GENERALIZED PERSON-CASE CONSTRAINT: A CASE FOR A SYNTAX-DRIVEN INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY[1]

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1. Introduction

The Person-Case Constraint (henceforth PCC) is a morphological condition against particular combinations of the agreement markers cross-referencing the direct object and the indirect object. Such a constraint can be stated informally as in (1):

(1) *Person-Case Constraint:* If DAT, then ACC(ABS) = 3rd
(Bonet 1994: 36)

By (1), an agreement marker cross-referencing the direct object cannot be 1st or 2nd person in the presence of a dative agreement marker corresponding to the indirect object.[2, 3] The PCC is illustrated in (2) and (3) below with examples from Catalan and Basque respectively:[4]

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(2) As Bonet (1991) points out, some speakers exhibit a weaker version of the constraint, for they allow combinations of 1st and 2nd person ACC and DAT clitics. Consider the following examples of Spanish:

(i)	a.	*Te me* recomendaron		b.	**Me le* recomendaron
		2sgAcc 1sgD recommend-3plNom			1sgD 3sgAcc recommend-3plNom
		'They recommended you to me'			'They recommended me to him'

According to the examples in (1), the PCC in its weak version would be reformulated as follows:

(ii) *The Person-Case Constraint (weak version):* If DAT=3rd, then ACC(ABS)=3rd

In this article we deal mainly with the strong version of the constraint.

(3) For simplicity, throughout this article we will be using the traditional terminology A-argument to refer to subjects of transitive verbs, P-argument for direct objects of transitive verbs, and finally S-argument for the sole argument of unaccusative verbs. In addition, expressions in the text such as 'ergative A-agreement', 'absolutive A-agreement', 'absolutive P-agreement' and 'absolutive S-agreement' should be understood as abbreviations that stand for 'ergative affix that is cross-referenced with the A-argument', and so on.

(4) To make their interpretation easier, the relevant elements in the examples will be presented in italics throughout the article. We use the following abbreviations in the glosses: E=Ergative; A=Absolutive; A_E=Displaced Ergative; D=Dative; D_{ALLO}=Dative allomorph of an Allocutive; Nom=Nominative; Acc=Accusative; sg=singular; pl=Plural; masc=Masculine; fem=Feminine; Pres=Present; Pas=Past; Neg=Negation; Comp=Complementizer; imp=Imperative; cl=Clitic; refl=Reflexive; inh.cl=Inherent clitic; eth=Ethical-Dative; Aux=Auxiliary; io=Ditransitivizer affix.

(2) a. En Josep, *me* *'l* va recomanar la Mireia
The Josep, 1sgD 3sgAcc recommended(3Nom) the Mireia
'She (Mireia) recommended him (Josep) to me'
b. *A en Josep, *me* *li* va recomanar la Mireia
To the Josep, 1sgAcc 3sgD recommended(3Nom) the Mireia
'She (Mireia) recommended me to him (Josep)' (Bonet 1991)

(3) a. Azpisapoe-k etsaia-ri misilak saldu *d*-i-zki-*o*-te
Traitors-E enemy-D missiles-A sell 3A-Aux-plA-3sgD-3plE
'The traitors have sold missiles to the enemy'
b. *Azpisapoe-k ni etsaia-ri saldu *n*-(a)i-*o*-te
Traitors-E me-A enemy-the-D sell 1A-Aux-3D-3plE
'The traitors have sold me to the enemy'

In (2) and (3), examples (a) and (b) are ditransitive clauses that contrast in the person of the ACC (or ABS) agreement marker: while the sentences with 3rd person direct objects in (a) are fine, 1st person direct objects in (b) render their sentences ungrammatical.

Be it as accurate as it may, the generalization in (1) is simply a description of the data with no explanatory power whatsoever. Our aim in this article is precisely to take a step beyond the bare characterization of the data and to address some fundamental issues concerning the very nature of the constraint. The conclusions reached in the investigation will strongly favor a syntactic model of Inflectional Morphology, under which Inflectional Morphology is derived in the Syntax.

The present article is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the relevant corpus of data in Catalan and Basque, and at the same time deals with the question of the level of application of the PCC. The discussion in the section offers mixed results: on the one hand, the failure of strong pronouns to trigger the constraint, together with the lack of PCC-effects in infinitival clauses, neatly establishes that the phenomenon applies at the Morphological Component (hereafter MC); on the other, the existence of exceptions such as ethical-datives, inherent clitics, subjects of unaccusative verbs, etc., to the constraint reveals the sensitivity of the PCC to typically syntactic properties such as argumenthood or subjecthood.

Section 3 discusses the property of the 'uni-directionality' of the constraint: ACCs never impose restrictions on the person of the DAT. It is argued that such a property is determined by a *c-command* condition that governs the application of the PCC: the trigger of the constraint must c-command the target. This condition is formulated in our Generalized Person-Case Constraint (GPCC), which also covers other similar constraints attested in Southern Tiwa (ERG-DAT, ERG-ACC. Cf. note 6). The proposal relies on the assumption that morphosyntactic features are organized into hierarchical structures in the Morphology. We claim that hierarchical structures at the MC are derived in the Syntax, since it is shown that syntactic operations such as Move-α, which may reverse c-command relations at this level, may have an impact in the application of the PCC (i.e. unaccusative verbs in Standard Basque). The contingency of the c-command relations among agreement features in the Morphology on syntactic movements of arguments/adjuncts will also support our ad-

ditional conclusion that such agreement features are carried along by arguments/ adjuncts in the Syntax instead of by the traditional Agr functional heads.

Section 4 tackles the issue of the 'unmarkedness' of the PCC with respect to other (potential) constraints of the same sort: the PCC, unlike other constraints that are never or hardly ever found across languages, is a widespread (if not universal) condition.[5,6] The property is captured here by introducing *locality* as an additional morphological condition. We will define *locality* in terms of *minimal domains*, adapting Chomsky's (1993, 1995) definition of the latter notion. Thus, the unmarkedness of the PCC stems from the co-occurrence of DAT and ACC (ABS) agreement markers within a same minimal domain. This locality condition is introduced in our definition of the Person-Case Constraint (PCC), a particular instance of the GPCC. Our formulation of the PCC restricts the over-predicting power of the GPCC and limits the application of the constraint to exactly the cases found in Catalan and Basque. It is also argued that, unlike *c-command*, the *locality* condition is subject to parametric variation.

2. The Person-Case Constraint (PCC): morphology or syntax?

The first issue that comes to mind when considering the phenomenon of the PCC is that of its level of application. So far most analyses —Perlmutter 1974, Bonet 1991, 1994, Laka 1993a— on the topic have consistently agreed on the morphological character of the constraint; yet they have also been aware of the syntactic flavor of certain particular contrasts related to the application of the PCC. Our presentation in this section will be based on these authors' work to a large extent, adopting most of their arguments and adhering to their general conclusion above mentioned. Additional arguments will be added on our part in order to reinforce the observation that the PCC is sensitive to syntactic distinctions. The relevant corpus of data will be introduced progressively as we proceed with our argumentation in the section. Most data correspond to Catalan and Basque, although in general it is not difficult to build similar examples in other languages. Consider first the evidence for the morphological nature of the PCC.

(5) The constraint is known to be active in a heterogeneous group of languages that includes Arabic (Bonet 1991), Basque, Catalan, Chukchi, German, Georgian, Spanish, Southern Tiwa, Tzotzil, Warlbiri (Perlmutter 1971) and Yimas (Foley 1986) among others. For that reason, the PCC —or the weak version of the PCC, to be precise (cf. note 2)— is very likely a universal constraint. The universality of the constraint cannot be accepted without certain reservations, however. The Basque philologist Lafon (1944: 397) noticed the existence of more than a dozen of examples in Basque old literary works where the constraint is directly violated in any of its two versions: for instance, the offending auxiliary form *g-i-o-tza-Ø,* 1A-Aux-3D-plA-3E is attested by this author. The validity of these examples is nevertheless unclear, as pointed out by Laka (1993a), for Basque philologists still debate on whether these forms were literary creations or forms that ever existed in the language.

(6) Other combinatorial restrictions can be found, for instance, in Southern Tiwa. Besides the PCC, this Ergative language displays two additional constraints involving ERG agreement markers: See Rosen 1990 for examples of these constraints.

—ERG-ABS interaction: With a transitive verb, if the ERG marker is 3rd person, then the ABS cannot be 1st or 2nd person.

—ERG-DAT interaction: With a ditransitive verb, the ERG marker cannot be 3rd person.

The markedness of these restrictions is shown, just to mention one example, by Basque, another Ergative language which displays none of the two.

2.1. The PCC is a condition on X°-s

2.1.1. A well-known property of the PCC (Bonet 1991) is the fact that, for this constraint to hold, both the direct object and the indirect object have to be phonologically weak (that is, phonologically weak pronouns, clitics or agreement affixes). The following contrasts in Italian, (4), and Spanish, (5), illustrate this condition. Unlike the dative clitics *gli* and *le* in the (b) examples which activate the constraint, the phonologically strong pronouns *loro*[7] and *(a) él* in the (a) examples fail to do so. The Italian sentences are from Cardinaletti & Starke (1994: 17), while those of Spanish are mine based on similar examples from Bonet (1994):

(4) a. Gianni *mi* ha presentato *loro*
Gianni 1sgAcc has presented to-them
b. *Gianni *mi* *gli* ha presentato
1sgAcc 3sgD
'Gianni presented me to him'

(5) a. *A él me* recomendó Juan
To him 1sgAcc recommend-3sgNom Juan
b. *Juan *me* *le* (le me) recomendó
1sgAcc 3sgD (3sgD 1sgAcc)
'Juan recommended me to him'

This property strongly indicates that the PCC requires that both internal arguments be morphologically part of the same verbal complex.[8] This observation

(7) This is not to be confused with Cardinaletti & Starke's (1994) independent characterization of *loro* as a weak pronoun. This is so because these authors' characterization is not established solely on morpho-phonological grounds as opposed to ours, but relies heavily on syntactic arguments.

(8) At first glance, Tzotzil constitutes a potential counter example to this condition. Tzotzil is an Ergative language with two sets of person agreement affixes on the verb: one (set B) marks agreement with absolutives —namely objects of transitive verbs and subjects of unaccusative verbs; the other (set A) marks agreement with ergatives —that is, subjects of transitive verbs— and genitives. In ditransitive clauses (always suffixed with *-be)*, such a pattern is modified in that set B affixes must cross-reference the indirect object instead of the direct object, as shown in (i). The Tzotzil data presented next are from Aissen (1987):

(i) Meltzan -b- [o] *on* lek *i* *garafon-e*
fix io imp B1sg good the jug cl
'Fix the jugs carefully for me'

Crucially, ditransitive constructions of this type are only allowed in the language when the direct object is 3rd person. Compare the following two sentences: in (iia) a ditransitive verb takes the 1st person pronoun *vo7on* 'me' as its direct object; in (iib) *vo7on* 'me' is dropped and the sentence is interpreted then as taking a 3rd person direct object. Of these two, only (iib) is a grammatical sentence:

(ii) a. *7i- *y-* ak' -be *vo7on* li 7antzetik -e
Cp A3 give io me the women cl
'They gave me to the women'
b. 7i- *y-* ak' -be li 7antzetik -e
'They gave it to the women'

As shown in (ii), Tzotzil behaves in accordance with the PCC in spite of the phonologically strong nature of the pronominal element *vo7on* 'me', contradicting our observations regarding Spanish and Italian. Two different solutions come to mind: either we allow for the existence of some parametric variation as to the morphological or syntactic nature of the constraint, or we stick to our initial assumption —namely that both direct object and indirect object have to be morphologically specified on the verb— and extend it to the Tzotzil case. Because of

amounts to saying that the PCC is a morphological constraint rather than a restriction on the thematic representation of the sentence.

2.1.2. Indeed, the correctness of this conclusion is further bolstered up by the inertness of the constraint in non-finite clauses in languages such as Georgian and Basque, as noted by Bonet (1991) and Laka (1993a) respectively. In these two languages, finite and non-finite verbs differ (at least) as to the realization of agreement markers on the verb: unlike finite forms, non-finite verbs lack overt agreement marking. Crucially, in both languages such an absence of agreement marking is on a par with the cancellation of the PCC-effects. Compare the following sentence of Basque, which contains a nominalized non-finite subject clause, with that in (3b) above. Example (6) has been adapted from Laka (1993a):[9]

(6) Gaizki iruditzen zait [zu-k *ni etsaia-ri saltzea]*
wrong seem 3A-have-1D [you-E me-A enemy-the-D sell-Nominalizer]
'Your selling me to the enemy seems wrong to me'

The case of Basque and Georgian raises a very important issue that must be addressed here before we proceed any further. The relevant question is the following: Is the lack of overt agreement Morphology or on the contrary the lack of agreement Morphology altogether what blocks the application of the PCC in (6)? Some Chukchi data will help us deciding on this matter.

According to Comrie (1981: 185), in most tense-aspects Chukchi displays a two-way verbal agreement system that cross-references A- and P-arguments, leaving the DAT argument unmarked on the verb. This is true of all verbs in the language except for the verb *yəl-* 'give', which may agree with the DAT argument under certain conditions that have to do with the animacy hierarchy. Crucially, the effects of the PCC are visible in Chukchi only with the verb *yəl-* 'give'. Thus, the fact that this verb, and only this verb, exhibits the PCC is anything but accidental. The whole puzzle fits if we assume that the morphosyntactic specifications of the DAT are part of the verbal X°-unit just in the case of *yəl-* 'give', as demonstrated by the option of overt agreement with this argument. The non-application of the PCC with the rest of verbs follows directly then: the other verbal complexes lack DAT Morphology altogether. On the other hand, since the observance of the constraint with *yəl-* 'give' is obligatory regardless of the overt realization of agreement with the DAT argument, this indicates that it is the presence or absence of agreement Morphology on the verb at the Morphological Component, and not its overt phonological realization, what counts for the application of the PCC.[10]

The implications of our discussion on Chukchi are apparent for Basque and Georgian: as shown by the lack of PCC-effects in (6), non-finite verbs may bear no overt nor covert agreement morphology in these languages.[11]

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its generality, we take the latter to be the right approach. Under this analysis, we will claim that Tzotzil ditransitive verbs bear phonologically unrealized ABS agreement features that are subject to the PCC.

(9) See Bonet (1991: 189-191) for examples in Georgian.

(10) A similar point is made by Bonet (1991: 190) based on Georgian data. See also note 8 for our parallel treatment of the effects of the PCC in Tzotzil.

(11) This conclusion calls for a reconsideration of the old issue of the nature of null pronominals in Basque non-finite clauses (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Zabala 1995).

2.2. The PCC is more than a morphological constraint

The paradigm of examples presented so far hints at a purely morphological treatment of the PCC. Under such a view, it would simply be stipulated that particular combinations of DAT and ACC (or ABS) agreement markers are barred by some morphological principle of the sort of (1). In this section, a closer look at other cross-linguistic data will pull this initial impression apart and will suggest that on the contrary this restriction is, partially at least, of a syntactic nature. Thus, this section will show that the constraint is sensitive to the c-command relations established in the Syntax among agreement features.

The four arguments presented in this section fall under two different classes: they are either instances of 1st or 2nd person ACC (or ABS) that escape the PCC, or cases where the presence of a DAT morpheme fails to trigger the constraint.

2.2.1. Argumental vs. Non-Argumental agreement markers. Several authors (Perlmutter 1971 for Spanish and French, Bonet 1991 for Catalan, Laka 1993a for Spanish) have observed that 1st or 2nd person object clitics are not always incompatible with DAT clitics. Indeed, ethical-datives and inherent clitics block the effects of the PCC, as illustrated by the Catalan examples (7a) and (7b) respectively, borrowed from Bonet (1991: 179):

(7) a. *Me li* van dir que havia suspès l'examen
1-eth. 3-D said-3Nom that had-3Nom failed the exam
'They told him (on me) that he had failed the exam'
b. *Te li* vas declarar?
2-inh.cl. 3-D declared
'Did you declare your love to him/her?'

The grammaticality of the sequences *me li* / *te li* in (7a-b) contrasts with the ungrammaticality of the sentence yielded by these same strings when the 1st/2nd person clitic is a 'canonical' object (in (2b) above) or a true reflexive (in (8) below). Consider the following example of a true reflexive in Catalan found in Bonet (1991: 192):[12]

(8) ??A en Pere, *me li* vaig recomanar (jo mateix) ahir
To the Pere, 1st-refl 3rd-dat recommended (1self) yesterday
'I recommended myself to Pere yesterday'

The comparison between (7) and (8) clearly indicates that there is nothing intrinsically wrong with the sequence of clitics itself. Rather, the opposition has to do with the thematic, (2b) and (8), or non-thematic, (7a,b), status of *me* / *te*. Yet, one may argue that these clitic clusters are not morphologically equivalent and that finer morphological differences are ultimately responsible for such an asymmetry. In other

(12) According to Bonet, there is some variation among Catalan speakers as to their judgements on sentences with inherent clitics, (7b), and with true reflexives, (8a). To the best of my knowledge, the same is true with respect to the corresponding sentences in Spanish. Be that as it may, the existence of such a variation strengthens rather than weakens the point we are making in this section, insofar as it is the unclear syntactic status of reflexives (especially in the case of inherent clitics), as opposed to their well-defined morphological characterization, that is responsible for such a variation.

words, inherent clitics and ethical-datives could be treated as encoding a [Dative] morphological Case feature, as opposed to 'canonical' objects and true reflexives, which would have an [Accusative] specification. Under this solution, only the latter would eventually conform to the DAT-ACC combination ruled out by the PCC.

However, a morphological explanation of the asymmetry along these lines is neither empirically adequate nor theoretically costless. Datawise, clusters of two argumental DAT clitics obey the PCC in French, as noted by Bonet (1991: 196). Such combinations may be found in this language in causative constructions in which the embedded verb subcategorizes for a DAT argument, like for instance *téléphoner*:

(9) *Cette nouvelle *nous lui* a fait téléphoner
This news 1plD 3D has made telephone
'This news made us phone him/her'

As for its theoretical burden, under such an approach the tight correlation existing between the argumenthood of the clitics and their abiding by the PCC becomes accidental. In general, chance correlations found in a particular language are very likely not to be repeated in others. Therefore, it comes as quite a surprise that Basque displays a similar correspondence to that in Catalan. Let us turn now to the Basque case.

In addition to ergative, absolutive and dative agreement markers, inflected verbs in Basque may bear a fourth agreement affix called 'allocutive' marker (ALLO) that refers to the addressee of the speech situation. 'Allocutive' agreement is always 2nd person (masculine or feminine) in Basque. Morphologically, there is no specific set of affixes in the language for the expression of allocutivity, but they are realized by means of either ERG affixes or most generally DAT affixes.[13] Example (10a) below presents a normal transitive sentence in Basque with the inflected transitive auxiliary agreeing with its subject and object; example (10b), on the other hand, introduces the same transitive sentence with the additional ALLO marker on the verb, this being marked by the dative affix *-k-*:

(10) a. Peruk ni kalean ikusi *n*-au-Ø
Peru-E I-A street-the-in see 1sgA-Aux-3sgE(Pres)
Peru has seen me in the street'
b. Peruk ni kalean ikusi *n*-ai-*k*-Ø
1sgA-Aux-2D$_{ALLO}$ (masc)-3sgE(Pres)
'Peru has seen me in the street (male addressee)'

In (2b), it was shown that in this language DAT agreement markers are incompatible with 1st and 2nd person ABS. Crucially, the same combination does not fall under the PCC when the dative is an ALLO marker *-k-*. Again, the asymmetric pattern of allocutives and 'true' datives adheres to the syntactic distinction between thematic and non-thematic clitics observed above. More importantly yet, unlike

(13) The sets of ERG and DAT markers are both the same in Basque with the only exception of 3rd person singular affixes. Despite this isomorphism, the dative character of *-k-* in (10b) is revealed indirectly by the presence of a pre-dative infix *-(k)i-* that surfaces attached to the verb stem only in the environment of a DAT marker. To illustrate this, compare the form *nau* in (10a) with *na-i-k* in (10b). Other occurrences of such a pre-dative infix can also be found in examples (3) and (11) in the text.

Catalan inherent clitics and ethical-datives, the Basque paradigm leaves no room for invoking differences regarding the morphological Case of the agreement markers involved, putting this alternative to rest.[14]

2.2.2. Subjecthood and PCC. Additional evidence for the necessity of a (partially) syntactic account comes from the behavior of 'displaced ergatives' (EDs) in Basque in relation to the constraint. In this language, ERG subjects are generally cross-referenced by a set of ERG affixes, which appear on the right edge of inflected verbal forms, such as *-zu* in (11a); however, in very particular morphological environments, the same agreement relation is marked by ABS affixes, not ERG affixes, which are placed on the opposite edge of the verb, such as *z-* in (11b). Because of this ordering alternation, the phenomenon is known as 'Ergative Displacement' (Laka 1993a) in the generative literature on the topic. This change only affects verbal case marking, and not nominal case marking. The sentences below illustrate this alternation. Example (12) with an unaccusative verb is introduced to show that the preffix *z-* in (11b) is in fact an ABS marker:

(11) a. Zuk Anderri kontzerturako sarrera bat oparitu d-i-o-*zu*
You-Esg Ander-D concert-the-for ticket one present with 3sgA-Aux-3sgD-2sgE(Pres)
'You have presented Ander with a concert ticket'

b. Zuk Anderri kontzerturako sarrera bat oparitu *z*-eni-*o*-n
$2sgA_E$-Aux-3sgD-Past
'You presented Ander with a concert ticket'

(12) Zu berandu iritsi *z*-ara bilerara
You-Asg late arrive 2Asg-Aux meeting-the-to
'You have arrived late to the meeting'

The relevant example is (11b). Crucially, the ED is not targeted by the PCC in the context of a DAT marker, despite its morphological realization as ABS. Again, Morphology and PCC do not go hand in hand.

A purely morphological solution to the problem is still feasible, however, under models that embrace rule-ordering —as for instance Halle & Marantz's (1993a, b) Distributed Morphology theory. Under such approaches, the asymmetry would follow if we would assume that the PCC takes precedence over a rule changing the underlying [Ergative] specification of the displaced ergative into [Absolutive]. (See Albizu (1995), Bonet (1991) and Eguren (1995) for a treatment of Ergative Displacement along these lines). The pattern of ABS subjects of unaccusative verbs in this language indicates that, albeit technically correct, such an analysis is not a very illuminating solution, however. Let us consider these data.

(14) Basque allocutives behave the same as inherent clitics and ethical-datives in Catalan in that they do not violate the constraint when combined with another DAT agreement marker, as shown below:

(i) Pellok Mireni gezurra esan z-i-*o*-*k*-Ø
Pello-E Miren-D lie-A tell 3sgA-Aux-3sgD-$2D_{ALLO}$/masc-3sgE
'Pello has told Miren a lie (male addressee)'

Since Basque is an Ergative language, both objects of transitive verbs (P-arguments) and subjects of unaccusative verbs (S-arguments) are underlyingly specified the same with respect to Case —and so are the affixes they agree with. Indeed, the two are always cross-referenced by ABS affixes. Accordingly, any strictly morphological treatment of the PCC, including the 'rule-ordering' type of analysis sketched above, would predict a uniform pattern for the two with respect to the constraint. Contrary to expectations, the language discriminates the two by allowing 1st and 2nd person ABS agreement markers to co-occur with (argumental) DAT agreement only in the case of S-arguments.[15,16] Compare the examples (13) and (3b), the latter being repeated here as (14) for convenience:

(15) This is not so in some varieties of Biscayan Basque (Elordui 1995, Elordieta p.c.), where both P-agreement and S-agreement —namely agreement markers cross-referencing P- and S-arguments— comply with the constraint. In such varieties, intransitive verbs display the usual ABS-DAT agreement pattern only when S-agreement is 3rd person; when the ABS marker is 1st or 2nd person a repair-strategy is used to avoid the PCC whereby the dative argument takes an oblique form and its agreement marker is dropped from the verb. This contrast is illustrated in (i)-(ii). Example (iib) has been taken from Elordui (1995: 168):

(i) a. Pello Mireni juntau *j*-ak-*o*
Pello-A Miren-D approach 3sgA-Aux-3sgD
'Pello approached to Miren'

(ii) a. *Juntau *n*-intza-*ke*-n
Approach 1sgA-Aux-3plD-Pas
b. Juntau *n*-intze-n beraiengana
1sgA-Aux-Pas them-to
'I approached to them'

The same paradigm as in these Biscayan varieties of Basque is also found in other Ergative systems such as Southern Tiwa. We refer the reader to Bonet (1991) and Rosen (1990) for examples and details on the agreement marking system of the latter.

(16) In fact, the picture is not as clear as it might look at first sight. For most of the speakers we have consulted with, grammaticality judgements with respect to intransitive predicates vary with the lexical verb chosen. Thus, the combination DAT-ABS yields highly degraded sentences with verbs like *gustatu* 'to like' and *iruditu* 'to look', as illustrated in (ib) and (iib) respectively (cf. (13) in the text):

(i) a. Pello Mireni baldarra iruditu *z*-ai-*o*
Pello-A Miren-D clumsy look-like 3sgA-Aux-3sgD
'Pello looked clumsy to Miren'
b. */??Ni Mireni baldarra iruditu *n*-atzai-*o*
I-A 1sgA-Aux-3sgD
'I looked clumsy to Miren'

(ii) a. Mireni gozokiak gustatzen *z*-ai-zki-*o*
Miren-D candies-A like 3A-Aux-Apl-3sgD
'Miren likes candies'

b. */??Ni Mireni gustatzen *n*-atzai-*o*
I-A Miren-D like 1A-Aux-3sgD
'Miren likes me'

At this point we have no coherent explanation for the asymmetry. We will simply note that such a contrast overlaps with another asymmetry observed by Elordui (1995) in Western Biscayan Basque regarding the optionality of dative arguments —and of DAT agreement— with these verbs. Interestingly enough, in this variety, while dative arguments (and DAT agreement) may optionally be dropped with movement verbs such as *hurbildu* 'to approach' (in (13) in the text), they are obligatory with *gustatu* 'to like' and *iruditu* 'to look'.

As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the above contrasts may have to do with the nature of the thematic role (Goal vs. Experiencer) assigned to the dative argument in each case. The distinction Goal vs. Experiencer has already been held responsible for similar phenomena in other languages, as for instance the optionality of Clitic Doubling in Spanish:

(iii) a. *(Le)* di el libro a Juan
3sgD give-1sgNom-Past the book to Juan
'I gave the book to Juan'

b. **(Le)* gustó el libro a Juan
3sgD like-3sgNom-Past the book to Juan
'Juan liked the book'

(13) Ni Peruri hurbildu *n*-atzai-*o*
I-A Peru-D approach 1sgA-Aux-3sgD(Pres)
'I approached to Peru'

(14) *Azpisapoe-k ni etsaia-ri saldu *n*-(a)i-*o*-te
Traitors-E me-A enemy-the-D sell 1A-Aux-3D-3plE
'The traitors have sold me to the enemy'

The grammaticality of (13) groups S-arguments together with EDs (in (11b)), yet the 'rule-ordering' account only holds for the latter. Hence, an independent solution would have to be devised for the unexpected pattern of (13). A syntactic approach, on the contrary, clears the path for a uniform analysis, for it may exploit the fact that the two (i.e. ABS S-arguments and ABS A-arguments) share the property of being (surface) subjects, in contrast to ABS P-arguments which are objects.[17] In fact, the resort to the opposition between subjects and objects uncovers a deeper and more general source of asymmetries regarding the PCC: this is the structural relation of c-command. Subjects and objects differ in that the two enter into distinct c-command relations with datives: while subjects c-command indirect objects, direct objects are c-commanded by indirect objects.[18] Under this alternative, c-command of ABS (ACC) by DAT becomes a pre-requisite for the application of the PCC. The asymmetries earlier ascribed to the argumenthood of clitics and/or agreement affixes (in section 2.2.1) will also be re-stated in these terms in section 3, where the proposal will be presented in more detail.

The solution we are putting forward here, under which syntactic asymmetries (i.e. distinct c-command relations of subjects and objects with respect to indirect objects, etc.) are allowed to have an impact on the application of the morphological process of the PCC, calls for a non-lexicalist view of inflectional Morphology under which the internal structure of inflected X° elements has to be created in and determined by the Syntax.

2.2.3. Linear ordering and PCC. Some unexpected paradigms in Greek and Swiss German may also come in support of our proposal here. Bonet (1991: 188, fn. 12), who credits Iatridou and Leder respectively for bringing these data to her attention, points out that in these two languages the violability of the PCC is sensitive to the linear order of ACC and DAT agreement markers. Let us illustrate this case with the Swiss German data, from Bonet (1991).

(17) Bonet (1994: 38) hints at this alternative but leaves the option unexplored.

(18) The syntactic configuration of direct and indirect objects relative to each other is yet controversial in the current linguistic theory, even though in recent years a good deal of evidence has been presented in favor of the position assumed in the text. See Bobaljik (1995) and references therein. We would like to mention three arguments among those put forth by Bobaljik (1995): first, the phenomenon of VP-fronting in German; second, the fixed order of DO and IO relative to each other in Dutch; and third, the minimality effects triggered by in situ IOs on the overt movement of DOs in Icelandic and Swedish. We could also extend the list with a series of arguments of our own: first, the unmarked order of constituents and some superiority effects in Basque (cf. also Ortiz de Urbina 1989); second, the pattern of verbal agreement in Basque Gapping constructions; and third, some conditions on ACC clitization in Spanish, which are sensitive to the presence or absence of a DAT clitic (cf. Franco 1993, Franco & Landa 1995). We are ignoring all the evidence from English Double Object Constructions, for they have been used to argue in either direction.

Swiss German has ACC and DAT weak pronouns, so the combination of the two is predicted to abide by the constraint. The effects of the PCC are indeed manifested in the language, but only as a restriction against a particular linear order of such weak pronouns, not as an absolute prohibition against particular combinations. Thus, while the linear order is free when the ACC weak pronoun is 3rd person (as shown in (15)), only the ordering ACC-DAT is possible when the 3rd person pronoun is the DAT (as illustrated by the contrast in (16a-b)):[19]

(15) D'Maria zeigt en mir / mir en
The Maria shows him to-me / to-me him
'Maria shows him to me'

(16) a. D'Maria zeigt mi em
The Maria shows me to-him

b. *D'Maria zeigt em mich
The Maria shows to-him me
'Maria shows me to him'

Under a morphological approach, the contrast in (15)-(16) leaves no options but adding 'linear order' to the cluster of conditions that govern the application of the PCC. This seems a very unlikely solution for several reasons. First of all, the universality of the constraint collides with the high degree of cross-linguistic variation with respect to the ordering of agreement markers: in Catalan, for instance, the ordering ACC-DAT (i.e. the sequence **me li* 'me to him' in (2b)) yields ungrammaticality, unlike in Swiss German. Second, its explanatory power is hardly restricted to the contrasts in Modern Greek and Swiss German, and does not extend to the other asymmetries presented so far. Finally, a defining property of current generative theory is its disdain to the role of 'linear order' in the account for linguistic processes and its reinterpretation in terms of structural relations. This is certainly true of generative Syntax, where this notion has been substituted altogether for that of (asymmetric) c-command (Kayne 1994, Chomsky 1994), and to a certain extent this is also valid for generative Morphology. If we reinterpret the Swiss German data in terms of c-command (i.e. the first weak pronoun in the sequence c-commands the second weak pronoun) the advantages of such a development are apparent. Under this new interpretation, the contrast in (16) comes down to the fact that only in (16b) does the dative weak pronoun c-command the accusative one. Crucially, this characterization of the PCC parallels the one we have argued for in section 2.2.3 above. Accordingly, c-command, besides being a well motivated principle in the theory, will give us a consistent and uniform analysis for the variety of data presented throughout this section.

With this proposal, we do not intend to establish an absolute correlation between linear order and c-command relation among agreement markers. Such a

(19) That this asymmetry has to do with the PCC is corroborated by the fact that, like in the Italian examples in (4), the presence of at least one strong pronoun cancels the restriction, allowing the otherwise ungrammatical ordering DAT-ACC. This is shown in (i) below, where the strong pronoun is *miich* 'me':

(i) D'Maria zeigt *em miich*
The Maria shows to-him me
'Maria shows me to him'

position is clearly untenable in the light of some of the data already presented in the article. Just to mention one case, in Catalan (see example (2b) in the text) the ACC clitic may linearly precede and still be c-commanded by the DAT clitic, as shown by its compliance with the PCC. Mismatches of this sort originate from the fact that the mapping between morphosyntactic structure —the relevant one for the PCC— and linearization is not direct but mediated by the late process of Vocabulary Insertion (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993a, b). In other words, linear orderings predicted by c-command relations may be overriden in the mapping between Morphology and Phonology, namely in the process of Vocabulary Insertion, in order to satisfy either language-particular morphological conditions on outputs —i.e., morphological templates— or morphophonological requirements of Vocabulary items themselves. In Catalan, for instance, the sequencing of clitics is rigidly determined by a templatic condition that always requires 1st and 2nd person clitics to precede 3rd person clitics, regardless of their syntactic function. See examples (2b), (7) and (8) in Catalan.

To summarize, two different generalizations regarding the PCC emerge from our discussion in this section: i. the constraint is only active at the X°-level (that is, at the MC), requiring for its application the clustering of ACC (or ABS) and DAT person-case specifications within the same verbal unit; ii. morphosyntactic features forming the verbal complex are hierarchically organized in ways that parallel syntactic structures.

3. The univocity of person-case constraints: C-Command in Morphology

So far in this article we have noted the existence of person interactions between the following pairs of agreement markers: DATs and ACCs (ABSs), ERGs and ABSs, and ERGs and DATs (see note 6 for the last two). Assuming some kind of person hierarchy whereby 3rd persons are morphologically less 'specified' than 1st or 2nd persons (see section 3.4 for a revision of the notion of 'specification'), the three instances have in common that they all require that the first element of the pair be more specified for this feature than, or as equally specified for this feature as, the second element. Intriguingly, to the best of my knowledge no language ever reverses the direction of the requirement for these pairs: for instance, the constraint *ACC (ABS)* → *DAT 3rd* that mirrors the PCC is unattested across languages. This fact reveals a deeper property shared by all person-case constraints, which is their univocity or uni-directionality.

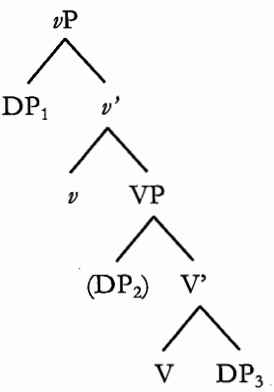
The present section argues for the relevance of c-command relations in Morphology. Thus, it will be claimed that the uni-directionality of the PCC (and similar constraints) stems from a c-command condition on the relation between trigger and target of the constraint(s). In addition, this section will develop our earlier claim that the organization of agreement markers at the MC hierarchical structures (and therefore their c-command relations) is defined in the Syntax. The analysis will be proven correct by its empirical adequacy throughout the section.

Before we proceed with the analysis, let me first outline some basic aspects of the syntactic theory adopted in this article.

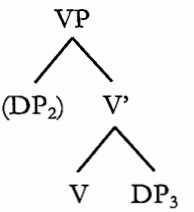
3.1. The syntactic representation of (di)transitive and unaccusative predicates

In Chomsky's (1995) version of the Minimalist Program, (di)transitive and unaccusative predicates are represented as follows:[20]

(17) a. (Di)transitive predicates:



b. Unaccusative predicates:



(Di)transitive and unaccusative predicates differ as to whether or not they project a light verb *v*: of these two, only (di)transitives do so. When projected (as in (17a)), this light verb *v* subcategorizes for a DP_1 (i.e. the external argument) in the specifier of its maximal projection and for a VP in the complement position; the lowest V, in its turn, is always projected (as in (17a,b)) and, like *v*, may subcategorize for two arguments: the indirect object (DP_2) in Spec-VP, and the (underlying) direct object (DP_3) as a complement.

Under the Minimalist Program, arguments need to check their Φ-features with the verb for the derivation to converge. Checking can only take place if arguments enter into a Spec-Head relation with the verb. In the initial version of the program (cf. Chomsky 1993) Φ-features were checked through Agreement Projections, but under the new formulation Chomsky gets rid of them, checking now taking place in any Spec-Head configuration without the mediative role of Agr. In this article we will stick to Chomsky's latter position, for our discussion in sections in 3.2 and 3.4 will provide empirical support to the elimination of Agreement Projections from syntactic representations.

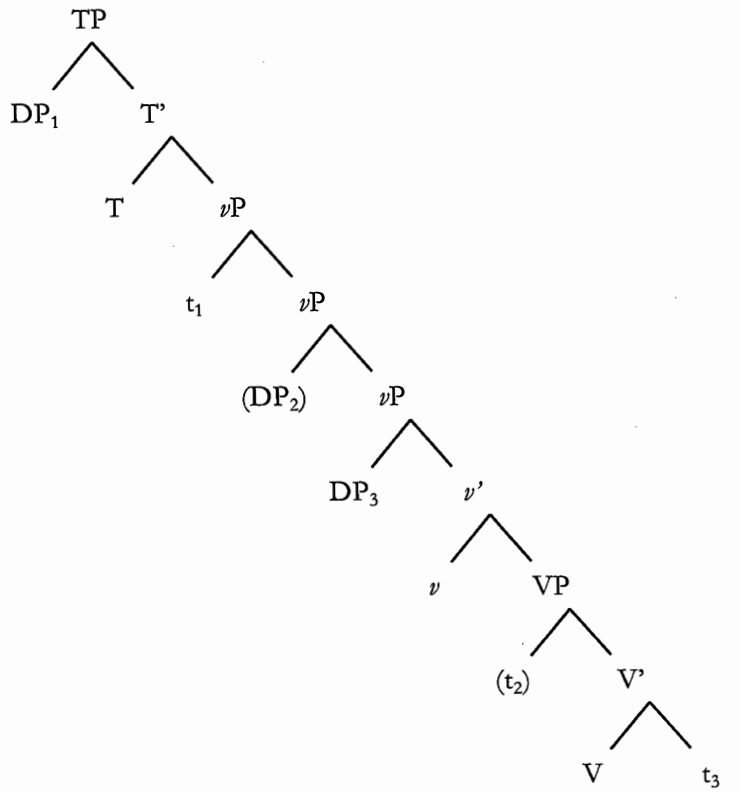
Some arguments —namely DP_1 and DP_2 in (16a), and DP_2 in (17b)— meet the Spec-Head relation with the verb already in their underlying position, so any further movement for Case considerations should at first be barred by economy. At this point we will follow Chomsky in assuming that there is some sort of complementarity between θ-assignment and checking of Φ-features. By this assumption,

(20) We take the idea that unergatives are transitive verbs for granted.

arguments cannot receive its θ-role and check its Φ-features in the same position, forcing arguments to move in order to satisfy the checking requirement.[21,22]

The Case Theory adopted in this article takes, with little modifications, after that in Laka (1993b). Under this proposal, Nominative and Ergative Case systems have two Case-assigners (or Case-checkers, in the spirit of the Minimalist Program): first, Tense (T) assigns NOM and ERG Cases; second, the verb (which we take to be either *v* or V depending on the type of predicate: *v* for (di)transitives, V for unaccusatives) assigns ACC and ABS Cases (but see Murasugi this volume). With the elimination of AgrPs it is reasonable to assume that the DAT case is assigned by the verb (*v* or V) as well. The representation of (di)transitive clauses, where the two assigners are activated, is the same in both Case systems. This is illustrated in (18) next:

(18) (Di)transitive clauses in NOM and ERG Case systems:[23]



(21) The motivation for such a complementarity is far from clear. J. Nunes (in a seminar taught at USC, Fall 1995) suggests that this property could follow from the fact that Case is a formal feature while θ-roles are not.

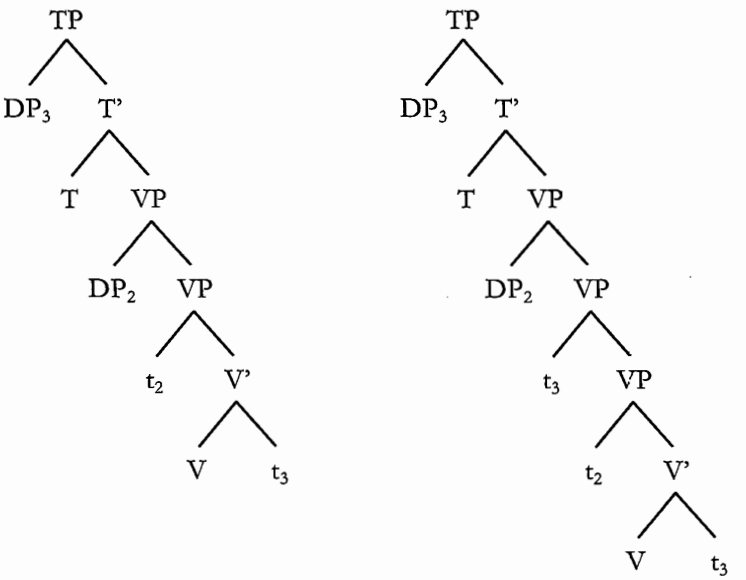
(22) We maintain the notion of 'checking' just for the sake of the presentation of Chomsky's model. For reasons that will become clear later (see discussion in section 3.2), this morphosyntactic operation will be banished from our system and will be substituted for that of 'copying'.

(23) Recall our remarks in note 18 on the assumed hierarchical relation between direct and indirect objects.

In (18), the external argument DP_1, that is base-generated in the specifier of *v*P, moves to Spec-TP where it receives NOM or ERG case; on their part, DP_2 and DP_3 raise from VP to Spec-*v*P to receive their Case-features.[24]

The conflict between Nominative and Ergative Case systems —i.e. the so-called Obligatory Case-Parameter— arises with unaccusative predicates, which, ignoring DAT, only require one Case-assigner. As Laka correctly notes, in this system the asymmetry comes down to the choice of Case-assigner: Nominative systems activate T, whereas Ergative systems activate V. Accordingly, the S-argument (DP_3) will behave in a different way in the two systems, raising to Spec-TP and to Spec-VP respectively. DAT case is consistently assigned in Spec-VP. Compare the two representations in (19):

(19) a. NOM system: b. ERG system:



As represented in (19b), in Ergative languages the S-argument does not stop at Spec-VP but undergoes an additional movement to Spec-TP in order to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). This latter step is independently justified by the parallel behavior of A-arguments and S-arguments with respect to Control in ERG languages such as Inuit and Basque. Since the ability to be controlled is linked to the position of Spec-TP, then the representation in (19b) follows.[25] This is illustrated with examples from Basque:

(24) Multiple specifiers are allowed under this system.

(25) Zabala (1995) notices that not all intransitive verbs in Basque allow their subjects to be controlled by an argument external to the clause. This is shown in (i) with the verb *erori* 'to fall':

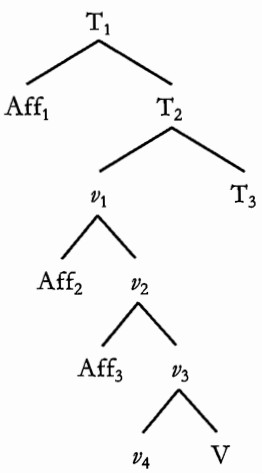
(i) *Haurrari$_i$ ahaztu zaio [e$_i$ Mireni erortzea]
child-D forget 3A-Aux-3D [e$_i$ Miren-D fall-NOM]
*'The child forgot to fall from Miren's arms'

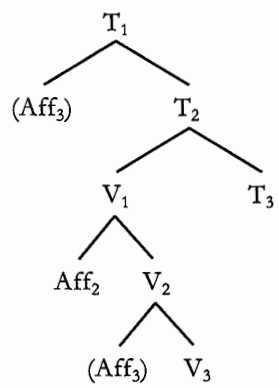
(20) a. Nik$_i$ ez dakit [pro$_{i,*j}$ zure etxera joaten]
I-E no 3sgA-know-1sgE [your house-to go-Nominalizer]
'I do not know how to go to your house'
b. Nik$_i$ ez dakit [pro$_{i,*j}$ arraina prestatzen]
[fish-A prepare-Nominalizer]
'I do not know how to cook fish'

3.2. The morphological representation of inflected (di)transitive and unaccusative verbs

Suppose now, as it was initially suggested in section 2.2, that morphosyntactic features are hierarchically organized at the MC and that the internal structure of inflectional verbs parallels the overall structure in the overt Syntax. Given the syntactic theory adopted so far, the morphosyntactic representation of inflectional verbs will look like (21):

(21) a. (Di)transitive verbs: b. Unaccusative verbs:





In parallel to the syntactic representation in (18), the morphological structure for (di)transitive verbs in (21a) holds the same for Nominative and Ergative systems:

On the basis of instances like (i), this author concludes that subject raising to Spec-TP is a property of just the subclass of intransitive verbs that abide by control. This is not a necessary conclusion, however. Absence of control is also found with certain transitive stative verbs such as *pisatu* 'to weigh', where no doubt the subject is in Spec-TP. This is illustrated in (ii):

(ii) *Umeari$_i$ ahaztu zaio [e$_i$ hogei kilo pisatzea]
child-D forget 3A-Aux-3D [e$_i$ twenty kilo weigh-Nominalizer]
*'The child forgot to weigh twenty kilos'

Based on (ii), we will postulate that the correspondence between control and raising to Spec-TP is not as strict as assumed by Zabala. This is so because, whereas every instance of control requires raising of the subject to Spec-TP, not every subject in Spec-TP is a potential target for control. In other words, we will argue here that the ungrammaticality of (i) has nothing to do with the surface syntactic position of its S-argument, but with whatever the source of the ungrammaticality of (ii) is. Hence, we will treat all S-arguments as uniformly raising to Spec-TP.

ERG/NOM will fill in for Aff_1, DAT for Aff_2, and ACC/ABS for Aff_3. On the other hand, the final morphological representation for unaccusative verbs in (21b) will vary with the type of Case system, this being derived either from the syntactic structure in (19a) or from that in (19b). Thus, in Nominative systems NOM will always take the place of the higher Aff_3, while in Ergative systems ABS will fill in for either Aff_3.

Notice that the double option for unaccusative verbs in the Ergative systems is theoretically possible only if agreement features are analyzed as being carried along by arguments in the Syntax, instead of as being heads of their own AgrP maximal projections like in Chomsky's (1993) previous system. Under the "old" model Agr heads occupied a fixed hierarchical order that could not be altered in the Syntax because it would induce a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984). Our approach, on the other hand, circumvents the problem as arguments may skip one another quite freely. Therefore, if correct, our proposal in the article will provide independent morphological evidence in favor of the elimination of AgrPs from the syntactic analysis. See also section 3.4.

By the same token, the system we are aiming at is also hardly compatible with the syntactic operation of 'checking'. To be meaningful, the notion of 'checking' conveys a conception of Morphology under which morphosyntactic features are rigidly organized (either structured or not) within the verbal complex. However, the data presented in this article call for a more dynamic view of the internal organization of verbal units. For that reason, in this article we will postulate that verbs are deprieved of all Φ-features except Case in the Lexicon and that the incorporation of the latter to the verbal unit is obtained by means of a 'copy' operation from arguments and/or adjuncts. Such a 'copy' operation will take place in the mapping between Syntax and Morphology.

Very roughly, we conceive 'copy' as a morphosyntactic operation with two different aspects: first, for any syntactic argument and/or adjunct α (=XP), 'copy' creates a partly identical morphosyntactic element β° of the X°-level;[26] second, this same operation adjoins the created element β° to the head H° with which the argument and/or adjunct (=XP) is 'paired' in the overt syntax. 'Copy' typically takes place from Case-positions, although other options are also possible (cf. sections 2.4 and 3.3).[27,28]

(26) The morphosyntactic specifications of α are not copied onto β in an unrestricted way, but only those specifications and structure that are relevant are kept. To restrict the set of features transferred in the process of agreement, we could make use of Barbier's notion of PROJECTION SYSTEM (cf. Bahloul & Harbert 1992). This author's system was initially developed as a refinement of Chomsky's checking theory with the aim of making the structural conditions required for checking more precise. The reason underlying such a revision is that Barbier worried, like we do now, that, given a Spec-Head configuration between a maximal projection XP and a head H, there is an asymmetric pattern between the specifier of XP and the complement of XP regarding their agreement (either as checking or as copy) with the head H. For instance, whereas an inflected verb may check or be copied the feature Num, which is the head of the complement of DP, the same is not possible with the head of the specifier of DP.

Very briefly, Barbier develops a formal system which defines, within any maximal projection XP, a syntactic domain D which includes only the head X of XP and the heads of the successive complements (i.e., the head Y of the complement of X, the head Z of the complement of Y, and so on). As a result, the system will exclude all specifiers from the syntactic domain D.

(27) In languages such as English where Case is checked at LF, the resulting morphological structures will logically differ in the details, as the incorporation of the morphosyntactic features of arguments to the verb will take place from a different position, namely from the position in which they were generated in the base.

(28) To the best of my knowledge, scrambling never licenses the application of 'copy' from those positions. It remains for the future the study of the conditions that govern the application of this copy operation.

3.3. C-command relations at the Morphological Component

With all this in mind, let us return now to the characterization of the PCC and of the other restrictions. As we anticipated at the beginning of the section, c-command plays a crucial role in the account of the univocity of these constraints.

This article adopts a recent definition of *c-command* by Epstein (1995), who reformulates Reinhart's (1979) representational definition of the concept in minimalist terms. This author's proposal takes advantage of the derivational notion of *Pair* (that is, Merge or Move), an operation that takes two syntactic objects α and β and creates a new object $K=\{\gamma,\{\alpha,\beta\}\}$ or $K=\{\underline{<\alpha,\alpha>},\{\alpha,\beta\}\}$ —depending on whether K is formed by 'substitution' or adjunction, respectively. The two syntactic objects α and β paired to form a new object L are said to be *terms* of L, L itself also being a *term*. This notion of *term* (Chomsky 1994: 12) roughly corresponds to that of *constituent*, *category* or *syntactic tree*. The relation *to be a term of* is a transitive one, so if α and β are terms of L, and L is a term of K, then α and β are terms of K.

Epstein's (1995: 17) derivational definition of *C-Command* is stated as follows:

(22) Derivational C-Command:
X c-commands all and only the terms of the category Y with which X was Paired by Merge or by Move in the course of the derivation.

To illustrate this definition, consider the representation in (21a) above. The same exposition should hold with minimal modifications for the representation in (21b). The whole tree in (21a) corresponds to our term *5* in (23j) below. The structure is formed by succesive *Pairing* of the terms listed in (23a-i): pairing of V and v_4 in (23a) yields the new term $\{\underline{<v_3, v_4>},\{v_4, V\}\}$ in (23b); subsequent pairing of (23b) with the term Aff_3 in (23c) forms the object $\{\underline{<v_2,v_3>},\{1,Aff_3\}\}$ in (23d), and so on: (For simplification, some terms are substituted by numbers.)

(23)
a. v_4, V
b. $1=\{\underline{<v_3, v_4>},\{v_4,V\}\}$
c. Aff_3
d. $2=\{\underline{<v_2,v_3>},\{1,Aff_3\}\}$
e. Aff_2
f. $3=\{\underline{<v_1,v_2>},\{2, Aff_2\}\}$
g. T_3
h. $4=\{\underline{<T_2,T_3>},\{3, T_3\}\}$
i. Aff_1
j. $5=\{\underline{<T_1,T_2>}, \{4, Aff_1\}\}$

Based on (23), and according to the definition of c-command adopted here, the agreement affixes in (21a) establish the following c-command relations: Aff_1 c-commands the terms member of *4* (i.e. *3* and T_3) and the members of its members (i.e. the terms *2*, Aff_2, *1*, Aff_3, v_4 and V); Aff_2 c-commands the terms *2* and Aff_3, and the members of its members (i.e. *1*, v_4 and V), but not for instance Aff_1 or *T*; and finally, Aff_3 only c-commands the members of *1* (i.e., V, and v_4).

3.4. A preliminary account for the data: the Generalized Person-Case Constraint (GPCC)

Recall now the series of constraints listed earlier (section 3.1): DAT-ACC (ABS), ERG-ABS, and ERG-DAT. It was noted then that, with these Case combinations,

person restrictions only apply in one direction across languages, always requiring the second element of these pairs to be less specified for person than, or as equally specified for person as, the first element. In the light of (23), where ERG/NOM correspond to Aff_1, DAT to Aff_2, and ACC/ABS to Aff_3, it becomes apparent that the direction of these three constraints matches the direction of their c-command relations: DATs c-command ACCs (ABSs), ERGs c-command ABSs, and ERGs c-command DATs. Hence, the notion of 'c-command' must be incorporated to the definition of the three constraints. We would like to propose the following formulation of what we call the 'Generalized Person-Case Constraint':

(24) Generalized Person-Case Constraint (GPCC):
A Person-morphosyntactic feature P_1 must be less referential than, or as equally referential as, a Person-morphosyntactic feature P_2 that c-commands it at MC.

The GPCC derives the two constraints involving ERGs in Southern Tiwa (cf. note 6) in a natural way. Likewise, it also provides a straightforward account for the PCC-effects found with canonical objects (examples (2b), (3b)) and with true reflexive objects (example (8)), as well as for the total absence of PCC-effects with EDs in Basque (example (11b)). So far, only the pattern of unaccusative verbs in Standard Basque (example (13)), Basque allocutives (example (9b)), and Catalan ethical-datives and inherent clitics (examples (7a) and (7b), respectively) seem to escape to the predictive power of our condition. All such alleged "exceptional" cases will be discussed in detail in the following pages, but before that, let me introduce some clarificatory remarks on the constraint stated in (24).

Our formulation of the GPCC is partly inspired by Murasugi's (1994: 132) Feature Specification Constraint (FSC), which in its turn is defined as follows:

(25) Feature Specification Constraint
The features of a lower Agr must be less specified than, or as equally specified as, the features of a higher Agreement.

Despite certain similarities, our proposal differs from Murasugi's in several respects which are crucial for the correct analysis of the phenomenon at hand. First of all, our condition eliminates Agr from its formulation. This is not just an aesthetic move, but has both conceptual and empirical implications. Conceptually, in Murasugi's system agreement features are encoded within syntactic heads, namely Agr°, and therefore their hierarchical organization cannot be altered in the Syntax; under our proposal, on the contrary, agreement features are embodied within arguments and/or adjuncts and are later incorporated (copied) to the verb, therefore allowing for a larger degree of mobility of morphosyntactic features (see section 3.4.1). This conceptual difference has a reflect in the empirical coverage of both analyses. Indeed, since the hierarchical order of Agreement Projections is taken to be fixed across languages, Murasugi's analysis cannot account for the asymmetry between Standard Basque (see example (13)), on the one hand, and Western Biscayan Basque and Southern Tiwa (see note 15), on the other hand, regarding the effects of the PCC with unaccusative verbs.

Second, the elimination of Agr from our characterization of the GPCC conveys the substitution of the relation of 'dominance' implicit in Murasugi's definition by that of 'c-command'.

Finally, our system also provides, with the substitution of Murasugi's concept of 'specificity' for that of 'referentiality,' a deeper insight on the nature of person distinctions and, ultimately, on the motivations for the existence of a constraint such as the (G)PCC. Under Murasugi's system, the notion of 'degree of featural specification' is used simply as a notational device to express the Pronoun Hierarchy. Unfortunately, the use of such a notion masks the true dimension of the role played by structural conditions in the application of the constraint: why should the degree of featural specification be sensitive to dominance or c-command relations among agreement markers? In our proposal in (24), on the other hand, the crucial property underlying the Pronoun Hierarchy and the (G)PCC is that of 'referential uniqueness.' Very roughly, the notion of 'referential uniqueness' refers to the ability of a nominal element to unambiguously identify entities in the discourse. According to this definition, 3rd person pronouns are less referential than 1st and 2nd person pronouns. The contrast among pronouns is illustrated with examples in (26):

(26) a. Clinton$_i$ said [that he$_{i,k}$ would be the next president]
b. Clinton$_i$ said [that (you/I)$_{*i,j,*k}$ would be the next president] (You/I = j)

With 1st and 2nd person pronouns, as in (26b), the interpretation of pronouns is unambiguously fixed in the discourse as referring to speaker and hearer, respectively. In (26a), on the contrary, the interpretation of 3rd person pronouns ranges over the remaining individuals in the discourse, so it will be disambiguated by the context. As it stands, the notion of 'referential uniqueness' is closely related to and entails that of 'presuppositionality.' If correct, our account of the (G)PCC clearly reminds of the Binding Theory in two different aspects: first, the relevance of the notion of 'referentiality' and, second, its sensitivity to structural conditions.[29,30]

(29) In Albizu (in progress), it is argued that morphological and syntactic asymmetries displayed by 1st and 2nd person nominals on the one hand, and 3rd person nominals on the other stem from a basic structural difference among them. Thus, it is claimed that 1st and 2nd person nominals are structurally deficient in comparison to 3rd person nominals, for they do not project a maximal category Deictic Phrase (*d*) that is characteristic of the latter. Compare the structures in (ia-b), where Φ corresponds to the projection of the nominal features [person] and [number]: (We follow the notational conventions proposed in Chomsky 1994).

(i) a. 1st and 2nd person: b. 3rd person:

The functional head Deictic *d* is a quantifier-like element that ranges over the set denoted by Φ in (ib). The quantificational character of 3rd person nominals, as opposed to 1st and 2nd person ones, stems from the lower degree of referentiality of the [person] specification their Φ is endowed with.

In this work, it is also argued that their distinct pattern regarding the PCC and other constraints of the same sort is due to the interaction of the structural asymmetry in (i) with the Binding Theory. Details on this analysis are omitted for space limitations.

(30) There are additional dissimilarities between both approaches that have to do with the Case theories adopted by the two. See Murasugi (this volume).

Having made these clarifications, we turn now to fight all the apparent counter-examples cited above one by one.

3.4.1. Unaccusative verbs. Consider the alternating pattern regarding the PCC displayed by S-arguments in Ergative languages. The relevant contrast is repeated in (27)-(28) for convenience. Example (27), (=(13) in section 2.2.3), illustrates the case of Standard Basque, where the effects of the constraint are canceled with unaccusative verbs; example (28), (=(ii) in note 15), on the other hand, exemplifies the opposite pattern in Western Biscayan Basque, where the DAT marker is mandatorily dropped from the verb as a result of the PCC:

(27) Ni Peruri hurbildu *n*-atzai-*o*
I-A Peru-D approach 1sgA-Aux-3sgD(Pres)
'I approached to Peru'

(28) a. *Juntau *n*-intza-*ke*-n
Approach 1sgA-Aux-3plD-Pas
'I approached to them'

b. Juntau *n*-intze-n beraiengana
1sgA-Aux-Pas them-to

Suppose that the Φ-features of the S-argument incorporate (copy) to the verb from Spec-VP in all varieties of Basque as well as in Southern Tiwa. According to our formulation of the constraint in (24), the resulting morphological configuration will be filtered in by the GPCC in all cases except when the ABS affix is 1st or 2nd person, for the DAT affix c-commands the ABS affix at the MC. For such exceptional instances, Ergative languages will have to develop alternative strategies that will cover the gap. The above asymmetry between (27) and (28) comes down to the different repair-strategies available in the respective varieties of Basque: whereas speakers of Standard Basque may resort to a morphosyntactic mechanism to circumvent the GPCC, such an option is unavailable to speakers of Western Biscayan Basque.

Very crucially, the availability of a morphosyntactic repair-strategy in Ergative languages is predicted under our system. This is so because, given the Case Theory adopted in the article, the syntax of unaccusative predicates in those languages enables the formation of two alternative morphological structures, as opposed to that in Nominative languages:[31] besides from VP, copy of the Φ-features of the S-argument may also take place from Spec-TP, though only as a last resort. Such a solution is the one adopted by Standard Basque in (27), under which 1st and 2nd person ABS affixes now c-command DAT affixes at the MC in compliance with the GPCC. On the other hand, even if theoretically possible, this same alternative option is parametrically excluded by Western Biscayan Basque (and Southern Tiwa), so affix combinations like (28a) ultimately will show the effects of our condition,

(31) Our analysis also makes the right predictions for Nominative languages. Thus the proposal predicts that NOM S-agreement will never abide by the PCC, for it always c-commands DAT agreement. This is indeed the case in Spanish (and presumably in all Romance languages), as shown by (i):

(i) *Le* pareci-*ste* simpático a María
3sgD look-2sgNom nice to María
'You looked nice to María'

therefore yielding the ungrammaticality of the sentence. As it stands, the only repair-strategy available for Western Biscayan Basque (and for Southern Tiwa) is the one illustrated in (28b), namely the elimination of at least one of the conflicting agreement specifications.

3.4.2. Allocutives and Ethical-Datives. The analysis of non-argumental clitics (that is allocutives, ethical-datives and inherent clitics) is slightly more complex though. The pattern of inherent clitics does not follow from our preliminary definition of the GPCC, so their discussion will be postponed until section 4. Let us concentrate now on allocutives and ethical-datives. It was shown in section 2.2.1 that neither Basque allocutives (example (i) in note 14) nor Catalan ethical-datives (7a) obey the PCC. These examples are repeated in (29)-(30) respectively:

(29) Pellok Mireni gezurra esan z-i-*o*-*k*-Ø
Pello-E Miren-D lie-A tell 3sgA-Aux-3sgD-2D$_{ALLO}$/masc-3sgE
'Pello has told Miren a lie (male addressee)'

(30) *Me li* van dir que havia suspès l'examen
1-eth. 3-D said-3Nom that had-3Nom failed the exam
'They told him (on me) that he had failed the exam'

Similarly, the behavior of allocutives and ethical-datives with respect to the PCC follows from their particular syntax. Given the discursive character of these agreement markers, it is reasonable to assume that the two occcupy a very high position in the syntactic structure (and, accordingly, in the morphological structure as well), probably in the specifier position of or adjoined to some functional projection XP dominating TP. In effect, there is syntactic evidence that corroborates the correctness of such an assumption.

In his study on allocutivity in Basque, Oyharçabal (1993) observes that ALLO markers are excluded in the language from clauses whose complementizer position is filled in the Syntax,[32] such as for instance embedded declarative clauses, relative clauses, direct and indirect interrogative clauses, etc. Consider the following pair of examples (from Oyharçabal 1993: 24):

(31) a. Ez dinat nahi [gerta d-aki-o-*n*]
Neg 3sgA-Aux-1sgE-Allo(fem) want happen 3sgA-Aux-3sgD-Comp
b. *Ez dinat nahi [gerta d-aki-o-*na-n*]
happen 3sgA-Aux-3sgD-Allo(fem)-Comp
'I do not want it to happen to him'

The two sentences in (31) contrast with respect to the realization of the ALLO affix *-na-* on the inflected verb of the embedded subjunctive clause: in the former sentence, the ALLO affix is attached to the embedded verb; in the latter, it is not. In (31), only the example in (b) results in ungrammaticality. Notice that the presence

(32) This author notices that the restriction on allocutivity is very systematic in Souletin Basque; as for the other dialects, he notes that the conditions have been relaxed to some extent, although the generalization in the text still holds true for all dialects of Basque.

of an ALLO marker on the main verb does not render the sentence (31a) ungrammatical.

After providing conclusive evidence against a morphological treatment of the restriction —which we are not reviewing here—, Oyharçabal (1993) attributes such constraints on allocutivity to the fact that they are operators generated inside TP that have to move to C in the Syntax. Thus, according to this author, the occurrence of these agreement markers will be restricted to those constructions where C is empty and available to the allocutive operator. In Albizu (1992) a different approach to the phenomenon is taken whereby the restriction comes down to the fact that allocutives project a functional projection FP that intervenes between the complementizer and a maximal projection Mood Phrase selected by C,[33] thus blocking the selectional relation between the two. Be that as it may, the relevant conclusion shared by the two analyses is that allocutives in Basque are hierarchically higher than TP.

Additional evidence for a high syntactic position of 'discursive' agreement markers may come from the interaction of ethical-datives with the phenomenon of Control in Spanish. In this language, grammatical sentences containing an ethical-dative become ungrammatical when embedded in the complement position of an object-control verb, as illustrated by (32) and (33):[34]

(32) *Mi marido* me *fuma en el balcón*
My husband 1-eth. smoke in the balcony
'My husband smokes (on me) in the balcony'

(33) a. ??/*Le$_i$ hace/hago [PRO$_i$ fumar-*me* en el balcón]
3sgD make smoke 1-eth. in the balcony
'He/I makes/make him smoke (on me) in the balcony'
b. ??/*Le$_i$ permite/permito [PRO$_i$ fumar-*me* en el balcón]
3sgD make smoke 1-eth. in the balcony
'He/I allows/allow him to smoke (on me) in the balcony'

The ungrammaticality of the two examples in (33a,b) is clearly linked to the presence of the ethical-dative: first, the omission of the clitic turns the above sentences grammatical, and secondly argumental clitics are never ruled out in these same contexts. That the contrast between (32) and (33) has to do with Control is shown by the grammaticality of (34):

(33) In that paper the so-called Mood Phrase is argued to correspond to the value Realis/Irrealis. In Basque this maximal projection would be headed by the subordinator particles *-ela/-en* respectively, generally treated as complementizers in the generative literature on Basque.

(34) Unlike with object-control verbs, ethical-datives are fine in the infinitival complement clause of a subject-control verb such as *prometer* 'to promise':

(1) Juan$_i$ prometió [PRO$_i$ fumar*(me)* en el balcón]
Juan promise smoke 1.inh in the balcony
'Juan promised to smoke (on me) in the balcony'

At this point we have no explanation for this asymmetry.

(34) Le permite/permito [que pro *me* fume en la cocina]
3sgD make that 1-eth. smoke in the kitchen
'He/I allows/allow him to smoke (on me) in the kitchen'

In this article we will tentatively suggest that the Spanish data can be taken into account if ethical-datives are projected higher than the embedded subject PRO.[35] In that case, ethical-datives will come between the controller object and PRO, either blocking the raising of the null pronominal to the position of the object or triggering some violation of principle A of the Binding Theory —depending on the theory of Control adopted.[36]

Under these premises, namely that ALLO affixes in Basque and ethical-datives in Romance languages are projected at least as high as TP, the absence of PCC-effects in (29)-(30) above follows very naturally from their failure to be c-commanded by argumental DATs.

Yet, by the same token, the GPCC would predict for allocutives and ethical-datives the imposition of restrictions on the person of NOM/ERG or DAT agreement markers, as the former c-command the latter. The same issue arises with unaccusative verbs in Standard Basque (section 3.4.1), where ABS affixes should trigger restrictions on DAT affixes. Indeed, as it stands, the GPCC gives way to many constraints that are however non-existent across languages.

Summing up, two different results have been achieved in this section by virtue of introducing the notion of c-command: on the one hand, we have provided a principled account for the property of the univocity of the PCC and other similar constraints; on the other, we have introduced a first formal criterion to define the set of possible constraints on combinations of person-case agreement markers in natural languages. Based on this notion, we have formulated our Generalized Person-Case Constraint, which has allowed us to explain most of the data presented in section 2.2. Nevertheless, as it stands, the GPCC constitutes an overpowering condition that filters out many combinations attested in natural languages. The solution to this problem is presented next in the context of our discussion on the unmarkedness of the PCC.

4. The unmarkedness of the PCC: On the relevance of Locality conditions

No other constraint against particular combinations of agreement markers comes close to the PCC as to its generality across languages. In fact, there are many constraints which never take place, even if theoretically possible. Unless we acknowledge it as a chance coincidence, it is reasonable to suspect that there must be some property that, being unique to the relation between ACC (ABS) and DAT —or

(35) It remains to be determined if that position of ethical-clitics is created by Merge or by Move —in other words, if they are generated in that position in the base in that position or raised in the Syntax. I leave this question open.

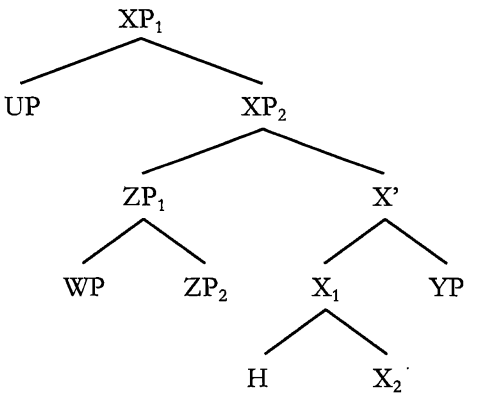
(36) We are not commiting ourselves to any particular theory of Control. The significance of this choice for our analysis will have to be considered in more detail in further studies.

between direct and indirect object for that matter—, is ultimately responsible for its degree of unmarkedness. This section will claim that the unmarkedness of the PCC derives from the locality of the relation between ACC (ABS) and DAT agreement markers. Locality will be defined in terms of 'inclusion in the same *Minimal Domain*' (Chomsky 1993 [1995], 1995).[37] The addition of such a locality condition to our definition of the GPCC will allow us to formulate the more restrictive constraint of the PCC, which will account for all the data (unwanted restrictions, inherent clitics) left unexplained in section 3.

4.1. Domains in Syntax

Chomsky (1993 [1995], 1995) introduces the X-bar-theoretic notion of *domain* and all its subsequent divisions (i.e. *complement domain*, *residue* and so on) with the aim of providing a formal characterization of the different X-bar relations (adjunction, specifier-head, head-complement) that may take place in an X-bar-structure like (35):

(35)



Since the relevant relations in Syntax never occur in larger structures than (35), the first task is to formally delimitate the boundaries of (35): the top edge is defined by the notion of *Max*; the bottom boundary is established by the notion of *minimal domain*, which restricts the broader definition of *domain*. Chomsky's (1993, 1995) definitions are presented in (37), for which he assumes the standard notion of *domination* in (36). We spare the reader the definitions of *complement domain*, *residue*, *checking domain* and *internal domain*, because, as we will argue in the next section, they play no role whatsoever at the X°-level:

(36) For the pair (σ,β), σ a segment,
a. The category α *dominates* β if every segment of α dominates β.
b. The category α *contains* β if some segment of α dominates β.
(Chomsky 1993: 11 [1995: 177])

(37) We thank Jairo Nunes for bringing this possibility to our attention.

(37) Where α is a feature or an X° category, and CH is the chain (α, t) or (the trivial chain) α,
   a. Max(α) is the smallest maximal projection including α.
   b. The *domain* δ(CH) of CH is the set of categories included in Max(α) that are distinct from and do not contain α or t.
   c. The *minimal domain* Min(δ(CH))) of CH is the smallest subset K of (CH) such that for any γ∈ δ(CH), some β∈ K reflexively dominates γ.

(The definitions of Max(α), δ(α)) and Min(δ(α)) have been taken from Chomsky 1995: 299, and those of Compl(δ(α)) and Res(α) from Chomsky 1993: 11 [Chomsky 1995: 177]).

Applying the definitions in (36) to the structure in (35), the following relations obtain: the two-segment category XP dominates ZP, WP, X', and whatever they dominate; XP contains UP and whatever UP and XP dominate; ZP contains WP but does not dominate it; and finally, the two-segment category X contains H but does not dominate it.

Taking now the definitions in (37) into consideration, the structure in (35) is decomposed as follows: to begin with, Max is equal to [XP_1, XP_2] for either heads X or H; as for domains, the domain of X is {UP, ZP, WP, YP, H} and whatever these categories dominate, whereas the domain of H is the same minus H; finally, the minimal domain of X is {UP, ZP, WP, YP, H}, whereas the minimal domain of H is {UP, ZP, WP, YP}.

4.2. Minimal Domains in Morphology

The previous definitions in (37) are not immediately applicable in the Morphology but require a few adjustments in order to make them suitable for this component. This is so because of a basic property of the Morphology, namely the fact that only X°-categories are legitimate objects in the MC (Chomsky 1994: 18, 1995: 319). The property trivially forces the elimination of the notion of *maximal projection* from the formulation in (37a). To replace it, we make use of the notion of *term* (cf. section 2.3), a concept that is neutral with respect to categorial levels.

In addition, the restraint of the Morphology to X°-categories renders the notions of *residue* and *complement domain* (and therefore also those of *checking domain* and *internal domain)* useless at this level. Since only adjunction operations (as opposed to substitution operations) are involved in the formation of inflected words, head-complement and spec-head relations established in the Syntax will neutralize in the mapping to morphological structures. Therefore, *residue* and *complement domains* become undistinguishable from and equivalent to *domain*, the same as *checking* and *internal domains* with respect to *minimal domain.*

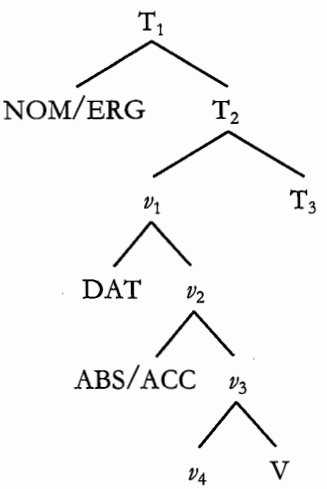
With these considerations in mind, the definitions in (36)-(37) will stand now as presented in (38)-(39). For the sake of consistency, the above definitions are all reformulated in reference to the notion of *term*:

(38) a. The category α dominates β if β is a term member of every segment of α.
   b. The category α *contains* β if β is a term member of α.

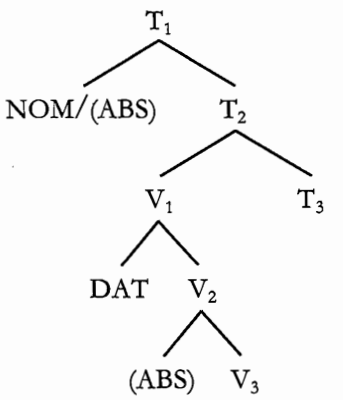
(39) Where α is an X° category, and CH is the chain (α, t) or (the trivial chain) α,
   a. Max(α) is the smallest full-category term dominating α.
   b. The *domain* δ(CH) of CH is the set of terms member of Max(α) that are distinct from and do not contain α.
   c. The *minimal domain* Min(δ(CH))) of CH is the smallest subset K of δ(CH) such that for any γ∈δ(CH), some β∈K reflexively contains γ.

Given the two morphological structures in (40), which correspond to those of (di)transitive and unaccusative verbs,

(40) a. (Di)transitive verbs:



b. Unaccusative verbs:



the definitions in (39) provide the following results. Let us start with the representation in (40a). From (39a), it follows that Max(T)=*[T_1, T_2]*, Max(*v*)=*[v_1,v_2]*, and Max(V)=*[v_1,v_2]*; by applying (39b) we obtain that the domain of T is {*ERG/NOM, v_1*} and all their members, the domain of *v* is {*DAT, ABS/ACC,* V} and all their members, and the domain of V is the same as *v*, minus V; finally, (39c) determines that the minimal domain of T is {*ERG/NOM, v_1*}, the minimal domain of *v* is {*DAT, ABS/ACC,* V}, and the minimal domain of V is again the same as *v*, minus V.

Take now the structure in (40b). The results are basically the same as for (di)transitive verbs except for those changes derived from the absence of the light verb *v*. Hence, Max(T) remains equal to *[T_1, T_2]*, the same as Max(V) remains *[V_1,V_2]*; the domains of T and V are slightly modified, for the domain of T becomes {*(ABS)/NOM,* V_1} and all their members, while the domain of V is now {*DAT, (ABS)/ACC*} and all their members; minimal domains in (40b) also change accordingly, the minimal domain of T being {*(ABS)/NOM,* V}, and that of V becoming {*DAT, (ABS)/ACC*}.

4.3. Minimal Domain and PCC

We are ready now to answer the question raised at the beginning of section 4 regarding the idiosyncrasy of the relation between DATs and ACC/ABSs. The combination of these two person-case agreement markers is characterized, in opposition to others, by the locality of their relation: DATs and ACC/ABSs are the only agreement markers to co-occur within the same minimal domain in the Morphology.

The incorporation of *locality* to the formulation of the GPCC in (24) will derive the more particular definition of the PCC below, where *locally* stands for 'in the same minimal domain':

(41) Person-Case Constraint (PCC):
A Person-morphosyntactic feature P_1 must be less referential than, or as equally referential as, a Person-morphosyntactic feature P_2 that locally c-commands it at the MC.

The definition in (41) overcomes the problems faced by the GPCC (that is, its excessive predictive power and the unexplained case of inherent clitics (cf. section 3.4)) since it accounts for all and only the effects of the PCC. Consider first the case of inherent clitics.

3.3.1. A solution for inherent clitics. In section 2.2.1 it was noted that inherent clitics in Romance languages may combine freely with DAT clitics irrespectively of their person specification. The illustrative example of Catalan in (7b) is repeated here as (42):

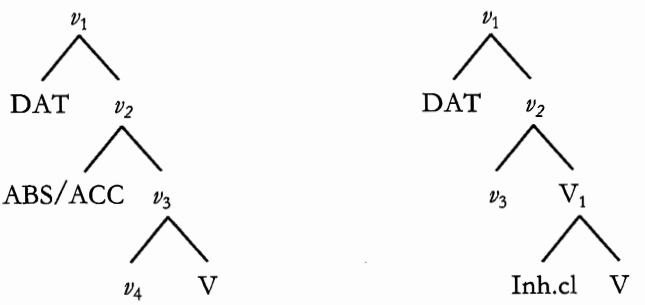
(42) *Te li* vas declarar?
2-inh.cl. 3-D declared
'Did you declare your love to him/her?'

Syntactically, inherent clitics are like argumental clitics in that they are all base-generated in the same syntactic position inside the VP (Kayne 1975, Bonet 1994: 35 fn. 3). The two cases differ however as to the fact that only the latter bear a θ-role. The grammaticality of examples like (42) in Catalan thus constitutes an obvious counter-example to the GPCC, unless argumenthood is recognized as an additional condition for the application of the constraint. Simplicity considerations disfavor this option however, for argumenthood has been shown to be an irrelevant factor elsewhere (cf. allocutives and ethical-datives in section 3.4.2); the structural condition of locality incorporated in (41) is, on the contrary, independently motivated by the set of data discussed in the next section.

Chomsky's (1995) minimalist program provides the means for a reinterpretation of the opposition inherent vs. argumental clitics in structural terms. Recall that, as we noted earlier (section 3.1), checking of φ-features is subject to complementarity with θ-assignment under Chomsky's new system. Hence, arguments cannot stay in their base-generated positions but are forced to move outside the VP (or the *v*P in

the case of A-arguments) in order to check their ϕ-features. Obviously, such complementarity requirement is trivially satisfied within the VP in the case of inherent clitics, as they are non-thematic. Therefore, unlike argumental clitics, inherent clitics remain in situ. At the MC, the asymmetry results in different hierarchical structures, as illustrated in the simplified representations in (43):

(43) a. Argumental clitics: b. Inherent clitics:



As it turns out, the locality relations between the two clitics vary from (43a) to (43b). Thus, while DAT and ACC clitics meet in the minimal domain of *v* in the structure in (43a), DAT and inherent clitics belong to separate minimal domains (those of *v* and V respectively) in (43b). Accordingly, the asymmetric pattern of argumental and inherent clitics will fully conform to our formulation of the PCC in (41).[38]

4.3.2. Restricting unwanted constraints. The most important flaw of the GPCC is its unrestricted power. The principle foresees a wide range of constraints that nonetheless are never or hardly ever found in natural languages. Some potential instances are, for example, the constraints on combinations of NOM(ERG) with ACC(ABS), NOM(ERG) with DAT, ABS with DAT —in the particular morphological structure found with unaccusative verbs in Standard Basque—, ALLO(ethical-datives) with ERG(NOM), etc.

In contrast to the GPCC, the locality condition introduced in (41) sets all these potential constraints aside. This is so because the relation between the two agreement specifications involved is non-local in all such cases: in the former three instances the first element of the pair ends up in the minimal domain of T, whereas the second is contained in that of *v* (or V); in the latter combination ALLOs (ethical-datives) are in the minimal domain of some high functional head —probably Mood—, whereas ERGs (NOMs) pertain to that of T.

By eliminating all these options, the PCC succeeds in restraining the set of potential constraints to exactly the desired cases in Catalan and Basque. To the best of my knowledge, our results also extend to the other languages listed in note 5. The only exception is Southern Tiwa, whose additional ERG-ABS and ERG-DAT

(38) Idiolectal variations with respect to inherent clitics and true reflexives (cf. note 12) reflect an unstable position in the system of reflexives in general, whereby their syntactic status fluctuates between argumental and non-argumental.

(cf. note 6) restrictions violate the PCC but fall under the more general GPCC. This indicates that the locality condition discriminating the PCC and the GPCC is subject to parametric variation in natural languages: unlike local constraints, which seem to be universal, the activation of restrictions across minimal domains may vary with the language.

4.4. Markedness Hierarchy

It follows from the previous discussion that the GPCC is a highly marked constraint in comparison to the PCC. Under our proposal such a property is formally captured by the fact that there is a unilateral implicational relationship between the two definitions in (24) and (41) respectively: thus, the former entails the application of the latter, but not the other way around.

More substantially however, our analysis correlates markedness with locality. The more local a relation between agreement markers is, the more likely the existence of a restriction becomes. This comes as a natural conclusion at least for two different reasons: on the one hand, selectional restrictions are typically local in all linguistic components; on the other hand, locality also plays a relevant role in the characterization of other linguistic principles governing the distribution of pronominal elements, such as for instance Binding.

5. Concluding remarks

Throughout these pages we have committed ourselves to a syntactic approach to Inflectional Morphology, at least partially. Our position relies on the observation that certain asymmetries in Catalan and Basque with respect to the application of the PCC have a clear syntactic nature (subjecthood, argumenthood). The accomodation of these data has led us to argue for the following cluster of properties of the Inflectional Morphology: 1. the organization of morphosyntactic features into hierarchical structures in the Morphology; 2. in corroboration of the first property, the active role played by X-bar-relational notions such as *c-command* and *minimal domain* in the application of morphological processes, in this case the PCC; 3. the contingency of Inflectional Morphology on syntactic processes, as for instance the syntactic operation Move (i.e. asymmetric PCC-effects with unaccusative verbs in Ergative languages); 4. the variable hierarchical relations among ϕ-features at the Morphological Component, which follow from the elimination of Agr°s from the theory and from the subsequent requalification of ϕ-features as components of arguments/adjuncts in the Syntax.

The validity of this general model of Inflectional Morphology has been firmly corroborated in the article by its adequacy to cover the full range of empirical data presented throughout these pages. Moreover, the analysis has been bolstered up by its explanatory power, insofar as it reduces the analysis of the PCC and other similar constraints to general and sound linguistic conditions such as c-command and locality.

The alternative lexicalist approach to the PCC has been partially disputed in section 2.2. The empirical adequacy of the lexicalist model can hardly be questioned, as it can introduce a great deal of morphological mechanisms —i.e. reference to environments, introduction of diacritic features, linear ordering, etc.— in order to characterize all kind of subtle asymmetries. On the contrary, our main criticisms are directed to the lack of generality and to the arbitrariness of these accounts, as well as to their failure to explain the basic properties of the PCC such as its univocity and its unmarkedness. As far as all these aspects are concerned, the morphosyntactic approach to the phenomenon of the PCC is clearly superior to a lexicalist account.

The conclusions in this article are not but a first step towards a better comprehension of these phenomena. Further investigations will have to consider several key aspects to the constraints that have had to be put aside for space considerations. One of those aspects is the asymmetric behavior exhibited by 1st and 2nd person on the one hand and 3rd person on the other. In passing, we have mentioned that such a property could be due to semantic and structural differences (cf. section 3.4 and note 30, respectively) between the two classes of pronominal elements, yet the topic deserves more serious consideration. A second important issue omitted in the article has to do with the nature itself of these restrictions. In other words, it is related to the question of why there should be any incompatibility at all between agreement markers. Our proposal in the article sets the basis for an appealing solution to the question: like pronominal elements in the syntax, agreement markers are also subject to Binding conditions —more specifically, to disjoinctness conditions. In the light of the role played by c-command and locality in our system, and on the basis of our characterization of personal pronouns as referentially distinct, this comes as a natural solution. The advantages of such an approach would be straightforwardly borne out, as we could link the (G)PCC to generic principles governing the distribution of pronominal elements in general. If correct, this conclusion would further support our main claim of the relation between syntax and Inflectional morphology.

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