

Chapter 14

Unifying prolepsis and cross-clausal cliticization in Lubukusu

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This paper examines proleptic constructions in Lubukusu (Bantu, Western Kenya). I find that Lubukusu has two distinct strategies for prolepsis: one where the extra matrix nominal is base-generated high, and one where the nominal moves from the embedded clause to the matrix position. The latter is subject to island effects, whereas the former is not. I propose an analysis for these two kinds of prolepsis based on these facts, dependant on the particularities of what nominals can be licensed in what syntactic positions in Lubukusu, and explore the cross-linguistic implications of this analysis.

1 Background

Before proceeding to the main description and analysis of Lubukusu prolepsis, it will be useful to briefly introduce both prolepsis as a phenomenon, and provide some preliminary background on Lubukusu as a language.

1.1 Prolepsis

Prolepsis, as characterized in Salzmann (2017), is a multiclausal construction in which a verb that normally takes an embedded finite clause apparently takes an additional nominal argument (the proleptic object) in the matrix clause, often accompanied by a preposition as in German (1), but sometimes licensed with case marking, as in Middle Dutch (2).



- (1) German (Salzmann 2017)
Ich glaube von ihm_i, dass er_i ein ganz guter Trainer ist.
I believe.1SG of he.DAT that he a quite good coach be.3SG
'I believe of him_i that he_i is a pretty good coach.'
- (2) Middle Dutch (van Koppen et al. 2016)
Maer die serjanten sijn kenden [den coninc van Israël]_i, dat hi_i
but the sergeants his knew the.ACC king of Israel that he.NOM
niet was harde fel.
not was very fierce
lit. 'But his sergeants knew the king of Israel that he was not very fierce.'
'But his sergeants knew about [the king of Israel]_i that he wasn't very
fierce.'

Proleptic objects have most typically been analyzed as base-generation of the proleptic object either in the matrix clause (as in Salzmann 2017) or in the left periphery of the embedded clause (as in van Koppen et al. 2016), with an obligatory coreference requirement between the proleptic object and some pronominal in the embedded clause. Prolepsis without such an embedded pronominal is degraded, as in the English example below:

- (3) ?? Mary thinks of dinner that John will cook fish tonight.

1.2 Lubukusu

Lubukusu (Bantu JE31c, Western Kenya) utilizes a set of prefixes on its verbs to indicate the noun class of its subject (4).¹

- (4) Wekesa *a-a-kul-a* sii-tabu.
Wekesa SM.C1-PST-buy-FV C7-book
'Wekesa bought a book.' (Wasike 2006: ex. 11a)

Lubukusu also has a set of object-marking prefixes, but in neutral contexts they cannot cooccur with an overt object, unless that object is a pronoun. This has led Diercks & Sikuku (2015), Sikuku et al. (2018) to analyze the object marker as an incorporated pronoun/clitic, rather than an agreement morpheme.

¹Many of the Lubukusu examples in this paper is from the Afranaph Project. For those sentences I have marked their sentence ID for lookup in the Afranaph database. Other examples I have drawn from the Lubukusu literature, and are marked accordingly. Examples without an accompanying citation are from my own field work. I am indebted to Dr. Justine Sikuku for his patience and assistance by providing me with the data.

- (5) N-a-*mu*_i-bon-a (#Wekesa_i).
 1SG.S-PST-OM.C1-see-FV Wekesa
 ‘I saw him.’ (Diercks & Sikuku 2015: ex. 2)

The third person pronominal *niye can* cooccur with verbal object marking, however:

- (6) Wekesa a-a-*mu*_i-p-a (*niye*_i).
 Wekesa SM.C1-PST-OM.C1-beat-FV *him*
 ‘Wekesa beat him.’ (Afranaph ID: 3734/5039)

This is in line with the generalizations in Anagnostopoulou (2016, 2017), in that even languages which do not allow clitics to double full DP objects allow doubling for overt object pronouns.

Lubukusu also marks reflexivity on the verb, where an invariant reflexive marker (REFL) occurs in the same position as the OM. A pronoun which takes noun class agreement matching its antecedent may also cooccur with the REFL, which surfaces as *i*- regardless of the noun class of its antecedent. The REFL alone is sufficient to establish reflexivity, so the agreeing anaphor is optional. The Lubukusu REFL is also analyzed as an incorporated pronoun in line with Lubukusu’s object markers, given its similar syntactic behavior.

- (7) Yòháná_i á-á-*i*_i-bon-a (o-*mu-eene*_i).
 Yohana SM.C1-PST-REFL-see-FV C1-C1-own
 ‘John_i saw himself_i.’ (Afranaph ID:1248/1249)

The AGR-*eene* pronoun can also occur without an accompanying REFL, in which case it cannot take a local antecedent, but is allowed to take a discourse antecedent:

- (8) Billi_i a-a-bon-a o-*mu-eene*_{k/*i}.
 Billi SM.C1-PST-see-FV C1-C1-own
 ‘Bill_i saw him_{k/*i}.’ (ID: 1367)
- (9) Jack_i a-many-il-e a-li George_j a-*mu*_{i/k}-siim-a
 Jack SM.C1-knows-TNS-FV C1-that George SM.C1-OM.C1-like-FV
*o-mu-eene*_{i/k}.
C1-C1-own
 ‘Jack_i knows that George_j likes him_{i/k}.’

These pieces in place, I now proceed to give a description of prolepsis in Lubukusu.

2 Prolepsis in Lubukusu

In Lubukusu, there are three ways to license a proleptic object: first, a proleptic object can be introduced with a preposition (10), as is the case in English. Second, there is an equivalent construction with an applicative morpheme (11).

- (10) John a-subil-a *khu* Bill_i a-li *o-mu-eene_i/niye_i* a-li
John SM.C1-believe-FV PREP Bill C1-that C1-C1-own/him C1-be
o-mu-miliyu.
C1-C1-smart
'John believes of Bill_i that he_i is smart/clean.' (Lubukusu)
- (11) John a-kanakan-*il*-a *Jane_i* a-li Bill a-mu-siim-a
John SM.C1-think-APPL-FV Jane C1-that Bill SM.C1-OM.C1-like-FV
o-mu-eene_i/niye_i.
C1-C1-own/her
'John thinks of Jane_i that Bill likes her_i.'

Third, it is also possible for a proleptic object to be a reflexive pronoun, in German, English, and Lubukusu, but crucially the Germanic cases still require that a preposition introduce the proleptic object, while in Lubukusu the preposition is optional (14):

- (12) German (Salzmann 2017: ex. 12a)
dass Peter_i von *sich_i* denkt, dass *er_i* der Größte ist.
that Peter of self thinks that he the greatest be.3SG
'that Peter_i thinks of himself_i that he is the greatest.'
- (13) John_i a-lom-a *khu-mu-eene_i* a-li Bill a-khaenj-a
John SM.C1-say-FV PREP-C1-own C1-that Bill SM.C1-look.for-FV
[o-mu-undu o-wa-mu-lip-a *o-mu-eene_i*].
C1-C1-person WH-C1-OM.C1-PST-pay-FV C1-C1-own
'John_i said about himself_i that Bill is looking for the person who paid himself_i.'
- (14) Jack_i a-*i_i*-many-il-e a-li George a-mu_i-siim-a
Jack SM.C1-REFL-knows-TNS-FV C1-that George SM.C1-OM.C1-like-FV
o-mu-eene_i.
C1-C1-own
'Jack_i knows that George likes him_i.' (Afranaph ID 3759)

- (15) Jack_i a-i_i-kanakan-il-a o-mu-eene_i a-li Lisa
 Jack SM.C1-REFL-think-APPL-FV C1-C1-OWN C1-that Lisa
 a-many-il-e a-li Wendy a-mu_i-siim-a o-mu-eene_i.
 SM.C1-know-TNS-FV C1-that Wendy SM.C1-OM.C1-like-FV C1-C1-OWN
 ‘Jack_i thought for himself_i that Lisa thinks that Wendy likes him_i.’

In (14), there is no AGR-*eene* in the matrix clause, as the invariant REFL suffices to mark reflexivity, though (15) demonstrates that AGR-*eene* can occur both in the embedded clause and in the matrix clause. In (13) however, there is no REFL on the matrix verb, and instead there is an overt proleptic object in the matrix clause, which does not participate in clitic doubling on the matrix verb, and has an (optional) embedded resumptive pronoun. Similar constructions are possible with a matrix (third person, non-reflexive) object marker rather than the reflexive marker, although it is degraded when the embedded object marker is in object position:

- (16) John a-a-mu-lom-a a-li o-mu-eene a-a-siim-a
 John SM.C1-PST-OM.C1-say-FV C1-that C1-C1-OWN SM.C1-PST-like-FV
 Mary.
 Mary
 ‘John said about him_i that he_i likes Mary.’
- (17) John a-a-mu-lom-a a-li Mary a-a-lom-a khu
 John SM.C1-PST-OM.C1-say-FV C1-that Mary SM.C1-PST-say-FV of
 o-mu-eene.
 C1-C1-OWN
 ‘John said about him_i that Mary speaks of him_i.’
- (18) ? John a-a-mu-lom-a a-li George a-mu-siima.
 John SM.C1-PST-OM.C1-say-FV C1-that George SM.C1-OM.C1-like-FV
 ‘John say of him_i that George likes him_i.’

Constructions with *khu-mu-eene* in the matrix clause are insensitive to locality, whereas the construction with the REFL/OM cliticized to the matrix verb is sensitive to island boundaries, here shown with the REFL on matrix verb:

- (19) John_i a-lom-a *khu-mu-eene*_i a-li Bill a-khaenj-a
 John SM.C1-say-FV PREP-C1-OWN C1-that Bill SM.C1-look.for-FV
 [o-mu-undu o-wa-mu-lip-a o-mu-eene_i].
 C1-C1-person WH-C1-OM.C1-PST-pay-FV C1-C1-OWN
 ‘John_i said about himself_i that Bill is looking for the person who paid himself_i.’

- (20) * John_i a-i_i-lom-a a-li Bill a-khaenj-a [o-mu-undu
 John SM.C1-REFL-say-FV C1-that Bill SM.C1-look.for-FV C1-C1-person
 o-w-a-mu-lip-a o-mu-eene_i].
 WH-C1-OM.C1-PST-pay-FV C1-C1-own
 ‘John_i said that Bill is looking for [the person who paid himself_i].’
- (21) * John_i a-i_i-lom-a a-li o-mu-eene_i a-rekukh-a [paata ya
 John SM.C1-REFL-say-FV C1-that C1-C1-own SM.C1-leave-FV after
 Mary khu-mu-khuu-p-a o-mu-eene_i].
 Mary C15-OM.C1-C15?-hit-FV C1-C1-own
 ‘John_i said that he_i left [after Mary hit him_i].’ (Adjunct island)
- (22) * Jack a-i-many-il-e a-li George a-ch-a nge
 Jack SM.C1-REFL-know-APPL?-FV C1-that George SM.C1-leave-FV when
 a-mu-bon-a o-mu-eene.
 SM.C1-OM.C1-see-FV C1-C1-own
 ‘Jack_i knows that George left when he saw himself_i.’ (Adjunct island)
- (23) * Bill_i a-i_i-nyol-a [chilomo mbo John a-mu-lip-a
 Bill SM.C1-receive-FV information that John SM.C1-OM.C1-pay-FV
 o-mu-eene_i].
 C1-C1-own
 ‘Bill_i heard [a rumor (about himself_i) that John paid him_i].’ (CNPC)
- (24) * John_i a-i_i-subil-a [likhuwa mbo Bill a-mu-bon-a
 John SM.C1-REFL-hope-FV claim that Bill SM.C1-OM.C1-see-FV
 o-mu-eene_i].
 C1-C1-own
 ‘John_i believes [the claim that Bill saw himself_i].’ (CNPC)

And similarly with the OM on the verb, embedding AGR-*eene* inside of an island is degraded:

- (25) * John a-a-mu_i-lom-a a-li George a-khaenj-a
 John SM.C1-PST-OM.C1-say-FV C1-that George SM.C1-look.for
 [o-muu-ndu o-w-a-mu-lip-a o-mu-eene].
 C1-C1-person WH-C1-PST-pay-FV C1-C1-own
 ‘John said of him_i that George is looking for [the person who paid
 him_i].’

- (26) ? John a-*mu*_i-lom-a a-li o-mu-eene_i a-rekukh-a [paata ya John SM.C1-OM.C1-say-FV C1-that C1-C1-own SM.C1-leave-FV after Mary khu-mu-khuu-p-a o-*mu-eene*_i].
Mary C15-OM.C1-C15?-hit-FV C1-C1-own
John said of him_i that he_i left after Mary hit him_i.’

These correlate with the island/locality constraints for *wh*-movement in Lubukusu. The following are the corresponding island examples from Wasike (2006):

- (27) * Naanu ni-y-e Wafula a-kha-enj-a [o-muu-ndu who PRED-C1-PRON Wafula C1-PRS-look.for-FV C1-C1-person o-w-a-kul-a].
WH-C1-PST-buy-FV
‘What is it that Wafula is looking for [the person who bought]?’
- (28) * Naanu ni-y-e Nasike a-a-rekukh-a [paata ye *t* khu-khuup-a who PRED-C1-PRON Nasike C1-PST-leave-FV after of inf-beat-FV Nanjala].
Nanjala
‘Who is that Nasike left [after *t* hitting Nanjala]?’
- (29) ?? [Chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-ib-a si(ina) cha-a-chun-i-a] C7-report that Wafula C1-PST-steal-FV what C7-PST-hurt-CAUS-FV Nafula ku-mw-oyo?
Nafula PP-3-heart
‘What did [the report that Wafula stole] hurt Nafula?’

Based on the demonstrated island restrictions, I take the cliticization strategy to be movement of a pronoun from its argument position in the embedded clause to the matrix clause, and the applicative and prepositional phrase strategies to be base-generation of a pronoun or DP in the matrix clause. These same sentences are illicit without the appropriate embedded object marking, however:

- (30) * John_i a-*i*_i-lom-a a-li Mary a-siim-a o-mu-eene_i.
John SM.C1-REFL-say-FV C1-that Mary SM.C1-like-FV C1-C1-own
‘John_i said that Mary likes him_i.’
- (31) * John_i a-*i*_i-lom-a a-li George a-khaeknj-a John SM.C1-REFL-say-FV C1-that George SM.C1-look.for-FV o-muu-ndu o-wa-lip-a o-mu-eene_i.
C1-C1-person WH-C1-pay-FV C1-C1-own
‘John_i said that George is looking for the person who paid him_i.’

The ungrammaticality of (31) is unsurprising, given the general island sensitivity of this construction. (30) shows that the embedded object marker is obligatory, a fact I will return to later. If the cliticization strategy is movement from the embedded clause to the matrix clause, I will have to explain why the embedded OM remains obligatory.

In summary, Lubukusu has three kinds of proleptic strategies:²

- The proleptic object accompanied by a preposition
- The proleptic object accompanied by an applicative marker
- The proleptic object as a reflexive marker (REFL) without an accompanying applicative or preposition

Three main characteristics that are common across these constructions:

1. An “extra” nominal argument in the matrix clause, which the matrix verb does not ordinarily take
2. A aboutness relation between the extra argument and the embedded predicate
3. A specific (*de se*-like) acquaintance relation between the extra argument and the matrix attitude holder

I will conclude that characteristics 2 and 3 come about by the same process, and so I will consider them together. Characteristic 1 is a separate concern, so I will address it first.

3 Nominal licensing

In analyzing the island-sensitive clitic-licensed prolepsis, I generally follow analyses of cross-clausal agreement in Polinsky & Potsdam (2001), Bruening (2001), Branigan & MacKenzie (2002). The embedded DP A'-moves to the embedded left periphery. In Lubukusu, that pronoun can then undergo further A'-movement to cliticize to the matrix verb. I follow the analysis of clitics as incorporated pronouns from Matushansky (2006), Baker & Kramer (2018), more specifically implemented in Lubukusu as in Sikuku et al. (2018).

On this analysis, (14) has the preliminary structure in Figure 1.

²An anonymous reviewer astutely observes that there are also a variety of embedded-clause strategies as well. These appear to be subject to the general constraints on object marking and pronominals in Lubukusu, which for reasons of space I will not explore here. The reader is referred to Sikuku et al. (2018) for more in-depth discussion of Lubukusu object marking.

- (14) Jack_i a-*i*-many-il-e a-li George a-mu_i-siim-a
 Jack SM.C1-REFL-knows-TNS-FV C1-that George SM.C1-OM.C1-like-FV
o-mu-eene_i.
 c1-c1-own
 ‘Jack_i knows that George likes him_i.’

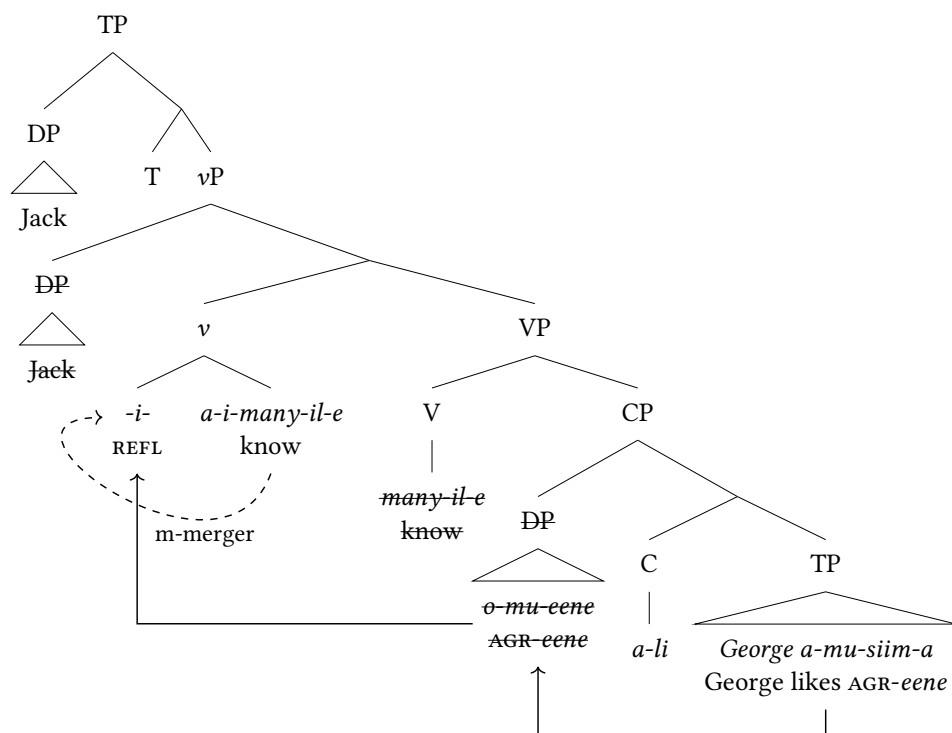


Figure 1: Syntax of example (14)

The preposition-licensed and applicative-licensed cases, on the other hand, have a proleptic object that is base-generated in the matrix clause, introduced by a preposition or applicative, and then are related to the embedded pronoun by binding.

- (11) John a-kanakan-il-a Jane_i a-li Bill a-mu-siim-a
 John SM.C1-think-APPL-FV Jane c1-that Bill SM.C1-OM.C1-like-FV
o-mu-eene_i/niye_i.
 c1-c1-own/her
 ‘John thinks of Jane_i that Bill likes her_i.’

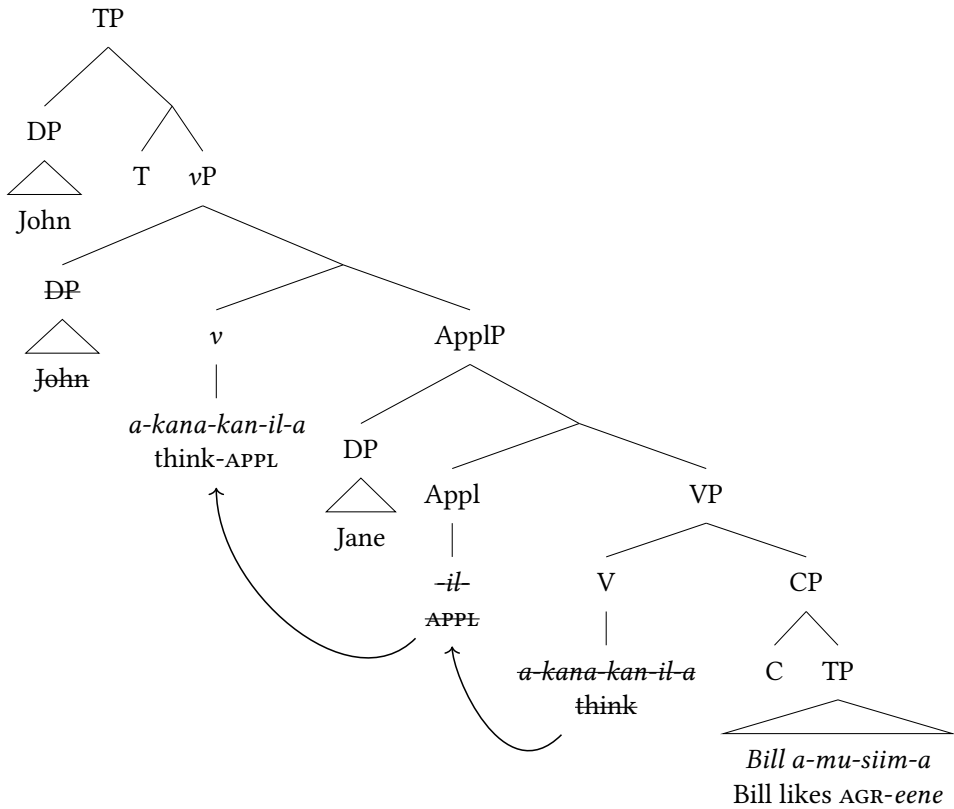


Figure 2: Syntax of example (11)

The movement strategy is restricted to pronouns due to independent facts about Lubukusu object marking. The object markers are clitics, and these clitics can only be doubled by pronouns, and not by full DPs:

- (32) N-a-*mu*_i-bon-a (#Wekesa_i).
 1SG.S-PST-OM.C1-see-FV Wekesa
 ‘I saw him.’ (Sikuku et al. 2018: 2)
- (33) Wekesa a-a-*mu*_i-p-a (*niye*_i).
 Wekesa SM.C1-PST-OM.C1-beat-FV *him*
 ‘Wekesa beat him.’ (Afranaph ID: 3734/5039)
- (34) Yòháná_i á-á-*i*_i-bon-a (o-mu-eene_i).
 Yohana SM.C1-PST-REFL-see-FV C1-C1-own
 ‘John_i saw himself_i.’ (Afranaph ID:1248/1249)

In principle, a full DP could undergo movement to the matrix clause, but Lubukusu has no way of licensing it there by cliticization. There is no position for it to move to. At the same time, although prepositions can provide licensing to an additional matrix argument, they are not viable landing sites for movement, and so preclude movement of an embedded argument into their complement. The specifier of an applicative phrase is an eligible landing site for movement, but also for base-generation of a proleptic object, so island effects are obviated in the presence of an applicative morpheme.

I can now offer a tentative explanation for why the embedded OM remains obligatory even in the movement cases. The embedded pronoun begins by receiving a theta role in the embedded clause, but while it is then syntactically licensed in the matrix clause via cliticization, it is not semantically licensed there. So the embedded clitic contains information about where (and from what) the embedded pronoun received semantic licensing, while the matrix clitic contains information about its syntactic licensing in the proleptic construction. Since the two copies contain different information, they both must be pronounced.

Since the distinction between movement-based and base-generated prolepsis ultimately rests on the particular nominal licensing strategies in Lubukusu, we should expect cross-linguistic variation along the lines of what types of nominals can be licensed in what position, and what that licensing strategy is: that is, what provides a syntactically appropriate place for the proleptic object to inhabit.

4 Acquaintance relations

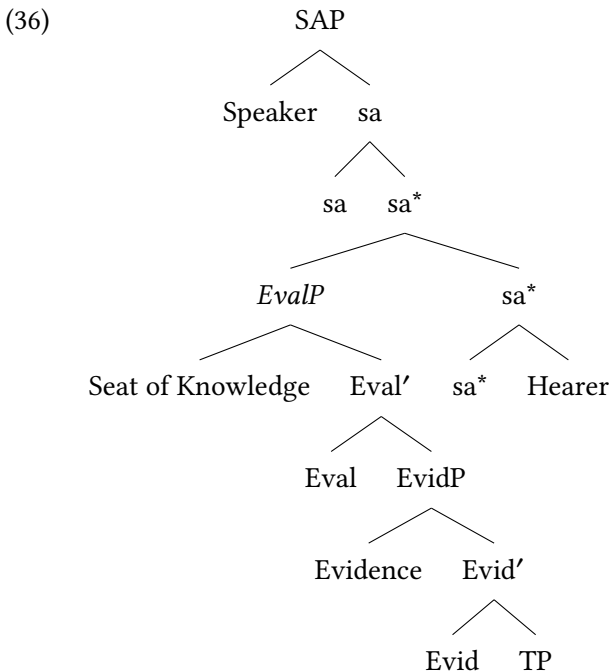
There are still several questions left to address, however. The obligatory binding relationship between base-generated proleptic objects and the embedded pronoun is so far unexplained, as is the topic-like interpretation found for all three types of prolepsis.

An important fact on the way to addressing these issues is that proleptic objects must always be read transparently (Salzmann 2006, 2017).

- (35) *Context:* Bill is walking down the street. He glances down a dark alley and sees a man in a trench coat talking into his watch. Bill, who reads too many thrillers, immediately thinks to himself “That man is a spy.” In reality, the man in the alley is Bill’s friend Wayne, although Bill didn’t recognize him.
- a. # Bill thinks of Wayne_i that he_i is a spy.
 - b. Bill thinks that Wayne is a spy.

Saying that the embedded clause is “about” the proleptic object is not sufficient to account for this data. The matrix attitude holder has to *knowingly ascribe* the embedded predicate to the proleptic object, and properly identify the proleptic object as well.

The framework I will use as a starting point for these facts is from Speas & Tenny (2003). They propose a set of projections in the left periphery to account for various perspectival phenomena. The projections include a Speech-Act Phrase (SAP), Evaluative Phrase (EvalP), and Evidential Phrase (EvidP). The projections host various null nominals that have a perspectival semantics, and can both bind embedded pronouns and be bound by higher nominals to force coreference. A sketch of their left periphery is in (36).³



All of these positions are inherently perspectival, however. Accordingly, they won't work for a proleptic object (which doesn't even have to be sentient, much less a perspective-holder). But within their system, there is space to add one more position, for an *evaluated object*. Speas & Tenny derive an extended SAP by head movement of the speech act head. The same movement can apply to the

³The multiple instances of *sa*(*) in the tree below are derived via head-movement.

evaluative head, creating an additional position for the evaluated object. Rather than having a perspective-taking semantics, the evaluated object can be non-sentient, so long as it is the object perceived by the seat of knowledge evaluating the embedded propositional content. This projection is parallel to the Hearer in the speech act projection, but for the lower EvalP head.

In base-generated prolepsis, the evaluated object binds the embedded *AGR-eene*, and in turn the evaluated object is bound by the proleptic object in the matrix clause. Therefore the modified tree for (11) is in Figure 3.

- (11) John a-kanakan-*il*-a *Jane*_i a-li Bill a-mu-siim-a
 John SM.C1-think-APPL-FV Jane C1-that Bill SM.C1-OM.C1-like-FV
*o-mu-eene*_i/*niye*_i.
 c1-c1-own/her
 ‘John thinks of *Jane*_i that Bill likes *her*_i.’

The movement-based prolepsis construction is much as it was before, but now we can pinpoint the left-peripheral location that serves as an escape hatch for the moved pronoun: it passes through the site of the evaluated object, and thereby receives its proleptic semantics. Then *AGR-eene* moves further upward to cliticize to the matrix verb for its syntactic licensing.

Since both constructions involve the same projection in the left periphery, they get the same interpretation from the Eval head. Despite their disparate syntax, a common left periphery allows them to get the same semantics, one similar to topichood, though the proleptic object is not in a Topic projection in either case.

5 Cross-linguistic predictions

Turning our attention to other languages, we can see that the difference between movement-based and base-generated prolepsis is how the nominal in the matrix clause is syntactically licensed, and whether that licensing position is eligible for movement or base-generation. For Passamaquoddy (Bruening 2001), Innu-Aimûn (Branigan & MacKenzie 2002), and Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001), agreement can reach to the CP domain and license the nominal there. But the nominal can only surface in the matrix clause if it is licensed by an agreeing matrix verb. If the verb surfaces in the non-agreeing (TI) voice, the nominal must stay in-situ, and there is no topicality:

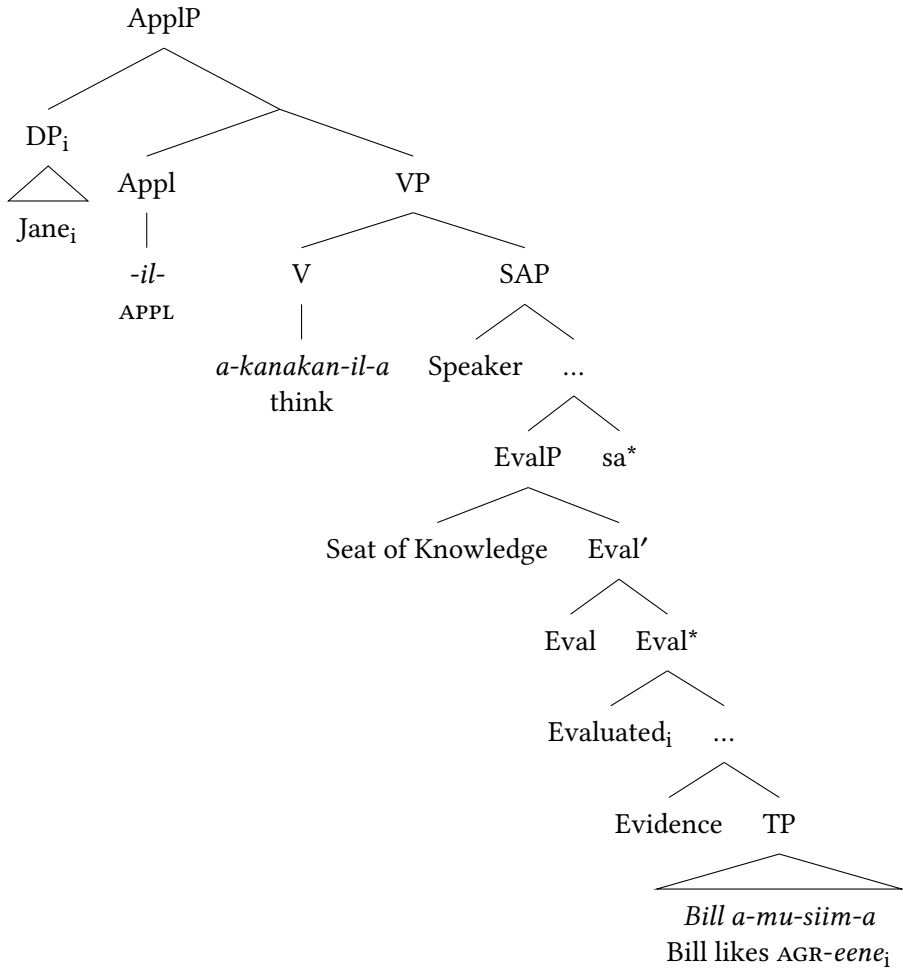


Figure 3: Partial syntax of example (11)

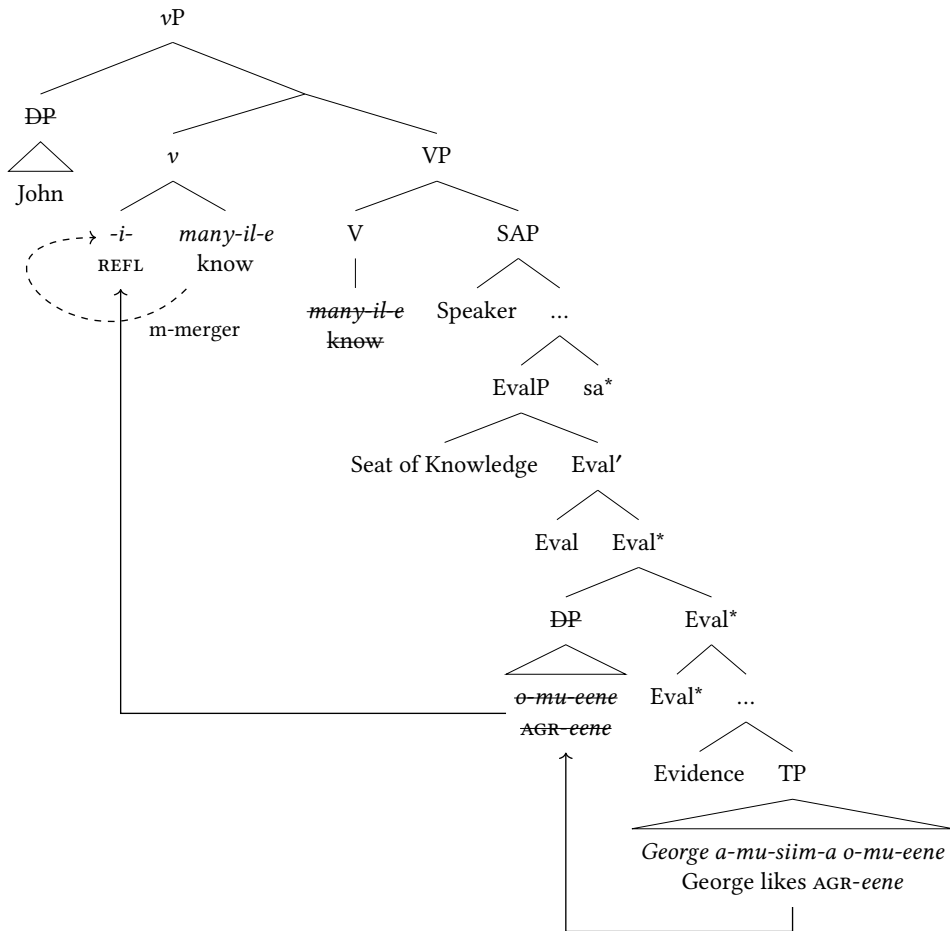


Figure 4: Syntax of example (14)

(37) Innu-Aimûn (Branigan & MacKenzie 2002):

- a. N-uî-tshissenit-*en* tshetshî mûpishtâshkuenit *kassinu*
1-want-know-TI if visited-2/INV every
kâuâpikueshit.
priest
'I want to know if every priest visited you.'
- b. *N-uî-tshissenit-*en*_i [*kassinu kâuâpikueshit*]_i tshetshî
mûpishtâshkuenit.

For Middle Dutch the matrix nominal is licensed by case marking, but on the analysis (van Koppen et al. 2016) it is in Spec,CP, although it has not been moved there. In German, prolepsis often feeds further movement that would otherwise be degraded (Salzmann 2017).

If prolepsis is used when A'-movement is degraded, then it comes as no surprise that the proleptic object in those constructions would not be moved into that position, since movement out of the embedded clause is impossible in the first place. And similar to the base-generation strategy in Lubukusu, the complement of a preposition is not an eligible landing site for A'-movement. If German only licenses extra matrix clause nominals with a preposition, then those extra nominals will necessarily be base-generated there. Once again, the particulars of a given language condition which of the movement and base-generation strategies are available, and under which circumstances.

These considerations bring to the fore an important distinction between semantic and syntactic licensing. Semantically, the evaluated object head provides a viable semantic interpretation for the extra matrix nominal, so long as the context supports that interpretation. Thus the left periphery is identical in both types of structure. The syntactic licensing requirements, however, differ by construction (and by language), as independently established. It is precisely these syntactic facts that derive the differences between prolepsis types.

Abbreviations

- APPL applicative
c followed by a number noun class marker
CAUS Causative
FV Final vowel
INV Inverse voice
OM Object Marker (typically followed by noun class number)

PREP Preposition
 REFL Reflexive Marker
 SM Subject Marker (typically followed by noun class number)
 TI Transitive inanimate
 TNS Tense

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