

# ON THE UNIFIABILITY OF REPAIRS FOR THE PERSON CASE CONSTRAINT: FRENCH, BASQUE, GEORGIAN AND CHINOOK\*

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## Abstract

*The Person Case Constraint blocks 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement in the presence of an applicative dative. Unlike other sources of ungrammaticality, it often has repairs: constructions that exist only to fix it and not otherwise. Across the four languages considered here, the repairs are apparently heterogeneous, ‘constructional’: clitic-to-strong dative, agreeing-to-nonagreeing dative, pronoun-to-”pronoun’s self” object, absolutive-to-ergative subject. Yet there are profound and far-reaching commonalities across them, hinting at a single mechanism of strengthening by added Case that underlies them all.*

## 1. Introduction

In English, *Wulfgar brought us to him* is as fine a sentence as *Wulfgar brought them to him*. In French, Basque, Georgian, and Chinook, this is not so: one cannot build *Wulfgar brought us to him* in the same way as *Wulfgar brought them to him*, in the way one would expect from the properties of transitives, datives, and pronouns in these languages. Something goes awry in combining a dative and a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person direct object. Bonet (1991) brings together such person-based restrictions on clitic and agreement systems in many languages as the *Person Case Constraint (PCC)*. Adopting a way of looking at it due to Anagnostopoulou (2003) and other work, the PCC blocks person agreement with a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun if an applicative dative inter-

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\* The faded, crumpled, scribbled-on copies of Beñat Oyharçabal’s ergaccusativity and allocutivity papers have been with me for ten years of wonder at the language shining out through them. *Tokiz kanpoko komunztadura* is still a keen surprise in my mind, and harder to believe the date on the email when Beñat sent it: With a kind word then, and at other times when it mattered. I am glad to offer this to him, with a heartfelt and much-encompassing *milesker*. This article ties together strands of work in progress, esp. Rezac (2008c), and many have contributed to it. I should particularly like to thank M. Duguine, U. Etxebarria, R. Etxepare, D. Harbour (who pointed out Chinook), M. Jouisseau, J. Ormazabal for recent discussions, and especially P. Albizu who generously shared Albizu (1997a) as I was writing this, and K. Erdozia who endured a sad and poor story about lamias to help. Partial funding provided by grants MEC FFI 2008-00240 and Research Nets in Humanities Basque Government HM-2008-1-10.



- (2) PCC (French): \*1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>/*se* ([+person]) accusative + dative argumental clitics.  
REPAIR: dative clitic → *à* + strong pronoun / % locative clitic.  
(Couquaux 1975, Kayne 1975, Postal 1990, Albizu 1997a, Rezac 2009ab)
- (3) [What do you mean they<sub>i</sub> don't know her/you? Of course they<sub>i</sub> know her/you.]
- |     |                           |   |                             |  |           |
|-----|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------|--|-----------|
| a.  | Je <i>la</i>              | <i>leur<sub>i</sub>/! *y<sub>i</sub></i>    | ai présenté                 |  | hier.     |
|     | Je <i>l'</i>              |   | ai présenté                 | *à eux <sub>i</sub> /√EUX <sub>k</sub> | hier.     |
|     | I them.ACC                | them.DAT                                    | have introduced             | to them                                | yesterday |
| b.  | Je <i>vous</i>            | * <i>leur<sub>i</sub>/! % y<sub>i</sub></i> | ai présenté                 |  | hier.     |
|     | Je <i>vous</i>            |   | ai présenté                 | à eux <sub>i</sub> /√EUX <sub>k</sub>  | hier.     |
|     | I you.ACC                 | them.DAT                                    | have introduced             | to them                                | yesterday |
| cf. | c. Elle ⟨y <sub>i</sub> ⟩ | pense tout le temps                         | ⟨à eux <sub>i</sub> ⟩.      |  |           |
|     | she LOC                   | thinks all the time                         | to them (locative argument) |  |           |
- (Rezac 2009a)

The PCC in French fits (1) if clitic datives reflect applicative objects while non-clitics datives do not. Apparent exceptions to (2) go in this direction. First, some datives trigger the PCC even without being clitics, and they have a good claim to applicativity: causees and psych-experiencers, discussed below. Second, Postal (1984) observes that some speakers allow the clitic combinations banned by the PCC if the dative clitic originates as the complement of an adjectival predicate, arguably non-applicative:

- (4) Pierre *nous lui* croit [<sub>SC</sub> *e<sub>nous</sub>* fidèle *e<sub>lui</sub>*], nous autres communistes.  
Pierre us.ACC him.DAT believes faithful, us other communists  
(Postal 1984: 153, 1990: 178)

The repair (2) targets specifically the PCC. It does not help with other clitic problems, which are many and varied. Among them are clitics trapped in islands without a cliticization site and binding theory violations (Kayne 1975, Rezac 2009a). A different kind and one we will see again in Basque is morphophonological gaps in the clitic cluster, such as the incompatibility of 3SG.DAT *lui* + LOC *y* clitics, or double dative sequences like the one below. Some speakers tolerate some of these, others none, and whichever ones are out, cannot be repaired by using a strong pronoun instead:

- (5) a. ?\*Paul me semble reconnaissant à eux  
b. \*Paul me leur/y semble reconnaissant (, à ses amis)  
Paul me.A them.D/LOC seems grateful to them to his friends  
(Couquaux 1975: 53, 71 n. 11, cf. Rezac forthc a)

The repair does not fix all instances of the PCC. It can only affect datives that are 'basic' indirect objects as that of *présenter* 'introduce', and not datives like possessors or benefactives, (6)-(7). In languages that allow both prepositional and applicative constructions and clearly signal the difference, like Basque and Georgian, the latter kind of datives is applicative, while the former is either applicative or prepositional. French also distinguishes the two kinds of datives: basic indirect objects are free to be clitic or *a* + DP, but possessors and benefactives must usually be clitics, (6 c, with ex-

plicable exceptions (cf. Rezac 2008c, cf. Rooryck 1988, Cuervo 2003). Apparently, an *a* + DP possessor or benefactive would necessarily be prepositional, and this cannot be. Following Couquaux's (1975) lead, the irreparability of possessor and benefactive datives may be attributed to their inability to appear in the prepositional *a* + DP structure.

- (6) a. \*On me *leur/ly* a jeté dans les bras.  
 b. \*On m' a jeté dans les bras à elles.  
 c. On *leur* a jeté Paul dans les bras , à ces filles.  
 one me.A them.D/LOC has thrown Paul into the arms to them to the girls  
 One threw Paul/\*me into their(, the girls') arms.

(Couquaux 1975: 58, cf. Postal 1990: 140-2)

- (7) a. \*Philippe vous *lui/ly* achètera.  
 b. \*Philippe vous achètera à lui.  
 Philippe you.ACC him.DAT/LOC will.buy to him  
 Philippe will buy you for him. (ok. as *from him* with a subcategorized dative)

(Postal 1990: 131-2)

The PCC repair is thus only available to those datives that can appear in the prepositional construction. This dovetails with syntactic consequences to the repair, which eliminates the properties of dative clitics, like the licensing of floating quantifiers, and adds those of strong pronouns (Rezac 2009a-b). The repair turns an unfocused dative pronoun, which can only appear in the applicative dative construction and must cliticize, into a strong one, which appears as complement to the preposition *à* of the prepositional construction. The similarity or identity to locatives is not accidental. Locative arguments are always basically prepositional, even as clitics (Kayne 1975). Their preposition like that of datives is *à*, and it is unsurprising that the cliticization of the repaired dative PP should be the locative pro-*à*-PP *y* as well. This basic story can be told in different ways, depending on whether one takes as basic the strengthening of the pronoun, or the mapping of an applicative to/from a prepositional construction (Couquaux 1975, Postal 1990, Albizu 1997a, Rezac 2007, 2008c, 2009a-b; cf. Ormazabal and Romero 1998).

Two applicative datives show a different but expected behaviour. Unlike possessors and benefactives, they are free to be nonclitic *a* + DPs. Yet because they are applicative, they trigger the PCC, and naturally cannot be repaired. One is the dative experiencer of the transitive verb *falloir* 'it needs DAT ACC'. For many speakers, even the nonclitic dative blocks a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>/*se* accusative clitic, creating the PCC. No repair is available, because the strong pronoun so created would still be applicative and create the PCC.

- (8) a. Il *la/\*vous* *lui* faut  
 b. \*Il *vous* *y* faut , à Philippe  
 c. \*Il *vous* faut à lui  
 d. Il *la/% vous* faut à Philippe  
 it her/you.ACC him.DAT needs to my friends

(cf. Kayne 1975: 241 note 47, Postal 1990: 172)

A similar situation obtains with most transitive verbs in the *faire à* causative. The causee is dative and the causative and causativized verb form a single domain for cliticization. The object cannot be a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>/*se* accusative clitic, whether the causee is a clitic or an *à*-phrase, and so again no repair for the dative is possible, (9). Exceptions are mainly *connaître* 'know' and *voir* 'see', with experiencer-like subjects. They are fine with nonclitic causees and do allow the repair. However, Postal (1989) shows that the causee is then hierarchically lower than the accusative object, as if a prepositional dative.

- (9) a. Jean *la*            *leur*            a fait    connaître/choisir.  
 b. Jean *m'*                            a fait    connaître/\*choisir    à ses amis  
 c. Jean *me*            \**leur/√y*            a fait    connaître            , à ses amis.  
 d. Jean *me*                            a fait    connaître à eux            , à ses amis.  
 Jean her/me.A them.D/LOC has made know    to them    to his friends  
 Jean made them(, his friends,) know me/Marie.

(cf. Couquaux 1975: 46, Kayne 1975: 298 note 25, Postal 1989)

This is the shape of the PCC repair in French. It is similar in Spanish except on one point, which will concern us when we come to Georgian. In French, the accusative clitic cannot be affected by the PCC repair to become strong, even when the dative is applicative and irreparable.<sup>2</sup> This may be related to the highly marked status of focused accusative pronouns in French, which must commonly be clitic-doubled even for many who allow non-doubled focussed datives (cf. Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). The Spanish PCC repair looks like the French one, turning a clitic into an undoubled *a* + strong pronoun, and undoubled *a* + DPs are prepositional rather than applicative (Cuervo 2003). However, the repair can affect either the dative or the accusative: a 3<sup>rd</sup> person dative if there is one, but otherwise either of the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person dative and accusative (Bonet 1991: 203). This ought to be related to the full identity of 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person dative and accusative pronouns in Spanish, unlike in French. In both languages, dative and accusative clitics are identical for 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> but not 3<sup>rd</sup> person. In Spanish only, dative and accusative strong pronouns also have both the same form *a* + pronoun, and must both be clitic doubled.<sup>3</sup>

Two further remarks are in order about French. First, the PCC applies in infinitives because they host object clitics in the same manner as finite clauses. Second, there is no PCC in applicative unaccusatives, banning (agreement with) a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative when there is an applicative dative. This is unsurprising as will be seen below, since the nominative raises to [Spec, TP] past the dative and T Agrees with it there.

<sup>2</sup> Except as in (i) when the dative is an inherent clitic, yet even then the accusative seems marked/focused.

(i) Je *me* ⟨*l/√t'*⟩                            imagine mal ⟨\**lui/√toi*⟩ à cet âge-là.  
 I me.DAT him/\*you.ACC imagine badly him/you at that age (Postal 1990: 178)

<sup>3</sup> One might expect that even 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusatives can be repaired in that *leísmo* in which they acquire all the properties of a dative in form and in doubling possibilities (Ormazabal and Romero 2006).

### 3. Basque transitives

In Basque, the PCC arises in both applicative transitives, similar and repaired similarly to French, and unaccusatives, discussed in a later section.

Basque is a morphologically ergative language, marking EA by ergative, S/O by absolutive, and IO by dative, all differentiated by agreement as well as by case, (10). Agreement with the absolutive and ergative arguments is obligatory, and, outside the PCC, with the dative as well in the western dialects. For the northeastern dialects, there is a split governed by the applicativity of the dative (Etxepare and Oyharçabal 2008a-b, Fernández et al. this volume). Applicative datives must agree: possessors, datives of interest, psych-experiencers, and, mostly, causees. Prepositional datives have the same case but do not agree. They are indirect objects such as the goal of *eraman* 'bring'. It can be either prepositional or applicative, giving apparent optionality of agreement:<sup>4</sup>

- (10) Polizia-ri<sub>j</sub> ikasle-ak<sub>k</sub> eramango di-zki<sub>k</sub>-e<sub>j</sub>-te<sub>i</sub> / % d-it<sub>i</sub>-u-zte<sub>i</sub>  
 police-DAT students-PL.ABS bring.will AUX.3pA.3pD.3pE AUX.3pA.3pE  
 [T with \**dituzte*, H with √*dituzte*]

The PCC bars agreement of a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person absolutive in the presence of an agreeing dative (Laka 1993). Thus in (11), there is no form like \**zaizki-e-zte* AUX.2pA.3pD.3pE available. Historically such forms did exist in Basque varieties immune to the PCC, but they do not now (Oyharçabal and Etxepare 2008, Lafon 1949: 397-9). The repair is the suspension of dative agreement. This is naturally so for speakers of dialects with nonagreeing datives (Lafitte 1979: §574). However, it is also possible for many, although not all, speakers of the western dialects, as in (11) (Artiagoitia 2000: 405, Albizu 1997a: 38, 95, 2001: 50). The constraint holds across the full range of transitive + agreeing dative constructions and it is not sensitive to the phi-features of the dative.

- (11) Polizia-ri zu eramango zait-u-zte / \*d(it)u(z)te/\*di(zki)ete  
 police-DAT you.ABS bring.will AUX.2pA.3pE \*AUX.3s/pA.(3pD.)3pE [T]  
 (12) Miren-i aurkeztu/eraman gait-u  
 Miren-DAT introduced/brought AUX.1pA.3sE [H]

Applicative datives fall prey to the PCC but there is no rescuing them. Datives of interest seem robust in refusing the repair, in both northeastern and other dialects. To say (13)b in a story where fierce lamias are likely to 'eat you on Miren' while walking in their woods with her, paraphrase must do: *Lamiek zu jango zaituzte* (or, *zuri jango dizute*) *Mirenekin zauden bitartean* 'The lamias will eat you while you are with Miren' [T].

- (13) a. Lami-ek Miren-i Pello eta Mona jango di-zki-o-te / \*d-it-u-zte  
 lamias-E Miren-D Pello and Mona.A will.eat AUX.3pA.\*(3sD.)3pE

<sup>4</sup> [T] is a native speaker from Tolosa (western), [H] Hasparren (northeastern, dative omission). All data new to this paper are to be viewed as suggestive only. They are limited to a couple of speakers, not always pressed about alternatives at first rejected, with only a couple of examples of each construction. Still more informal discussions with others do suggest a reality to the patterns here.

- b. \*Lami-ek Miren-i zu jango zaituzte/diote  
lamias-E Miren-D you.A will.eat AUX.2pA.3pE / 3sA.3sD.3pE  
The lamias will eat Pello and Mona/\*you on Miren. [T]
- (14) Polizia-k emaztea-ri hautsi di-o / \*n-au  
police-ERG wife-DAT broke AUX-3sD / \*1sA.3sE  
The police broke him/\*me on [my/his] wife. [H]

Possessor datives also cannot be repaired for both dialect types, (15). Albizu (1997a) has already demonstrated this through (16). There is some variation even within a speaker's grammar, and [T] for instance accepts (16) (or rather: *Aitak amari zu besoetatik kendu zintuen* 'Father removed you mother.DAT arms.from'). The culprit might be a purely ditransitive construal of these verbs, with a goal/source indirect object.

- (15) a. Miren-i haurr-ak beso-etara bota di-zki-o/\*d-it-u-zte  
Miren-DAT children-ABS arms-into thrown AUX.3pA.3sD.3sE [T]
- b. \*Miren-i zu beso-etara bota zait-u-zte  
Miren-DA you.ABS arms-into thrown AUX.2pA.3pE [T]
- %??Miren-i Ø beso-etara bota na-u / gait-u  
Miren-DAT arms-into thrown AUX.1sA/1pA.3sE [H]
- They threw the children/\*you/\*me/\*us into Miren's arms.
- (16) Aita-k ume-a ama-ri beso-e-tatik kendu zion.  
father-ERG child-ABS mother-DAT arm-s-from removed AUX.3sA.3sD.3sE  
?/\*Aita-k Ø ama-ri beso-e-tatik kendu ninduen/zidan  
father-ERG mother-DAT arm-s-from removed AUX.1sA/1sD.3sE

(Albizu 1997a: 175 note 52, 197)

Finally, causative datives trigger the PCC, (17), and probably cannot be repaired, (18).<sup>5</sup> The causative *ezagutarazi* 'make known' ought to be a case where repair is possible if it is anywhere, as discussed for French *faire connaître* (both clumsy when 'introduce' or 'show' will do, not controlled for here). Yet it is not in (18).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Albizu (1997a: 41, 202) reports that dative causee agreement cannot be suspended to repair causatives based on *eragin*, and that the way to express a PCC context is to omit absolutive agreement: *Pello ni jo eragin diote* 'They made Pello.DAT(agr) kill me.ABS(no agr)'. Ortiz de Urbina (2003) lists *eragin* among the variants of *arazi*. However, in his examples agreement with the downstairs absolutive object need not take place for *eragin* (*Amak umeari indabak jatea eragin zion* 'The mother made the child.DAT(agr) eat the beans.ABS(no agr)'), while it always does for *arazi* (*Gurasoek indabak janarazi dizkiote umeari* 'The parents made the child.DAT(agr) eat the beans.ABS(agr)'). If this is so, nonagreement with the absolutive in Albizu's examples a possibility independent of the PCC, not a repair; but this remains to be investigated.

<sup>6</sup> Fernández et al. (this volume) find that in the northeastern dialects, causee dative agreement can sometimes be omitted (outside the PCC), unlike for other applicative datives, and the most robust being like *ezagutarazi*, though not only (cf. note 8 below). It would not be surprising to find that speakers can repair *ezagutarazi* but not, say, *hilerazi* 'make kill'. Of interest is Oyharçabal's (2005: note 13) (i): an ECM absolutive becomes a nonagreeing dative only to allow agreement with an A'-extractee. Cf. *je lui ai fait/vu écrire la lettre - je l'ai fait / vu écrire* 'I saw/made him.D write the letter / them.A write' in

- (17) a. Ama-k bera etxe-ra ekarr-arazi di-o anaia-ri  
 mother-ERG him.ABS house-to bring-CAUS AUX.3sD.3sE brother-D  
 b. \*Ama-k ni etxe-ra ekarr-arazi n(a)-i-o anaia-ri  
 mother-ERG me.ABS house-to bring-CAUS AUX.1sA.3sD.3sE brother-D

(Albizu 2001: 58 note 13)

- (18) a. Pello-ri ikasle-ak ezagut-arazi-ko di-zki-o-te / \*d-it-u-zte  
 Pello-DAT students-ABS know-make-will AUX.3pA.\*(3sD.)3pE  
 b. \*Pello-ri zu ezagut-arazi-ko zait-u-zte / di-o-te / d-u-t-e  
 \* you.ABS AUX.2pA.3pE / 3sA.(3sD.)3pE  
 [T]

We have the same pattern as in French. All applicative datives trigger the PCC and the repair is to turn them into prepositional ones, available only to indirect objects and not to datives of interest, possessors, or causees. As in French too, the examples show that only dative, not absolutive agreement can be suspended to repair the PCC (but cf. note 5).

Unlike in French, nonfinite clauses in Basque do not show the PCC, as in (19) and (21). This has been deemed significant, since nonfinite clauses have, at first sight, the same case-marking pattern as finite clauses, but lack agreement (Bonet 1991, Laka 1993, Albizu 1997ab). The absence of agreement might even be seen as quite superficial, since a type of anaphor that in finite clauses requires an agreeing antecedent can be bound by its homologue in nonfinite clauses (Rebuschi 1995, Albizu 2001). Here then might be an argument for tying the PCC closely to agreement morphology (Albizu 1997a-b; see Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008 for a subtler situation in Icelandic).

- (19) Gaizk iruditzen zai-t [zu-k ni harakin-ari saltze-a].  
 wrong seeming AUX-1sD you-ERG me.ABS butcher-DAT selling-ABS  
 Your selling me to the butcher seems wrong to me.

(Laka 1993: 27)

- (20) [Aita-k ni ama-ri beso-e-tatik ken-tzea] gaizki iruditu zitzaidan.  
 father-ERG me.ABS mother-DAT arm-s-to removing wrong seemed AUX-1sD  
 Father taking me from mother's arms seemed wrong to me.

(Albizu 1997a: 176)

However, there are some case marking asymmetries between finite and nonfinite clauses, as Oyharçabal (1992: 317) points out. There are also indirect signs of a difference for the dative specifically. The dative goal of a causativized ditransitive can survive without agreement if it is taken up by the dative causee, and worse, can-

a French variety, and the last-resort approach to such dative Case in Folli and Harley (2007), Bobaljik and Branigan (2006).

(i) Bertze haurr-eri, bil-tzen ikusi n-it-u-en/\*n-i-zki-e-n sosek<sub>i</sub> xoratu (...) ninduteyan  
 other children-DAT gathering seen AUX.3pA.(\*3pD.)1sE-REL money-ERG bothered me  
 The money that I saw other children gathering bothered me.

not agree even if the causee is impersonal and controls no agreement; in contrast, the embedded absolutive object must agree (Albizu 2000, Ortiz de Urbina 2003). The most obvious possibility is that datives in nonfinite clauses can always be prepositional and so avoid the PCC — yet (20) shows a possessor dative, as Albizu points out. We return to the issue with Georgian.

#### 4. Georgian transitives

Georgian makes for an excellent parallel to Basque in aspects of case and agreement and the PCC (Rezac 2003, 2008b), and a striking contrast in the apparent character of its PCC repairs — and so a good testbed for the unifiability of the repairs.

The Georgian case system is nominative-accusative in the present and ergative-nominative (= absolutive) in the aorist. The accusative of O in the present is superficially the same as the dative of IO, but the two can be distinguished because the dative of O becomes nominative in the aorist and in detransitivizations, while the dative of IO remains. Thus we have present EA/S nominative, IO/O dative, beside aorist EA ergative, IO dative, S/O nominative as in (21). 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns do not mark these cases, but a bracketed gloss indicates the case that a 3<sup>rd</sup> person would have in their place.

- (21) did-i      tevz-i      mo-m-i-ṭan-a      babua-m      Tamaz-s  
 big-NOM   fish-NOM   PV-1s-OV-bring-3sSU.AOR   grandfather-ERG   T.-DAT  
 Grandfather brought me, Tamaz, a big fish.

(Boeder 2002: 88)

There is a unique prefix slot for 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement with EA, O, S, IO; it and its controller are underlined here. The form of the morphemes that occur here has accusative alignment in the present as well as the aorist: S controls the same ones as EA and not as O/IO. When two arguments are 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person, O/IO beats EA for control of the prefix (as in Basque ‘ergative displacement’). 3<sup>rd</sup> person EA/O/IO have no overt agreement, but a 3<sup>rd</sup> person IO has a special prefix dedicated to it (also as in Basque and elsewhere). In the suffix field can be marked person and number of the subject which is not pertinent here.

- (22) nino-m      me      da-m-xat-a  
 Nino-ERG   me(NOM)   PV-1s-painted-3sSU  
 Nino painted me (= a picture of me).

(Nash 1995: 199)

- (23) (me)      da-y-u-xat'e      deda-s      surat-i  
 I(NOM)   PV-1s-3D+OV-painted   mother-DAT   picture-NOM  
 Mother painted me a picture.

(Anderson 1984: 168)

- (24) deda-m      da-m-i-xat'-a      (me)      surat-i  
 mother-ERG   PV-1s-OV-painted-3sSU   me(DAT)   picture-NOM  
 I painted mother a picture.

(Anderson 1984: 168)

The PCC bars agreement with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person O in the presence of IO. Thus while O in (22) agrees, in (25) it cannot. In (25) is also shown the PCC repair, known as *Object Camouflage* (Harris 1981: III). The O is realized as the 3SG expression *X's tav* 'head, source, self' where the possessor pronoun *X* has O's phi-features: *čems tav* 'my head' for *me* 'me'. Outside the PCC context, *X's tav* cannot be used for a pronominal O.

- (25) važa-m      da-m-i-xat-a                      \*sen / \*Ø / √šeni tav-i      (me)  
 Vazha-ERG PV-1s-V-paint-3sSU.AOR you / you / your self-NOM me(DAT)  
 Vazha painted you for me.

(Harris 1981: 92)

As in Basque, the PCC is triggered by various datives: indirect object, benefactive in (25), causee in (26) (Harris 1981: 80, Bonet 1991: 194, Boeder 2005: 55). Unlike in Basque, the repair is not restricted by the nature of the dative, since it affects O.

- (26) anzor-ma      ga-(\*m-)a-lan3yv-in-a                      vano-s      \*me / \*Ø / √čem-i tav-i  
 Anzor-ERG PV-(\*1s-)V-insult-CAUS-3sSU vanos-DAT me / me / my self-NOM  
 Anzor made Vano insult me.

(Harris 1981: 80)

Georgian yields extraordinary evidence for the abstract character of the PCC, as Boeder (2002: 104) points out. As has been mentioned, the person agreement prefix is unique; so in a combination of 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person EA and IO/O, only IO/O controls the prefix, and the EA is wholly unmarked on the verb (even by suffixes, if singular), (27). Yet that does not prevent it from *pro*-drop, (27), or appearing as a regular pronoun, and it does not license the use of *X's tav* for it, (28). Morphologically, the PCC looks the same: IO blocks the agreement of 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person O. Yet the consequence is the obligatory use of the *X's tav* form in the place of an impossible *pro* or pronoun.<sup>7</sup>

- (27) [mində]      (\*v-)g-a-ḱoc-o,                      (\*x-)m-a-ḱoc-o  
 [I.want.it] (\*1s-)2s-NV-kiss-OPT      (\*2s-)1s-NV-kiss-OPT  
 I kiss you, [and] you kiss me.

(Boeder 2002: 94, phonotactics is fine)

- (28) \*čem-ma      tav-ma      g-a-ḱoc-o-s  
 my-ERG head-ERG 2s-NV-kiss-Opt-3sSU  
 Intended: I kiss you.

(Boeder 2002: 102)

The Georgian repair contrasts with Basque in two ways. First, no recourse to a nonagreeing dative is usually reported. Second, there is no parallel in Basque to Object Camouflage, as Oyharçabal and Etxepare (2008) point out: *?\*Jonek neure burua aipatu dizut* 'Jon-ERG my head-ABS mentioned AUX-2pD-1sE' — despite, as we will see, the use of 'X's head' for reflexives in both languages.

<sup>7</sup> This point cannot be made in Basque, even in those varieties where IO controls the prefix, because its ergative displacement analogue of the Georgian prefix competition leaves the EA marked by a suffix.

However, the first point seems to be false. Boeder (2002: 97-8) observes that in a limited set of contexts, Object Camouflage stands beside the use of a nonagreeing dative in Georgian, so the following example either is possible (cf. also Hewitt 1995: 140f.):

- (29) a. mi-m-q'id-i-s            me    ma-s  
           PV-1s-sell-TS-3sSU    I     he-DAT  
       b. mi-Ø-q'id-i-s            ma-s            čem-s tav-s  
           PV-3D-sell-TS-3sSU    s/he-DAT    my-DAT head-DAT  
           s/he will sell me to him/her

(Boeder 2002: 98)

Two conditions must be met for the use of a nonagreeing dative to repair the PCC. Georgian distinguishes two types of datives in its verbal morphology (Harris 1981, Boeder 2005: 34-38). One is applicative, signalled by dedicated 'version vowels', such as *i* for beneficiaries, experiencers, possessors, near locations, and for subject-oriented reflexives, or *a* for location on or movement from a surface. The other lacks a version vowel, or has one lexically determined by the root with no correspondence to meaning; these are basic indirect objects of verbs like 'give'. Only this latter kind may become nonagreeing in the PCC repair, as in French and Basque. The further condition on the repair is that the nonagreeing dative must be 3<sup>rd</sup> person, even if it has none or lexically-determined version vowel. This has no analogue in Romance or Basque.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 1/2-3 asymmetries where only 3<sup>rd</sup> person can assume a strong/non-doubled form, as in French *eux (ils) sont venus* 'they[strong] (they[weak]) are come' vs. *moi \*(je) suis/est venu* 'I \*(I) am/is come' (Kayne 2000), to be used in governing either the 'strengthening' discussed below, or of 1/2 accusative - 3 'dative' marking splits of indirect objects (Jelinek 2000), interpretable as applicative-prepositional. An independent diagnostic of applicativity partially confirms the applicative character of irreparable datives in Georgian, but also suggests that the restriction on 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> persons is not to be reduced to their obligatory applicativity. There are various contexts where dative agreement is impossible, and an IO then assumes the form of a PP headed by *tvis*, which independently marks 'for' benefactive PPs (in Old Georgian, it remained a nonagreeing dative): in causativization and in 'inversion' where the EA is the agreeing dative, and in the nonfinite, nonagreeing infinitives, masdars, and participles. One might expect *tvis*-phrases to be restricted to basic indirect objects (and their independent benefactive use). For participles forming the analytical passive, Harris (1981: 115-6) does restrict *tvis* phrases to basic indirect objects, because they cannot realize possessors (cf. the lack of benefactive reading in French *la voiture achetée à ELLE* 'the car bought from/\*for her' (Postal 1990: 151); contrast (20)). However, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person indirect objects, which cannot suspend agreement in PCC repair, can be realized by *tvis* both in causatives (p. 82) and in inversion (p. 123). The situation of causees is unclear. It is impossible to take the causative of a transitive, with a dative causee for the EA, and causativize it again, so that the causer becomes the agreeing dative and the embedded EA a *tvis*-phrase (p. 285 note 6). However, a dative causee, and 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person at that, surfaces as a *tvis*-PP in inversion when the EA becomes the agreeing dative (p. 132, 172). Georgian inversion is in many other ways a mystery, but there is something else going on with causee datives. Their agreement can be omitted to repair the PCC in (i), and their version *a* is grouped with the lexically-determined kind (Boeder 2005: 37; note 6 above); cf. double dative (ii) where the version vowel and causee agreement disappear to make way for the benefactive.

- (i) is ma-s    m-a-žarcv-in-eb-s            me  
       is ma-s    a-žarcv-in-eb-s            čem-s tav-s  
       he he-DAT 1s-NV-rob-CAUS-PRES    me / my head  
       he makes him rob me (Boeder 2005: 47)
- (ii) mi-g-i-šver-in-e            (me šen)    žox-i            mc\_q'ems-s    xbo-s-tvis / xbo-s  
       PV-2-OV-hold.out-CAUS (I you)    stick-NOM    shepherd-DAT    calf-GEN-for / calf-DAT  
       I made the shepherd hold out the stick at your calf. (Boeder 2002: 96 note 22, Khevsur dialect)

Consider now Object Camouflage itself. At first sight, the use of ‘X’s head’ for ‘X’, a pronoun, is unlike the Romance and Basque repairs by a strong pronoun. Yet a story can be told highlighting the similarity, starting from Cardinaletti and Starke’s (1999) proposal that strong pronouns have a richer internal syntax than weak ones, being more like PPs than DPs, and notably with an internal Case-licenser of their own. They are thus autonomous of the clausal Case/Agree system, which French clitics and Basque agreeing datives need. In transforming a clitic/weak pronoun to *a* + strong pronoun in French and a nonagreeing dative in Basque, the repair strengthens it by adding to it its own internal Case licenser. The result is a PP, realized in the prepositional construction, and leaving the Case/Agree system of the clause entirely for the direct object. Along these lines Object Camouflage can be analysed as well (Rezac 2007, cf. Albizu 1997a: 256).

We may think of pronouns as a nominal core  $N \lambda x.x=x$ ’ and a phi-containing functional projection  $\varphi$ , [ $\varphi$  N] (Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002). Ordinarily, N raises to  $\varphi$  and the whole is Case-licensed by Agree with T/*v*. These are the ordinary agreeing pronouns and *pro* of Georgian. In the PCC repair, the pronoun is strengthened by an internal Case licenser for  $\varphi$ , and DP-internal [Case +  $\varphi$ ] is naturally a possessive pronoun. The N head is left in-situ, and Case-licensed by the clause, where it agrees as 3SG. It is realized by the lexical item closest to its meaning  $\lambda x.x=x$ : *tav* ‘self’.

- (30) a. Ordinary pronoun: [ $\varphi$ +N  $t_N$ ]  $\rightarrow$  bare pronoun  
 b. Case added: [[Case +  $\varphi$ ] N]  $\rightarrow$  possessive pronoun + *tav* ‘self’  
 (Rezac 2007: 125f.)

On this view, one would hope for other uses of *X*’s *tav* as strong pronouns. Outside Object Camouflage, *X*’s *tav* forms mostly serve as subject-oriented O/IO reflexives, but not as logophora which would be relatable to emphasis (Harris 1981: 23-6, 281 note 4, Amiridze 2006). Nevertheless, Boeder (2002: 100-2, 2005: 54-6) notes some uses as emphatic pronouns. Clearest are vocatives, *čem-o tav-o* ‘my-VOC head-VOC’ = ‘O me!’. Less obviously nonanaphoric are oblique nonarguments such as ‘by yourself’, (31), and emphatic subjects, (32) (Amiridze 2006: VII treats the latter as metonymous anaphors).

- (31) rac mo-g-i-va dav-ita-o, q’vela šeni tav-ita-o  
 whatever PV-2s-OV-will.come dispute-INS-QUOT all your head-INS-QUOT  
 ...it all happens to you by/because of yourself, it is said’ (proverb)  
 (Boeder 2002: 100)

- (32) čem-ma tav-ma m-a-ižul-a me  
 my-ERG head-ERG 1s-NV-force-3sSU.AOR me(NOM)  
 It was me who forced myself.

(Boeder 2002: 101)

The Basque expression *X*’s *buru* ‘X’s head’ is parallel to Georgian *X*’s *tav* in its use as a reflexive (Lafon 1944: 397). It also has some attestations as nonreflexive emphatic internal argument (Artiagoitia 2003), and a use as an ergative subject through a metonymous nonreflexive interpretation (Oyharçabal 2003). In both languages, *X*’s *tav/buru* is a *specialized* strong form — not it, but rather plain strong pronouns, usually serve as nonagreeing strong forms, for instance in PPs. Yet despite these parallels *X*’s

*buru* cannot be used for a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person absolutive to rescue the PCC, unlike *X's tav*. It may be that *X's buru* is less grammaticalized than *X's tav*; one thinks of the optionality plurality of *buru* if it has a plural referent, *geure buru(ak)* 'our head(s) = ourselves' (Artiagoitia 2003), found for *tav* in Old but not Modern Georgian (Boeder 2005).

Perhaps more is needed than having a form like *X's buru* to repair O. In French and Basque, O (and S) cannot be strengthened to repair the PCC even when the IO is irreparable, and this ought to relate to the more PP-like character of the IO to start with, even when applicative: to its having dative rather than direct case. In Georgian this too might be reflected. Harris (1981: 282 note 4) notes that in some dialects, Object Camouflage is available only when the dative is 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person (thus not in (29)b). One would like to relate this to the availability of dative agreement suspension to repair the PCC when the dative is 3<sup>rd</sup> person; perhaps it pre-empts using *X's tav* for the absolutive.<sup>9</sup>

To finish with Georgian, there is no PCC in nonfinite forms (Harris 1981: 165, Bonet 1991: 190-1). Unlike in Basque, this is unsurprising. The IO in them is realized not as a dative but as a *tvis* 'for' PP (cf. note 8). Like all other PPs, *tvis* PPs are nonagreeing and do not create the PCC even in finite clauses.<sup>10</sup> In Old Georgian nonagreeing datives are found where *tvis*-phrases are used for IOs now, including nonfinite forms. One wonders then whether the absence of the PCC in Basque nonfinite clauses is not due to a similar use of a nonapplicative, prepositional structure for datives, leaving (20) unresolved.<sup>11</sup>

- (33) *šeni / \*šeni tavis*                      *čabareba*                      *mašavleblis-tvis*  
 you.GEN / your self.GEN    rendering.NOM    teacher-for  
 Turning you over to the teacher.

(Harris 1981: 165)

## 5. Basque unaccusatives<sup>12</sup>

In French, there is no PCC in unaccusatives with a dative, and it is not expected. The nominative S raises past the dative IO to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP. At that point it has by-passed the intervention effect in (1) of the dative on Agree with T. This should be true in accusative languages whenever S satisfies the EPP.<sup>13</sup> Similarly

<sup>9</sup> Often when a strong O for a clitic or agreement rescues the PCC, it is allowed independently and so not a repair, as in Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 314f., 349 note 92). Particularly interesting is the contrast between the closely-related Warlpiri and Jaru: only in the latter of are nonagreeing strong accusative 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns licensed, both to avoid the PCC and independently (Simpson 1983: 193-4, Tsunoda 1981).

<sup>10</sup> Moreover, O is genitive, not nominative / dative, and there is no evidence for the PCC affecting genitives.

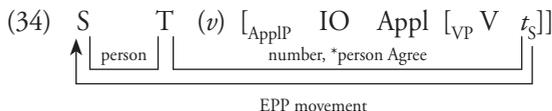
<sup>11</sup> If tenable, see Albizu (2001) for options regarding *bere*-type anaphora.

<sup>12</sup> This section resumes Rezac (2008a).

<sup>13</sup> When the nominative remains in-situ, other constraints often make the facts of agreement difficult to evaluate. Thus in French (i): no pronominal arguments and no person agreement can occur in inversion - perhaps relatable to the PCC via intervention of the A'-trace.

(i) Je voudrais que Marie et toi veniez/\*viennent // viennent/\*veniez Marie et toi  
 I would.like that M and you come.2PL // come.3PL M and you (Marandin 2001).

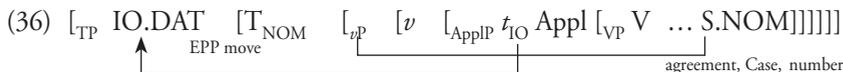
in Georgian: agreement treats S as EA rather than O/IO, so at some point refers to a configuration where S has raised over IO, whether to [Spec, TP] or lower (Rezac 2008a: 92 note 21).



- (35) Je            me/lui            plais            *t*<sub>me/lui</sub> *t*<sub>je</sub> avec les cheveux longs.  
 I.NOM me.DAT/him.DAT please.1SG            with the hair long  
 I like myself with long hair. / She likes me with long hair.

(Rezac 2008a: 92)

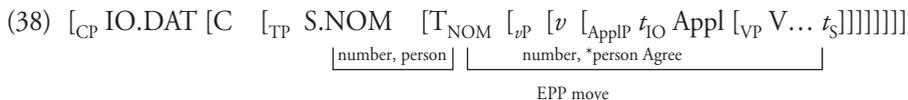
In quirky-subject languages like Icelandic, it is the dative that satisfies the EPP of T. T-nominative person Agree then remains blocked by the dative, giving the PCC:



- (37) *Hverjum*<sub>i</sub> mundi/\*mundum<sub>j</sub> (*t*<sub>i</sub>) þá *t*<sub>i</sub> virðast **við**<sub>j</sub> vera hæfir?  
 who.DAT would.3SG/1PL then seem we.NOM be competent  
 To whom would we then seem to be competent?

(Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008, Rezac 2008a: 89-91)

However, there is derivation that creates a French-like configuration in Icelandic. The dative may A'-extract from its base position rather than [Spec, TP], the nominative may then raise to [Spec, TP] in 'long raising', and there is no PCC:



- (39) *Hverjum*<sub>i</sub> mundum/\*mundi **við**<sub>j</sub> þá *t*<sub>i</sub> virðast *t*<sub>j</sub> vera hæfir?  
 who.DAT would.1PL/3SG we.NOM then seem be competent  
 To whom would we then seem to be competent?

(Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008, Rezac 2008a: 89-91)

In Basque, the PCC occurs in applicative unaccusatives, and this seems common in ergative languages of its type. Basque has both DAT-ABS applicative unaccusatives and ABS-DAT motion verbs. DAT-ABS psych-verbs like *gustatu* 'like' with an applicative dative experiencer generated above S are subject to the PCC, while ABS-DAT motion verbs like *hurbildu* 'approach' with a dative goal of motion below S are not. Various diagnostics converge on this difference, including the one already discussed: in the northeastern dialects the dative of ABS-DAT but not DAT-ABS verbs can be of the nonagreeing type (Rezac forthc a; for other diagnostics, 2008a).<sup>14</sup> Otherwise the two

<sup>14</sup> Even in the western dialects where dative agreement is usually obligatory, there is an asymmetry between a basic indirect object and an applicative object in agreement omission: an agreeing dative of



Icelandic yields a clue to how this repair works. Movement of S to [Spec, TP] creates a configuration where person Agree between the ergative Case/Agree locus T and S can occur without intervention of the dative. However, T is not usually an active Case/Agree locus in the unaccusative configuration of an ergative language. The PCC licenses its activation, while a morphological gap does not.

This difference between the PCC and morphological gaps we have already seen in French, and perhaps the mechanism of the two repairs can be related as well. There is an abstract similarity between the emergence of an ergative and of a strong pronoun to repair the PCC. Both are marked choices for the coding of an argument, S on the one hand, unfocussed IO/O on the other. On Optimality-Theoretic models of grammar, they would emerge automatically if another constraint is ranked higher (cf. Bonet 1994). However, not only PCC but any grammaticality problem should license them, and this is not the case. Some theories of these elements permit a more narrow unification: the ergative is a marked or *dependent Case* available only when the absolutive has done its job, while a strong pronoun differs from a weak(er) one in having its own Case licenser. Both repairs are thus viewable as the addition of a Case-licenser to rescue the Case-licensing failure created by the PCC in (1) (Rezac 2007, 2008a,c).<sup>16</sup>

It would be worrisome if the few varieties of Basque with ‘ergativization’ were alone in the world. Finnish might be a good candidate for an image of it through the ergative-accusative mirror: DAT > NOM configurations surface as DAT > ACC if the nominative is an animate pronoun (Rezac 2007, 2008c). However, a true parallel occurs in Chinook.

## 6. Chinook unaccusatives

Chinook presents the PCC and a repair remarkably similar to Basque, and the main difference between the two languages is expected independently. The ergativized argument is the applied object, but in Chinook unlike in Basque, applied objects have the direct case of S/O. In both languages then, the highest absolutive becomes ergative.

Chinook cross-references the EA, O, S, and IO on the verb using pronominal affixes of two series: *unmarked* for S, O, and IO, and *ergative* for EA.<sup>17</sup> They are arranged in the order EA-O/S-IO. There is no case marking for these arguments.

- (43) (i-kala<sub>i</sub>) ga-č<sub>i</sub>-ł<sub>i</sub>-(a)š<sub>k</sub>-l-u-ł<sub>i</sub>ada ((i)ł-šq<sup>w</sup>a<sub>i</sub>) ((i)š-Gagila<sub>k</sub><sub>k</sub>)  
 3sm-man RPT-3smE-3n-3du-Appl-DIR-threw 3n-water 3du-woman  
 He (the man) threw it (the water) at the two of them (at the two women).

(Silverstein 1985: 185)

<sup>16</sup> See Rezac (2008a: 87) for a locus of parametrization among Basque varieties in allowing the repair.

<sup>17</sup> Often the ergative affix = default + *k*, but there are opaque forms like 3SGM.E č<sub>i</sub>; some forms are syncretic for the two series and so I do not gloss them as E. For 3DU and 3PL, S has an extra suffix compared with the O/IO morpheme. A similar exception occurs in Itelmen, Bobaljik (2000 note 10), who suggests that the realization of the agreement marker is sensitive to the presence of EA.

The PCC prevents a ditransitive from having a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person O.

- (44) \*č-n-a-l-u-√i-amit  
 3smE-1s-3sf-<sup>2</sup>Appl-<sup>2</sup>DIR-√<sup>2</sup>take-?  
 He is taking me for her.

(Silverstein 1985: 190)

Intransitives with S and an extra argument, IO, split into two types. Some like ‘go’ are immune to the PCC, so that S can be of any person. By this and by their meaning they correspond to Basque ABS-DAT unaccusatives with a dative below S.

- (45) ga-nš-i-gl-u-√ya  
 RPT-1p-3sm-?-<sup>2</sup>DIR-√go  
 ‘we (excl pl) went toward him’

(Silverstein 1985: 191)

Others like ‘smell’ are constrained by the PCC. Silverstein (1985: 191) characterizes this class as those whose IO is “a kind of dativised agent”, and gives an example with an experiencer. The description suggests DAT-ABS applicative unaccusatives. As in Basque, the two classes do not differ in their morphology, including apparently an ‘applicative’ marker signalling the extra argument. DAT-ABS verbs are good with 3<sup>rd</sup> but not 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person S. The missing forms are supplied by what Silverstein (1985: 191-4) calls *thematization*: the IO is coded by the ergative rather than the unmarked series. Thus expected unmarked *i* of (46)b (cf. (46)a) appears as the ergative *č* in (46)c.<sup>18</sup>

- (46) a. i-n-l-√ła  
 3sm-1s-Appl-√stink  
 He wafts towards me, *es shtinkt mir*, I smell him.  
 b. \*nš-i-l-√ła → c. č-nš-l-√ła  
 1p-3sm-Appl-√stink                      3smE-1p-Appl-√stink  
 He smells us (excl).

(Silverstein 1985: 192)

There is striking parallelism between Chinook and Basque. The PCC affects O and S in the presence of an applicative argument. Intransitives fall into two classes individuated by the applicative vs. prepositional character of the IO. The latter is not affected by the PCC, and exhibits the morphology that the PCC bans in the former. Unaccusatives with an applicative IO repair the PCC by coding one of their arguments in the same way as the EA, the ergative.

Unlike in Basque, the ‘ergativized’ argument of the Chinook repair is the IO rather than the S. However, the difference seems to derive from another. The

<sup>18</sup> It is unclear whether S under thematization uses O in 3DU/PL where different from S (preceding note), as might be thought since an ergative is present: p. 193 ex. 49 *š* for *št*, p. 194 above ex. 52. The PCC and thematization extend (partly?) to 3SGM animate S, no surprise crosslinguistically (Ormazabal and Romero 2007, Rezac 2009a): «for third person animate nominative and third person indirect object, there is a tendency among speakers» for the PCC and thematization to occur” (Silverstein 1985: 193). Thus \*š-i-l-√ła 3du-3sm-Appl-√stink → č-š-l-√ła 3smE-3du.

IO in Chinook uses the same morphological marking as the O/S of plain transitives and intransitives, not a distinct one as in Basque. The identity is profound. It holds across a rich inventory of suffixes, and across allomorphy that modifies the normal exponents of 1<sup>st</sup> person EA/S in the context of 2<sup>nd</sup> person O/IO.<sup>19</sup> Thus Chinook belongs to the same class of languages as Wichita, Mohawk, Southern Tiwa, or English (Baker 1996: 194-5). In them it is the IO rather than O of applicative structures that assumes the case and agreement properties of the O/S of plain transitives, and the remaining O/S is relegated to a secondary object (though it may, as in Chinook, agree using the same number morphology as the IO).

This primary-object behaviour of the IO is the key to the Chinook-Basque difference. Basque ergativization targets the S because S lacks dative case. As the highest direct case argument, it raises to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP, as in English: *She was baked two cakes*, \**Two cakes were baked her*. Upon raising to [Spec, TP], the IO Agrees with T in a PCC contexts. As in Basque, such extra T activation is restricted to repairing the PCC, where the regular Case/Agree system fails to license a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person argument.

- (47) a. [S T<sub>(ERG)</sub> [*v*<sub>ABS</sub> IO<sub>DAT</sub> *t*<sub>S</sub>]] (Basque)  
 b. [IO T<sub>(ERG)</sub> [*v*<sub>ABS</sub> *t*<sub>IO</sub> S]] (Chinook)

## 7. Prospects

Languages do not, in general, have syntactic repairs for ungrammaticality, whether it lies in syntax, interpretation, or realization. To pick an example from each domain, there is no way to fix the failure of Case licensing with unaccusatives in *The river thundered* / \**fell its way into the ravine*, the Condition B violation in overlapping reference \**Vous t'avez sauvé la vie* 'You(PL) saved your(SG) life', the morphophonological gap in *By now, she has strid\_\_ across the desert for twenty years*. The existence of PCC repairs is revealing about the PCC, and perhaps about the architecture of language.

The repairs we have looked at suggest that there is promise to seeking common factors to them, and perhaps even a single underlying mechanism. They are dedicated to the PCC and cannot rescue other problems. They can be thought of as the strengthening of a structure by Case so that all arguments be Case-licensed: a clitic or agreeing pronoun becomes a strong nonagreeing one, an ergative is added to unaccusatives. Otherwise the strengthening is 'conservative'. The ergative goes on S or IO according to which is the subject, prepositional datives do not acquire applicative interpretation, the new strong pronouns exist already in some use, IO is preferred to O as a PP-like strong pronoun.

Yet not all PCC repairs fit. I end on ones uncovered in Ormazabal and Romero (2006) for Spanish and in Albizu (1997a, 2001) for Basque, completing the inventory of known repairs in the languages here. (48) comes from *leísmo* Spanish where the 3SGM *animate* direct objects normally use 'dative' clitic *le* along with its prop-

<sup>19</sup> 1SG *n* → ∅, 2DU/2PL *nš/nt* → impersonal *q* / \_\_2<sup>nd</sup> person O/IO, contiguous or not as in EA<sub>1</sub>-O-IO<sub>2</sub>.

erty of freely doubling *a* + DP objects. The PCC is avoided by using the accusative clitic *lo* otherwise reserved for inanimates, with its inability to double. Something different seems to be at work, relating to the syntax-interpretation relationship of phi-features (Rezac 2009a). In (50) from a *leismo*-like variety of Basque, there may be a similar phenomenon (P. Albizu p.c.). Some of its speakers have the unsurprising (49): to repair the PCC, dative agreement is omitted as in (11), the animate direct object is dative as ordinarily in this grammar, and perhaps for parsing reasons the two datives need a separation. Others, extraordinarily, have an *absolute* pronoun with *dative* agreement, (50). Interesting work lies ahead.

- (48) Te \*le/√lo lleve (\*a tu hijo)                      a casa  
       you him.\*D/√A (\*A your son)                      to home

(Ormazabal and Romero 2006, cf. Rezac 2009a)

- (49) Polizi-ari\*(,)zuri/\*zu                      eramango di-zu-te. [comma/pause is necessary]  
       police-DAT you.DAT/\*ABS bring.will AUX.2pD.3pE                      [T]

- (50) Azpisapo-ek ni/\*niri                      etsaia-ri                      saldu didate  
       enemies-ERG me.ABS/\*DAT enemy-DAT                      sold AUX.1sD.3sE

(Albizu 1997a: 194, \**niri* based on P. Albizu p.c.)

## 8. References

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