Silencing the PCC

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Basque displays what is known as the Strong Person Case Constraint (PCC): an absolutive DP may generally not be 1st or 2nd person if it is c-commanded by a dative DP. We make the novel observation that this restriction is obviated under verbal ellipsis, even if this ellipsis does not affect the DPs whose cooccurrence is normally ruled out. We then explore the consequences of this generalization for accounts of the PCC. First, it indicates that the PCC arises from properties of the verb agreement, not of the DP arguments. Second, a comprehensive account of the Basque PCC must be sensitive to both narrow-syntactic and PF properties (in particular whether or not the verb agreement is pronounced). We then develop an account of the Basque PCC based on Coon & Keine's (2021) feature-gluttony proposal. On this account, the Basque PCC results from an irresolvable conflict that arises in the morphological realization of a probe that has agreed with two DPs. We show that such an account offers a principled explanation of both the syntactic factors and the PF factors that condition the Basque PCC, in particular its interaction with verbal ellipsis.

1. Introduction

The Person Case Constraint (PCC) is a crosslinguistically common restriction on possible person combinations, typically observed between direct and indirect objects in ditransitive constructions (Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, 1994, Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, Béjar & Rezac 2003, Nevins 2007, Adger & Harbour 2007, Ormazabal & Romero 2007, Baker 2008, 2011, Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018, Preminger 2019, Stegovec 2020, Foley & Toosarvandani 2022, Deal 2024, among many others; see Anagnostopoulou 2017 for an overview). Basque exhibits what is known as the "strong" version of the PCC, which prohibits a 1st and 2nd person direct-object absolutive DP in the presence of a dative DP (with important refinements to be discussed below); see Laka (1993a), Albizu (1997), Ormazabal & Romero (1998, 2001, 2007), Ormazabal (2000), Arregi & Nevins (2008, 2012), Rezac (2008b, 2010, 2011), Preminger (2011b, 2019), Odria (2017, 2019), and Coon & Keine (2021). The classical

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configuration in which such restrictions have been observed are ditransitive constructions, illustrated in (1).[1]

(1) *Strong PCC in Basque*

a. Zu-k *harakina-ri* **liburua** saldu d-i-o-zu.
you-ERG butcher-DAT book.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-2ERG
'You have sold the book to the butcher.' (✓3DAT > 3ABS)

b. Zu-k *ni-ri* **liburua** saldu d-i-da-zu.
you-ERG I-DAT book.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX-1DAT-2ERG
'You have sold the book to me.' (✓1DAT > 3ABS)

c. *Zu-k *harakina-ri* **ni** saldu n-ai-o-zu.
you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS sold 1ABS-AUX-3DAT-2ERG
Intended: 'You have sold me to the butcher.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

d. *Ni-k *harakina-ri* **zu** saldu z-aiti-o-t.
I-ERG butcher-DAT you.ABS sold 2ABS-AUX-3DAT-1ERG
Intended: 'I have sold you to the butcher.' (*3DAT > 2ABS)

e. *Haiek *ni-ri* **zu** saldu z-ai-da-te.
they.ERG I-DAT you.ABS sold 2ABS-AUX-1DAT-3ERG
Intended: 'They have sold you to me.' (*1DAT > 2ABS)

Much recent work has documented that the precise combinations that are ruled out differ across languages and speakers, resulting in different types of the PCC (e.g., Bonet 1991, 1994, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Nevins 2007, Doliana 2013, Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018, Yokoyama 2019, Stegovec 2020, Coon & Keine 2021, Foley & Toosarvandani 2022, Deal 2024; see Anagnostopoulou 2017 for an overview). Because we focus on Basque in this paper, which has the Strong PCC, we will put this crosslinguistic variation aside for the most part (see Coon & Keine 2021 for discussion of other PCC patterns within the overall account pursued here).

In addition to the basic Basque PCC facts in (1), the literature has uncovered a curious case of PCC obviation. In Basque nonfinite clauses, the PCC systematically disappears (see Laka 1993a, 1996, Bonet 1994, Albizu 1997, Ormazabal 2000, Preminger 2011b, 2019, Arregi & Nevins 2012, Coon & Keine 2021). That is, combinations of direct and indirect objects that are normally ruled out by the PCC are surprisingly allowed if they occur in a nonfinite clause. An illustrative example is provided in (2). Here, the combination of *harakina-ri* 'butcher-DAT' and *ni* 'I.ABS' that violates the PCC in simple finite clauses (see (1c)) is grammatical in a nonfinite clause.

[1] Unless noted otherwise, the Basque data are by Jon Ander Mendia, with crucial contrasts confirmed with three other native speakers. Morpheme segmentation and glosses have been modified from original sources for consistency. Abbreviations in glosses follow the Leipzig glossing conventions.

(2) *PCC disappears in nonfinite clauses*
Gaizki irudi-tzen z-ai-t [zu-k *harakina-ri* **ni** sal-tze-a].
wrong look-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-1DAT you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS sell-NMLZ-ART.ABS
'It seems wrong to me for you to sell me to the butcher.' (✓3DAT > 1ABS)
(adapted from Laka 1993a:27, (8))

Importantly, the DPs inside the nonfinite clause do not control agreement: neither *harakina-ri* 'butcher-DAT' nor *ni* 'I.ABS' controls agreement on either verb in (2), in contrast to (1c), and this seems to be what underlies the PCC obviation. Assuming that the nonfinite clause in (2) lacks a ϕ-probe, recent work on the PCC that incorporates the fact in (2) has therefore concluded that the PCC only arises in clauses that contain a ϕ-probe (Preminger 2011b, 2019, Coon & Keine 2021, see also Anagnostopoulou 2003).

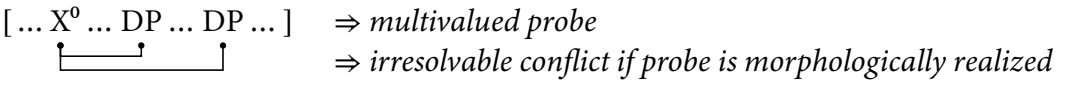
In this paper, we argue that the effect in (2) is in fact just one manifestation of a broader, novel generalization, stated in (3). We demonstrate that Basque PCC effects also disappear whenever the verb and the agreeing auxiliary are elided, and we conclude that the PCC is obviated in the absence of overt verb agreement. This generalization includes nonfinite clauses, which never contain overt ϕ-agreement, but it also holds for ellipsis structures in which the agreeing verb is not pronounced. On standard assumptions about ellipsis, such clauses syntactically contain a ϕ-probe that is not overtly realized. As we will show, in such configurations PCC effects systematically disappear as well (also see Keine et al. 2022 for Oji-Cree).

(3) Basque PCC effects disappear in clauses that do not contain an overtly realized verbal ϕ-probe.

What (3) shows is that the Basque PCC is not only affected by the syntactic presence or absence of a ϕ-probe but also by whether a ϕ-probe is overtly realized or not. We then explore the analytical ramifications of (3) and in particular what it tells us about the source of PCC effects. On the one hand, we argue that (3) provides strong evidence against purely syntactic approaches to the PCC, such as approaches relying solely on person licensing or the Case Filter. On the other hand, earlier work on the Basque PCC has shown that an entirely morphological account is insufficient as well, in that the PCC is sensitive to syntactic distinctions that are neutralized in the surface morphology. We instead propose an analysis based on Coon & Keine's (2021) feature-gluttony approach to the PCC, which we show derives both the syntactic conditions underlying the PCC and, in conjunction with independently-motivated assumptions about ellipsis, the role of the overt realization of the ϕ-probe (3). On this account, the PCC arises in configurations in which a single verbal ϕ-probe agrees with two DPs (4). In such configurations, the probe receives two distinct ϕ-values, which results in an irresolvable conflict in the morphological realization of this ϕ-probe. Importantly, this irresolvable conflict does not arise under verbal ellipsis because

the multivalued probe is not morphologically realized. Irresolvable conflicts that result from multivaluation are not novel but have been observed in a range of other domains as well. As we show, this approach offers a principled explanation of the configurations in which the Basque PCC is obviated.

(4) *Feature gluttony*



This paper is structured as follows: Section 2 demonstrates the Basque PCC in five configurations and then demonstrates that across these configurations, PCC effects disappear in various ellipsis configurations in which the verb goes unpronounced. This motivates the generalization in (3). Section 3 then discusses the implications of this generalization for accounts of the PCC, motivating in particular the need for an account of the PCC that encompasses both syntactic and PF factors. Section 4 then develops a feature-gluttony analysis of the Basque PCC and the environments in which it is obviated. Section 5 then shows how this account derives both the syntactic and the PF factors that condition the PCC in Basque. Section 6 concludes.

2. Overt agreement and the PCC in Basque

Basque exhibits PCC effects in a number of configurations in which a dative DP asymmetrically c-commands an absolutive DP, namely:

(i) ditransitive constructions,
(ii) psych-verbs,
(iii) possessor-dative constructions,
(iv) applicative-dative constructions, and
(v) causatives.

In all of these configurations, the absolutive DP is standardly prohibited from being 1st or 2nd person, regardless of the person of the dative DP.[2] This restriction is independent of

[2] Basque also has optional allocutive agreement, which refers to the addressee and is morphologically marked using the dative agreement markers. However, this agreement does not give rise to the PCC (Albizu 1997, Ormazabal & Romero 2007, Rezac 2011):

(i) Peru-k ni kalean ikusi n-ai-k-Ø.
Peter-ERG I.ABS in.the.street see 1ABS-AUX-2M.DAT-3ERG
'Peter has seen me in the street (male addressee).'
(Albizu 1997:7, (10b))

In this regard, the allocutive agreement behaves like ethical datives in Romance (Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2003). Rezac (2011) treats the allocutive markers as TP-external. They are hence outside the domain of the ϕ-probe that underlies the PCC and thus do not participate in the PCC system. We adopt this view here.

the surface word order. In this section, we illustrate these constructions and then show that across all of them, the PCC disappears whenever the verb and agreeing auxiliary undergo ellipsis. We illustrate this effect of ellipsis using:

(i) gapping,
(ii) stripping,
(iii) fragment answers,
(iv) split questions, and
(v) comparative deletion.

This systematicity in PCC obviation under verbal ellipsis calls for an explanation, which motivates our account in section 4.

2.1. PCC configurations

As stated in section 1, the standard generalization about the Strong PCC in Basque is that in the presence of a dative DP, a structurally lower absolutive DP cannot be 1st or 2nd person. This restriction is not affected by the surface order of the two DPs (that is, the PCC arises regardless of whether the dative DP linearly precedes the absolutive DP or the other way around); in other words, what matters is the base configuration. We already demonstrated the PCC in ditransitive constructions in (1); a relevant example is repeated in (5).

(5) *PCC in ditransitive constructions*
*Zu-k *harakina-ri* **ni** saldu n-ai-o-zu.
you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS sold 1ABS-AUX-3DAT-2ERG
Intended: 'You have sold me to the butcher.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

A second configuration that displays the PCC in Basque is psych-verb constructions (Albizu 1997, Rezac 2008b, Arregi & Nevins 2012). Psych-verbs take a dative argument and an absolutive argument, and, as Rezac (2008b) shows, the dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the absolutive DP. As illustrated in (6), the absolutive DP cannot be 1st or 2nd person.

(6) *PCC with psych-verbs*
a. *Ni-ri* **Mikel** gusta-tzen z-ai-t.
I-DAT Mikel.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-1DAT
'I like Mikel.' (✓1DAT > 3ABS)
b. **Mikel-i* **ni** gusta-tzen n-atzai-o.
Mikel-DAT I.ABS like-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT
Intended: 'Mikel likes me.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

c. **Ni-ri* **zu** gusta-tzen z-atzaizki-t.
I-DAT you.ABS like-IPFV 2ABS-AUX-1DAT
Intended: 'I like you.' (*1DAT > 2ABS)

Third, PCC effects also arise with possessor-dative constructions (Rezac 2010), in which the dative DP is interpreted as the possessor of a PP constituent. An example is provided in (7a). As (7b) illustrates, the absolutive DP may not be 1st or 2nd person.

(7) *PCC in possessor-dative constructions*

a. *Miren-i* **haurrak** beso-etara bota d-izki-o-te.
Miren-DAT children.ABS arms-into thrown 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG
'They threw the children into Miren's arms.' (✓3DAT > 3ABS)

b. **Miren-i* **zu** beso-etara bota z-aituz-te.
Miren-DAT you.ABS arms-into thrown 2ABS-AUX-3ERG
Intended: 'They threw you into Miren's arms.' (*3DAT > 2ABS)
(adapted from Rezac 2010:775, (15))

Fourth, the PCC also arises in applicative-dative constructions where the dative DP is interpreted as being affected by an action. Here too the absolutive DP may not be 1st or 2nd person, as shown in (8).

(8) *PCC in applicative-dative constructions*

a. Lami-ek *Miren-i* **Pello eta Mona** jan-go d-izki-o-te.
lamias-ERG Miren-DAT Pello and Mona.ABS eat-FUT 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG
'The lamias will eat Pello and Mona on Miren.' (✓3DAT > 3ABS)

b. **Lami-ek *Miren-i* **zu** jan-go z-aituz-te.
lamias-ERG Miren-DAT you.ABS eat-FUT 2ABS-AUX-3ERG
Intended: 'The lamias will eat you on Miren.' (*3DAT > 2ABS)
(Rezac 2010:774–775, (13a,b))

Fifth, the PCC arises with causatives of transitive verbs (Rezac 2010:775–776). Here, the causee receives dative case, which triggers the PCC if the theme is 1st or 2nd person.

(9) *PCC in causative constructions*

a. Haiek *ni-ri* **ikaslea** isil-arazi-ko d-i-da-te.
they.ERG I-DAT student.ABS silence-CAUS-FUT 3ABS-AUX-1DAT-3ERG
'They will make me silence the student.' (✓1DAT > 3ABS)

b. *Haiek *ni-ri* **zu** isil-arazi-ko z-ai-da-te.
they.ERG I-DAT you.ABS silence-CAUS-FUT 2ABS-AUX-1DAT-3ERG
Intended: 'They will make me silence you.' (*1DAT > 2ABS)

The next sections make the novel observation that across a variety of constructions in which the lexical verb and the agreeing auxiliary are elided, the PCC restriction systematically disappears in all five PCC contexts. In the interest of space, we will demonstrate this generalization for all five PCC contexts for gapping, and then limit the data presentation to ditransitives, psych-verbs, and possessor datives for the other ellipsis contexts.

2.2. Gapping

(10) demonstrates that the PCC in ditransitive configurations disappears under gapping, a process that elides the lexical verb and the agreeing auxiliary but leaves the nominal arguments unaffected. With gapping, an otherwise illicit 1st or 2nd person absolutive DP (see (5)) becomes grammatical. Here and throughout, we indicate elided material with "Δ".

(10) *PCC obviation under gapping: Ditransitives*

a. Jon-ek alkatea-ri Mikel saldu d-i-o-Ø, eta zu-k
Jon-ERG mayor-DAT Mikel.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and you-ERG
harakina-ri **ni** Δ.
butcher-DAT I.ABS
'Jon sold Mikel to the mayor, and you me to the butcher.' (✓3DAT > 1ABS)

b. Jon-ek alkatea-ri Mikel saldu d-i-o-Ø, eta haiek
Jon-ERG mayor-DAT Mikel.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and they.ERG
zu-ri **ni** Δ.
you-DAT I.ABS
'Jon sold Mikel to the mayor, and they me to you.' (✓2DAT > 1ABS)

Gapping likewise lifts the person restriction with psych-verbs (see (6)), as shown in (11).

(11) *PCC obviation under gapping: Psych-verbs*
Zu-ri Pello gusta-tzen z-ai-zu, eta *ni-ri* **zu** Δ.
you-DAT Pello.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-2DAT and I-DAT you.ABS
'You like Pello, and I you.' (✓1DAT > 2ABS)

The person restriction in possessor-dative constructions (see (7)) is also lifted under gapping (12).

(12) *PCC obviation under gapping: Possessor-dative constructions*

a. Mona-ri Pello beso-etara bota d-i-o-te, eta
Mona-DAT Pello.ABS arms-into thrown 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and
Miren-i **ni**/**zu** Δ.
Miren-DAT I.ABS/you.ABS
'They threw Pello into Mona's arms, and me/you into Miren's.'
(✓3DAT > 1/2ABS)

b. Mona-ri Pello beso-etara bota d-i-o-te, eta { *ni-ri*
Mona-DAT Pello.ABS arms-into thrown 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and I-DAT
zu Δ / *zu-ri* **ni** Δ }.
you.ABS you-DAT I.ABS
'They threw Pello into Mona's arms, and you/me into mine/yours.'
(✓1DAT > 2ABS / ✓2DAT > 1ABS)

Gapping also obviates the PCC effect in applicative-dative constructions (see (8)), as demonstrated in (13).

(13) *PCC obviation under gapping: Applicative-dative constructions*
Lami-ek Miren-i Pello jan-go d-i-o-te, eta otso-ek
lamias-ERG Miren-DAT Pello eat-FUT 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and wolves-ERG
Mona-ri **zu**/**ni** Δ.
Mona-DAT you.ABS/I.ABS
'The lamias will eat Pello on Miren, and the wolves you/me on Mona.'
(✓3DAT > 1/2ABS)

Finally, gapping obviates the PCC with causatives (see (9)), as shown in (14).

(14) *PCC obviation under gapping: Causative constructions*
Pello-ri ikaslea isil-arazi-ko d-i-o-te, eta *ni-ri*
Pello-DAT student.ABS silence-CAUS-FUT 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and I-DAT
zu Δ.
you.ABS
'They will make Pello silence the student, and (they will make) me (silence) you.'
(✓1DAT > 2ABS)

In summary, gapping systematically rescues structures that would otherwise be ungrammatical due to the PCC.

2.3. Stripping

PCC violations are also obviated by stripping, a process that elides all elements in a clause except for one. This is demonstrated for ditransitive constructions in (15), for psych-verbs in (16), and for possessor-dative constructions in (17).

(15) *PCC obviation under stripping: Ditransitives*
Jon-ek *harakina-ri* Mikel saldu d-i-o-Ø, eta **ni/zu**
Jon-ERG butcher-DAT Mikel.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and I.ABS/you.ABS
Δ ere bai.
too yes
'Jon sold Mikel to the butcher, and me/you too.' (✓3DAT > 1/2ABS)

(16) *PCC obviation under stripping: Psych-verbs*
Ni-ri Mikel gusta-tzen z-ai-t, eta **zu** Δ ere bai.
I-DAT Mikel.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-1DAT and you.ABS too yes
'I like Mikel, and you too.' (✓1DAT > 2ABS)

(17) *PCC obviation under stripping: Possessor-dative constructions*
Mona-ri Pello beso-etara bota d-i-o-te, eta **ni/zu**
Mona-DAT Pello.ABS arms-into thrown 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and I.ABS/you.ABS
Δ ere bai.
also yes
'They threw Pello into Mona's arms, and me/you too.' (✓3DAT > 1/2ABS)

2.4. Fragment answers

PCC effects are also obviated in fragment answers (see Merchant 2004 and Weir 2014 for arguments that fragment answers contain full syntactic structure plus ellipsis of everything except for the fragment answer). This can be seen most clearly in fragment answers to multiple wh-questions. As with gapping and stripping, otherwise ungrammatical combinations of DPs are then permitted. This effect is illustrated in (18)–(20). In these examples, the subexamples in (a) contain the question and the subexamples in (b) contain the corresponding fragment answers.

(18) *PCC obviation in fragment answers: Ditransitives*
a. Nor saldu d-i-o-Ø Koldo-k nor-i? —
who.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG Koldo-ERG who-DAT
'Who did Koldo sell to whom?' —

b. (i) Alkatea-ri Jon Δ eta *harakina-ri* **ni/zu** Δ.
mayor-DAT Jon.ABS and butcher-DAT I.ABS/you.ABS
'Jon to the mayor and me/you to the butcher.' (✓3DAT > 1/2ABS)

(ii) Alkatea-ri Jon Δ eta { *ni-ri* **zu** Δ / *zu-ri* **ni** Δ }.
mayor-DAT Jon.ABS and I-DAT you.ABS you-DAT I.ABS
'Jon to the mayor and {you to me / me to you}.'
(✓1DAT > 2ABS / ✓2DAT > 1ABS)

(19) *PCC obviation in fragment answers: Psych-verbs*

a. Nor gusta-tzen z-ai-o nor-i? —
who.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT who-DAT
'Who likes whom?' —

b. Mona-ri Pello Δ eta { *ni-ri* **zu** Δ / *zu-ri* **ni** Δ }.
Mona-DAT Pello.ABS and I-DAT you.ABS you-DAT I.ABS
'Mona (likes) Pello and {I (like) you / you (like) me}.'
(✓1DAT > 2ABS / ✓2DAT > 1ABS)

(20) *PCC obviation in fragment answers: Possessor-dative constructions*

a. Nor bota d-i-o-te nor-i beso-etara? —
who.ABS thrown 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG who-DAT arms-into
Who did they throw into whose arms? —

b. (i) Mona-ri Pello Δ eta *Mikel-i* **ni/zu** Δ.
Mona-DAT Pello.ABS and Mikel-DAT I.ABS/you.ABS
'Pello into Mona's and me/you into Mikel's.' (✓3DAT > 1/2ABS)

(ii) Mona-ri Pello Δ eta { *ni-ri* **zu** Δ / *zu-ri* **ni** Δ}.
Mona-DAT Pello.ABS and I-DAT you.ABS you-DAT I.ABS
'Pello into Mona's and {you into mine / me into yours}.'
(✓1DAT > 2ABS / ✓2DAT > 1ABS)

2.5. Split questions

Another configuration in which PCC restrictions are obviated is split questions (see Arregi 2010 for arguments that split questions involve clausal structure plus ellipsis). As illustrated in (21)–(23), it is possible for the tag to contain combinations of arguments that would be ungrammatical due to the PCC in the absence of ellipsis. The scenario for these sentences is one where two actors in a play are discussing the plot of that play. The speaker remembers a specific plot point happening but does not remember who does what. For example, in (21),

the speaker remembers that one of them is sold to the other but does not remember whether it is the speaker that is sold to the addressee or vice versa.

(21) *PCC obviation in split questions: Ditransitives*
Nor-i saldu-ko d-i-o-te nor, [*zu-ri* **ni** Δ] ala [*ni-ri* **zu** Δ]?
who.DAT sell-FUT 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG who.ABS you-DAT I.ABS or I-DAT you.ABS
'Who will they sell to whom, me to you or you to me?'
(✓2DAT > 1ABS / ✓1DAT > 2ABS)

(22) *PCC obviation in split questions: Psych-verbs*
Nor-i gusta-tzen z-ai-o nor, [*zu-ri* **ni** Δ] ala [*ni-ri* **zu** Δ]?
who-DAT like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT who.ABS you-DAT I.ABS or I-DAT you.ABS
'Who likes whom, you me or I you?' (✓2DAT > 1ABS / ✓1DAT > 2ABS)

(23) *PCC obviation in split questions: Possessor-dative constructions*
Nor-i bota-ko d-i-o-te nor beso-etara, [*zu-ri* **ni** Δ] ala [*ni-ri* **zu** Δ]?
who-DAT throw-FUT 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG who.ABS arms-into you-DAT I.ABS or I-DAT you.ABS
'Who will they throw into whose arms, me into yours or you into mine?'
(✓2DAT > 1ABS / ✓1DAT > 2ABS)

2.6. Comparative deletion

Lastly, the PCC is also obviated by comparative deletion (see, e.g., Kennedy 2002, and Lechner 2004, 2018 for discussion of comparative deletion in general). (24) illustrates this for ditransitive constructions. (24a) provides the baseline configuration; (24b) illustrates the PCC. (24d) then shows that comparative deletion obviates the PCC violation. (24c) demonstrates that this effect arises only in the clause that is elided, not in the antecedent clause, in which no ellipsis takes place.

(24) *PCC obviation under comparative deletion: Ditransitive*

a. *Baseline: no PCC*
Politikari eskuindarr-ei **Koldo** maiz aurkez-ten d-i-e-te.
politician rightwing-DAT Koldo.ABS often introduce-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG
'They often introduce Koldo to rightwing politicians.' (✓3DAT > 3ABS)

b. *Baseline: PCC*
* *Politikari ezkertiarr-ei* **ni** maiz aurkez-ten n-ai-e-te.
politician leftwing-DAT I.ABS often introduce-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG
Intended: 'They often introduce me to leftwing politicians.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

c. *Baseline: PCC configuration not targeted by ellipsis*
* *Politikari ezkertiarr-ei* **ni** [politikari eskuindarr-ei Koldo Δ]
politician leftwing-DAT I.ABS politician rightwing-DAT Koldo.ABS
baino maiz-ago aurkez-ten n-ai-e-te.
than often-er introduce-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG
Intended: 'They introduce me to leftwing politicians more often than Koldo to rightwing politicians.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

d. *PCC obviation in comparative deletion*
Politikari eskuindarr-ei Koldo [*politikari ezkertiarr-ei* **ni/zu**
politician rightwing-DAT Koldo.ABS politician leftwing-DAT I.ABS/you.ABS
Δ] baino maiz-ago aurkez-ten d-i-e-te.
than often-er introduce-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG
'They introduce Koldo to rightwing politicians more often than me/you to leftwing politicians.' (✓3DAT > 1/2ABS)

(25) illustrates this effect of comparative deletion with psych-verbs.

(25) *PCC obviation with comparative deletion: Psych-verbs*
Mikel-i Mona [*ni-ri* **zu** Δ] baino gehi-ago gusta-tzen
Mikel-DAT Mona.ABS I-DAT you.ABS than more-er like-IPFV
z-ai-o.
3ABS-AUX-3DAT
'Mikel likes Mona more than I (like) you.' (✓1DAT > 2ABS)

Possessor-dative constructions are illustrated in (26).

(26) *PCC obviation with comparative deletion: Possessor-dative constructions*

a. *Baseline: PCC*

* *Guraso-ei* **ni** beso-etatik maiz ken-tzen n-ai-e-te.
family-DAT I.ABS arms-from often take.away-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG
Intended: 'They often take me away from my parents' arms.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

b. *Obviation in comparative deletion*

Guraso hori-ei haurrak beso-etatik [*ama-ri* **ni/zu** Δ]
parents those-DAT children.ABS arms-from mother-DAT I.ABS/you.ABS
baino maiz-ago ken-tzen d-izki-e-te.
than often-er take.away-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG
'They take children away from those parents' arms more often than me/you from my/your mom's.' (✓3DAT > 1/2ABS)

2.7. PCC and overt ϕ-agreement

The data in the preceding sections provides converging evidence that the Basque PCC is systematically sensitive to ellipsis. What the various ellipsis configurations in this section have in common is that they elide the lexical verb and the agreeing auxiliary, and we showed that this ellipsis obviates the PCC. This finding has important implications for our understanding of PCC effects. The standard approach to ellipsis involves (PF) deletion or non-pronunciation of syntactic structure present in the ellipsis site (see, e.g., Ross 1969, Sag 1976, Merchant 1999, 2001, 2004, 2013, Fox 2000, Kennedy & Merchant 2000, Fox & Lasnik 2003, Van Craenenbroeck 2010, Bošković 2014, Wurmbrand 2017, Mendes 2020, Mendes & Nevins 2023, among many others; see, e.g., Van Craenenbroeck & Merchant 2013 and Merchant 2019 for an overview). That is, the elliptical clauses involve regular clausal syntax with partial deletion or non-pronunciation at PF. This is the case for Basque as well. First, Basque exhibits *case-connectivity effects* (see Ross 1969, Merchant 1999, 2001, 2004, Ott 2014, and Lechner 2018, among others, for discussion of case connectivity in various ellipsis constructions). The remnant DPs must bear the same cases they would in the absence of ellipsis. For example, gapping in (10) leaves behind an ergative DP, a dative DP, and an absolutive DP. Following the literature just cited, we conclude that the ellipsis site must therefore contain the syntactic structure necessary for licensing these cases, and because these cases must be identical to the non-elided counterpart of the sentence, this structure must be the regular clause structure. Case connectivity holds for all ellipsis structures considered here. If case is taken to be assigned under ϕ-Agree (e.g., Chomsky 2000, 2001), then case connectivity also directly entails the presence of regular clausal ϕ-probes in elided structure. Second, Basque obeys Merchant's (2001) *P-stranding generalization:* Basque does not permit P-stranding under movement, and sluicing does not permit P-stranding either. Both case connectivity and

the P-stranding generalization are standard arguments for the presence of regular syntactic structure in ellipsis sites, motivating this view for Basque as well.

If ellipsis sites contain ordinary clause structure, we can infer that they must syntactically contain the regular verbal ϕ-probe(s) as well, the only difference being that these probes are not overtly realized at PF.[3] The fact that in this case the PCC restrictions systematically disappear provides clear indication that the Basque PCC is tied to the overt morphological realization of this ϕ-probe. This generalization is stated in (27), which covers all of the ellipsis data in sections 2.2–2.6.[4]

[3] In principle, as a reviewer suggests, it is conceivable that the syntactic status of ϕ-probes differs between elided and non-elided structure, with ϕ-probes missing in elided structures. However, such an approach strikes us as unprincipled. First, we are not aware of evidence, in Basque or elsewhere, that would support such a partial syntactic representation in the ellipsis site. Second, we are also not aware of this view having been independently proposed in the literature on ellipsis. Third, it is not clear to us how this account could be modeled in the first place: the syntax would have to be able to build clause structures without ϕ-probes in them, but only if such structures later undergo ellipsis at PF, a significant look-ahead problem. Fourth, as noted in the text, if case assignment involves ϕ-Agree, as is often assumed, case connectivity directly entails the presence of ordinary ϕ-probes in the elided clause structure. Fifth, the view that ellipsis sites lack ϕ-probes would still pose significant problems for a standard nominal-licensing account (to be discussed in section 3.1): if ellipsis sites lack ϕ-probes, all object DPs that originate in an ellipsis site would remain unlicensed and thus violate the Person Licensing Condition (35). This would predict that verbal ellipsis leads to ungrammaticality in the presence of any object DP, the opposite of what we find. For these various reasons, this approach does not seem like a viable alternative to the conclusion drawn in the main text.

[4] Two notes on PCC repairs. First, for some speakers, including the second author, it is possible to repair ditransitive PCC violations by dropping the dative agreement (Rezac 2010:774, 2011:184). Thus, (i) is ungrammatical with the regular agreement form *z-ait(i)-o-t*, but grammatical if the absolutive and the ergative DP are agreed with (*z-aitu-t*):

(i) Ni-k *harakina-ri* **zu** saldu { *z-aiti-o-t / z-aitu-t }. *ditransitive*
I-ERG butcher-DAT you.ABS sold 2ABS-AUX-3DAT-1ERG 2ABS-AUX-1ERG
'I have sold you to the butcher.'

Not all speakers have this rescue strategy (Rezac 2010:774, 2011:184), but for speakers who accept (i) with the auxiliary form that drops dative agreement, PCC obviation under ellipsis becomes somewhat more difficult to interpret analytically. This is because it is then conceivable that the source structure that underlies the ellipsis involves the form of the auxiliary that drops dative agreement. And for speakers for whom this source structure is grammatical, there would be no evidence that ellipsis rescues the structure.

Fortunately, it is easy to show that this is not a general concern. PCC repair via dropping of the dative agreement is available only in ditransitive constructions, but not with psych-verbs, possessor datives, applicative datives, or causatives (Rezac 2008b:81, 2010:774–776, 2011:185), as shown in (ii)–(v), respectively. For these constructions, there is no form of the agreeing auxiliary that would make them grammatical.

(ii) **Itxaso-ri* **ni** gusta-tzen { n-atzai-o / n-aiz / d-u-t }. *psych-verbs*
Itxaso-DAT I.ABS like-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT 1ABS-AUX 3ABS-AUX-1ERG
Intended: 'Itxaso likes me.'

(iii) **Miren-i* **ni** beso-etara bota { n-ai-o-te / n-au-te }. *possessor dative*
Miren-DAT I.ABS arms-into thrown 1ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG 1ABS-AUX-3ERG
Intended: 'They threw me into Miren's arms.'

(iv) *Lami-ek *Miren-i* **zu** jan-go { z-aiti-o-te / z-aituz-te }. *applicative dative*
lamias-ERG Miren-DAT you.ABS eat-FUT 2ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG 2ABS-AUX-3ERG
Intended: 'The lamias will eat you on Miren.'

(27) Basque PCC effects disappear in clauses that do not contain an overtly realized verbal ϕ-probe.

While (27) covers all ellipsis cases discussed above, its scope is not confined to these ellipsis cases. As mentioned in section 1, PCC effects are also obviated in Basque in nonfinite clauses that lack agreement altogether. This effect too can be observed across all five PCC configurations investigated here. Laka (1993a:27) and Albizu (1997:5) observe this effect for ditransitives; Arregi & Nevins (2012:68–69) demonstrate it for ditransitives and psych-verbs in Ondarru Basque. For ditransitives, the generalization is illustrated in (28). (28a) provides the baseline PCC configuration. (28b,c) show that the same combination of arguments does not lead to ungrammaticality if it occurs inside a nonfinite clause. For psych-verbs, the generalization is illustrated in (29). The same is true for possessor datives, applicative datives, and causatives, as shown in (30)–(32).[5]

(28) *PCC effects disappear in nonfinite clauses: Ditransitives*

a. *Zu-k *harakina-ri* **ni** saldu n-ai-o-zu.
you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS sold 1ABS-AUX-3DAT-2ERG
Intended: 'You have sold me to the butcher.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

(v) *Haiek *ni-ri* **zu** isil-arazi-ko { z-ai-da-te / z-aituz-te }. *causative*
they.ERG I-DAT you.ABS silence-CAUS-FUT 2ABS-AUX-1DAT-3ERG 2ABS-AUX-3ERG
Intended: 'They will make me silence you.'

The fact that PCC obviation under ellipsis holds for psych-verbs, possessor datives, applicative datives, and causatives as well despite there not being a grammatical non-elided counterpart thus provides clear evidence for (27) even for speakers who have the contrast in (i).

Second, in some varieties of Basque, psych-verbs permit repair of a PCC violation through so-called *absolutive displacement* (Rezac 2008b, 2010, 2011:224–229). Here, the absolutive DP appears in ergative case and controls ergative agreement, and the absolutive agreement slot bears 3rd person default agreement. An example is given in (vi). A 2nd person absolutive DP is ungrammatical regardless of the form of the auxiliary, but if the DP appears in ergative case, the sentence is grammatical.

(vi) Itxaso-ri { zu-k / *zu } gusta-tzen d-i-o-zu.
Itxaso-DAT you-ERG you.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-2ERG
'Itxaso likes you.'
(Rezac 2008b:81, (28a))

Crucially for us, absolutive displacement in (vi) manifests in the form of the DP (*zu-k* instead of *zu*). This means that it is possible to tell whether absolutive displacement has taken place in a given structure even if the auxiliary is elided. In all of our ellipsis examples, the form of the object DP is absolutive, not ergative. The fact that these structures are grammatical therefore cannot be attributed to absolutive displacement but must be the result of ellipsis, in line with (27). Moreover, absolutive displacement is limited to psych-verbs and not available in the other PCC configurations (Rezac 2008b:80).

[5] Not all speakers accept possessor dative and applicative datives in nonfinite clauses (thanks to a reviewer for pointing this out). But this restriction is independent of the person value of the absolutive DP (it also holds if the absolutive DP is 3rd person) so this restriction is unrelated to the PCC. For speakers who have this restriction, PCC obviation in nonfinite clauses simply cannot be tested with possessor datives and applicative datives.

b. Gaizki irudi-tzen z-ai-t [zu-k *harakina-ri* **ni**
wrong look-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-1DAT you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS
sal-tze-a].
sell-NMLZ-ART.ABS
'It seems wrong to me for you to sell me to the butcher.' (✓3DAT > 1ABS)
(adapted from Laka 1993a:27, (8))

c. Zu-k [*harakina-ri* **ni** sal-tze-n] probatu d-u-zu.
you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS sell-NMLZ-LOC attempted 3ABS-AUX-2ERG
'You have attempted to sell me to the butcher.' (✓3DAT > 1ABS)
(Coon & Keine 2021:662, (10c))

(29) *PCC effects disappear in nonfinite clauses: Psych-verbs*

a. **Ni-ri* **zu** ondo jaus-ten z-atzai-t.
I-DAT you.ABS well fall-IPFV 2ABS-AUX-1DAT
Intended: 'I like you.' (*1DAT > 2ABS)

b. [*Ni-ri* **zu** ondo jaus-te-a] nahi d-u-t.
I-DAT you.ABS well fall-NMLZ-ART.ABS want 3ABS-AUX-1ERG
'I want to like you.' (✓1DAT > 2ABS)
(based on Arregi & Nevins 2012:65, (39); 69, (46))

(30) *PCC effects disappear in nonfinite clauses: Possessor-dative constructions (cf. (7b))*
Gaizki irudi-tzen z-ai-t [*Miren-i* **zu** beso-etara
wrong look-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-1DAT Miren-DAT you.ABS arms-into
bota-tze-a].
throw-NMLZ-ART.ABS
'It seems wrong to me to throw you into Miren's arms.' (✓3DAT > 2ABS)

(31) *PCC effects disappear in nonfinite clauses: Applicative-dative constructions (cf. (8b))*
[Lami-ek *Miren-i* **zu** ja-te-a] nahi d-u-t.
lamias-ERG Miren-DAT you.ABS eat-NMLZ-ART.ABS want 3ABS-AUX-1ERG
'I want the lamias to eat you on Miren.' (✓3DAT > 2ABS)

(32) *PCC effects disappear in nonfinite clauses: Causatives (cf. (9b))*
Gaizki irudi-tzen z-ai-t [haiek *ni-ri* **zu** isil-araz-te-a].
wrong look-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-1DAT they.ERG I-DAT you.ABS silence-CAUS-NMLZ-ART.ABS
'It seems wrong to me for them to make me silence you.' (✓1DAT > 2ABS)

Assuming that the absence of verb agreement in these nonfinite clauses indicates the syntactic absence of the ϕ-probe that is present in finite clauses, Preminger (2011b, 2019) and Coon & Keine (2021) conclude that the PCC disappears if a clause does not syntactically contain a

ϕ-probe. In light of the ellipsis facts, it stands to reason that this effect is just a special case of the generalization in (27). Clauses that do not contain a ϕ-probe at all of course also do not contain an overtly realized ϕ-probe. The disappearance of the PCC in (28)–(32) then falls under (27). Conversely, the ellipsis facts presented here strongly suggest that the overarching generalization is not about the syntactic presence or absence of a ϕ-probe, but instead about the presence or absence of an *overtly realized* ϕ-probe.

All of the ellipsis cases in sections 2.2–2.6 involve ellipsis of both the lexical verb and the agreeing auxiliary. The formulation of the empirical generalization (27) only makes reference to the realization of the ϕ-probe. This predicts that ellipsis of the auxiliary alone is sufficient to obviate the PCC. This expectation is in line with the nonfinite clauses in (28)–(32), in which the lexical verb is retained but the PCC is nonetheless obviated. For ellipsis, the prediction is more difficult to test because ellipsis of just the auxiliary is more restricted. But it is possible in gapping configurations to elide only the auxiliary and retain the lexical verb. In this case, the PCC likewise disappears in the conjunct in which the gapping applies. This is shown for ditransitive predicates in (33) and for possessor datives in (34).

(33) *Gapping of auxiliary obviates the PCC: Ditransitives*
Jon-ek harakina-ri Mikel oparitu d-i-o-Ø, eta *alkatea-ri*
Jon-ERG butcher-DAT Mikel.ABS gifted 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and mayor-DAT
ni saldu Δ.
I.ABS sold
'Jon gifted Mikel to the butcher and sold me to the mayor.' (✓3DAT > 1ABS)

(34) *Gapping of auxiliary obviates the PCC: Possessor-datives configurations*
Mikel-i ur puxika soine-ra bota d-i-o-te, eta
Mikel-DAT water.balloon.ABS body-to thrown 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and
Miren-i **ni** beso-etatik kendu Δ.
Miren-DAT I.ABS arms-from removed
'They threw Mikel a water balloon, and removed me from Miren's arms.'
(✓3DAT > 1ABS)

In sum, the generalization in (27) captures the systematic obviation of PCC effects in a wide range of configurations, both under verbal ellipsis and in nonagreeing nonfinite clauses. In light of its pervasiveness, (27) should find an explanation in the basic principles that underlie the PCC (a conclusion also supported by familiar poverty-of-the-stimulus considerations). The next section considers what analytical constraints (27) imposes on accounts of the PCC in Basque.

3. Syntactic and morphological approaches to the PCC

The PCC has generated an empirically and analytically rich literature. This section discusses the implications of the evidence in the previous sections for accounts of the (Basque) PCC. We argue that the ellipsis facts provide evidence against nominal-licensing accounts of the PCC in Basque (see also Keine et al. 2022 for Oji-Cree) and in general against purely syntactic approaches. At the same time, there is evidence in Basque that a purely morphological analysis of the PCC is also insufficient. The goal of this section is not a comprehensive discussion of existing accounts of the PCC, but to evaluate the significance of the generalization in (27) in the context of these accounts. This will then form the basis of our own proposal in section 4.

3.1. Nominal-licensing accounts and failed Agree

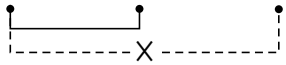
Abstracting away from specifics of implementation, the most common approach to the PCC in the recent literature is to attribute the person restriction to *failed Agree* between a probe and a DP due to intervention by another DP. The source of the restriction is often attributed to failed *nominal licensing*. The general analytical intuition pursued by these approaches is that 1st and 2nd person DPs require (special) nominal licensing through Agree with a functional head. The PCC then arises in configurations in which two DPs need to agree with, or be licensed by, a single functional head, but this functional head is unable to do so (see, e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, Béjar & Rezac 2003, Adger & Harbour 2007, Nevins 2007, Baker 2008, 2011, Richards 2008, Preminger 2011b, 2019, Walkow 2012, 2013, Kalin 2019, Stegovec 2020, Deal 2024).

For the sake of concreteness, we illustrate this general approach with Béjar & Rezac's (2003) analysis in terms of the *Person Licensing Condition* (PLC) in (35). This condition states that 1st and 2nd person DPs are subject to special licensing requirements, which are met by Agree with a functional head.

(35) *Person Licensing Condition* (Béjar & Rezac 2003:53)
An interpretable 1st/2nd person feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category.

In PCC configurations, a direct object DP is separated from its licensing head (by assumption v) by the indirect object. The indirect object blocks ϕ-Agree across it (more specifically Agree for person), preventing the relevant probe on v from agreeing with the direct object, as shown in (36). If the direct object is 1st or 2nd person, it therefore remains unlicensed, in violation of the PLC (35). Because 3rd person DPs are not subject to the PLC, the direct object may be 3rd person without incurring a licensing problem.

(36) $[_{HP}\ H^0 \ldots [\ldots DP \ldots [\ \ldots DP_{[1/2]} \ldots]\ ]\ ] \rightarrow$ *violates (35)*



In this way, the account derives the restriction that the direct object may not be 1st or 2nd person in the presence of an indirect object, which is correct for Basque.

The general approach of attributing the PCC to the failure of a nominal to ϕ-agree with a functional head has been maintained in much recent work, but this body of work offers different explanations for why certain nominals must agree in this way.[6] For example, Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) reduces this requirement to the Case Filter; Adger & Harbour (2007) attribute it to an interaction between Case licensing and selection; and Stegovec (2020) suggests that ϕ-Agree is necessary in order for an argument clitic to receive interpretable ϕ-features. In spite of these differences, these accounts share the core idea that the PCC arises from the failure of a nominal to ϕ-agree with a functional head. For ease of reference, we will refer to such analyses as "(nominal) licensing accounts" or "failed-Agree accounts" because on these accounts, the object (either a full DP or an argumental clitic) must ϕ-agree with a functional head in order to license its occurrence. The PCC results, on these accounts, from the inability to establish such ϕ-Agree.

As we now show, the analytical challenge that arises from the ellipsis cases is largely the same for accounts within this family, and we will therefore abstract away from the differences between them in what follows. Let us consider the generalization in (27), according to which PCC effects disappear in the absence of an overtly realized ϕ-probe, in the context of licensing/failed-Agree accounts of the PCC. Because such accounts attribute the PCC to the presence of an unlicensed DP that arises from the failure to establish a ϕ-Agree relation with this DP, it is not at all clear on such accounts why eliding the ϕ-probe should obviate the PCC. For concreteness, let us consider the gapping case (11), adapted here in (37). For the sake of clarity, the elided material *gusta-tzen z-atzaizki-t* is struck-out. If this ellipsis does not take place, the example is ungrammatical (see (6c)), and there is no grammatical overt form of the ellipsis site in (37). This means that the PCC obviation must be directly the result of the verbal ellipsis.

[6] Another dimension along which accounts within this family differ is the structural relationship between the licensing ϕ-probe and the to-be-agreed-with nominal. The probe is often located above both DPs, as in (36), but other accounts sandwich the functional head between the two DPs (e.g., Adger & Harbour 2007, Walkow 2013, Yokoyama 2019, Deal 2024), as in (i):

(i) $[_{HP}\ DP \quad H^0 \ldots [\ldots DP_{[1/2]} \ldots]\ ]$

While this difference affects which of the two DPs is the one that fails to agree, it does not affect the basic idea that the PCC results from the failure to agree with both DPs. The problem posed by the Basque ellipsis facts is therefore the same for these analyses as it is for analyses in which it is the lower DP that cannot be agreed with.

(37) Zu-ri Pello gusta-tzen z-ai-zu, eta *ni-ri* **zu** ~~gusta-tzen~~
you-DAT Pello.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-2DAT and I-DAT you.ABS like-IPFV
~~z-atzaizki-t.~~
2ABS-AUX-1DAT
'You like Pello and I you.' (✓1DAT > 2ABS)

Two principal problems arise for a nominal-licensing/failed-Agree account of the PCC. First, because the licensing requirement (such as the PLC (35)) is syntactic in nature in the sense that it requires a syntactic operation to take place (i.e., ϕ-Agree and/or case assignment), it is unexpected that non-pronunciation of syntactic structure should interact with it and obviate the PCC. Second, the DP arguments whose cooccurrence is normally prohibited by the PCC (i.e., *ni-ri* 'I-DAT' and *zu* 'you.ABS' in (37)) are *not* affected by gapping—they are outside of the ellipsis site. An account that attributes the PCC to the presence of an unlicensed *nominal* therefore leaves unexplained why the PCC is obviated if the *verb and auxiliary* are elided.

One might wonder whether this rescuing effect of ellipsis can be attributed to the often-assumed (though controversial) ability of some ellipsis processes to repair island violations (e.g., Ross 1969, Chomsky 1972, Merchant 1999, 2001, 2008, Kennedy & Merchant 2000, Fox & Lasnik 2003, Bošković 2011). In what follows, we provide two arguments that ungrammaticality repair under ellipsis does not offer a principled explanation for (37) on a nominal-licensing-based account. First, (37) involves gapping, and gapping (like stripping) does not have the ability to repair island violations in Basque in the first place, just like it does not in English (see Merchant 2019 and the references cited there). This is demonstrated for gapping in (38) and for stripping in (39).

(38) *No island repair under gapping*
*Batzu-ek grekoa azter-tzen duen ikertzailea kontratatu
some-ERG Greek.ABS investigate-IPFV have.COMP researcher.ABS hired
nahi d-u-te, eta beste batzu-ek Δ albaniarra.
want 3ABS-AUX-3ERG and other some-ERG Albanian.ABS
Intended: 'Some wanted to hire the researcher who studies Greek, and others ~~the one who studies~~ Albanian.'

(39) *No island repair under stripping*
*Kotxea lapurtu zuen gizona harrapatu d-u-te, baina ez
car.ABS stolen have.PST.COMP man.ABS caught 3ABS-AUX-3ERG but not
Δ bizikleta.
bicycle.ABS
Intended: 'They have caught the man who stole the car, but not ~~the one who stole~~ the bike.'

Gapping and stripping thus do not in general have the ability to repair ungrammatical structures in Basque. The PCC obviation under gapping and stripping therefore cannot simply be attributed to such an ability. It would therefore be entirely ad hoc to stipulate that gapping and stripping nonetheless repair nominal-licensing failures.

Second, in the cases of island repair under ellipsis discussed in the literature, the source of the ungrammaticality is located *inside* the ellipsis site. In fact, Fox & Lasnik (2003) and Merchant (2008) argue that rescue-by-ellipsis only applies to material within the ellipsis site, not to material outside of it. Importantly, on a licensing account of the PCC, the source of the PCC is a DP that has failed to agree and therefore remains unlicensed. But this DP is *not* elided in (37) and is outside of the ellipsis site in all the examples in sections 2.2–2.6. Therefore, even if gapping and stripping did have the ability to repair ungrammatical structures (contra (38) and (39)), a nominal-licensing account of the PCC would nonetheless fail to derive the rescuing effect of ellipsis in (37) because ellipsis would apply to the "wrong" element to have a rescuing effect: the DP whose licensing failure is taken to be the source of the ungrammaticality is not elided.

We conclude that the observation that the PCC is modulated by the overt realization of a ϕ-probe poses a serious challenge for accounts that attribute the PCC to failed Agree and concomitant failure to license a DP, and repair by ellipsis is unlikely to overcome this challenge in a principled manner. This conclusion is independent of what exactly underlies the licensing requirement and which of the two DPs is the one that remains unlicensed (see fn. 6). Because PCC obviation through verbal ellipsis holds for all PCC configurations discussed in section 2, the same challenge arises for such accounts across this range of constructions.[7]

We take the generalization that the PCC arises only in the presence of an overtly realized verbal ϕ-probe to provide strong indication that the PCC arises from the ϕ-probe and its overt realization. Because licensing accounts of the PCC locate the source of the PCC in

[7] The ellipsis cases also pose a challenge to licensing accounts that extend to PCC obviation in nonfinite clauses (see (28)–(32)). The most explicit version of such an account is developed by Preminger (2011b, 2019), who assumes that that these nonfinite clauses syntactically lack a ϕ-probe and proposes a revised version of the PLC that includes a caveat for such clauses. The caveat is that only DPs that occur in the same clause as a ϕ-probe are subject to the licensing requirement. DPs in clauses without a ϕ-probe may remain unlicensed. This revised PLC is stated in (i).

(i) *Person Licensing Condition* (Preminger 2011b:931)
A 1st/2nd-person pronoun in the same clause as a person ϕ-probe must be agreed with by that ϕ-probe.

Because according to the PLC in (i), 1st and 2nd person DPs need to be licensed through ϕ-Agree only in clauses that contain a ϕ-probe, it derives the fact that nonfinite clauses in Basque do not show PCC effects.

Coon & Keine (2021) point out that this account is ad hoc in that it does not offer an explanation for *why* DPs should require licensing through ϕ-Agree only if the clause in which they occur also contains a ϕ-probe. In addition to this objection, the revised PLC (i) also does not straightforwardly extend to the ellipsis cases presented in the preceding section and hence the generalization in (27). As just noted, while the surface form of elliptical sentences like (37) lacks overt ϕ-agreement, on the standard assumption (motivated for Basque in section 2.7) that ellipsis involves the non-pronunciation or PF deletion of otherwise regular syntactic structure, these sentences nonetheless contain a regular ϕ-probe syntactically. As such, the DPs in these clauses should be subject to the syntactic licensing requirement even if the ϕ-probe remains unpronounced at PF. (i) would therefore predict that the PCC is unaffected by ellipsis of the ϕ-probe, contrary to fact.

syntactic licensing needs of a DP, they do not offer a ready explanation of the role of the PF realization of the verbal agreement. Instead, (27) invites an approach to the PCC grounded in the ϕ-probe and its realization. Before we pursue such an account, we document another constraint on the analysis space in the next section.

3.2. Morphological approaches

The effect of ellipsis on the PCC could be taken as direct support for a morphological or PF characterization of the (Basque) PCC (see Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, 1994, Laka 1993a, 1996, Arregi & Nevins 2008, 2012). For example, Bonet (1994:36) states a morphological constraint to the effect of (40) for Basque. The constraint is morphological in nature in that it operates on the agreement markers, not the argument DPs themselves.

(40) If there is dative agreement, the absolutive agreement must be 3rd person.
(adapted from Bonet 1994:36)

Because the constraint in (40) applies to the agreement morphology rather than the arguments themselves, it elegantly derives that the Basque PCC disappears in nonfinite clauses (see section 2.7): because these clauses lack agreement altogether, they are in compliance with (40) even if the absolutive DP is 1st or 2nd person. Furthermore, this account potentially derives the ellipsis facts in section 2 if ellipsis sites do not contain agreement markers relevant for (40).

While a morphological account of the Basque PCC is thus potentially better-equipped to handle the interactions with ellipsis, Albizu (1997) and Rezac (2008b) note a significant challenge to a purely morphological approach to the PCC (also see Preminger 2019). Albizu (1997) and Rezac (2008b) observe that the Basque PCC is sensitive to the *syntactic* configuration of the absolutive DP and the dative DP, a distinction that is neutralized in the agreement morphology: in particular, the PCC arises only if the dative DP is structurally higher than the absolutive DP. They show that there are verbs in Basque that take only an absolutive and a dative argument and that these verbs fall into two classes, illustrated in (41). The first class involves unaccusative psych-verbs like *gustatu* 'like'. We already saw in (6) that this class exhibits the PCC—the absolutive DP may not be 1st or 2nd person, regardless of the order of the DPs. The second class is exemplified by the verb *etorri* 'come'. Verbs in this second class do not restrict the person of the absolutive DP.[8]

[8] While this characterization holds of Standard Basque, which is our domain of investigation here, it is worth mentioning that there are some nonstandard varieties that restrict or rule out 1st or 2nd person absolutive DPs even with motion verbs (Rezac 2009, Arregi & Nevins 2012). For these varieties, it is conceivable that motion verbs too involve a DAT>ABS syntax, like psych-verbs. Alternatively, for these varieties, a purely morphological filter of the kind proposed by Arregi & Nevins (2008, 2012) might be the appropriate analysis. Both analyses would in principle be compatible with our own account for Standard Basque here, but they do not extend to Standard Basque for the reasons given in the main text. In the discussion that follows, the term "Basque" should be understood as "Standard Basque".

(41) a. *PCC with psych-verbs (*DAT > ABS*)*
*Ni *Itxaso-ri* gusta-tzen **n**-atzai-**o**.
I.ABS Itxaso-DAT like-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT
Intended: 'Itxaso likes me.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

b. *No PCC with motion verbs (*ABS > DAT*)*
Ni *Itxaso-ri* etor-tzen **n**-atzai-**o**.
I.ABS Itxaso-DAT come-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT
'I am coming to Itxaso.' (✓1ABS > 3DAT)
(Rezac 2008b:63, (1b,c))

Rezac (2008b) demonstrates through syntactic tests that the two verb classes differ in the hierarchical relationship between the base positions of the absolutive argument and the dative argument. With psych-verbs like *gustatu* 'like', the dative argument c-commands the absolutive argument; with motion verbs like *etorri* 'come', the absolutive argument c-commands the dative argument. This is illustrated with reflexive binding in (42) and (43). With psych-verbs, the dative can bind the absolutive but not the other way around (42); with motion verbs, the absolutive can bind the dative but not the other way around (43). This underlying structural distinction does not necessarily manifest in the surface word order between the DPs, which is free.[9]

[9] The same is true for regular ditransitives, as shown in (i):

(i) a. Mira-k *Kepa-ri*$_1$ **bere burua**$_1$ erakutsi d-i-o-Ø ispilu-a-n.
Mira-ERG Kepa-DAT himself.ABS show 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG mirror-the-in
'Mira$_2$ showed Kepa$_1$ to himself$_1$ in the mirror.'

b. *Mira-k **Kepa**$_1$ *bere burua-ri*$_1$ erakutsi d-i-o-Ø ispilu-a-n.
Mira-ERG Kepa.ABS himself-DAT show 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG mirror-the-in

Verbal ellipsis of the kind investigated in section 2 does not affect these c-command relations, as shown for gapping in (ii)–(iv).

(ii) a. Mona-ri Pello gusta-tzen z-ai-o, eta *Kepa-ri*$_1$ **bere burua**$_1$ Δ.
Mona-DAT Pello.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT and Kepa-DAT himself.ABS
'Mona likes Pello, and Kepa himself.'

b. *Mona-ri Pello gusta-tzen z-ai-o, eta **Kepa**$_1$ *bere burua-ri*$_1$ Δ.
Mona-DAT Pello.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT and Kepa.ABS himself-DAT

(iii) a. Ni zu-ri hurbildu n-atzai-zu, eta **Kepa**$_1$ *bere burua-ri*$_1$ Δ.
I.ABS you-DAT approach 1ABS-AUX-2DAT and Kepa.ABS himself-DAT
'I approach you and Kepa himself.'

b. *Ni zu-ri hurbildu n-atzai-zu, eta *Kepa-ri*$_1$ **bere burua**$_1$ Δ.
I.ABS you-DAT approach 1ABS-AUX-2DAT and Kepa-DAT himself.ABS

(iv) a. Ni-k Mona-ri txakurra erakutsi d-i-o-t ispilu-a-n, eta Mira-k *Kepa-ri*$_1$
I-ERG Mona-DAT dog.ABS show 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-1ERG mirror-the-in and Mira-ERG Kepa-DAT
bere burua$_1$ Δ.
himself.ABS
'I showed Mona to the dog in the mirror, and Mira Kepa$_1$ to himself$_1$.'

(42) *Psych-verbs: Dative argument c-commands absolutive argument*

a. *Kepa-ri*$_1$ **bere burua**$_1$ gusta-tzen z-ai-o.
Kepa-DAT himself.ABS like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT
'Kepa likes himself.'

b. ***Kepa**$_1$ *bere burua-ri*$_1$ gusta-tzen z-ai-o.
Kepa.ABS himself-DAT like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT
(based on Rezac 2008b:75, (22a,b))

(43) *Motion verbs: Absolutive argument c-commands dative argument*

a. **Kepa**$_1$ *bere burua-ri*$_1$ hurbildu z-ai-o terapia hasi duenetik.
Kepa.ABS himself-DAT approach 3ABS-AUX-3DAT therapy begin since
'Kepa has gotten closer to himself since he began therapy.'

b. **Kepa-ri*$_1$ **bere burua**$_1$ hurbildu z-ai-o terapia hasi duenetik.
Kepa-DAT himself.ABS approach 3ABS-AUX-3DAT therapy begin since

Importantly, this difference in the syntactic relationship between the absolutive DP and the dative DP is neutralized in the surface verb morphology—the form of the agreeing auxiliary is identical between the two verb classes. As a consequence, the would-be form of the auxiliary in (41a)—were it grammatical—is identical to the attested form in (41b). Thus, whatever underlies the ungrammaticality of (41a) cannot be solely morphological in nature because the morphological form of the auxiliary is demonstrably permissible given (41b) (in violation of (40)).[10] Albizu (1997), Rezac (2008b), and following them Preminger (2019) con-

b. *Ni-k Mona-ri txakurra erakutsi d-i-o-t ispilu-a-n, eta **Kepa**$_1$ *bere burua-ri*$_1$
I-ERG Mona-DAT dog.ABS show 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-1ERG mirror-the-in and Kepa.ABS himself-DAT
Δ.

We conclude, therefore, that ellipsis does not modify the verbal argument structure. The effect of ellipsis on the PCC thus cannot be attributed to any such modification.

Interestingly, Etxepare (2014) argues that in ditransitive configurations in which the dative DP does not agree the dative DP is below the absolutive DP. Notably, these are also the configurations in which the PCC does not arise (see fn. 4), as predicted by our account.

[10] A more nuanced account is proposed by Arregi & Nevins (2008:57–58, 2012:64–69), who treat the Basque agreement markers on the auxiliary as clitics, and they assume that absolutive and dative clitics appear on the same head ("H" for Arregi & Nevins 2008; "T" for Arregi & Nevins 2012). They then propose that this head can host only a single clitic. This has the effect that absolutive clitics and dative clitics are incompatible with each other. Following Laka (1993a), they furthermore argue that 3rd person absolutive DPs do not generate a clitic so that it is specifically 1st/2nd person absolutive clitics that are prohibited from cooccurring with a dative clitic, deriving the PCC. The account is morphological in nature in the sense that it imposes a restriction on the amount of material that the morphologically complex auxiliaries may comprise.

To account for the disparity between the two verb classes in (41) with respect to the PCC, Arregi & Nevins (2012) suggest that the dative DP in (41b) differs from the dative DP in (41a) in that the dative clitic in (41b) appears on a separate functional head, different from the functional head that hosts the absolutive clitics. The two clitics therefore do not compete for the same host and may thus cooccur. This analysis derives the contrast in (41), but we will not adopt it here for two reasons. First, the assumption that the dative clitic is hosted on a different head in (41a) than

clude that an account of the Basque PCC must crucially involve a syntactic component and specifically be sensitive to the syntactic relationship between the two DPs. This is expressed in the generalization in (44).

(44) Basque PCC effects arise only if the dative DP c-commands the absolutive DP in the base configuration (a distinction that is neutralized in the agreement morphology).

3.3. Interim summary

We saw evidence from ellipsis and nonfinite clauses that the PCC in Basque is sensitive to the overt realization of a ϕ-probe. At the same time, the contrast in (41) shows that a non-stipulative account ought to be sensitive to the syntactic arrangement of the dative DP and the absolutive DP. These two conclusions are repeated from (27) and (44) in (45).

(45) a. Basque PCC effects disappear in clauses that do not contain an overtly realized verbal ϕ-probe.
b. Basque PCC effects arise only if the dative DP c-commands the absolutive DP in the base configuration (a distinction that is neutralized in the agreement morphology).

These generalizations strongly suggest that a comprehensive account of the Basque PCC must be sensitive to *both* the syntactic configuration of the DPs *and* the PF realization of the verbal ϕ-agreement. (45) imposes significant constraints on the analysis space. Nominal-licensing accounts are sensitive to the syntactic relationship between the DPs but because nominal licensing is crucially syntactic in nature, the role of the PF realization of the ϕ-probe in (45a) remains unexplained. On the other hand, morphological accounts of the Basque PCC are potentially better equipped to derive the role of overt ϕ-agreement, but they do not lend themselves to a principled account of the role that the syntactic arrangement of the two DPs plays, hence (45b). Both types of approaches therefore miss important, if complementary, generalizations.

As a result, a comprehensive account of the Basque PCC should be cross-modular in the sense that it is conditioned by both narrow-syntactic factors (in particular the syntactic

in (41b) is not independently motivated—the surface forms of the auxiliaries in the two classes are always identical. Second, even if this assumption is made, it must also be stipulated that it is the dative clitic in (41a) that is hosted by the same head as the absolutive clitic and not the dative clitic in (41b). The inverse of this situation would be equally conceivable, yielding the PCC in (41b) but not in (41a). This account therefore leaves unexplained the empirical connection between the syntactic relationship between the two DPs on the one hand and the presence or absence of PCC effects on the other—it misses the generalization in (44) that all cases of the PCC in Basque arise in configurations in which a dative DP c-commands an absolutive DP. Moreover, the syntactic condition on the PCC described in (44) is not specific to Basque either but a general property of PCC effects crosslinguistically, which generally arise whenever a dative DP intervenes between a probe and a structurally lower accusative/absolutive DP. In light of this generality and pervasiveness, (44) ought to follow from the principles of the account. But this calls for an account that is sensitive to the syntactic relationship between the two DPs.

relationship between the two DPs) and PF factors (in particular whether the verbal ϕ-probe is pronounced or not). Moreover, the sensitivity of the PCC to the pronunciation of the ϕ-probe encourages an account that attributes the PCC to verbal agreement rather than to nominal licensing. We develop such an account in the next section, based on Coon & Keine's (2021) feature-gluttony approach to hierarchy effects, which, we argue, allows us to understand these generalizations.

4. A feature-gluttony account

Coon & Keine (2021) develop an approach to the PCC and other hierarchy effects that attributes these effects to configurations in which a single probe agrees with multiple goals—configurations they call *(feature) gluttony* (also see Coon et al. 2021, Hoover 2021, Keine et al. 2022, and Bhatia & Bhatt 2023). Such double Agree takes place when, after an articulated probe has agreed with one DP, there is a second DP that bears features that are sought after by the probe but that are not present on the higher DP. A probe that has agreed with two DPs is called *gluttonous*. Feature gluttony is not itself ungrammatical, but it may result in an irresolvable conflict in the morphological realization of the head that contains the gluttonous probe, resulting in ineffability and hence ungrammaticality. Because ellipsis bleeds the morphological realization of elided structure (a view motivated on independent grounds), no morphological conflict arises if the gluttonous probe is elided. In other words, verbal ellipsis obviates the otherwise fatal effects of a gluttonous probe, which we show enables a principled explanation of the generalizations in (45). The core ingredients of our account are previewed in (46). Our analysis differs from Coon & Keine's (2021) general account of the PCC in some important respects; in particular, we treat the Basque PCC as arising from a ϕ-agreement probe rather than from cliticization (see Coon & Keine 2021 and section 6 for an application of the gluttony account to languages in which the PCC arises with clitics), we attribute the Basque PCC to ineffability at PF rather than to a syntactic problem that arises with head movement, and we integrate the effects of ellipsis on gluttonous probes.

(46) *Principles of the account*

a. Segment-based ϕ-Agree
(e.g., Béjar 2003, 2008, Béjar & Rezac 2009, Béjar & Kahnemuyipour 2017, Coon & Keine 2021),

b. Late insertion of vocabulary items
(e.g., Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994, et seq.)

c. Ineffability in vocabulary insertion arising from multivaluation
(Schütze 2003, Citko 2005, Kratzer 2009, Asarina 2011, 2013, Bjorkman 2016, Citko & Gračanin-Yuksek 2021, Coon & Keine 2021, Privizentseva 2021, 2024, Bhatia & Bhatt 2023),

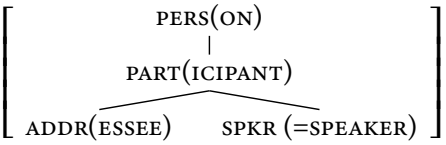
d. Ellipsis bleeds vocabulary insertion
(Merchant 1999, 2001, 2015, Kennedy & Merchant 2000, Abels 2019, Mendes 2020, Privizentseva 2021, 2024, Mendes & Nevins 2023)

The feature-gluttony approach differs from the approaches discussed in section 3 in several respects. Unlike purely morphological approaches, the account crucially relies on syntactic Agree and the structural relationship between ϕ-probes and DPs. Unlike nominal-licensing approaches, (i) it does not involve a requirement for DPs to be licensed through ϕ-Agree (that is, there is no person-licensing requirement such as the PLC); (ii) PCC configurations are characterized not by failed Agree, but by double Agree (in other words, the PCC results from "too much" Agree); (iii) the account locates the source of the PCC not in an unlicensed DP, but in a gluttonous ϕ-probe; and (iv) the account crucially involves a lethal morphological conflict and is hence not purely syntactic in nature.

4.1. Segment-based ϕ-Agree and feature gluttony

We begin by introducing the general Agree calculus that underlies our account. We assume, following much recent work, that ϕ-features are internally complex and organized in feature geometries (see Harley & Ritter 2002, Béjar 2003, Béjar & Rezac 2009, Preminger 2014, among many others). The relevant feature geometry for person is given in (47). Following the terminology in Béjar & Rezac (2009) and Coon & Keine (2021), we will refer to the individual subfeatures in (47) as *segments*. Different person values differ in the number of segments they bear. 3rd person DPs bear only the [PERS] segment; 2nd person bears [PERS [PART [ADDR]]]; 1st person bears [PERS [PART [SPRK]]].

(47) **Person-feature geometry**

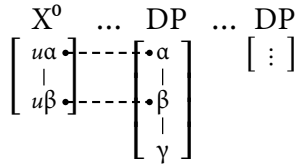


Building on Béjar (2003, 2008), Béjar & Rezac (2009), Béjar & Kahnemuyipour (2017), and others, Coon & Keine (2021) assume that ϕ-probes may be internally complex as well and contain uninterpretable counterparts of the segments in (47). The amount of internal articulation is subject to parametrization across languages, yielding different types of PCC patterns; see Coon & Keine (2021:677) and fn. 21. Following Béjar (2003), Béjar & Rezac (2009), and others, Agree is *segment-based*, as defined in (48). The individual segments of the probe search independently, each agreeing with the closest matching counterpart on a DP. When a probing segment agrees with a DP, it copies *all* person segments of the DP over to the probe. As such, probing and copying are operations with different granularities: probing applies at the level of the individual segment, whereas copying is "coarse" and applies at the

level of the feature geometry as a whole (see also Béjar 2003:39, Béjar & Rezac 2009:45–46, Preminger 2011a:36–37, 2014:47–48, and Kalin 2019:18–19).[11]

(48) **Agree**
A probe segment [*u*F] agrees with the closest accessible DP in its domain that bears [F]. If Agree is established, the hierarchy of segments containing [F] is copied over to the probe, valuing and thus removing [*u*F].
(Coon & Keine 2021:665)

To illustrate with schematic examples, consider a complex probe containing the segments [*u*α] and [*u*β]. (49) shows Agree in a configuration in which the first goal DP contains matching segments [α] and [β] for each segment (in addition to another segment [γ]). Each probe segment searches independently and agrees with the closest matching counterpart on the closest DP. As a result of this Agree, for each agreeing segment, the entire feature matrix of the goal DP ([α [β [γ]]]) is copied over onto the probe. Given the set-theoretical axiom that {A, A, ...} = {A, ...}, this representation is equivalent to there being a single [α [β [γ]]] value on the probe (50). Because both [*u*α] and [*u*β] find a goal on the closest DP, it is irrelevant for this Agree step what the features of any other, more distant goals are, indicated by "⋮" in (49).

(49)


(50) *Single-valued probe after Agree in (49)*

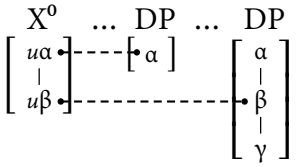
$$\left[\phi = \left\{\left[\begin{array}{c}\alpha\\|\\\beta\\|\\\gamma\end{array}\right], \left[\begin{array}{c}\alpha\\|\\\beta\\|\\\gamma\end{array}\right]\right\}\right] \quad = \quad \left[\phi = \left\{\left[\begin{array}{c}\alpha\\|\\\beta\\|\\\gamma\end{array}\right]\right\}\right]$$

As will become clear, a crucial property of the gluttony account is that the PCC is *not* attributed to failed nominal licensing, failed case assignment, or failed ϕ-Agree (such as the PLC (35)). Thus, if there is a lower DP in (49), this DP does not agree with the ϕ-probe, but this failure to agree is harmless.

Because each segment searches and agrees independently with its closest counterpart on

[11] This coarseness of copying is motivated independently of PCC effects. The reason is that probes can be underspecified relative to the feature geometry on a DP. For example, the Basque probe in (56) below lacks [*u*ADDR] and [*u*SPKR], and hence the distinction between 1st and 2nd person. But the agreement morphology that realizes this probe distinguishes between 1st and 2nd person in Basque, and consequently it is clear that these segments must be copied over from the DP even if the probe is not specified for them. The same reasoning applies to all probes whose segments do not completely mirror the segments on DPs, including flat [*u*PERS] probes, which do not result in hierarchy effects at all.

a DP, it is possible for different segments of a probe to agree with different DPs. This is the case if (i) the probe contains at least two segments, (ii) the higher DP matches some but not all of these segments, and (iii) the lower DP matches some probe segment not matched by the higher DP. This is schematized in (51), where both [*u*α] and [*u*β] agree with their closest counterparts, which are located on different DPs. This results in gluttony: configurations in which different segments of a probe agrees with different DPs. As a result of these Agree dependencies, the full geometries of both DPs are copied over to the probe, in line with (48). Because of Agree with [*u*α], the higher DP's feature geometry ([α]) is copied over; and because of Agree with [*u*β], the lower DP's complete feature geometry ([α [β [γ]]]) is copied over. The ϕ-probe therefore acquires a *pair of distinct values*, as shown in (52).

(51) 

→ *feature gluttony*

(52) *Multivalued probe after Agree in (51)*

$$\left[\ \phi = \left\{ \left[\ \alpha\ \right], \left[\begin{array}{c}\alpha\\ |\\ \beta\\ |\\ \gamma\end{array}\right] \right\} \right]$$

Coon & Keine (2021) argue that gluttonous probes such as (52) are not themselves ungrammatical, but the coexistence of two feature values can create an irresolvable conflict in the morphological realization of the gluttonous head, a point that will be crucial in our analysis of the Basque PCC in section 4.4.

Following Preminger (2009, 2011a, 2014, to appear), we assume that Agree must be attempted, but failure to find a goal does not lead to a crash. This holds at the level of the segment as well as at the level of the probe as a whole.

4.2. Absolutive agreement in Basque

Against this general background, we now turn to absolutive agreement in Basque. Basque auxiliaries exhibit a rich agreement system, including agreement with absolutive, dative, and ergative DPs. Setting aside other aspects of their morphology (for which see, e.g., Hualde 2003 and Arregi & Nevins 2012), the general agreement template is given in (53).

(53) *Basque auxiliary-agreement template*
ABS-$\sqrt{\text{AUX}}$-DAT-ERG

Recent work has argued that Basque agreement markers on auxiliaries are not uniform in

that some involve genuine ϕ-agreement while others are clitics. Preminger (2009) argues that the prefixal (absolutive) agreement slot realizes genuine ϕ-agreement while the suffixal dative and ergative markers are instances of clitic doubling (also see Etxepare 2014). Evidence for this difference comes from configurations in which agreement fails. Preminger (2009) shows that genuine agreement and clitic doubling behave differently when they are unsuccessful: failed agreement results in default agreement, whereas failed clitic doubling results in the wholesale absence of the clitic. As shown in (54), clauses that lack an absolutive DP show 3rd person singular agreement on the auxiliary (*d-*). By contrast, (55) shows that clauses that lack a dative or ergative DP simply lack ergative and dative markers on the auxiliary altogether (also supported by root allomorphy, see Arregi & Nevins 2008, 2012). See Preminger (2009) for much additional discussion and evidence.[12]

(54) *No absolutive argument → default agreement*
Ni-k dantzatu **d**-u-t.
I-ERG danced 3ABS-AUX-1ERG
'I danced.'

(55) *No ergative/dative argument → absence of "agreement"*
Ni joan n-aiz.
I.ABS go 1ABS-AUX
'I went.'

Preminger (2009) concludes that absolutives control genuine agreement in Basque, while dative and ergative "agreement" is clitic doubling.[13] Other evidence includes that in certain varieties of Basque absolutive agreement can be long-distance, but dative and ergative "agreement" can never be, as a result of the tighter locality restrictions on clitic doubling than agreement (Preminger 2009). We therefore adopt this conclusion here.

Following Rezac (2003, 2004, 2008b, 2011), Béjar & Rezac (2009), and Preminger (2009: 655–663), we assume that agreement with the absolutive DP is triggered by a probe in the vP region; for the sake of concreteness, we place the probe on v itself, though the precise identity of the head does not matter for our concerns here. Agreement with v is realized in the prefix slot of the Basque auxiliary in (53). As just discussed, following Preminger (2009), we assume based on (55) that the suffixal "agreement" slots (controlled by ergative and dative DPs) are the result of clitic doubling and triggered by probes separate from (56).

[12] All else equal, it is conceivable that the 3rd person absolutive agreement in (54) is agreement with a 3rd person implicit object, rather than default agreement (see Bobaljik 1993, Hale & Keyser 1993, Laka 1993b). We refer the reader to Preminger (2009, 2012) for arguments that this is not the case.

[13] A related but more nuanced conclusion is reached by Arregi & Nevins (2008, 2012). They propose that the absolutive marker is a clitic alongside the ergative and dative markers, but that the absolutive DP controls genuine ϕ-agreement with T, which is realized on the auxiliary root. In other words, they argue that the absolutive controls both a clitic and genuine agreement. This view is in principle compatible with our analysis here as well. What is crucial is that the absolutive controls genuine agreement (possibly in addition to clitic doubling) while the dative is clitic-doubled.

Because we locate the source of the PCC in the ϕ-Agree by v, we will focus primarily on the Agree behavior of v. We offer a brief discussion of how clitic doubling of dative DPs fits into this system in section 4.5. In what follows, we will also largely put aside number agreement, which we take to be established by a separate probe that operates independently of the issues that are at stake here (see Coon & Keine 2021:669–691 for discussion of number probes in this line of analysis more generally).

We propose that the ϕ-probe on v, which underlies the prefixal (absolutive) agreement slot in Basque, has the specification in (56). Our analysis is also compatible with specifying the probe for either [SPKR] or [ADDR], or both. What is crucial is that the probe contains both [PERS] and [PART], and as such is fully satisfied by 1st and 2nd person DPs, but not by 3rd person DPs, which do not match all of the probe's segments.

(56) *Basque person probe on v (→ absolutive agreement slot)*

$$\begin{bmatrix} u\text{PERS} \\ | \\ u\text{PART} \end{bmatrix}$$

Turning now to the morphological realization of agreement with v, the relevant paradigm for the agreement prefixes is provided in (57) (e.g., Hualde 2003:206–209). As shown, the 3rd person prefixes display contextual sensitivity to tense and mood: in the present tense, the 3rd person prefix is *d-*; in the past tense, it is *z-*; in the hypothetical, it is *l-*; and in 3rd person imperative ("May he/she/it …"), it is *b-*.[14] We will annotate tense in glosses where relevant.

(57) *Basque v agreement prefixes*

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1		*n-*	*g-*
2		*z-*	*z-*
2.FAMILIAR		*h-*	*h-*
3/default	present	*d-*	*d-*
	past	*z-*	*z-*
	hypothetical	*l-*	*l-*
	imperative	*b-*	*b-*

We adopt a *realizational* view of morphology (in the terminology of Stump 2001), according

[14] Not included in (57) are the exceptional present-tense forms of auxiliaries that bear 3rd person absolutive agreement and in addition dative agreement, but not ergative agreement, so-called "bivalent intransitives" (see Hualde 2003:214). These forms all start with *z-*, which Hualde (2003:214) hypothesizes might derive from historic palatalization of the regular underlying 3rd person prefix *d-* (e.g., **d-i-a-gi-t* > *zait*). Synchronically, this form may be analyzed either as the result of a readjustment rule or as a separate vocabulary item.

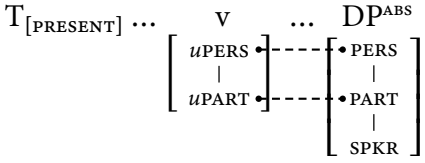
to which morphology realizes syntactic feature structures. More specifically, we assume a *late-insertion* model like Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994, et seq.). In this model, narrow syntax operates on abstract feature structures that are not associated with phonological properties. These abstract feature structures are given overt exponence post-syntactically through a process commonly called *vocabulary insertion*. This process inserts *vocabulary items* (VIs) into abstract syntactic heads, thereby giving them a phonological realization. The precise specification of these vocabulary items does not matter for our concerns here; any specification that yields the paradigm in (57) is compatible with our account.[15]

4.3. Monotransitive derivations

We now demonstrate how agreement proceeds in non-gluttonous configurations (that is, configurations in which v agrees with only one DP). First, (58) shows that in a monotransitive configuration with a 1st person object and a present-tense auxiliary, the prefixal agreement is *n-*. Agreement is established as in (59). Both the [PERS] and the [PART] segment of the probe on v find a matching counterpart on the object DP (59a). In line with (48), the object's full person-feature geometry is copied over to the probe, yielding (59b). This 1st person feature is then morphologically realized by the VI *n-*.

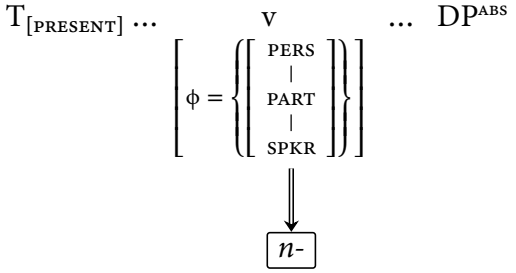
(58) Mona-k ni ikusi **n**-au-Ø.
Mona-ERG I.ABS seen 1ABS-AUX.PRS-3ERG
'Mona has seen me.'

(59) a. *Agree*



[15] As indicated in (57), the 3rd person forms also appear in the absence of an absolutive agreement controller (Preminger 2009, 2012) (see (54)). In line with the analysis of default agreement proposed in Preminger (2009, 2014, to appear), it is reasonable to treat such cases as the realization of an unvalued ϕ-probe—that is, the VIs that appear in the 3rd person forms are actually elsewhere VIs. Moreover, the 3rd-person agreement forms are sensitive to tense/mood, which is not relevant for us here (see Arregi & Nevins 2012 for a DM account).

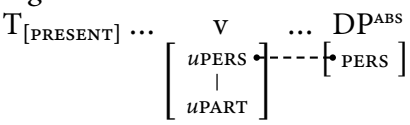
b. *Single-valued probe on v after Agree (in context of* [SG] *feature)*



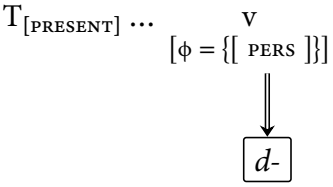
If a probe segment does not find a matching counterpart in its search space, Agree for this segment fails but does not crash the derivation. In a configuration with a 3rd person object, such as (60), [*u*PERS] agrees but [*u*PART] does not, leading to the 3rd-person agreement morphology *d-* (given the context of [PRESENT]).

(60) Mona-k Mikel ikusi **d**-u-Ø.
Mona-ERG Mikel.ABS seen 3ABS-AUX.PRS-3ERG
'Mona has seen Mikel.'

(61) a. *Agree*



b. *Single-valued probe on v after Agree (in context of* [SG] *feature)*



4.4. Gluttony, morphological ineffability, and the PCC

In this section, we turn to configurations in which v's search space contains two DPs. These are the configurations in which v's probe may in principle agree with two distinct DPs, leading to gluttony, and hence acquire two person values. These are also the configurations in which PCC effects arise. The circumstances under which such double Agree arises follow directly from the definition of Agree in (48): (i) the probe's search space contains two DPs, (ii) the higher DP matches some but not all of the probe's segments, and (iii) the lower DP matches some probe segment not matched by the higher DP. We propose that PCC effects arise from gluttony in conjunction with the principles of morphological realization just discussed. For the sake of concreteness, we illustrate this analysis with ditransitive con-

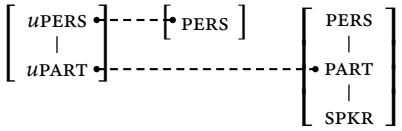
structions, but the relevant derivations hold equally for the other PCC configurations in section 2.1. As before, we will for now focus only on the behavior of the ϕ-probe on v, which is realized in the prefixal agreement slot. The additional clitic doubling of dative DPs is taken up briefly in section 4.5.

We consider first PCC-violating configurations with a 3rd person dative DP and a 1st or 2nd person absolutive DP. An example is given in (62).

(62) *Zu-k *harakina-ri* **ni** saldu n-ai-o-zu
you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS sold 1ABS-AUX.PRS-3DAT-2ERG
Intended: 'You have sold me to the butcher.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

The syntactic configuration for (62) is shown in (63): [*u*PERS] agrees with the 3rd person DP (the closest DP that matches [PERS]), but [*u*PART] agrees with the lower, 1st person DP because only this DP contains a [PART] segment. (63) thus instantiates gluttony. The full geometries of both DPs are copied over onto v, in line with (48), yielding a pair of distinct person values on v, shown in (64).

(63) $T_{[\text{PRESENT}]}$ ... v ... DP^{DAT} ... DP^{ABS} → *feature gluttony*



(64) *Multivalued probe on v in (63)*

$$\left[\ \phi = \left\{ \left[\ \text{PERS}\ \right], \left[\begin{array}{c}\text{PERS}\\ |\\ \text{PART}\\ |\\ \text{SPKR}\end{array}\right] \right\} \right]$$

Gluttony and multivalued probes such as (64) are not themselves ungrammatical, but they may result in an irresolvable morphological conflict—in a nutshell, vocabulary insertion must realize both values, but cannot do so, resulting in ineffability. Our analysis builds on a significant body of work that has argued that multivalued probes or heads may result in ineffability for morphological reasons. Effects of this kind have been documented in a variety of unrelated empirical domains, exemplified in (65). What these phenomena and/or analyses have in common is that a single syntactic element bears a feature with two distinct values, and ineffability results.

(65) *Morphological ineffability due to multivaluation*

a. Right Node Raising and ATB constructions (Dyła 1984, Franks 1995, Citko 2005, Asarina 2011, 2013, Citko & Gračanin-Yuksek 2021),

b. free relatives (Lumsden 1992, Van Riemsdijk 2006),

c. Horn amalgams (Van Riemsdijk 2006),
d. Icelandic dative–nominative constructions (Schütze 2003, Atlamaz & Baker 2018, Coon & Keine 2021, Hartmann & Heycock 2022),
e. English *go-get* constructions (Bjorkman 2016),
f. person restrictions in copula clauses (Coon & Keine 2021, Bhatia & Bhatt 2023),
g. gender-mismatch effects in Russian (Privizentseva 2021, 2024),
h. person complementarity in K'ichean Agent Focus (Coon et al. 2021),
i. availability of fake indexicals in German (Kratzer 2009)

To give an example, Right Node Raising and ATB constructions are subject to a case-matching requirement, illustrated for Right Node Raising in Russian in (66). As (66a) shows, if the shared element receives the same case from both verbs (both verbs assign accusative case to their object in (66a)), Right Node Raising is grammatical. By contrast, in (66b) the shared DP receives a different case from each verb, with each case demanding a different form of the shared noun (*ostavil* 'kept' assigns accusative case, demanding the form *tarelk-u*; and *nadoela* 'be sick of' assigns nominative case, demanding the form *tarelk-a*). The structure in (66b) is ungrammatical, regardless of the morphological case form of the shared DP.

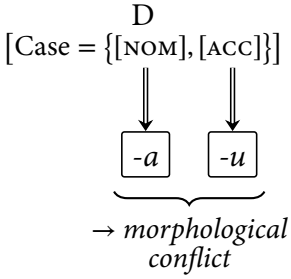
(66) *Multivaluation and ineffability in Russian Right Node Raising*

a. On ne soxranil, a vybrosil, **pechen'-e** iz poezdki v Angliju.
he not kept$_{\textbf{\textit{acc}}}$ but discarded$_{\textbf{\textit{acc}}}$ cookie-ACC from trip to England
'He did not keep, but rather threw out, cookies from a trip to England.'
(Asarina 2011:193, (47))

b. *On ne ostavil, tak kak emu nadoela, **tarelk-{u/a}** s chërnoj
he not kept$_{\textbf{\textit{acc}}}$ as him sick.of$_{\textbf{\textit{nom}}}$ place-{ACC/NOM} with black
kaëmkoj.
border
'He didn't keep, as he was sick of, the plate with a black border.'
(Asarina 2011:174, (2))

Asarina's (2011, 2013) account involves a multidominant structure in which the object is shared across the two conjuncts and receives case from both verbs. In (66b), the shared DP receives two distinct case values, which each demand a different morphological form. Asarina (2011, 2013) proposes that if a head contains two feature values, both values must be spelled out by the same VI (see also Schütze 2003, Citko 2005, Bjorkman 2016, and Citko & Gračanin-Yuksek 2021). If the two values demand different VIs, this requirement cannot be satisfied. Failure to satisfy the requirement is fatal and results in ineffability. Applied to (66b), [ACC] demands the VI *-u* and [NOM] demands the VI *-a*, as shown in (67), assuming, for the sake of concreteness, that the case feature is located in D.

(67) *Vocabulary insertion in Russian RNR (66b)*



Because the two VIs are different, the structure is ungrammatical regardless of which VI is inserted, deriving (66b).[16] This same line of analysis is also adopted, in varying forms, by the other references just cited.[17]

Bjorkman (2016) suggests that it is possible to derive Asarina's (2011, 2013) morphological requirement from general principles of the vocabulary-insertion process. First, if there are multiple feature values on one head, vocabulary insertion applies to each value separately (Schütze 2003). In other words, each value initiates a separate application of vocabulary insertion, each leading to selection of a VI, see (68a). Second, as is often assumed in Distributed Morphology, only a single VI may be inserted into any given head (e.g., Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994, Arregi & Nevins 2012), see (68b). Applied to (66b) and (67), (68a) demands that both *-a* and *-u* are inserted (one in each application of vocabulary insertion) while (68b) mandates that only a single vocabulary item can be inserted. The two requirements in (68) therefore conflict. They are unranked and inviolable, and (67) (and thus (66b)) is hence ungrammatical.

(68) *Conditions on insertion* (see Bjorkman 2016)

a. Each value of a feature triggers a separate application of vocabulary insertion conditioned by that value. For each application, the VI that is selected must be inserted into the head.

b. Only a single VI may be inserted per head.

Equipped with these insights, we now return to the PCC-violating 3>1 configuration in

[16] Notably, the ineffability in (66b) disappears under syncretism. See fn. 18 for discussion.

[17] Similar effects have also been observed for verb agreement. For example, Bjorkman (2016) discusses ineffability in the English *go get* construction, which is limited to contexts in which the form of the verb matches its infinitival form (i):

(i) a. I/you/we/they **go get** the paper every morning.

b. *She **goes gets / go gets / goes get** the paper every morning.
(Bjorkman 2016:55, (2e), (3a))

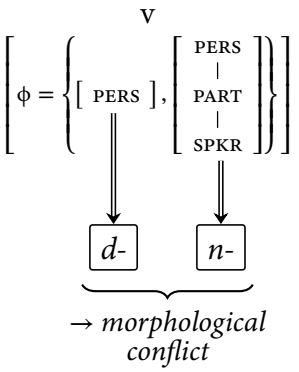
Bjorkman's (2016) account is that the verb in these constructions is multivalued as well: in addition to the regular inflectional feature (e.g., present tense, 3rd singular in (ib), which requires the VI *-s*), the verb bears an inflectional feature [INFL:DIR], which calls for imperative inflection (i.e., the bare verb). In (ib), these two features call for different VIs, leading to an irresolvable conflict and hence ineffability, analogous to Asarina's (2011, 2013) account of (66).

(62). We propose that the source of the Basque PCC is the same as that of the case-mismatch effect in RNR. More generally, the ungrammaticality of (62) is the result of the same logic as the ungrammaticality of (66): v in (64) has acquired two distinct person values, which result in morphological ineffability in the same way that the two case features in (66) do. (69) shows that any absolutive agreement is ungrammatical. This mirrors the situation in the RNR example (66).

(69) *Zu-k *harakina-ri* **ni** saldu {**n**/**d**}-ai-o-zu.
you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS sold {1ABS/3ABS}-AUX.PRS-3DAT-2ERG
Intended: 'You have sold me to the butcher.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

(70) shows how vocabulary insertion applies to v in (63)/(64). In line with (68a), vocabulary insertion applies separately to each person value on v. Within each application, vocabulary insertion finds the regular VI for that value. There is no temporal ordering between the two applications of vocabulary insertion—they could apply in either order or simultaneously. One application targets the 3rd person feature ([PERS]), which the probe acquired from the dative DP. Here vocabulary insertion applies just as it does in (61b), selecting the 3rd person exponent *d-*. The other application targets the 1st person value [PERS [PART [SPKR]]], which the probe acquired from the absolutive DP. It applies as it does in (59b), selecting the 1st person exponent *n-*. Given these two outputs, a conflict arises. On the one hand, (68a) requires that for each application of vocabulary insertion, the VI that is selected must be inserted. Satisfying (68a) thus requires inserting both *n-* and *d-*. On the other hand, (68b) mandates that only one VI may be inserted into any given head. Regardless of which VI is inserted, one of the conditions in (68) is violated: inserting *n-* violates the demands of vocabulary insertion into [PERS]; inserting *d-* violates the demands of vocabulary insertion into [PERS [PART [SPKR]]]; and inserting both *n-* and *d-* violates (68b). (70) thus leads to "lethal competition" (Mendes 2020, Mendes & Nevins 2023) between VIs, and an irresolvable conflict between (68a) and (68b).

(70) *Vocabulary insertion into gluttonous v in (64) (in context of* [SG] *absolutive agreement)*

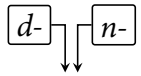


Because the conditions in (68a) and (68b) are unranked and inviolable, there is no licit way of morphologically realizing the v head in (70). A structure containing this v head is thus ineffable as a whole, and hence ungrammatical. This derives the ungrammaticality of (62). 3>2 configurations such as (1d) are ruled out analogously.

This line of explanation is completely analogous to the account of the RNR restriction in (66) and the other instances of morphological ineffability in (65). In both cases, if a head bears a feature with two distinct values, each of which demands a different VI, the vocabulary-insertion process runs into an irresolvable conflict due to the constraints in (68), as schematized in (67) for RNR and in (70) for the PCC. In such cases, *any* morphological output fatally violates at least one constraint, and the entire structure is therefore ineffable. While the identity of the head that bears the two feature values differs across constructions (e.g., a D or K head in RNR and ATB constructions; v in Basque), the fundamental logic of the account is the same. The Basque PCC therefore arises as an instance of a larger and empirically more varied restriction, also observed in the range of languages and constructions in (65).

This account thus attributes the PCC to a fatal morphological conflict that arises from a gluttonous, and hence multivalued, probe. An important difference between this account and the morphological approaches discussed in section 3.2 is that in (70) the morphological conflict arises *within the prefixal agreement slot*, as schematized in (71). By contrast, the morphological accounts in section 3.2 invoke a conflict between the absolutive agreement prefix and the dative clitic. On the account we propose here, the dative clitic is altogether immaterial for the PCC: the morphological conflict arises between two absolutive-agreement VIs (*d-* and *n-* in the case at hand) that compete for a single agreement slot. This is desirable, as we show in section 5.1.

(71) *Fatal insertion conflict within absolutive (i.e. prefixal) agreement slot in (70)*



*Zu-k *harakina-ri* **ni** saldu [ ]$_{\mathbf{v}}$-ai-o-zu.
you-ERG butcher-DAT I.ABS sold -AUX.PRS-3DAT-2ERG

The analysis just developed attributes the ungrammaticality of the Basque PCC not to the syntactic configuration per se but rather to the overt (i.e., PF) realization of certain syntactic configurations (i.e. those configurations that result in gluttony). Not only does this account establish a connection between the Basque PCC and the more general pattern of

morphological ineffability witnessed in the other domains in (65),[18] it also will also allow us to explain why ellipsis of the relevant structure obviates the PCC; see section 5.2.

The account derives the ungrammaticality of the 3>1 configuration in (62) as well as analogous 3>2 configurations. By contrast, 3>3 configurations such as (72) are correctly ruled in. Here, v's probe agrees only with the dative DP since [*u*PART] is not matched by the lower, 3rd person DP. The probe hence acquires only a single value, which, given [PRESENT] on T, is realized by inserting the VI *d-* (analogously to (61)). The dative clitic is the result of a separate clitic-doubling process.[19]

(72) Zu-k *harakina-ri* **liburua** saldu d-i-o-zu.
you-ERG butcher-DAT book.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX.PRS-3DAT-2ERG
'You have sold the book to the butcher.' (✓3DAT > 3ABS)

(73) $T_{[\text{PRESENT}]} \ldots \begin{bmatrix} v \\ u\text{PERS} \\ | \\ u\text{PART} \end{bmatrix} \ldots \begin{bmatrix} \text{DP}^{\text{DAT}} \\ \text{PERS} \end{bmatrix} \ldots \begin{bmatrix} \text{DP}^{\text{ABS}} \\ \text{PERS} \end{bmatrix}$

[18] There is a further well-established property of the class of constructions in (65), which our account in principle predicts to hold for Basque as well. Empirically, the morphological ineffability that ordinarily arises in the cases in (65) typically does not arise under syncretism—that is, if the two values on the probe call for the same morphological realization (Schütze 2003, Citko 2005, Kratzer 2009, Asarina 2011, 2013, Bjorkman 2016, Keine et al. 2019, Citko & Gračanin-Yuksek 2021, Coon & Keine 2021, Bhatia & Bhatt 2023). Importantly, Asarina (2011, 2013) shows based on Right Node Raising in Russian that mere homophony does not have a rescuing effect (also see Hartmann & Heycock 2022); only cases in which the two values call for *the same VI* avoid the ineffability (thus, accidental homophony between two VIs or homophony that results from phonological processes is not sufficient). This is in line with the constraints in (68): it is only if the two applications of vocabulary insertion converge on the same VI that (68a) and (68b) do not conflict: only then is it possible to satisfy both requirements while still only inserting a single VI.

In principle, we expect morphological syncretism of this kind to likewise have a rescuing effect in Basque. Unfortunately, it is impossible to test this prediction given the agreement morphology in Basque (57). With the probe in (56), there is no configuration in which v is gluttonous and the two person values demand the same VI. There is an apparent instance of syncretism in the two homophonous VIs *z-*$_1$ and *z-*$_2$ in (57). The VI *z-*$_1$ realizes 2nd person agreement on v; the VI *z-*$_2$ is an elsewhere realization of v in the context of past-tense T. These two contexts are clearly not a natural class, and so these two elements are plausibly distinct VIs that just happen to be homophonous. Given Asarina's (2011, 2013) insights, our account predicts that this homophony should *not* obviate the PCC. This is indeed the case, as shown in (i):

(i) *Ni-k harakina-ri zu saldu z-inti-o-da-n.
I-ERG butcher-DAT you.ABS sold 2ABS-AUX-3DAT-1ERG-PST
Intended: 'I have sold you to the butcher.'

The derivation of (i) is analogous in the relevant respects to (63)/(70). v acquires two values: [PERS] from the dative DP, and [PERS [PART [ADDR]]] from the absolutive DP. T bears a [PAST] specification. The two applications of vocabulary insertion arrive at different VIs; the fact that they happen to be homophonous is irrelevant.

The same reasoning applies to the *z-* form in bivalent intransitives (see fn. 14). Thus, to the extent that the relevant predictions can be tested in Basque, the facts are fully in line with what is known about other multivalued-probe configurations.

[19] It is a perhaps surprising consequence of our analysis that the 3rd person prefix agreement in (72) (glossed descriptively as "3ABS") is actually agreement with the dative argument rather than the absolutive argument. As far as we can tell, this consequence is unproblematic. The dative agreement clitic on the auxiliary in (72) is produced by a different probe and hence independent of our account of the PCC, though we will return to it in section 4.6.

(74) *ϕ-value on v in (73)*
$[\phi = \{[\ \textsc{pers}\ ]\}]$

Given that this account does not postulate a requirement for DPs to agree in order to be licensed, the lack of Agree between v and the lower, absolutive DP in (73) does not have detrimental effects.

The account thus derives that the PCC arises only if the lower DP is 1st or 2nd person because it is only in these configurations that gluttony arises.

4.5. Datives, KP structure, and the Strong PCC

To complete our account of the Strong PCC in Basque, we now consider configurations in which the dative DP is 1st or 2nd person. As it stands, the analysis so far predicts that such configurations are grammatical, with v agreeing only with the dative DP. This would correspond to the Weak PCC, attested in, e.g., varieties of Catalan and Italian (Bonet 1991, 1994, Bianchi 2006). But Basque has the Strong PCC and such configurations are ungrammatical, as (75). As indicated, this structure is ungrammatical, again regardless of the agreement morphology in the prefixal slot (i.e., v).

(75) *Haiek *ni-ri* **zu** saldu {**z/d/n**}-ai-da-te.
they.ERG I-DAT you.ABS sold {2ABS/3ABS/1ABS}-AUX.PRS-1DAT-3ERG
Intended: 'They have sold you to me.' (*1DAT > 2ABS)

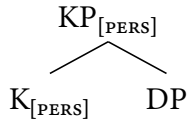
An account of (75) becomes available when we consider the structure of dative DPs (Coon & Keine 2021). Much previous work has observed that dative DPs frequently behave like 3rd person DPs for external Agree processes, regardless of their actual, semantically-interpreted person feature (e.g., Chomsky 2000:128, Anagnostopoulou 2003:269–270, Richards 2008, Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008, Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2019, Coon & Keine 2021, and Hoover 2021). One common line of analysis is that such dative DPs are encased in larger nominal structure (e.g. a KP shell or a PP shell) that insulates the person feature of the DP from the outside, see, e.g., Rezac (2006, 2008b), Richards (2008), Odria (2017, 2019), Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2019), Coon & Keine (2021), and Hoover (2021). We adopt this approach here and treat dative DPs as having the KP structure in (76).[20] The KP shell insulates the ϕ-features of the DP inside it from outside probes, and itself bears a 3rd person specification (Richards 2008, Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2019, Coon & Keine 2021, Hoover 2021).[21] This insulation may

[20] The treatment of dative DPs in (76) is not crucial to our account; alternatively, ϕ-Agree with a dative results in a 3rd person feature on the probe in some other way (Chomsky 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008).

[21] Coon & Keine (2021:677n22) also envisage a second path to the Strong PCC. One involves insulation of the dative DP; the other involves a fully-articulated ϕ-probe that bears the full person geometry in (47): [*u*PERS [*u*PART [*u*ADDR] [*u*SPKR]]]. This latter probe will result in gluttony in 1>2 and 2>1 configurations as well, even if the dative DP is not insulated. As Coon & Keine (2021) point out, the two analyses of the Strong PCC make different predictions for

be derived in several ways, for example by KP being a phase, or by K constituting a horizon (Keine 2020) for v's person probe, which allows Agree with KP but not anything dominated by KP. It follows that for an outside probe, datives only bear a [PERS] feature, regardless of the semantically interpreted person feature of the DP inside them.

(76) *Structure of dative DPs*



By contrast, absolutive DPs are not encased in a KP layer and thus their full person specification is visible to outside probes. The view that at least some dative DPs in Basque are structurally larger than absolutive DPs is not novel (see Rezac 2006, 2008a, 2011, Arregi & Nevins 2012, Rezac & Fernández 2012, Odria 2017, 2019, Berro & Fernández 2019), and it is consistent with the surface morphology of these case forms. As shown in (77), the dative form of a personal pronoun is formed by attaching the suffix *-ri* to the absolutive form in most cases (in the case of *zuek* 'you.PL', additional allomorphy applies). The *-ri* is plausibly the realization of the dative K.

(77) *Basque personal pronouns*

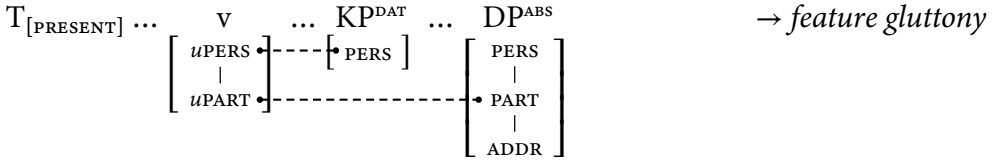
	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	2.FAMILIAR
absolutive	*ni*	*gu*	*zu*	*zuek*	*hi*
dative	*ni-ri*	*gu-ri*	*zu-ri*	*zue-i*	*hi-ri*

Furthermore, Rezac (2006, 2008a) argues that datives in Basque are encased in a PP shell and may enter into defective ϕ-Agree with v, which does not (fully) value the probe (also see Odria 2017, 2019). Our proposal that dative KPs bear only a dummy [PERS] specifications may be seen as a variant of Rezac's (2006, 2008a) insight.

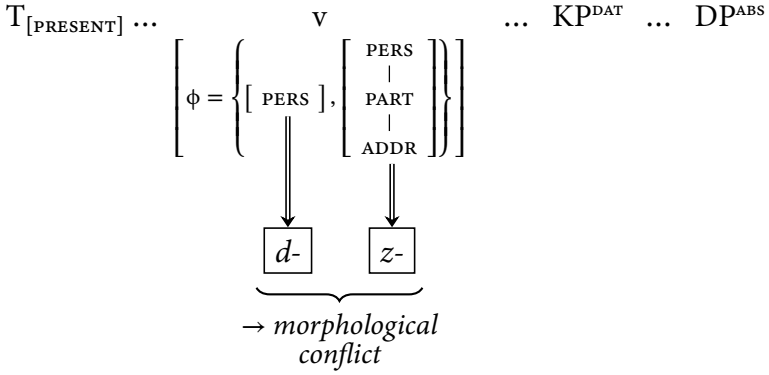
Assuming the structure for dative DPs/KPs in (76), a 1DAT > 2ABS configuration like (75) amounts to a 3DAT > 2ABS configuration as far as the behavior of the ϕ-probe on v is concerned. This is shown in (78a), and the resulting ϕ-probe in (78b). Vocabulary insertion results in an irresolvable conflict in the way just discussed, and ungrammaticality results in (75).

configurations in which the dative is the *lower* of two DPs (i.e., ACC>DAT and ABS>DAT configurations). If the dative is insulated as in (76), such configurations should never result in gluttony regardless of the person values of the two DPs. Thus, such configuration should not display the PCC. This is the case for Basque (see section 5.1). On the other hand, if the dative DP is not insulated and the probe is fully articulated, then 1/2/3.ABS/ACC > 1/2.DAT configurations should result in gluttony, hence the PCC. The latter prediction corresponds to the "reverse PCC" in Slovenian (Stegovec 2020). We assume, therefore, that both paths to the Strong PCC are attested, and we will adopt the insulation approach for Basque given the absence of reverse-PCC effects.

(78) a. *v-Agree in (75)*



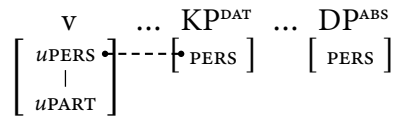
b. *Vocabulary insertion into gluttonous v*



By contrast, our analysis permits grammatical 1/2DAT > 3ABS configurations, as in (79). Due to KP insulation of the dative DP, these effectively behave like 3DAT > 3ABS configurations as far as the ϕ-probe on v is concerned. No gluttony results and the structure is grammatical.

(79) Zu-k *ni-ri* **liburua** saldu d-i-da-zu.
you-ERG I-DAT book.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX.PRS-1DAT-2ERG
'You have sold the book to me.' (✓1DAT > 3ABS)

(80)



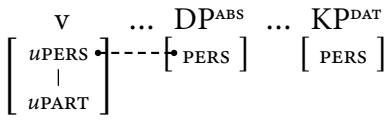
(81) *ϕ-value on v in (80)*
[ϕ = {[PERS]}]

While this account rests on the assumption that dative DPs in Basque are encased in a KP shell with a dummy person specification, this view is supported by independent considerations. First, as already noted, the view that Agree with dative DPs invariably produces 3rd person agreement on the probe, as well as KP/PP insulation accounts of this effect, have been independently proposed, both for Basque and for other languages (see the references just cited).

Second, as noted in Coon & Keine (2021), dative insulation makes a clear prediction about verbs whose dative argument is structurally lower than their absolutive argument

(ABS>DAT verbs, discussed in section 3.2), such as *etorri* 'come'. Due to insulation by the KP, the dative argument necessarily bears only [PERS] from the outside, a segment also present on the absolutive DP. Dative insulation therefore predicts that there is no potential for gluttony in these constructions, hence that there is no person restriction on the dative DP. As (82) shows, this prediction is borne out.

(82) *No person restriction on dative DP in* ABS>DAT *constructions*
Itxaso **ni-ri** etor-tzen z-ai-t.
Itxaso.ABS I-DAT come-IPFV 3ABS-AUX.PRS-1DAT
'Itxaso comes to me.' (✓3ABS > 1DAT)
(Coon & Keine 2021:675, (37b))

(83)


Dative insulation as in (76) thus provides a unified account of two distinct generalizations: (i) In DAT>ABS configurations, 1st and 2nd person absolutive DPs *always* result in gluttony, regardless of the person of the dative (hence, the Strong PCC). (ii) In ABS>DAT configurations, gluttony *never* arises, regardless of the person of the dative.

Third, because the KP shell in (76) does not bear a number specification, an outside number probe cannot access a dative DP's number feature. As a result, there is no potential for number gluttony in ditransitives. This is borne out—the Basque PCC rules out specific combination of person features, but not of number features (i.e., there is no "Number Case Constraint").

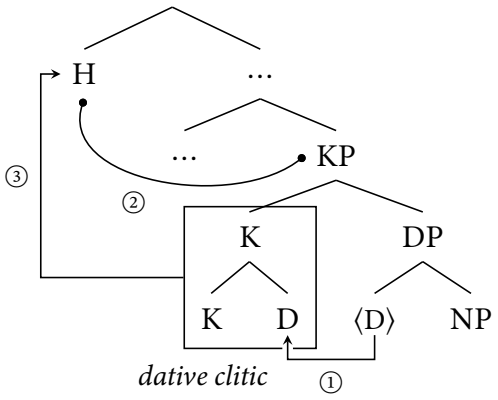
In summary, dative insulation offers a uniform account of several superficially unrelated empirical generalizations, which we take as independent support for it.

4.6. Dative clitic doubling

As noted above, we have so far focused on Agree by v, which is realized in the prefixal agreement slot in (53). To complete our account, we now briefly discuss how suffixal agreement with the dative DP is established, and why this agreement slot reflects the actual, semantically interpreted person features of the dative DP rather than the dummy 3rd person specification of the KP. As already noted, we assume following, e.g., Laka (1993a), Arregi & Nevins (2008, 2012), Rezac (2008a), Preminger (2009), Rezac et al. (2014), and Odria (2017, 2019) that the suffixal dative agreement is an instance of clitic doubling, demonstrated by the fact that in the absence of a dative DP, this agreement slot disappears altogether rather than showing default agreement (see (55)). We also assume with Rezac (2008a), Arregi & Nevins (2012), Preminger (2019), and others that clitic doubling is (long) movement of a nominal head

that the clitic is the overt realization of. This clitic-doubling process is a separate process and hence does not affect our account of Agree by v. The relevant derivation is schematized in (84). DP-internally, the D head undergoes movement to K (①). ϕ-Agree between some functional head H (possibly v) and KP (②) then induces movement of the K head (including D) to H (③), where D and K are jointly pronounced as the clitic. Due to the inclusion of D, this clitic reflects the ϕ-features of the D head, not the dummy [PERS] feature of K (also see Rezac 2008a and Preminger 2014). Note that if K corresponds to the dative case suffix *-ri* on a DP, as we suggested above, then this analysis entails that the lower copy of K (and possibly D) is pronounced as well.

(84)



The "agreement" behavior of dative DPs thus crucially depends on whether the "agreement" involves ϕ-Agree or clitic doubling, which Preminger (2009) argues the prefixal agreement slot and the suffixal agreement slot differ in. Because the prefix agreement slot, and hence v, involves ϕ-Agree rather than clitic doubling, it is sensitive only to the dummy [PERS] feature of the KP, resulting in gluttony whenever a lower absolutive DP is 1st or 2nd person. By contrast, because the suffixal dative-agreement slot involves clitic doubling rather than ϕ-Agree, it realizes the features of the K+D complex, and hence the actual person features of the dative DP.[22]

4.7. Section summary

The gluttony account attributes the PCC to a fatal conflict that arises in the morphological realization of a probe that has agreed with two DPs—a feature with two distinct values overwhelms the morphological-realization process, leading to ineffability. This analysis dif-

[22] As noted by a reviewer, our account entails that in configurations like (72) the dative DP generates both a clitic and control agreement with v. As far as we can tell, this is unproblematic (assuming that ϕ-Agree does not trigger case assignment; see Bobaljik 2008, Preminger 2014, and others). Furthermore, a single argument controlling two agreement slots in a verb is independently attested (e.g., Arregi & Nevins 2012:284 on Alboniga Basque, Béjar 2003: 133 on Georgian, and Myler 2017 on Quechua).

fers from the previous accounts discussed in section 3 in central ways. First, in contrast to nominal-licensing accounts (section 3.1), the account does not invoke a nominal-licensing requirement like the PLC (35). In other words, there is no requirement for DPs to agree with ϕ-probes. Second, the PCC is not attributed to failed Agree, but to double Agree: a single probe agrees with more than one DP, yielding a gluttonous configuration and a multivalued probe. Third, gluttony is not itself ungrammatical, but the presence of multiple values on the probe gives rise to a fatal conflict in the morphological realization of the ϕ-probe. Fourth, the locus of the PCC is not the DPs, but the ϕ-probe.

While the gluttony account thus shares with the morphological accounts discussed in section 3.2 that the Basque PCC is the result of a morphological problem, this morphological problem is the downstream effect of double ϕ-Agree. The account thus crucially involves a syntactic component, a point to which we return in section 5.1. Furthermore, the morphological conflict arises not between two distinct agreement slots, but rather within a single agreement slot: two VIs compete for insertion into the prefixal agreement slot, leading to ineffability (see (70) and (71)). Fatal insertion conflicts of this kind have been documented in a range of other empirical domains (see (65)), and as a result the gluttony account views the PCC as just one manifestation of a much more general pattern.

5. Syntax and morphology in the account of the PCC

We now show how the approach to the PCC in section 4 derives the empirical generalizations in sections 2 and 3. We concluded there that a comprehensive account of the PCC must be both syntactic and morphological in nature. It must be syntactic in being sensitive to the hierarchical syntactic arrangement of the DPs involved; it must be morphological in being sensitive to whether ϕ-agreement is overtly realized or not. The next two sections demonstrate how the analysis developed in section 4 satisfies these two requirements.

5.1. The syntactic side of the PCC: Hierarchical arrangement of DPs

As reviewed in section 3, Albizu (1997) and Rezac (2008b) show that the PCC in Basque cannot be reduced to surface morphology but must make crucial reference to the syntactic relationship between the absolutive DP and the dative DP, as stated in (45b), repeated here as (85).

(85) Basque PCC effects arise only if the dative DP c-commands the absolutive DP in the base configuration (a distinction that is neutralized in the agreement morphology).

To reiterate, the argument for (85) is based on the observation that with some verbs that take a dative argument and an absolutive argument, the dative asymmetrically c-commands the absolutive, whereas with other verbs the absolutive asymmetrically c-commands the

dative (see (42) and (43)). The PCC arises only in configurations in which the dative argument c-commands the absolutive argument—such as with psych-verbs (86a)—but not if the absolutive argument c-commands the dative argument—such as with motion verbs (86b).

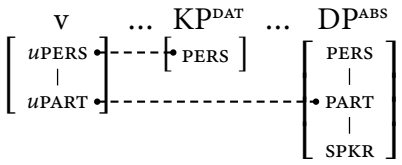
(86) a. *PCC with psych-verbs (*DAT > ABS*)* [=(41)]
*Ni *Itxaso-ri* gusta-tzen **n**-atzai-**o**.
I.ABS Itxaso-DAT like-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT
Intended: 'Itxaso likes me.' (*3DAT > 1ABS)

b. *No PCC with motion verbs (*ABS > DAT*)*
Ni *Itxaso-ri* etor-tzen **n**-atzai-**o**.
I.ABS Itxaso-DAT come-IPFV 1ABS-AUX-3DAT
'I am coming to Itxaso.' (✓1ABS > 3DAT)

Because the surface morphology of the auxiliary neutralizes the distinction between the two verb classes, a successful account of (86) cannot be solely in terms of the surface morphology.

This role of the syntactic arrangement of the DPs is predicted by the gluttony account. Whether or not a configuration results in gluttony is crucially conditioned by the structural relationship between the two DPs. In DAT>ABS constructions like (86a), a 1st or 2nd person absolutive DP leads to gluttony, as shown in (87), and hence to ineffability, analogous to (70).

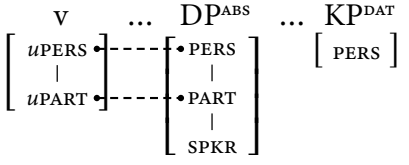
(87) *v-Agree in (86a)*



→ *feature gluttony*

By contrast, no gluttony arises if the 1st or 2nd person absolutive DP is structurally higher than the dative DP because in this case both segments on v agree with the absolutive DP, as shown in (88). The probe therefore receives only a single value, and vocabulary insertion into it applies successfully (analogous to (59b)).

(88) *v-Agree in (86b)*



→ *no feature gluttony*

Because word order is free in Basque, the surface order of the two DPs does not necessarily correspond to the base order. The PCC is determined solely by the base order of the two

DPs. This follows straightforwardly if scrambling applies after probing by v, so that it does not have an effect on whether v is gluttonous or not.

As noted in section 4.4, the morphological conflict that results from (87) does *not* arise between the prefixal absolutive agreement and the dative clitic, but instead between two VIs competing for the prefix slot (see (70) and (71)). The dative clitic is immaterial. Unlike the morphological accounts discussed in section 3.2, the fact that the combination of *n-* and *-o* is grammatical in (86b) is thus derived in a principled manner.

In sum, because whether or not a configuration leads to gluttony is determined by the syntactic operation Agree, our account is crucially sensitive to purely syntactic factors like the structural relationship between two DPs relative to the probe on v.[23] In this respect, then, the gluttony account is crucially syntactic in nature and this provides a principled account of (85) and the contrast in (86).

5.2. The morphological side of the PCC: Obviation under ellipsis

The clear role of purely syntactic factors in the PCC notwithstanding, the ellipsis evidence presented in section 2 provides evidence that the PCC cannot be the result of syntactic factors alone. Instead, it must be sensitive to whether a syntactically present ϕ-probe is overtly realized or not (89).

(89) Basque PCC effects disappear in clauses that do not contain an overtly realized verbal ϕ-probe.

We now show that the gluttony account provides a principled explanation of (89) given independently motivated interactions between ellipsis and vocabulary insertion. Merchant (1999, 2001, 2015), Kennedy & Merchant (2000), Abels (2019), Mendes (2020), Mendes & Nevins (2023), and Privizentseva (2021, 2024) all argue that ellipsis bleeds the morphological realization of nodes in the ellipsis site and that, as a result, morphological problems and conflicts disappear under ellipsis. Within the morphological framework adopted here, this claim can be formulated as (90):

(90) Vocabulary insertion does not apply to elided syntactic structure.

The crucial consequence of (90) is that problems in the morphological realization of a node do not arise under ellipsis because the process that results in these problems (i.e., vocabulary insertion) does not apply. Merchant (1999:219–273, 2001:163–200) develops an account along these lines for several island contexts that are obviated under sluicing (also see Kennedy & Merchant 2000). For example, to derive that sluicing structures may violate the ban against left-branch extraction in English, Merchant (1999, 2001) and Kennedy & Mer-

[23] Also see the absence of PCC effects with allocutive datives (fn. 2), which are outside of v's search space and therefore to not give rise to gluttony.

chant (2000) propose that such extraction is not itself illicit but requires a DP-internal head that cannot be morphologically realized and that thus ordinarily leads to morphological ineffability of the structure it appears in. Ellipsis bleeds the morphological realization of this head so that the morphological problem no longer arises, rescuing the structure.

Merchant (2015), Abels (2019), Mendes (2020), Mendes & Nevins (2023), and Privizentseva (2021, 2024) likewise argue for (90) based on morphological defectivity that is repaired under ellipsis. An illustrative example of the latter type is provided by Russian, which has a number of verbs that lack a 1st person singular non-past form (Abels 2019, Mendes 2020, Mendes & Nevins 2023). Examples are provided in (91).

(91) *Non-past inflection of three Russian defective verbs*

	buzit' 'make a fuss'	*šelestet'* 'rustle'	*oščutit'* 'to sense'
1SG	—	—	—
2SG	*buziš'*	*šelestiš'*	*oščutiš*
3SG	*buzit*	*šelestit*	*oščutit*
1PL	*buzim*	*šelestim*	*oščutim*
2PL	*buzite*	*šelestite*	*oščutite*
3PL	*buzjat*	*šelestjat*	*oščutjat*

(Abels 2019:1249; Mendes & Nevins 2023:185)

Crucially, the ineffability of a 1st person singular form disappears when the verb is elided. This is exemplified in (92), where the 1st person singular verb form is elided and the structure is grammatical. Mendes (2020) shows that the effect arises with gapping, stripping, comparative deletion, and fragment answers.

(92) *Morphological-gap obviation under ellipsis in Russian*

a. On { buzit / šelestit }, a ja net Δ.
he makes.a.fuss rustles but I not
'He {makes a fuss/rustles} but I don't.'
(Abels 2019:1249, (97); Mendes 2020:154, (1))

b. Na veršine étoj gory ty oščutiš radost', a ja Δ strakh.
on top this mountain you sense happiness.ACC but I fear.ACC
'At the top of this mountain, you will sense happiness, and I fear.'
(Mendes & Nevins 2023:186, (6a))

Given evidence of this kind and others, Merchant (2015), Abels (2019), Mendes (2020), Mendes & Nevins (2023), and Privizentseva (2021, 2024) all propose analyses that involve ellipsis bleeding morphological realization and thereby circumventing a morphological problem that would otherwise arise. To illustrate, Mendes (2020) and Mendes & Nevins (2023)

analyze the ineffability of the 1SG forms in (91) as arising from lethal competition between two different VIs, creating, in essence, the same kind of morphological conflict we attributed the Basque PCC to. The rescuing effect of ellipsis in (92) then follows from (90). Because the source of the ineffability of the 1SG forms lies in the failure of vocabulary insertion to determine a VI to insert, it follows that the structures are grammatical if vocabulary insertion does not apply.

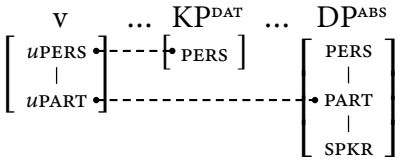
In conjunction with the independently motivated view in (90), the gluttony account immediately explains why verbal ellipsis obviates PCC violations in Basque. Representative examples of this effect are repeated in (93a) (=(10a)), using gapping in a ditransitive structure, and in (93b) (=(22)), using a split question with a psych-verb.

(93) a. Jon-ek alkatea-ri Mikel saldu d-i-o-Ø, eta zu-k
Jon-ERG mayor-DAT Mikel.ABS sold 3ABS-AUX-3DAT-3ERG and you-ERG
harakina-ri **ni** Δ.
butcher-DAT I.ABS
'Jon sold Mikel to the mayor, and you me to the butcher.' (✓3DAT > 1ABS)

b. Nor-i gusta-tzen z-ai-o nor, [*zu-ri* **ni** Δ] ala
who-DAT like-IPFV 3ABS-AUX-3DAT who.ABS you-DAT I.ABS or
[*ni-ri* **zu** Δ]?
I-DAT you.ABS
'Who likes whom, you me or I you?' (✓2DAT > 1ABS / ✓1DAT > 2ABS)

Syntactically, the elliptical sentences in (93) have the same structure as the non-elliptical counterparts in (62)/(63) and (86a)/(87), in line with the view that ellipsis amounts to non-pronunciation of otherwise regular syntactic structure. Thus, the Agree structure for (93a) involves gluttony, as shown in (94). The structure for (93b) is analogous.

(94) *v-Agree in (93a)*



Ordinarily, the gluttonous ϕ-probe on v would create a fatal conflict for vocabulary insertion. But if v is elided, it is not targeted by vocabulary insertion as per (90), and no conflict between VIs arises in (94). The coexistence of two ϕ-values on the gluttonous probe in (94) is thus harmless if v is elided.

(95) *ϕ-value on v in (94) → no vocabulary insertion → no conflict*

$$\left[\ \phi = \left\{ \left[\ \textsc{pers}\ \right], \left[\ \begin{array}{c}\textsc{pers}\\ |\\ \textsc{part}\\ |\\ \textsc{spkr}\end{array}\ \right] \right\}\ \right]$$

This analysis derives the pervasive effect of verbal ellipsis on the PCC documented at length in section 2: constructions that ordinarily exhibit the PCC no longer do so whenever the agreeing auxiliary is elided. By locating the problem that underlies the PCC in the morphological realization of verbal agreement (rather than in failed DP licensing or in gluttony itself), this analysis explains why verbal ellipsis interacts with the PCC even if it leaves the argument DPs unaffected. This derives the generalization in (89), and it attributes it to the same, more general mechanism that also explains the effect of ellipsis on defective verbs in Russian and other languages. (89) thus emerges as an instance of a more general pattern.

The generality of (90) also explains the pervasiveness of the effect. Because *any* ellipsis process that includes the verb will suspend vocabulary insertion into it, all such ellipsis processes obviate the PCC, including gapping, stripping, fragment answers, split questions, and comparative deletion. This derives the full range of the generalization in (89) and of the evidence in section 2.

Finally, this analysis also derives the absence of PCC effects in nonfinite clauses that lack verb agreement altogether (see (28)–(32)). Our account derives this fact in two conceivable ways, which are not necessarily in opposition to each other. One is to assume that these clauses simply lack a ϕ-probe (see Preminger 2011b, 2019, Coon & Keine 2021). Without a ϕ-probe, no gluttony—and hence no morphological conflict—will arise. Alternatively, it is conceivable that these clauses syntactically do contain a ϕ-probe but that this ϕ-probe is not morphologically realized (contra Preminger 2019). In this case, gluttony would obtain without any morphological conflict. In either case, the account predicts such structures to be grammatical, as indeed they are.

6. Conclusion and outlook

We showed that the Basque PCC is subject to the two empirical generalizations in (96), repeated from (45), and we argued that these generalizations emerge from the interplay of the syntax of ϕ-Agree on the one hand and of the PF realization of ϕ-Agree on the other. The key empirical contribution of this paper is the generalization in (96a), instantiated by a range of ellipsis phenomena. In order to derive (96a), the analysis must be sensitive to the overt realization of a ϕ-probe, hence to PF properties. On the other hand, to derive (96b), the analysis must be directly sensitive to the syntactic relationship between the DP arguments. In order to derive *both* conditions in (96), the analysis needs to be conditioned

by both syntactic and morphological/PF factors. In this sense, it must be cross-modular in nature.

(96) a. Basque PCC effects disappear in clauses that do not contain an overtly realized verbal ϕ-probe.

b. Basque PCC effects arise only if the dative DP c-commands the absolutive DP in the base configuration (a distinction that is neutralized in the agreement morphology).

We then developed a feature-gluttony account of the Basque PCC. In contrast to traditional approaches to the PCC, this line of account does *not* invoke the PLC or related nominal-licensing requirements that demand that DPs be licensed through ϕ-Agree. Instead, the account attributes the (Basque) PCC to downstream morphological ineffability that arises if a probe has agreed with more than one DP. It is this specific constellation of properties that enables an account of both sides of (96). Ineffability results if a gluttonous ϕ-probe is targeted by vocabulary insertion. Whether or not a probe is gluttonous is conditioned by the syntactic arrangement of the DPs, deriving (96b). Whether a probe is targeted by vocabulary insertion is conditioned by whether it is overtly realized or not, deriving (96a). PCC obviation under verbal ellipsis then falls out as a natural consequence of the account.

While we developed the account for Basque, the logic of the approach generalizes. The basic approach is that the PCC is the result of a single probe agreeing with two DPs, resulting in gluttony and a multivalued probe. If the probe is an agreement probe (and thus itself morphologically realized, as opposed to a probe that generates a clitic), the multivalued probe then overwhelms the morphological-realization process, which leads to ineffability. Due to segment-based Agree, the conditions under which gluttony arises are clearly circumscribed: gluttony results if (i) the search space of a ϕ-probe contains at least two accessible goals, (ii) the probe contains at least two segments, (iii) the higher goal matches some of these segments but not all, and (iv) the lower goal lower matches a segment that is not present on the higher goal. Gluttony leads to a multivalued probe, and such multivaluation results in ineffability in the vocabulary insertion process because both values must be morphologically expressed, but only one may be. Finally, ellipsis bleeds vocabulary insertion into a head, circumventing any conflict that would result in the course of vocabulary insertion. The basic principles of the account are repeated in (97).

(97) *Principles of the account*

a. Segment-based ϕ-Agree
(e.g., Béjar 2003, 2008, Béjar & Rezac 2009, Béjar & Kahnemuyipour 2017, Coon & Keine 2021),

b. Late insertion of vocabulary items
(e.g., Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994, et seq.)

c. Ineffability in vocabulary insertion arising from multivaluation
(Schütze 2003, Citko 2005, Van Riemsdijk 2006, Kratzer 2009, Asarina 2011, 2013, Bjorkman 2016, Citko & Gračanin-Yuksek 2021, Coon & Keine 2021, Privizentseva 2021, 2024, Bhatia & Bhatt 2023),

d. Ellipsis bleeds vocabulary insertion
(Merchant 1999, 2001, 2015, Kennedy & Merchant 2000, Abels 2019, Mendes 2020, Privizentseva 2021, 2024, Mendes & Nevins 2023)

While the gluttony approach is novel in analyzing the Basque PCC in terms of these principles, we emphasize that these principles are independently motivated on the basis of facts and phenomena unrelated to the PCC. While in particular (97c) and (97d) have not traditionally been used to analyze PCC effects, they offer a new analytical window into PCC effects, and they connect the PCC to the other phenomena that have motivated these principles.

In addition to the general principles in (97), the account also involves points of parametrization, and it is here that Basque-specific properties of the PCC arise. Points of variation include (i) the specification of the ϕ-probe (which determines what configurations result in gluttony and hence results in different strengths of the PCC), (ii) whether dative DPs are encased in a KP shell, and (iii) the inventory of VIs used to realize ϕ-probes. See Coon & Keine (2021) and fn. 21 for discussion and illustration of these points of variation outside of Basque.[24]

The Basque evidence presented here thus provides an empirical argument in favor of a gluttony approach to PCC effects. The extent to which this argument applies to the PCC in other languages remains to be investigated. Given the generality of the principles in (46), we expect analogous effects to arise in other languages as well, at least if the relevant probe is realized by agreement. Of course, this question is much too large to attempt to answer here, but we note that similar PCC obviation under verbal ellipsis has been observed for Oji-Cree by Keine et al. (2022), and also see Bhatia & Bhatt (2023) for obviation of hierarchy effects in copular constructions in Hindi-Urdu.

While we have assumed that the relevant probe in Basque (on v) is realized as agreement, in many other languages, the PCC arises with clitics. We refer the reader to Coon & Keine (2021) for discussion of how the gluttony account can be applied to such languages. For Coon & Keine (2021), gluttony does not result in a morphological conflict in such cases, but in a conflict as to which DP to cliticize. Specifically, Coon & Keine (2021) assume that clitic doubling involves Agree-triggered syntactic movement of a D head without morphological realization of a ϕ-probe (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, Preminger 2019, and the references there). Gluttony in PCC configurations then arises from the ineffability in this head move-

[24] Relatedly, there is significant variation in the morphology of Basque auxiliaries (see, e.g., de Yrizar 1992). But because the basic principles that underlie our account are general in nature, our account predicts the interactions of the PCC with ellipsis to be unaffected by such variation, with the possible exception of syncretism patterns, discussed in fn. 18, a potential direction for future research.

ment (in particular, which D head to move). Thus, for Coon & Keine (2021) gluttony results in a *syntactic* conflict if the probe generates clitics. This raises the question whether we expect PCC obviation under ellipsis in such cases as well. If ellipsis suspends clitic doubling in the same way it suspends vocabulary insertion, then we expect ellipsis to obviate the PCC in languages with object clitics as well. If it does not, then the PCC should not be obviated by ellipsis. Finally, if clitic doubling reduces to ϕ-Agree (contra Coon & Keine 2021; see Paparounas & Salzmann 2023a,b and the references cited there), then we expect PCC obviation under ellipsis in these cases as well. Our results thus point to a new direction for future work—i.e., how hierarchy effects behave under ellipsis—that has the potential to provide an important novel analytical tool to advance our understanding of the PCC and the principles that underlie it.

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