' for, respectively, 'a bound morpheme that is tightly attached to its host' and 'a bound morpheme that is more loosely attached to its host.' See Section 3.3 for further discussion.

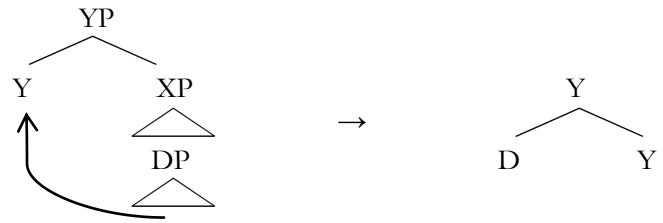
[6] Conventionally, the probe also values the Case feature on the DP. When *v* agrees with a DP, it assigns the DP accusative Case. However, Baker (to appear a) argues that accusative case in Amharic is not assigned via Agree. Instead, it is assigned when there is a c-command relationship between two DPs in a clause, with the lower DP receiving accusative (cf. Marantz 1991). I will follow Baker in this respect, and therefore the theory of agreement does not make any predictions about Case/case in Amharic. See Section 4.4 for further discussion of Baker's analysis of Amharic case in the light of a clitic doubling analysis of the object marker.

As for clitic doubling, there are two basic types of analyses. One option is to analyze the clitic as an unusual (i.e., non-canonical) agreement marker (see e.g., Borer 1984, Suñer 1988, Sportiche 1996, Anderson 2005), and the other is to analyze it as a morpheme that has moved into the verbal complex from within the DP (see e.g., Torrego 1988, Uriagereka 1995, Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003, 2004, Rezac 2008, Nevins 2010, Roberts 2010).[7] Additionally, some research combines both analyses, depending on the type of clitic (see e.g., Bleam 1999, Ormazabal and Romero 2010).

Within Minimalism, and in much of the most recent work on clitic doubling, a movement approach has been pursued. This is partially because a movement approach fits better within the framework, and partially because there has been increasing evidence that doubled clitics have the category D (which is easily accounted for under a movement approach). I will also adopt this approach, so that the assumptions about the grammar across clitic doubling and agreement remain consistent (both Minimalism) and to better account for certain properties of the object marker (see Section 3).

The movement approach claims that the clitics are D heads that move from within the DP to a verbal functional head. The identity of the verbal functional head varies depending on the proposal and language under investigation, e.g., T (Anagnostopoulou 2003), *v* (Nevins 2010), or F (Uriagereka 1995). In (6), this movement is presented schematically with the functional head represented neutrally as Y.

(6)



The movement approach leads to an immediate question: what is the structure of the doubled DP that the clitic moves out of? If a D vacates a DP, under the simplest assumptions there should be no D remaining there, i.e., the DP should not have a determiner. However, doubled DPs cross-linguistically still have determiners, as seen in the doubled DP *la niña* 'the girl' in the Rioplatense Spanish example in (7).

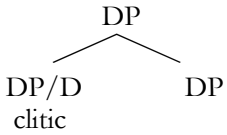
(7) **la** oían a **la** niña **Rioplatense Spanish**
3FS listen.3PL to the girl
'They listened to the girl.' (Roberts 2010:130, (146a))

There are various potential solutions to this issue. Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues that the movement of the clitic is merely feature movement where the formal features of the D move to F. Alternatively, she suggests that the clitic may be a pronominal copy of the whole DP, similar to a resumptive pronoun.

The most widespread solution is that the structure of the doubled DP is different than other DPs (the 'big DP' hypothesis: Uriagereka 1995, Nevins 2010, Roberts 2010, and many others). There are many proposals about the exact structure of the DP -- how it can include both a clitic and a determiner. To take a specific example, Nevins (2010) proposes that the clitic is a simultaneously minimal and maximal projection (like a pronoun) that may be adjoined to the DP (Nevins 2010).

[7] This bifurcation can also be couched as the base-generation (=agreement) vs movement debate, as in the literature review in Anagnostopoulou 2006. There is an additional theory that does not fit into this dichotomy: the idea that the doubled DP is a (right-dislocated) adjunct, the clitic is merged in complement position, and the clitic moves to adjoin to a verbal head (see e.g., Aoun 1981, Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2004). This theory has not been widely adopted, so I set it aside here; see arguments against it in e.g., Jaeggli 1986 for Spanish, Harizanov 2011 for Bulgarian and Anagnostopoulou 2006 for clitic doubling in general.

(8)



Under this analysis, the determiner heading the DP and the clitic adjoined to the DP are distinct, even though they both have the same categorial feature. Overall, in the movement approach, a doubled clitic is a D (or DP/D) that has undergone movement to a verbal functional head.

A summary of the differences seen so far between agreement and clitic doubling is in (9).

(9) Agreement = affix, obligatory, realization of valued phi features on a functional head
Clitic doubling = clitic, optional, D that has moved to a verbal functional head

This list suffices in order to begin investigating the Amharic object marker.

1.3 Previous Work on the Amharic Object Marker

Most previous research has referred to the Amharic object marker as object agreement (see e.g., Amberber 1996, 2005, Demeke 2003, Gasser 1983, Yabe 2007, Yimam 2004, 2006). In most cases, though, the term 'agreement' is used in its cover term sense, without any particular theoretical commitment.[8] The clearest precedents for the present work are Mullen 1986 and Yabe 2001 who both suggest that the object marker is a doubled clitics[9]; I build on their arguments, bring new evidence to bear on the question and develop a full clitic doubling analysis. As noted in Section 1.1, Baker (to appear a) argues that the Amharic object marker is the reflex of object agreement, and I will address his arguments throughout the paper.

2 THE AMHARIC OBJECT MARKER

In this section, the basic facts of the Amharic object marker are laid out: first, its handful of agreement-like properties, and second, its many distributional similarities to a doubled clitic.

2.1 First Impression: Agreement

At first glance, the object marker seems to be the realization of object agreement on *v*. It behaves like object agreement, and not like a doubled clitic, in three main ways. First, since there is only one *v* per clause, an agreement account predicts that there should be only one object marker per clause, even if there are multiple internal arguments. This is borne out in Amharic (Mullen 1986:260, Leslau 1995:417). In (10), there are two internal arguments (female *Almaz* and masculine *mäs'hafun* 'the book'), but it is ungrammatical to have two object markers.

[8] A key exception is Yabe 2007. He argues that the object marker is the reflex of an agreement relation between the object and *v*, and explicitly connects object agreement to the assignment of accusative case. However, see Baker to appear a and Kramer to appear for evidence that accusative case is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition to license the object marker. See also Yimam 2004 where it is argued that the object marker is an agreement affix based on a more limited definition of clitic-hood than is usually assumed.

[9] See also Halefom 1994 where the object markers are classified as clitics but there is no discussion of doubling per se.

(10) *G**i**rma lä-Almaz mäs'haf-u-n sät't'-**at-äw**
Girma.M DAT-Almaz.F book-DEF-ACC give-(3MS.S) -**3FS.O-3MS.O**[10]
'Girma gave the book to Almaz.'

This contrasts with clitic doubling cross-linguistically, where if there are two internal arguments, both can be doubled simultaneously. An example from Greek is in (11), where both the Theme *to vivlio* 'the book' and the Goal *tu Jani* 'John' are doubled by clitics.

(11) **tu to** edhosa to vivlio tu jani **Greek**
3MS.GEN 3MS.ACC gave.1S the book.ACC the John.GEN
'I gave the book to John.' (Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2004:969, (7c))

Another way in which the object marker behaves like agreement is that it can only attach to the verbal stem, as if it were (relatively) low in the clausal spine like *v*. For example, in (12), the object marker *–at* attaches to the verbal stem *fälli**i**g* 'look for' and not the nonpast tense auxiliary *allähu*.

(12) s'ähafi-wa-n **i**-fälli**i**g-**at** -allä-hu
secretary-DEF.F-ACC 1S.S-look.for-3FS.O AUX.NONPAST-1S.S
'I am looking for the secretary.'

This is different from a doubled clitic, which attaches to the auxiliary. In (13), the clitic *to* leans on the auxiliary *echo* 'have' and not the verbal stem *ghrapsi* 'written.'

(13) **to** echo ghrapsi to ghrama **Greek**
3MS have.1S written the letter
'I have written the letter.' (Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2004:969, (7b))

Finally, the object marker behaves like an agreement marker in that it refers to the highest internal argument, e.g., the Goal in a ditransitive clause. Thus, it seems to be subject to locality restrictions on the Agree relation (*v* must agree with the highest DP in its domain), similar to object agreement in, for example, Nez Perce (Deal 2010). To take an example, in (14), the object marker must refer to the female Goal *Almaz* and not the masculine Theme *mäs'hafun* 'the book.'

(14) G**i**rma lä-Almaz mäs'haf-u-n sät't'-**at** (*sät't'-ä-w)
Girma.M DAT-Almaz.F book-DEF-ACC give-(3MS.S)[11]-3FS.O give-3MS.S-3MS.O
'Girma gave the book to Almaz.'

Again, this is opposed to clitic doubling where either the theme or the goal may be referenced. In the Greek example in (15), either or both of the Theme *ta hrimata* 'the money' or the Goal *tis Marias* 'Maria' may be doubled.[12]

[10] This verb is a phonologically acceptable string in the language -- there is no phonological reason why two object markers should not co-occur. Also, note that if the object markers are attached to the verb in the opposite order, the result is still ungrammatical (*sät't-ä-**w-at** give-3MS.S-**3MS.O-3FS.O).**
[11] Third person masculine singular agreement (*ä*) is deleted here by a regular process of hiatus with the third person feminine object marker *–at*. In such cases, I still gloss it and place it in parentheses, following Baker to appear ab.
[12] However, the Theme can cliticize separately from the Goal only when the Theme is neuter and/or is inanimate. See Anagnostopoulou 2003:199-201 and discussion in Section 4.5.

(15) **(tis) (ta)** estile o Petros tis Marias ta hrimata **Greek**
3FS.GEN 3PL.NEUT.ACC send.3S the Peter.NOM the Maria.GEN the money.NEUT.ACC
'Peter sent Mary the money.' (Kordoni 2004:155, (19))

It is therefore plausible to analyze the object marker as agreement, and Baker (to appear a) uses some of these facts as evidence for an agreement analysis. However, a closer look reveals some deviations from canonical agreement that render the object marker much more similar to a doubled clitic, and I discuss these in the next subsection. I return to the agreement-like properties of the object marker in Section 4.

2.2 The Distribution of a Clitic

Apart from the facts in Section 2.1, the distribution of the object marker in Amharic is very similar to the distribution of doubled clitics in other languages (Mullen 1986, Yabe 2001). I will first describe the distribution and then compare it to clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish (Jaeggli 1982) and to canonical agreement (Corbett 2006).

To start, then, the object marker is optional. In all of the examples thus far, the object marker need not be present. (16), for example, is grammatical with or without the object marker.

(16) Almaz tämari-w-**ɨn** ayy-ätʃtʃ**(-ɨw)** (repeated from (1))
Almaz student-DEF-ACC see-3FS.S-(3MS.O)
'Almaz saw the male student.'

There are also semantic restrictions on the DP that the object marker references, namely, the object marker can only refer to specific DPs (Yabe 2001, Haile 1970). For example, the object marker is grammatical when it refers to a specific definite DP, e.g., *doro wät'un* 'the chicken stew' in (17). However, with a nonspecific indefinite nominal, e.g., *doro wät'* 'chicken stew' in (18), it is ungrammatical.

(17) Almaz doro wät'-u-n bäll-atʃtʃ**-ɨw** Definite Specific DP = ✓ Object Marker
Almaz chicken stew-DEF-ACC eat-3FS-3MS.O
'Almaz ate the chicken stew.'

(18) Almaz doro wät' bäll-atʃtʃ**(*-ɨw)** Nonspecific Indefinite DP = * Object Marker
Almaz chicken stew eat-3FS-3MS.O
'Almaz ate chicken stew.'

Wh-words make it clear that the contrast is in specificity. The object marker may refer to a D-linked wh-word as in (19), but not a non-D-linked wh-word as in (20).

(19) Almaz tɨnant yätɨñnaw-**ɨn** tämari ayy-ätʃtʃ**-ɨw** D-linked wh-word = ✓ Object Marker
Almaz yesterday which-ACC student see-3FS.S-3MS.O
'Which student did Almaz see yesterday'?

(20) Gɨrma tɨnant männ-**ɨn** ayy-ä**(*-w)** Non-D-linked wh-word = * Object Marker
Girma yesterday who-ACC see-3MS.S-3MS.O
'Who did Girma see yesterday?'

This indicates that the object marker may in fact refer to indefinite DPs like wh-words, but only if they are specific.[13]

[13]Further evidence for a specificity distinction is that the object marker is licensed with partitives.

The object marker also triggers an (as yet) poorly-understood semantic effect of some kind of emphasis on the argument which it references (reported in Haile 1970 and Demeke 2003, and confirmed in fieldwork).

(21) Almaz doro wät'-u-n bäll-atʃtʃ-**ɨw**
Almaz chicken stew-DEF-ACC eat-3FS.S-3MS.O
'Almaz ate the chicken stew.'
Comment: It's like 'Almaz ate **that** chicken stew'

In (21), the object marker emphasizes the particular chicken stew that was eaten.

Although the object marker is optional in the majority of contexts, it is obligatory in certain other contexts. For example, the object marker is obligatory with all pronouns. Amharic is a pro drop language, and the object marker is required when the internal argument has been dropped. This is shown in the contrast in interpretation between (22)a and (22)b.

(22) a. bäll-atʃtʃ
eat.-3FS.S
'She ate. / *She ate it.'

b. bäll-atʃtʃ-**ɨw**
eat.-3FS.S-3MS.O
'She ate it.'

The object marker is also obligatory with overt pronouns, as in (23).

(23) Almaz **ɨ**ssu-n ayy-ätʃtʃ***(-ɨw)**
Almaz he-ACC see-3FS.S-3MS.O
'Almaz saw him.'

Another context where the object marker is obligatory is when the internal argument has an inalienable possessor, as in (24).

(24) bärr-u t'at-e-n k'ärät't'äf-ä-***(ññ)**
door-DEF finger-my-ACC pinch-3MS.S-1S.O
'The door pinched my finger.' (cf. Leslau 1985:187-188)

Note that the object marker here refers to the possessor itself, *-e* 'my' in (24).[14]

Finally, the object marker affects binding relationships. (25)ab show that, while a subject can bind a possessive pronoun in the direct object, backward pronominalization between subjects and objects is nearly ungrammatical in Amharic.

(25) a. T**ɨ**g**ɨ**st$_i$ tämari-wa$_i$-n ayy-ätʃtʃ
Tigist.F student-her-ACC see-3FS.S
'Tigist$_i$ saw her$_i$ student.'

(i) [Almaz has a lot of students.]
t**ɨ**nant and-u-n ayyä-hu-**t**
yesterday a-DEF-ACC see-1S.S-**3MS.O**
'I saw one of them yesterday.'

[14] The object marker is also obligatory with goal passives, psych verbs and certain unaccusative predicates. See Section 4.6 for discussion.

b. ?* tämari-wa$_i$ Tigist$_i$-in ayy-ä
student-her Tigist.F-ACC see-3MS.S
Intended: 'Her$_i$ student saw Tigist$_i$.'

Backward pronominalization substantially improves, however, if the object is referred to by an object marker.

(26) tämari-wa$_i$ Tigist$_i$-in ayy-**at**
student-her Tigist.F-ACC see-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
'Her$_i$ student saw Tigist$_i$.'

Thus, the object marker allows for the object to bind into the subject more easily.[15]

The list of distributional properties of the object marker considered in this section thus far is summarized in (27).

(27) The Amharic object marker…
a. is optional
b. indexes specific DPs
c. triggers a semantic effect of emphasis
d. is obligatory with pronouns
e. is obligatory when the internal argument is inalienably possessed and refers to the possessor
f. improves backward pronominalization

This pattern of facts is nearly identical to one of the most well-known cases of clitic doubling: Rioplatense Spanish (Jaeggli 1982, Suñer 1988, Gutierrez-Rexach 1999). In Rioplatense Spanish, clitic doubling is optional for full DPs, conditioned by the specificity of the object, triggers an effect of emphasis on the argument it doubles for some speakers (Gutierrez-Rexach 1999:fn.6), is obligatory for pronouns, is obligatory for inalienably possessed objects[16] and refers to the possessor, and affects binding relationships (Suñer 1988:420ff.). In the interest of analyzing empirically similar phenomena in a similar way, this is strong evidence in favor of the object marker being a doubled clitic.

Nor is this pattern unique to Rioplatense clitic doubling and the Amharic object marker. Clitic doubling is generally optional but obligatory for pronouns across all clitic doubling languages, to the best of my knowledge. There are also similar semantic restrictions on doubling in almost all clitic doubling languages, with only specific and/or definite DPs licensing doubling. For example, the particular contrast between D-linked and non-D-linked wh-words in (19) and (20) is easily reproducible in most clitic doubling languages (Kallulli 2008:237). Clitic doubling also affects binding relationships in Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997) and Bulgarian (Harizanov 2011).

Moreover, canonical agreement does not share this behavior. Agreement is typically obligatory for all DPs, not optional (Corbett 2006:14-15), and definitely not limited only to inalienable possessors and pronouns. As Nevins (2010) notes, there are languages like Irish where agreement is impossible with pronouns, but few or none where *only* pronouns trigger agreement.[17] Also, agreement canonically is not

[15] One of the most common ways clitic doubling affects binding is that it ameliorates weak crossover violations (see e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003 for Greek, Harizanov 2011 for Bulgarian, Suñer 1988 for Rioplatense Spanish). It is very difficult, however, to create weak crossover violations in Amharic. The typical contexts are unavailable: wh-words remain in situ, universal quantifiers cannot be referenced by the object marker (see Baker to appear a:fn.11 for some ideas on why), and direct objects cannot scramble across indirect objects (Kramer in preparation).

[16] A wrinkle here: in Spanish, the doubled clitic **must** refer to the possessor. In Amharic, the object marker may refer to either the possessor or the possessed DP as whole. This may be due to the fact that, in Spanish, the inalienable possessor is externalized to the point of being (arguably) its own DP; see Jaeggli 1982:13. There is no evidence for possessor externalization in Amharic.

[17] There are two exceptions, and both involve restrictions on agreement with a post-verbal subject. In Welsh (Rouveret 1991) and Standard Arabic (Benmamoun 2000:127), only pronominal subjects agree fully with the finite verb in VSO

conditioned by any feature of the controller of the agreement like definiteness (Corbett 2006:26), and it does not have any semantic effects (Corbett 2006:26-27). Since an agreement marker consists of phi features that are uninterpretable, agreement markers should not affect binding relationships; they do not refer in the first place. The distribution of the Amharic object marker, then, overlaps significantly with that of a doubled clitic and displays many characteristics atypical of agreement markers.

2.3 Lack of a Default

Further evidence that the Amharic object marker is a clitic comes from a diagnostic that has been proposed specifically for distinguishing clitic doubling and agreement by Preminger (2009). The diagnostic exploits the fact that agreement involves feature valuation of pre-existing unvalued features on a functional head, whereas clitic doubling involves the generation (or merging) of a new D morpheme. This makes different predictions about what happens when agreement or clitic doubling fails. The diagnostic is in (28).

(28) **Preminger's Diagnostic**
Given a scenario where the relation R between a morpheme M and the corresponding full noun phrase X is broken -- but the result is still a grammatical utterance -- the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about R as follows:
a. M shows up with default phi-features (rather than the features of X) → R is Agree
b. M disappears entirely → R is clitic doubling

The diagnostic begins by setting up a scenario where the agreement or clitic doubling relation is broken. This can occur for the Agree relation if a potential goal which is inactive intervenes between a probe and another (active) goal; this is the phenomenon of defective intervention. Defective intervention scenarios are ungrammatical in some languages (e.g., French) but in others (e.g., Icelandic) they cause the probe to surface with default phi-features. Thus, the relevant morphemes in Icelandic (subject markers) are agreement morphemes under this diagnostic.

For clitic doubling, Preminger (2009) discusses how the relation can be broken if the locality conditions of clitic doubling are not abided by (roughly, the clausemate relation). If the result is still grammatical (as Preminger (2009) shows it can be in Basque), the doubled clitic simply does not appear in the structure. There is no default clitic doubling since no phi features remain stranded to be given a default value.

In Amharic, the diagnostic can be applied using the semantic restrictions on clitic doubling, namely, that the relation between the object marker and the DP it refers to is only capable of being established if the DP is specific. When there is an indefinite argument, any attempted clitic doubling relation is ungrammatical.

(29) *Almaz lam ayy-ätʃtʃ**-at**
Almaz cow saw-3FS.S-3FS.O
Almaz saw a cow.

The question now becomes: how can (29) be repaired? If a default object marker is grammatical, then object markers are object agreement. If the absence of an object marker is grammatical, then the object marker is clitic doubling. A default object marker (third person masculine singular) turns out to be ungrammatical.

(30) *Almaz lam ayy-ätʃtʃ**-iw**
Almaz cow saw-3FS.S.-3MS.O
Almaz saw a cow.

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clauses. Cross-linguistically, post-verbal subjects in general do not agree as fully as pre-verbal subjects (see e.g., Samek-Ludovici 2002 and references therein). Pronouns, however, seem to be able to escape these restrictions, at least for Welsh and Standard Arabic. The Amharic object marker, however, can 'agree' fully with non-pronominal DPs. Also, internal arguments are not post-verbal in Amharic. We therefore would not expect agreement to be restricted only to pronouns for the Amharic object marker.

Leaving out the object marker entirely, though, is perfectly grammatical.

(31) Almaz lam ayy-ätʃtʃ
Almaz cow saw-3FS.S
Almaz saw a cow.

Thus, the object marker is a doubled clitic by Preminger's diagnostic, and not the reflex of an Agree relation.

An important detail here is that default agreement is not null in Amharic in any other context. Otherwise it could not be determined whether there was default agreement in (31). Weather predicates trigger default agreement cross-linguistically, and in Amharic, weather predicates trigger obligatory overt third person masculine singular agreement.

(32) a. zare zännäb*(-ä)
today rain-3MS.S
'It rained today.'

b. nägä *(yɨ)-zänb -all
tomorrow 3MS.S-rain NONPAST.AUX.3MS.S
'It will rain tomorrow.'

Thus, if there really were default agreement in (31), we would expect it to surface overtly as a third person masculine singular object marker.

Baker (to appear a) proposes that there is a special null default form for the object marker in Amharic, separate from its third person masculine singular allomorph. However, this null default allomorph would be the only null default in the language. All Amharic default agreement is overt third person masculine singular; in addition to the subject agreement in (32), see, for example, Kramer 2009 on how masculine singular allomorphs are used for default gender agreement within DPs. In fact, it is unclear whether any language makes use of a default form which is both (a) null and (b) distinct from other agreement morphemes in the language.[18]

To wrap up the section, below is a table summarizing the properties of the object marker seen so far and whether they are characteristic of agreement or of clitic doubling.

Table 1 : Properties of the Object Marker seen in Section 2

Characteristic of Agreement	Characteristic of Clitic Doubling
One object marker per clause	Optional
Attaches to verbal stem	Indexes specific DPs
Refers to highest internal argument	Triggers a semantic effect of emphasis
	Obligatory for pronouns
	Obligatory for inalienably possessed nominals
	Allows for backward pronominalization
	No obligatory default

[18] Baker (to appear a: fn. 10) offers Ukrainian as an example of a language that has a null default distinct from third person masculine singular. It has been argued, however, that the null default in Ukrainian is not in fact a default form of agreement, but a lack of agreement altogether. I assume that default agreement occurs in the following scenario. A head that typically shows agreement does not have its phi features valued during the derivation; those phi features are then given default (unmarked) values at PF. In the case of Ukrainian, though, Lavine and Freidin (2002) argue that the T in 'null default' sentences is in fact a separate lexical item from normal, phi-complete T. They propose (for independent reasons) that the T in 'null default' sentences lacks phi features and does not enter into an Agree relation with any DP. Thus, at PF, the 'null default' T has no phi features to be realized, so no agreement morpheme is inserted. Therefore, the 'null default' form is in fact a lack of any syntactic or morphological agreement, not a true default where agreement fails syntactically and morphology fills in the blanks.

The seven facts in the right hand column render it implausible for the Amharic marker to be an agreement marker. Although individual members of this set of facts may be explained away as exceptional, their collective force is telling. They are all predicted if the Amharic object marker is a doubled clitic.

How about the facts in the left-hand column, though? They cause the Amharic object marker to be interesting – it acts mostly like a doubled clitic, but has a few recalcitrant agreement-like properties. In later sections, these facts will be addressed. First, though, in the next section, I explore the morphological evidence that the object marker is a doubled clitic, further lengthening the right hand column and bolstering the claim that the facts in the left-hand column are the exceptions.

3 MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES

This section reviews the morphological evidence for a clitic doubling analysis of the Amharic object marker. In Section 3.1, I show how the object marker is formally invariant with respect to any verbal features. Section 3.2 demonstrates its formal similarity to determiners and possessive pronouns. Finally, in Section 3.3, I argue that it is a clitic, not an affix.

3.1 Morphological Invariance

Recall that an agreement morpheme is the realization of phi-features on a functional head. The realization of those phi-features may vary depending on other features that the functional head itself has e.g., a past tense feature on T or a voice-related feature on *v*. This is a common state of affairs cross-linguistically -- even in a very impoverished agreement system like English, subject agreement is null in the past tense, but *-s* in the 3rd person singular present tense.

Unlike agreement markers, the object marker is invariant across verb forms (Mullen 1986). It varies only according to the phi features of the DP that it refers to, and according to certain phonological factors like whether its host (the verb) ends in a consonant or a vowel. The paradigm of the object marker is in Table 2. The vowels in parentheses are used when the verb ends in a consonant.[19]

Table 2: Object Marker Paradigm

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-(ä)ññ	-(ä)n
2nd person	-(ä)h (masc.) | -(ä)ʃ (fem.)	-atʃtʃɨhu
3rd person	-(ä)w, -t after *u* or *o* (masc.) -at (fem.)	-atʃtʃäw
2nd person polite	-wo(t)	
3rd person polite	-atʃtʃäw	

In this section, I will show how the object marker does not formally vary no matter what aspect, tense, voice and mood the verb has.

I begin with aspect. In Amharic, subject agreement varies depending on aspect (perfect or imperfect) as shown in (33), so it is plausible that Asp bears the phi-features involved in subject agreement.

(33) Perfect Imperfect

a. säbbär-ku ɨ-säbr

break.PF-1S 1S-break.IMPF

[19] The object marker also does not vary by case, as doubled clitics do in e.g., Spanish and Greek. This may be related to the fact that there is only one object marker per clause.

b. säbbär-**ɨ**h tɨ-säbr
break.PF-2MS 2MS-break.IMPF

c. säbbär-ä yɨ-säbr
break.PF-3MS 3MS-break.IMPF

However, the object marker does not vary based on aspect. In (34), the object marker does not change in form depending on whether the verb it is attached to is perfect or imperfect.

(34)

Perfect	Imperfect
a. säbbär-ä-**ññ**	yɨ-säbr-**äññ**
break.PF-3MS.S-1S.O	3MS.S-break.IMPF-1S.O
b. säbbär-ä-**h**	yɨ-säbr-**äh**
break.PF-3MS.S-2MS.O	3MS.S-break.IMPF-2MS.O
c. säbbär-ä-**w**	yɨ-säbr-**äw**
break.PF-3MS.S-3MS.O	3M.S-break.IMPF-3MS.O

The object marker also does not vary based on tense. In (35), the auxiliary bears nonpast tense, and the object marker surfaces as *–t* (the third person masculine singular allomorph after *–u* and *–o*).

(35) yɨ-nägr-u-**t** -all Finite Clause = ✓ Object Marker
3PL.S-tell-3PL.S-**3MS.O** -NONPAST.AUX.3MS.S
'They tell/will tell him.' (Leslau 1995:422)

In (36), there is an object marker on a nonfinite form referred to as a gerund (Leslau 1995:355-389), but more similar to an Indo-European participle. This form has aspect, but not tense. The object marker still surfaces as *–t*.[20]

(36) säwɨyye-w-ɨn wɨʃʃa näks-o-**t** wädä hakim bet wässäd-u-t
man-DEF-ACC dog bite.GER-3MS.S-**3MS.O** to doctor house take-3PL.S-3MS.O
'A dog having bitten the man, they took him to the hospital.' (Leslau 1995:362)
Nonfinite clause = ✓ Object Marker

This behavior correlates with doubled clitics in that, cross-linguistically, doubled clitics do not vary depending on aspect or tense. Nevins (2010) has even suggested that tense-invariance is a defining property of clitics (see discussion in Section 3.3).

As for the features of *v*, agreement markers and doubled clitics again behave differently. Object agreement is often absent entirely with passive and/or reflexive verbs (e.g., in Chichewa, Mohawk, and Mapudungan, Baker to appear a:14). Doubled clitics, though, are often attested with passive verbs (see Anagnostopoulou 2003 for Greek and Spanish examples). They are also attested with reflexive verbs,

[20] In Amharic, nominalized verbs ('verbal nouns' in the descriptive literature; Leslau 1995:393-412) are often used where Indo-European languages use infinitival clauses, e.g., as a complement of *want*. Object markers may not be used with verbal nouns (Leslau 1995:394), and I submit that this is because the verbal nouns lack the functional head that triggers clitic doubling (*v*, Section 4). This is supported by Baker and Kramer's (2010) analysis of verbal nouns as a *n* that takes a VP complement. Accusative case can appear on the internal argument of a verbal noun, but recall that I assume, along with Baker to appear a, that accusative case is assigned via a dependency relation and not a functional head (see Baker and Vinokurova 2010 for discussion of how a dependency-based account of accusative case works within DPs).

although there is often a (partially) separate set of reflexive clitics (as in e.g., Spanish). However, reflexive clitics are not found in all clitic doubling languages (e.g., they are not found in Lebanese Arabic or Hebrew[21]). Given these cross-linguistic patterns, the Amharic object marker again behaves like a doubled clitic. It is attested in passive ((37)) and reflexive ((38)) verbs, although it does not have a separate set of reflexive forms.

(37) Almaz mäs'haf-u tä-sät't'-**at** Passive Verb = ✓ Object Marker
Almaz.F book-DEF PASS-give-(3MS.S)-**3FS.O**
'The book was given (to) Almaz.' (Baker to appear b, (16b))

(38) **ɨ**dʒdʒ-wa-n t-at't'äb-ätʃtʃ-**at** Reflexive Verb = ✓ Object Marker
hand-her-ACC REFL-clean-3FS.S-**3FS.O**
'She washed her hands.' (Leslau 1995:464)

Finally, for completeness, the object marker does not vary in form on verbs inflected for different moods. It is grammatical on jussive verbs (used for affirmative requests as well as certain types of modality) and imperatives.

(39) bunna l**ɨ**-st'-**ɨh**? Jussive = ✓ Object Marker
coffee 1S.S-give.JUSS-**2MS.O**
'May I offer you a cup of coffee?' (Leslau 1995:350)

(40) **ɨ**ski mättawäk'iya wäräk'at-**ɨ**h-**ɨ**n asayy-**äññ** Imperative = ✓ Object Marker
please identification card-your-ACC show.IMP-**1S.O**
'Please show me your identification card!' (Leslau 1995:354)

Clitics also do not vary with mood, and are attested on e.g., imperatives cross-linguistically.

To conclude, the object marker does not vary according to tense, aspect or mood and is present regardless of the features of *v*; this is characteristic of doubled clitics but unexpected for an agreement marker.[22]

3.2 Object Markers as D's

Since the object marker is invariant with respect to all verbal features, but varies with respect to phi features, it seems more akin morphologically to pronominals or definite determiners rather than agreement markers. This is predicted by a clitic doubling analysis where the clitic is a D. Besides morphological invariance, there is substantial additional evidence that the Amharic object marker has the category D. I review the evidence in this section.

3.2.1 Formal Similarities to Possessive Pronouns

The object marker shares parts of its paradigm with the paradigm for pronominal possessors (*my, her, our,* etc.; Yabe 2001). Some basic examples with pronominal possessors are in (41).

[21] It is tempting to generalize that Indo-European clitic doubling languages have reflexive clitics whereas Semitic clitic doubling languages do not, but this should be confirmed with a broader sample.

[22] Clitics occasionally have positional allomorphs, i.e., allomorphs depending on whether they precede or follow the verb (e.g., in European Portuguese; Nevins 2010). The Amharic object marker has a fixed position with respect to the verb (always following), so this kind of allomorphy would not be expected. It is unclear how tightly positional flexibility correlates with clitic-hood (and positional fixedness correlates with agreement). I suspect that positional allomorphy is always in principle available for a morphophonological clitic (see Section 3.3), but not required. Since agreement markers tend not to be morphophonological clitics, they very rarely have positional allomorphs.

(41) a. bet-e 'house-my' my house
b. bäk'lo-h 'mule-your.M' your mule
c. tämari-yatʃtʃɨn 'student-our' our student (Leslau 1995:50ff.)

The paradigm for the pronominal possessors is in Table 3.

Table 3: Pronominal Possessor Paradigm

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	-e	-atʃtʃɨn
2nd Person	-h (masc.) | -ʃ (fem.)	-atʃtʃɨhu
3rd person	-u (masc.) | -wa (fem.)	-atʃtʃäw
2nd person polite	-wo(t)	
3rd person polite	-atʃtʃäw	

The object marker and the pronominal possessor share more than half of their respective paradigms, with shared forms indicated by graying out in Table 3.[23] Moreover, the third person masculine singular forms, while not identical, are strikingly similar (and also similar to the definite determiner).

If pronominal possessors are analyzed as D heads (Lyons 1986, Giorgi and Longobardi 1991), then the syncretism here is easily explained. Both pronominal possessors and object markers would be the realization of a D with phi-features.[24]

3.2.2 Formal Similarities to Definite Determiners

Within the clitic doubling literature, it has been widely argued that the formal similarities between doubled clitics and definite determiners indicate that the doubled clitics are D's (see e.g., Uriagereka 1995, Bleam 1999 for Romance; Anagnostopoulou 2003:212 for Greek.). In Amharic, the third person masculine singular object marker is formally similar to the definite determiner, as shown in (42) (C = consonant, V = vowel).

(42) C*äw,* V*w* 3rd masculine singular object marker
C*u,* V*w* masculine singular definite determiner

[23] For the sake of comparison, the object marker and the perfect agreement paradigm (Leslau 1995:287) share less than half of their paradigms and the object marker and the imperfect agreement paradigm (Leslau 1995:301) have no overlap whatsoever. It is perhaps expected that if the object marker would overlap with any agreement paradigm. it would overlap with the perfect rather than the imperfect. This is because perfect verb forms are often historically derived from possessive constructions (see Allen 1964 for general discussion and Bergsträsser 1928 for the development of the Semitic perfect in particular).

[24] The syncretism could also be explained under an agreement approach if the pronominal possessors are possessor agreement (thanks to Mark Baker for raising this issue). Object agreement and possessor agreement would then be syncretic. However, this leaves subject agreement out in the cold morphologically, especially imperfect subject agreement which involves a completely different set of exponents. More problematically, it is doubtful that the pronominal possessors are possessor agreement since they cannot co-occur with overt possessors, unlike possessor agreement in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1994), Chamorro (Chung 1998) and Tzotzil (Aissen 1996), among other languages.

(i) a. *yä-ɨne bet-e
of-me house-my
'my house'

b. *yä-Gɨrma mäs'haf-u
of-Girma book-his
'Girma's book'

The object marker and the definite determiner have identical allomorphs when preceded by a vowel (*-w*). However, when preceded by a consonant, they are realized by phonologically similar, yet slightly different forms (*-äw* for the object marker, *-u* for the definite marker). The object marker also has an extra allomorph that the definite determiner lacks: a third person masculine singular *–t* after *u* or *o* (see e.g., (36)). In contrast, the definite determiner surfaces as *–w* after *–o* or *–u*. This is shown in (43).

(43) t'ɨru-w tämari
good-DEF student
'the good student'

Therefore, the morphological overlap between the definite determiner and the clitic is present, but somewhat limited.

However, a closer look at the distribution of the definite determiner reveals deeper similarities. When there is a relative clause, the definite determiner attaches to the right of the verb within the relative clause (Leslau 1995:83ff., Kramer 2010). In (44), for example, the definite determiner for the whole DP has attached to the relative clause verb *yäsärräk'ä* 'stole.'

(44) [lɨbs yä-särräk'-ä-**w**] lɨdʒ
clothes C-steal-3MS.S-**DEF** child
'the child who stole the clothes' (Leslau 1995:86)

If the relative clause verb ends in a consonant, however, the definite determiner is realized as *–äw*. (Leslau 1995:84). Moreover, if the relative clause verb ends in *–u* or *–o*, the definite determiner is realized as *–t*, as shown in (45).

(45) [bä-fätäna yämmi-wädk'-u-**t**] tämar-otʃtʃ
at-exam C-fail-3PL.S-**DEF** student-PL
'the students who fail the exam' (Leslau 1995:84)

In (45), the definite marker attaches to the relative clause verb *yäamiwädk'u* 'fail,' giving the whole DP a definite interpretation. However, it surfaces as *–t* instead of its usual *–w* (compare (43)). In general, it can be concluded that the allomorphs *–äw* and *-t* are triggered by a D element being adjacent to a verb that either ends in a consonant (for *–äw*) or ends in *–u* or *–o* (for *–t*). Therefore, the 'extra allomorphs' that seemed initially specific to the object marker are in fact syncretic with the definite marker once they are put in the same context, i.e., adjacent to a verb. There are significant syncretisms between definite determiners and object markers, then, as predicted under a clitic doubling account.[25]

3.2.3 The Definite Marker and Relative Clauses

The distribution of the definite determiner presents a curious puzzle: when a determiner and an object marker attach to the same host underlyingly, only the object marker surfaces. Recall that when a DP is definite and contains a relative clause, the definite determiner attaches to the verb within the relative clause – see (44). However, if the verb within the relative clause has an object marker, there is no determiner.

[25] Similar morphological facts are found in Spanish for definite determiners and doubled clitics. The definite determiner is syncretic with a third person masculine clitic only when the determiner has a non-NP complement, e.g., in a free relative clause (Bleam 1999:20).

(46) [wäre-w-**ɨ**n yä-näggär-**at**] lɨdʒ
news-DEF-ACC C-tell-(3MS.S)-**3FS.O** child
'the child who told her the news' (Leslau 1995:85)

In (46), the DP is interpreted as definite but without any visible determiner.

This puzzle is easily solved if the object marker has the category D by appealing to haplology (see e.g., Stemberger 1981, de Lacy 2000, Kramer 2009 for Amharic). I assume that the determiner attaches to the relative clause verb late in the derivation -- post-syntactically (Kramer 2010). Therefore, PF need only have a rule which states: in a sequence of two D morphemes attached to a stem, the outermost D is deleted. This rule is formalized below where a dash symbolizes morphological attachment.

(47) **Morphological Haplology of D**
Stem – D_1 – D_2 → Stem – D_1

D_1 = Object Marker
D_2 = Definite Determiner

Thus, claiming that the object marker is a D provides an explanation for an otherwise somewhat opaque restriction on the definite determiner.

To sum up, there is substantial evidence that the object marker has the category D, namely, its invariance with respect to verbal features, its formal similarities to the definite marker and to possessive pronouns and its ability to trigger haplology with the definite marker.[26] Under an agreement analysis, the object marker is a bundle of phi features, and is not predicted to have any of these properties. However, doubled clitics have been independently analyzed to have the category D cross-linguistically, so these facts support the object marker being a doubled clitic.

3.3 Clitic vs Affix

As noted in Section 1.2, agreement markers are generally affixes whereas doubled clitics are (as the name suggests) clitics. Thus, morphophonological status (affix or clitic) is often correlated with syntactic status (valued phi features or D head). The correlation need not hold in all cases, though. For example, there are agreement markers that are clitics (Corbett 2006:75-76) and it has been argued that there are doubled clitics which are affixes (see e.g., Monachesi 2000 on Romanian). This is similar to some of the previously-investigated characteristics, like optionality. Most agreement is not optional, and most clitic doubling is obligatory, but there are exceptions both ways. This type of evidence is not robust considered on its own, but its power lies in numbers. The more of the 'typical doubled clitic' characteristics that the object marker has, the more likely it is to be a doubled clitic (and the more difficult it becomes to analyze it as agreement). In this section, then, I add another 'typical doubled clitic' characteristic to the pile: the Amharic object marker is a morphophonological clitic. The use of morphophonological tests to identify clitics has been argued to be unreliable, though, so I close the section by also considering the morphosyntactic diagnostics for clitichood that have been proposed in the literature.

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[26] Surprisingly, non-possessive pronouns do not formally resemble definite markers, possessive pronouns or object markers (see Leslau 1995:46 for the pronominal paradigm). In other words, they do not participate in the syncretisms found across D heads in Amharic. This may indicate that the internal structure of Amharic pronouns is more complex than simply a D with phi features. For example, it may be that the pronouns have internally complex syntax, with a D and an NP element both present in the structure. Some support for this is that some of the pronouns are 'decompasable' into a D and another piece (e.g., the second person formal pronoun *ɨssiwo* can be decomposed into *ɨss-* and *–wo*, the latter morpheme formally identical to the second person formal object marker and the second person formal possessive pronoun). Not all of the pronouns can be decomposed this way, however, so further confirmation of this approach is needed. Thanks to Line Mikkelsen and Sharon Rose for raising this issue.

The most well-known criteria for distinguishing clitics and affixes are in Zwicky and Pullum 1983. Three of the criteria involve idiosyncrasy, and they are listed in (48).

(48) Criterion B: Arbitrary gaps are more common for affixes than for clitics.
Criterion C: Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more common for affixes than for clitics.
Criterion D: Semantic idiosyncrasies are more common for affixes than for clitics.

To the best of my knowledge, the Amharic object marker behaves like a clitic according to all three criteria. It has no arbitrary gaps -- the object marker is not barred with any particular verbs like *stride* lacks a past participle in English. There are no morphophonological idiosyncrasies of the combined host and clitic form – e.g., *thought* for 'think + -ed' English. There are also no semantic idiosyncrasies – no unique meaning for verb plus object combinations, like the unique meaning 'compatriots' for the English plural *brethren* (although see Miller 1992a for a critique of Criterion D).[27]

Another morphophonological criterion in Zwicky and Pullum 1983 involves attachment.

(49) Criterion F: Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

Criterion F has the effect that affixes will always be closer to the host than clitics – once a clitic is added, the host effectively becomes 'closed for business' for affixation. In Zwicky and Pullum 1983 and other lexicalist accounts of the affix/clitic distinction, this has a theoretical explanation in that affixes are attached in the lexicon whereas clitics are postlexical. However, regardless of theoretical assumptions, it does seem to be a robust generalization that clitics are farther away from their hosts than affixes. Romance pronominal enclitics, for example, attach outside of subject agreement (see e.g., Nevins 2010 on Portuguese).

Assuming that Criterion F is correct, then, it confirms the clitic status of the Amharic object marker. In Section 2.1, I observed that the object marker always attaches to the verbal stem, which might indicate that it is attached to *v*. However, it is always outside of subject agreement, contrary to Mirror Principle expectations (Baker to appear a, Halefom 1994, Yimam 2004).[28]

(50) Almaz tämari-w-**ɨn** ayy-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw** (repeated from (1))
Almaz student-DEF-ACC see-3FS.S-**3MS.O**
Almaz saw the male student.

This contrasts strongly with object agreement, which is closer to the stem than subject agreement, as expected if it is the realization of phi features on *v*.

(51) **Nahuatl** (repeated from (3))
ni-**k-**te:moa šo:čitl
1S.S-3S.O-seek flower
'I seek a flower.' (Stiebels 1999:790)

If the Amharic object marker is a clitic and subject agreement is an affix, though, the ordering is in accord with Criterion F. This is further evidence that the Amharic object marker is a clitic, and see discussion in Section 4.4 for how the ordering is achieved under a clitic analysis.

So far, the Amharic object marker behaves like a clitic with respect to all morphophonological diagnostics. However, Miller (1992ab) argues that the morphophonological criteria can never be used to positively identify a particular morpheme as a clitic. If a morpheme comes down on the clitic side of all the

[27] Miller (1992b) expands on the morphophonological properties that distinguish clitics and affixes, including e.g., the criterion that processual exponence is evidence for a certain morpheme being an affix, and the Amharic object marker still behaves like a clitic with respect to all the criteria he proposes.

[28] The object marker is not necessarily the furthest element from the verb -- it can be followed by a cliticized negation marker (see Leslau 1995:114). Sandwiched between the verb and negation is the typical position of doubled clitics.

morphophonological criteria, it may be that the morpheme in question is just a very regular affix (although it is worth asking whether any affix has uniformly regular morphophonology). At best, then, the Amharic object marker is compatible with having clitic status – there is no data *against* it being a clitic, even if there is no data for it.

Nevins (2010) goes one step further than Miller and rejects morphophonological criteria altogether. He develops a syntactic definition of clitic-hood, and notes that traditional morphophonological distinctions between clitics and affixes cut across items that act syntactically identical. It is indisputable that many items traditionally classed as clitics can trigger and participate in allomorphic idiosyncrasies, and Nevins documents several such cases (e.g., stem allomorphy in Spanish clitics attaching to imperatives). However, it is not clear that there are arbitrary gaps in clitic combinations which lack a systemic explanation (see Nevins 2010:fn.7), and even less clear that clitics can ever attach closer to the stem than affixes.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to consider briefly some syntactic criteria for clitichood that have been developed to supplement the morphophonological criteria. Returning to Zwicky and Pullum (1983), they included two syntax-related criteria: Criterion A about selectivity, and Criterion E about movement.

(52) Criterion A: Clitics have low selectivity wrt their hosts; affixes have high selectivity
Criterion E: Syntactic rules (i.e., movement:RK) can affect affixed words, but not clitic groups.

Both of these criteria have not held up under more serious scrutiny. Both Miller (1992ab) and Nevins (2010:fn.6) have argued that clitics can display selectivity, contrary to Criterion A. As for Criterion E, it is well-known that Romance pronominal clitics move along with their verbal hosts (e.g., French *l'at-il pas appris?* 'It-has-he not learned?' = 'Has he not learned it'?; Nevins 2010:24), which weakens this criterion considerably. I will therefore not consider these criteria further.

Given the failure of these criteria, Miller (1992ab) and Nevins (2010) both offer additional syntactic tests for distinguishing between clitics and affixes. Miller (1992b) focuses on coordination, noting that if an item must be repeated on each conjunct, then it must be an affix. The Amharic object marker in fact is not required to be repeated on each conjunct.[29]

(53) a. Almaz samm-ätʃtʃ **ɨ**nna ak'k'äf-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw**
Almaz kiss-3FS.S and hug-3FS.S-**3MS.O**
'Almaz kissed him and hugged him.'

b. Almaz mätt-atʃtʃ **ɨ**nna atʃ'ol-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw**
Almaz kick-3FS.S and slap-3FS.**3MS.O**
'Almaz kicked him and slapped him.'

Therefore, the Amharic object marker is not obligatorily an affix according to Miller's criterion.[30]

According to Nevins's (2010) morphosyntactic clitic/affix criterion, the object marker is again not an affix. His main diagnostic for syntactic clitic-hood is morphological invariance with respect to tense, and in Section 3.1, I showed that the Amharic object marker meets this criterion.[31]

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[29] Since the object marker is optional, a competing analysis of these examples could say that this is *v*P coordination with the object marker absent in the first conjunct and present in the second. However, recall that the object marker is obligatory with null pronouns.

[30] The object marker can also be repeated on each conjunct (e.g., *Almaz samm-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw** **ɨ**nna ak'k'äf-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw***); this is because the object marker and the verb form a constituent – at the smallest, an intermediate *v* projection. Miller (1992a:157) briefly discusses morphemes that can, but need not be, repeated on each conjunct, and notes that if the morpheme in question is an affix, it must a "phrasal" affix, which is capable of attaching to entire phrases and not just single heads. Thus, the coordination data are compatible with the object marker being a clitic or, at worst, an unusual type of affix that attaches to phrases (assuming that Miller's separation of phrasal affixes from clitics is correct).

[31] Nevins also argues that only clitics participate in clitic climbing, but this cannot be tested in Amharic since the object marker attaches low to *v* (not T as in Romance and Greek). Also, not all doubled clitics participate in clitic climbing; for example, doubled clitics in Bulgarian do not (Harizanov 2011). Nevins also notes that only clitics display Person Case Constraint effects. However, since there can never be two object markers on the same verb in Amharic, the PCC is irrelevant.

To wrap up this section, then, the Amharic object marker behaves like a clitic according to all morphophonological tests, in so far as these tests suffice to determine clitic-hood. The Zwicky and Pullum morphosyntactic criteria for clitichood do not hold up cross-linguistically, but according to Miller's and Nevins's syntactic diagnostic, the object marker is a clitic. Overall, then, the best-known clitic/affix diagnostics confirm the clitic-hood of the Amharic object marker.

3.4 Interim Summary

In Sections 2 and 3, I have shown that the object marker is like a doubled clitic in its basic distribution, its lack of a default, its invariance with respect to verbal categories (tense, aspect, etc.), its formal similarity to D and its status as a clitic. Some of these individual traits can be explained away while maintaining an agreement proposal, as in Baker to appear a. For example, as discussed in Section 2.3, Baker (to appear a) argues that the apparent lack of a default is because there is a null default for object agreement in Amharic. Baker also argues that the object marker is one of the exceptional types of agreement markers that is a morphophonological clitic, and that it is invariant because it is the realization of a functional head that has no other purpose but to agree (i.e., AgrO).

However, if these arguments are on the right track the object marker is highly exceptional. It is exceptional within Amharic since it has a null default. It is exceptional typologically as an agreement marker since it is a morphophonological clitic and it is totally invariant. It is also exceptional in terms of current syntactic theory, where it has been argued that functional heads which consist only of uninterpretable features (like Agr nodes) should optimally not exist (see e.g., Chomsky 1995:349-355). Viewed as a whole, the facts presented in this section form a clearer, less exceptional picture: that the object marker is simply a doubled clitic. In the next section, I propose a clitic doubling analysis of the object marker and address its handful of remaining agreement-like properties.

4 A CLITIC DOUBLING ANALYSIS

This develops an analysis of the object marker that synthesizes many of the most recent proposals on clitic doubling and fleshes them out in order to account for the Amharic data. That said, the main tenets of the analysis here are not Amharic-specific, and the analysis is intended to serve as an all-purpose current analysis of clitic doubling that can be adopted and adapted for multiple languages.

Section 4.1 lays out the fundamentals of the analysis. Section 4.2 discusses the adjunct analysis of clitic doubling (Nevins 2010) and argues that the object marker is licensed by an Agree relation between *v* and the doubled DP and involves object shift (cf. Suñer 2000, Nevins 2010). Section 4.3 discusses the copy analysis of clitic doubling (Harizanov 2011), showing how it retains the advantages of an object shift approach but avoids the specific drawbacks of the adjunct analysis. Section 4.4 contains an interim summary, and shows how a clitic doubling analysis accounts for the properties of the object marker (including its agreement-like low position on the verb). Section 4.5 returns to the other agreement properties of the object marker, showing how the ditransitive data from Section 2.1 and the 'one object marker' restriction follow from the analysis. Section 4.6 briefly discusses some additional data from Baker to appear a.

4.1 Fundamentals of the Analysis

In Section 3, it was shown that the object marker has the category D (it is invariant with respect to verbal features, it is syncretic with other D's, and it triggers haplology with other D's). To be more precise, since the object marker itself does not project arguments and is not modified by adjuncts, it is either a D head (like a determiner) or a simultaneously maximal/minimal DP/D projection (like a pronoun, as per Bare Phrase Structure definitions of projection; Chomsky 1995:241ff.). Recall from Section 2 that the object marker can allow for new binding relationships (it allows backward pronominalization; see (25)); this indicates that it can refer and therefore is the latter of these two options: a DP/D pronoun. (54) contains the category and feature content of the object marker for the object marker *–(ä)w* (third person masculine singular) in this

approach.

(54) DP / D
[3], [-FEM], [-PL]
-(ä)w

By the end of the derivation, it is clear that the object marker has attached to some low verbal head, and become part of a complex head that also includes the verbal stem. The object marker is part of a complex head because it cannot appear in isolation, apart from any verbal elements. The verbal projection it attaches to is low (below T) because the object marker does not attach to auxiliaries that convey tense (see (12)). Likely candidates for this projection include *v* (aka Voice) or Asp, and in Section 4.2, it is argued that this projection is indeed *v*.

If the object marker has the category DP/D, but its surface position is within a verbal complex head, it must have undergone movement from some position where the DP/D is licensed into a verbal projection.[32] Additionally, the fact that the object marker can allow for new binding relationships indicates that there is an A-chain between the object marker and the doubled DP. I therefore conclude that the object marker undergoes A-movement from its original (external merged) position.[33]

This naturally leads to the question: where does the object marker move from? As reviewed in Section 1.2, much of the clitic doubling literature centers on this question, with a variety of 'big DPs' proposed that can accommodate both the doubled DP and the clitic (= object marker). This line of analysis originated in Torrego 1988 and Uriagereka 1995, and continues in current research, e.g., Rezac 2008, Nevins 2010, Roberts 2010, Anagnostopoulou 2003 (in part) and many others. However, one of the most common criticisms of big DP analyses is that 'big DPs' never surface as such; there is little independent evidence that they exist. I restrict my attention here to analyses where there is some separate motivation for the 'big DP.' I will examine two analyses in this vein: the adjunct analysis (Nevins 2010) and the copy analysis (Harizanov 2011). I discuss the adjunct analysis first in Section 4.2, introducing the 'big DP' that it uses and exploring its assumptions about the nature of the clitic movement. I conclude that while its 'big DP' is flawed, its assumptions about clitic movement are correct, and I discuss how the copy analysis avoids the perils of a 'big DP' but keeps the proper analysis of the clitic movement in Section 4.3.

4.2 The Adjunct Analysis

For any movement analysis of clitic doubling, three questions are crucial: where does the clitic start from? Where does the clitic move to? What are the properties of that movement (how is it licensed, what kind of movement is it, and what triggers it)? In the adjunct analysis (Nevins 2010), the clitic starts adjoined to the doubled DP. It then moves to Spec,*v*P and undergoes m-merger (Matushansky 2006) with *v*. The movement of the clitic to Spec,*v*P is object shift – licensed by an Agree relation and triggered by an EPP feature on *v*. In this section, I go through each of these answers in turn with respect to the Amharic object

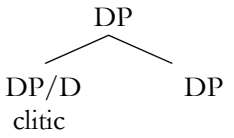
[32] I assume, crucially, a non-lexicalist approach to morphology – that there are no pre-syntactic mechanisms that could assemble a *v* and a DP/D into a complex head. Another alternative here could be for *v* itself to have a [D] category feature. The object marker would then be the realization of this type of *v*. However, this requires *v* to agree with an internal argument in order to receive phi features and this kind of agreement would be non-canonical in all the ways sketched above (optional, lacking a default, etc.). See Roberts 2010:130ff. for further arguments against this analysis.

[33] The two main alternatives for analyzing the movement of clitic doubling are feature movement of the set of formal features of the doubled DP (Anagnostopoulou 2003) and head movement of the clitic to *v* (Roberts 2010). Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues for feature movement since it creates an A-chain between the clitic and the doubled DP (which she argues for extensively using Greek data) and captures the XP/X nature of clitics. However, both advantages are maintained in the A-movement analysis developed here, without needing to appeal to (somewhat controversial) feature movement. A head movement account is a potentially viable alternative, although it has some drawbacks. First, it does not capture the semantic restrictions on clitic doubling as straightforwardly as an object shift analysis (see Section 4.2 as well as discussion in Roberts 2010:49-50). It also requires some redefinition of head movement such that it is no longer restricted (solely) by the Head Movement Constraint since the object marker is never selected for by *v*.

marker, ultimately arguing that the adjunct analysis is correct in taking an object shift approach but runs into problems of implementation due to the adjunction of the clitic.

In the adjunct analysis, a doubled clitic is merged as a DP/D adjoined to the doubled DP, like a floated quantifier (Haegeman 2006).

(55)



Also like a floated quantifier, it can be detached from the DP during the derivation. Nevins (2010) does not discuss how the clitic and the adjoined DP are required to have the same phi features, but it is presumably the same mechanism that forces a floated quantifier and a DP to have the same phi features in languages like Spanish, French, Arabic, etc.

If (55) is the same structure used for floated quantifiers, then the structure is in fact generally available in the language and quantifiers can surface in the DP adjoined position (as in, e.g., *todas las personas* 'all the people' in Spanish with the quantifier adjoined on the left, or *säw-otʃtʃ-u hullu* 'people-PL-DEF all' 'all the people' in Amharic, with the quantifier adjoined on the right). The structure in (55) is also reminiscent of the appositional adjunction of pronouns to a DP (e.g., *nosotros las estudiantes* 'we the students' in Spanish, or *ɨññä tämar-otʃtʃ-u* 'we student-PL-DEF' 'we the students' in Amharic), yet another way in which the structure in (55) can surface with the adjunct in its base position. So, initially, this kind of 'big DP' seems plausible for Amharic.

The question is now, how does the object marker end up part of a complex verbal head? Nevins (2010) proposes that, as a first step, the clitic moves to Spec,*v*P and that the movement is object shift. The shifted clitic then undergoes m-merger (Matushansky 2006) with *v*. Object shift is discussed in Section 4.2.1, and m-merger is discussed in Section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Clitic Doubling is Object Shift

Object shift is the A-movement of a DP internal argument to Spec, *v*P (see e.g., classic work by Holmberg (1986) and Diesing (1992), an overview by Thráinsson (2001), a minimalist approach in Chomsky 2000, 2001; see also Nevins 2010, Suñer 2000 on object shift and clitic doubling in particular).[34] Identifying clitic doubling as object shift has several fundamental advantages. First, it assimilates clitic doubling with a well-known type of movement, so that clitic doubling need not require its own specific movement rule. This is a clear advantage in terms of minimizing the number of operations the grammar contains.

Second, across languages, clitic doubling shows evidence of A-movement (see e.g., Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997 for Greek, Harizanov 2011 for Bulgarian). This also holds for Amharic; the fact that the object marker can create new binding possibilities (e.g., backward pronominalization, see (25)) indicates that there is an A-movement chain formed between the marker and the doubled DP.[35]

Also, object shift is subject to semantic restrictions based on the definiteness/specificity of the relevant DP (see Diesing 1992 and much subsequent work), similarly to clitic doubling (see the comparison in Roberts 2010). Baker to appear a specifically argues that the Amharic object marker is licensed by object shift, and that the availability of object shift depends on the semantics of the object along the lines of object shift in Germanic. In an overview of the semantic research on object shift, Thráinsson (2001) concludes that shifted objects *must* be interpreted specifically. Thus, if the movement of the Amharic object marker

[34] Note that Holmberg's Generalization is not relevant for Amharic; the 'shifted object' (the object marker) and the verb end up part of the same complex head. Similarly, Roberts (2010:46ff) suggests that Holmberg's Generalization is irrelevant for Romance cliticization.

[35] See Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003 for an analysis of the binding effects in Greek clitic doubling.

corresponds to object shift, the analysis successfully predicts only nominals that can have a specific interpretation (e.g., definite DPs) can be referenced by the object marker.

Finally, recall that the Amharic object marker is obligatory with all pronouns (null or overt). Object shift is also obligatory with pronouns across all of Scandinavian (Thráinsson 2001:150), although the exact motivation for the obligatoriness is still an open issue. Icelandic object shift in particular is subject to the same generalization as the Amharic object marker -- optional with full DPs, obligatory with pronouns (Thráinsson 2001:148,150). For all these reasons, then, I conclude that it is advantageous to analyze clitic doubling (and the Amharic object marker) as object shift.

As for the details, standard minimalism assumes that the operation Move is a combination of the two operations Agree and Merge (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Therefore, in a minimalist analysis of object shift, *v* must enter into an Agree relation with a DP before that DP moves to Spec,*v*P. In other words, object agreement between *v* and a DP that it c-commands is a precondition for object shift of the DP to Spec,*v*P.

This correlates with recent clitic doubling literature where the movement of the clitic is licensed by an Agree relation between a functional head and a DP (Rezac 2004, 2008, Roberts 2010, Nevins 2010). This may seem unexpected since I have assumed throughout this paper that clitic doubling and agreement are distinct phenomena. Clitic doubling, though, remains distinct from the valuation of phi features on the functional head in all respects: it involves movement of a DP/D to Spec,*v*P, m-merger with *v*, and ultimately realization of some D as the clitic itself. The clitic is not the realization of phi features on a verbal functional head and it undergoes movement, unlike an agreement marker.

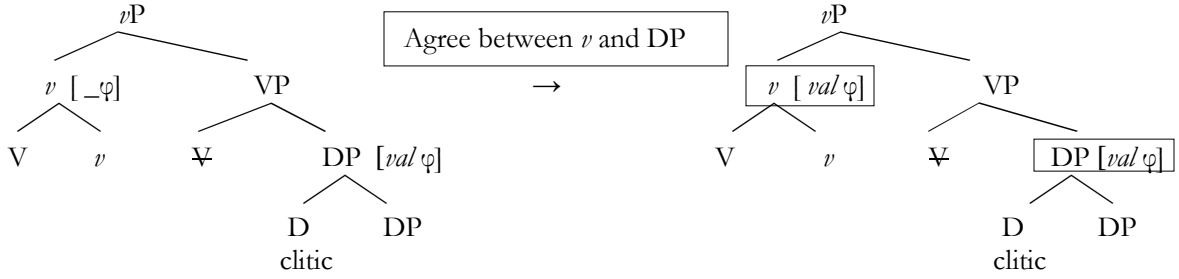
One of the recent accounts that clearly differentiates clitic doubling and agreement is Rezac 2008, where clitic doubling is the result of the movement of a D to a functional head after an Agree relationship has been established between a functional head and the containing DP. The result is that there are valued phi features and the doubled clitic on the functional head, and a full DP in argument position. All of the components can be spelled out separately, as in West Flemish complementizer agreement in (56). This makes it clear that the agreement marker and the doubled clitic can be distinct morphologically.

(56) da-ni-ki iki komm-en **West Flemish**
that-1S –I(clitic) I.NOM come-1S
'that I am coming' (Rezac 2008:91, (8))

However, as Rezac notes, not all of the components are required to be realized, e.g., one or more may be null or some may be realized together as one morpheme.

Nevins (2010) also develops an Agree-based clitic doubling account within the adjunct analysis. He claims that the Agree relationship holds specifically between *v* and a DP in its c-command domain; this is shown schematically in (57) (assuming that the verb has already undergone head movement to *v*; see Roberts 2010:55ff. for some technical discussion on the timing).

(57)



After *v* agrees with the DP, the DP moves to Spec,*v*P.

Under an Agree-based analysis of clitic doubling, Amharic has object agreement, i.e., an Agree relationship must be established between *v* and a DP and it results in valued phi features on *v*. However, this object agreement is always phonologically null, just like object agreement in other clitic doubling languages under Nevins's account. Drawing on Kinyalolo 1991 and Carstens 2003, 2005, Rezac 2008 comments that

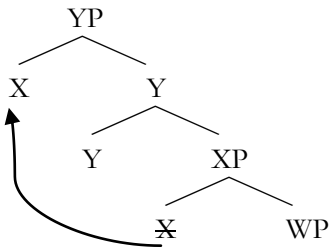
the lack of realization may be due to morphological economy. In the Amharic case, since the clitic moves to be local to the valued phi features (and expresses the same phi features), there is little motivation to have object agreement also be morphologically expressed.[36]

4.2.2 M-Merger

I have covered where the object marker starts and what kind of movement it undergoes. However, it remains to be seen how the DP/D in Spec,*v*P ends up as part of a complex verbal head including *v*. Nevins (2010) proposes that this is through the operation m-merger (Matushansky 2006), and to explain m-merger, one must explain Matushansky's redefinition of head movement.

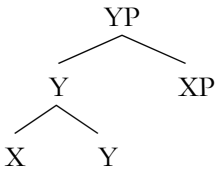
Traditionally, head movement occurs when one head moves to adjoin to another head, but this has caused problems with the elegance of the theory of movement from the beginning (e.g., it violates the Extension Condition). Rather than doing away with head movement altogether or banishing it to PF, Matushansky proposes that head movement is exactly like phrasal movement except that it is driven by c(ategorial)-selection and not Agree. If a head Y c-selects for XP, then X can undergo movement to the specifier of YP. The result is a head in specifier position, as in (58).

(58)



The question is then, what happens next? This is where m-merger enters the picture. Matushansky proposes that m-merger changes a structure like (58), where a given head (X) is a specifier (of YP), to structures like (59), where the head (X) adjoins to the head (Y) of the projection which it was the specifier of (YP).

(59)



Crucially, there are two heads in (58) but only one (complex) head in (59).

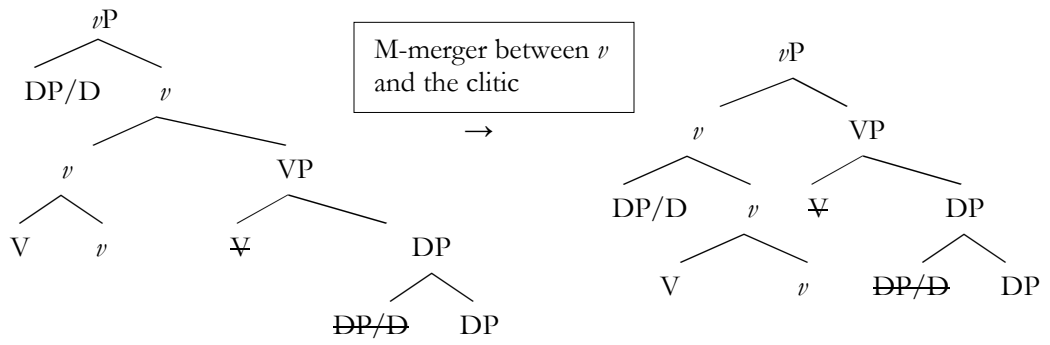
Matushansky (2006) argues that m-merger is independently motivated since it can occur *without* head movement. Her example of this is, in fact, Romance cliticization, where a DP/D clitic moves to a specifier of XP and then m-merges with the head of XP; it can undergo m-merger since it is a head (as well as being a maximal projection).

Returning to the adjunct analysis, Nevins (2010) claims that the adjoined DP/D undergoes phrasal movement to Spec,*v*P and then undergoes m-merger with *v*. This is shown schematically in (60), with the

[36] This raises the question of why object agreement, and not the doubled clitic, is null for purposes of economy. Perhaps it is because if the doubled clitic was not expressed, there would be no evidence that clitic doubling had occurred to the language learner. The mere presence of the doubled clitic (i.e., that movement is licensed) is evidence for an Agree relation from a minimalist perspective. Alternatively, Kinyalolo's (1991) constraint privileges the higher head that expressed the relevant redundant phi features, and the clitic does end up higher in the complex head than the valued phi features on *v*. (Note that this is a different scenario than the coordination and gerund data discussed below. In that data, an object marker can be omitted if there is another object marker that has the same phi features in a different clause or conjunct. Kinyalolo's (1991) constraint is meant to apply only to terminal nodes with the same phi features *within the same complex head.)*

verb having already undergone head movement (and m-merger in Matushansky's system) with *v*.

(60)



(60) provides a way to analyze the Amharic object marker as a DP/D which ends up part of a complex head with a low verbal projection (*v*).

4.2.3 The Trigger for Object Shift

The only remaining question is what triggers the movement of the object marker, and it has been deliberately saved for last. In Chomsky 2000, 2001, object shift is triggered by an optional EPP feature on *v*, so I assume *v* can have an optional EPP feature in Amharic. I also assume, following Thráinsson (2001), that shifted objects can *only* be interpreted specifically. That is, the landing site of a shifted object is only compatible with a specific interpretation – similar to Diesing's (1992) classic Mapping Hypothesis (see also Chomsky 2001:35(61b)). Therefore, if a nonspecific object is shifted, it causes a crash at LF.

However, the adjunct analysis begins to run into implementational problems here. First, the EPP feature on *v* must be tailored for clitic doubling such that it only targets clitics-- not full DPs or pronouns. This is to ensure that the adjoined DP/D clitic undergoes movement, and not the larger DP which it is adjoined to.

Assuming that this is possible (perhaps the EPP feature only targets minimal categories; see Roberts 2010), the adjunct analysis has an additional problem. It is indisputable that when a clitic is adjoined to a DP, the clitic must move to Spec,*v*P by the end of the derivation. Now, the rule that adjoins a clitic to a DP must be optional, since clitic doubling is not required. Also, I assume that optional rules only apply if they prevent a crash or have a semantic effect (Chomsky 2001). The movement of the clitic to Spec,*v*P has a semantic effect (see Section 2.2), but under the adjunct analysis, adjoining a clitic to a DP must *not* have any semantic effect. This will have the desired outcome that a clitic is adjoined to a DP *only* if it later moves to Spec, *v*P -- if it stays put, the optional rule adjoining the clitic would have applied for no reason.

Adjoining the clitic, however, probably does have a semantic effect. The clitic contains interpretable phi features (since it can affect binding), and it seems reasonable that adding any interpretable features to the derivation will have a semantic effect. At best, then, the adjunct analysis has a difficult time motivating the fact that the clitic must move when it is present in the derivation.

An additional potential problem for the adjunct analysis is that it is unclear whether the clitic and the doubled DP form a chain. Instead, it seems that the clitic forms a chain with itself, i.e., with the copy of itself in adjoined position where it is originally merged. If the clitic does not form a chain with the doubled DP, then it is not obvious how it can extend the binding possibilities of that DP, as in (25).

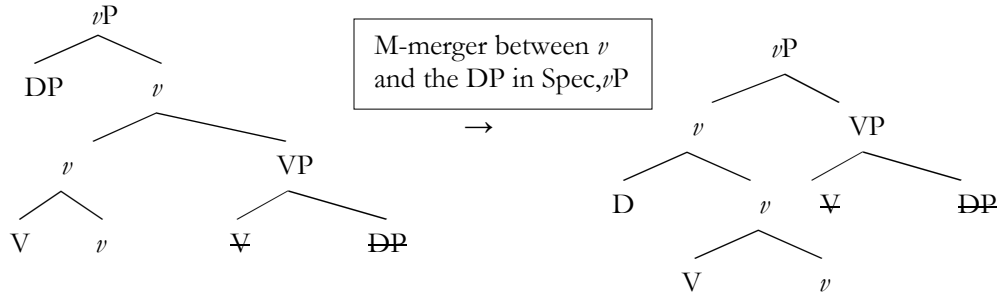
The adjunct analysis equates clitic doubling with object shift, which has many welcome consequences. However, it runs into the problems detailed above, all of which are due to the fact that the clitic is adjoined to the DP. In the next section, I present the copy analysis of clitic doubling (Harizanov 2011), where these problems are avoided due to a different conception of the clitic itself.

4.3 The Copy Analysis

The copy analysis (suggested in Harizanov 2011) is nearly identical to the adjunct analysis, except there is no separate DP/D clitic adjoined to the doubled DP. The doubled DP itself moves to Spec,*v*P and then both copies of the doubled DP are pronounced. How, then, does the topmost copy surface as a clitic/object marker instead of a full DP?

Harizanov proposes an amendment to the operation m-merger so that it can apply to structures that have a branching projection as a specifier. When a branching projection undergoes m-merger with a head, a 'reduced' version of the branching projection is adjoined to the head. Specifically, I propose that m-merger reduces the branching node to its head. The relevant operations are shown schematically for movement and m-merger of a doubled clitic in (61).

(61)



The DP direct object moves to Spec,*v*P to the left of the arrow in (61)a, and then undergoes m-merger with *v*. Under the copy analysis, it is 'reduced' to just its head -- D. This head naturally has a D categorial feature, and it also has phi features since determiners vary with gender and number in Amharic (Kramer 2009); therefore, it has all the features necessary to be morphophonologically realized as the object marker. The copy analysis is, in a sense, a way of cashing out Anagnostopuolou's (2003) suggestion that the clitic is a pronominal copy of the doubled DP, like a resumptive pronoun.

A crucial part of the copy analysis is that both 'copies' of the DP are pronounced -- the full DP which is sister to V and the 'reduced' D which is adjoined to *v*. This is expected since, at PF, the two copies will be distinct, as defined in Kandybowicz 2007 (cf. Nunes 2004). In Kandybowicz 2007, a pair of expressions A and B are non-distinct if they (i) form a chain and (ii) are morphosyntactically isomorphic (Kandybowicz 2007:141,(31)). The full DP sister to V and the 'reduced' D adjoined to *v* form a chain, but they are not morphosyntactically isomorphic in that the top copy is a head and the bottom copy is a phrase. Therefore, the two copies are distinct and they are both pronounced at PF (more technically, they are not subject to the operation Chain Reduction that deletes non-distinct copies before linearization).

Under the copy analysis, it is very easy to analyze the movement of the DP to Spec,*v*P as object shift, thus retaining all the benefits of analyzing clitic doubling is object shift (although clitic doubling *qua* object shift is not discussed in Harizanov 2011). In fact, under the copy analysis, the mechanics of Amharic clitic doubling are nearly identical to object shift in other languages. *v* agrees with a DP, and then that DP moves to Spec,*v*P. The difference in Amharic (and other clitic doubling languages) is that the DP then m-merges with *v*, resulting in a 'clitic' adjoined to *v* and a fully-pronounced lower copy of the DP (since the two copies are then distinct). The application (or not) of m-merger is a viable area of cross-linguistic variation; m-merger is a morphological operation that happens at the PF interface, and languages are known to display variation in whether PF operations occur (e.g., whether terminal nodes fuse or not, whether a terminal node lowers to another terminal node, etc.).

The trigger of object shift is the optional EPP feature on *v,* and there are four possible scenarios under the copy analysis.

Table 4: Optional Clitic Doubling

	v has EPP	DP is…
Scenario 1 (ungrammatical)	Yes	Non-specific
Scenario 2 (✓ clitic doubling)	Yes	Specific
Scenario 3 (✓ no clitic doubling)	No	Specific
Scenario 4 (✓ no clitic doubling)	No	Non-specific

In Scenario 1, *v* has an EPP feature but the DP object is non-specific. The DP object will undergo object shift and but then cause a crash at LF since it cannot be interpreted specifically. In Scenario 2, *v* has an EPP feature and the DP is specific, so there is no LF crash and the object marker results from the m-merger of the moved DP and *v*.[37] In Scenarios 3 and 4, *v* lacks an EPP feature, so there is no object shift regardless of the specificity of the DP. This captures the fact that clitic doubling is not required for specific DPs. Assuming that the semantic restrictions on object shift are universal, this analysis will work the same way in any language with object shift or clitic doubling. The copy analysis of clitic doubling, then, avoids the implementation problems that the adjunct analysis raised when trying to force the adjoined clitic to move.

That said, the copy analysis is not perfect. The revision of the m-merger operation (so that it can apply to branching projections) needs to be further justified by independent examples of branching projections m-merging with heads across languages, to name just one drawback. However, it handles the clitic doubling data in a significantly simpler way than the adjunct analysis, and I assume that, pending further cross-linguistic motivation, it is the appropriate analysis for the Amharic object marker.

Overall in the past two sections, I have argued that the movement of the doubled clitic/object marker to Spec,*v*P is object shift.[38] It is licensed by an Agree relation between *v* and a DP, and the movement itself is triggered by an EPP feature on *v*. The idea that clitic doubling is object shift is developed in Nevins 2010 in the adjunct analysis, but the copy analysis of clitic doubling in fact fits more naturally with this account in that clitic doubling has nearly identical mechanics to object shift.[39]

4.4 Interim Summary and Data Review

By way of a summary, (62) is a list of the three questions for any analysis of clitic doubling, followed by the answers argued for here.

(62) A. Where does the clitic/object marker originate from within the DP?
Answer: It is a 'reduced' version of the full DP itself --- the head of the DP after the DP has undergone m-merger with *v*.
B. Where does the clitic/object marker move to?
Answer: It moves to the specifier of *v*P and then undergoes m-merger with *v*. This causes it to be part of the same complex head as *v*.
C. What kind of movement does the clitic/object marker undergo, how is it licensed, and what triggers it?

[37] The optional rule attaching the EPP feature to *v* can apply since adding the object marker has an effect on the semantic interpretation – adding some kind of emphasis (see Section 2.2).
[38] Roberts (2010) argues against an object shift account of cliticization for two main reasons. First, an object shift analysis requires the EPP to target clitics specifically – but this need not be the case if we adopt the copy analysis. Second, Scandinavian object shift does not involve m-merger, i.e., the shifted object and *v* remain separate syntactic objects. However, this is a viable area of cross-linguistic variation; see discussion above.
[39] Another way to distinguish the copy analysis and the adjunct analysis is via languages in which there is cliticization, but no clitic doubling (e.g., French). In the adjunct analysis, such languages are easily accounted for; they do not allow for a clitic to be adjoined to a DP. In the copy analysis, one must say that these languages vary from languages like Spanish, Amharic, etc. in a more complicated way; for example, French could have a different definition of morphosyntactic 'distinct-ness' such that the clitic and the DP it moved from are nondistinct (hence only the head of the chain, i.e. the clitic, would be pronounced). This is a potential shortcoming for the copy analysis, but it requires a better understanding of distinct-ness in order to be assessed properly.

Answer: The clitic undergoes object shift (A-movement) to Spec,*v*P. The movement is licensed by an Agree relation established between *v* and the doubled DP and triggered by an optional EPP feature on *v*.

With this much analysis in place, I now briefly review the characteristics of the Amharic object marker and how the analysis explains them. The key characteristics of the Amharic object marker are outlined in Table 5.

Table 5: Properties of the Object Marker

Characteristic of Agreement	Characteristic of Clitic Doubling
One object marker per clause	Optional
Attaches to verbal stem	Refers to specific DPs
Refers to highest internal argument	Triggers a semantic effect of emphasis
	Obligatory for pronouns
	Obligatory for inalienably possessed nominals
	Allows backward pronominalization
	No obligatory default if clitic doubling otherwise impossible (Preminger 2009 diagnostic)
	Verbal feature-invariant
	Has the category D
	Is a clitic

Many of these properties have already been discussed during the development of the analysis above. All the properties related to having the category D as well as invariance are captured by having the object marker be the realization of a D head (the reduced version of a DP) adjoined to *v*. In Section 4.2, I showed how object shift explains why the Amharic object marker can only reference specific DPs, is obligatory with pronouns, is optional, and can allow for new binding relations.

The object marker is also a clitic, according to both morphophonological and syntactic diagnostics, and the analysis is able to capture the clitic-like placement of the object marker in the following way. Recall that Asp(ect) hosts subject agreement in Amharic (see Section 3.1) and that the object marker is always outside of subject agreement in the verbal complex head.

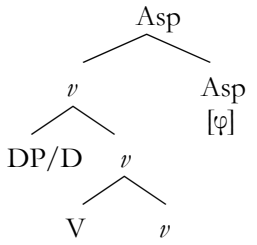
(63) Almaz tämari-w-**ɨn** ayy-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw** (repeated from (1))
Almaz student-DEF-ACC see-3FS.S-**3MS.O**
Almaz saw the male student.

In (63), the object marker *-**ɨw*** is further away from the verbal stem *ayy-* 'see' than the subject agreement *–ätʃtʃ*. This is contrary to Mirror Principle expectations if the object marker is object agreement (i.e., phi features on *v*). Asp is higher than *v*[40], so the verb combines with *v* before it combines with Asp; this predicts that the object agreement on *v* will be closer to the verb than subject agreement on Asp.

However, the order in (63) is derivable if the object marker moves to Spec,*v*P and then m-merges with *v*. When a head X m-merges with another head Y, X is adjoined to the left of Y. This follows the convention of traditional head movement. Therefore, the reduced DP in (61) adjoins to the left of the [V-*v*] complex. I propose that, in Amharic, the complex *v* head then undergoes head movement to Spec,AspP, and m-merges with Asp. This yields the following complex head; Asp is shown with phi features to represent subject agreement.

[40] Asp here is 'outer aspect' (imperfective vs perfective) not inner aspect (aka Aktionsart). See Travis 2010.

(64)



As Nevins (2010) notes, complex head structures like (64) encode hierarchical relations but not linearization. When this structure reaches PF, the information that the object marker is an enclitic is accessed, and the object marker is linearized at the right edge of the complex head.[41] This has the welcome result of the object marker surfacing to the right of Asp, i.e., to the right of subject agreement as attested.[42]

This approach also explains why the object marker does not attach to auxiliaries, but instead remains on the main verb, as shown in (65).

(65) s'ähafi-wa-n **i**-fälli**g**-**at** -allä-hu (repeated from (12))
secretary-DEF.F-ACC 1S.S-look.for-3FS.O AUX.NONPAST-1S.S
'I am looking for the secretary.'

All that needs to be said is that Asp does not undergo head movement when there is an auxiliary in T. This means that the clitic, attached to *v*, remains in the same complex head as the verb (and subject agreement, realized as a prefix in imperfective aspect), and does not surface on the auxiliary.[43]

When a DP is referenced by the object marker in Amharic, native speakers report a meaning of "emphasis" on the doubled DP. This semantic effect, more accurately the first glimmerings of a semantic effect, will require careful fieldwork to clarify. Object shift is often associated with topicality, so it may be that the intuitive emphasis corresponds to topic-hood. Regardless of the exact characterization of the meaning here, though, a clitic doubling analysis of the object marker gives it the potential to have a semantic effect, whereas an agreement analysis would not. Agreement involves the valuation of uninterpretable phi features; those phi features are then deleted before the derivation is sent to LF since they are uninterpretable. Therefore, agreement markers should have no semantic effects, as independently argued in den Dikken 1995, Lasnik 1999 and Rezac 2010.

The lack of a default object marker is also predicted by the current analysis. The key example is when there is a non-specific direct object. If *v* has an EPP feature, the non-specific direct object will shift but the derivation will crash at LF since the landing site of object shift is strictly associated with a specific interpretation. If *v* does not have an EPP feature, there will be no object shift and thus no object marker. Therefore, the analysis predicts that, rather than there being a default object marker, there is simply no object marker whatsoever when there is a non-specific direct object; this corresponds exactly to the facts. This is again unlike agreement, where the unvalued phi features on a functional head must be valued in order to be morphologically realized.

The final property to be accounted for is the obligatoriness of clitic doubling with inalienable possessors, and here is where the limits of the present analysis are reached. There are at least three analyses of this on the market for Spanish and they are rather divergent (Jaeggli 1982 based on theta roles, Bleam 1999 based on the movement of the inalienable possessor out of the DP, Roberts 2010 based on the inalienable

[41] This raises the question of how exactly complex heads are linearized in terms of order and cyclicity, which there is not space to address in this paper. See Embick and Noyer 2001, Embick 2003 for some relevant discussion.
[42] As mentioned in Section 3.4, Baker (to appear a) argues that the head which carries object agreement is a clitic and is right-linearized at PF. This is a possible solution to the ordering problem. However, it adds further to the 'exceptional' morphological properties of the object marker *qua* agreement marker listed above in Section 3.4. Rather than being an exceptional agreement marker in having a null default, being tense invariant and being a morphophonological clitic, it is simpler to just call the object marker a doubled clitic, which we expect to have all of these properties.
[43] When there is no auxiliary, the [D-V-*v*-Asp] complex may raise to T and/or C; see Baker and Kramer 2010.

possessor being treated as an external argument within the DP). To the extent that this effect is common across clitic doubling languages (on e.g., Bulgarian, see Franks and King 2000:276, Harizanov 2011), though, it seems best to assume that some component of clitic doubling will ultimately explain it, thus lending further support to analyzing the Amharic object marker as a doubled clitic.

A final additional benefit of the present analysis is that it allows for the primary conclusions of Baker to appear a to be upheld. Baker's main point, ably defended and highly plausible, is that accusative case is assigned via a different mechanism than Agree in Amharic. He points out that DPs which are referred to by the object marker need not receive accusative case (and vice versa), and then argues that the object marker is actually agreement. Therefore, he concludes, the accusative case marker is not assigned via the same mechanism that handles agreement.

In the current analysis, the object marker is not an agreement marker itself, but it is evidence that an Agree relation has been established; otherwise, the object marker could not have moved. So, if there are DPs that can be referenced by an object marker (Agree relation holds) but not receive accusative case, then Baker's point still stands. In fact, there are such DPs – dative goals do not receive accusative case but are commonly referred to by an object marker (see (14)).

In the next section, I extend the analysis to this ditransitive data, explaining why the object marker refers to the highest argument and, along the way, covering the final trait from Table 5 – why there is only one object marker per clause.

4.5 Ditransitive Clauses

The focus in the paper thus far has been on doubled clitics appearing with transitive verbs that take only one argument. The object marker can also appear with ditransitive verbs, and it references the highest internal argument of a ditransitive verb, i.e., the Goal.[44]

(66)	Gi**r**ma	lä-Almaz	mäs'haf-u-n	sät't'-**at**	(*sät't'-ä-w)
	Girma.M	DAT-Almaz.F	book-DEF-ACC	give-(3MS.S)-3FS.O	give-3MS.S-3MS.O
	'Girma gave the book to Almaz.'				

Baker (to appear a) takes this as evidence for an agreement analysis of the object marker. However, an Agree-based analysis of clitic doubling also predicts this fact. The *v* will enter into an Agree relation with the highest DP in its c-command domain – the Goal. If *v* has an EPP feature, then the Goal will move to Spec,*v*P and undergo m-merger with *v*, resulting in an object marker.

So, the evidence in (66) is neutral between an agreement or a clitic doubling analysis. I submit that a clitic doubling analysis is the preferred analysis, since it captures not only (66) but also the D-like morphology, semantic restrictions, etc., of the object marker. An Agree-based analysis of the object marker thus provides a way to reconcile the Agree-like locality of the object marker with its otherwise clitic-like morphological behavior and syntactic distribution.

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[44] A fairly minor complication here: the object marker cannot refer to inanimate arguments in a ditransitive clause (animacy is irrelevant in monotransitives). Animacy restrictions on agreement and clitic doubling are common across languages (see Jaeggli 1986 for clitic doubling; on animacy restrictions on agreement, see Corbett 2006, among many others). I assume animacy is a privative feature on nominals in Amharic, exactly like grammatical gender (Kramer 2009). Therefore, inanimate nominals lack an animacy feature altogether (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003 for the same proposal regarding animacy in Greek). I propose that ditransitive *v* (i.e., a *v* that selects for an ApplP that introduces the Goal) has an unvalued animacy feature as part of its uninterpretable phi set (thanks to Héctor Campos for this suggestion). Therefore, ditransitive *v* can only enter into an Agree relation with a DP that also has an animacy feature since other DPs will not match its phi set (these DPs will not count as defective interveners, either; see Chomsky 2000:122-123). This has the desired effect that ditransitive *v* will only agree with animate DPs, and thus only animate DPs will be capable of being referenced by the object marker.

The animacy restriction raises many empirical questions, though. What if the Goal is inanimate and the Theme is animate? What if both arguments are animate? See Kramer (in preparation) for some answers to these questions and how the data is compatible with a clitic doubling analysis of the object marker.

An Agree-based analysis of clitic doubling, though, predicts that the highest argument will *always* be the one that is doubled. However, doubled clitics across language refer either to both arguments (with two clitics surfacing), or each argument separately (i.e., the lower argument can cliticize). I deal with these issues in order.

Nevins (2010) proposes that when two clitics surface, there has been an application of Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001, Nevins 2007). In clitic doubling languages, the probe *v* can simultaneously agree with two matching goals, resulting in two clitics. Thus, all that needs to be said is that Amharic does not have Multiple Agree, and that is why only one object marker ever surfaces.[45] In fact, a (Multiple) Agree approach to clitic doubling *predicts* the existence of morphemes like the Amharic object marker: only one per clause, subject to the locality restrictions of Agree, but clitic-like in terms of morphology and distribution.

However, this raises the question of why all clitic doubling languages seem to have Multiple Agree, which is a somewhat unusual choice. In other words, why isn't it more common to have (single) Agree and clitic doubling? I speculate that this is because the ability to have multiple clitics present has been taken as a hallmark of clitic doubling itself, as assumed here and in Baker to appear a. If a language can only have one morpheme that refers to an internal argument, it is often just assumed to be object agreement without much investigation. Hopefully future work will keep clitic doubling in mind as a possibility, especially given the morphological and distributional tests above. In the meantime, there are at least two languages that have (been argued to have) clitic doubling, but just one clitic surfaces: Hungarian (den Dikken 2006) and Chaha (Banksira 2000:256). This may be because these languages, like Amharic, only have Agree.

Besides being able to double both arguments simultaneously, clitic doubling is sometimes claimed to be able to double either the Theme or the Goal on their own. The Agree-based analysis here predicts that if this is correct, there should be two structures available for ditransitives in such languages (one where the Theme is higher, one where the Goal is higher) and that the structures will be different depending on which argument is clitic doubled. To the best of my knowledge, the main descriptive work here remains to be done, i.e., determining if the c-command relations are distinct when different arguments are doubled.

However, the original data illustrating this point (see (11)) is from Greek, and some confirmation of the approach here can be found in Anagnostopoulou's (2003) study of Greek double object constructions. In double object constructions in Greek, Anagnostopoulou claims that, in most cases, the Goal must also be doubled in order for the Theme to be doubled (i.e., Multiple Agree must be at work). The Theme cannot usually be doubled because it is not the highest DP in the c-command domain of *v*.

However, when the Theme is neuter and inanimate, it can be doubled without the Goal. Anagnostopoulou (2003) attributes this to a lack of blocking effects since the Theme would lack a feature for the Goal to block, and in general, there are often feature-based restrictions on doubling the Theme or the Goal in languages where both can in principle be accessed. The vast literature on the Person Case Constraint centers on complicated but very cross-linguistically robust generalizations about when Themes and Goals with certain features can be cliticized in the presence of other Themes or Goals. Overall, then, the picture does not cohere as neatly as: "the Theme or the Goal may be doubled." What seems more accurate is that "either the Theme or the Goal may be doubled given certain feature and locality restrictions," which is broadly commensurate with an Agree-based account of clitic doubling.

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[45] It is tempting to use the haplology rule from Section 3 to account for the 'one object marker' restriction. Amharic could have Multiple Agree and then delete the outermost object marker from the resulting sequence of D's (= clitics). However, there are technical reasons not to pursue this option, even besides the lack of empirical evidence for a second object marker ever attaching. Under Nevins 2010, *v* agrees with the Goal and then the Goal moves to Spec,*v*P, 'tucking in' beneath the external argument. Then *v* agrees with the Theme and the Theme moves to Spec,*v*P, tucking in beneath the goal. After the clitics have moved, they need to undergo m-merger with *v*. Presumably, the lowest specifier (the Theme) undergoes m-merger first, and then the next-lowest (the Goal). This will result in a cluster where the Theme clitic is closer to the verb than the goal clitic, and this is indeed the ordering in languages that have multiple clitic doubling (e.g., Greek, Spanish). However, in Amharic, it would predict that only the Theme object marker would be realized when the Goal is higher, leading to an inverse relationship between the height of the argument and the realization of the clitic. This is a false prediction. The argumentation here hinges on several technical points that have not been definitively proved (to the best of my knowledge), so perhaps in time this approach can be salvaged. However, given the assumptions above, it is simpler merely to state for the present that Amharic does not have Multiple Agree.

Overall, the Agree-based analysis of clitic doubling predicts the Amharic ditransitive data while also accounting for its clitic-like behavior, and shows some promise in accounting for the subtleties of clitic doubling in ditransitives across languages

4.6 Coda: Obligatory Clitic Doubling

Baker (to appear a) presents one additional type of evidence for an agreement analysis of the object marker. In this section, I review the data and discuss how they in fact support a clitic doubling analysis.

Baker observes that the object marker is obligatory in a certain set of contexts. These contexts are: (i) the goal argument when certain ditransitive verbs are passivized, as in (67),

(67) Almaz mäs'haf tä-sät't'-**at**
Almaz.F book PASS-give-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
'A book was given (to) Almaz.' (Baker to appear b, (16b))

(ii) the affected argument in a dyadic unaccusative verb, like *die* in (68),

(68) Almaz-(**ɨ**n) zämäd mot-**at**
Almaz.F (-ACC) relative die-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
'Almaz had a relative die on her.' (Baker to appear b, (20a))

(iii) the experiencer in certain nonagentive/psychological verbs (called impersonal verbs in Leslau 1995, see also Amberber 2005),

(69) Aster(-**ɨ**n) tʃ'ännäk'-**at**
Aster.F (-ACC) worry-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
'Aster is worried.' (Baker to appear b, (22a))

and (iv) the Possessor in an existential *have*-predication.

(70) set-otʃtʃ ts'agga all-**atʃtʃäw**
woman-PL grace be-(3MS.S)-3PL.O
'Women have grace.' (Baker to appear a, (21a))

To be clear, the object marker in these contexts is obligatory in that it must be present regardless of the specificity of the doubled DP. For example, in (70), the object marker refers to the nonspecific plural *women*. Similarly, the object marker may refer to a non D-linked wh-word Experiencer of a psych predicate.

(71) man ammäm-ä-**w**? (compare with (20))
who be.sick-3MS.S-3MS.O
'Who is sick?' (Baker to appear a, (21b))

Baker observes that the object marker here is behaving exactly like subject agreement in Amharic: obligatory with all DPs. He concludes that the object marker is in fact agreement, and appeals to locality to explain why the object marker is optional in other contexts. He claims that Experiencers are merged high enough such that they are in the domain of the head that carries object agreement, whereas Themes must undergo optional object shift to enter this domain.[46]

[46] The Goal in a ditransitive clause is often argued to be in the specifier of an applicative phrase (see e.g., Pylkkänen 2008), the same position as the Experiencer for Baker (to appear a). Thus, the Goal should trigger obligatory object marking like an Experiencer under an agreement analysis, but the object marker is optional in examples like (66). There

However, an agreement analysis misses a strong cross-linguistic generalization. This pattern of facts -- obligatoriness of some marker that references the Experiencer with the contexts in (67)-(70) – is robustly found in languages that uncontroversially have clitic doubling. The doubled clitic is obligatory at least for Experiencers in psychological predicates in every clitic doubling language for which significant data is available including Spanish (Torrego 1998), Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003), Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994), Albanian (Kallulli 2000), Bulgarian (Krapova and Cinque 2008), and Macedonian (Krapova and Cinque 2008). In many of these languages, clitic doubling has been reported to be obligatory in some or all of the other contexts mentioned above including goal passives (Greek and Spanish, Anagnostopoulou 2003), dyadic unaccusatives (Greek, Anagnostopoulou 2003; Albanian, Kallulli 2000), and existentials (Bulgarian; Krapova and Cinque 2008). In Bulgarian (Krapova and Cinque 2008) and Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994), the clitic is even obligatory in these contexts *regardless of specificity*, identically to the Amharic object marker.

Therefore, the fact that the Amharic object marker is obligatory in the contexts in (67)-(70) does not mean that it must be an agreement marker. This distribution is strongly associated with clitic doubling languages, and the fact that Amharic also displays it is in fact evidence *for* the object marker being a doubled clitic.

The fact that this distribution is so widely attested of course cries out for an explanation. Why is clitic doubling obligatory in some or all of the contexts in (67)-(70) across languages? Although a solution is not yet forthcoming (and this paper is not the proper forum for developing it), some progress has been made. Anagnostopoulou (2003) has argued extensively that clitic doubling in Greek is required whenever a lower argument is A-moved across a higher argument. In a nutshell, her argument is as follows. Clitic doubling establishes an A-movement chain between the clitic and the doubled DP. Only the head of an A-chain is visible to Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001). A probe at/below the clitic doubling site will thus only see the lower argument, since the higher argument will not be the head of a chain and thus invisible to the probe. In essence, clitic doubling makes the lower argument accessible to the probe that triggers the movement.

While it is difficult to apply Anagnostopoulou's analysis directly to Amharic, the spirit of her approach rings true. In the contexts in (67)-(70) the lower argument (usually a Theme) controls subject agreement, whereas the higher argument (a Goal or Experiencer) is referred to by the clitic. In the ditransitive passive in (67), the Theme *mäs'hafu* 'the book' controls subject agreement and in the dyadic unaccusative in (68), the Theme *zämäd* 'relative' similarly controls subject agreement. For the psych predicate in (69), I submit that a null cognate theme is the subject, and in fact this cognate theme can be overt as in (72).

(72) rab rab-ä-**ññ**
hunger hunger-3MS.S-1S.O
'Hunger hungered me.' (Leslau 1995:436)

For the *have* existentials in (70), the possessor is higher than the possessum (Freeze 1992 and much subsequent work), but the possessum triggers subject agreement. So, there is some evidence that clitic doubling of a higher argument makes a lower argument available to the head that realizes subject agreement.

However, it is not clear that the lower argument in fact is in subject position, especially since it is always preceded by the higher argument and the higher argument can bind a pronoun in the lower argument (Baker to appear b). Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the technical details of Anagnostopoulou's approach with the analysis here. Anagnostopoulou assumes that clitic doubling involves feature movement, which does not check the EPP feature on the head that triggers clitic doubling. This leaves the EPP feature free to be

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is an additional type of ditransitive clause in Amharic, however, where the Goal is accusative, not dative (see Leslau 1995:893); the object marker in these cases is in fact obligatory (and refers to the Goal, as usual). The agreement analysis and the clitic doubling analysis thus are at an impasse again with ditransitives; each covers some of the data. A resolution will probably require further investigation of the structure of Amharic ditransitives and/or a better understanding of why certain structures require clitic doubling cross-linguistically (see below). See some discussion on these issues in Baker to appear a:fn.12.

checked by a different argument, e.g., the Theme, which can move to subject position. However, I have been assuming that clitic doubling involves A-movement that *does* check the EPP feature on the clitic doubling head, thus there would be no reason for it to trigger further movement (also, I assume that the relevant head is *v* for Amharic, and not T as in Greek). Nevertheless, the telling similarity in the contexts where clitic doubling is obligatory in Amharic and Greek (and other clitic doubling languages) cannot be ignored, and regardless of the analysis, the fact that they group together is further evidence that the Amharic object marker involves clitic doubling.

5 CONCLUSION

I conclude that the Amharic object marker is a doubled clitic. If it were an agreement marker, it would be unusual in that it would: lack a default, have the category D, not display any allomorphy based on verbal categories, be a morphophonological clitic, have a semantic effect, be limited by semantic restrictions, affect binding relationships and, finally, be generally optional but obligatory only with pronouns, inalienable possessors and the arguments discussed in Section 4.5. In contrast, all of these properties are characteristic of clitic doubling across languages. Synthesizing and building on recent work in clitic doubling, I developed an object shift/copy analysis of the object marker, and this analysis explains nearly all of the list of empirical characteristics.

The Amharic object marker was never an open-and-shut case of clitic doubling, though. It displays a handful of properties that seem characteristic of agreement: a low position on the verb, referring to the highest argument in a ditransitive, and having only one object marker per clause. However, these properties hold because Amharic is an atypical clitic doubling language – it does not use Multiple Agree and it targets *v* for cliticization. I hope that the research here will thus allow for new questions to be asked about languages with purported object agreement. Do the purported object agreement morphemes have the morphology of D's? Can they affect binding relations? Are there any semantic restrictions on their distribution? If so, they could be doubled clitics.

In general, the literature on clitic doubling is vast, complex, and bursting with data, but it has focused on clear-cut cases of clitic doubling in Greek, Spanish, etc. The present paper's contribution is in mapping out the largely uncharted territory at the boundary between agreement and clitic doubling.

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