

Subject Doubling and the Mixed Null Subject System of Capanahua*

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1. Introduction

Capanahua is a Panoan language spoken in the Peruvian Amazon. The aim of this article is to describe and account for the phenomenon of *Subject Doubling* (henceforth SD) and its relationship with null subjects in Capanahua. The data in (1) shows an example of SD. The subject pronoun *min* ‘you’ occurs twice within the sentence, first in the initial position and then after the evidencial clitic */ta?/*. The data presented comes from Loos 1963, 1969, 1976; Loos & Loos 1998 and my own field notes (Limon Cocha – Loreto, Peru).

- (1) **min** ta? **min** yu?a βana-ni-ʔ-ki.¹
You EVID. **you** manioc plant -REM.REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
‘You planted manioc (a long time ago)’

Besides the obligatory requirement of doubling first and second persons, Capanahua forbids them from being null subjects. This is the opposite pattern of what we find for the third person. It never doubles and can be null. See data in (2) and (3).

- (2) **han** ta? yu?a βana-ni-ʃ-ki

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¹ The abbreviations used in this article are: DECL.=declarative, EVID.=evidencial clitic, EXPL.=expletive form, FOC.=contrastive focus, IMP.=imperative suffix, INTERR.=interrogative suffix, NARR.=narrative suffix, DUR.PAST=durative past tense, REC.PAST=recent past tense, REM.PAST =remote past tense, SR=switch reference suffix, 1/2.P.=subject agreement for local persons (i.e. first and second person), 3.P.=subject agreement of third person (plural and singular), 3.P.PL.=subject agreement of third person plural.

He EVID. manioc plant -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘He/she planted manioc (a long time ago)’

- (3) yuʔa taʔ βana-ni-ʃ-ki
 Manioc EVID. plant -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘(He/she) planted manioc (a long time ago)’

In this study, I propose that Capanahua SD occurs in order to: (i) provide the first and second person subject agreement with a value for an underspecified person feature, and (ii) give phonological support to the evidential clitics which require having phonological material on their left. I propose that, in Capanahua, subject agreement encodes the distinction between the speaker and the other conversational participants through the binary features: [±local] and [±speaker].

Thus, whereas the third person agreement suffix, /-ʃ/, in (2) and (3) is only specified as [-local], the agreement marker /-ʔ/ in (1) is specified as [+local] but underspecified for the feature [speaker]. In order to obtain a value for its underspecified feature, the agreement suffix /-ʔ/ requires an overt subject pronoun to be in the Spec TP.

This research also proposes that evidential clitics carry sentence mood features (e.g. [declarative], [interrogative], [imperative]). Since mood suffixes have their own syntactic projection (which are also the highest projections in main clauses), evidential clitics must move to the specifier of the mood projection to check their mood features. The problem is that as clitics, evidentials must have phonological material on their left side. This requirement forces a constituent to move to the specifier of the projection that hosts the evidential clitic. The less costly move for Capanahua seems to be the subject, triggering the occurrence of SD. If the subject is null, then the closest argument or adverb is moved. If the sentence does not have overt argument or adverbs, then the verb is obliged to move and provide phonological support to the clitic.

This article is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a detailed description of the distribution and restrictions of the phenomenon of SD in Capanahua. Section 3 presents the analysis. It accounts for the contexts in which SD occurs and those in which it is blocked. Section 4 provides the conclusions.

2. Description of the Phenomenon of Subject Doubling

Although Capanahua is an SOV language, other word orders are possible due to the effect of focalization and null arguments. One of the most interesting characteristics of Capanahua, also shared by other Panoan languages,² is that it possesses a mixed null

² This same pattern is present in Shipibo, another Panoan language close to Capanahua. However, Shipibo shows two important differences when compared to Capanahua. First, it does not have subject doubling. Second, it does not have subject-agreement morphology (except for the suffix /-kan/, which indicates that the subject is third person plural). The Shipibo pattern is illustrated below. Crucially, the sentence in (ii) can only be interpreted as having a third person subject.

- (i) min ra atsa βana-ki.
 You EVID. manioc plant -REM.PAST

subject system, in which first and second persons are obligatory as subjects whereas third person can be null. Thus, Capanahua is as English for local persons (first and second persons) but it behaves as Spanish in the third person. This is exactly the mirror image of the pattern found in languages like Hebrew or Finnish in which first and second persons can be null but the third person is obligatory (see Artstein 1998; Levy & Vainikka 2000; Vainikka & Levy 1999).

The obligatoriness of local subjects in Capanahua is complemented by the obligation to double them as illustrated by the sentences in (4) to (7).

- (4) **?in** ta? **?in** yu?a βana-ni-ʔ-ki
I EVID. **I** manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘I planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (5) **min** ta? **min** yu?a βana-ni-ʔ-ki.
You(sg.) EVID. **you** manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘You (singular) planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (6) **nun** ta? **nun** yu?a βana-ni-ʔ-ki
We EVID. **we** manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘We planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (7) **man** ta? **man** yu?a βana-ni-ʔ-ki.
You(pl.) EVID. **you(pl.)** manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘You (plural) planted manioc (a long time ago)’

When first or second person subjects are omitted, as shown in (8), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This is in spite of the fact that both local persons have an agreement suffix, /-ʔ/, which indicates that the subject is not third person.

- (8) *yu?a ta? βana-ni-ʔ-ki
 Manioc EVID. plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘(I/you(sing./pl.)/we) planted manioc (a long time ago)’

In contrast to first and second person subjects, the third person in Capanahua possesses its own unique agreement morpheme. In the sentences in (9) to (12), the

-
- ‘You planted manioc’
- (ii) atsa ra βana-ki.
 Manioc EVID. plant -REM.PAST
 ‘(He/she) planted manioc’
- (iii) han ra atsa βana-ki.
 He EVID. manioc plant -REM.PAST
 ‘He/she planted manioc’

agreement morpheme that indicates third person is /-ʃ/. In addition, Capanahua has the morpheme /-kan/ that indicates third person plural. Thus, in spite of being null, the only possible interpretation of the subject sentence in (11) is third person plural.

- (9) *yuʔa taʔ βana-ni-ʃ-ki*
 Manioc EVID. plant -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘(He/she) planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (10) **han** *taʔ yuʔa βana-ni-ʃ-ki*
He EVID. manioc plant -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘He/she planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (11) *yuʔa taʔ βana-kan-ni-ʃ-ki*
 Manioc EVID. plant -3.P.PL -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘(They) planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (12) **han** *taʔ yuʔa βana-kan-ni-ʃ-ki*
He EVID. manioc plant -3.P.PL -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘They planted manioc (a long time ago)’

Crucially for this study, and as indicated by the asterisk in (13), SD does not occur when the subject is third person.

- (13) ***han** *taʔ han yuʔa βana-ni-ʃ-ki*
He EVID. **he** manioc plant -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘He/she planted manioc (a long time ago)’

Capanahua has a special set of contrastive-focused subject pronouns (*?ian* ‘I’, *mian* ‘you’, *han* ‘he/she’, *nukin* ‘we’, *matun* ‘you (plural)’, *haβan* ‘they’). They must also double if they are first or second persons. In this case, the copy that occurs after the evidential clitic always corresponds to the non-focused subject pronouns. See data in (14). SD does not occur with third person subjects even if they are focused. See the sentence in (15).

- (14) **?ian** *taʔ ?in yuʔa βana-ni-ʔ-ki*
I-FOC. EVID. **I** manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was me (not you or him/her) who planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (15) **ha:n** *taʔ yuʔa βana-ni-ʃ-ki*
He-FOC. EVID. manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was him/her (not me, you or somebody else) who planted manioc’

2.1 The Second Position Clitics and the Restrictions on Subject Doubling

Capanahua, as most Panoan languages, has a set of evidential morphemes (see Loos 1976). Following Black 1992, I will refer to them as second position clitics (henceforth SPC). In Capanahua, evidentials like the clitic /*taʔ*/ (first hand information), used in the examples in this study, occur immediately after the first constituent of tensed sentences. The rejection of the sentence in (16) shows that the clitic /*taʔ*/ cannot appear as the initial element of a sentence³.

- (16) **taʔ* *ʔin* *yuʔa* *βana-ni-ʔ-ki*
 EVID. I manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘I planted manioc (a long time ago)’

As illustrated by the previous examples, it is the subject that usually occupies the initial position of the sentence. However, objects can also occupy the initial position when they are focused. See (17). Importantly, as shown in (18) and (19), SD does not occur once a constituent different than the subject is fronted to the initial position.

- (17) *yuʔa* *taʔ* *ʔin* *βana-ni-ʔ-ki*
 Manioc-FOC. EVID. I plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was manioc what I planted (a long time ago)’
- (18) * *yuʔa* ***ʔin*** *taʔ* ***ʔin*** *βana-ni-ʔ-ki*
 Manioc-FOC. I EVID. I plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was manioc what I planted (a long time ago)’
- (19) * *yuʔa* *taʔ* ***ʔin*** ***ʔin*** *βana-ni-ʔ-ki*
 Manioc-FOC. EVID. I I plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was manioc what I planted (a long time ago)’

It is also worth noting that object pronouns (i.e. *ʔia* ‘me’, *mia* ‘you (object)’, *haa* ‘him/her’) do not double, not even if they are first or second person. Compare (20) to (21).

- (20) *ʔia* *taʔ* *min* *his-ni-ʔ-ki*
 me-FOC. EVID. you see -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was me that you saw (a long time ago)’

³ Loos 1976:32 mentions that, although possible, it is quite rare in Capanahua to find the clitic /*taʔ*/ in the initial position of a sentence. All the speakers I interviewed in 2001 rejected the sentence in (16) and when asked to fix it, they fronted the subject (through SD) or moved a focused object to the initial position.

- (21) *ʔia taʔ min ʔia his-ni-ʔ-ki
 me-FOC. EVID. you me see -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was me that you saw (a long time ago)’

When a sentence has a null third person subject, the object is usually fronted so that it avoids the evidential clitic to occur sentence-initial. See the example in (22).

- (22) yuʔa taʔ βana-ni-ʃ-ki
 Manioc EVID. plant -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘(He/she) planted manioc (a long time ago)’
 ‘It was manioc that (he/she) planted (a long time ago)’

However, as observed in the sentence in (23), if there is an adverb, it is less costly for Capanahua to put it in the initial position.

- (23) ninu taʔ yuʔa βana-ni-ʃ-ki
 Here EVID. manioc plant -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘Here (he/she) planted manioc (a long time ago)’

When all the arguments of the verb are null and there is no available adverb, then the verb itself is moved to the initial position of the sentence so thus the evidential clitic is guaranteed to always appear in the second position. This is illustrated in (24). When this occurs, a verb support */ha/* ‘to do’, similar to *do-support* in English (see Grimshaw 1993, 1997, 2006; Tesar, Grimshaw, & Prince 1999), appears in the original position of the verb holding the tense and agreement information.

- (24) βana taʔ ha-ni-ʃ-ki
 Plant EVID. VERB.SUPPORT -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘(He/she) planted (it) (a long time ago)’

In addition to main sentences, Capanahua also has switch reference clauses (henceforth SR) and semi-independent clauses (Loos & Loos 1998). The difference between SR/semi-independent clauses and main sentences is that the latter have tense, agreement information and evidential clitics whereas the former do not.

SR clauses depend for their interpretation on a rich set of SR suffixes that can code whether the subject of the SR clause is coreferential or not with the subject or object of the adjacent sentence, whether the action expressed by the verb of the SR clause occurs before, after or simultaneously with the action expressed by the verb in the adjacent sentence and whether the verb in the adjacent sentence is transitive or intransitive. On the other hand, semi-independent clauses, usually marked by the narrative suffixes */-kin/* (for transitive verbs) or */-i/* (for intransitive verbs), obtain their temporal information from a main sentence or from the context.

The sentence in (25) gives an example of the relation between a main sentence, an SR clause that contains the suffix */-sun/* and a semi-independent clause, marked by the

narrative suffix */-kin/*. The suffix, */-kin/*, attached to the verb */pi/* ‘to eat’, indicates that it should be interpreted in the context provided by the main sentence, which has a peccary as the topic of discussion.

The SR suffix */-sun/*, attached to the verb */mira/* ‘to find’, not only indicates that the subject of the SR clause is coreferential with the subject of the following sentence (i.e. *pikin*), but also that the verb of the following sentence is transitive and that the action occurs before the action expressed by the verb of the next sentence.

- (25) ha hunu ta? ?ani-ki. βimi mira-şun pi-kin
 That peccary EVID. big-DECL. Fruit find-SR eat-NARR.
 ‘That peccary is big. When (it) finds food/fruits, (it) eats (it)’

SD does not occur in switch-reference or semi-independent sentences. See the data in (26) and (27).

- (26) ?in yu?a bana-şun
 I manioc plant-SR
 ‘I plant manioc’
- (27) *?in ?in yu?a bana-şun
 I I manioc plant-SR
 ‘I plant manioc’

3. Analysis

3.1 Proposal

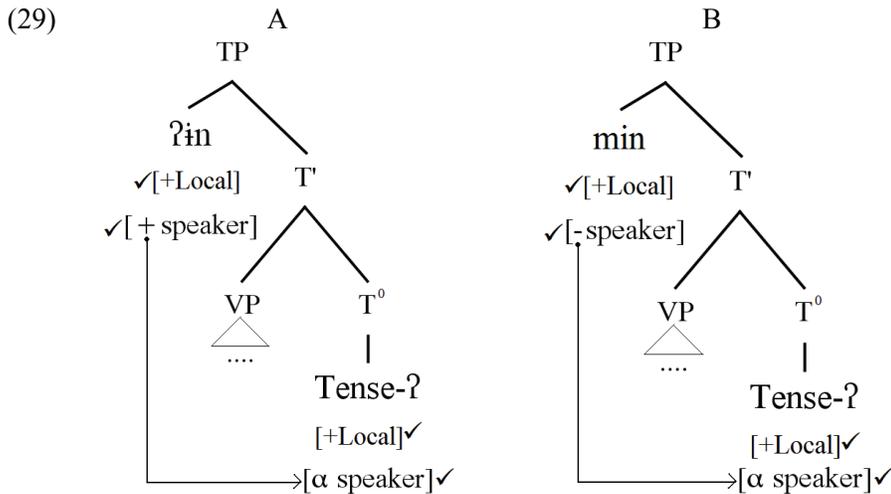
The proposal put forward to account for SD in Capanahua is threefold. First, I analyze the agreement morphology of Capanahua as containing two binary features: [\pm local] and [\pm speaker]. These grammatical features identify the grammatical persons as indicated in (28). The feature [\pm speaker] is only available for agreement specified as [+local].

- (28) [-Local] → Third Person
 [+Local], [+speaker] → First Person
 [+Local], [-speaker] → Second Person

Thus, the agreement that appears attached to the verb in the cases in which the subject is third person (that is, */-ʔ/*) is specified as [-local] whereas the agreement that occurs when the subject is first or second person (namely, the glottal stop */-ʔ/*) is specified as [+local, α speaker], where ‘ α ’ indicates that the feature value has not been set. Since the grammar requires agreement features to be fully specified, the */-ʔ/* suffix must obtain a value for its [speaker] feature so the sentence can be well-formed.

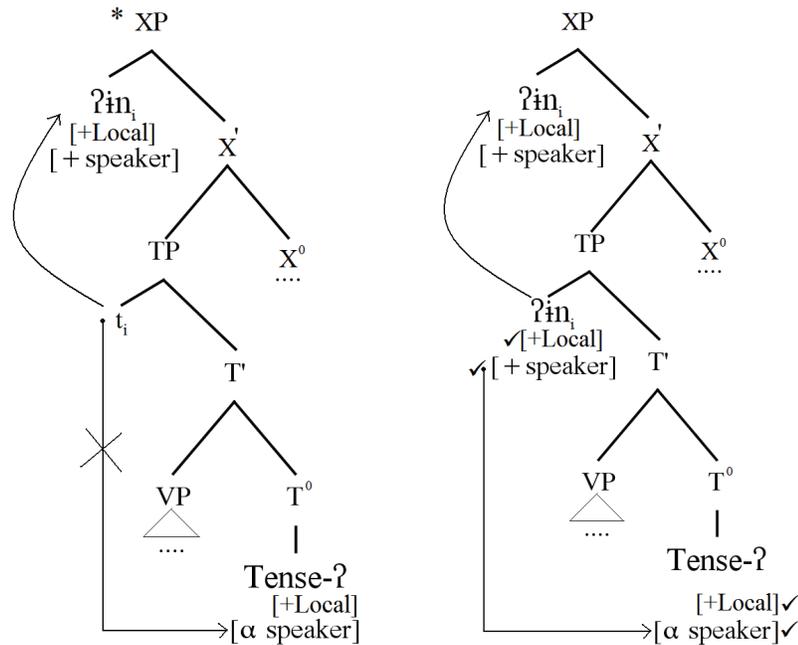
The syntactic configuration that allows this agreement suffix to become fully specified is shown in (29). Person features in the head of TP are checked for agreement with the subject features in the specifier of this projection (i.e. the Spec TP).

The value for the feature [speaker] is taken from the value specified in the subject. In the case shown in (29.A), the agreement suffix /-ʔ/ obtains the specification [+speaker] from the subject pronoun /ʔin/ ‘I’ through a Spec-Head relationship. In (29.B), since the pronoun subject is /min/ ‘you’, the feature [speaker] of the agreement suffix acquires a negative value: [-speaker].



Furthermore, I assume that Capanahua requires the agreement relationship depicted in (29) to be overt, which obliges the first and second person subject to stay in the Spec TP. Although the reasons of this requirement need to be further investigated, I suggest that once a copy without phonological content is left behind, underspecified elements cannot have access to the internal structure of the silent copy. This makes the agreement relationship fail. As illustrated in (30.A), this situation would occur if the subject needs to go higher up in the structure and a silent copy is left in its place. In contrast, an overt copy left behind satisfies the requirements of the suffix /-ʔ/. This is graphically shown in (30.B). The subject has moved to a higher syntactic position but has left an overt copy of itself in the Spec TP so that the agreement suffix /-ʔ/ can obtain the information it requires.





The last part of the proposal is about what causes the subject to rise beyond the Spec TP; that is, what is *XP* in (30)? And what are its properties? Besides the verb and its arguments, Capanahua main sentences must convey three types of information: tense, evidentiality (usually expressed by second position clitics, for example, /*ta?*/ in the examples used in this study) and mood (that is, whether the sentence is a statement, a question, or a command).

Mood information is expressed by suffixes that occur attached at the end of verbs; for example, /-*ki*/ (declarative), /-*kin*/ (interrogative), /-*wi*/ (imperative). See the data in (31) and (33) from Loos & Loos 1998:25.

(31) *nia ta? miin βaki-ki.*
 This EVID. your child-DECL.
 'This is your son'

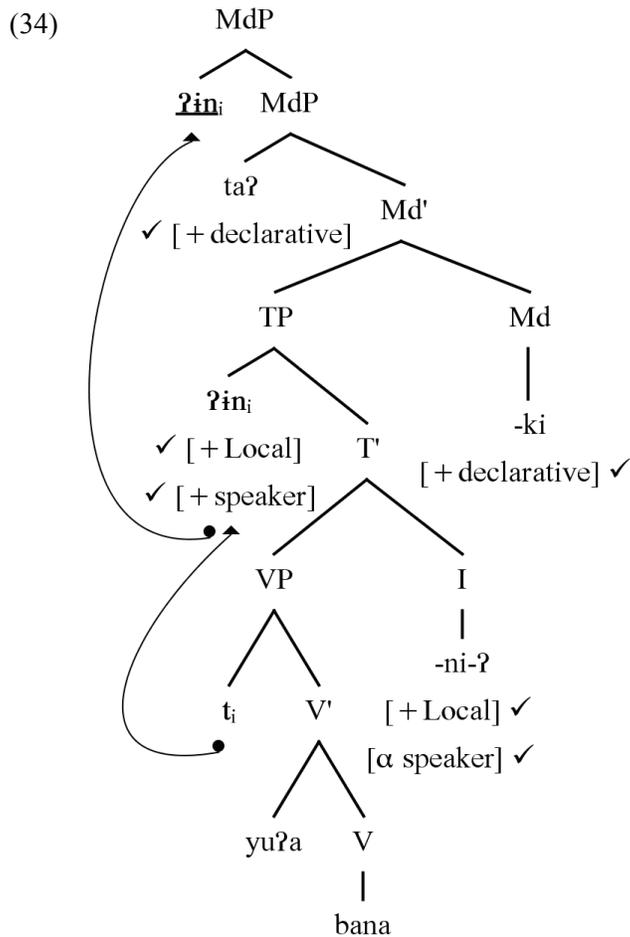
(32) *nia miin βaki-kin.*
 This your child-INTERR.
 'Is this your son?'

(33) *haa ?ia ?inan-wi*
 It me give-IMP.
 'Give it to me!'

Mood suffixes are heads of their own projection. The suffix, /-*ki*/, whose projection occurs on top of the TP projection, carries a $[+declarative]$ feature. This feature is

checked by the one that carries evidential clitics, like /*ta?*/. In order to create this agreement relationship, the [+declarative] feature in /-*ki*/ makes the clitic /*ta?*/ occur in its specifier (the Spec MdP). However, the occurrence of /*ta?*/ in the Spec MdP upsets the phonological requirement imposed on this clitic: its left edge must be aligned with phonological material. Thus, another constituent is forced to move to its left so the prosodic requirement is met.

When the subject moves to provide phonological material to the clitic, SD occurs. I assume the constituent fronted to fulfill this phonological requirement is adjoined to MdP. This is illustrated in (34) for the sentence in (4).



Crucially in (34), an overt copy must be left behind in the Spec TP so the agreement relationship between the suffix /-*?*/ in the head of TP and its specifier is maintained. See (29) and (30).

Evidential clitics are subcategorized by sentence mood. An example of each mood and their clitics is presented in (35) to (37). Thus, for example, the clitics /*ta?*/ (witness,

first hand information), /runki/ (reportative), /ka/⁴ can only occur in declarative sentences (Loos 1963; Loos & Loos 1998). Although the interrogative and imperative moods usually appear without clitics, they can occur with them. The interrogative mood can have the clitic /ʔin/, which gives some type of discourse prominence to the verb of the question. The supplicative mood (which is based on the imperative suffix /-wi/) is marked by the suffix /-wisin/ and shows the clitic /tsi/. This indicates that each evidential clitic carries a specific mood feature that must agree with the mood feature of the sentence.

- (35) min ka min βana-ni-ʔ-Ø.
 You DECL.EVID. you plant-REM.PAST-1/2P.-DECL.
 ‘Of course you planted (them) (a long time ago)’

- (36) hawiraʔnun ʔin papa-n wai-hati manan
 Where INTERR.EVID. dad-Erg. vegetable.garden-to.make hill
 his-ruʔa-kači-ʔiʔkin.⁵
 see-thankfully-DUR.PAST-AUXILIARY.3p.INTERR.
 ‘Where has dad seen a hill to cultivate a vegetable garden?’ (Loos 1976:44, my gloss)

- (37) mia tsi min ʔiʔ-wisin.
 You-FOC. IMP.EVID. you be-SUPPLICATIVE.
 ‘I hope it is you’ (Loos & Loos 1998:26)

A question that must be addressed is: why does a constituent have to move to satisfy the prosodic requirement of the clitic? Why is an expletive form not inserted instead? After all, evidential clitics only ask for phonological material on their left. Let us assume that the pronoun, /han/ (‘it, he she’), could be used as an expletive just as ‘it’ can be used in English in the sentence ‘it rains’, then the question can be rephrased as why the sentence in (38) is not acceptable in Capanahua.

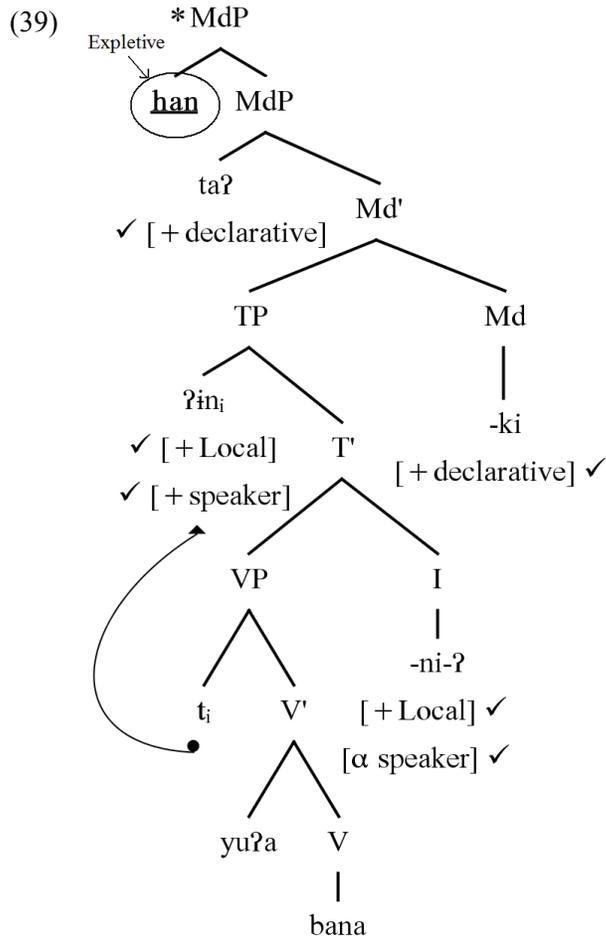
- (38) *han-taʔ ʔin yuʔa βana-ni-ʔ-ki
 EXPL.-EVID. I manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘I planted manioc (a long time ago)’

The syntactic tree in (39) shows that the local agreement suffix /-ʔ/ can keep its [speaker] feature specified and that the evidential clitic obtains the phonological support it

⁴ The clitic /-ka/ indicates that the speaker is surprised to learn that the hearer does not seem to know information that she is supposed to have. As shown in (35), the declarative mark is null for this clitic.

⁵ The suffix /-ʔikin/ that occurs at the end of (36) results from the fusion of the auxiliary verb /-ʔiʔk/ (to have, to be), the third person agreement suffix /-ki/, and the interrogative suffix /-kin/.

requires. What is wrong with (39), then? In Capanahua it is more important to avoid the insertion of an expletive than to move an existing constituent in order to satisfy the prosodic requirement of the evidential clitics. However, the avoidance of inserting dummy elements is overridden in Capanahua only when all arguments are null and there is no adverb in the sentence. In such a situation, the verb has to move to support the clitic, as shown in (24). When the verb moves to the initial position, Capanahua is forced to resort to the insertion of a dummy element, the verb */ha/*, so it can serve as a placeholder of the tense, agreement and mood morphology left behind (see also Grimshaw 1997, 2006 on English *do-support*).



3.2 SD and Focus

Subject pronouns are not always forced to move to the Spec MdP so they can provide phonological support to the evidential clitic. Sometimes they move there because of focus. See the data in (40) to (42), in which the subjects carry contrastive focus.

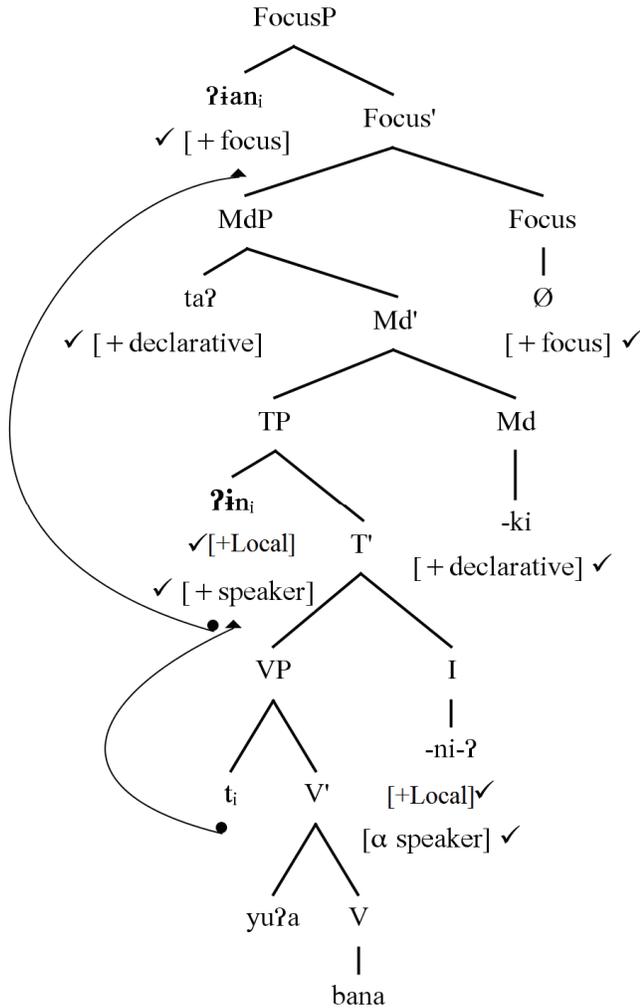
- (40) **ʔian_i** taʔ **ʔin_i** yuʔa βana-ni-ʔ-ki
I-FOC. EVID. **I** manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was me (not other person) who planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (41) **mian_i** taʔ **min_i** yuʔa βana-ni-ʔ-ki
You-FOC. EVID. **you** manioc plant -REM.PAST -1/2.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was you (not other person) who planted manioc (a long time ago)’
- (42) **haan** taʔ yuʔa βana-ni-ʃ-ki
He-FOC. EVID. manioc plant -REM.PAST -3.P. -DECL.
 ‘It was him (not other person) who planted manioc (a long time ago)’

Capanahua has two special sets of contrastive-focused subject pronouns (Loos & Loos 1998:52). One is for transitive verbs (*/ʔian/* ‘I’, */mian/* ‘you’, */haan/* ‘he/she’, */nokin/* ‘we’, */matun/* ‘you (plural)’, */ha:βa:m/* ‘they’). The other set is for intransitive verbs (*/ʔia/* ‘I’, */mia/* ‘you’, */haa/* ‘he/she’, */noki/* ‘we’, */matu/* ‘you (plural)’, */ha:βu/* ‘they’). As can be observed in (40) to (42), SD shows the same pattern shown when the subject does not carry focus. That is, SD occurs with first and second persons but not with the third person. However, when the subject carries contrastive focus, the third person loses its pro-drop properties. Thus, in (42), the pronoun */haan/* cannot be null.

Moreover, when SD occurs in constructions with contrastive-focused subject pronouns, the copy left in the Spec TP corresponds to the regular subject pronouns used in both transitive and intransitive verbs (*/ʔin/* ‘I’, */min/* ‘you’, */han/* ‘he/she’, */non/* ‘we’, */man/* ‘you (plural)’, */han/* ‘they’). See sentences in (40) and (41).

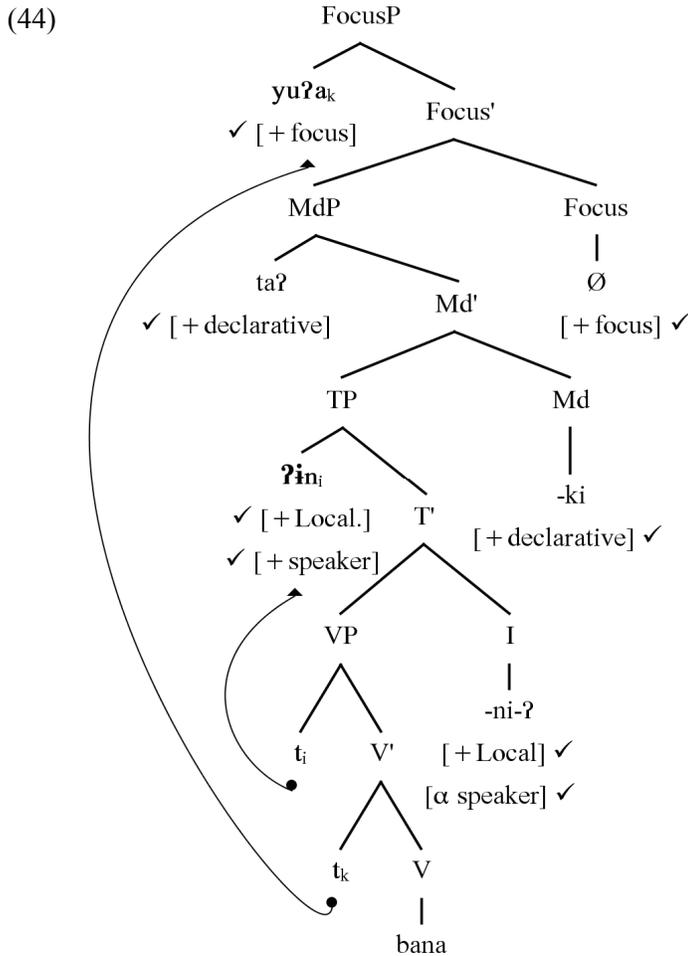
The syntactic tree in (43) shows that the focused subject pronoun (*/ʔian/*) moves to the specifier of the focus projection (Spec FocusP). The focused subject leaves a copy behind in the Spec TP (that is, */ʔin/*) to maintain the agreement relationship with the head of that projection. Interestingly, the segmental differences between the chain head and its copy (*/ʔian/* and */ʔin/*) seem to indicate that the copy only inherits those features that are in an agreement relationship with the head of TP. Since the focus feature is checked higher up, the copy does not inherit it when the subject moves. Observe that in this case the phonological requirement of the clitic is met for free. When the subject moves to the Spec FocusP to check its focus feature, it also ensures that there is phonological material to the left of the evidential clitic.

(43)



3.3 SD Blocking

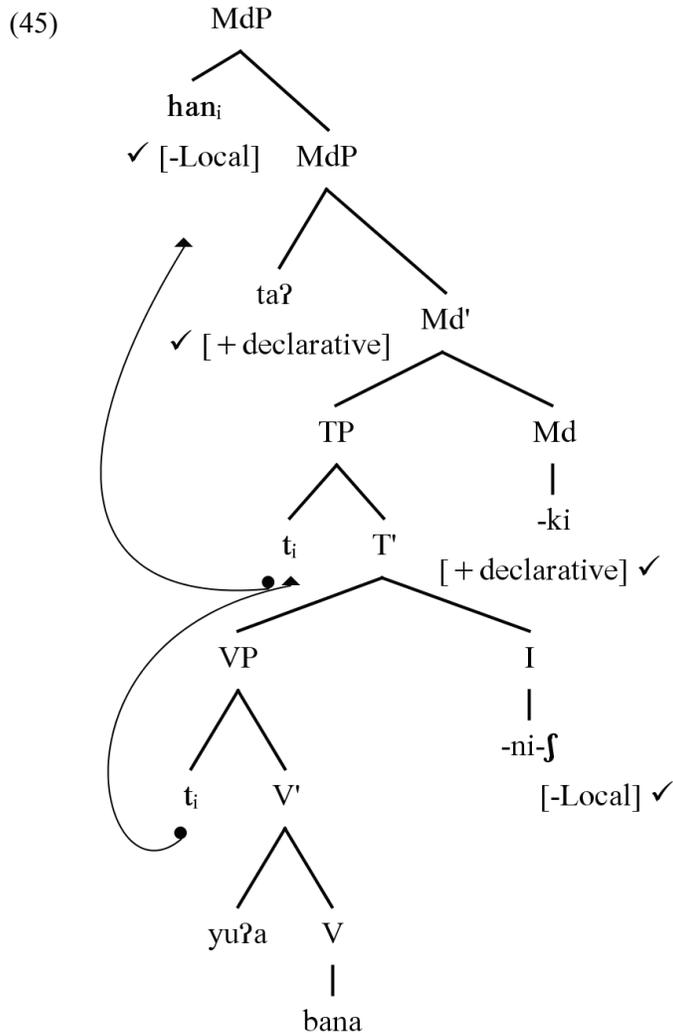
SD does not occur when a constituent other than the subject is fronted. For example, in the sentence in (17), the subject is first person but the object occurs in the initial position because it carries a contrastive-focus feature. The occurrence of the object in the initial position also fulfills the phonological requirement of the clitic for free. SD does not occur because the subject is not forced to move beyond the Spec TP. The object has already provided the phonological material the clitic requires. The syntactic tree of the sentence in (17) is illustrated in (44).



Now we should address why third person subjects do not undergo SD. See the data in (9) to (13). In main sentences with third person subjects, the clitic still has to check the [declarative] feature of MdP so it must force the subject to move away from the Spec TP in order to provide it with a phonological support. This is illustrated in the tree in (45) that shows the syntactic structure of the sentence in (10), which has an overt third person subject pronoun⁶.

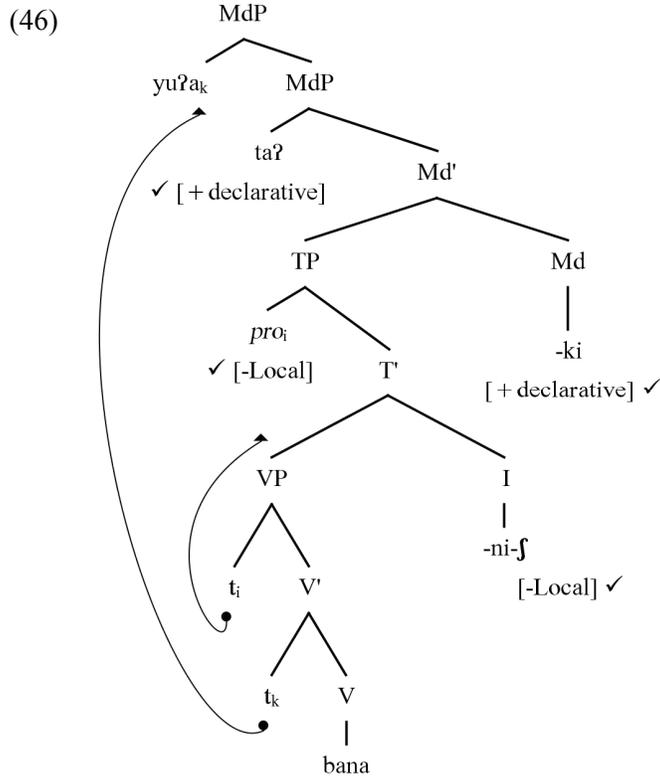
⁶ An alternative analysis that needs to be investigated further is that Capanahua lacks a non-focused third person subject pronoun. This has been reported as occurring in Zuni (p.c. Lynn Nichols, reported by Corbett 2000:169). In Capanahua, this would explain why when a third person pronoun appears, it carries discourse prominence (also noted by Loos & Loos 1998:52). If this hypothesis is correct, Capanahua would have *pro* as a neutral (non-focused) third person pronoun (that is, [-focus, -Local, -speaker]). Then, the pronoun /han/ would really be [+focus, -Local, -speaker] whereas the [+contrastive focus] pronouns for third person subjects would be: /han/ (3p, singular), /ha:βa:n/ (3p, plural), /ha:/ (3p, singular) and /ha:βu/ (3p, plural), the first two used with transitive verbs and the last two, with intransitive verbs.

However, in contrast to main sentences with a first or second person subject, the agreement for the third person located in the head of TP does not have underspecified features. It does not need a third person pronoun in the Spec TP to keep its features specified, as was the case in (34) for the first and second person agreement. Once the [-local] feature of the third person agreement suffix, /-ʃ/, is checked by the third person subject pronoun, the pronoun is good to go further up and just leave a silent copy behind, instead of an overt one. This time it is the features in the agreement that provide the copy in the Spec TP with all necessary information.



In fact, as illustrated by the tree in (46) (which shows the syntactic structure of the sentence in (9)), the third person agreement does not need an overt third person subject pronoun at all. It has all the information it needs; that is, [-local]. However, in (46), since

the subject is null, then the object is forced to adjoin to MdP so it can satisfy the prosodic requirement of the clitic.

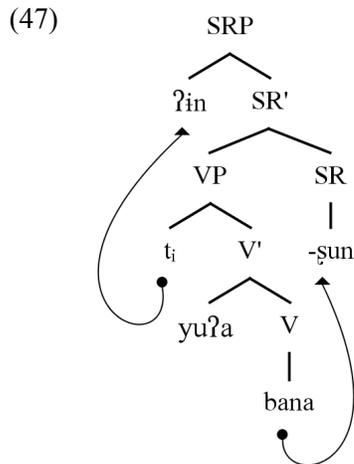


SD does not occur in non-main clauses, such as switch-reference clauses. See data in (26) and (27). The syntactic structure of a switch reference clause (SR) is shown in (47): a small clause headed by the SR suffix */-sun/*, which indicates that the subject is coreferential with the subject of the next clause adjacent and moreover, that the next clause verb is transitive and that the action of the verb in the SR clause it heads occurs before the action expressed by the verb in the following clause.

The reason why SD does not occur in this type of clauses is that they have less structure than main clauses. SR clauses do not possess tense or agreement morphology⁷.

⁷ Crucially, SR suffixes are not agreement markers. We can think of SR suffixes as possessing two variables. Each one seeks for its own referent and then both variables compare their referents against each other under an identity requirement (see also Camacho 2007). For example, the SR suffix */-sun/* imposes an identity requirement under which both variables must end up defined by the same referent. One of the variables looks for a referent in the subject of its own clause and the other seeks a referent in the subject of the next clause. Thus, two clauses can have their subjects sharing the same person and number information but if their referents are different, the appearance of the SR suffix */-sun/* would force the construction to be rejected.

They do not contain mood suffixes or evidential clitics, either. Therefore, the requirements that main clauses must meet and that trigger SD (namely, an internal subject agreement relationship in TP coupled with the need to satisfy the prosodic conditions imposed by second position evidential clitics in the Spec MDP) do not hold in smaller clauses.



4. Conclusions

In this article I examined the phenomenon of subject doubling (SD) of Capanahua. The agreement suffix of first and second persons, located in the head of TP, is underspecified for the feature [speaker]. In order to have a well-formed agreement relationship, the specified [speaker] feature contained in the subject pronoun must overtly stay in the Spec TP. This guarantees that the underspecified feature in the agreement suffix can obtain the value it lacks. Due to the underspecification of this agreement suffix, first and second persons are non-pro-droppable in Capanahua.

The phonological side of the conflict is created by the occurrence of evidential clitics in Spec MDP. Since mood projection is the highest syntactic structure of main clauses, evidential clitics end up in the initial position of the sentence, which in turn creates a prosodic problem: evidential clitics require phonological material on their left side. In order to solve this prosodic problem, Capanahua moves the closest constituent available (usually the subject if overt).

When the subject is first or second person and it is forced to move to the Spec MDP to support the clitic, it cannot just move away from the Spec TP and leave a silent copy behind because the delicate agreement relationship it has with the suffix /-ʔ/ would fail. It has to leave an overt copy that can tell the agreement suffix /-ʔ/ whether the subject is first or second person. Here is when SD is triggered in Capanahua.

In contrast, the third person subject pronoun does not have this problem. First, its agreement is fully specified (that is, [-local]). This allows non-focused third person subjects to be null in Capanahua. Furthermore, when a third person subject is targeted for movement to the Spec MDP, SD does not occur since there is no need to leave an overt

copy of the pronoun in the Spec TP. The agreement suffix has all the information it needs to indicate the person and number properties of the subject.

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6. Final Note

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