

Feature sharing and functional heads in concord*

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1 Introduction

- Similar surface patterns can arise via distinct underlying mechanisms
- What pretheoretically looks like “agreement” in the verbal domain can be divided into two distinct phenomena
 - Agreement: feature sharing between a nominal argument and a verbal head
 - Clitic doubling: a realization of the functional head D within the verbal complex
- We argue that a similar distinction can be made in the domain of nominal case concord
 - **Case concord:** feature sharing between multiple categorially distinct elements in the DP
 - **Case doubling:** realization of multiple instances of the functional head D
- In some languages, a noun and its modifiers match in case, regardless of whether the DP is continuous or discontinuous¹

- (1) ‘(The) two small children are chasing the dog.’
Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan; Simpson 1991:257-259)
- a. [Kurdu-**jarra-rlu** wita-**jarra-rlu**] ka-pala maliki wajili-pi-nyi.
child-DU-ERG small-DU-ERG PRES-3ds dog chase-NPST
- b. [Kurdu-**jarra-rlu**] ka-pala maliki wajili-pi-nyi [wita-**jarra-rlu**].
child-DU-ERG PRES-3ds dog chase-NPST small-DU-ERG

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¹Note that concord in continuous DPs is optional in Warlpiri, while concord in discontinuous DPs is obligatory (Simpson, 1991).

- In other languages, a noun and its modifiers only match in case if the DP is discontinuous

- (2) ‘Mukton fed rice to a newborn baby.’ Tiwa (Tibeto-Burman)
- a. Mukton mai-go [korkhyá*(-**na**) lurî*(-**na**)] cháí os-ga.
Mukton rice-ACC child-DAT tender-DAT eat CAUS-PFV
- b. Mukton [korkhyá*(-**na**)] mai-go [lurî*(-**na**)] -lo cháí
Mukton child-DAT rice-ACC tender-DAT -FOC eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV

- Languages like Warlpiri display true concord while languages like Tiwa display case doubling
- We argue that case doubling is the result of multiple DP shells
 - Each instance of D in the shell structure can be realized as case
 - Overt realization of multiple instances of D happens only in discontinuous DPs

The upshot

- Surface patterns of concord derive from two distinct mechanisms: one involving feature sharing and one involving multiple instances of D

- **Roadmap:**
 - §1: Introduction
 - §2: Case doubling in Tiwa
 - §3: The DP-shell analysis
 - §4: Comparison with theories of concord
 - §5: Case doubling crosslinguistically
 - §6: Conclusion

2 Case doubling in Tiwa



- General background:

- Tibeto-Burman language spoken primarily in Assam, India by approximately 27,100 speakers (Simons and Fennig, 2017)
- Data collected by the second author between 2015 and 2018 in Umswai, Karbi Anglong district, Assam
- Head-final with basic SOV order, accusative alignment
- Case surfaces as an enclitic on the final element of the DP

- A noun and its modifiers can be separated to form a structurally discontinuous DP

- In a continuous DP, case can only surface on the final element
- In a discontinuous DP, case surfaces as an enclitic on each piece of the DP

(3) ‘Mukton fed rice to a newborn baby.’

- a. Mukton mai-go [korkhyá*(-na) lurí*(-na)] cháí os-ga.
Mukton rice-ACC child-DAT tender-DAT eat CAUS-PFV
- b. Mukton [korkhyá*(-na)] mai-go [lurí*(-na)] -lo cháí
Mukton child-DAT rice-ACC tender-DAT -FOC eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV

- Both elements of a discontinuous DP behave like independent DPs

- Both receive case marking, cliticized to their final element
- Both elements can undergo scrambling independently²

(4) ‘Mukton fed rice to a newborn baby.’

- a. [Lurí-**na**] -lo Mukton [korkhyá-**na**] mai-go cháí
tender-DAT -FOC Mukton child-DAT rice-ACC eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV
- b. [Korkhyá-**na**] Mukton [lurí-**na**] -lo mai-go cháí
child-DAT Mukton tender-DAT -FOC rice-ACC eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV
- c. [Lurí-**na**] -lo Mukton mai-go [korkhyá-**na**] cháí
tender-DAT -FOC Mukton rice-ACC child-DAT eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV
- d. [Korkhyá-**na**] Mukton mai-go [lurí-**na**] -lo cháí
child-DAT Mukton rice-ACC tender-DAT -FOC eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV

- Case doubling is found for all DP modifiers that can be separated from the noun

- Adjectives (4)
- Numerals

(5) ‘I gave money to five priests.’

- a. Ang [phas chona loro-raw-**a**] phuisa os-ga.
1SG five CL priest-PL-DAT money give-PFV
- b. [Phas chona-**na**] -lo ang [loro-raw-**a**] phuisa os-ga.
five CL-DAT -FOC 1SG priest-PL-DAT money give-PFV

²Note that while the modifier in a discontinuous DP usually surfaces with focus marking, this is a tendency rather than a requirement.

- (1) [Khúgri-**na**] khóna [so-sha-tha-**na**] Lastoi tú han-go os-ga.
dog-DAT yesterday hundred-one-CL-DAT Lastoi chicken meat-ACC give-PFV
‘Lastoi gave chicken to a hundred dogs yesterday.’

– Quantifiers

- (6) ‘Mansing gave flowers to every woman.’
- a. Mansing [sógol margî-raw-**a**] khum-go os-ga.
Mansing every woman-PL-DAT flower-ACC give-PFV
- b. Mansing [margî-raw-**a**] khum-go [sógol-**a**] -lô
Mansing woman-PL-DAT flower-ACC every-DAT -FOC
os-ga.
give-PFV
- Relative clauses
- (7) ‘My mother gave water to the man that was running.’
- a. Ái má ti-go [cholói lí-wa libíng-**a**] os-ga.
my mother water-ACC run AUX-NMLZ person-DAT give-PFV
- b. [Cholói lí-wa-**na**] -lô ái má ti-go
run AUX-NMLZ-DAT -FOC my mother water-ACC
[líbing-**a**] os-ga.
person-DAT give-PFV
- Demonstratives
- (8) ‘Mukton gave money to this person.’
- a. Mukton [hêbe líbing-**a**] phûisa-go os-ga.
Mukton this person-DAT money-ACC give-PFV
- b. Mukton [líbing-**a**] phûisa-go [hêbe-**na**] -lo os-ga.
Mukton person-DAT money-ACC this-DAT -FOC give-PFV
- Indefinite articles
- (9) ‘Mukton gave money to some priest.’
- a. Mukton [sharkhí loró-**na**] phûisa-go os-ga.
Mukton some priest-DAT money-ACC give-PFV
- b. Mukton [loró-**na**] phûisa-go [sharkhí-**na**] -lo os-ga.
Mukton priest-DAT money-ACC some-DAT -FOC give-PFV

– Possessors

- (10) ‘Monbor saw Sonali’s cat.’
- a. Monbor [Sonali-ne miyâw-**go**] khóna nú-ga.
Monbor Sonali-GEN cat-ACC yesterday see-PFV
- b. Monbor [miyâw-**go**] khóna [Sonali-ne-**go**] -lo nú-ga.
Monbor cat-ACC yesterday Sonali-GEN-ACC -FOC see-PFV
- In addition to dative case, case doubling in discontinuous DPs occurs with:
 - Nominative (-Ø)
- (11) ‘Every woman didn’t come yesterday.’
- a. [Sógol margî-raw] khóna phi-ya-m.
every woman-PL yesterday come-NEG-PST
- b. [Margî-raw] khóna [sógol] -lô phi-ya-m.
woman-PL yesterday every -FOC come-NEG-PST
- Accusative (-gô)
- (12) ‘Mukton greeted every priest in the market.’
- a. Mukton [sógol loró-râw-**go**] hat-o sêwa os-ga.
Mukton every priest-PL-ACC market-LOC greet-PFV
- b. Mukton [loró-râw-**go**] hat-o [sógol-**go**] -lo
Mukton priest-PL-ACC market-LOC every-ACC -FOC
sêwa os-ga.
greet-PFV
- Genitive (-*(n)e*)
- (13) ‘Lastoi bought the book that every teacher read yesterday.’
- a. Lastoi [DP [RC [sógol sígai kirî-raw-**e**] khóna lekhé-wa]
Lastoi every teacher-PL-GEN yesterday read-NMLZ
láí-go] pre-ga.
book-ACC buy-PFV
- b. Lastoi [DP [RC [sígai kirî-raw-**e**] khóna [sógol-**e**] -lô
Lastoi teacher-PL-GEN yesterday every-GEN -FOC
lekhé-wa] láí-go] pre-ga.
read-NMLZ book-ACC buy-PFV

- Comitative (-rê)

(14) 'Lastoi went to market with every man.'

- a. Lastoi [sógol mewâ-raw-**re**] hat-a lí-ga.
Lastoi every man-PL-COM market-DAT go-PFV
- b. Lastoi [mewâ-raw-**re**] hat-a [sógolarê] -lo lí-ga.
Lastoi man-PL-COM market-DAT every.COM -FOC go-PFV

• Summary:

- Case doubling occurs only in structurally discontinuous DPs
- Both elements of the discontinuous DP behave like full DPs
- Case doubling occurs with all modifiers and with a variety of case markers

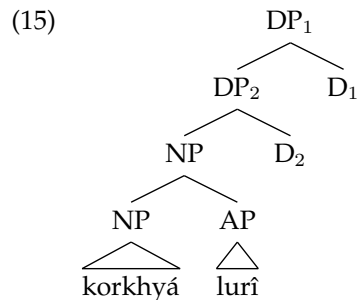
3 The DP-shell analysis

• Desiderata:

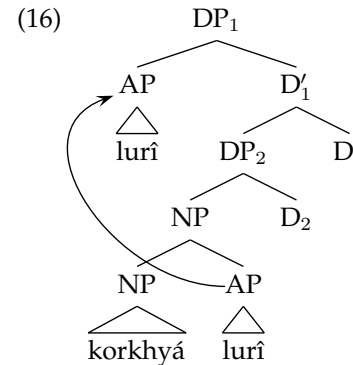
- Derive case doubling *only* under discontinuity
- Account for the fact that each piece of a discontinuous DP behaves like an independent DP

► Both can be achieved on an account which assumes multiple DP shells

- We assume that DPs contain two nested DP layers
- The head of the highest DP selects a DP complement
 - The structure of the DP *korkhyá lurî* 'tender child' is given below



- Discontinuous DPs involve movement of a subconstituent of DP₂ to the specifier of DP₁
- The element that will be stranded (in this case the AP) undergoes movement to Spec,DP₁



- After the AP has moved to Spec,DP₁, DP₂ can undergo remnant movement to a position higher in the clausal spine
- This remnant movement strands DP₁, which contains the adjective, and results in discontinuity

(17) Mukton [DP₂ korkhyá-**na**] mai-go [DP₁ lurî t_{DP2} -**na**] -lo cháí
Mukton child-DAT rice-ACC tender -DAT -FOC eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV
'Mukton fed rice to a newborn baby.'

- Evidence that the pieces of a discontinuous DP are related via movement comes from islands
 - Coordinate structure (18)
 - Relative clause (Appendix A)
 - Conditional (Appendix A)

- (18) ‘Lastoi saw one cat and two elephants.’
- a. Lastoi khóna [[miyâw kishá-gô] arô [hadî
Lastoi yesterday cat one.CL-ACC and elephant
kining-gô]] nú-ga.
two.CL-ACC see-PFV
- b. *Lastoi [hadî-go] khóna [[miyâw kishá-gô] arô
Lastoi elephant-ACC yesterday cat one.CL-ACC and
[kining-gô] (-lo)] nú-ga.
two.CL-ACC -FOC see-PFV

Multiple realizations of case in discontinuous DPs

- DP₁ and DP₂ each contain an instance of D that can realize case
 - While the two DPs are nested, the case feature of D₁ is spread to D₂
 - This feature transmission is limited to heads of category D
- When the two DPs are separated via movement, both instances of D realize case

- (19) Mukton [DP₂ korkhyá-na] mai-go [DP₁ lurî tDP₂ -na] -lo cháí
Mukton child-DAT rice-ACC tender -DAT -FOC eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV
‘Mukton fed rice to a newborn baby.’

A single instance of case in continuous DPs

- When DP₁ and DP₂ remain nested, there are two adjacent instances of D, so we would expect two DP-final case enclitics
- Instead, only one instance of D is realized due to haplology

- (20) Mukton mai-go [DP₁ [DP₂ korkhyá lurî-na] (*-na)] cháí
Mukton rice-ACC child tender-DAT -DAT eat
os-ga.
CAUS-PFV
‘Mukton fed rice to a newborn baby.’

- Evidence that haplology is independently active for case markers in Tiwa comes from NP ellipsis

- (21) Context: Everyone’s wife made a vegetable curry. Tonbor ate Mukton’s wife’s curry, Mansing ate Tonbor’s wife’s curry, and Mukton ate Mansing’s wife’s curry.

Tonbor [Mukton-e si-ne ságar-go] chá-ga,
Tonbor Mukton-GEN wife-GEN curry-ACC eat-PFV

Mansing [Tonbor-e si-ne-go] chá-ga,
Mansing Tonbor-GEN wife-GEN-ACC eat-PFV

arô Mukton [Mansing-e(*-ne)-go] chá-ga.
and Mukton Mansing-GEN-GEN-ACC eat-PFV

‘Tonbor ate Mukton’s wife’s curry, Mansing ate Tonbor’s wife’s (curry), and Mukton ate Mansing’s (wife’s curry).’

Case mismatches in DOM contexts

- With accusative case, case doubling sometimes appears “optional”

- (22) Lastoi [ngá-gô] khóna [mile(-go)] -lo pre-ga.
Lastoi fish-ACC yesterday every-ACC -FOC buy-PFV
‘Lastoi bought every fish yesterday.’

- Case doubling is obligatory for other morphological cases

- (23) ‘Sonali gave milk to three cats.’
- a. Sonali [thin-tha miyâw-na] kakhîr-go os-ga.
Sonali three-CL cat-DAT milk-ACC give-PFV
- b. Sonali [miyâw-na] kakhîr-go [thin-tha*(-na)] os-ga.
Sonali cat-DAT milk-ACC three-CL-DAT give-PFV

- Differential object marking (DOM) is independently attested in Tiwa

- (24) Sonali [ngá(-gô)] pre-ga.
Sonali fish-ACC buy-PFV
‘Sonali bought (the) fish.’

- DOM is conditioned by multiple factors, but the same conditioning factors hold for discontinuous elements
 - If a continuous DP must be marked in a particular context, a piece of a discontinuous DP in that same position must also be marked

(25) 'I quickly plucked all the flowers.'

- Ang [mile khum*(-go)] salang ha-ga.
1SG every flower-ACC quickly pluck-PFV
- Ang [khum*(-go)] salang [mile(-go)] -lo ha-ga.
1SG flower-ACC quickly every-ACC -FOC pluck-PFV

- When a DP is split, the higher portion is an independent DP, DP_2 , and is independently eligible for case assignment
- Since DP_1 and DP_2 are no longer nested at the time of accusative case assignment to DP_2 , the case is not spread to both instance of D
- This results in a case mismatch

4 Comparison with theories of concord

- Various mechanisms for deriving case concord both within continuous DP structures and in non-contiguous structures have been proposed
 - One family of views assumes that case is assigned independently to multiple elements (Kayne, 2002; Brattico, 2008; Matushansky, 2008)
 - Another set of analyses assumes that case is assigned only once and then spread to all of the elements that bear case (Babby, 1987; Halpert, 2015; Norris, 2018)
- Neither family of analyses provides a way to rule out case matching in continuous DPs while allowing it in discontinuous DPs
 - If case can be assigned independently to multiple elements in the DP, it is unclear why that assignment would only take place in discontinuous structures
 - If case is assigned once and spread, it is unclear how this spreading would take place only under discontinuity

- If we found the reverse pattern where concord only occurred in continuous DPs, we could derive this by assuming that concord applied after movement, allowing movement to bleed concord
- The pattern found in Tiwa, where movement feeds concord, cannot be derived by reordering the operations of movement and concord
- We could consider a modification to traditional accounts that assumes that concord always applies, but is sometimes not realized
 - Case concord always takes place in Tiwa
 - In continuous DPs, only one instance of case is realized due to a morphological impoverishment rule that limits the number of case markers that can be realized in a single continuous DP
- This account requires some stipulations to derive the attested patterns
 - The evidence from DOM shows that the higher piece of a discontinuous DP must be independently eligible for case assignment
 - * Under the current account, this falls out from the fact that this higher piece is a full DP
 - The single case marker in a continuous DP must always occur as the final element in the DP
 - * Under the current account, this is because case realizes the head-final head of DP
- Our account shares similarities with the impoverishment account
 - Multiple instances of case are present in continuous DPs, but only one is realized
 - Non-pronunciation of the second case marker is motivated by haplology, which is independently attested in Tiwa case marking, rather than by a stipulative impoverishment rule
- We conclude that the Tiwa pattern derives from a different underlying mechanism than traditional concord
 - The empirical profile is different – case doubling occurs only under discontinuity in Tiwa
 - Traditional analyses of concord cannot be straightforwardly extended to cover this pattern

5 Case doubling crosslinguistically

5.1 Amahuaca

- Amahuaca is an endangered Panoan language spoken in the Peruvian and Brazilian Amazon
 - All data come from the first author’s fieldwork from 2015 to 2018
- Like Tiwa, Amahuaca shows case doubling in discontinuous DPs

(26) ‘All the men are killing a peccary.’

a. [kiyoo=vi(*=**nin**) joni*(=**n**)] =mun jono
 all=EMPH=ERG man=ERG =C peccary
 rutu=hi=ki=nu
 kill=IPFV=3.PRES=DECL

b. [joni=**n**] =mun jono [kiyoo=vi=**nin**]
 man=ERG =C peccary all=EMPH=ERG
 rutu=hi=ki=nu
 kill=IPFV=3.PRES=DECL

- Amahuaca shows differential case marking for subjects
- Unlike the Tiwa pattern of DOM, this differential case marking is purely structural, based on syntactic position (Clem, 2018)
 - When the transitive subject remains in its base position, it does not surface with ergative case
 - When the transitive subject moves to a higher position, it must surface with ergative

(27) ‘The man is killing the peccary.’

a. joni*(=**n**)=mun jono rutu=hi=ki=nu
 man=ERG=C peccary kill=IPFV=3.PRES=DECL

b. jono=mun rutu=hi joni*(=**n**)=ki=nu
 peccary=C kill=IPFV man=ERG=3.PRES=DECL

- When a DP is split, the piece that remains in the base position does not surface with case, while the piece that moves higher does

(28) [kiyoo=vi=**nin**] =mun jono rutu=hi [joni*(=**n**)]
 all=EMPH=ERG =C peccary kill=IPFV man=ERG
 =ki=nu
 =3.PRES=DECL

‘All the men are killing a peccary.’

- This provides further evidence that the higher piece of a discontinuous DP must be independently eligible for case assignment
- The Amahuaca data also provide evidence for the proposed remnant movement of DP₂
- When a noun occurs with multiple modifiers, the noun can be stranded while all of its modifiers move together to a higher position
 - The NP moves to Spec,DP₁
 - The modifiers remain in DP₂ and undergo remnant movement

(29) ‘Three black dogs are chasing a chicken.’

a. hatapa=mun chivan=hi [hino chaho kimisha] =ki=nu
 chicken=C chase=IPFV dog black three =3.PRES=DECL

b. [**chaho kimisha**=nan] =mun hatapa chivan=hi [hino]
 black three=ERG =C chicken chase=IPFV dog
 =ki=nu
 =3.PRES=DECL

- This strengthens the argument that the moving DP₂ in these discontinuous structures is a remnant constituent

5.2 Kanum

- Kanum (Papuan; Donohue 2011) shows evidence that case concord and case doubling can be active in the same language
- Case concord is not possible for adjectives in continuous DPs

(30) ntaop(*=**ne**) klawo=**ne**
 big-DAT child-DAT
 ‘for the big child’

Donohue 2011:503

- Demonstratives do show case concord in continuous DPs

(31) klawo-w pyengkw
 child-ERG that:ERG
 ‘that child’ Donohue 2011:503

- In discontinuous DPs, an adjective that is separated from a noun can surface with case

(32) [Yrye-w pyengkw] sreyerknt [ntaop-w.]
 man-ERG that:ERG he:will:stalk:it big-ERG
 ‘That big man will stalk it.’ Donohue 2011:505

- The realization of case on demonstratives is due to traditional concord
- The realization of case on adjectives only under discontinuity is due to case doubling
- ▶ The current account predicts that concord and case doubling should be able to co-occur, and this is borne out

6 Conclusion

- We have argued that case concord and case doubling constitute two empirically distinct phenomena
- Case concord
 - Surface distribution: case on multiple DP-internal elements in both continuous and discontinuous DPs
 - Underlying mechanism: shared case features on categorially distinct elements in the DP
- Case doubling
 - Surface distribution: case matching only in discontinuous DPs
 - Underlying mechanism: realization of multiple instances of the functional head D
- The concord/case doubling distinction mirrors the agreement/clitic doubling distinction
 - One is due to the sharing of features between categorially distinct elements

– One is due to multiple realizations of the functional head D

- We have discovered much about the distinctive empirical signatures of agreement and clitic doubling through careful investigation of the differences between these phenomena
- Similar insight into the domain of concord can be gained by further investigating the distinction between case concord and case doubling

Appendix A: Discontinuous DPs and islands in Tiwa

- Evidence that movement is involved in the derivation of discontinuous DPs comes from islands
- It is impossible to separate the two elements of a discontinuous DP across a relative clause island

(33) ‘Tomorrow, Lastoi will catch the dog that bit all the people (last year).’

- a. Lastoi khónana [DP [RC [líbing-râw-go] (mokhále)
 Lastoi tomorrow person-PL-ACC last.year
 [sógol-gô] -lo chi-wa] khúgri-gô] róm mán-o.
 every-ACC -FOC bite-NMLZ dog-ACC catch AUX-NEUT
- b. *Lastoi [líbing-râw-go] khónana [DP [RC (mokhále)
 Lastoi person-PL-ACC tomorrow last.year
 [sógol-gô] -lo chi-wa] khúgri-gô] róm mán-o.
 every-ACC -FOC bite-NMLZ dog-ACC catch AUX-NEUT
- c. *Lastoi khónana [DP [RC (mokhále) [sógol-gô] -lo
 Lastoi tomorrow last.year every-ACC -FOC
 chi-wa] khúgri-gô] [líbing-râw-go] róm mán-o.
 bite-NMLZ dog-ACC person-PL-ACC catch AUX-NEUT

- It is similarly ungrammatical to split a DP across a conditional island

(34) ‘If Lastoi sees every man, she’ll be happy.’

- a. [COND Chidí Lastoi [sógol mewâ-raw-go] -lo nú-gaidô,]
 if Lastoi every man-PL-ACC -FOC see-COND
 khâdu-gam.
 happy-CF

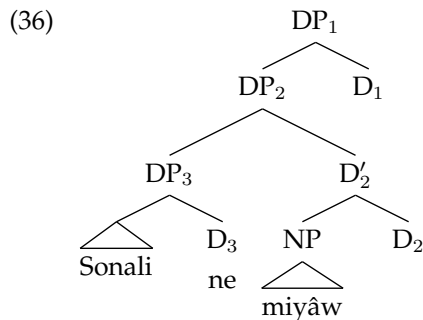
- b. * [_{COND} Chidî Lastoi [sógol-gô] -lo nú-gaidô,]
 if Lastoi every-ACC -FOC see-COND
 [mewâ-raw-go] khâdu-gam.
 man-PL-ACC happy-CF

Appendix B: Case stacking in Tiwa

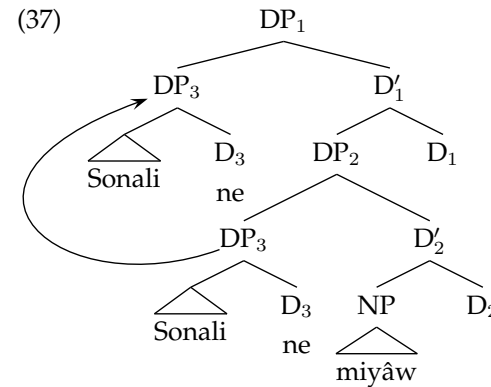
- The DP-shell analysis can straightforwardly derive instances of case stacking in discontinuous DPs
- When a possessor is split from the possessum, the possessor surfaces with genitive case, plus the case that was assigned to the possessum

- (35) Monbor [miyâw-go] khóna [Sonali-ne-go] -lo nú-ga.
 Monbor cat-ACC yesterday Sonali-GEN-ACC -FOC see-PFV
 ‘Monbor saw Sonali’s cat yesterday.’

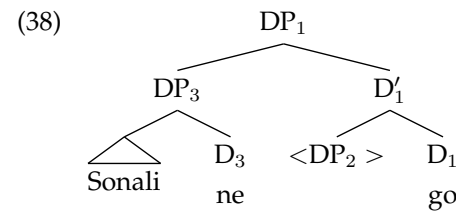
- This is because the DP containing the possessor contains two instances of D
- A DP-shell structure for the DP *Sonali miyâw* ‘Sonali’s cat’ is given below, where the possessor is assumed to be a full DP



- The possessor, which will be stranded, moves to Spec,DP₁



- When DP₂ undergoes remnant movement, the head of the possessor DP, D₃, and the head of the outer DP shell, D₁, are adjacent



- D₃ is realized as genitive case, while D₁ was assigned accusative case
- Since the two adjacent instances of D have different case values they both surface, resulting in stacking
- Independent evidence for case stacking when multiple instances of D surface adjacent to one another comes from NP ellipsis
- When a possessed noun is elided, the possessor surfaces with genitive case plus the case of the entire larger DP

- (39) Milton-e [Monbor-e thîlu-gô] chá-wa-ne khélango,
 Milton-GEN Monbor-GEN banana-ACC eat-NMLZ-GEN after
 Monbor-bo [**Milton-e-go**] chá-ga.
 Monbor-ADD **Milton-GEN-ACC** eat-PFV
 ‘After Milton ate Monbor’s banana, Monbor ate Milton’s.’

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