Absolutive Promotion and the Condition on Clitic Hosts in Choctaw*

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1 Introduction

In many languages, verbs are adorned with bound morphemes that cross-reference arguments of the clause. (1) provides an example from Choctaw, a Western Muskogean language spoken in Mississippi and Oklahoma.[1]

(1) Pishnakoosh$_i$ alikchi$_k$ il$_i$-i$_k$-hikíya-h.
we.FOC doctor 1PL.ERG-3.DAT-wait.NG-TNS
'WE are waiting for the doctor.'

Mysteriously, languages very frequently ban certain combinations of these morphemes (henceforth *clitics*), but not others. The following examples show that Choctaw is no exception (1st/2nd-person arguments are generally pro-dropped, leaving only the clitics):

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[1] Unless explicitly stated, all the Choctaw data in this article comes from a number of one-on-one elicitation sessions conducted in 2016-2018 with several native speakers of Choctaw, living on the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MBCI) reservation near Philadelphia, Mississippi. Choctaw examples are written using the practical orthography from Broadwell (2006). Doubled vowels are long, doubled consonants are geminate, underlined vowels are nasal, the digraph <lh> represents [ɬ] and <'> represents a glottal stop. Pitch accent is marked with a ´ above the vowel. Pitch accent in Choctaw is a complex topic, and I follow Broadwell (2006) in marking it only where it is non-final on a verb or noun root. The addition of suffixes to verbs and nouns has complex effects on the placement of pitch-accent which are not well-understood, and, like Broadwell, I do not mark them here. Furthermore, if an example replicated from a published source lacks pitch accent marking, I do not add it on. I diverge from his notation in only marking glottal stops when they are morphemic (e.g. the jussive morpheme), since their realization is highly variable. Note also that the geminate vs. non-geminate status of vowels in certain lexical items may vary depending on morphophonological context. This is due to a process of *iambic lengthening* in which odd-numbered short vowels in sequences of short vowels become long, thus neutralizing the vowel length contrast in these positions (Nicklas 1974; Ulrich 1986). Following Broadwell, I represent this lengthening orthographically, though I do not add it into examples from published sources where it is not represented.

The following non-transparent glosses are used for Choctaw. DS = different-subject switch-reference marker, LOC = locative, EXH = exhortative, IRR = irrealis, JUSS = jussive, LG = l-grade aspectual form, NG = n-grade aspectual form, PC = paucal, POSS = possessive, SS = same-subject switch-reference marker, TNS = default tense. For non-Choctaw examples, I follow the glossing conventions of the author who supplies the example, with the exception of some Basque examples, where I have made some simplifying changes.

(2) a. Chi-sa-nokshoopa-h.
2SG.DAT-1SG.ABS-scared-TNS
'I'm scared of you.'

b. * A-chi-nokshoopa-h.
1SG.DAT-2SG.ABS-scared-TNS
intended: 'You're scared of me.'

More mysteriously still, in the event that a banned clitic combination like (2b) *could* arise, languages will often avoid it by making some special change to the way they represent one of the arguments—a *repair* operation. Under particular syntactic conditions, in order to avoid banned forms like (2b), Choctaw permits the ABS(olutive) clitic to be swapped out for the equivalent ERG(ative) clitic:

(3) Is-sa-nokshoopa-h.
2SG.ERG-1SG.DAT-scared-TNS
'You are scared of me.'

In this article, I examine (a) the restrictions on combinations of argument-referencing clitics found in several classes of monotransitive verbs in Choctaw, and (b) the intermittent availability of the repair operation shown in (3), known as *Absolutive Promotion* (whose name comes from Arregi and Nevins's 2012 analysis of dialectal Basque).[2] In addition to a number of novel empirical findings for Choctaw, two theoretical proposals emerge, one concerning the nature of Absolutive Promotion, and the other concerning the nature of the restrictions on morpheme co-occurrence.

Firstly, regarding Absolutive Promotion, I show that this repair operation is sensitive to intervention and locality, implying that even as a repair operation, it makes use of the 'standard' syntactic operation of Agree. This finding emerges from a close comparison with the same operation in dialectal Basque. Secondly, regarding the morpheme co-occurrence restrictions, I propose that they can be captured using a straightforward ban on multiple clitics adjoining at a single functional head—the *Condition on Clitic Hosts*, extended and generalized from the bespoke condition developed for Basque by Arregi and Nevins (2012).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 establishes some necessary prerequisites for the analysis of Choctaw. In particular I argue that its argument-doubling clitics are realizing syntactic case features assigned by particular functional heads, and I introduce the three kinds of monotransitive verbs where we find clitic co-occurrence restrictions. Section 3 outlines the basic properties of clitic co-occurrence restrictions in Choctaw, and how Absolutive Promotion repairs them. Section 4 fleshes out the syntactic analysis of Absolutive Promotion and compares it with the same operation in Basque. We see, shockingly, that the types of verbs that can be repaired by Absolutive Promotion in Basque are the exact opposite from those that can be repaired in Choctaw. An analysis is proposed that relies on Absolutive Promotion making use of an Agree relation. Section 5 then introduces the idea that Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions can be given a unified characterization, in terms of the *Condition on Clitic Hosts*. Section 6 locates the Condition on Clitic Hosts in the typology of Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects, arguing that it may have more widespread empirical coverage than is immediately obvious, and section 7 concludes.

2 Case and clitic doubling in Choctaw

Choctaw has three sets of morphemes that obligatorily show up on verbs to cross-reference arguments, shown in (4).[3] I will henceforth refer to them as *clitics*. Munro and Gordon (1982) use the labels Class I,

[2] Rezac (2008b) uses the term *Absolutive Displacement*.

[3] Broadwell and Martin (1993) report that ERG forms may be omitted in the presence of an overt pronoun (except 1SG *-li*, which cannot be omitted). However, I was unable to replicate their consultants' judgments, and for the speakers I consulted, *all* ERG forms

Class II and Class III, and those terms are found in most contemporary literature (Ulrich 1986; Broadwell 1990, 2006). In this paper, I label Class I 'ERG', Class II 'ABS', and 'Class III' 'DAT', prefiguring the case-based analysis to come.

(4)

	Class I =ERG	Class II =ABS	Class III =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	–	–	im-

Note that while there is a 3rd-person DAT clitic, the ERG and ABS paradigms simply contain a gap for 3rd-person.[4] The generalization on clitic co-occurrence restrictions discussed in section 3 makes it far more likely that 3rd-person ERG and ABS arguments simply do not get clitic-doubled, rather than being clitic-doubled by Ø-morphemes, and accordingly I do not gloss Ø clitics. Regarding the phonological realization of the DAT forms, the final /m/ may be reduced to nasalization on the preceding vowel when in preconsonantal position, so *am-* alternates with *a̲-*, *chim-* with *chi̲-* and so on. Finally, it is worth mentioning that on the basis of the data presented so far, the morphemes in (4) could be either clitics or agreement affixes. For the rest of the paper, I assume without argument that they are clitics. The appendix contains several arguments for their clitichood (see also Tyler to appear-a, to appear-b).

After giving a very broad overview of the functions of each of the Choctaw clitic series (section 2.1), the intent of this section is to provide the necessary building blocks to construct the analyses of clitic co-occurrence restrictions and their repair. Firstly, section 2.2 establishes the relation between clitics, case and argument structure, proposing that the three clitic series are distinguished by case features assigned to them by particular functional heads. In particular, it will be claimed that ERG clitics double arguments that are assigned *structural* ergative case at Spec-VoiceP. Secondly, section 2.3 provides a basic syntactic analysis of the three kinds of transitive unaccusative construction found in Choctaw, each of which is afflicted by clitic co-occurrence restrictions.

2.1 Functions of the clitics

ERG clitics generally double agents. This is shown for a transitive (5a) and intransitive (5b) predicate.

(5) a. Chokka **il**-ikbi-tok.
house 1PL.ERG-make-PST
'We built a house.'

b. **Ish**-hilh-ahi̲na-h-o̲?
2SG.ERG-dance-MOD-TNS-Q
'Can you dance?'

were obligatory regardless of the presence or absence of a corresponding overt pronoun. This is one several instances reported in this article where the judgments of my consulants differ from those published in previous literature, likely indicating the presence of dialectal variation and/or generational change. Nonetheless, the judgments reported by Broadwell and Martin are fully consistent with the claim that the forms in (4) are clitics.

[4] The 3rd-person DAT clitic *im-* is often analyzed as a default or unmarked form, rather than an exponent of 3rd-person features (Ulrich 1986; Woolford 2008). This is likely the correct analysis, given the clear morphological decomposability of the DAT clitics into 'ABS+*(i)m*-', alongside the syntactic arguments presented by Ulrich (1986:241-243). However, for ease of exposition I simply gloss it as '3.DAT' for this article. This issue is taken up again in footnote 44.

ERG clitics can also double the single argument of certain non-agentive verbs, including quantifier verbs (6a-c) and other non-prototypically agentive verbs such as *noktalha* 'be jealous' (6c) and *ittola* 'fall' (6d)

(6) a. **Ii**-tóchchiina-h.
1PL.ERG-three-TNS
'There are three of us.'

b. **Hash**-lá̲wa-h.
2PL.ERG-many.NG-TNS
'There's a lot of you.'

c. Oklah **ii**-mó̲ma-k-at **ii**-noktalha-h.
PL 1PL.ERG-all-COMP-SS 1PL.ERG-jealous-TNS
'We are all jealous.'

d. Ittolaa-**li**-tok.
fall-1SG.ERG-PST
'I fell.'

ABS clitics are used to cross-reference non-agentive arguments, shown for the object of a transitive (7a) and the subject of an intransitive (7b).

(7) a. Is-**sa**-pisa-tok?
2SG.ERG-1SG.ABS-see-PST
'Did you see me?'

b. **Sa**-ll-aachi̲.
1SG.ABS-die-FUT
'I will die.'

Because of the behavior of ERG and ABS clitics, with ERG generally associating with agents and ABS with non-agents, Choctaw has been described as having an *active* agreement system (Dahlstrom 1983; Mithun 1991).[5]

Finally, DAT clitics are primarily used to cross-reference oblique arguments, such as beneficiaries (8a), recipients (8b) and external possessors (8c).

(8) a. Bill-at **chi̲**-talo̲wa-h.
Bill-NOM 2SG.DAT-sing.NG-TNS
'Bill is singing for you.'

b. Ishtíshko **am**-aa-h.
cup 1SG.DAT- give-TNS
'Give me the cup.'

c. Tasi̲bo-m-at hina chanálli **am**-oppani-tok!
crazy-DEM-NOM car 1SG.DAT-break-PST
'The crazy fool wrecked my car!'

Like ABS clitics, DAT clitics can reference both objects, shown in the examples in (8), and subjects, shown in (9) (the issue of subjecthood in Choctaw is discussed in section 2.3).[6]

[5] Active alignment goes by many names, including *split-S*, *active-stative*, *agent-patient* and *semantic*, among others. See Mithun (1991) for discussion of the proliferation of terminology in this area.

[6] Example (9b) contains an argument with a possessive marker, and the reader will notice that it is identical to the DAT clitic. In fact, the paradigm of DP-internal possessive markers is identical to that of the DAT clitics. This fact is discussed in the appendix, and used to support the clitic analysis of the DAT forms over a potential alternative analysis in which they are agreement affixes.

(9) a. **A**-takoobi-h.
1SG.DAT-lazy-TNS
'I am lazy.'

b. Chim-alla **chim**-ihaksi-ha?
2SG.POSS-child 2SG.DAT-forget-PST.Q
'Did you forget your kid?'

In the next part of this section, I present a case-based analysis of how the clitic series are featurally distinguished from one another.

2.2 Clitics are distinguished by case features

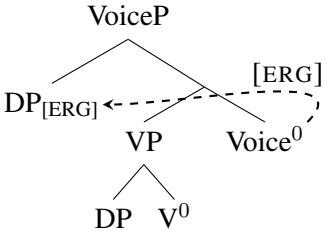
In this subsection, it is proposed that arguments doubled by ERG clitics have a structural ergative case feature assigned at VoiceP—a crucial ingredient to the account of Absolutive Promotion in section 4. ABS clitics lack this feature, while DAT clitics have a dative case feature.

It is clear that the choice of clitic used to double an argument in Choctaw is closely tied to its thematic role. And indeed, the classic approach to Muskogean alignment systems is to say that verbal agreement morphology directly reflects an argument's thematic role. This is the approach found, either explicitly or implicitly, in much work on Choctaw and Chickasaw, including Nicklas (1974); Heath (1977); Payne (1982) and Broadwell (1990). Broadwell (1988) formalizes this notion within Government and Binding Theory. However, as noted by Munro and Gordon (1982), we cannot say that the thematic role of an argument *absolutely* determines the choice of clitic, given the existence of exceptions such as (6). Munro and Gordon argue for a weaker version of the 'direct semantic access' theory, where the choice of agreement morphology is semantically-determined for some verbs and lexically-specified for others.

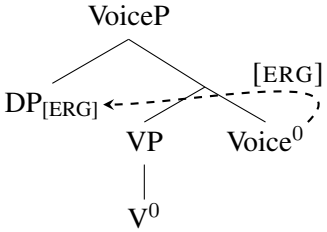
Here, I will argue for a 'syntacticized' version of Munro and Gordon's account, which, we will see, is slightly more constrained in terms of permissible mismatches between thematic role and choice of clitic. Focusing on the distinction between ERG and ABS clitics (DAT clitics are discussed later), I propose that ERG clitics double arguments with a structural ergative case feature, assigned to arguments in Spec-VoiceP, while ABS clitics double arguments which lack this case feature. I first outline how the system works, and then present some supporting arguments.

The structure in (10a) shows a prototypical transitive VoiceP, as would be found in (5a), and (10b) shows a prototypical unergative intransitive VoiceP, as for (5b). The external argument is merged in Spec-VoiceP and gets a structural [ERG] case feature (indicated by a dashed line). The internal argument, if there is one, forms no relation with Voice^0, gets assigned no case feature, and gets doubled by an ABS clitic. All syntactic structure above VoiceP is omitted for ease of exposition.

(10) a.

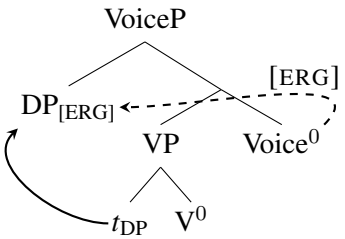


b.



So far, this accounts for why external arguments, base-generated in Spec-VoiceP, are doubled by ERG clitics. However, I propose that on the basis of cases like (6), ERG clitics sometimes also double internal arguments. In such cases, the internal argument moves from its base-generated position into Spec-VoiceP where it receives an ergative case feature, as shown in (11). That is, it undergoes *raising to ergative*.

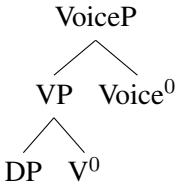
(11)



Note that while unusual, derived ergative case is not unprecedented cross-linguistically. Deal (to appear) provides evidence of raising to ergative constructions in Nez Perce, and makes a similar claim for Shipibo, on the basis of data reported by Baker (2014, 2015). Artiagoitia (2001); Holguín (2007); Preminger (2012) and Rezac et al. (2014) also provide evidence for raising to ergative in Basque.

To round out the typology, (12) shows the VoiceP of an intransitive unaccusative such as (7b). Here, there is no external argument, and the internal argument does not move to Spec-VoiceP. Consequently it does not receive structural ergative Case and is doubled by an ABS clitic.

(12)



The analysis of ergative case has two components that can be independently supported: that ergative is structural rather than inherent, and that it is associated with the Spec-VoiceP position.

Regarding the structural nature of ergative, this analysis allows us to derive two other properties of the Choctaw clitic system. Firstly, there are certain intransitives that appear to freely vary on whether they double their argument with an ERG vs. ABS clitic, such as *habishko* 'sneeze', in (13), as well as *hotilhko* 'cough' and *ittola* 'fall' (Broadwell 2006:146).

(13) a. Ish-habishko-h-o̲?
2SG.ERG-sneeze-TNS-Q

b. Chi-habishko-h-o̲?
2SG.ABS-sneeze-TNS-Q
'Did you sneeze?'

Broadwell (2006:146) reports that, for these verbs, "the choice of verb agreement [=clitic] has no semantic effect at all".[7] If ergative were inherent, rather than structural, then we would expect its presence vs. absence to correlate with some difference in interpretation on these verbs. Under the present account, we can simply propose that these verbs merge with internal arguments, and optionally select for a Voice^0 that attracts the internal argument.

Secondly, by proposing a structural ergative case, we can derive an asymmetry in the mapping from clitic choice to thematic role. In (6), we saw a number of verbs that double an internal argument with an ERG clitic. By hypothesis, these arguments have moved from a VoiceP-internal position to Spec-VoiceP, as in (11). In contrast, there are no verbs that do the reverse—double a clearly agentive (i.e. external) argument with an

[7]In saying this, Broadwell contradicts Nicklas (1974), Dixon (1979) and Davies (1986), who state that Choctaw is a 'fluid-S' language, where the choice of clitic/agreement must affect the volitionality of the subject. Note that it is still possible that the choice of clitic *could* reflect an underlying difference in structure, as is the case with *banna* 'want' in section 3.2. However, by allowing a raising-to-ergative derivation, we allow for the possibility that some ERG/ABS alternations have no relavance to thematic interpretation.

ABS clitic. This asymmetry can be attributed to the fact that it's not possible for an external argument to 'forget' that it was generated in Spec-VoiceP, and lose its ergative case feature. On the other hand, it's fully possible for an internal argument DP to raise to Spec-VoiceP and *gain* a structural ergative case feature, as in (11). In this sense, the syntacticized analysis here is more constrained than the related analysis of Munro and Gordon (1982): they predict that mismatches in both directions should be attested, while the system here predicts the unidirectional mismatch that we actually find.[8]

Regarding the claim that structural ergative case is associated with VoiceP, rather than some higher position, we can support this with evidence from structurally truncated clauses. In particular, I consider participial clauses marked with *-t*, and clauses marked with the switch-reference markers *-cha* and *-na*. Turning first to participial clauses, (14) shows that they are incompatible with independent tense and mood marking, and (15) shows that they incompatible with adverbial suffixes. I assume therefore that these clauses are missing at least the ModP and TP projection.

(14) a. [Baliili-(*tok)-t] taha-(tok).
run-(*PST)-PTCP finish-(PST)
'He finished running.'

b. [Baliil-(*ah̲ina)-t] tah-(ah̲ina)-h.
run-(*MOD)-PTCP finish-(MOD)-TNS
'He might/could have finished running'

(15) a. [T̲oksali-(*naaha)-t] tahli-(naaha)-h.
work-(*almost)-PTCP finish-(almost)-TNS.
'She almost finished work.'

b. [Noowa-(*fokkaali)-t] tahli-(fokkaali)-h.
walk-(*APPROX)-PTCP finish-(APPROX)-TNS
'She finished walking.'[9]

Turning to clauses marked with the switch-reference markers *-cha* (same-subject) and *-na* (different subject), they too are incompatible with independent tense marking, as shown in (16). I assume that these clauses are missing at least their TP projections.[10]

(16) a. [John-at talóowa-(*tok)-na] Bill-at hilh-aach̲i-h.
John-NOM sing.LG-(*PST)-DS Bill-NOM dance-FUT-TNS
John {will sing/*sang} and Bill will dance. (Broadwell 2006:285, reglossed)

b. [Oklah píisa-(*tok)-cha] kaniiya-tok.
PL see.LG-(*PST)-SS leave-PST
'They watched and then they left.'

Yet despite the reduced structure of both of these clause types, ERG clitics can still attach to participles (17a) and *-cha*/*-na*-marked clauses (17b)

[8]It is worth stating that in the absence of clear diagnostics for unergativity vs. unaccusativity that do *not* rely on the choice of clitic, the pairing of certain ERG-assigning verbs with raising-to-ergative derivations will necessarily remain somewhat stipulative. The strongest kind of argument one can make in favor of a structural ergative case is the existence of a raising verb that assigns ergative to its subject, as in the case of the Basque auxiliary *behar* 'must' examined in Rezac et al. 2014. However, in Choctaw when subjects are clitic-doubled on auxiliaries, the clitic maintains the case it was assigned by the embedded predicate (Broadwell 2006:203), or it gets assigned (structural) dative, as in (24b).

[9]I am unsure of the semantic contribution of *-fokkaali*, which usually means something like 'approximately', in this sentence, but Choctaw speakers accepted it as grammatical when attached to the auxiliary.

[10]Linker (1987) notes that clauses marked with *-na are* compatible with the modal future marker *-aach̲i*. It is possible, then, that while participial clauses lack the ModP projection, clauses marked with *-cha* or *-na*-marked have it.

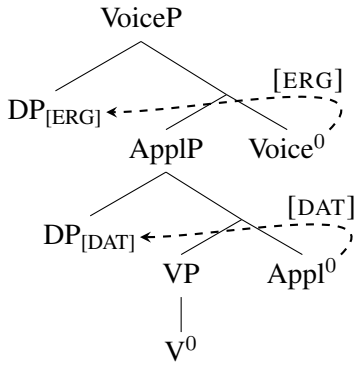
(17) a. [Ii-baliili-t] tahli-tok.
1PL.ERG-run-PTCP AUX-PST
'We finished running.'

b. [Okl= ii-píisa-cha] ii-kaniiya-tok.
PL 1PL.ERG-see.LG-SS 1PL.ERG-leave-PST
'We watched and then we left.'

For this reason, I propose that ergative is licensed by a functional head lower in the clausal spine than Mod^0, and certainly lower than T^0—if ergative were licensed any higher, we would expect ERG clitics to be unavailable inside participles and *-cha*/*-na*-marked clauses. Given that *all* external arguments are assigned ergative in Choctaw, it is reasonable to propose that the relevant head is in fact the external-argument-introducing head itself, $Voice^0$. For an analysis that comes to the same conclusions for a different language, see Arregi and Nevins's (2012) discussion of structural ergative in Western Basque. There, they argue that structural and thematic ergative are both assigned to arguments in Spec-vP (=Spec-VoiceP).

Finally, we turn to dative clitics. For present purposes, it suffices to say that they are distinguished by a dative case feature. Arguments can acquire a dative case feature from a number of sources. For instance, certain applicative heads, such as the ones that introduce recipients, beneficiaries and external possessors, assign dative to their specifier (Pylkkänen 2008; McFadden 2004; Cuervo 2003). (18) provides the structure of an unergative intransitive with a beneficiary, such as (8a).

(18)



Dative case can also be assigned by verb roots (or some functional head selected by them), but this option is discussed in more detail in the final part of this section.

Taking stock, I have proposed that the choice of clitic used to cross-reference a Choctaw argument is a spellout of a case feature, and *not* a direct reflection of its thematic role. The inventory of clitics, their underlying case feature, and the head(s) that assign that feature, is given in (19).

(19)

Clitic	**Case feature**	**Assigned by**
ERG	[ERG]	$Voice^0$
DAT	[DAT]	$Appl^0$, V^0
ABS	[___]	—

Before moving on to discuss Choctaw's transitive unaccusative constructions, for these are the constructions with the potential to create illegal clitic clusters, it is necessary to discuss the relationship between the case system marked by the clitics, and the nominative-accusative case system marked on overt DPs. This latter system is illustrated in (20). (20a) shows a transitive verb with a nominative subject and accusative object, and (20b-c) show that the assignment of nominative to subjects is indifferent to the class of clitic that the verb would typically require. The intransitive in (20b) doubles its subjects with ERG clitics and the intransitive in (20c) doubles its subjects with ABS clitics, yet the subject DP of both verbs is marked with nominative.

(20) a. Alikchi-**at** ofi-m-**a** lhiyohli-tok.
doctor-NOM dog-DEM-ACC chase-PAST
'The doctor chased that dog.'

b. Alikchi-**at** baliili-tok.
doctor-NOM run-PST
'The doctor ran.'

c. Alikchi-**at** nokhá̲klo-h.
doctor-NOM sad.NG-TNS
'The doctor is fat.'

We can show that the nominative-accusative case-marking system works independently of, and addition to, the clitic system. A nominative DP subject (here, a focused pronoun) can be clitic-doubled by an ERG, ABS or DAT clitic, as in (21) (see also (1)).[11]

(21) a. Chishnaak-**oosh ish**-baliili-h.
you.FOC-NOM 2SG.ERG-run-TNS
'You're the one who runs.'

b. Chishnaak-**oosh chi**-nokhá̲klo-h.
you.FOC-NOM 2SG.ABS-sad.LG-TNS
'You're the one who's sad.'

c. Chishnaak-**oosh chi̲**-takoobi-h.
you.FOC-NOM 2SG.DAT-lazy-TNS
'You're the one who's lazy.'

I do not commit to an account of Choctaw's nominative-accusative case-marking system here, and it would be impossible to do justice here to the range of proposals for capturing the mismatch between the two systems. Some authors, notably Jelinek (1989) and Schütze (1995), have proposed that the nominative and accusative morphemes are not true case markers but are switch-reference markers, pointing to the homophony of the case and switch-reference paradigms. More commonly, it has been argued that the nominative and accusative markers *are* true case morphemes, and it is the verbal morphology that is spelling out something other than case (Broadwell 1990; Woolford 2008, 2010; Camacho 2010; Baker 2015, a.o.). A third possibility is that arguments are simply marked according to two independent case systems (as in the analysis of Davies 1986)—a proposal convergent with a number of recent analyses that propose *case-stacking* as a core part of grammar (e.g. Bejar and Massam 1999; Yoon 2004; Pesetsky 2013; Levin 2017). For now, I mostly set aside the question of how nominative-accusative case-marking can co-exist with an active clitic system, although in the next part of this section I use an DP's (in)ability to be marked as nominative as one of several diagnostics for c-command relations between arguments.

2.3 Three types of transitive unaccusative

This section introduces three kinds of transitive unaccusative clause—clauses with two internal arguments and no external argument. The two internal arguments are doubled by ABS or DAT clitics. In order to understand Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions, these are the clauses to look at, because the restrictions only hold between the internal argument clitics—all ERG clitics are compatible with all ABS or DAT clitics (excepting universally-banned 1>1 and 2>2 combinations).

The three types of clause are labelled ABS>DAT, ABS>ABS and DAT>ABS, where X>Y indicates that X c-commands Y. For each type, I provide several arguments justifying the c-command relation, alongside a

[11] Since 3rd-person ERG and ABS arguments are not clitic-doubled, it's necessary to use 1st/2nd-person focused pronouns to juxtapose the case and clitic systems within a single clause.

syntactic structure. Note that these arguments are framed interchangeably as showing that 'X c-commands Y' or that 'X is the subject of the clause'. In the absence of countervailing evidence, I assume the highest base-generated argument within VoiceP will always end up as the subject of the clause.[12]

2.3.1 ABS>DAT

These are verbs where the higher argument is ABS and the lower is DAT. Some examples are given in (22).

(22) a. Bill-at chishnak-o chi-noktalha-h.
Bill-NOM you.FOC-ACC 2SG.DAT-jealous-TNS
'Bill is jealous of YOU.'

b. Ofi chito-m-a i-sa-nokshoopa-h.
dog big-DEM-ACC 3.DAT-1SG.ABS-scared-TNS
'I am scared of that large dog.'

To my knowledge, every verb in this class denotes a psychological state. The ABS DP is the experiencer argument and the DAT DP is the 'target/subject matter' (T/SM) argument of the verb, using the terminology of Pesetsky (1995). T/SM arguments are things like the object of jealousy, or the source of fear or anger. I now provide four arguments that the experiencer c-commands the T/SM.[13]

Firstly, the ABS experiencer is overtly case-marked as nominative (22a) and the DAT T/SM as accusative (22a-b). On the assumption that nominative case is prototypically associated with subjects and accusative with objects, this points towards the subjecthood of the experiencer. Secondly, the unmarked linear order of arguments is ABS>DAT, shown in (22a)—I assume that word order can be treated as a significant clue to hierarchical structure in Choctaw, given that it is a rigidly SOV language.[14]

Thirdly, the ABS experiencer controls switch-reference, while the DAT T/SM does not. In (23a), we see that when the ABS experiencer argument is coreferential with the subject of an adjoined clause, that clause must be marked with a same-subject switch-reference marker. By contrast, (23b) shows that when the DAT T/SM argument is coreferential with the subject of an adjoined clause, the clause must be marked with a different-subject switch-reference marker.

(23) a. John-at$_i$ kaniiya-tok [*pro*$_i$ Mary i-nokoowa-h-aatok-{*__o__/**oosh**}].
John-NOM leave-PST Mary 3.DAT-angry-TNS-because-{*DS/SS}
'John left because he was mad at Mary.'

b. John-at$_i$ kaniiya-tok [Mary-at *pro*$_i$ i-nokoowa-h-aatok-{__o__/***oosh**}].
John-NOM leave-PST Mary-NOM 3.DAT-angry-TNS-because-{DS/*SS}
'John left because Mary was mad at him.'

The fourth piece of evidence comes from raising and control predicates. When a predicate is embedded under a raising verb such as *im-alhtaha* 'be finished' or a control verb such as *banna* 'want', the highest argument of the embedded verb is clitic-doubled on the higher verb rather than the lower verb. This is illustrated for an unergative intransitive in (24).

[12] If evidence were to emerge that Choctaw does have 'crossing' derivations, in which a lower argument passes over a higher one, some parts of the analysis would have to be changed, though I set aside this possibility for now.

[13] For these verbs, the ABS experiencer argument is always obligatory, and the DAT T/SM argument is always optional. From a typological perspective, Gerdts and Kiyosawa (2005) term this type of construction a 'relational applicative', whose characteristic properties are (a) an applicative morpheme is added to an intransitive psych verb, (b) the experiencer argument functions as the subject, and (c) the applied argument—which I am calling the T/SM—functions as the syntactic object. They find that cross-linguistically it is rare but attested, being found in the Austronesian, Eskimo-Aleut, Muskogean (which includes Choctaw) and Salishan language families.

[14] See Broadwell (2006) for evidence that Choctaw is a configurational language.

(24) a. Il-anopoli-tok.
1PL.ERG-talk-PST
'We talked.'

b. Anopoli-t **pim**-alhtaha-tok.
talk-PTCP 1PC.DAT-finished-PST
'We're done talking.'

c. Anopoli **pi**-nna-h.[15]
talk 1PC.ABS-want-TNS
'We want to talk.'

When a ABS>DAT verb is embedded under these predicates, it's always the ABS experiencer that is clitic-doubled on the higher verb, as shown in (25). (26) shows that it is impossible to clitic-double the DAT T/SM argument on the higher verb (and the sentences are ungrammatical whether or not a DAT morpheme is retained on the embedded verb).[16]

(25) a. Chi-nokshoopa-t **am**-alhtaha-h.
2SG.DAT-scared-PTCP 1SG.DAT-finished-TNS
'I'm done being scared of you.'

b. Chi-nokshoopa **sa**-nna-kiiyo-h.
2SG.DAT-scared 1SG.ABS-want-NEG-TNS
'I don't want to be scared of you'

(26) a. * (I)-sa-nokshoopa-t **chim**-alhtaha-h.
(3.DAT)-1SG.ABS-scared-PTCP 2SG.DAT-finished-TNS
intended: 'I'm done being scared of you.'

b. * (I)-sa-nokshoopa **chi**-nna-kiiyo-h.
(3.DAT)-1SG.ABS-scared 2SG.ABS-want-NEG-TNS
intended: 'I don't want to be scared of you.'

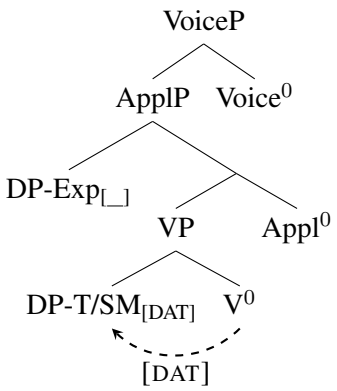
These contrasts can be accounted for if the ABS experiencer c-commands the DAT T/SM: raising of the T/SM is blocked because it would involve moving over the experiencer, and control of the T/SM is blocked because only the highest argument or subject of a clause can serve as PRO.

I propose that ABS>DAT transitive unaccusatives have the VoiceP structure in (27), which captures several of their properties. Firstly, there is no external argument, reflecting the fact that no argument is doubled by an ERG clitic (which is, by hypothesis, associated with arguments in Spec-VoiceP). Secondly, the experiencer argument c-commands the T/SM argument, reflecting the facts just discussed. Thirdly, the experiencer argument is merged in the specifier of an ApplP—this reflects the idea, present in a large body of work on psych verbs, that the experiencer argument is not a canonical external argument (Belletti and Rizzi 1988; Pesetsky 1995; Anagnostopoulou 1999; McGinnis 1998b, 2000; Wood 2015). Note that this Appl^0, unlike that in (18), does *not* assign dative case to its specifier. Instead, by stipulation, the T/SM is assigned dative case by the verb root (or its categorizing head, in the sense of Marantz 1997—I remain agnostic on this point).

[15] Ulrich (1986), Broadwell (1990, 2006) and others mark the complement of the control verb *banna* 'want' with the default tense morpheme *-h*. However, the status of *-h* is controversial. Given that word-final /h/ is generally unpronounced in all positions except phrase-finally, I do not believe there is good case for marking it on a complement of *banna*.

[16] We cannot say that the examples in (26) are ungrammatical because the *i-sa-* clitic cluster is ruled out, since this is one of the clitic clusters that *is* permitted—see section 3.1.

(27)



Next, I introduce a very similar transitive unaccusative structure, which seems to be associated with just one verb in the Choctaw lexicon.

2.3.2 ABS>ABS

There seems to be just one verb in Choctaw that consistently doubles both of its arguments with ABS clitics—*banna* 'want'.[17] Some sentences featuring *banna* are shown in (28). Note that in the presence of a clitic doubling the 'wanter' argument, as in (28a) *banna* surfaces as *-nna*.[18]

(28) a. Anaak-oosh paláska cha̲poli-m-a̲ sa-nna-h-okii!
I.FOC-NOM bread sweet-DEM-ACC 1SG.ABS-want-TNS-indeed
'I'm the one who wants the cake!'

b. Noshkobooka-yat chi-banna-h.
boss-NOM 2SG.ABS-want-TNS
'The boss wants you.'

As with the ABS>DAT transitive unaccusatives, the experiencer argument (the 'wanter') appears to be hierarchically higher than the T/SM argument (the 'wantee'). Firstly, (28a) shows that the experiencer carries nominative case, and the T/SM carries accusative. Secondly, the experiencer linearly precedes the T/SM. Thirdly, (29) shows that the experiencer controls switch-reference, and the T/SM does not.[19]

(29) a. [Chonna chi-nna-h-okm-{*__a__**/at**}], i̲pa lawa-t apa-t issa-h.
skinny 2SG.ABS-want-TNS-if-{*DS/SS} food much-PTCP eat-PTCP quit-TNS
'If you want to be skinny, quit eating so much.'

b. [Ili̲pa ik-bánno-tok-{__o__**/*oosh**}] showa taha-tok.
food NEG-want.NEG-PST-{DS/*SS} smell finish-PST
'She didn't want the food so it went rotten.'

Unfortunately I was unable to apply the raising and control tests to the arguments of *banna*, the relevant test sentences are semantically odd, and speakers find them hard to judge: a verb meaning 'want' does not sit

[17] Davies (1986:97) reports that at least three other verbs belong to the same class. However, Broadwell (2006:145) notes that there is considerable speaker variation on this point, and for the one speaker he discusses, only *banna* behaves in the manner Davies reports.

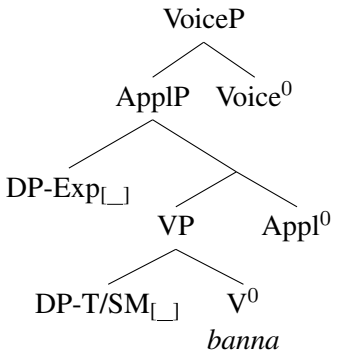
[18] The reduction of *banna* to *-nna* before an experiencer-doubling ABS clitic is a feature of Mississippi Choctaw but not Oklahoma Choctaw.

[19] Davies (1986:70) states that different-subject marking is in fact possible when the experiencer argument of *banna* is coreferential with the subject of the adjoined or matrix clause. My consultants reported a different judgment, shown in (29), and this is also the one reported by Broadwell (1997). This is another likely point of dialectal variation.

comfortably as a complement of either itself ('I want to want it') or a terminative auxiliary ('I've finished wanting it').

I propose that *banna* associates with the structure in (30). As with the ABS>DAT transitive unaccusatives in the previous section, the experiencer is introduced in Spec-ApplP, c-commands the T/SM argument and does not receive dative case. Unlike the ABS>DAT verbs, however, the T/SM argument *also* fails to receive dative case, leaving two arguments that are syntactically caseless, and so are doubled by ABS clitics.

(30)



Next, I introduce the third and final transitive unaccusative construction to be considered.

2.3.3 DAT>ABS

In this construction, the hierarchically higher argument is doubled by a DAT clitic and, we must suppose, the lower argument *would* be doubled by an ABS clitic, although this latter point is quite difficult to show in practice. Some examples of this construction are shown in (31).

(31) a. Kátos am-illi-tok.
cat 1SG.DAT-die-PST
'My cat died.'

b. Alikchi-yat ofi i̲-lawa-h.
doctor-NOM dog 3.DAT-many-TNS
'The doctor has a lot of dogs.'

c. John-at am-ofo̲sik im-ittola-h.
John-NOM 1SG.POSS-puppy 3.DAT-fall-PST
'John dropped my puppy.'

d. Mary-at im-alla im-ihaksi-tok.
Mary-NOM 3.POSS-child 3.DAT-forget-PST
'Mary forgot her child.'

The DAT-doubled arguments of these constructions can have a variety of oblique roles, including possessors (31a-b) and non-volitional affectees (31c-d). Indeed, much previous literature treats the 'possessor raising' construction in (31a) as different from the 'dative raising' (or 'III-subjectivalization', Munro and Gordon 1982) construction in (31b-c), which is in turn treated as different from verbs like *im-ihaksi* 'forget' in (31d), which are considered to simply be lexically-specified to take DAT subjects and ABS objects. See Munro and Gordon (1982); Davies (1986) and Broadwell (2006) for further discussion of possessor raising and 'dative raising' in Choctaw, and Munro and Gordon (1982) and Munro (1999, 2016) for more detailed discussion of the same processes in Chickasaw. For our purposes, we can provide a unitary treatment for these constructions, since they all exhibit the same clitic co-occurrence restrictions and (lack of) repair.

Regarding the status of the lower argument, it is not immediately obvious whether it would be doubled by an ERG or ABS clitic, since for many speakers *all* clitic clusters are banned with this class of verbs, and only 3rd-person objects are licensed (as is the case in the sentences in (31)). Yet although we cannot see the features directly, there are a number of factors suggesting that the argument should be treated as ABS (i.e. underlyingly caseless) rather than ERG. For one thing, clitic co-occurrence restrictions hold only between ABS and DAT clitics (on which see section 3.1). If the lower argument was underlying ergative, and so doubled by an ERG clitic, it is mysterious why 1st/2nd-person objects should be restricted. For another thing, under the system outlined in section 2.2, ERG-doubled arguments are, at some point in the derivation, in Spec-VoiceP. An argument in Spec-VoiceP would necessarily be the highest argument in VoiceP, and so we would expect it to end up as the subject, not the object. As a final argument in favor of the underlying ABS-hood of the lower argument, not all speakers reject clitic clusters with DAT-doubled subjects. Some speakers find the clusters in (32) marginal-to-acceptable. Here, the object is ABS, and not ERG.[20]

(32) a. % Chi-am-ahchiba-h.
2SG.ABS-1SG.DAT-tired-TNS
'I'm tired of you.' (Broadwell 2006:33, reglossed)

b. % Chi-(s)am-ihaksi-h.
2SG.ABS-1SG.DAT-forget-TNS
'I forgot you.'

We can deploy the same array of tests as with the other two transitive unaccusatives to show that the DAT argument c-commands the ABS argument, although the results are less categorical here. Firstly, regarding nominative-accusative case-marking, the DAT argument is obligatorily marked as nominative (31), but the ABS argument is optionally marked as nominative too:

(33) Kátos-(at) am-illi-tok.
cat-(NOM) 1SG.DAT-die-PST
'My cat died.'

However, I believe that the obligatoriness of nominative-marking on the DAT argument, in contrast with its optionality on the ABS argument, does indicate an asymmetry between them, with the DAT argument exhibiting more prototypically subject-like properties. The second test, linear order, clearly identifies the DAT argument as hierarchically higher than the ABS argument (see e.g. (31b)).

The third test, concerning the ability to control switch-reference, does not unequivocally pick out one argument or the other as the subject. However, there is again an asymmetry. When the ABS argument is co-referential with the subject of the other clause, either same-subject or different-subject marking may be used, as shown in (34a). But when the DAT argument is co-referential with the the subject of the other clause, *only* same-subject marking may be used, as shown in (34b).[21]

(34) a. [Mary-at car i-hikíya-hm-{**a/at**}] oppollo-t tookálhlhi-h.
Mary-NOM car 3.DAT-stand.NG-when-{DS/SS} break-PTCP be.always-TNS
'When Mary had a car it was always breaking'

[20]For those Choctaw speakers who allow the forms in (32), there is variation as to whether the /s/ is inserted before *am-*. It is also notable that while Broadwell (2006) does not discuss any specific banned combinations of clitics, the only examples he provides of the DAT>ABS type are 1SG.DAT>2SG.ABS (linearized as 2SG.ABS-1SG.DAT *chi-am-*).

[21]The possessor-raising construction in (31a) patterns differently from other DAT>ABS transitive unaccusatives with respect to switch-reference, as discussed by Broadwell (1990, 2006). It turns out that the possessee (i.e. the lower argument), is in fact a better controller of switch-reference than the possessor. I do not have an account of this. However, the possessor-raising cases are less relevant for present purposes than the other DAT>ABS constructions. This is because in order to induce a clitic cluster, the ABS argument would need to be 1st/2nd-person. Given that 1st/2nd-person arguments are not possessable, possessor-raising constructions are *a priori* prevented from inducing clitic clusters.

b. [Naa balíili i-hikíya-h-aatok-{*o/oosh}] tamaaha naksika aa-toksal-ana-h.
car 3.DAT-stand.NG-TNS-because-{*DS/SS} town another LOC-work-MOD-TNS
'Because she has a car, she can work in another town.'

Again, we see that the DAT argument behaves more like a prototypical subject than the ABS argument, although the subject-like properties of the ABS argument are nonetheless intriguing.[22]

Finally, when a transitive unaccusative of this variety is embedded under a control verb, the DAT argument may be clitic-doubled on the higher verb (35a), and the ABS argument may not be (35b). This indicates that only the DAT argument of these verbs may function as PRO.[23]

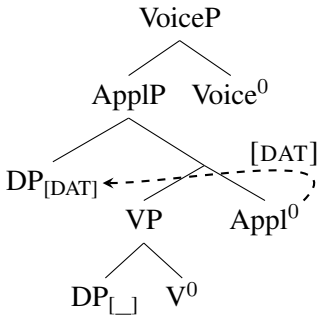
(35) a. Ofi a-kaniiya ik-**sá**-nno-h.
dog 1SG.DAT-go.away NEG-1SG.ABS-want.NEG-TNS
'I don't want to lose the dog.'

b. * A-kaniiya ik-**chí**-nno-h.
1SG.DAT-go.away NEG-2SG.ABS-want.NEG-TNS
intended: 'You don't want me to lose you.'

I lack the relevant data for raising constructions.

Overall, then, the tests for hierarchical order generally select the DAT argument as the higher one in this class of transitive unaccusatives, albeit with some crucial caveats that require further investigation. I therefore propose that they have the VoiceP structure in (36), in which the higher argument is assigned dative case by Appl^0.

(36)



Note that the DPs in this structure are not labelled with their thematic role (as was done for ABS>DAT and ABS>ABS structures in (27) and (30)), as the dative argument in particular can receive a number of different interpretations—the sentences in (31) provide a sample.

In summary, we have seen that Choctaw has three classes of transitive unaccusatives—monotransitive constructions where both arguments are doubled by ABS or DAT clitics. These clauses, ABS>DAT, ABS>ABS and DAT>ABS are the configurations in which Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions, and their repairs, come into play. These are discussed in the next section.

[22] Camacho (2010) presents an analysis where switch-reference in Choctaw is controlled not by subjects but by arguments with nominative case. In double-nominative sentences like (31), then, either argument should be capable of controlling it.

[23] A note is required on the fact that a DAT clitic is retained on the embedded verb in (35a), while no ABS clitic is found on the embedded verb in (25b). Ulrich (1986) provides the example in (i), in which a DAT-subject verb in the complement of *banna* is marked with the 3rd-person or 'default' DAT clitic *i-*, rather than the 2nd-person DAT clitic *chi-*. My consultants found this option odd, and preferred to mark DAT subjects on the embedded verb as well as the matrix verb, hence the example in (35a).

(i) I-takoobi-h chi-banna-h.
3.DAT-lazy-TNS 2SG.ABS-want-TNS
'You want to be lazy.' (Ulrich 1986:242, reglossed)

3 Clitic co-occurrence restrictions and repair in Choctaw

Section 3.1 systematically goes through the restrictions on combinations of internal argument clitics in Choctaw, and section 3.2 introduces the strategy by which some of these restrictions are repaired—*Absolutive Promotion*. Finally, section 3.3 discusses previous work on clitic co-occurrence restrictions in Choctaw, and some inter-speaker variation.

3.1 Clitic co-occurrence restrictions

In this section, I first show that when a transitive unaccusative takes two arguments, but only one of them is clitic-doubled, the resulting form is uniformly grammatical. By contrast, when a transitive unaccusative takes two arguments and both would be clitic-doubled on the same verb, the resulting form is usually *un*grammatical. The exception to this rule comes when the inner clitic in the clitic cluster (that is, the one closest to the root, doubling the higher argument) is 1st-person singular. Then, exceptionally, the resulting form is grammatical.

The reader may have noticed that ditransitives, which serve as the canonical instances of verbs with two internal arguments, are conspicuously absent from the discussion. Footnote 26 provides a brief note on how well these restrictions apply to ditransitives, and the difficulties associated with them.

3.1.1 When there are two arguments and only one ABS/DAT clitic: grammatical

If an ABS>DAT verb has a 3rd-person ABS experiencer argument, it will not be clitic-doubled, leaving the verb with only one clitic—the DAT clitic. The resulting form is grammatical:

(37)

	ABS>DAT
3>X	'She is scared of X'
3>1SG	a-nokshoopah
3>2SG	chi-nokshoopah
3>1PC	pi-nokshoopah
3>1PL	hapi-nokshoopah
3>2PL	hachi-nokshoopah
3>3	i-nokshoopah

Likewise for ABS>ABS verbs where one or both of the arguments are 3rd-person. At most one clitic attaches to the verb, and the resulting form is grammatical:

(38)

	ABS>ABS 'She wants X'	ABS>ABS 'X wants it'
1SG	sa-bannah	sa-nnah
2SG	chi-bannah	chi-nnah
1PC	pi-bannah	pi-nnah
1PL	hapi-bannah	hapi-nnah
2PL	hachi-bannah	hachi-nnah
3	bannah	bannah

And likewise for DAT>ABS verbs where the ABS argument is 3rd-person:

(39)

X>3	DAT>ABS 'X forgot it'
1SG>3	am-ihaksih
2SG>3	chim-ihaksih
1PC>3	pim-ihaksih
1PL>3	hapim-ihaksih
2PL>3	hachim-ihaksih
3>3	im-ihaksih

3.1.2 When there are two arguments and two ABS/DAT clitics: mostly ungrammatical

The tables in (40-44) show almost all of the possible argument combinations for each of the three types of transitive unaccusative. Perusal of the tables will reveal a very simple generalization: all clitic clusters are ruled out. The only grammatical forms in the tables are those where one of the arguments is 3rd-person ABS: in that case, that argument is not doubled, and the verb ends up with only one clitic. Note that the linear order of clitics is the reverse of the c-command relation between their arguments, so a DAT>ABS c-command order is (or would be) realized as an ABS-DAT sequence of clitics, and vice versa.

(40)

***1PC>X**	'We are scared of X'	'We want X'	'We forget X'
1PC>2SG	*chi-pi-nokshoopah	*chi-pi-nnah	*chi-pim-ihaksih
1PC>2PL	*hachi-pi-nokshoopah	*hachi-pi-nnah	*hachi-pim-ihaksih
1PC>3	*i-pi-nokshoopah	pi-nnah	pim-ihaksih

(41)

***1PL>X**	'We all are scared of X'	'We all want X'	'We all forget X'
1PL>2SG	*chi-hapi-nokshoopah	*chi-hapi-nnah	*chi-hapim-ihaksih
1PL>2PL	*hachi-hapi-nokshoopah	*hachi-hapi-nnah	*hachi-hapim-ihaksih
1PL>3	*i-hapi-nokshoopah	hapi-nnah	hapim-ihaksih

(42)

***2SG>X**	ABS>DAT 'You are scared of X'	ABS>ABS 'You want X'	DAT>ABS 'You forget X'
2SG>1SG	*a-chi-nokshoopah	*sa-chi-nnah	*sa-chim-ihaksih
2SG>1PC	*pi-chi-nokshoopah	*pi-chi-nnah	*pi-chim-ihaksih
2SG>1PL	*hapi-chi-nokshoopah	*hapi-chi-nnah	*hapi-chim-ihaksih
2SG>3	*i-chi-nokshoopah	chi-nnah	chim-ihaksih

(43)

***2PL>X**	'Y'all are scared of X'	'Y'all want X'	'Y'all forget X
2PL>1SG	*a-hachi-nokshoopah	*sa-hachi-nnah	*sa-hachim-ihaksih
2PL>1PC	*pi-hachi-nokshoopah	*pi-hachi-nnah	*pi-hachim-ihaksih
2PL>1PL	*hapi-hachi-nokshoopah	*hapi-hachi-nnah	*hapi-hachim-ihaksih
2PL>3	*i-hachi-nokshoopah	hachi-nnah	hachim-ihaksih

(44)

***3>X**	'She is scared of X'	'She wants X'	'She forgets X'
3>1SG	a-nokshoopah	sa-bannah	*si-im-ihaksih
3>1PC	pi-nokshoopah	pi-bannah	*pi-im-ihaksih
3>1PL	hapi-nokshoopah	hapi-bannah	*hapi-im-ihaksih
3>2SG	chi-nokshoopah	chi-bannah	*chi-im-ihaksih
3>2PL	hachi-nokshoopah	hachi-bannah	*hachi-im-ihaksih
3>3	i-nokshoopah	bannah	im-ihaksih

Not all combinations of internal argument clitics are banned, however. When the higher of the two arguments arguments is 1SG, the resulting verb form is fully acceptable (for the ABS>DAT and ABS>ABS class) or variably acceptable (for the DAT>ABS class).

(45)

1SG>X	'I am scared of X'	'I want X'	'I forget X'
1SG>2SG	chi-sa-nokshoopah	chi-sa-nnah	%chi-(s)am-ihaksih
1SG>2PL	hachi-sa-nokshoopah	hachi-sa-nnah	hachi-(s)am-ihaksih[24]
1SG>3	i-sa-nokshoopah	sa-nnah	am-ihaksih

This pattern can therefore be summed up with the following generalization:

(46) Choctaw clitic co-occurrence restrictions
All combinations of internal argument clitics (ABS and DAT) are banned, unless the inner clitic, doubling the higher argument, is 1SG.

We can show that these really are restrictions on the co-occurrence of particular *clitics*, and not restrictions on the co-occurrence of arguments, by using raising and control verbs to separate out the clitics. (47a) shows that a 2SG.ABS>1SG.DAT (linearly, 1SG.DAT-2SG.ABS) clitic cluster is banned, but (47b-c) use a raising verb and a control verb, respectively, to show that having a 2SG ABS experiencer and a 1SG DAT T/SM as arguments does not, by itself, induce unacceptability.

(47) a. * **A-chi**-nokshoopa.
1SG.DAT-2SG.ABS-scared
intended: 'You're scared of me.'

b. **A**-nokshoopa-t **chim**-alhtaha-h-o?
1SG.DAT-scared-PTCP 2SG.DAT-finished-TNS-Q
'Are you done being scared of me?'

c. **A**-nokshoopa **chi**-nna-h-o?
1SG.DAT-scared 2SG.ABS-want-TNS-Q
'Do you want to be scared of me?'

Unfortunately, the same test cannot be applied to DAT>ABS transitive unaccusatives, as DAT clitics are, for some reason, banned from departing their 'original' hosts (see Ulrich 1986 for discussion of the 'default' nature of the DAT clitic *im-*). However, for now I assume that clitic co-occurrence restrictions of all stripes are restrictions on clitics, and not restrictions on their associated arguments.

At this point, the reader may be wondering the extent to which these clitic co-occurrence restrictions can be considered Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects. For one thing, the fact that just one of two arguments may be 1st/2nd-person is reminiscent of a PCC restriction. Similarly, the obviation of PCC effects in the absence of clitic-doubling, as in (47b-c), has been observed in Basque and Georgian by Laka (1993) and Bonet (1991) respectively.[25] I argue in sections 5 and 6 that Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions can indeed be assimilated to a cross-linguistic class of PCC restrictions, although the somewhat idiosyncratic nature of the '1SG exception' requires additional explanation. For now, I postpone answering the question of what causes these clitic co-occurrence restrictions, and move on to discuss the method by which the language repairs them: Absolutive Promotion.[26]

[24] I neglected to ask speakers about the acceptability of *hachi-(s)am-ihaksih*. I predict that, like *chi-(s)am-ihaksih*, it is marginally or variably acceptable.

[25] I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing these facts to my attention.

[26] A note on ditransitives, which could in theory also cause two internal-argument clitics to co-occur, is in order. Unfortunately I do not have clear and consistent data for clitic co-occurrence restrictions on ditransitives like I have for transitive unaccusatives. It's clear that the restrictions in (40-44) hold for ditransitives too, so sentences like (i) are ruled out.

(i) * A-chi-pila-tok.
1SG.DAT-2SG.ABS-send-PST
intended: 'He sent you to me.'

3.2 Absolutive Promotion

Some of the clitic co-occurrence restrictions discussed in the previous subsection may be obviated by a repair operation. I refer to this operation as *Absolutive Promotion*, since we will see in section 4 that it is apiece with the operation of Absolutive Promotion documented for some Basque varieties (Rezac 2008b; Arregi and Nevins 2012). In this section, I give a basic description of the operation, as it applies to Choctaw.

The first thing to note is that Absolutive Promotion only works on ABS>DAT and ABS>ABS clitic clusters. DAT>ABS transitive unaccusatives are, to my knowledge, irreparable and can only be circumlocuted. Turning to the ABS>DAT class, the basic recipe for Absolutive Promotion is to remove the ABS experiencer clitic and add the equivalent ERG clitic. For instance, (48a) contains a banned clitic cluster. In (48b), the 2SG ABS clitic has been swapped out for its ERG equivalent, and the resulting sentence is grammatical.[27]

(48) a. * P**i-chi-**nokshoopa-h.
1PC.DAT-2SG.ABS-scared-TNS

b. **Ish**-p**i**-nokshoopa-h.
2SG.ERG-1PC.DAT-scared-TNS
'You are scared of us.'

The operation works in the same way for the ABS>ABS verb *banna*: (49a) contains a banned clitic cluster, and (49b) fixes it by replacing the experiencer-referencing 2SG ABS clitic with a 2SG ERG clitic.

(49) a. * Sa-**chi-**banna-h-o.
1SG.ABS-2SG.ABS-want-TNS-Q

b. **Is**-sa-banna-h-o?
2SG.ERG-1SG.ABS-want-TNS-Q
'Do you want me?'

The sentences in (50b-c) show that Absolutive Promotion cannot be used to repair a banned clitic cluster on a DAT>ABS verb, like that in (50a). In (50b), the ABS clitic, referring to the lower argument, has been swapped for an ERG clitic, but the result is still ungrammatical. In (50c), the DAT clitic, referring to the higher argument, has been swapped for an ERG clitic: this is no good either.[28]

However, it is unclear whether the '1SG exception', as in (45), holds in ditransitives. Speakers have varying judgments on the sentence in (ii) (note that *pit* 'towards' in (ii) is not an adposition but a directional particle, on which see Broadwell 1998, 2006). While some speakers will, on occasion, accept these structures as grammatical (though not readily), all speakers prefer to circumlocute them. Note also that this is another of the points where speakers' judgments differ from those in Davies 1986, who offers the sentence in (iii). This topic requires further investigation.

(ii) % Bill-a pit i-sa-pila-h.
Bill-ACC towards 3.DAT-1SG.ABS-send-TNS
'He sent me to Bill.'

(iii) Koowi i-chi-pila-li-tok kiyo.
lion 3.DAT-2SG.ABS-throw-1SG.ERG-PST NEG
'I didn't throw you to the lions.' (Davies 1986:147, reglossed)

[27] Heath (1977:205) and Ulrich (1986:254) note that sentences like (48b) are possible. Heath characterizes it as something like a genuine 'repair' strategy (though he does not use that term), while Ulrich claims that it is a generally available alternative to sentences like (48a)—a characterization that does not apply to the Choctaw spoken by my consultants.

[28] Davies (1986:5,131) provides examples like (i). Here, the usually-DAT subject is realized by an ERG clitic, and the usually-ABS object is realized by a DAT clitic. This is similar to how we might expect Absolutive Promotion operating on an DAT>ABS verb to look, with the higher (DAT) argument being promoted, leaving behind the *im-* component of the DAT clitic, which subsequently runs together with the 2SG ABS clitic *chi-*.

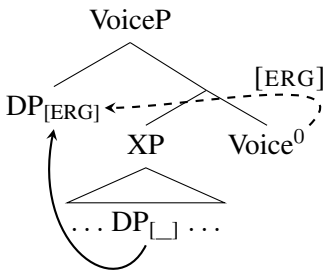
(50) a. * Pi-chim-ihaksi-ha̲?
1PC.ABS-2SG.DAT-forget-PST.Q

b. * **Ii**-chim-ihaksi-ha̲?
1PC.ERG-2SG.DAT-forget-PST.Q

c. * **Ish**-pi-(im)-ihaksi-ha̲?
2SG.ERG-1PC.ABS-(3.DAT)-forget-PST.Q
intended: 'Did you forget us?'

So in summary, where Absolutive Promotion is available, it takes an argument that is typically doubled by an ABS clitic and causes it to be doubled by an ERG clitic instead. Under the analysis of Choctaw argument structure in section 2.1, this means that Absolutive Promotion involves taking an argument that is typically realized in a VoiceP-internal position (where it is caseless), and moving it to Spec-VoiceP, where it receives structural ergative Case. This is schematized in (51). Note that this is exactly the analysis proposed by Arregi and Nevins (2012) for the operation of Absolutive Promotion in Basque—see section 4.3 for the relevant comparison of Basque and Choctaw.

(51)



Essentially, then, Absolutive Promotion is the use of raising-to-ergative as a repair strategy. It was argued in section 2.2 that Choctaw makes independent use of raising-to-ergative—it is how the internal argument of an unaccusative verb like *mo̲ma* 'be all' comes to be doubled by an ERG clitic (see the structure in (11)). It seems, therefore, that the language is co-opting an existing piece of syntactic machinery for use as a 'Last Resort' repair strategy. The syntactic analysis of Absolutive Promotion, accounting for the restrictions on when it can apply, and linking it to similar repair mechanisms in two other languages, is presented in the next section.

Before presenting the syntactic analysis, however, it is necessary to make two points. Firstly, I show that Absolutive Promotion really does have the character of a repair strategy. Then, I argue against an alternative analysis suggested by an anonymous reviewer.

Absolutive Promotion is a genuine repair strategy, and not simply a generally-available alternative case frame for psych verbs. We know this because it is generally only possible to do Absolutive Promotion in the event that to *not* do it would lead to ungrammaticality. To illustrate, in the sentences in (52) the experiencer arguments, which would typically be doubled by ABS clitics, are doubled by ERG clitics instead. Because each of these verbs only has one argument, leaving it as absolutive would not violate a clitic co-occurrence restriction, and therefore Absolutive Promotion is unnecessary. These sentences are judged to

(i) Chim-ihaksi-li-tok.
2SG.DAT-forget-1SG.ERG-PST
'I forgot you.'

However, the Mississippi Choctaw speakers I consulted did not accept this form or others like it as grammatical. I am therefore unable tell whether, for the speakers who allow it, (i) is found as the output of a repair operation, or as a generally-available alternative case frame for the DAT>ABS verbs.

be unacceptable.[29]

(52) a. * Hash-nokshoopa-h-o̲?
2PL.ERG-scared-TNS-Q
intended: 'Are y'all scared?'

b. * Ish-noklhaka̲cha-h-o̲?
2SG.ERG-shocked-TNS-Q
intended: 'Are you shocked?'

c. * Ii-hoofahya-h.
1PL.ERG-embarrassed-TNS
intended: 'We are embarrassed.'

The repair-driven raising-to-ergative that we see in Absolutive Promotion contrasts with the obligatory raising-to-ergative we get with *mo̲ma* (whose subject always has ergative Case), or the optional raising-to-ergative we get with *habishko* 'sneeze' (whose subject optionally has ergative case—see (13)).

There is one significant complication in the data, which suggest an alternative analysis brought to my attention by an anonymous reviewer. Recall that on ABS>DAT verbs, clitic clusters featuring a 1SG ABS experiencer are, exceptionally, permitted in their unrepaired form. This is reiterated in (53). Surprisingly however, these forms can still be 'repaired' by Absolutive Promotion, as shown in (54). I refer to this phenomenon as 'spurious repair'.[30]

(53) a. Chi̲-**sa**-nokshoopa-h.
2SG.DAT-1SG.ABS-scared-TNS.
'I am scared of you.'

b. I̲-**sa**-nokshoopa-h.
3.DAT-1SG.ABS-scared-TNS.
'I am scared of him/her.'

(54) a. Chi̲-nokshoopa-**li**-h.
2SG.DAT-scared-1SG.ERG-TNS
'I am scared of you.'

b. I̲-nokshoopa-**li**-h.
3.DAT-scared-1SG.ERG-TNS
'I am scared of him/her.'

As the reviewer points out, these data mean that it is possible to characterize the distribution of clitics on ABS>DAT transitive unaccusatives in terms of a dependent case system: when there is only an experiencer-doubling clitic, it is absolutive; when a lower DAT clitic gets added in, the experiencer-doubling clitic gains (dependent) ergative. This would leave only the mystery of why 1SG ABS clitics, and no others, can retain absolutive case in the presence of the optional argument, as in (53).

The key argument against this kind of an analysis is that it is impossible to analyze ergative as a dependent case in Choctaw. ERG clitics can show up on transitives with clitic-doubled objects (55a), transitives with non-clitic-doubled objects (55b), and intransitives (55c).

[29]There are some optionally transitive verbs that seem to freely alternate between taking ERG and ABS experiencers. For instance, *nokoowa* 'be angry (at)' works this way for all speakers, and some speakers treat *noktalha* 'be jealous (of)' as a member of this class too (e.g. (6c)). For these verbs, it would not be correct to say when the experiencer is ergative, they have undergone Absolutive Promotion (which is the name for a repair operation). Instead, the option of raising to Spec-VoiceP is simply a generally available alternative structure, just as it is for *habishko* 'sneeze' in (13).

[30]DAT>ABS transitive unaccusatives are not subject to spurious repair, since they cannot be repaired by Absolutive Promotion at all—see (50).

(55) a. **Is**-sa-pí̲sa-ha̲?
2SG.ERG-1SG.ABS-see.NG-PST.Q
'Did you see me?'

b. **Ish**-pí̲sa-ha̲?
2SG.ERG-see.NG-PST.Q
'Did you see her?'

c. **Ish**-baliili-ha̲?
2SG.ERG-run-PST.Q
'Did you run?'

The challenge for the reviewer's analysis would then be to explain why ergative behaves as a dependent case only in transitive unaccusatives, but not elsewhere.

A further problem for the dependent-ergative analysis comes from the ABS>ABS verb *banna* 'want': under a dependent-ergative analysis, we would expect such a verb to be impossible. Given the obligatory presence of a T/SM ('wantee') lower argument, the experiencer ('wanter') higher argument should always receive ergative case. Yet this is not what we see—in fact, doubling the experiencer argument with an ERG clitic gives rise to an obligatory alternative interpretation:[31]

(56) **Ish**-banna-h-o̲?
2SG.ERG-want-TNS-Q
'Do you want him?' ('romantically')

I therefore consider it safe to reject a dependent-case analysis of the ERG/ABS alternation in transitive unaccusatives, and maintain the analysis that the ability to have an ERG experiencer really is triggered as a repair operation to avoid illegal clitic clusters. The odd phenomenon of spurious repair, whereby licit clusters can still be repaired by Absolutive Promotion, is considered in more detail in section 5.3.

In summary, we have seen that Absolutive Promotion is a repair strategy for fixing verbs with illicit clitic clusters. It only works on ABS>DAT and ABS>ABS transitive unaccusatives (not DAT>ABS), and it involves taking the ABS clitic that doubles the experiencer argument and replacing it with the equivalent ERG clitic. In section 4, I flesh out the syntactic analysis of Absolutive Promotion, and compare it with similar phenomena in Chinook and Basque (indeed, the term 'Absolutive Promotion' comes from Arregi and Nevins's 2012 analysis of Basque). But before that, I briefly discuss previous work on clitic co-occurrence restrictions in Choctaw. I also discuss some variability in the judgments.

3.3 Inter-speaker variation

Judgments on clitic co-occurrence restrictions are notoriously variable. Since Perlmutter's (1971) formulation of clitic co-occurrence restrictions in Spanish, which later became known as the PCC (Bonet 1991, 1994), much dialectal and idiolectal variation has been documented to supplement the main generalization. Nevins (2007), for instance, outlines four variants of the PCC cross-linguistically, all of which are attested within the Romance family. In the course of fieldwork in Pearl River, Mississippi, I have found that speakers will often have different judgments to those reported in previous literature, and different judgments to each other. In this section, I first discuss how the speakers I consulted differ in their judgments from some previous literature. I then discuss the variation I found in the acceptability judgments of clitic clusters, and why this should not affect the validity the generalizations made in this section.

[31] One interpretation of this judgment is that the subject argument in (56) is base-generated in the external argument position, where it receives thematic ergative case. Alternatively, it could raise-to-ergative from a different internal argument position. Crucially, the form in (56) cannot be the result of Absolutive Promotion, since Absolutive Promotion does not alter the interpretation of the verb.

Considering previous work on clitic co-occurrence in Choctaw, Heath (1977:205) and Ulrich (1986:254) both note that 2SG.DAT>1SG.ABS *a-chi-* is ruled out, and Davies (1986) notes that 2SG.ABS>1SG.ABS *sa-chi-* is dispreferred by some speakers, but none mention any other banned clusters. Both of these reports are consistent with the judgments of the speakers I consulted. However, Ulrich (1986:255) also states that the usually-banned 2SG.DAT>1SG.ABS cluster *a-chi-* is, exceptionally, permitted, so long as the 1SG.DAT clitic is a result of object possessor raising, as in (57).

(57) Nipi a-chi-noktakali-h.
meat 1SG.DAT-2SG.ABS-choke-TNS
'You choked on my meat.' (Ulrich 1986:255, reglossed)

My consultants rejected this sentence.[32]

Ulrich (1986:254) also provides the sentence in (58a), and Davies (1986) the sentences in (58b-c). All of these feature clusters that are routinely rejected by the Mississippi Choctaw speakers I consulted.

(58) a. Ik-chi-pi-banno-h.
NEG-2SG.DAT-1PL.ABS-want.NEG-TNS
'We don't want you.' (Ulrich 1986:254, reglossed)

b. Chi-chokka i-pi-nokshoopa-h.
2SG.POSS-house 3.DAT-1PC.ABS-scared-TNS
'We are scared of your house.' (Davies 1986:127, reglossed)

c. Sa-chi-anoktoklo-h.
1SG.ABS-2SG.ABS-doubt-TNS
'You doubt me.' (Davies 1986:187, reglossed)

I do not have an account of this variation. However, it is worth noting that both Ulrich and Davies were working with speakers of Oklahoma Choctaw—Ulrich primarily and Davies exclusively—whereas all of the judgments reported in this article come from Mississippi Choctaw.[33] As a very broad generalization, we could conclude that Oklahoma Choctaw imposes fewer restrictions on clitic clusters than Mississippi Choctaw, but more work is required.

Even within Mississippi Choctaw, speakers did not all provide the same judgments, with respect to the ABS>DAT and ABS>ABS verbs. For these verbs, I found that speakers would take one of two main approaches to the tasks of judgment and production. The first approach is what is reported in the tables in (40-45)—the forms marked as ungrammatical were judged as unacceptable, usually incomprehensible, and never volunteered. The second approach involved sometimes accepting some of the banned clitic clusters in (40-44), though not in a discernibly systematic way, but never *volunteering* them. Only clusters repaired by Absolutive Promotion would ever be volunteered. All DAT>ABS clusters were always judged unacceptable, with the exception of the indicated marginal 1SG.DAT>ABS cluster.

[32]There are a number of possible factors that could underlie the rejection of (57). One is that the cluster is treated no differently from any other 2SG.DAT>1SG.ABS cluster, and is ruled out by the same principle. Another possibility is that the speakers I consulted do not use the verb *noktakali* 'choke (on)' as an ABS>ABS transitive, which is a necessary prerequisite for accepting (57). For my consultants, the only ABS>ABS in the language is *banna* 'want', and it is simply incompatible with object possessor raising:

(i) * Nanalhtoka-at ofi chi-banna-h.
police.officer-NOM dog 2SG.DAT-want-TNS
intended: 'The police officer wants your dog.'

This property essentially makes it impossible to test for the acceptability of clusters like that in (57), as they can never arise. Note that in the dialect reported by Davies (1986), however, speakers *do* permit object possessor raising with *banna*.

[33]Ulrich also reports data from 'Mississippi Choctaw of Oklahoma', a variety of Choctaw spoken on the Chickasaw nation in south central Oklahoma.

I do not see this second approach, taken by some speakers, as necessarily problematic for the analysis offered in this paper. For one thing, the asymmetry between the grammatical and ungrammatical clusters posited here was maintained in production—unrepaired ungrammatical clusters were never volunteered. For another thing, speakers would not be consistent in reporting particular ungrammatical clusters as acceptable. I suspect that speakers were, on occasion, able to turn the acceptability judgment task into an extra-linguistic pattern-matching exercise. For instance, by analogy with the grammatical form *i-sa-nokshoopah* ('I am scared of her'), a speaker would be able to determine a meaning for *i-chi-nokshoopah* (putatively 'You are scared of her'), despite its ungrammaticality, and report it as acceptable. Alternatively, there may be much wider idiolectal variation within Mississippi Choctaw than presented here, which I was unable to identify. If that is the case, then the judgments reported here should not be considered representative of *all* Mississippi Choctaw, just one fairly common variety.

In the next section, I flesh out the syntactic analysis of Absolutive Promotion in Choctaw, and compare it with similar operations in Chinook and Basque.

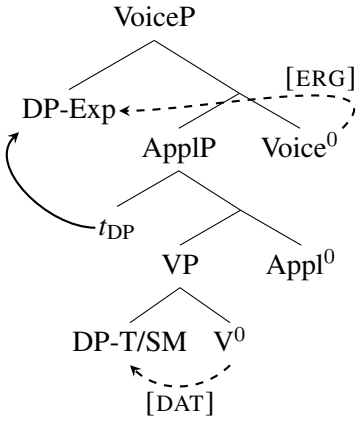
4 Analysis

Recall that in section 3.2 it was proposed that Absolutive Promotion is a relatively simple operation: the Last Resort merging of the same Voice^0 that we find in raising-to-ergative constructions (see the tree in (51)). The purpose of this section is to flesh out a syntactic analysis of Absolutive Promotion, using more data from Choctaw and from two other languages with apparently similar phenomena—Chinook and Basque. The basic claim, outlined and supported in section 4.1, is that the Voice^0 head merged in Absolutive Promotion attempts to form an Agree relation with the closest possible goal in its c-command domain. In section 4.2, I show how this analysis derives the irreparability of DAT>ABS constructions. Finally, section 4.3 extends the scope of investigation to Basque, a language that features essentially the same repair operation, but in circumstances that are exactly the opposite of Choctaw's: DAT>ABS verbs can be repaired by Absolutive Promotion, and ABS>DAT verbs cannot.

4.1 Absolutive Promotion with ABS>DAT and ABS>ABS

In section 2.3, I proposed that in all three transitive unaccusative constructions under consideration, both arguments are base-generated in VoiceP-internal positions, differing only in their case specifications. And in section 3.2, I proposed that Absolutive Promotion involves Last Resort raising-to-ergative. Putting these claims together, Absolutive Promotion in ABS>DAT transitive unaccusatives creates the structures in (59). The caseless experiencer argument raises to Spec-VoiceP, where it receives structural ergative case.

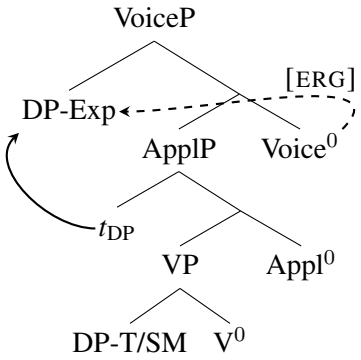
(59) Absolutive Promotion with ABS>DAT



To be specific about the mechanics of the operation, I propose that in the event that an illicit clitic cluster *would* be generated (I discuss how this is determined in section 5), the raising-to-ergative Voice^0 head is merged into the structure. The raising-to-ergative Voice^0 head requires a filled specifier and is equipped with a DP-seeking Agreement probe. It searches its c-command domain, forms an Agree relation with the most local possible goal, and moves it to Spec-VoiceP. In (59), the closest possible goal is the experiencer argument in Spec-ApplP, and so this is what is raised.

This account extends easily to the behavior of the ABS>ABS verb *banna* 'want'. As schematized in (60), while both of the internal arguments of this verb are syntactically caseless (hence being doubled by ABS clitics), only the higher of the two arguments may be targeted by Voice^0's Agreement probe for promotion. The lower argument may not be targeted, on account of typical syntactic locality constraints (e.g. Relativized Minimality, Rizzi 1990).

(60) Absolutive Promotion with ABS>ABS



That the lower argument of *banna* may not be targeted for promotion is shown in (61b). Only the higher argument can be promoted, as in (61c).

(61) a. * Pi-chi-nna-h-o̲?
1PC.ABS-2SG.ABS-want-TNS-Q
intended: 'Do you want us?'

b. # Ii-chi-(ba)nna-h-o̲?
1PL.ERG-2SG.ABS-want-TNS-Q
intended: 'Do you want us?'
Actual: 'Do we want you?'

c. Ish-pi-banna-h-o̲?
2SG.ERG-1PC.ABS-want-TNS-Q
'Do you want us?'

Note that movement of the lower argument over the higher one might *not* be ruled out under a potential alternative analysis suggested by an anonymous reviewer, in which Absolutive Promotion involves the promoted argument undergoing some kind of self-driven Last Resort movement to Spec-VoiceP, which indiscriminately assigns ergative case to whatever is in its specifier. Under this kind of analysis, we would not (necessarily) predict that the relationship between the promoted argument and Voice^0 would be sensitive to locality.

The repair of ABS>DAT and ABS>ABS verbs by Absolutive Promotion, as found in Choctaw, is not cross-linguistically unattested, although it is remarkably rare. To my knowledge, it has previously only been documented in Chinook (Silverstein 1985, discussed by Rezac 2010a, 2011). In this language, internal arguments are typically cross-referenced on the verb by absolutive agreement. There is also an ergative

agreement paradigm used to cross-reference external arguments. Some transitive unaccusative verbs cross-reference their two internal arguments using absolutive agreement, as in (62). We can think of this as parallel with an ABS>ABS transitive unaccusative in Choctaw.

(62) i- n- l-ła
3SG.M.ABS- 1SG.ABS- APPL-stink
'I smell him.' (lit. 'he stinks to me') (Chinook, Silverstein 1985:192, reglossed)

However, the only cases where one will actually see the two absolutive agreement markers is when the theme argument is 3rd-person, as in (62). If the theme is 1st/2nd-person, a process very reminiscent of Absolutive Promotion takes place: to avoid creating the banned cluster in (63a), the absolutive agreement marker cross-referencing the experiencer is swapped out for the equivalent ergative agreement marker, as shown in (63b).

(63) a. * nš- **i**- l-ła
1PL.ABS- 3SG.M.ABS- APPL-stink
intended: 'He smells us (excl.).' (Chinook, Silverstein 1985:192, reglossed)

b. **č**- nš- l-ła
3SG.M.ERG- 1PL.ABS- APPL-stink
'He smells us (excl.).' (Chinook, Silverstein 1985:192, reglossed)

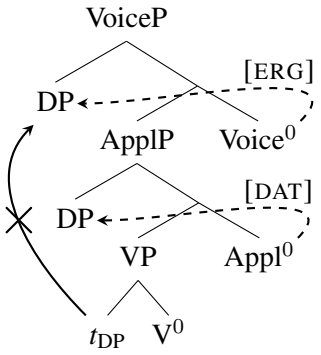
Chinook, therefore, seems to have the same repair mechanism as Choctaw for errant transitive unaccusatives—Last Resort ergative assignment to the higher of the two arguments—but triggers it under slightly different circumstances. While in Choctaw it is triggered as a consequence of an ill-formed clitic cluster (discussed in section 3.1), in Chinook it is triggered under a more 'typical' violation of the Person-Case Constraint (PCC). In section 6, I discuss the relationship between Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions and and the canonical PCC, arguing that while rare, Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions can be assimilated to the PCC.

Next, I provide an account of Absolutive Promotion's inability to repair DAT>ABS clusters in Choctaw, relying on the notion of *defective intervention*.

4.2 Absolutive Promotion and DAT>ABS

Absolutive Promotion is unable to repair DAT>ABS clusters in Choctaw, as shown in (50). This can be derived from the analysis presented here, by the following reasoning. Absolutive Promotion is the Last Resort merging of a raising-to-ergative Voice^0 head, equipped with an Agreement probe that induces movement of the Agreed-with argument. However, if this Voice^0 head is merged on top of a DAT>ABS structure, neither argument can be successfully raised to Spec-VoiceP. The DAT argument cannot be targeted because a DP with dative case cannot subsequently acquire ergative case, and the ABS argument cannot be targeted because the dative argument counts as a defective intervener, in the sense of Chomsky (2000), and cannot be crossed by a DP agreement relation. The result is ineffability. The banned movement operation is schematized in (64).

(64)



In the next and final part of this section, I discuss the possibility of Absolutive Promotion as a repair in two transitive unaccusative constructions in Basque, which have direct parallels to the ABS>DAT and DAT>ABS constructions in Choctaw. We will see that they form a fairly astonishing mirror image to the facts of Choctaw.

4.3 Absolutive Promotion in Basque

In this section, I show that (dialectal) Basque exhibits a pattern that is the mirror of the Choctaw pattern: DAT>ABS verbs *can* be repaired by Absolutive Promotion, and ABS>DAT verbs *cannot* be.[34] The analysis fairly closely follows that of Arregi and Nevins (2012). I offer an explanation for the difference in terms of the relative height of clitic-doubling in the two languages, concordant with Arregi and Nevins's account.

There is a sizeable existing literature on transitive unaccusative verbs in Basque, much of it focusing on their c-command relations (e.g. Oyharçabal 1992, 2003; Joppen and Wunderlich 1995; Elordieta 2001; Artiagoitia 2003; Ortiz de Urbina 2003; Rezac 2008b, 2009, 2010a, 2011; Arregi and Nevins 2012). It has been shown that they come in (at least) two varieties: a class of psych predicates in which the dative argument c-commands the absolutive argument within the VoiceP, exemplified in (65a), and a class of motion verbs with optional goal arguments in which the absolutive c-commands the dative, exemplified in (65b).[35,36]

(65) a. Jon-ei ardau-Ø gusta-ten g-a-ko.
Jon-DAT wine-ABS like-IMPF L-T.AGR-CL.3SG.DAT
'Jon likes wine.' (Ondarru Basque, Arregi and Nevins 2012:24, reglossed)

b. Karta bat-Ø Miren-ei alla-Ø g-a-ko.
letter one-ABS Miren-DAT arrive-PF L-T.AGR-CL.3SG.DAT
'A letter has arrived for Miren.' (Ondarru Basque, Arregi and Nevins 2012:24, reglossed)

Let's first consider the DAT>ABS psych verbs, as in (65a). When a particular combination of arguments would result in an illegal clitic cluster, as in (66a), the violation can be repaired by promoting the absolutive argument to ergative, as in (66b)—just as in Choctaw, clitic co-occurrence is only restricted between absolutive and dative clitics: ergative clitics can freely co-occur with any other clitic. Note that in Basque,

[34] Absolutive Promotion is only found in some Western Basque dialects, including Berriatua (Aramaio 2001), Ondarru (Arregi 2004), Northern High Navarrese and Guispuscoan (Rezac 2008b), and Gernika, Mendata and Mundaka (Arregi and Nevins 2012). For simplicity, when I refer to 'Basque' in this article, I refer only to those dialects featuring Absolutive Promotion.

[35] The caveat that the c-command relations hold *within the VoiceP* is important here, as it can be shown that in DAT>ABS verbs like (65a), the lower (absolutive) argument behaves as a subject with respect to control (San Martin 1999; Rezac 2008b). This could indicate that it crosses over the dative argument and occupies a subject position such as Spec-TP.

[36] The glosses in Basque examples are simplified from their sources: details of tense and agreement have been stripped out, and all tense/agreement morphemes are glossed '(T.)AGR'. The morpheme glossed 'L' is what Arregi and Nevins (2012) refer to as the 'L-morpheme', a morpheme drafted in to occupy the leftmost position within the auxiliary under particular morphological conditions.

Absolutive Promotion affects not only the form of the clitic, as in Choctaw, but also, optionally, the overt case-marking on the DP.[37]

(66) a. * Ni-ri su-Ø ondo jaus-ten **s**-a-**t**. (>sasta)[38]
me-DAT you-ABS well fall-IMPF CL.2SG.ABS-T.AGR-CL.1SG.DAT
intended: 'I like you.' (Ondarru Basque, Arregi and Nevins 2012:65,reglossed)

b. Ni-ri su-Ø/**k** ondo jaus-te d-o-**t**-**su**. (>stasu)
me-DAT you-ABS/**ERG** well fall-IMPF L-T.AGR-CL.1SG.DAT-CL.2SG.ERG
'I like you.' (Ondarru Basque, Arregi and Nevins 2012:69, reglossed)

Turning now to the ABS>DAT motion verbs, not all Basque varieties show clitic co-occurrence restrictions with these verbs (Albizu 1997:9). However, for the varieties that do block clitic clusters, as exemplified by Ondarru Basque in (67a), they *cannot* be repaired by Absolutive Promotion, as shown in (67b).

(67) a. * Ni-Ø Miren-ei etorri-Ø **n**-a-ko.
me-ABS Miren-DAT come-PF CL.1SG.ABS-T.AGR-CL.DAT.3SG
intended: 'I have come to Miren.' (Ondarru Basque, Arregi and Nevins 2012:76, reglossed)

b. * Ni-Ø/k Miren-ei etorri-Ø d-o-tz-**t**. (>tzat)
me-ABSERG Miren-DAT come-PF L-T.AGR-CL.3SG.DAT-CL.1SG.ERG
intended: 'I have come to Miren.' (Ondarru Basque, Arregi and Nevins 2012:77, reglossed)

The situation in (dialectal) Basque therefore exactly mirrors the situation in Choctaw. This is shown in the following table, where '✓' indicates reparability by Absolutive Promotion and '*' indicates irreparability by Absolutive Promotion:[39]

(68)

	ABS>DAT	**DAT>ABS**
Choctaw	✓	*
Basque	*	✓

I now present an analysis of the Basque facts, which relies on a crucial property of clitic-doubling: clitic-doubled arguments do not count as interveners in Agree relations if the clitic is attached at a structural position above the probe.

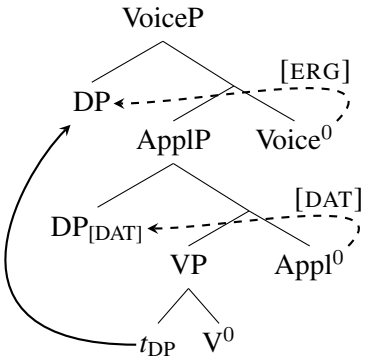
Arregi and Nevins's analysis of Absolutive Promotion, on which the proposal here is based, involves the same ingredients as what I have proposed for Choctaw. Absolutive arguments are caseless in the syntax, and Absolutive Promotion is Last Resort movement of the absolutive argument from its internal argument position to Spec-VoiceP, where it receives structural ergative case. This is schematized for a DAT>ABS transitive unaccusative in (69) (contrast with (64)).

[37] The optionality of ergative case-marking is not restricted to this structure in particular, and is a more general property of Basque (Arregi and Nevins 2012:72).

[38] Arregi and Nevins elaborate a complex system of syntactic and postsyntactic processes that result in Basque auxiliaries having the phonological form that they do. This means, however, that the syntactic composition of auxiliaries is often obscured by subsequent morphophonological adjustments. In the Basque examples taken from their work, I follow their convention, and gloss the components of the auxiliary *before* these rules have applied, while providing in parentheses the form of the auxiliary *after* they have applied. For instance, *s-a-t* in (66a) becomes *sasta*.

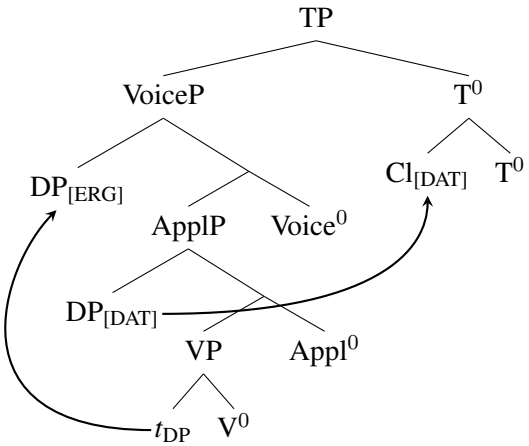
[39] While Basque ABS>DAT verbs cannot be repaired by Absolutive Promotion, an alternative structure is available in which the goal receives allative case and does not cliticize to the auxiliary (Arregi and Nevins 2012:77).

(69)



Arregi and Nevins's analysis implies an explanation that I make explicit here: because the clitic that doubles the dative argument attaches to T^0, which is above $Voice^0$, the dative argument does not count as an intervener for the Agree relation between $Voice^0$ and the lower ABS argument.[40] See Anagnostopoulou (2003), Preminger (2009) a.o. for discussion of the intervention-voiding property of clitic-doubling. This configuration is shown in tree form in (70), where the relationship between an argument and its clitic is indicated by a movement arrow (see section 5.1 for a brief overview of movement-based approaches to clitic-doubling).[41]

(70)



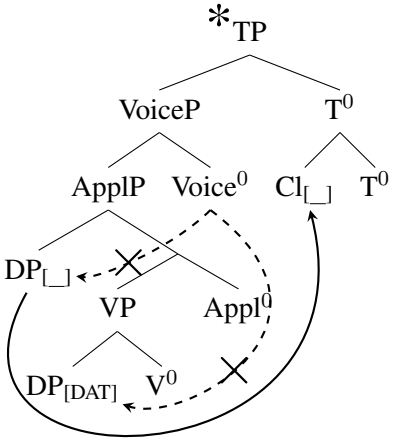
While clitic-doubling at T^0 has the effect of *permitting* Absolutive Promotion of DAT>ABS verbs, it has the opposite effect with ABS>DAT verbs, and blocks Absolutive Promotion. Under Arregi and Nevins's analysis, T^0 attracts absolutive and dative clitics. If there are two available clitics in T^0's c-command domain, it will attract the higher of the two. In (70), this is the dative clitic, but in an ABS>DAT transitive unaccusative, this would be the absolutive clitic. Given that the raising-to-ergative $Voice^0$ head characteristic of Absolutive Promotion is introduced into the structure as a Last Resort, Arregi and Nevins propose that cliticization to T^0 *precedes* $Voice^0$'s Agreement probe being launched, in the derivation of the structure. Consequently, when $Voice^0$'s probe looks for a goal, there are none available: the absolutive argument has clitic-doubled to a position above $Voice^0$, rendering it invisible to agreement relations (see, again, discussion in Anagnostopoulou 2003 and Preminger 2009), and the dative argument has a dative case feature that is

[40] In Tyler to appear-c, I proposed an alternative analysis of the contrast between Basque and Choctaw in the reparability of DAT>ABS verbs. The claim is that in Basque, dative is inherent, and so is invisible to agreement probes, following analyses such as McGinnis (1998a); McFadden (2004); Woolford (2006); Alexiadou et al. (2014). By contrast in Choctaw, dative is structural and defectively intervenes. However, no supporting evidence is offered for this difference—indeed, Rezac (2008a) shows that Basque dialects differ in the transparency vs. opacity of their dative arguments with respect to Agreement probes and it is not clear that the Absolutive Promotion dialects are also the ones with opaque datives—so I set the proposal aside.

[41] I follow Arregi and Nevins in leaving Spec-TP, the canonical subject position, unfilled, and take no position on whether the ABS/ERG argument undergoes subsequent movement to it.

incompatible with an ergative feature.[42] The failed derivation, at the point where Voice^0 attempts to Agree with a DP in its c-command domain, is shown in (71), with dashed lines indicating (impossible) Agreement relations.

(71)

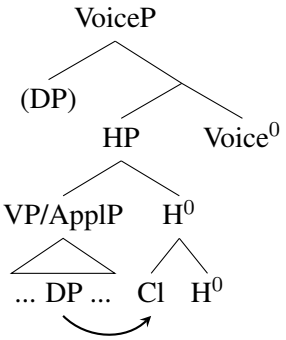


Note that it is not the failed agreement relations that cause the derivation to crash, as it has been shown that Agree can fail without crashing the derivation (Preminger 2011, 2014). Rather, it is the inability of Voice^0 to satisfy its filled-specifier requirement that dooms the derivation.

In summary, in the spirit of Arregi and Nevins's (2012) analysis, I have proposed that the property of Basque that allows Absolutive Promotion to repair DAT>ABS verbs is the same property that *prevents* Absolutive Promotion from repairing ABS>DAT verbs: that absolutive and dative arguments are clitic-doubled at T^0. Where, then, does this leave our analysis of Choctaw? In sections 4.2 and 4.1, the explanations of the reparability of ABS>DAT verbs and the irreparability DAT>ABS verbs relied on the higher argument in each case being visible to Voice^0's agreement probe.

This can mean only one thing: ABS and DAT clitics in Choctaw are doubled at a head *lower* than Voice^0. Consequently, the higher DAT argument in a DAT>ABS verb would still defectively intervene an Agree relation between Voice^0 and the lower ABS argument. For present purposes, I propose that internal argument clitics in Choctaw are doubled at a placeholder functional head 'H^0', as schematized in (72). Empirical evidence for the relatively low locus of clitic-doubling in Choctaw is provided in section 5.3.

(72)



In summary, we have seen that both Basque and Choctaw make use of the same repair mechanism for fixing errant transitive unaccusatives: they merge a raising-to-ergative Voice^0 head. But in each language,

[42] In order for Arregi and Nevins's explanation to hold, the Extension condition (Chomsky 1995) and the No Tampering condition (Chomsky 2008) must be abandoned or appropriately weakened to allow for a number of operations, including the formation of Agreement relations and case-assignment, to take place countercyclically. It may make sense to restrict these apparent violations strictly to 'repair' contexts, but I do not pursue this idea here—see Rezac (2011) for discussion of the countercyclic character of repair.

the applicability of the operation is restricted. In Choctaw it is restricted by defective intervention, explaining why it can't fix DAT>ABS verbs, and in Basque it is restricted by the high locus of clitic doubling, explaining why it can't fix ABS>DAT verbs.

So far, much discussion has been dedicated to the repair procedure. But what about the clitic co-occurrence restrictions themselves? In the next section, I build a case that Basque and Choctaw share not only a repair strategy, but also share clitic co-occurrence restrictions that can be characterized in near-identical terms—the *Condition on Clitic Hosts*. Section 6 then discusses how this restriction fits into the wider typology of Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects.

5 Unifying clitic co-occurrence restrictions in Basque and Choctaw

Section 3.1 revealed the following generalization regarding clitic co-occurrence restrictions in Choctaw:

(73) Choctaw clitic co-occurrence restrictions
All combinations of internal argument clitics (ABS and DAT) are banned, unless the inner clitic, doubling the higher argument, is 1SG.

One pretheoretic analysis is that DAT and ABS clitics are competing for the same morphological 'slot' (with higher-argument-doubling 1SG clitics being somehow exempted). In this section I formalize this intuition, and show that Basque and Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions can be captured using the same general condition.

Specifically, I propose that the bespoke condition devised by Arregi and Nevins (2012) in order to account for Basque's clitic restrictions should be generalized. Their condition is as follows:

(74) Condition on Clitic Hosts (Arregi and Nevins 2012:60)
A clitic host in Basque ([T^0 or C^0]) can only attract one clitic.

In Basque, both absolutive and dative clitics are attracted to T^0 (ergative clitics, by contrast, adjoin to C^0), and so whenever there is more than one absolutive or dative clitic, the condition is violated and a repair of some kind is required.

In order to generalize the Condition on Clitic Hosts to Choctaw, the only thing that needs to be changed is the clitic-hosting heads in question. I proposed in section 4.3 that ABS and DAT clitics adjoin to H^0, a functional head immediately below $Voice^0$. In this section, I provide some empirical support for this claim, and I argue that ERG clitics are attracted to $Voice^0$. I further propose that there is a dedicated clitic host for 1SG clitics—$Author^0$—which accounts for (a) the unusual ability of 1SG ABS clitics to co-occur with other ABS and DAT clitics, and (b) the unusual phenomenon of 'spurious repair' (on which see section 3.2).

The clitic co-occurrence restrictions in both Basque and Choctaw, then, can be subsumed under the generalized Condition on Clitic Hosts to the statement in (75), which allows a language to specify its own inventory of clitic hosts.

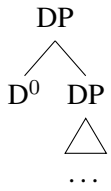
(75) (Generalized) Condition on Clitic Hosts (CCH)
A clitic host can only attract one clitic.

Section 5.1 lays out the necessary theoretical assumptions about clitic generation and movement. Section 5.2 then sketches Arregi and Nevins's (2012) account of how the CCH applies to Basque, and how Absolutive Promotion obviates it. Finally, section 5.3 does the same for Choctaw.

5.1 Clitic generation and movement

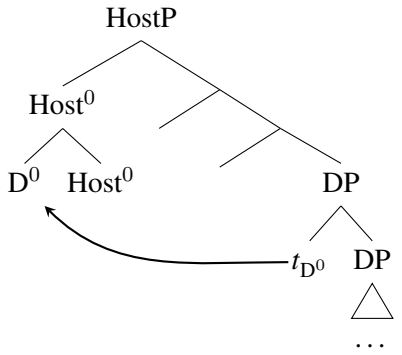
I assume a form of the 'Big DP' analysis of clitic doubling (Uriagereka 1995; Cecchetto 2000; Franks and Rudin 2005; Nevins 2011; Arregi and Nevins 2012 and others).[43] In this family of analyses, clitics are determiners (D^0s) that begin life as a constituent with the DP they double, and move to some higher position in the structure.[44] Within this family of theories, I follow recent work such as Nevins (2011); Kramer (2014), Preminger (to appear) and Yuan (2017), who argue that clitics are 'bare' determiner heads that do not project phrases and undergo long-distance head movement. A DP that is clitic-doubled, therefore, would be base-generated as (76).

(76)



Since Choctaw arguments are *obligatorily* clitic-doubled, I assume that where a clitic could be generated, it must be generated—there is no optionality in this domain. Furthermore, the adjoined determiner cannot stay put (this constraint is a necessary feature of all Big DP analyses). Instead, it must move and adjoin to a clitic-hosting head, as shown in (77):

(77)



I assume that clitic-doubling at a host is licensed by an Agreement relation between the host and the DP (see Béjar and Rezac 2003; Rezac 2008a; Roberts 2010; Nevins 2011; Preminger 2009, 2014, to appear; Kramer 2014, among others).

In the next two sections, I illustrate how the CCH constrains clitic-doubling in Basque and Choctaw, and how Absolutive Promotion obviates the constraint. I start with Basque, as the system is somewhat simpler.

5.2 The CCH in Basque

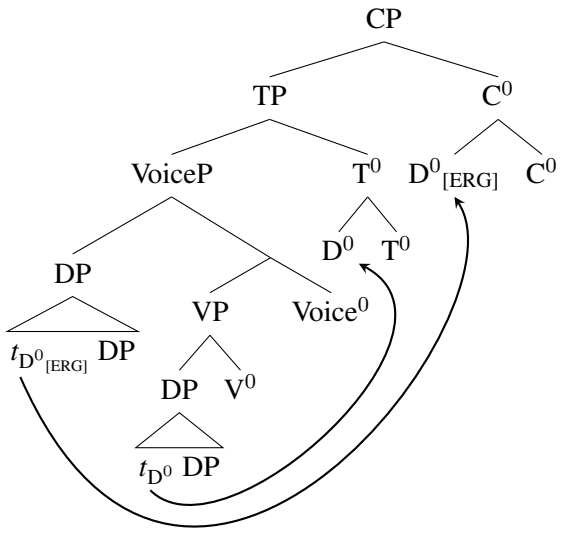
The structure in (78), adapted from Arregi and Nevins (2012:58), represents clitic movement within a simple transitive clause in Basque.[45]

[43] Big DP analyses are, in turn, part of a larger family of analyses that assume that clitic-doubling involves movement. This family includes the analyses of Sportiche (1996), Anagnostopoulou (2003) and Harizanov (2014).

[44] The reader may be wondering how the claim that Choctaw clitics are D^0s squares with the decomposability of the DAT clitics into 'ABS+(*i*)*m*-', discussed in footnote 4. I do not present an analysis here, but I suggest that DAT clitics are underlyingly composed of an ABS D^0 incorporated into a prepositional head spelled out as (*i*)*m*-. In this way, DAT clitics form part of the larger typology of D^0+P^0 complex clitics featuring a variety of different prepositions, including the comitative clitic (ABS)-(*i*)*baa*-, the superessive clitic (ABS)-*o̲*-, and the locative clitic (ABS)-*aa*-. The behavior of these complex clitics with respect to clitic co-occurrence restrictions and Absolutive Promotion is discussed briefly in Tyler to appear-c, but requires further investigation.

[45] Only two changes have been made from Arregi and Nevins's original structure, neither significant. Firstly, their *v* has been relabeled *Voice*. Secondly, in (78) clitics are base-generated as adjuncts to DPs, while Arregi and Nevins have DPs sitting in the

(78)



The clitic-hosting heads are C^0, for ergative clitics, and T^0, for absolutive and dative clitics. The fact that Basque clitic hosts are high in the clause is relatively clear from linear order, as clitics are realized on a right-peripheral auxiliary that expresses tense, agreement and clause-type, as shown in (79).

(79) maneka-ten g-aitu-Ø-n-a (>gaittuna)
lead-IMPF CL.ABS.1PL-T.AGR-CL.ERG.3SG-C.REL-AGR
'the one who leads us'
(Lekeitio Basque, Hualde et al. 1994:231 in Arregi and Nevins 2012:158, reglossed)

Another piece of evidence for the high clitic attachment site is that clitic-doubling is conditioned by clause type: finite clauses have clitics, while non-finite clauses, as shown by (80), do not.

(80) [Su-k neu-Ø ikus-ti] nai d-au-Ø.
you.SG-ERG me-ABS see-NF want L-T.AGR-CL.3SG.ERG
'He wants you to see me.' (Ondarru Basque, Arregi and Nevins 2012:57, reglossed)

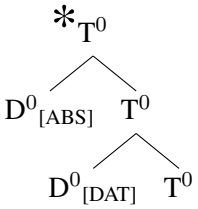
Basque's clitic co-occurrence restrictions are very similar to those in Choctaw, but even stricter. Essentially, *all* combinations of internal argument clitics are ruled out (Arregi and Nevins 2012).[46] There is no comparable '1SG exception' for Basque. These restrictions fall straightforwardly out of the CCH: clitics with absolutive and dative case features are attracted to T^0, but the CCH means that only one can actually be hosted there. If two clitics attempt to adjoin, the result will be the ill-formed T^0 head in (81), adapted from Arregi and Nevins (2012:67).

complement of K(ase)P or Part(icipant)P phrases, with clitics being base-generated as adjuncts to either KP or PartP. The proposal outlined here is fully compatible with a more articulated model of clitic generation such as theirs, I simply leave out the details here as they are not relevant to the analysis.

Arregi and Nevins (2012:63) also argue that clitic movement should proceed in two steps: an initial phrasal movement of an XP containing the clitic to a phrase immediately below the clitic host, followed by local head movement of the clitic. They argue that this two-step approach is necessary in order to avoid non-local head movement, which would violate the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984). However, for simplicity they do not discuss it further than this, and, here, neither do I.

[46]Note that this description relies on Arregi and Nevins's analysis of the decomposition of Basque auxiliaries being correct. This is not an uncontroversial point, as their analysis relies on Ø clitics (as in (79)), and an elaborate system of postsyntactic morphological and phonological rules and constraints. I nonetheless assume their account to be correct for present purposes: all arguments are obligatorily clitic-doubled in finite clauses, with the exception of 3rd-person singular absolutive arguments.

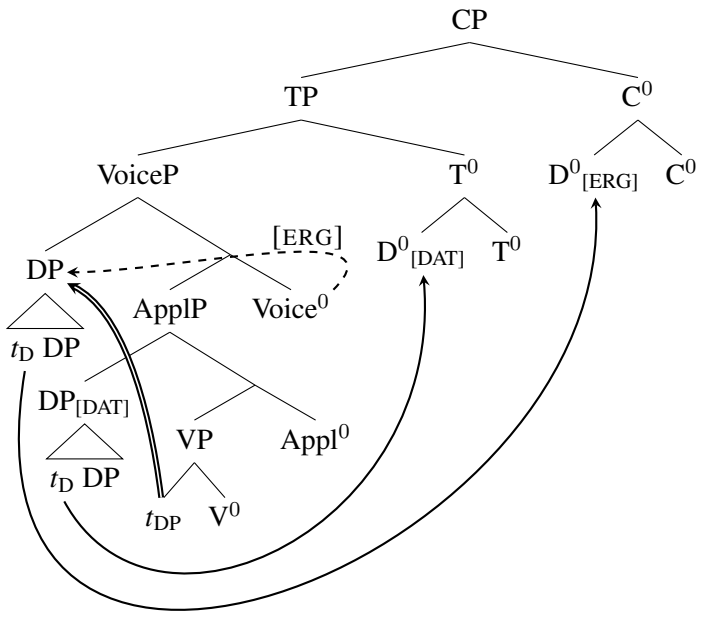
(81)



The reason why the condition doesn't rule out *all* cases of verbs taking multiple internal arguments is due to a gap in the clitic paradigm: 3rd-person absolutive arguments simply don't get clitic-doubled (just like 3rd-person absolutive arguments in Choctaw).

We can now see how Absolutive Promotion obviates the creation of the illegal cluster: the lower ABS clitic doubling the T/SM argument gets ergative case and is attracted to C^0 rather than T^0. The full derivation is shown in (82), adapted from Arregi and Nevins (2012:71). For clarity, a solid line indicates clitic movement, a doubled line indicates DP movement, and a dashed line indicates case-assignment.

(82)



In the next part of this section, I show that a similar analysis can be fruitfully applied to Choctaw.

5.3 The CCH in Choctaw

While in Basque clitics adjoin at T^0 and C^0, I propose that in Choctaw clitics adjoin to H^0 (a functional head immediately below Voice^0), to Voice^0 and to a slightly higher functional head Author^0.

The first thing to note is that it is essentially impossible to tell anything about the placement of clitic hosts in Choctaw from their place in linear order. While voice, aspect, mood, tense, evidentiality, clause-type and switch-reference are all marked in a hierarchy-respecting sequence to the right of the verb root, as partially illustrated in (83a), clitics show up on the left, as in (83b).[47]

(83) a. Palhki-ch-ahi̲na-tok-o̲?
fast-CAUS-MOD-PST-Q
'Was he able to make it go fast?'

[47]The one exception here is the 1SG ERG form *-li*, which does appear after the verb root. However, 1SG arguments have somewhat idiosyncratic properties across the whole language (Broadwell and Martin 1993), and I generally set aside issues of morpheme order in this article.

b. Is-sa-pí̲sa-tok.
2SG.ERG-1SG.ABS-see.NG-PST
'Did you see me?'

Fortunately, there are other methods of determining the attachment height of clitics. We saw in section 2.2 that ERG clitics may attach to verbs in participial clauses, which were shown to be structurally truncated. (84) shows more examples of participial clauses with ERG, ABS and DAT clitics attached:

(84) a. [**Hash**-momi̲chi-t] hachi̲-nó̲wa-li-tok.
2PL.ERG-do.all-PTCP 2PL.DAT-walk.NG-1SG.ERG-PST
'I visited all of you.' (Broadwell 2006:218, reglossed)

b. [Oklah **hapi**-nokshoopa-t] taha-h.
PL 1PL.ABS-scared-PTCP AUX-TNS
'We are all terrified.'

c. [**Chi̲**-nokshoopa-t] iya-h.
2SG.DAT-scared-PTCP go-TNS
'He's getting scared of you.'

d. [**Ii**-baliili-t] tahli-tok.
1PL.ERG-run-PTCP AUX-PST
'We finished running.'

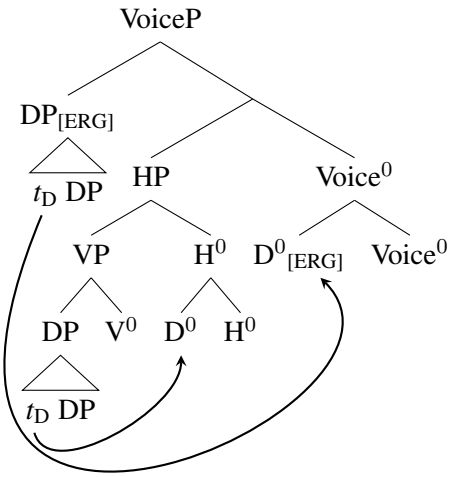
Therefore the clitic-hosting heads in Choctaw must be structurally lower than T^0 and C^0 (the clitic-hosting heads in Basque), a finding consistent with the proposal made in section 4.3 that ABS and DAT clitics double at a functional head H^0 located below $Voice^0$. For concreteness, I propose that ERG clitics adjoin to $Voice^0$, although the findings here are consistent with ERG clitics adjoining to any functional head below Mod^0.[48]

With these assumptions in place, a Choctaw transitive sentence, with an external argument and an internal argument, would have the clitic movements in (85).[49] Note that in this article, I do not attempt to derive the linear order of morphemes in the Choctaw verb.

[48]Choctaw's low clitic-hosting heads can be considered equivalent to the vP-adjacent clitic phrase of Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004).

[49]The reader may be concerned by the apparent movement of the ERG clitic from inside Spec-VoiceP to $Voice^0$. If clitic movement is like phrasal movement, then this is indeed an odd and potentially illegal movement, as the landing site does not c-command the launch site. One way of obviating the problem is to propose that ergative arguments are clitic-doubled not at $Voice^0$ but some functional head closely above it. Alternatively, we could follow recent proposals arguing that clitic-movement involves an intermediate step in which the D^0 clitic first becomes a specifier of VoiceP, above the external argument, before undergoing m-merger with $Voice^0$ to form a complex head (Matushansky 2006). See Harizanov (2014) and Kramer (2014) for approaches to clitic doubling that exploit m-merger in this way.

(85)

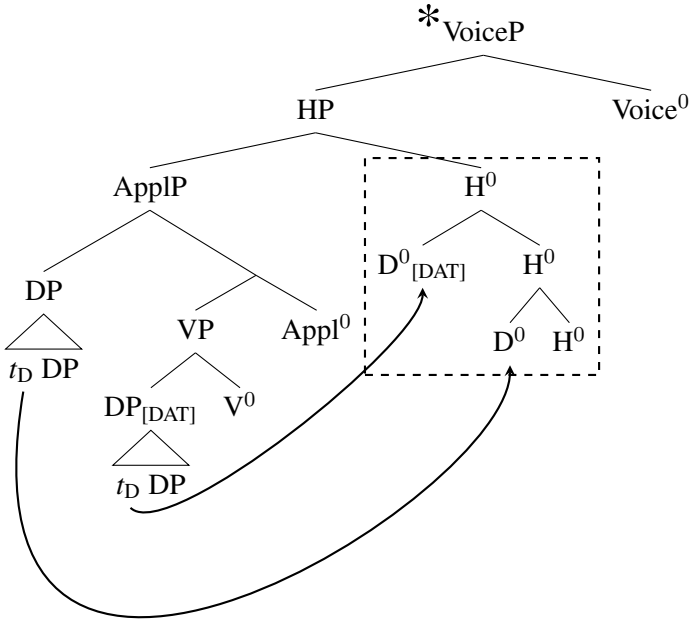


Equipped with a basic analysis of Choctaw clitic-doubling, we can now turn to how the CCH accounts for the clitic co-occurrence restrictions summarized in (73), repeated as (86).

(86) Choctaw clitic co-occurrence restrictions
All combinations of internal argument clitics (ABS and DAT) are banned, unless the inner clitic, doubling the higher argument, is 1SG.

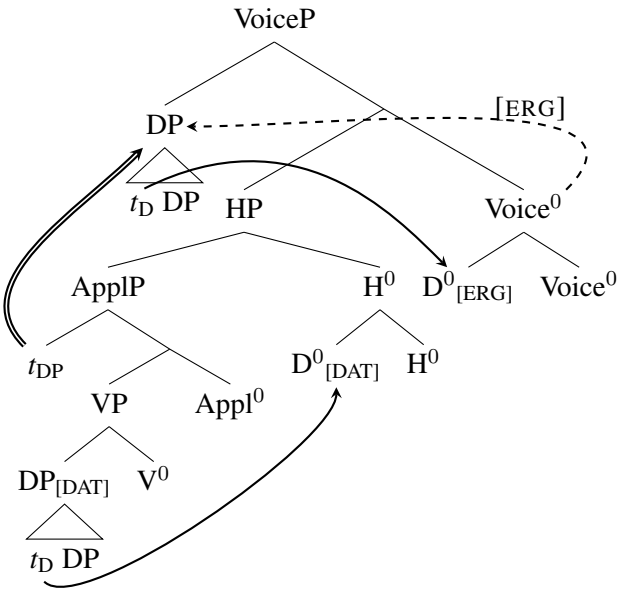
Setting aside the 1SG exception for the time being, the rest of (86) can be derived from the generalized CCH: in the event that the ABS and DAT arguments of a transitive unaccusative are both base-generated with clitics attached, both clitics will attempt to adjoin to H^0, creating an illegal complex head. This ill-formed derivation is shown for an ABS>DAT verb in (87).

(87)



In this way, the CCH is able to rule out all combinations of ABS and DAT clitics (the 1SG exception is discussed momentarily). Absolutive Promotion obviates the CCH in the same way as in Basque: the absolutive (i.e. syntactically caseless) DP raises from Spec-ApplP to Spec-VoiceP, whereupon it receives structural ergative Case, and its now-ergative clitic attaches to Voice^0 rather than H^0. This is shown in (88).[50]

(88)



We can now turn to the 1SG exception. In its current form the analysis undergenerates: it blocks the fully acceptable ABS>DAT verbs with 1SG subjects, as well as the marginally acceptable DAT>ABS verbs with 1SG subjects. These cases are shown in the table in (89), repeated from (45).

(89)

1SG>X	'I am scared of X'	'I want X'	'I forget X'
1SG>2SG	chi-sa-nokshoopah	chi-sa-nnah	%chi-(s)am-ihaksih
1SG>2PL	hachi-sa-nokshoopah	hachi-sa-nnah	hachi-(s)am-ihaksih
1SG>3	i-sa-nokshoopah	sa-nnah	am-ihaksih

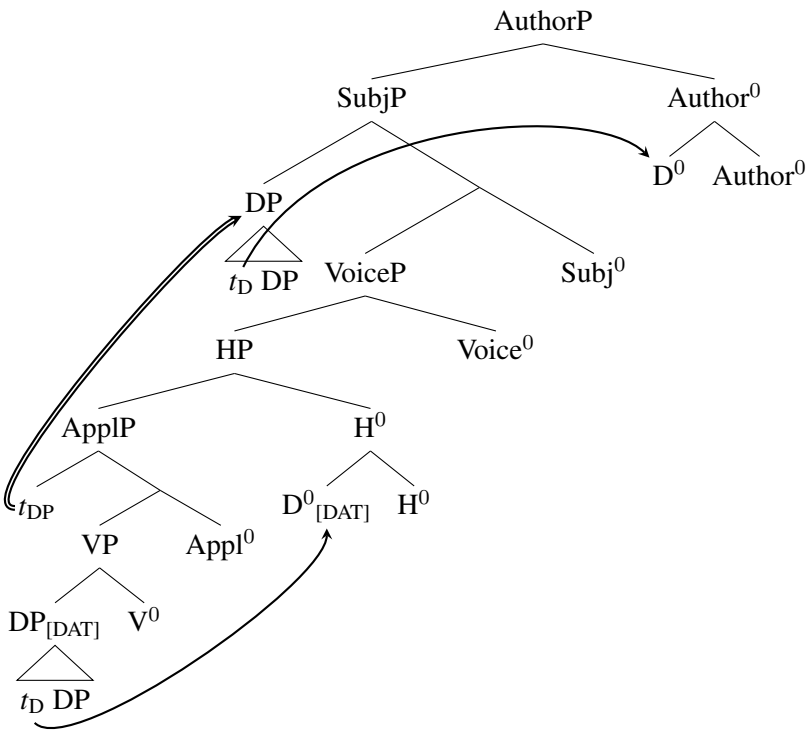
I propose that in these cases, the 1SG clitic adjoins to a dedicated functional head Author^0, akin to the Speaker^0 head of Poletto (2000), or the Person^0 and Addressee^0 heads of Myler (2017).[51] Author^0 is located north of the subject position, which I label Spec-SubjP (see Broadwell 1990, 2006 for arguments that Choctaw has a dedicated subject position, outside the VP). The configuration underlying an ABS.1SG>DAT transitive unaccusative, as in the 1st column of (89), is schematized in (90).[52]

[50] Note that the Agree relation that H^0 establishes with the dative argument, in order to clitic-double it, does not violate minimality. This is because the intervening dative moves, and A-movement traces are known not to intervene (Chomsky 2000; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003).

[51] There is an open question of how a probe could be relativized to Agree only with 1st-person *singular* arguments, while ignoring plural arguments. I leave this question open here.

[52] I do not attempt to derive the correct morpheme order in (90) via e.g. head-movement, and assume that it must be determined templatically.

(90)



The structure of a 1SG.ABS>ABS transitive unaccusative, as in the 2nd column of (89) would be almost identical, except that the lower argument would be syntactically caseless rather than dative. Similarly, in a 1SG.DAT>ABS transitive unaccusative as in the 3rd column of (89), the lower argument would be syntactically caseless and the higher argument, clitic-doubled at Author^0, would be dative.

It is crucial that Author^0 can only host clitics from arguments that move to the subject position. Object 1SG arguments do not move to this high structural position. Consequently, they cannot be clitic-doubled at Author^0, and so clitic clusters featuring 1SG clitics from objects are uniformly banned:[53]

(91) a. ABS>1SG.DAT
* A-chi-nokshoopa-h.
1SG.DAT-2SG.ABS-scared-TNS
intended: 'You're scared of me.'

b. ABS>1SG.ABS
* Sa-hachi-(ba)nna-h.
1SG.ABS-2PL.ABS-scared-TNS
intended: 'Y'all want me.'

c. DAT>1SG.ABS
* Sa-chim-ihaksi-h.
1SG.ABS-2SG.DAT-forget-TNS
intended: 'You forget me.'

Finally, note that most arguments do not have the option of waiting until they get to the subject position to release their clitics. This option is only available to 1SG arguments, because the only clitic host above

[53] If the 1SG.ABS>ABS/DAT clitic clusters really are only available when the 1SG clitic is doubling a subject, then we would predict that these clusters should be *unavailable* in ditransitives, where the subject position cannot be occupied by an internal argument. As for whether this prediction holds, the jury is still out, as I have been unable to collect consistent judgments (see footnote 26). However, it is potentially significant that, to the extent that clitic clusters in ditransitives *are* acceptable, speakers find them significantly degraded compared with the same clusters in transitive unaccusatives, which are fine and frequently volunteered.

the subject position is Author^0. Any other argument that gets to Spec-SubjP without releasing its clitic will crash the derivation, since (as a core component of Big DP analyses of clitic-doubling) the clitic must move out of the DP in which it is base-generated.

Despite the stipulative nature of the Author^0 head, there is some evidence to support, at the very least, the presence of a 1SG-seeking Agreement probe at some position outside the VoiceP domain. Firstly, while it was shown in (84) that ERG, ABS and DAT clitics are generally able to attach to participles, the 1SG ERG form *-li* constitutes an exception to this rule:

(92) a. * Bashli-**li**-t tahli-tok.
cut-1SG.ERG-PTCP finish-PST

b. Bashli-t tahli-**li**-tok.
cut-PTCP finish-1SG.ERG-PST
'I finished cutting it.' (Broadwell and Martin 1993:6, reglossed)

This follows if we assume that *-li* is the spellout of an ergative argument clitic-doubling at Author^0, and that participial clauses are structurally truncated such that they exclude the AuthorP projection.[54]

The second piece of evidence suggesting a unique licensing position for 1SG comes from the curious phenomenon of 'spurious repair', discussed in section 3.2. Consider the pattern in (93). (93a) shows an acceptable 1SG.ABS>DAT cluster. (93b) shows that, surprisingly, this form may undergo unnecessary repair by Absolutive Promotion. (93c) shows that 'spurious' Absolutive Promotion cannot take place unless there is a DAT object—that is, spurious repair is still contingent on the presence of the lower argument, just like regular Absolutive Promotion.

(93) a. Chi-sa-nokshoopa-h.
2SG.DAT-1SG.ABS-scared-TNS
'I'm scared of you.'

b. Chi-nokshoopa-li-h.
2SG.DAT-scared-1SG.ERG-TNS
'I'm scared of you.'

c. * Nokshoopa-li-h.
scared-1SG.ERG-TNS
intended: 'I'm scared.'

The fact that Absolutive Promotion may be spuriously triggered for these combinations of arguments shows that, at the point where the grammar decides whether or not to apply the repair operation, it does not know that the operation will ultimately be redundant. This is consistent with there being an extra licensing position for 1SG clitics, which sits outside the domain considered by the grammar when choosing whether or not to apply the repair.[55]

In summary, Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions can be assimilated to a constraint proposed by Arregi and Nevins (2012) for Basque: the Condition on Clitic Hosts. I argued that Choctaw has three clitic hosts, to Basque's two, and that they are lower in the functional structure than Basque clitic hosts. Nonetheless, they are each subject to the same prohibition against multiple clitic attachment. In the final section before the conclusion, I discuss the nature of these clitic co-occurrence restrictions and Absolutive Promotion in the typology of Person Case Constraint (PCC) restrictions.

[54]This leaves the question of why 1SG ergative arguments couldn't simply clitic-double at Voice^0, just like any other ergative argument, in the absence of the Author^0 head. I tentatively suggest that Broadwell and Martin's (1993) analysis may provide a solution. They argue that the 1SG ERG form *-li* is an agreement affix rather than a clitic. Under this analysis, then, there is no true 1SG ERG clitic, meaning that 1SG ERG arguments are base-generated without clitics, and clitic-doubling to Voice^0 is therefore not an option. See Tyler (to appear-a, to appear-b) for further support for the agreement-affix analysis of *-li*.

[55]I leave open the question of why Absolutive Promotion is merely optional in these cases.

6 Choctaw in the typology of PCC effects

In section 6.1, I place the clitic co-occurrence restrictions found in Choctaw in a cross-linguistic context, arguing that the restrictions can be assimilated to the well-studied phenomenon of Person-Case Constraint (PCC) effects. Section 6.2 then discusses the (non-)universality of the CCH as an explanation for PCC effects, in a theoretical landscape that already includes Agreement-based accounts such as Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), Nevins (2007, 2011), Baker (2008) and Béjar and Rezac (2009). The idea that I pursue is that the CCH is a variant of an idea shared by all of these proposals: that PCC effects are failures of Agreement.

6.1 Choctaw clitic co-occurrence restrictions as PCC effects

The traditional strong version of the PCC can be stated as in (94), from Adger and Harbour (2007).[56]

(94) The Person Case Constraint (Adger and Harbour 2007:4)
In a ditransitive, where both internal arguments are realized as phonologically weak elements, the direct object must be third person.

This captures the ungrammaticality of sentences like (95)—both internal arguments are realized as clitics ('phonologically weak elements'), but the direct object *me* is not 3rd-person.

(95) * On me lui montrera.
one me.ACC him.DAT show.FUT
intended: 'They will show me to him.' (French, Adger and Harbour 2007:3)

More relevant to this article are the PCC-like restrictions observed for some monotransitive verbs too. For instance, the clitic co-occurrence restrictions on the Basque DAT>ABS transitive unaccusative verb *ondo jausi* 'like', discussed in section 4.3, would be typically analyzed as PCC effects (Rezac 2008b, 2011; Arregi and Nevins 2012). Further examples from Spanish and Icelandic are given in (96-97). In both cases, while 3rd-person pronouns can serve as the (nominative) theme argument of DAT>NOM verbs, 1st and 2nd-person pronouns cannot.[57]

(96) a. A Ana se le olvidaron ellos.
Ana.DAT 3.REFL DAT.CL forgot.3PL they.NOM
'Ana forgot them.'

b. * A Ana nos le olvidamos nosotros.
Ana.DAT 1.PL.REFL DAT.CL forgot.3PL they.NOM
intended: 'Ana forgot us.' (Spanish, Rivero 2004)

(97) a. Henni höfðu líkað þeir.
she.DAT had.3PL liked they.NOM
'She had liked them.'

b. * Henni höfðum líkað við.
she.DAT had.1PL liked we.NOM
intended: 'She had liked us.' (Icelandic, Sigurðsson 1996)

[56] The PCC discussed here is the 'strong' form, but since Bonet (1994) it has been noted that the PCC is not uniform across languages and across speakers—see Nevins (2007) for a typology.

[57] Sigurðsson (1996) finds that examples like (97b) improve if the verb agreement is 3SG, and in general, 1st/2nd-person nominative objects are acceptable so long as the verb is prevented from agreeing with them.

One property that all of these monotransitive PCC effects have in common is that the dative argument, unrestricted in person features, constitutes the higher of the two arguments, while the non-dative argument, restricted to 3rd-person, constitutes the lower.

The PCC found in Choctaw transitive unaccusatives is therefore unusual in two ways. Firstly, while it does restrict the person-features of one of its arguments, it does not restrict that argument to being 3rd-person: it may be 3rd-person *or* 1st-person singular. Secondly, while Choctaw does have a class of DAT>ABS verbs that display the pattern seen in (96-97), with the higher argument being the dative and person-unrestricted one, it also has a class of ABS>DAT verbs with the reverse pattern—the *lower* argument is dative and person-unrestricted, and the higher argument is not. In view of these idiosyncrasies, what are the prospects for assimilating Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions to PCC effects?

Regarding the first property—the 1SG exception—I have proposed that it arises due to a special licenser for 1SG subjects (Author^0). If we abstract away from the effects of Author^0, Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions become typical PCC restrictions: within the VoiceP, if there is a DAT argument then the ABS argument must be 3rd-person. Therefore under the analysis proposed here, Choctaw *does* have a typical PCC person-restriction pattern, but it is somewhat obscured by a subsequent 1SG-licensing operation. That the licensing of 1SG arguments is external to the calculation of other person-restrictions is supported by the fact that the grammar may ignore the existence of the 1SG licenser when deciding whether or not to implement repair by Absolutive Promotion—hence we see the phenomenon of 'spurious repair', as in (93). A second argument in support of the idea that 1SG-licensing is separate to the enforcement of PCC effects is that 1SG arguments are only licensed when they are the higher (subject) argument, and the process seems indifferent to the case features of that argument. So with ABS>DAT verbs, 1SG ABS arguments are exceptionally licensed, and permitted to co-occur with all DAT arguments. But with DAT>ABS verbs, it is 1SG DAT arguments that are exceptionally licensed (albeit marginally), and in the process obviate the ban on 2nd-person ABS arguments. This sensitivity to subjecthood, and concomitant insensitivity to case, contrasts with the general properties of Choctaw clitic restrictions, in which the ban on being 1st or 2nd-person is imposed on the ABS argument, irrespective of whether it is the higher(/subject) or lower argument.

The second unusual property of Choctaw is that PCC restrictions are found not just in DAT>ABS verbs like (96-97) but also in ABS>DAT verbs, with concomitant switching of the person restrictions from the lower to the higher argument. But while unusual, this is cross-linguistically attested. For instance, we saw in section 4.3 that some dialects of Basque disallow 1st/2nd-person ABS arguments in motion verbs with dative goals, which have been argued to be underlying ABS>DAT (see references cited in section 4.3). Example (67a) is repeated as (98).

(98) * Ni-Ø Miren-ei etorri-Ø **n**-a-ko.
me-ABS Miren-DAT come-PF CL.1SG.ABS-T.AGR-CL.DAT.3SG
intended: 'I have come to Miren.' (Ondarru Basque, Arregi and Nevins 2012:76, reglossed)

The Chinook data discussed in section 4.1 show a similar pattern: the person-restricted argument is the higher, the person-unrestricted argument is the lower. Given the existence of such cases, it seems that Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence effects, once abstracted away from exceptional 1SG licensing, fall into a cross-linguistically attested class, albeit a small one.

In the next part of this section, I examine the prospects for the CCH as a universally-applicable account of PCC restrictions, and the place of Absolutive Promotion in the typology of repairs.

6.2 The (non-)universality of the CCH and Absolutive Promotion

Section 5 extended Arregi and Nevins's (2012) account of Basque clitic co-occurrence restrictions to Choctaw. I argued the CCH—a constraint which disallows clitic pile-ups on a single clitic host—could have broader

cross-linguistic applicability. But how broad? While the CCH is ideal for those languages where *all* clusters of internal-argument clitics are banned (or almost all, in the case of Choctaw), it would be challenging to extend to the model to, for instance, Romance languages, which feature various permissible clusters of internal-argument clitics, alongside impermissible ones. Consider the following Spanish example:

(99) Pedro te lo envía.
Pedro 2SG.DAT 3SG.ACC sends
'Pedro sends it to you.'

For a CCH analysis to be able to account for such cases, it would need to hold true that, in all and only the acceptable clitic clusters, each clitic is attracted to a different clitic-hosting head. This kind of an analysis has a precedent: Ormazabal and Romero (2007, 2013) argue extensively that in Spanish, the 3rd-person accusative object clitics *lo(s)/la(s)* exhibit different behavior from the rest of the members of the clitic paradigm. To quote Ormazabal and Romero (2013:313), "all DO-IO clitic combinations are banned except when the DO clitic is 3rd person *lo(s)/la(s)*, which indicates that the last ones are external to the clitic agreement system altogether"—strikingly, this is exactly the same logic as was used in section 5.3 to justify a differential treatment of Choctaw 1SG clitics. Adapting their analysis to a CCH-friendly one would involve having *lo(s)/la(s)* be attracted to a different clitic host from the other clitics (alternatively, in their analysis the 3rd-person DO clitics *lo(s)/la(s)* are not actually clitics but agreement forms).[58]

One appealing intuition of a CCH analysis is that it allows us to capture the heterogeneous conditions on clitic-licensing using the same mechanism—the presence vs. absence of particular functional heads. Sometimes, for instance, clitics are licensed by functional structure in the C/T domain. As discussed for Basque in section 5.2, the clitic-hosting heads in the C/T domain are present in all finite clauses and absent in all non-finite ones. Other times, clitics are licensed by argument-introducing functional structure. Consider, for instance, the case of 'ethical' dative clitics in Romance. These are clitics that refer to 1st and 2nd-person discourse participants that are affected by the event but not involved in it. Famously, they are exempt from PCC effects (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Ormazabal and Romero 2007), as shown in (100a).

(100) a. Te me van a desnucar.
2SG.ACC 1SG.DAT will to break.neck
'They will break your neck (and I am affected by it).'

b. * Te me van a vender.
2SG.ACC 1SG.DAT will to sell
intended: 'They will sell you to me/me to you.' (Ormazabal and Romero 2007:331)

Under the CCH, their exemptness from the PCC can be captured by stating that the same extra functional structure that licenses ethical datives also introduces an extra clitic-hosting head. Since this extra clitic host is tied to the presence of an ethical dative, it cannot be employed by 1st/2nd-person arguments in other contexts. Arregi and Nevins (2012) propose a similar analysis for Basque ABS>DAT motion verbs in dialects where these verbs are not afflicted by PCC restrictions: an extra clitic hosting head is uniquely generated with this class of verbs, obviating the CCH. In this way, the CCH allows us to unify some quite disparate clitic-licensing conditions, reducing them all to the presence vs. absence of functional heads. Extending this intuition, we can also provide a simple account of why PCC effects often disappear in clauses that lack clitic doubling (as reported for Basque by Laka 1993 and Georgian by Bonet 1991): in the absence of a clitic-hosting head, clitics are not generated, and the CCH is irrelevant.

Nonetheless, extending the cross-linguistic coverage of the CCH is a formidable challenge that I do not take up here. There are also issues to such an extension that come from the opposite direction from

[58] Ormazabal and Romero's (2007) own *Object Agreement Constraint* is almost a conceptual mirror image of the CCH, in that it restricts licensing-by-object-agreement to one instance per verb, with clitic-doubled arguments being exempt.

Romance—in the Icelandic examples in (97), for instance, PCC effects emerge in the absence of any obvious clitic cluster at all.

Despite its currently small empirical coverage, however, the CCH is a particular implementation of an idea that undergirds many generative accounts of the PCC. The idea is, very broadly, that PCC effects are when agreement goes awry. While a probe should have no problem agreeing with a single goal, regardless of the feature specification of that goal, having two potential goals in the search space of a single probe has the potential to create a problem that crashes the derivation. For instance, in Anagnostopoulou's (2003, 2005) *split feature-checking* model, a probe may not check two arguments with conflicting ϕ-feature specifications, and conflicting specifications crash the derivation. Similarly in the *Cyclic Agree* model of Béjar and Rezac (2009), a probe may be prevented from agreeing with one goal in the event that all of its features are satisfied by a different goal. Failure to agree causes a crash. In the *Continuous Agree* account of Nevins (2007, 2011), a probe will be unable to agree with a G_1 in the event that an intervening goal G_2 has some feature that G_1 lacks. Again, failing to agree with this goal crashes the derivation. And in the CCH account model applied here, attempting to agree with two clitics creates an ill-formed structure, which crashes the derivation. What is shared by all of these accounts of the PCC—split featuring checking, Cyclic Agree, Multiple Agree and the CCH—is the idea that having one probe and two goals can be dangerous if you aren't careful about the featural specification of each goal.

In this way, Absolutive Promotion is a manifestation of a very typical solution to the one-probe-two-goals problem: removing one goal from contention. In Basque, CCH violations happen when T^0 has two clitics to attract: Absolutive Promotion removes one clitic from contention, since ergative clitics are not possible goals for T^0's probe. The same happens for Choctaw: ergative clitics are not possible goals for the ABS/DAT host H^0 (and indeed, are not in its c-command domain anyway). This dovetails with work by Rezac (2010a, 2011), who suggests that the unifying mechanism underlying syntactic PCC repair is a "strengthening of a structure by Case so that all arguments be Case-licensed" (2010a:786). 'Strengthening by Case' is a good description of what happens in Absolutive Promotion: the grammar introduces an otherwise-unmotivated case-assigner in the form of raising-to-ergative $Voice^0$.

7 Conclusion

Here, I briefly recap the findings articulated in the paper, and consider a remaining unexplained parallel between the Basque and Choctaw systems.

An analysis was developed of the typologically-unusual PCC repair strategy of Absolutive Promotion, found in Choctaw: a special $Voice^0$ head usually found in raising-to-ergative structures is merged into the derivation and probes its c-command domain for an argument to fill its specifier. Arguments with dative case are not possible goals for $Voice^0$'s probe, but in the event that a dative argument intervenes between $Voice^0$ and a lower caseless argument, the movement operation cannot take place. This is why ABS>DAT and ABS>ABS verbs can be repaired by Absolutive Promotion, while DAT>ABS verbs cannot be. Furthermore, by expanding our empirical scope to Basque, from which the phenomenon of Absolutive Promotion draws its name, we saw that this pattern may be inverted if arguments are clitic-doubled to a head *above* $Voice^0$. The Choctaw pattern is crucially reliant on clitic-doubling to a functional head *below* $Voice^0$.

Regarding the clitic co-occurrence restrictions themselves, we saw how Choctaw's idiosyncratic restrictions can be derived by adopting a version of Arregi and Nevins's *Condition on Clitic Hosts*, originally proposed, again, for Basque. It simply states that clitic-hosting heads can host no more than one clitic. By proposing that ABS and DAT clitics attempt to adjoin to the same head head low on the clausal spine, we were able to derive almost all of Choctaw's clitic co-occurrence restrictions. Those rare exceptional clusters were shown to all involve 1SG subjects, and are exceptionally licensed at a higher head. Crucially, the exceptional licensing of 1SG subjects was shown to *not* factor in to the decision whether to trigger Absolutive

Promotion or not, thus leading to the unusual phenomenon of 'spurious repair'.

I will conclude with one interesting similarity between the Choctaw and Basque systems, which does not fall straightforwardly out of the analysis. The relevant fact is that in both languages, Absolutive Promotion steps in to repair transitive psych predicates, but is unable to repair any other transitive unaccusative. In Choctaw, transitive psych predicates have a ABS>DAT configuration, while in Basque they are DAT>ABS. The argument offered in section 4 for why ABS>DAT is repairable in Choctaw while DAT>ABS is not, and vice versa in Basque, relied on the different height of clitic-doubling in the two languages. The fact that across the two languages only psych verbs are repairable, while other kinds of transitive unaccusative are not, is simply a coincidence. It remains for future work to determine if this should indeed be treated as a coincidence, or if there is a more substantive link between transitive unaccusative psych verbs and reparability by Absolutive Promotion.

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Appendix: clitics vs. agreement affixes

In section 2, it was asserted without further argument that the argument-referencing morphemes in (4) were clitics rather than agreement affixes, and at several points on the paper, this property forms a crucial part of the analysis. In particular, the account of the difference in the distribution of Absolutive Promotion in Choctaw vs. Basque, discussed in section 4.3, relies on the intervention-voiding properties of clitic-doubling. Likewise, the explanation for the clitic co-occurrence restrictions presented in section 5.3 crucially relies on this property. This appendix provides several independent arguments in support of the claim that at least the ABS and DAT form are clitics. In Tyler (to appear-a, to appear-b), I provide a more extensive list of arguments for the clitichood of the Choctaw argument-referencing forms, including for the ERG paradigm.

I begin with arguments for clitichood that do not rely on any particular syntactic implementation of the clitic/agreement split, before moving on to arguments that rely on the distinction between clitics as D^0 heads that head A-chains, and agreement as bundles of ϕ-features.

A.1 General arguments for clitichood

The first argument provided here only applies to the DAT clitics, and relates to their phonological status. Choctaw has a phonological process of *iambic lengthening*, by which even-numbered non-final syllables in a string of light syllables are lengthened (Nicklas 1974; Ulrich 1986; Broadwell 2006). Ulrich (1986); Broadwell and Martin (1993) and Broadwell (2006) show that DAT clitics fall outside the phonological domain over which iambic lengthening takes place. This is evidence for their *phonological* clitichood, with which syntactic clitichood is often (though not necessarily) correlated. Note that while ABS clitics do fall within the domain of iambic lengthening, there is other evidence suggesting their clitic rather agreement status.

The second argument for the clitichood of the ABS and DAT forms is that both possible morpheme orderings are attested, as shown in (101).

(101) a. Chi-sa-nokshoopa-h.
2SG.DAT-1SG.ABS-scared-TNS
'I'm scared of you.'

b. % Chi-(s)am-ihaksi-h.
2SG.ABS-1SG.DAT-forget-TNS
'I forgot you.'

This reorderability would not be expected of agreement forms, which generally show rigid order. Clitics, on the other hand, are often available in different orders, as in (102), from Slovenian.[59]

[59] Just as the difference in ordering in (101) was argued to derive from different underlying c-command orders within the VoiceP, so Stegovec argues that the different orders in (102) derive from the arguments having different c-command orders within VoiceP. However, while Stegovec argues that to derive the order in (102b), the direct object raises over the indirect object, I proposed that the different clitic orders in 101 derive from different *base-generated* c-command orders.

(102) a. Mama mu ga je opisala.
mom 3M.DAT 3M.ACC is described

b. Mama ga mu je opisala.
mom 3M.ACC 3M.DAT is described
'Mom described him to him.' (Slovenian, Stegovec 2017:420)

A third argument for the forms' clitichood comes from the fact that they display no morphologically-conditioned allomorphy, and, for the DAT forms at least, they do not trigger any allomorphy either. Zwicky and Pullum (1983) argue that this morphological isolation is characteristic of clitichood but not of agreement. Nevins (2011) refines this argument, proposing that clitics always remain invariant with respect to *tense*, but may take part in other allomorphy. In both Zwicky and Pullum's and Nevins's diagnostics, the Choctaw forms pattern as clitics rather than agreement forms.

A fourth argument is that both the ABS and DAT morphemes take place in alternations that resemble Romance *clitic climbing*. I take the characteristic property of clitic climbing to be that in a clause-union or restructuring clause, a clitic may appear in one of two positions—one attached to the higher verb, one to the lower—but not in both. (103) shows a representative example from Spanish.

(103) a. Juan quiere leer-**lo**.
Juan wants read-it

b. Juan **lo** quiere leer.
Juan it wants read
'Juan wants to read it.'

c. * Juan **lo** quiere leer-**lo**.
Juan it wants read-it

Broadwell and Martin (1993) show that Choctaw ABS clitics participate in a such an alternation in clauses with auxiliaries, such as (104).[60]

(104) a. **Sa-**fammi-t tahli-tok.
1SG.ABS-cut-PTCP finish-PST

b. Fammi-t **sa-**tahli-tok.
cut-PTCP 1SG.ABS-finish-PST
'He/she finished whipping me.' (Broadwell and Martin 1993:6, reglossed)

While DAT clitics do not participate in this alternation in clauses with auxiliaries, they do show a clitic-climbing-like alternation elsewhere. Specifically, when a jussive clause is embedded under the verb *ahni*, which here is best translated as 'want', an ABS or DAT clitic may surface on the embedded or matrix verb:[61]

(105) a. John-at [ik-**sa**-chonna-'] ahni-h.
John-NOM IRR-1SG.ABS-skinny-JUSS think-TNS.

b. John-at [ik-chonna-'] **si**-ahni-h.
John-NOM IRR-skinny-JUSS 1SG.ABS-think-TNS.
'John wants me to be skinny.'

[60] Broadwell and Martin show that ABS clitics that reference objects most readily participate in this alternation. ABS clitics that reference subjects are, for many speakers, restricted to appearing on the main verb. This is an mysterious gap for which I have no explanation. Similarly mysterious is the fact that DAT clitics are limited to the lower verb for *all* speakers. I discuss these gaps in greater detail in Tyler to appear-a, to appear-b.

[61] See Tyler (to appear-a, to appear-b) for evidence that these constructions do not involve quotation or prolepsis.

(106) a. Mary-at [holisso alhiiha ik-**hapi**-kaniiya-'] ahni-h.
Mary-NOM letter PL IRR-1PL.DAT-lose-JUSS think-TNS

b. Mary-at [holisso alhiiha ik-kaniiya-'] **hapim**-ahni-h.
Mary-NOM letter PL IRR-lose-JUSS 1PL.DAT-think-TNS
'Mary wants us to lose those letters.'

A.2 Theoretically-rooted arguments for clitichood

Section 5.1 outlined the theoretical assumptions of this article with respect to the clitic/agreement split. While clitics are the spellout of determiner heads (D^0s) that head A-chains, agreement morphemes are the spellout of bundles of ϕ-features copied onto agreement probes.

Given this distinction, Kramer (2014) makes the argument that if clitics are D^0 heads exponing the ϕ-features, and if possessive determiners are also D^0 heads exponing ϕ-features, then we should expect them to share a paradigm. This is exactly what we find in Choctaw: the ABS clitics lead doubles lives as DP-internal markers of inalienable possession, and DAT clitics do the same for alienable possession:

(107) a. ABS forms mark **inalienable** possession.

sa-	hohchifo	'my name'
chi-	hohchifo	'your name'
pi-	hohchifo	'our name'
	hohchifo	'(his/her/their) name'

b. DAT forms mark **alienable** possession.

am-	ofi	'my dog'
chim-	ofi	'your dog'
pim-	ofi	'our dog'
im-	ofi	'his/her/their dog'

A second argument comes from Preminger (2014). He points out that while agreement probes may be relativized to only probe for a subset of an arguments ϕ-features—only number, for instance—clitics are necessarily featurally 'coarse', and must expone all the ϕ-features of their argument in a single bundle. The Choctaw ABS and DAT forms do just this.

A third theoretically-rooted argument comes from the interaction between the DAT and ABS forms and the plural-marking element *oklah*. Broadwell (2006) describes *oklah* as a 'preverb' that indicates that the subject of a clause is plural, as shown in (108).

(108) a. Tamaaha' **oklah** iya-tok.
town PL go-PST
'They went to town.' (Broadwell 2006:239)

b. Oklhiili-km-a **okl**-ii-taloow-aachi-h.
dark-when-DS PL-1PL.ERG-sing-FUT-TNS
'When it gets dark, we'll sing.' (Broadwell 2006:239, reglossed)

However, in Tyler to appear-a, to appear-b, I show that *oklah* may also appear in the presence of 1st and 2nd-person plural *objects*—i.e. those objects that are clitic-doubled by ABS clitics. (109a) shows *oklah* being licensed by an object-doubling ABS clitic, (109b) shows the same for an object-doubling DAT clitic, and (109c) shows that 3rd-person (non-clitic-doubled) objects cannot license *oklah*.[62]

[62]Note also that the interaction of Choctaw clitics with *oklah* is very similar to the of French object clitics and the floating quantifier *tous* 'all', in that it can only associate with subjects or, as shown in (i), clitic objects.

(109) a. **Oklah** ak-hachi-píiso-tok.
PL 1SG.NEG-2PL.ABS-see.NEG-PST
'I didn't see y'all.'

b. Alla **oklah** hachim-apiisa̲chi-li-tok.
child PL 2PL.DAT-look.after.NG-1SG.ERG-PST
'I looked after y'all's kid.'

c. Ofi (***oklah**) ak-píiso-tok.
dog (*PL) 1SG.NEG-see.NEG-PST
'I didn't see the dogs.'

Following the logic of Rezac (2010b), I propose that this pattern constitutes evidence for the clitichood of the ABS and DAT forms. I assume that *oklah* has the same licensing conditions as a floating quantifier—it needs to be c-commanded from an A-position by the argument it associates with (possibly, that argument must bind some variable in the structure of *oklah*, see Doetjes 1997; Fitzpatrick 2006). Typically, in-situ objects do not c-command *oklah* and so cannot license it. However, 1st/2nd-person objects are clitic-doubled at a higher clitic host (see section 5.3). Given that argument-doubling clitics function as arguments in A-positions with respect to binding (on which see section 4.3 and references cited there), the *oklah*-licensing properties of the clitics follow, provided that they are attached at a structural position from which they c-command *oklah*. This interaction, crucially, would be difficult to account for if the ABS and DAT morphemes were agreement affixes rather than clitics: Rezac (2010b) shows that agreement-bearing participles in French are unable to license floating quantifiers. Similarly, Tsakali (2008) and Harizanov (2014) show that clitics can license floating quantifiers in Greek and Bulgarian respectively.

(i) a. Je leur$_i$ ai **toutes**$_i$ piquées.
I them have all asked.
'I asked them all.' (French, De Cat 2000:2)

b. * Elles ont **tous**$_i$ voulu manger les escargots$_i$.
they.F have all.M wanted eat the snails.M.
intended: 'They wanted to eat all the snails.' (French, De Cat 2000:6)