

On the unifiability of repairs for the Person Case Constraint: French, Basque, Georgian, and Chinook*

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

1 Introduction

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

- (1) T/v DAT-Appl 1st/2nd person
 └──────────┬──────────┘
 *Case/Agree

It is a spectacular discovery of Bonet's and the work that followed hers **that** this ban is shared by languages of diverse character across all the inhabited world and the lifetime of humankind between them: Shambala, Yimas, Warlpiri, Kambera, Ojibwa, and Mapudungun are some that belong to the long list. The study of it is young. Among its mysteries are its *repairs*: structures that exist only to express what it bars.

Syntax does not usually have the means to fix ungrammatical structures, and so language ends up with much 'ineffability'. When a *wh*-word cannot move out of a coordinate structure, **What did the smith's daughter bring back __ and the moon?*, the

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

only way to ask the question is through a paraphrase, *What did the smith's daughter bring back ___ along with the moon*, which exists independently of the goodness or badness of the extraction, as in *She brought back the sun and/along with the moon*. Yet for the PCC there often do exist repairs: constructions that are dedicated solely to expressing that which the PCC bars, and impossible in all other contexts.

These repairs are discussed here. They are drawn from languages close in some sense to Basque, yet they present a good sample of what is known to exist. Their description is of interest in its own right, but it suggests further that their apparent heterogeneity belies profound similarities, and perhaps even a single mechanism. More of it is said in Rezac (2007, 2008c). As with the PCC itself, the discovery of dedicated repairs for it cross-linguistically is in the first place due to Bonet (1991), and the emphasis on syntactic commonalities across their wilderness to Albizu (1997a).

2 French transitives

French makes for a good starting point, because its PCC repairs have been researched longer and deeper than others. The PCC bars combinations of dative clitic and 1st/2nd/reflexive accusative clitic arguments. As a repair, dative assume strong rather than clitic form, (3)b. By doing so, it escapes an otherwise exceptionless requirement that dative (and accusative) pronouns be clitic unless focused, (3)a. By contrast, locative (and genitive) pronouns can be either clitic or strong even when not focused, (3)c. Because datives and locatives have the same form except as clitics, namely *à* + DP, Couquaux (1975) saw the repair as turning a dative into a locative argument. Indeed, his variety of French also allows for a repair substituting the locative clitic *y* for a dative one in PCC contexts only, (3)b (an option linked to a freer use of *y* in this grammar).¹

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

(Rezac 2009a)

The PCC in French fits (1) if clitic datives reflect applicative objects while nonclitics datives do not. Apparent exceptions to (2) go in this direction. First, some datives trigger the PCC even without being clitics, and they have a good claim to applicativity: causees

¹ S refers to the subject of intransitives or unaccusatives, EA of transitives, O to their object, and IO to the remaining core argument whether applicative or not. Nonobvious glosses are A, D, E short for usual ABS/ACC, DAT, ERG; in Georgian, PV preverb, SU subject(-marker), AOR aorist, O/S/NV object / subject / nonspecified or neutral 'version' (discussed later); in Chinook, RPT for recent past.

and psych-experiencers, discussed below. Second, Postal (1984) observes that some speakers allow the clitic combinations banned by the PCC if the dative clitic originates as the complement of an adjectival predicate, arguably nonapplicative:

- (4) Pierre *nous lui* croit [_{SC} *e_{nous}* fidèle *e_{lui}*], nous autres communistes.
 Pierre us.ACC him.DAT believes faithful, us other communists
 (Postal 1984: 153, 1990: 178)

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

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

The repair does not fix all instances of the PCC. It can only affect datives that are 'basic' indirect objects as that of *présenter* 'introduce', and not datives like possessors or benefactives, (6)-(7). In languages that allow both prepositional and applicative constructions and clearly signal the difference, like Basque and Georgian, the latter kind of datives is applicative, while the former is either applicative or prepositional. French also distinguishes the two kinds of datives: basic indirect objects are free to be clitic or *a* + DP, but possessors and benefactives must usually be clitics, (6)c, with explicable exceptions (cf. Rezac 2008c, cf. Rooryck 1988, Cuervo 2003). Apparently, an *a* + DP possessor or benefactive would necessarily be prepositional, and this it cannot be. Following Couquaux's (1975) lead, the irreparability of possessor and benefactive datives may be attributed to their inability to appear in the prepositional *a* + DP structure.

- (6) a. *On *me leur/y* a jeté dans les bras.
 b. *On *m'* a jeté dans les bras à elles.
 c. On *leur* a jeté Paul dans les bras , à ces filles.
 one me.A them.D/LOC has thrown Paul into the arms to them to the girls
 One threw Paul/*me into their(, the girls') arms.
 (Couquaux 1975: 58, cf. Postal 1990: 140-2)

- (7) a. *Philippe *vous lui/y* achètera.
 b. *Philippe *vous* achètera à lui.
 Philippe you.ACC him.DAT/LOC will.buy to him
 Philippe will buy you for him. (ok. as *from him* with a subcategorized dative)
 (Postal 1990: 131-2)

The PCC repair is thus only available to those datives that can appear in the prepositional construction. This dovetails with syntactic consequences to the repair, which eliminates the properties of dative clitics, like the licensing of floating quantifiers, and adds those of strong pronouns (Rezac 2009ab). The repair turns an unfocussed dative

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is the shape of the PCC repair in French. It is similar in Spanish except on one point, which will concern us when we come to Georgian. In French, the accusative clitic cannot be affected by the PCC repair to become strong, even when the dative is applicative and irreparable.² This may be related to the highly marked status of focused accusative pronouns in French, which must commonly be clitic-doubled even for many who allow non-doubled focussed datives (cf. Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). The Spanish

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

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

PCC repair looks like the French one, turning a clitic into an undoubled *a* + strong pronoun, and undoubled *a* + DPs are prepositional rather than applicative (Cuervo 2003). However, the repair can affect either the dative or the accusative: a 3rd person dative if there is one, but otherwise either of the 1st/2nd person dative and accusative (Bonet 1991: 203). This ought to be related to the full identity of 1st/2nd person dative and accusative pronouns in Spanish, unlike in French. In both languages, dative and accusative clitics are identical for 1st/2nd but not 3rd person. In Spanish only, dative and accusative strong pronouns also have both the same form *a* + pronoun, and must both be clitic doubled.³

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

3 Basque transitives

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

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

- (10) Polizia-ri_j ikasle-ak_k eramango di-zki_k-e_j-te_i / %d-it_j-u-zte_i
 police-DAT students-PL.ABS bring.will AUX.3pA.3pD.3pE AUX.3pA.3pE
 [T with **dituzte*, H with $\sqrt{\text{dituzte}}$]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (15) a. Miren-i haurr-ak beso-etara bota di-zki-o/*d-it-u-zte
 Miren-DAT children-ABS arms-into thrown AUX.3pA.3sD.3sE [T]
 b. *Miren-i zu beso-etara bota zait-u-zte
 Miren-DAT you.ABS arms-into thrown AUX.2pA.3pE [T]
 %??Miren-i Ø beso-etara bota na-u / gait-u
 Miren-DAT arms-into thrown AUX.1sA/1pA.3sE [H]
 They threw the children/*you/*me/*us into Miren's arms.
- (16) Aita-k ume-a ama-ri beso-e-tatik kendu zion.
 father-ERG child-ABS mother-DAT arm-s-from removed AUX.3sA.3sD.3sE
 ??/*Aita-k Ø ama-ri beso-e-tatik kendu ninduen/zidan
 father-ERG mother-DAT arm-s-from removed AUX.1sA/1sD.3sE
 (Albizu 1997a: 175 note 52, 197)

Finally, causative datives trigger the PCC, (17), and probably cannot be repaired, (18).⁵ The causative *ezagutarazi* 'make known' ought to be a case where repair is possible

⁵ Albizu (1997a: 41, 202) reports that dative causee agreement cannot be suspended to repair causatives based on *eragin*, and that the way to express a PCC context is to omit absolutive agreement: *Pellori ni jo eragin diote* 'They made Pello.DAT(agr) kill me.ABS(no agr)'. Ortiz de Urbina (2003) lists *eragin* among the variants of *arazi*. However, in his examples agreement with the downstairs absolutive object need not take place for *eragin* (*Amak umeari indabak jatea eragin zion* 'The mother made the child.DAT(agr) eat the

However, there are some case marking asymmetries between finite and nonfinite clauses, as Oyharçabal (1992: 317) points out. There are also indirect signs of a difference for the dative specifically. The dative goal of a causativized ditransitive can survive without agreement if it is taken up by the dative causee, and worse, cannot agree even if the causee is impersonal and controls no agreement; in contrast, the **embedded** absolutive object must agree (Albizu 2000, Ortiz de Urbina 2003). The most obvious possibility is that datives in nonfinite clauses can always be prepositional and so avoid the PCC – yet (20) shows a possessor dative, **as Albizu points out**. We return to the issue with Georgian.

4 Georgian transitives

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

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

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

(Boeder 2002: 88)

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

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

(Nash 1995: 199)

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

(Anderson 1984: 168)

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

(Anderson 1984: 168)

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

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

(Harris 1981: 92)

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

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

(Harris 1981: 80)

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

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

(Boeder 2002: 94, phonotactics is fine)

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

(Boeder 2002: 102)

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

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

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

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

(Boeder 2002: 98)

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

Consider now Object Camouflage itself. At first sight, the use of 'X's head' for 'X', a pronoun, is unlike the Romance and Basque repairs by a strong pronoun. Yet a story can be told highlighting the similarity, starting from Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) proposal

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

- (i) is ma-s m-a-3arcv-in-eb-s me
 is ma-s a-3arcv-in-eb-s čem-s tav-s
 he he-DAT 1s-NV-rob-CAUS-PRES me / my head
 he makes him rob me (Boeder 2005: 47)
- (ii) mi-g-i-šver-in-e (me šen)žox-i mčq'ems-s xbo-s-tvis / xbo-s
 PV-2-OV-hold.out-CAUS (I you) stick-NOM shepherd-DAT calf-GEN-for / calf-DAT
 I made the shepherd hold out the stick at your calf. (Boeder 2002: 96 note 22, Khevsur dialect)

that strong pronouns have a richer internal syntax than weak ones, being more like PPs than DPs, and notably with an internal Case-licenser of their own. They are thus autonomous of the clausal Case/Agree system, which French clitics and Basque agreeing datives need. In transforming a clitic/weak pronoun to *a* + strong pronoun in French and a nonagreeing dative in Basque, the repair strengthens it by adding to it its own internal Case licenser. The result is a PP, realized in the prepositional construction, and leaving the Case/Agree system of the clause entirely for the direct object. Along these lines Object Camouflage can be analysed as well (Rezac 2007, cf. Albizu 1997a: 256).

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

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

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

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

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

(Boeder 2002: 101)

The Basque expression *X's buru* 'X's head' is parallel to Georgian *X's tav* in its use as a reflexive (Lafon 1944: 397). It also has some attestations as nonreflexive emphatic internal argument (Artiagoitia 2003), and a use as an ergative subject through a metonymous nonreflexive interpretation (Oyharçabal 2003). In both languages, *X's tav/buru* is a *specialized* strong form – not it, but rather plain strong pronouns, usually serve as nonagreeing strong forms, for instance in PPs. Yet despite these parallels *X's buru* cannot be used for a 1st/2nd person absolutive to rescue the PCC, unlike *X's tav*. It may be that *X's buru* is less grammaticalized than *X's tav*; one thinks of the optionality plurality of *buru* if it has a plural referent, *geure buru(ak)* 'our head(s) = ourselves' (Artiagoitia 2003), found for *tav* in Old but not Modern Georgian (Boeder 2005).

(Rezac 2008a: 92)

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

- (36) [TP IO.DAT [T_{NOM} [_{vP} [_v [_{AppIP} *t*_{IO} Appl [_{VP} V ... S.NOM]]]]]]
 ↑ EPP move agreement, Case, number

- (37) Hverjum_i mundi/*mundum_j (*t*_i) þá *t*_i virðast **við**_j vera hæfir?
 who.DAT would.3SG/1PL then seem we.NOM be competent
 To whom would we then seem to be competent?

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

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

- (38) [CP IO.DAT [C [TP S.NOM [T_{NOM} [_{vP} [_v [_{AppIP} *t*_{IO} Appl [_{VP} V... *t*_S]]]]]]]]
 ↑ number, person | number, *person Agree | EPP move

- (39) Hverjum_i mundum_j/*mundi **við**_j þá *t*_i virðast *t*_j vera hæfir?
 who.DAT would.1PL/3SG we.NOM then seem be competent
 To whom would we then seem to be competent?

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

In Basque, the PCC occurs in applicative unaccusatives, and this seems common in ergative languages of its type. Basque has both DAT-ABS applicative unaccusatives and ABS-DAT motion verbs. DAT-ABS psych-verbs like *gustatu* 'like' with an applicative dative experiencer generated above S are subject to the PCC, while ABS-DAT motion verbs like *hurbildu* 'approach' with a dative goal of motion below S are not. Various diagnostics converge on this difference, including the one already discussed: in the northeastern dialects the dative of ABS-DAT but not DAT-ABS verbs can be of the nonagreeing (Rezac forthc a; for other diagnostics, 2008a).¹⁴ Otherwise the two verbs use exactly the same morphology, so the expected but PCC-banned agreement forms for *gustatu* are instantiated by *hurbildu*. This identity is curious yet thorough-going: not just in absolutive and dative agreement exponents, but in root allomorphy and in a separate agreement marker known as the 'dative flag' that looks like an applicative head. We shall see the same in Chinook. In many western varieties, even for ABS-DAT verbs some or all 1/2.ABS-DAT forms like (40)a are missing, not through the PCC, but in a haphazard way indicative of morphological gaps (Rezac forthc b).¹⁵

- (40) a. (Ni_i) Miren-i_j hurbiltzen / ?*gustatzen n_i-atzai-o_j.
 I.ABS Miren-DAT approaching / liking 1sA-AUX-3sD

¹⁴ Even in the western dialects where dative agreement is usually obligatory, there is an asymmetry between a basic indirect object and an applicative object in agreement omission: an agreeing dative of interest can to some extent be added to a ditransitive or an ABS-DAT verb leaving its argument nonagreeing. It cannot be added to a DAT-ABS verb (Joppen and Wunderlich 1995: 159-161).

¹⁵ Of a sort that occur also commonly in ERG-DAT(-ABS) and less in ERG-ABS combinations involving two 1st/2nd person markers (Fernández 2001, Arregi and Nevins 2006).

- b. Miren-_i (haiek_i) hurbiltzen / gustatzen zai-zki_i-o_j.
 Miren-DAT they.ABS coming / liking AUX-3pA-3sD
 (q.v. Albizu 1997b: 21, Rezac 2008a: 73, forthc)

Unlike in Icelandic, S rather than the dative satisfies the EPP of T in Basque for true subjecthood, so the explanation for the PCC in its unaccusatives cannot be quite the same. Yet it is similar under the Bobaljik/Laka theory of ergativity, (41). Absolute Agree occurs with *v* and the EPP belongs to T. Within the *v*P, S stays below the dative, which thus intervenes for *v*-S person Agree and creates the PCC.

- (41) S T v_{ABS} [AppIP IO Appl [VP V t_S]]
 ↑EPP movement | number, *person Agree

To repair the PCC, absolute agreement cannot be suspended to give **gu gustatzen zai(zki)o* AUX.3sA/3pA, just as with transitives (but cf. Rezac 2008a: 101 for one variety). Nor can a nonagreeing dative be used, since it is applicative. However, some varieties have another option (Arregi 2004, Rezac 2008a, Arregi and Nevins 2008). S is realized as ergative in a PCC context, that is when 1st/2nd person S combines with an applicative dative, and nowhere else. The ergative is not available to the O of applicative transitives, even to repair the PCC, which already have an ergative EA. Nor is it available to the S of plain unaccusatives, or to the 3rd person S of applicative unaccusatives, where there is no PCC. And importantly, it is also unavailable to the S of ABS-DAT verbs, even in those varieties mentioned above where a given 1/2.ABS-DAT combinations like *zatzai(zki)o* is a morphological gap.

- (42) a. Itxaso-ri_i liburu-ak/*ek_k gustatzen zai-zki_k-o_i / *di-o_i-te_k
 Itxaso-DAT books-ABS/ERG liking AUX-3pA-3sD / *AUX-3sD-3pE
 b. Itxaso-ri_i (zu-k/*Ø) gustatzen *z_k-atzai-zki_k-o_i / di-o_i-zu_k
 Itxaso-DAT you-ERG/ABS liking *2pA-AUX-pA-3sD / AUX-3sD-2pA
 c. Zu-Ø/*k_i Itxaso-ri_k etortzen *di-o_k-zu_i / %z_i-atzai-zki_i-o
 you-ABS/*ERG Itxaso-DAT coming *AUX-3sD-2sE / %2sA -AUX-pA-3sD
 (Tolosa Basque, variant T1, Rezac 2008a)

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

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

are thus viewable as the addition of a Case-licenser to rescue the Case-licensing failure created by the PCC in (1) (Rezac 2007, 2008a,c).¹⁶

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

6 Chinook unaccusatives

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

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

- (43) (i-kala_i) ga-č_i-ł_j-(a)š_k-l-u-√łada ((i)ł-šq^w_{a_j}) ((i)š-Gagilak_k)
 3sm-man RPT-3smE-3n-3du-Appl-DIR-threw 3n-water 3du-woman
 He (the man) threw it (the water) at the two of them (at the two women).
 (Silverstein 1985: 185)

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

- (44) *č-n-a-l-u-√i-amit
 3smE-1s-3sf-[?]Appl-[?]DIR-√ⁱtake-?
 He is taking me for her.
 (Silverstein 1985: 190)

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

- (45) ga-nš-i-gl-u-√ya
 RPT-1p-3sm-[?]-[?]DIR-√go
 'we (excl pl) went toward him'
 (Silverstein 1985: 191)

Others like 'smell' are constrained by the PCC. Silverstein (1985: 191) characterizes this class as those whose IO is "a kind of dativised agent", and gives an example with an experiencer. The description suggests DAT-ABS applicative unaccusatives. As in Basque, the two classes do not differ in their morphology, including apparently an 'applicative' marker signalling the extra argument. DAT-ABS verbs are good with 3rd but not 1st/2nd person S. The missing forms are supplied by what Silverstein (1985: 191-4)

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

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

calls *thematization*: the IO is coded by the ergative rather than the unmarked series. Thus expected unmarked *i* of (46)b (cf. (46)a) appears as the ergative *č* in (46)c.¹⁸

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

(Silverstein 1985: 192)

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

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

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

- (47) a. [S T_(ERG) [V_{ABS} IO_{DAT} t_S]] (Basque)
 b. [IO T_(ERG) [V_{ABS} t_{IO} S]] (Chinook)

7 Prospects

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

¹⁹ 1SG *n* → ∅, 2DU/2PL *nš/nt* → impersonal *q* / ___2nd person O/IO, contiguous or not as in EA₁-O-IO₂.

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

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

Yet not all PCC repairs fit. I end on ones uncovered Ormazabal and Romero (2006) for Spanish and in Albizu (1997a, 2001) for Basque, completing the inventory of known repairs in the languages here. (48) comes from *leismo* Spanish where the 3SGM animate direct objects normally use 'dative' clitic *le* along with its property of freely doubling *a* + DP objects. The PCC is avoided by using the accusative clitic *lo* otherwise reserved for inanimates, with its inability to double. Something different seems to be at work, relating to the syntax-interpretation relationship of phi-features (Rezac 2009a). In (50) from a *leismo*-like variety of Basque, there may be a similar phenomenon (P. Albizu p.c.). Some of its speakers have the unsurprising (49): to repair the PCC, dative agreement is omitted as in (11), the animate direct object is dative as ordinarily in this grammar, and perhaps for parsing reasons the two datives need a separation. Others, extraordinarily, have an *absolutive* pronoun with *dative* agreement, (50). Interesting work lies ahead.

- (48) Te *le/√lo lleve (*a tu hijo) a casa
 you him.*D/√A (*A your son) to home
 (Ormazabal and Romero 2006, cf. Rezac 2009a)
- (49) Polizi-ari*(,)zuri/*zu eramango di-zu-te. [comma/pause is necessary]
 police-DAT you.DAT/*ABS bring.will AUX.2pD.3pE [T]
- (50) Azpisapo-ek ni/*niri etsaia-ri saldu didate
 enemies-ERG me.ABS/*DAT enemy-DAT sold AUX.1sD.3sE
 (Albizu 1997a: 194, *niri based on P. Albizu p.c.)

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