

Clitic Doubling in San Martín Peras Mixtec: Its Origins and Development

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San Martín Peras Mixtec, an Oto-Manguean language of western Oaxaca, has innovated a system of subject marking unique amongst the Mixtec languages. A pronoun that cross-references the features of the subject appears before the verb, shown in (1).

- 1) Rà xíta Juan.
 he sing.PRES
 "Juan is singing."

In this talk I first address the origins of this pattern. I suggest that it is rooted in a frequent clitic left dislocation pattern (Hollenbach 1995), which is a common path cross-linguistically that leads to patterns like this (Givón 1976, *et sequitur*). Second, I consider whether this pattern behaves like true clitic doubling or phi-agreement. Applying the diagnostics presented in Preminger (2009), Nevins (2011), and Kramer (2014), I show that speakers vary; for some speakers the pattern in (1) behaves like clitic doubling, while for others, this pattern shows characteristics of agreement. Furthermore, the age distribution suggests that younger speakers have reanalyzed a clitic doubling pattern of the older generation as agreement. If this is on the right track, then we have a window to observe grammaticization in action, as well as the complex relation between clitic doubling and agreement.