Nominal-clitic case mismatches

Matthew Tyler and Michelle Yuan

1. Introduction

Many languages exhibit *clitic-doubling*, a phenomenon whereby a full argument is 'doubled' by a pronominal element elsewhere in the clause. We generally expect clitics to match the arguments they double (henceforth their *associate*) both in ϕ-features and case features. The Bulgarian examples in (1) illustrate a well-behaved matching pattern.

(1) a. Sa **go** videli **nego** včera
   they.have 3SM.ACC seen him.ACC yesterday
   'They saw him yesterday.'
   b. Marija **mu** podari kolelo **na Ivan** za koleda
   Maria 3SM.DAT gave bike to Ivan for Christmas
   'Maria gave Ivan a bike for Christmas.'   (Bulgarian, Harizanov 2014)

In recent theoretical accounts of clitic-doubling, clitics are syntactic heads in some kind of relation with their associate. (2) provides a theory-neutral sketch of this idea, where the dashed arrow could indicate either movement (Uriagereka, 1995; Harizanov, 2014; Kramer, 2014) or agreement (Suñer, 1988), with some accounts adopting elements of both ideas (Arregi & Nevins, 2012).

(2) HP
   ┌──┴────────┐
   H   │
 ┌─┴─┐   ┌──┴──┐
Cl_i H   DP_i
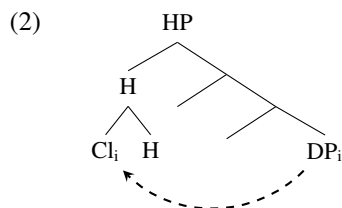
Whatever the technical implementation, in all such accounts it is relatively easy to explain the feature-matching between the clitic and the associate. What is harder to explain are those cases where the clitic and associate appear to have *different* features. In this paper, we consider two unrelated languages—Choctaw (Muskogean) and Yimas (Lower-Sepik)—and argue that under the particular syntactic configurations found in these languages, clitics and their associates may systematically mismatch for case. Specifically, we propose that in Choctaw, nominals are subject to a round of case-assignment from which clitics are exempt, while in Yimas the reverse situation holds: clitics are subject to a round of case-assignment from which nominals are exempt. We first argue that the argument-referencing verbal morphology found in both Choctaw and Yimas is made up of clitics and not agreement affixes (section 2). We then examine the Choctaw and Yimas mismatches in turn (section 3), before

showing how they are derived by the rounds of case-assignment targeting nominals or clitics individually (section 4).

2. Clitic-doubling in Choctaw and Yimas

We adopt the model of clitic-doubling in which clitics are determiner heads (D^0s) that form movement chains with their DP associates. As schematized in (3), a clitic will adjoin to a clitic-hosting head on the clausal spine, which c-commands the nominal associate (e.g. Nevins 2011; Arregi & Nevins 2012; Harizanov 2014; Kramer 2014).[1] Clitics contrast with ϕ-agreement affixes, which are bundles of ϕ-features copied from targeted arguments, as in (4).

(3) *Clitic doubling:*

HostP

Host^0

D^0_i Host^0 **DP$_i$**

(4) *ϕ-agreement:*

AgrP

Agr$^0_{[\phi_i]}$

DP$_{[\phi_i]}$
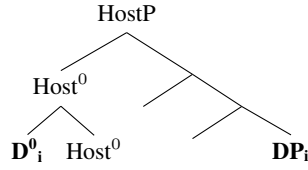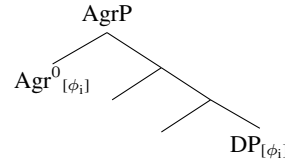
Next, we introduce the argument-referencing morphemes in Choctaw and Yimas respectively, and for each language we present two arguments in favor of the clitichood of these morphemes.

2.1. Choctaw

In Choctaw, 1st and 2nd-person arguments are obligatorily cross-referenced on the main verb. The morphemes fall into three series labelled ERGative, ABSolutive and DATive, shown in (5).

(5)

	ERG	ABS	DAT
1sg	-li	sa-/si-	(s)am-
2sg	ish-	chi-	chim-
1pc	ii-/il-	pi-	pim-
1pl	ii-/il-	hapi-	hapim-
2pl	hash-	hachi-	hachim-
3/unmarked	–	–	im-

3rd-person arguments are clitic-doubled only when a DAT clitic would be called for. For this reason, all of the Choctaw examples in this paper involve 1st and 2nd-person arguments.

The first piece of evidence that the morphemes in (5) are clitics comes from their phonological form. As shown in (6), the forms of the ABS paradigm are clearly represented as subcomponents of their full pronoun counterparts.[2] Likewise, the DAT morphemes clearly share this morphological base, although they co-occur with an extra *-m-* morpheme. Assuming that pronouns, like clitics, are of category D (Postal 1969; Abney 1987 a.o.), we expect pronouns to share a paradigm with clitics (Kramer, 2014).

(6)

	1sg	2sg	1pc	1pl	2pl
ABS	sa-	chi-	pi-	hapi-	hachi-
DAT	(s)am-	chim-	pim-	hapim-	hachim-
Pronoun	a-no	chi-shno	pi-shno	hapi-shno	hachi-shno

The second piece of evidence comes from some alternations that resemble clitic climbing. (7) exemplifies a class of construction featuring an auxiliary-like main verb and a participial verb. As

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[1] On other points of technical implementation (e.g. whether clitic-doubling is parasitic on an Agree relation, or the base-generation site of the clitic within the DP), we remain agnostic, since they do not bear directly on our proposal.
[2] The 1sg ABS form *sa-* appears to be less clearly related to its equivalent pronoun *ano*. However, the 1sg DAT clitic *(s)am-*, where the presence of the *s* is conditioned by morphophonological context, shows that the pronominal *a*-form and the ABS-clitic *sa-* form are synchronically related.

Broadwell & Martin (1993) show, an ABS or ERG clitic may appear on either the main verb or the participle, but not on both.[3] We take this pattern to be characteristic of clitic-doubling.

(7) a. ⟨**hapi**⟩-yolhlhi-t   ⟨**hapi**⟩-tahlih   b. ⟨**ish**⟩-bashli-t   ⟨**ish**⟩-tahli-tok
        1PL.ABS-run.off-PTCP 1PL.ABS-finish   2SG.ERG-cut-PTCP 2SG.ERG-finish-PST
        'He ran us off.'   'You had finished cutting it.'

For reasons of space we are unable to present any further arguments for the clitichood of the morphemes in (5), but refer the reader to Broadwell & Martin (1993) and Tyler (to appear-a) instead.

2.2. Yimas

The Yimas data in this paper are from Foley (1991). Like Choctaw, argument-referencing morphemes on the verb come in three paradigms: ERGative, ABSolutive, and DATive, shown in (8).

(8)

	1sg	**1dl**	**1pl**	**2sg**	**2dl**	**2pl**	**3sg**	**3dl**	**3pl**
ABS	ama-	kapa-	ipa-	ma-	kapwa-	ipwa-	na-	impa-	pu-
ERG	ka-	ŋkra-	kay-	n-	ŋkran-	nan-	n-	mpi-	mpu-
DAT	ŋa-	ŋkra-	kra-	nan-	ŋkul-	kul-	-(n)akn	-mpn	-mpun

These morphemes are not ϕ-agreement morphemes, but rather pronominal clitics doubling full (often *pro* dropped) arguments. First, Yimas displays morphological identity between the independent pronouns of the language and the ABS paradigm,[4] as illustrated in (9a).[5] This identity is moreover demonstrated in the example in (9b), in which the ABS morpheme cross-references an overt pronoun.

(9) a.

	1sg	**1dl**	**1pl**	**2sg**	**2dl**	**2pl**	**3sg**	**3dl**	**3pl**
ABS	ama-	kapa-	ipa-	ma-	kapwa-	ipwa-	na-	impa-	pu-
Pronoun	ama	kapa	ipa	mi	kapwa	ipwa	na	impa	pu

    b. **kapwa** tanka-mpi **kapwa**-wa-t
        2DL   where-ADV 2DL.ABS-go-PRF
        'Where have you gone?'

The second piece of evidence is the fact that these morphemes are *optional*, as shown throughout (10). These examples each contain two arguments, but differ in the number of cross-referencing morphemes present. As discussed by Foley (1991), the occurrence of these morphemes correlates with information-structural considerations, with discourse-given arguments cross-referenced by verbal morphology.

(10) a. kacmpt   payum **ya-mpu**-yamal-wat
         canoe.VIII.PL man.PL VIII.PL.ABS-3PL.ERG-carve-HAB
         'The men usually carve the canoes.'   *(full)*

     b. m-n   **impa**-tay-mpi-kwalca-k   paympan
         DEM-SG 3DL.ABS-see-SEQ-rise-IRR eagle
         'He, the eagle, saw them both and took off.'   *(partial)*

     c. num-n-mat   Kampramanan wapal-k
         villager-OBL-PL place name   climb-IRR
         'The villagers climbed Kampramanan.'   *(none)*

These morphemes' optionality would be unexpected if they were exponents of genuine ϕ-agreement. On the other hand, optionality is well-attested in clitic-doubling cross-linguistically, and is often observed to correlate with factors such as discourse givenness, specificity, and topicality (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990;

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[3] This characterization is simplified, and the availability of the alternation with ABS clitics is conditioned by whether it doubles a subject or object. We set this and other complications aside here.
[4] Only the 2SG forms diverge: the bound morpheme is *ma-*, the independent pronoun is *mi*.
[5] That this identity holds only for the ABS paradigm will be explained by our analysis.

Anagnostopoulou, 2006; Kramer, 2014). The optionality of clitic-doubling in Yimas will be a crucial aspect of our analysis of Yimas clitic-case, to be developed below.

In summary, we propose that argument-referencing morphemes in both Choctaw and Yimas should be treated as clitics rather than agreement affixes. While the argumentation here has been necessarily abridged and incomplete, we refer the reader to other work for more comprehensive discussion: Broadwell & Martin (1993); Tyler (to appear-a, to appear-b) for Choctaw, and Yuan (2017) for Yimas. The next section illustrates the distribution of these clitics, and how each language instantiates a different kind of mismatch between the case of the clitics and the case of their DP associates.

3. Clitic/case mismatches

We will see that in both Choctaw and Yimas, nominals and clitics appear to be marked according to different case systems. This comprises the empirical basis for the analysis presented in section 4, in which clitics and their associates are targeted for bespoke rounds of case-assignment.

3.1. Choctaw

In Choctaw, the choice of clitic used to double an argument is closely tied to the argument's thematic role. For this reason, it has been characterized as exhibiting 'split-S', 'active', 'semantic' or 'agent-patient' alignment (Munro & Gordon, 1982; Davies, 1986; Broadwell, 1988, 2006). (11) illustrates the relevant part of the system: unergative and transitive subjects are doubled by ERG clitics (11a,c), while unaccusative subjects and transitive objects are doubled by ABS clitics (11b,c).

(11) a. **ii**-baliili-tok   c. **ii-chi**-shoolih
          1PL.ERG-run-PST   1PL.ERG-2SG.ABS-hug
          'We ran.   'We hug you.'

      b. **chi**-nokshoopa-tok
          2SG.ABS-be.scared-PST
          'You were scared.'

By contrast, the nominal case system is nominative-accusative, as shown in (12). All subjects, including unaccusatives, are marked as nominative, while objects are marked as accusative.

(12) a. alikchi-**t**   nokshoopah   b. alikchi-**t**   alla-m-**ã̀**   shoolih
          doctor-NOM   be.scared   doctor-NOM   child-DEM-ACC hug
          'The doctor is scared.'   'The doctor hugs that kid.'

Because 3rd-person arguments are mostly not clitic-doubled, and 1st/2nd-person arguments are mostly *pro*-dropped, it is rare to see the same argument being simultaneously case-marked and clitic-doubled. However, we can force such a situation to arise with the use of focused pronouns, as in (13).

(13) a. alikchi-yat **anaak-õ̀**   **sa**-lhiyohli-tok
          doctor-NOM me.FOC-ACC 1SG.ABS-chase-PST
          'It was me who the doctor chased.'

      b. **anaak-oosh sa**-ttola-tok   c. **anaak-oosh** ofi lhiyohli-**li**-tok
          I.FOC-NOM 1SG.ABS-fall-PST   I.FOC-NOM dog chase-1SG.ERG-PST
          'It was me who fell.'   'It was me who chased the dog.'

For reasons of space we omit discussion of nominals doubled by DAT clitics, but they too can be marked with nominative or accusative case. We now turn to Yimas, which exhibits a different kind of mismatch.

3.2. Yimas

As indicated in §2, clitics in Yimas follow an ergative-absolutive alignment; this is shown below in (14a-b). Note moreover that clitics cross-referencing indirect objects are DAT, (14c).

(14) a. **pu**-wa-t
         3PL.ABS-go-PRF
         'They went.'

     b. **pu**-**n**-tay
         3PL.ABS-3SG.ERG-see
         'He saw them.'

     c. **k**-**ka**-tkam-r-**akn**
         VI.SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-show-PRF-3SG.DAT
         'I showed him it (the coconut).'

In contrast to the clitics, nominals are morphologically *unmarked* for case. In (15a-c) below, there is a single form for 'men' (*payum*),[6] regardless of its grammatical function or thematic role in the sentence, and regardless of the case paradigm of the clitic cross-referencing it. Thus, like Choctaw, Yimas also displays a nominal-clitic case mismatch. Whereas the clitics display an ERG/ABS/DAT contrast, the nominals that the clitics cross-reference make no morphological distinctions at all.

(15) a. **payum** **narmaŋ** na-**mpu**-tay
         man.PL woman.SG 3SG.ABS-3PL.ERG-see
         'The men saw the woman.'

     b. **payum** **narmaŋ** **pu**-n-tay
         man.PL woman.SG 3PL.ABS-3SG.ERG-see
         'The woman saw the men.'

     c. **ŋaykum** **makaw** **payum** wa-mpu-ŋa-r-**mpun**
         woman.PL fish.IX.SG man.PL IX.SG.ABS-3PL.ERG-give-PRF-3PL.DAT
         'The women gave the men makaw.'[7]

Note that, at this point, the Yimas system we have shown so far is compatible with an alternative analysis, in which nominals bear *null* ERG/ABS/DAT case. Under this approach, the nominal-clitic case mismatch we see in Yimas would solely be *morphological*, with no syntactic consequences. However, we will present evidence below that the clitics do behave autonomously from their nominal associates with respect to case assignment, thus ruling out this approach.

In summary, in both Choctaw and Yimas, clitics and their associates are differentiated according to different systems. In Choctaw, clitics follow a split-S alignment and nominals follow a nominative-accusative alignment; in Yimas, clitics follow an apparent ergative-absolutive alignment (to be problematized shortly) while nominals are unmarked for case. These data are summarized in (16), and our account of the mismatches is provided in the next section.

(16)
	Nominals	Clitics
Choctaw	NOM/ACC	split-S ('agent-patient')
Yimas	unmarked	ERG/ABS

4. Targeted rounds of Case assignment

We propose that the overt mismatches between clitics and nominals shown above reflect underlying mismatches in their case values. In particular, we argue that in Choctaw, nominals are subject to a round of case-assignment that excludes clitics, resulting in clitic-associate pairings like (17a). In Yimas, clitics are subject to a round of case-assignment excluding nominals, resulting in pairings like (17b).

(17) a. *Choctaw:*

b. *Yimas:*

6 Similarly, (ia-b) display the same form for 'woman' (*narmaŋ*).
7 This sentence can also mean 'The men gave the women makaw.'

To explain how case-assignment is localized to the nominal system in Choctaw and the clitic system in Yimas, we exploit a property of numerous recent analyses of clitic-doubling: the idea that clitics are separate syntactic elements from their associates, at least following the point in the derivation at which clitic-doubling occurs. This separability means that after clitic-doubling takes place, nominals and clitics should be free to gain case features independently of each other.

Regarding the mechanics of each kind of mismatch, we argue that in Choctaw, clitic-doubling takes place *early* in the derivation, at a relatively low position on the clausal spine. This means that at the point of case-assignment to nominals, the clitics have already separated from their associate and are unaffected by this case-assignment operation. The Yimas mismatch comes about via a different mechanism: all of the clitics adjoin to the same clitic host, and a round of dissimilatory case-assignment takes place solely within the clitic cluster. This clitic-internal round of case-assignment leaves the *nominals* unaffected.

For each type of localized case-assignment, then, there is a necessary precondition: for Choctaw-type nominal-only case-assignment, clitic-doubling must precede the point at which case is assigned to nominals. For Yimas-type clitic-only case-assignment, on the other hand, all of the clitics must adjoin to the same head. In the rest of this section, we go through the mismatch-generating derivations step-by-step for each language.

4.1. Choctaw: Case assignment to nominals only

As stated above, the Choctaw mismatch arises because clitic-doubling *precedes* case-assignment to nominals. By the time this case-assignment takes place, clitics have already separated from their associates and are unaffected by it.

Clitics in Choctaw adjoin to hosts within VoiceP (the topmost projection in the extended projection of the verb), schematized in (18). The split-S system is derived as a consequence of the argument-doubling clitics adjoining to different heads (though we set technical implementation aside here).[8]

(18)
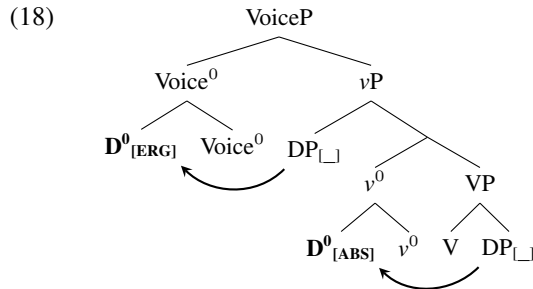
Following the separation of clitics and their nominal associates, the TP layer is built, wherein case is assigned to nominals (and not to clitics), as in (19).

(19)
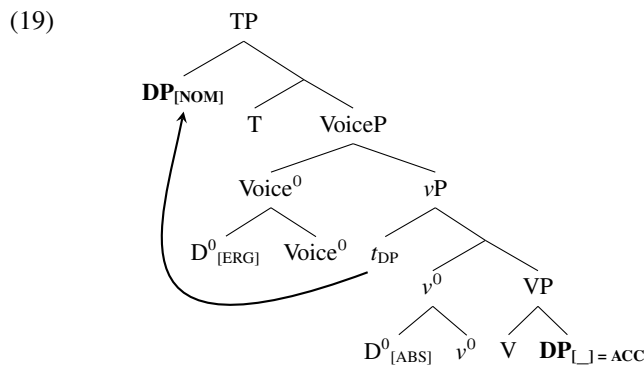
As shown, we follow Baker (2015) in assuming that accusative case in 'marked nominative' languages

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[8] There are various possible implementations of the split-S clitic system, involving localized case-assignment to clitics (in addition to the localized case-assignment to nominals discussed here) or contextual allomorphy with their hosts. See Tyler (to appear-b) for a proposal.

like Choctaw is the morphophonological spellout of syntactic caselessness.

In order for this derivation to go through, clitic-doubling must take place at an earlier point in the derivation than case-assignment to nominals. We now provide evidence that clitics adjoin to a low head, and that case-assignment to nominals is dependent on syntactic structure *above* this head.

The evidence for the low adjunction site of clitics comes from participial clauses. (20a) shows that participial clauses are incompatible with tense and mood morphology (see also Broadwell 2006). We take this to mean that their structure is truncated and they are missing, at least, the Mod and T projections. Yet (20b) shows that they may host clitics.

(20) a. [baliili(*-tok/*-ãna)-t] tahli(-tok)
        run(*-PST/*-MOD)-PTCP finish(-PST)
        'He finished running.'

     b. [**ish**-baliili-t] tahlih
        2SG.ERG-run-PTCP finish
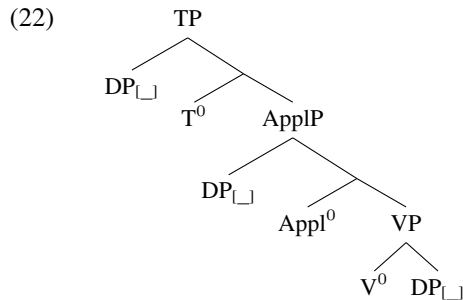   'You finished running.'

Contrasting with clitics, which can show up even where tense and/or mood marking is impossible, case-marked nominals *depend* on the presence of a finite verb. To show this, we consider cases where participial clauses may take independent subjects (i.e. disjoint from the subject of the main clause). One circumstance in which participials may have independent subjects is with quantifier verbs like *mõma* 'be all'. As shown in (21a), participles are capable of carrying clitics, but, as (21b) shows, any overt subject they have must be unmarked for case. We can explain this as a consequence of their structurally truncated status.

(21) a. [okl= **ii**-mõma-t] ãt hapi-pis-aachĩh
        PL= 1PL.ERG-all-PTCP come 1PL.ABS-see-FUT
        'He'll come and see us all.' (lit. 'He'll come and see us being all.')

     b. [alla(***-yat**) mõma-t] pis-t foloota-li-tok
        child(*-NOM) all-PTCP see-PTCP visit-1SG.ERG-PST
        'I visited all of the kids.' (lit. 'I visited the kids being all.')'

In summary, the nominal-clitic mismatch in Choctaw is made possible by the timing of clitic-doubling and case-assignment to nominals. Specifically, clitics adjoin *low* in the clause (i.e. early in the derivation), while case is assigned to nominals at a later point in the derivation. We now turn to how the opposite mismatch is derived in Yimas, with clitics getting case features that the nominals lack.

4.2. Yimas: Case assignment to clitics only

Recall that nominals in Yimas are morphologically unmarked. Following Kornfilt & Preminger (2015), we take this to reflect *caselessness*, i.e. the absence of case features altogether. If we grant this assumption, then the structure of a Yimas clause, prior to clitic-doubling, would be as in (22). In this structure, a ditransitive construction, there are three arguments, all without case.

(22)

```
            TP
          /    \
       DP[_]    \
              T⁰   ApplP
                  /    \
              DP[_]     \
                    Appl⁰  VP
                          /  \
                        V⁰   DP[_]
```

We propose that clitic-doubling takes place once the CP-layer is built, (23). Thus, the locus of clitic-doubling is in the left-periphery of the clause. Note also that clitic-doubling is *Superiority-respecting*, in that the structural order of clitics mirrors that of their nominal associates at the clause level.

(23)

```
                        CP
                  ┌─────┴──────┐
                 C⁰            TP
            ┌─────┴─────┐  ┌────┴────┐
         D⁰_subj[_]   C⁰  DP_subj[_]
                    ┌──┴──┐      ┌───┴────┐
                 D⁰_appl[_] C⁰  T⁰      ApplP
                         ┌──┴──┐    ┌─────┴─────┐
                     D⁰_obj[_] C⁰  DP_appl[_]
                                      ┌───┴────┐
                                   Appl⁰      VP
                                          ┌────┴────┐
                                         V⁰      DP_obj[_]
```

Evidence for a high-adjunction site of clitics in Yimas comes from two observations. First, in contrast to Choctaw, structurally-truncated clauses (e.g. clauses bearing non-finite morphology) never host clitics, (24). We take this to signify that the structural host for the clitics is unavailable in these clauses.

(24) ŋaykum   [_NFN irut   **ampa-t-wal**]   ŋaykump-n kumpwi
      woman.PL   mat.IX.PL weave-NFN-CUSTOM girl.PL
      tia-mpu-na-tkam-t-mpun
      COMP.ABS-3PL.ERG-DEF-show-PRES-3PL.DAT
      'The women showed the girls how to weave mats.'

The second observation is that the clitics interact with the *mood/clause-type system* of the language (Foley, 1991; Phillips, 1993, 1995; Wunderlich, 2001; Yuan, 2017). As illustrated in (25), clitics may undergo allomorphy in the presence of an overt complementizer. In these examples, an otherwise preverbal ABS clitic surfaces postverbally in the context of a relative complementizer. Assuming standard locality conditions on allomorphy, this suggests that the clitics occupy the CP-domain.

(25) a. [na]-**n**-tay   b. namarawt [[m]-**n**-tpul-c-[ak]]
          3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-see   person   REL-3SG.ERG-hit-PRF-3SG
          'He saw him.'   'the person whom she hit'

We argue that, upon clitic-doubling, a process of *clitic-internal case assignment* takes place. Specifically, [ERG] and [DAT] case features are assigned to clitics, (26), via dependent case rules (to be motivated below).

(26)
```
              C⁰
          ┌────┴────┐
       D⁰_[ERG]    C⁰
               ┌────┴────┐
            D⁰_[DAT]    C⁰
                    ┌────┴────┐
                 D⁰_[_]      C⁰
```

In other words, clitic-case is computed *solely* over the clitics; conversely, the nominals doubled by these clitics are unaffected by this process. Evidence for this idea comes from the previously-made observation that clitic-doubling in Yimas is *optional*. Clitic-case is determined by the *total number of clitics in* C^0, not the total number of nominals at the sentence-level.

This is shown in (27) with ERG clitic-case, and in (28) with DAT clitic-case. In (27a), there are two clitics present on the verb, and the subject is encoded with the ERG paradigm. In contrast, in (27b), only the subject clitic is present; here, the clitic is not ERG, but ABS. The same contrast holds in (28): the clitic cross-referencing the indirect object is DAT if co-occurring with two other clitics, (28a), but is ABS if co-occurring with only one other clitic, (28b).

(27) a. [impram   pay-cu-mpwi]   **pia-⬛n⬛-kacapal**
         [basket.VII.SG carry-NFN-TALK] COMP.ABS-3SG.ERG-forget
         'He forgot to carry the basket.'

      b. [impram   pay-cu-mpwi]   ⬛**na**⬛-kacapal
         [basket.VII.SG carry-NFN-TALK] 3SG.ABS-forget
         'He forgot to carry the basket.'

(28) a. tpuk   **ka-ka**-na-tmi-am-nt-⬛**akn**⬛
         sago pancake.X X.SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-DEF-CAUS-eat-PRES-3SG.DAT
         'I made him eat a sago pancake.'

      b. irwa   ŋaykum ⬛**na**⬛-**mpu**-tmi-ampa-t
         mat.IX.SG woman 3SG.ABS-3PL.ERG-CAUS-weave-PRF
         'The women got her to weave a mat.'

In sum, the morphological realization of a given clitic is, in part, determined by its *clitic context*. To capture this, we follow Yuan (2017) in analyzing clitic-case as *dependent* in the sense of Marantz (1991/2000) and Baker (2015). According to this treatment, case is assigned based on the structural relationship between multiple case-receiving elements. However, unlike 'typical' dependent case, which generally operates over nominals, in Yimas dependent case is computed over *clitics*. This is schematized in (29)-(30).

     Note moreover that we assume an order of operations: DAT case is assigned to the intermediate of three clitics on C^0; then, ERG is assigned to the higher of the remaining two clitics.

(29) a. *payum narmaŋ   **na-pu**-tay
         man.PL woman.SG 3SG.ABS-3PL.ABS-see
         Intended: 'The men saw the woman.'

      b. payum narmaŋ   **na**-⬛**mpu**⬛-tay
         man.PL woman.SG 3SG.ABS-3PL.ERG-see
         'The men saw the woman.'

(30)
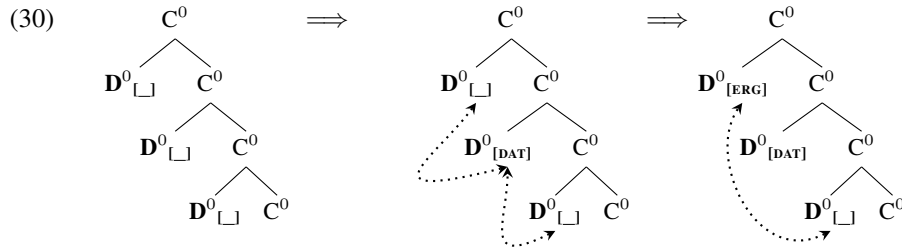
The idea is that, if Yimas nominals are caseless (as assumed above), then clitic-doubling yields paradigmatically identical (ABS) clitics. The presence of multiple clitics on C^0 triggers dependent case assignment. Thus, whereas ERG and DAT are assigned, the "ABS" clitic paradigm is simply the default output of clitic-doubling. Under this view, dependent case assignment to clitics is a *clitic dissimilation effect* (cf. Nevins 2007).

     To sum up, we have argued that the nominal-clitic case mismatch in Yimas is made possible by a clitic-internal case assignment process. For this mismatch to arise, clitics must adjoin to the *same clitic host*, such that the clitics are sufficiently local to condition dissimilation processes.

4.3. Summary

     In this section, we derived the nominal-clitic case mismatches in Choctaw and Yimas based on two sets of properties. In Choctaw, clitic-doubling takes place relatively early in the derivation; case is then assigned to *nominals*, excluding the clitics. Thus, for a Choctaw-type mismatch to arise, clitic-doubling must target a host *below* the point at which case is assigned. In contrast, clitic-doubling in Yimas precedes case assignment. Case assignment in the *clitic-domain* requires the mismatching clitics

to double at the same head.

5. Conclusion

We have proposed two ways in which in which clitics and their nominal associates might end up with mismatched case features. In one case, exemplified by Choctaw, clitic-doubling precedes the assignment of case to nominals in the derivation, meaning that clitics are unaffected by it. In another case, exemplified by Yimas, arguments clitic-double to one syntactic head, where they are targeted by a round of dissimilatory case-assignment that takes place internally to the cluster itself. This kind of case-assignment does not affect the clitics' nominal associates.

For each type of mismatch, there are certain syntactic preconditions that must be met. For nominal-only case-assignment to happen, clitic-doubling must derivationally precede case-assignment to nominals. And for clitic-only case-assignment to happen, the clitics involved in the dissimilatory case-assigment must adjoin at the same head.

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