COMPLEX LEFT PERIPHERY IN A'INGAE

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LIGHTNING TALK. In this talk, I propose that second-position clitics in A'ingae are C-heads of matrix clauses.

A'ingae (or Cofán, ISO 639-3: con) is an Amazonian isolate spoken by the Cofán people in northeast Ecuador and southern Colombia. The language is endangered and severely underdocumented.

A'ingae has relatively free word order in matrix clauses (1), discontinuous constituency, and extensive pro-drop. Thus, it shows the typical hallmarks of a non-configurational language.

(1)   a. *kuraga   thesi=ma   athe*
          shaman jaguar=ACC see
      b. *kuraga   athe   thesi=ma*
      c. *thesi=ma   kuraga   athe*
      d. *thesi=ma   athe   kuraga*
      e. ?*athe   kuraga   thesi=ma*
      f. ?*athe   thesi=ma   kuraga*
      "A shaman saw a jaguar."[1]

Nevertheless, I argue that A'ingae has a configurational CP projection, which can be diagnosed by second-position (P2) clitics.

The P2 clitics encode person features, reportative evidentiality, and polar interrogatives, as given in Table 1.

=ngi	'1' (first person subject)
=ki	'2' (second person subject)
=tsû	'3' (third person subject)
=te	'RPRT' (reportative evidentiality)
=ti	'INT' (polar interrogative)

Table 1: Sentence-level clitics.

The P2 clitics are optional in declarative matrix clauses (2a). When present, P2 clitics normally appear after the first constituent, i. e. in the second position (2b). If the subject DP is dropped, subject features may by encoded by the clitic alone (2c).

(2) a. *ke panza*   b. *ke=ki panza*   c. *panza=ki*
     you hunt   you=2 hunt   hunt=2
     "you hunted"   "you hunted"   "you hunted"

However, P2 clitics are obligatory in WH-questions, which require that the WH-word occupy the position immediately before the P2 clitic (3a). The absence of a P2 clitic (3b) or a failure to front the WH-word (3c) result in ungrammaticality.

(3) a. *maningae=tsû ja kuraga?*
        where=3   go shaman
        "Where did the shaman go?"

     b. **maningae ja kuraga?*
        where   go shaman
        intended: "Where did the shaman go?"

     c. **kuraga=tsû ja maningae?*
        shaman=3 go where
        intended: "Where did the shaman go?"

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1 Verb-initial word orders (1e-f) occur least frequently in the language corpus (AnderBois and Silva, 2018) and are judged as less natural in elicitation contexts, but are nevertheless accepted.

Finally, P2 clitics are restricted to matrix clauses; they cannot appear in subordinate clauses. But a P2 clitic can be right-adjacent to the subordinate clause, when the entire subordinate clause occupies the first position (4). The subordinate clause is given in brackets [ ].

(4)   [*ke(*=ngi/*=ki) kunda='chu*]=*ma=ngi paña-mbi*
       you(*=1/*=2)   tell=SBRD=ACC=1   understand-NEG
       "I didn't understand what you said."

To explain these properties, I propose that the A'ingae P2 clitics are introduced by a C head distributionally restricted to matrix clauses. The P2 clitics require movement of a constituent to [Spec, CP]. I model this with an Aravind's (2018) EPP feature uFR* which probes for constituents bearing the FR(onting) feature (5).

(5)   P2 clitics: {C, uFR*}

Any constituent may bear FR. Thus, P2 clitics surface in the second position, as in Figure 1.
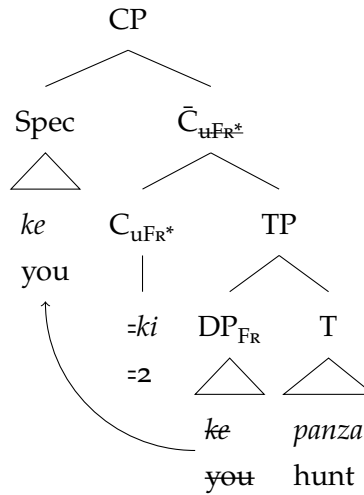

Figure 1: A tree for (2b).

This analysis explains the semantic and distributional properties of P2 clitics. First, recall that in addition to person features, P2 clitics also expone reportative evidentiality (6a), and interrogativity (6b), which categories are typically associated with CPs. This is expected if the P2 clitics are matrix C-heads.

(6) a. *panza=te=ki* b. *panza=ti=ki*
     hunt=RPRT=2   hunt=INT=2
     "you hunted.RPRT"   "did you hunt?"

SECOND, P2 clitics are optional in declarative matrix clauses. I propose that matrix clauses without P2 clitics, such as (2a), simply lack the CP projection. Thus, the optionality of P2 clitics is a matter of structural difference between CPs and TPs.

(2) a. *ke panza* b. *ke=ki panza* c. *panza=ki*
     you hunt   you=2 hunt   hunt=2
     "you hunted"   "you hunted"   "you hunted"

THIRD, I propose that in a content interrogative, the P2 clitic bears the uninterpretable uWh* feature, triggering wh-movement (7).

(7) P2 clitics in wh-questions: { C, uWH* }

Wh-movement is shown in Figure 2. Now, since it is the P2 clitics that are responsible for wh-movement, they are mandatory in wh-questions.
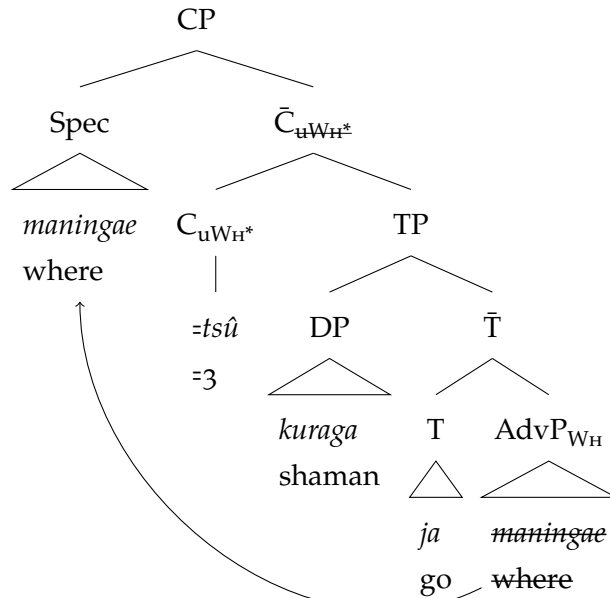

Figure 2: A tree for (3a).

Finally, the analysis explains why p2 clitics cannot occur in subordinate clauses. If p2 clitics are C-heads, they occupy the same syntactic position as complementizers, as in shown in Figure 3.

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                  CP
                 /  \
               TP     C
              /  \     |
            DP    T   ='chu
            /\   /\
           /  \ /  \  =SBRD
          ke    kunda
          you   tell
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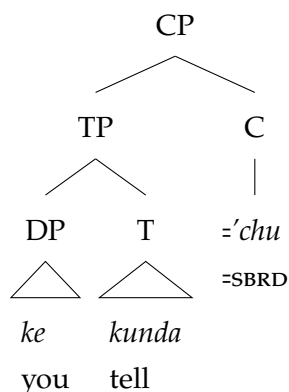
Figure 3: A tree for the subordinate clause in (4).

Since there can only be one C-head per clause, subordinators and p2 clitics are in complementary distribution.

In conclusion, A'ingae p2 clitics encode categories associated with CPs, are optional in declarative clauses, obligatory in wh-questions, and prohibited in subordinate clauses. I argue that these properties follow from the fact that p2 clitics are matrix clausal C-heads.

My results for A'ingae are similar to Legate's (2002), who shows evidence of a complex left periphery in Warlpiri, despite the fact that A'ingae is otherwise typologically dissimilar. To arrive at this conclusion, I use clitics, showing that they can be an important diagnostic for syntactic structure. Finally, my results suggest that languages with apparent free word order may have productive Ā-movement to left peripheries in finite clauses.

1   INTRODUCTION

Phrase structure grammars propose that syntactic structure is strictly hierarchical. Nevertheless, some languages, such as Mohawk, Warlpiri, and Nahuatl, have been argued to be non-configurational, i. e. to have non-hierarchical phrase structure. Hallmarks of non-configurationality include free word-order and extensive pro-drop. Non-configurational languages have been considered a challenge to phrase structure grammars.

A'ingae (or Cofán, ɪso 639-3: con) has relatively free word order in matrix clauses and extensive pro-drop. Thus, it can be classified a non-configurational language. Nevertheless, I will show that A'ingae has complex left-periphery which requires at least two projections above TP, namely CP and TopP.

To show the complex structure of the A'ingae left periphery, I focus on second-position clitics. I propose that they are C heads and motivate my proposal as follows: The second-position clitics expone features typically associated with CPs, they are preceded by only one constituent, trigger ᴡʜ-movement, and are prohibited in subordinate clauses. Moreover, I show structures where the clitics surface in the third, as opposed to second, position. I argue from this that the CP must be at least in some cases dominated by an additional functional head, which I refer to as TopP. Lastly, the requirements on second-position clitic co-occurrence are straightforwardly captured if they are introduced in one functional head.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives background on the A'ingae language and its speakers. Section 3 introduces second-position clitics, describes their their distribution, shows an agreement pattern with the matrix subject, and proposes an analysis couched within the Minimalist Program. Section 4 discusses further complexities pertaining to agreement and extends the analysis to capture those data as well. Section 5 concludes.

2   BACKGROUND

A'ingae (or Cofán, ɪso 639-3: con) is an Amazonian isolate spoken by the Cofán people in northeast Ecuador and southern Colombia. The language is endangered and severely underdocumented.

The Cofán are a traditionally hunter-gatherer people whose origin can be traced back to the Andes (Cepek, 2012). This is reflected in the typological profile of the language, which mixes and matches typically Andean and Amazonian properties (AnderBois, Emlen, et al., 2019).

A'ingae is an agglutinating language. In matrix clauses, word order is largely free, whereas subordinate clauses are strictly verb-final. Functional categories are expressed with suffixes and enclitics; prefixes and proclitics are virtually absent.

Verbs are richly inflected, including categories such as voice, aspect, associated motion, number, modality, polarity, force, and others. For an extensive discussion, see Dąbkowski (2019). Verbal dependents are marked for case in a nominative-accusative alignment.

All the data come from my own fieldwork over the course of the past three years and an extensive corpus of written A'ingae organized as a part of the A'ingae Language Documentation Project (AnderBois and Silva, 2018). All data coming from written sources is cited as such.

3   DISTRIBUTION

In this section, I introduce the basic data which motivate my analysis of A'ingae second-position clitics as C heads. Section 3.1 discusses A'ingae word order in matrix and subordinate clauses. Section 3.2 introduces second-position clitics. Section 3.3 describes the interactions of second-position clitics with wh-question forming mechanisms. Section 3.4 considers less frequent cases when the typically second-position clitics occur in lower positions. Section 3.5 presents the analysis.

3.1   *Word order*

Word order in matrix clauses is free. Thus, in a transitive sentence with both arguments overtly expressed, all six word-order possibilities are attested (8). The most common orders include SOV (8a) and SVO (8b). Verb-initial word orders (8e-f) occur least frequently in the language corpus (AnderBois and Silva, 2018) and are judged as less natural in elicitation contexts, but are nevertheless accepted.

(8)   a. *kuraga   thesi=ma   athe*
          shaman jaguar=ACC see

      b. *kuraga   athe   thesi=ma*

      c. *thesi=ma   kuraga   athe*

      d. *thesi=ma   athe   kuraga*

      e. ?*athe   kuraga   thesi=ma*

      f. ?*athe   thesi=ma   kuraga*

      "A shaman saw a jaguar."

A common subordination strategy employs the nominalizing subordinator
='chu 'SRBD.' Subordinate clauses are strictly verb final, which I interpret
to mean that the underlying word order in A'ingae is SOV. The order of
constituents other than the verb within the subordinate clause is free (9a-b).
The subordinate clause is given in brackets [ ]. Moreover, scrambling out
of subordinate clauses is impossible (9c-d).²

(9)   a. *paña=ngi* [*kuraga thesi=ma   athe='chu*]*=ma*
         hear=1   shaman jaguar=ACC see=SBRD=ACC
      b. *paña=ngi* [*thesi=ma   kuraga   athe='chu*]*=ma*
      c. **kuraga=ngi   paña* [*thesi=ma   athe='chu*]*=ma*
      d. **thesi=ma=ngi   paña* [*kuraga   athe='chu*]*=ma*
      "I heard that a shaman saw a jaguar."

3.2   *Second-position clitics*

There are five sentence-level clitics in A'ingae. The sentence-level clitics
encode subject person features, reportative evidentiality, and polar inter-
rogatives, as given in Table 2.

=ngi	'1' (first person subject)
=ki	'2' (second person subject)
=tsû	'3' (third person subject)
=ti	'INT' (polar interrogative)
=te	'RPRT' (reportative evidentiality)

Table 2: Sentence-level clitics.

Three of the clitics encode the person of the matrix clause's subject. The
subject can also be expressed by a regular DP. The subject DP can co-occur
with the subject clitic (10), but both the clitic (11) and the subject DP (12)
are optional. Regular subject pronouns are glossed as *ña* '1SG,' *ke* '2SG,' and
tise '3SG.' As can be seen in (10, 12), sentence-level clitics normally appear
after the first constituent, i. e. in the second position.

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2 I am here restricting my attention to scrambling to the position immediately before the
second-position clitic (to be discussed in Section 3.2). Scrambling to other positions obeys
fewer restrictions. For example, objects of nominalized subordinate clauses can scramble
rightward (i).

(i)   *paña=ngi* [*kuraga athe='chu*]*=ma thesi=ma*
      hear=1   shaman see=SBRD=ACC jaguar=ACC
      "I hear that a shaman saw a jaguar."

(10) a. *ña=ngi panza*　　b. *ke=ki panza*　　c. *tise=tsû panza*
　　　　1SG=1 hunt　　　　　2SG=2 hunt　　　　　3SG=3 hunt

(11) a. *ña panza*　　　　b. *ke panza*　　　c. *tise panza*
　　　　1SG hunt　　　　　　2SG hunt　　　　　3SG hunt

(12) a. *panza=ngi*　　　b. *panza=ki*　　　c. *panza=tsû*
　　　　hunt=1　　　　　　　hunt=2　　　　　　hunt=3

　　　　"I hunted"　　　　　"you hunted"　　　　"(s)he hunted"

Featural identity between the first constituent and the second-position clitic is not required. For example, a second-position clitic exponing first or second person subject can attach to a third person object (13).

(13) a. *khuvi=ma=ngi (ña) panza*　　b. *khuvi=ma=ki (ke) panza*
　　　　tapir=ACC=1 (1SG) hunt　　　　　tapir=ACC=2 (2SG) hunt

　　　　"I hunted tapir"　　　　　　　　"you hunted tapir"

The other two clitics expone discourse-related categories. One encodes polar questions (14a), while the other—reportative evidentiality (14b).

(14) a. *panza=ti=ki*　　　　　b. *panza=te=ki*
　　　　hunt=INT=2　　　　　　　hunt=RPRT=2

　　　　"did you hunt?"　　　　　"you hunted (they say)"

3.3   Content questions

Now, I will address the relation of A'ingae second-position clitics to content question-forming mechanisms.

A'ingae indefinite pronouns play a double role as content question words. For example, the inanimate indefinite *junguesû* can mean either 'something' or 'what.' Interrogative uses are distinguished from indefinite uses by WH-fronting and the obligatory use of a second-position clitic (15a). Failing to front the WH-word results in ungrammaticality (15b). Likewise, failing to use a second-position clitic yields a degraded sentence (15c).

(15) a. *jûnguesû=ma=tsû athe kuraga=ja?*
　　　　　what=ACC=3　　see shaman=CNTR

　　　　　"What did the shaman see?"

　　　b. **athe jûnguesû=ma kuraga=ja?*
　　　　　see what=ACC　　shaman=CNTR

　　　　　intended: "What did the shaman see?"

   c. ?*jûnguesû=ma athe kuraga=ja?*
      what=ACC   see shaman=CNTR
      intended: "What did the shaman see?"

Oblique content interrogatives without the sentence-level clitic are even more degraded (16). It is not well understood why the lack of a second-position clitic results in a more degraded sentence when the WH-constituent is an adjunct (16) than when the WH-constituent is an object (15c).[3]

(16)   *maningae*?*(=tsû) ja kuraga=ja?*
       where?*(=3)   go shaman=CNTR
       "Where did the shaman go?"

When the interrogative appears within a subordinate clause, the WH-word appears initial in the subordinate clause, and the subordinate clause itself appears initial in the sentence. This is to say, one cannot extract a constituent out of a subordinate clause, but one can move the entire clause to satisfy the requirement on WH-initiality (17).

(17)   [*junguesû ña=mbe=ma ke=nga   kati-ye*]=ki in'jan?
      what   1SG=BEN=ACC 2SG=DAT cast-INF=2 want

      "What pledge shall I give you?"   (Genesis 38:18)
      literally: "What thing of mine do you want (me) to cast to you?"

In non-interrogative uses, however, indefinites can be used without fronting and without a second-position clitic (18).

(18)   [*tise mama junguesû=ma tsun-'je=ni*]=jan   *tsa=ma='khe   faen'gae*
      3SG mom what=ACC   do-IMPV=LOC=CNTR ANA=ACC=ADD together
      fûite-'je
      help-IMPV

      "She helps her mom with whatever she's doing."
                          (Chica Umenda and Borman, 1982, p. 22)

In general, second-position clitics are restricted to matrix clauses. This is to say, second-position clitics can only encode the subject of the matrix clause and they can occur only in matrix clauses. Even if the subordinate clause precedes the matrix verb, a second-position clitic cannot occur therewithin. A second-position clitic can, however, be right-adjacent to the subordinate

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3 Furthermore, some of these effects might be restricted to elicitation contexts. In the corpus of written A'ingae organized as a part of the A'ingae Language Documentation Project (AnderBois and Silva, 2018), fronted WH-constituents are robustly accompanied by second-position clitics.

clause (19). This indicates that the entire subordinate clause counts as one constituent which occupies the first position.

(19) [*ke(*=ngi/*=ki) kunda=ʼchu*]=*ma=ngi paña-mbi*
        2SG(*=1/*=2)   tell=SBRD=ACC=1   understand-NEG
        "I didn't understand what you said."

Observe that a second-position clitic is disallowed in (19) because *ke* '2SG' cannot be interpreted as the matrix subject. A very similar string, however, is grammatical, if *=ngi* '1' is stripped away so that *ke* '2SG' can be parsed as the subject of the matrix clause (20). The difference in the structural position of *ke* '2SG' is reflected by the difference of bracketing.

(20) *ke=ki* [*kunda=ʼchu*]=*ma paña-mbi*
        2SG=2 tell=SBRD=ACC   understand-NEG
        "You didn't understand what was said."

3.4 *Lower positions*

Lastly, sentence-level clitics can sometimes appear in positions other than the second position, including the third and even fourth position (21).

(21) *aʼtse=ta(=tsû)*   *tsaʼu=nga(=tsû) kaʼni(=tsû)*
        hummingbird=NEW(=3) house=DAT(=3) enter(=3)
        "The hummingbird entered the house."

The conditions under which a sentence-level clitic can appear in positions other than second are not clear. For one, sentence-level clitics appear in the second position much more frequently than in the third or fourth position.

I tentatively propose that structures where the sentence-level clitic appears further to the right result from focus and topic fronting. Support for this tentative proposal comes from the fact contrastive topics marked with *=ja* 'CNTR'[4] can never be immediately followed by a sentence-level clitic. This is to say, when a constituent with the contrastive topic marker appears sentence-initially, the sentence-level clitic can appear in the third, but never second, position (22).

(22) *aʼtse=ja(*=tsû)*   *tsaʼu=nga(=tsû) kaʼni*
        hummingbird=CNTR(*=3) house=DAT(=3) enter
        "The hummingbird entered the house."

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4 The morpheme is identified as contrastive topic following Fischer and Hengeveld (in press). Yet, constituents marked with *=ja* 'CNTR' do not pass the usual tests for contrastive topics. The semantics of *=ja* 'CNTR' are therefore unclear.

In summary, the following facts hold of A'ingae sentence-level clitics: They agree with the matrix subject and expone discourse-level features of force (polar interrogative) and evidentiality (reportative). They typically appear right-adjacent to the first constituent. They always appear after the fronted WH-constituent. Finally, sentence-level clitics can also appear in positions other than the second one and they never directly follow a contrastive topic marked with *=ja* 'CNTR.'

3.5 *Analysis*

I propose that the A'ingae sentence-level clitics are introduced by a C head distributionally restricted to matrix clauses.

The matrix clause C head has an uninterpretable person agreement φ-feature which is satisfied by copying features from the structurally highest DP, i. e. the subject. Feature copying is represented with a dashed line.

The matrix clause C head also has a strong uninterpretable FR feature which forces movement of a constituent from the TP it dominates to the specifier position of CP. Movement is represented with an arrow and a striking out of the extracted constituent. The features φ and FR are independent. Thus, the extracted constituent and the sentence-level clitic need not agree in person. Figure 4 gives the tree structure for (13a).

The first piece of evidence in support of this analysis comes from the fact that, in addition to person features, the sentence-level clitics expone polar questions and reportative evidentiality. The categories of interrogative force
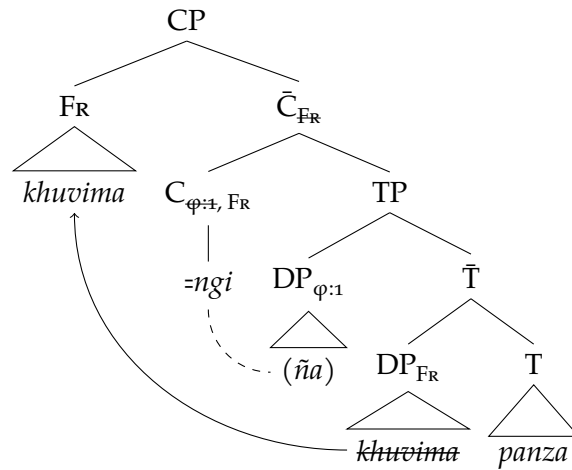
Figure 4: A tree for (13a).

and evidentiality pertain to entire sentences, which makes the C head a natural locus for them.

Second, A'ingae sentence-level clitics occur typically occur in the second position, which means that only one constituent precedes them. This fact finds a natural explanation in the architecture of the Minimalist theory of movement, where only one constituent is moved up to the specifier position by a strong uninterpretable feature.

Third, the analysis also captures A'ingae wh-movement. I propose that in a content interrogative, the sentence-level clitic is responsible for the movement of the wh-constituent. The fact that the second-position clitics are the triggers of A'ingae wh-movement explains why they are mandatory in content interrogatives.[5] Figure 5 gives the tree structure for (16).[6]
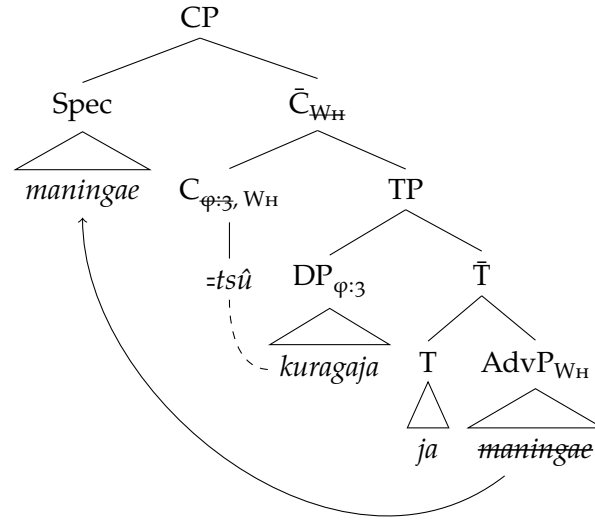

Figure 5: A tree for (16).

Fourth, second-position clitics are prohibited from subordinate clauses. This is straightforwardly accounted for, as subordinate clauses require complementizers, which are standardly assumed to be C head themselves. In (19), for example, I take =ʼchu 'SBRD' to be the C head.

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5 In content interrogatives, it is always the wh-element that has to move. Thus, an additional mechanism is needed to prevent the movement of other non-wh-constituents to the specifier position of CP.

6 The order of the subject and the verb in (16) is different from the one presented in Figure 5. I take the word order difference to be a consequence of A'ingae's regular scrambling, which I do not represent in Figure 5.

The C heads of matrix clauses (i. e. second-position clitics) and the C heads
of subordinate clauses (i. e. subordinators) differ: The former precede their
arguments, while the latter follow their arguments. Moreover, subordinators,
such as the nominalizing subordinator =*'chu* 'SBRD' do not show subject
agreement and do not trigger any movement. Both second-position clitics
and complementizers, however, occupy the same structural position, which
explains their complementary distribution. Figure 6 gives the tree structure
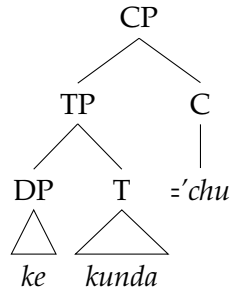for the subordinate clause in (19).

Figure 6: A tree for the subordinate clause in (19).

Fifth, recall that sentence-level clitics cannot appear in the second position
when the first position is occupied by a contrastive topic. In those cases,
however, the clitic can appear in the third position (22). The architecture
motivated so far easily extends to capture these data.

I propose that contrastive topics have a feature CNTR which makes them
ineligible for extraction by sentence-level clitics. (CNTR cannot co-occur with
FR.) They can, however, be extracted to the specifier position of a higher
projection which I label TopP. Figure 7 gives the tree structure for (22).
Generally, projections above CP, such as TopP, can capture cases when the
sentence-level clitics appear in positions further to the right, even in the
absence of contrastive topics (21).

4 AGREEMENT

In this section, I turn to further complexities of person features expressed
on the second-position clitics. Section 4.1 introduces the relevant data. Sec-
tion 4.2 presents the analysis.

4.1 *Data*

The interpretation of second-position clitics is dependent on the presence
of other second-position clitics. Although the second-position clitics are
generally optional, the polar interrogative =*ti* 'INT' and the reportative =*te*
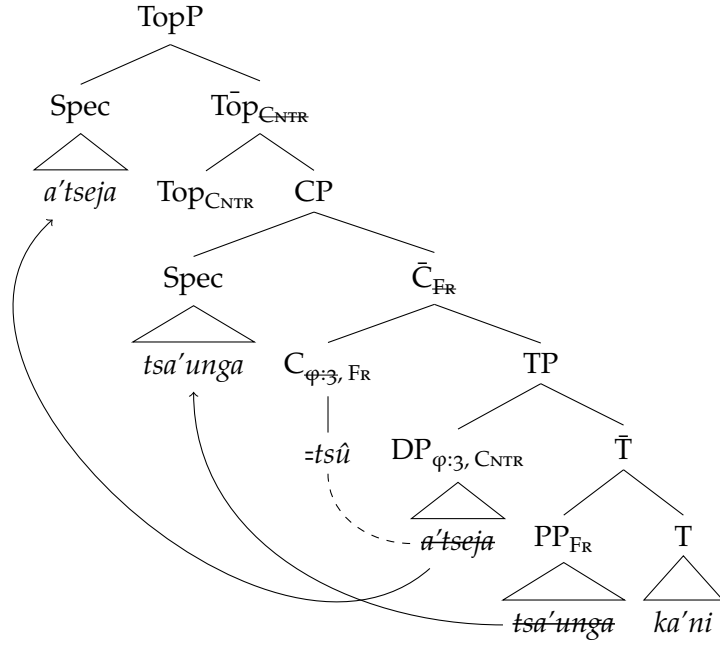
Figure 7: A tree for (22).

'RPRT' always have third person interpretation when no other clitic is present. Moreover, the third person subject clitic =*tsû* '3' is incompatible with =*ti* 'INT' and =*te* 'RPRT' (23).

(23)   a. *panza=ti*(*=tsû*)
       hunt=INT(*=3)

       "did (s)he hunt?"

       b. *panza=te*(*=tsû*)
       hunt=RPRT(*=3)

       "(s)he hunted (they say)"

The third person interpretations in (23) do not arise merely as default interpretations in the absence of other information about subject features. This is to say, =*ti* 'INT' and =*te* 'RPRT' must in some way, if used by themselves, encode the third person subject. The clitics 'INT' and =*te* 'RPRT' must always be followed by =*ngi* '1' or =*ki* '2' when the subject is first or second person, even when an overt subject DP is present (24).

(24)   a. *ke=ti**(*=ki*) *panza*
       2SG=INT*(=2) hunt

       "did you hunt?"

       b. *ke=te**(*=ki*) *panza*
       2SG=RPRT*(=2) hunt

       "you hunted (they say)"

The pattern holds even when the phrase on which the clitics lean is not a featurally identical pronoun (25).[7] Thus, we see that this is not a mat-

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7 The clitics =*ndi* and =*nde* seen in (25) are nasal allomorphs of the polar interrogative =*ti* 'INT' and the reportative =*te* 'RPRT,' respectively, here adjacent to the nasal =*ma* 'ACC.'

ter of agreement between the fronted constituent and the person features expressed on the clitic.

(25)   a. *khuvi=ma=ndi*(=ki) (ke) panza*   b. *khuvi=ma=nde*(=ki) (ke) panza*
       tapir=ACC=INT*(=2) (2SG) hunt   tapir=ACC=RPRT*(=2) (2SG) hunt
       "did you hunt a tapir?"   "you hunted a tapir (they say)"

We thus see that *=ti* 'INT' and *=te* 'RPRT' end up encoding third person subject in the absence of on overt subject person clitic. This pattern is further corroborated by imperative and prohibitive sentences. Thus, I will now give a brief overview of those facts, although a formal analysis of analysis of imperatives will not be pursued in Section 4.2.

The subject of imperative sentences is second person. Yet normally, the second person subject clitic *=ki* '2' cannot occur in imperatives (26a). This is so despite the fact that the second person pronoun *ke* '2SG' can be overtly expressed in imperatives (26b).

(26)   a. *kunda-ja(*=ki)*   b. *ke(*=ki) panza-ja khuvi=ma*
       tell-IMP(*=2)   2SG(*=2) hunt-IMP tapir=ACC
       "speak!"   "you hunt tapir!"

However, the reportative *=te* 'RPRT' occurs with an imperative and the second person clitic *=ki* '2' to express a by-proxy command (27).

(27)   *kunda-ja=te=ki*
       tell-IMP=RPRT=2
       "(You are told to) speak!"

In a by-proxy command, the addressee is the one being commanded but the command originates from a third party, as opposed to the speaker (AnderBois, 2017). In A'ingae, by-proxy commands require *=ki* '2.' This requirement can be understood as stemming from the fact that the subject of a by-proxy command is second person.

Without the second person subject clitic *=ki* '2,' a third person directive reading is marginally available (28).

(28)   ?*kunda-ja=te*
       tell-IMP=RPRT
       "(Tell them to) speak!"

In a third-person directive, the command originates with the speaker, but the addressee is not the target of the command. Instead, the command is

targeted at a third person, relayed by the addressee. The marginal avail-ability of this reading can be understood as stemming from the fact that =*te* 'RPRT' by itself enforces a third person subject.

We thus saw that even in imperatives, the reportative clitic =*te* 'RPRT' requires =*ki* '2' to convey a second person subject. This further corroborates the claim that in the absence of overt subject person clitics, =*te* 'RPRT' ends up encoding a third person person subject.

To recap, the puzzle essentially boils down to this: =*ngi* '1' and =*ki* '2' are optional in the absence of =*ti* 'INT' and =*te* 'RPRT,' but categorically required when either =*ti* 'INT' or =*te* 'RPRT' is present (29).

(29) a. *ke(=ki) panza*   b. *ke=ti*(=ki) panza*
          2SG(=2) hunt   2SG=INT*(=2) hunt

          "you hunted"   "did you hunt?"

4.2 *Analysis*

I propose that the facts of agreement discussed in this section can be cap-tured by a straightforward extension of the analysis from Section 3.5.

Descriptively, the polar interrogative =*ti* 'INT' and the reportative =*te* 'RPRT' show third person subject agreement *unless* the first person subject clitic =*ngi* '1' or the second person subject clitic =*ki* '2' is present. This type *unless*-condition on morpheme realization is straightforwardly captured in the framework of Distributed Morphology (henceforth DM, Embick and Noyer, 2007), which provides an explicit formalism for contextual allomorphy with respect to adjacent morphemes.

$[\varphi:1]$	$\leftrightarrow$	$\{\mathfrak{F}: =ngi\}$
$[\varphi:2]$	$\leftrightarrow$	$\{\mathfrak{F}: =ki\}$
$[\varphi:3]$	$\leftrightarrow$	$\{\mathfrak{F}: =ts\hat{u}\}$
$[\varphi:3]$	$\leftrightarrow$	$\{\mathfrak{F}: \emptyset\}$ / $\{$INT, RPRT$\}$ __
$[$INT$]$	$\leftrightarrow$	$\{\mathfrak{F}: =ti\}$
$[$RPRT$]$	$\leftrightarrow$	$\{\mathfrak{F}: =te\}$

Table 3: Lexical entries for the sentence-level clitics.

DM-style lexical entries for the sentence-level clitics are given in given in Table 3. The left-hand side lists morphological features. The right-hand side lists phonological realizations of these features. Conditioning environments

are given after the right slash /. No conditioning environment corresponds to the "elsewhere" condition.

Crucially, the the third person agreement feature $[\varphi:3]$ has two allomorphs: $\{\mathfrak{F}:\emptyset\}$ and $\{\mathfrak{F}:\textit{=tsû}\}$. It is realized as without any phonological content (i. e. $\{\mathfrak{F}:\emptyset\}$) only in the presence of [INT] or [RPRT]. Otherwise, it is realized as $\{\mathfrak{F}:\textit{=tsû}\}$. Thus, $\{\mathfrak{F}:\textit{=tsû}\}$ will never surface after $\{\mathfrak{F}:\textit{=ti}\}$ or $\{\mathfrak{F}:\textit{=te}\}$, which accounts for the incompatibility presented in (23).

(23)   a. *panza=ti(*=tsû)*   b. *panza=te(*=tsû)*
          hunt=INT(*=3)   hunt=RPRT(*=3)
          "did (s)he hunt?"   "(s)he hunted (they say)"

In addition, a phonologically empty element will always be given the $[\varphi:3]$ interpretation in the presence of [INT] or [RPRT]. In that environment, therefore, $\{\mathfrak{F}:\textit{=ngi}\}$ and $\{\mathfrak{F}:\textit{=ki}\}$ are necessary for first and second person agreement. This accounts for (24).

(24)   a. *ke=ti*(=ki) panza*   b. *ke=te*(=ki) panza*
          2SG=INT*(=2) hunt   2SG=RPRT*(=2) hunt
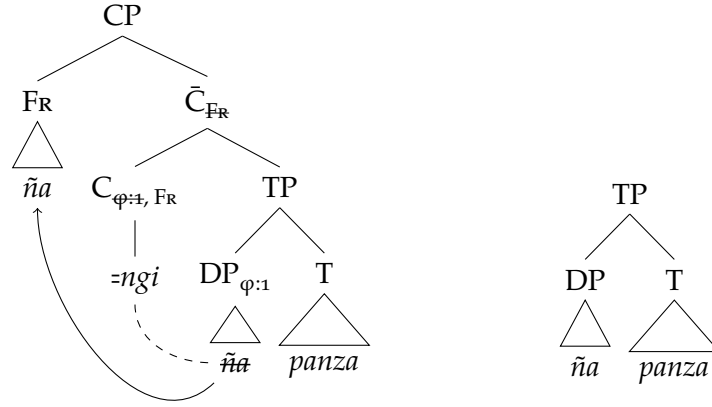   "did you hunt?"   "you hunted (they say)"

Figure 8: Trees for (10a) and (11a).

The optionality of first and second person clitic in the absence of [INT] and [RPRT] is explained on structural grounds. Clauses which do not show any clitics are TPs, not CPs. Thus, the difference between (10a) and (11a) lies in the presence or absence of CP structure, rather than environmentally conditioned allomorphy. Figure 8 gives the two tree structures. This is to say, while a phonologically null element expones $[\varphi:3]$ in (23), there is no need to propose a phonologically null element exponing $[\varphi:1]$ in (11a).

5 CONCLUSION

I have considered distributional facts pertaining to A'ingae second-position clitics, which show agreement with the matrix subject and expone interrogative force and reportative evidentiality. I have demonstrated that the second-position clitics are optional in matrix clauses, prohibited in subordinate clauses, and obligatory in WH-questions. Moreover, the clitics cannot appear in the second position if the first position in occupied by a contrastive topic.

I have demonstrated that a phrase-structure grammar well accounts for the properties of A'ingae second-position clitics. Thus, I have shown that the language has complex and hierarchical syntactic structure despite its relatively free word order and extensive pro-drop.

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