Local > local is morphological: Promiscuous agreement and a novel ditransitive person restriction in Kipsigis

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This paper describes a *local > local ditransitive person restriction in Kipsigis (Kalenjin; Nilo-Saharan) and argues that this restriction must be morphological. Ditransitive person restrictions are often analyzed syntactically, as with the Person-Case Constraint (PCC). However, the Kipsigis pattern differs from traditional PCC effects in that only local > local object combinations are ungrammatical—an unattested pattern—and *local > local is tied to morphological competition. I argue that the Kipsigis facts must be accounted for morphologically and suggest that the source of ditransitive person restrictions varies cross-linguistically, stemming in some cases from the syntax and in others the morphology.

Keywords: ditransitive person restrictions, Person-Case Constraint, cliticization, m-merger, Kipsigis

1 Introduction

Much recent syntactic theorizing focuses on the mechanics behind the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000)—specifically what kinds of features Agree can be sensitive to and what kinds of morphosyntactic consequences Agree can have. One influential phenomenon that

has guided linguists' thinking on Agree is a family of ditransitive person restrictions known as the Person-Case Constraint (PCC; Bonet 1991). The PCC is found in a variety of languages and encompasses a range of restrictions that limit the co-occurrence of direct (DO) and indirect objects (IO) with certain person features (see Anagnostopoulou 2017b for an overview). For example, the so-called "Strong PCC" forbids object combinations with a local person (i.e. 1st or 2nd person) DO, shown in (1) for French.[1]

(1) *French* (Anagnostopoulou 2003:311)

*Paul me   lui   présentera.

Paul   1SG.ACC 3SG.DAT will.introduce
Intended: 'Paul will introduce me to him.'

Local person IOs, on the other hand, are acceptable with 3rd person DOs. The "Weak PCC" is less restrictive; it rules out 3rd person IOs with local person DOs, while permitting combinations of local person objects. Assuming that the IO is structurally higher than the DO, I label these ungrammatical configurations 3 > local and the grammatical ones local > local, seen in (2) for Catalan.

(2) *Catalan* (Bonet 1994:41)

Te   m'   ha venut el mercader més important.

2SG.ACC 1SG.DAT has sold   the merchant most important
'The most important merchant has sold you to me.'

Despite differences between PCC varieties, comparison of French and Catalan highlights three similarities that hold across patterns: these effects often target objects of ditransitive verbs, arise in contexts where both objects are realized in a phonologically weak way, and are sensitive to hierarchical structure. To this last point, both patterns require local person arguments to be structurally higher than 3rd person ones (i.e. *3 > local).

Current analyses of ditransitive person restrictions are built to capture these three criteria and derive variation across PCC patterns through changes to a single general mechanism. This paper, however, documents a novel ditransitive person restriction in Kipsigis (Nilo-Saharan) that cannot be accounted for by these general mechanisms. Like canonical PCC effects, the Kipsigis pattern arises in ditransitives with phonologically weak objects but, crucially, is *not* hierarchy-sensitive. Kipsigis is an understudied Kalenjin language spoken by about 1.9 million people in western Kenya (Eberhard et al. 2021). In Kipsigis, only local > local object combinations are ungrammatical; although 1 > 2 and 2 > 1 configurations are banned, local > 3 and 3 > local configurations are grammatical. This restriction is illustrated in Table 1 alongside the PCC patterns discussed above for comparison.

Table 1: Kipsigis vs. some attested PCC patterns

IO > DO	Kipsigis	Strong	Weak
1 > 3	✓	✓	✓
2 > 3	✓	✓	✓
1 > 2	*	*	✓
2 > 1	*	*	✓
3 > 1	✓	*	*
3 > 2	✓	*	*

Most current PCC analyses claim that the restriction is syntactic in nature, though there are some morphological and hybrid morphosyntactic accounts (Bonet 1991; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007; Preminger 2019; Deal 2020; Coon & Keine to appear; a.o.). By contrast, I argue that *local > local arises via a morphological condition, which mandates that heads can only host one clitic. This analysis receives support from patterns of anti-agreement in cleft constructions, which are suggestive of a morphological

analysis. Yet it contrasts with previous morphological accounts in that it de-emphasizes the surface string—instead focusing on the occurrence of morphological processes (cf. Perlmutter 1971 on *me-lui* in French). Existing syntactic PCC analyses require significant modification to derive *local > local as an independent restriction and, even with this modification, remain unable to generate the appropriate agreement pattern seen in clefts.

More broadly, the Kipsigis facts suggest that, while syntactic explanations are well-equipped to handle certain restrictions, morphological constraints must also play a role. This paper shows that ditransitive person restrictions do not have a uniform syntactic or morphological source cross-linguistically. Certain restrictions like those banning 3 > local are purely syntactic, while others are morphological—for instance, (at least some) restrictions on combinations of like arguments. When syntactic and morphological restrictions co-occur, a system that allows only local > 3 configurations emerges. I suggest that the combination of syntactic and morphological restrictions is one route by which languages arrive at a Strong PCC. This paper, then, lends support to hybrid morphosyntactic analyses of ditransitive person restrictions, which account for different restrictions in different modules of the grammar (see also Nevins 2007; Stegovec 2015; Drummond & O'Hagan 2020). These hybrid approaches preserve syntactic accounts of ditransitive person restrictions, but do so by limiting their scope to certain restrictions.

The paper is structured as follows. §2 presents an overview of ditransitive person restrictions and existing analyses. In §3, I provide background on Kipsigis. §4 describes and analyzes object agreement in Kipsigis ditransitives, which tracks the IO or the DO depending on the features of the objects (i.e. promiscuous agreement; Béjar 2003). In §5, I illustrate *local > local and discuss possible repairs, which motivate my morphological account of the restriction. §6 concludes.

2 Ditransitive person restrictions

The Strong and Weak PCCs—exemplified in §1—are most common cross-linguistically, but additional restrictions are attested. The "Me-first PCC" in Romanian rules out combinations with 1st person DOs, though 2nd person objects are acceptable in any position (Nevins 2007). The "Ultrastrong PCC" requires the IO to be higher than the DO on a $1 > 2 > 3$ hierarchy (Walkow 2012). Following Nevins (2007), I assume the PCC typology in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of attested PCC patterns

IO > DO	Strong	Weak	Me-first	Ultrastrong
$1 > 3$	✓	✓	✓	✓
$2 > 3$	✓	✓	✓	✓
$1 > 2$	*	✓	✓	✓
$2 > 1$	*	✓	*	*
$3 > 1$	*	*	*	*
$3 > 2$	*	*	✓	*

These restrictions are documented in languages outside of Romance, including Classical Arabic, Maltese, Georgian, Kiowa, Warlpiri, and many others (see Haspelmath 2004; Anagnostopoulou 2017b for references). Crucially, analyses built to capture the typology in Table 2 do not leave room for the novel Kipsigis-style restriction, which forbids only local > local combinations.

Analyses of ditransitive person restrictions can be divided into three categories: morphological, syntactic, and hybrid morphosyntactic. In what follows, I review a sample of approaches from each category and show that they cannot derive *local > local as an independent restriction. Morphological accounts generally ban particular combinations of

morphemes. For instance, Bonet (1991, 1994) offers one of the earliest analyses of the Strong PCC, proposing the *me-lui* constraint.

(3)   The *me-lui* constraint (Bonet 1991:181)

    a. In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object, if there is one 3rd person, it has to be the direct object.

    b. Both the indirect object and the direct object are phonologically weak.

This constraint acts as a morphological filter, assigning violations to sentences with illicit combinations of agreement markers or clitics (Bonet 1994). Yet this type of analysis faces empirical and theoretical challenges. First, *me-lui* does not hold globally in French, since the banned clitic combinations are licit in ethical datives and benefactives (Perlmutter 1971). Second, it restates the empirical generalization without offering a real explanation.

However, morphological analyses do particularly well in accounting for $3 > 3$ restrictions (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1995; Pescarini 2005; Nevins 2007) and number-based restrictions (Nevins & Savescu 2008), which often appear in addition to canonical PCC patterns. In Spanish and Catalan, for instance, $3 > 3$ configurations are ungrammatical unless the IO clitic is replaced with a more general form like the reflexive pronoun—a pattern known as spurious *se* in Spanish.

(4)   *Spanish* (Bonet 1995:608)

    ... {se / *le}   lo   dieron ayer.

      SE   3SG.ACC 3SG.DAT gave.3PL yesterday
    'They gave it to him yesterday.'

The appearance of $3 > 3$ restrictions is surprising from a syntactic perspective, since 3rd persons are often thought to lack person features or to not require licensing (e.g. Harley & Ritter 2002; Béjar & Rezac 2003). Rather, these effects parallel established morphological

processes; 3 > 3 restrictions and number-based restrictions ban adjacent, featurally similar elements. Morphological dissimilation rescues the derivation, in a way that is reminiscent of the Obligatory Contour Principle.

The vast majority of current PCC accounts are syntactic (e.g. Albizu 1997; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2005; Adger & Harbour 2007; Nevins 2007; Ormazabal & Romero 2007; Rezac 2008; Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018; Preminger 2019; Deal 2020; Stegovec 2020). Most of these analyses ignore 3 > 3 effects, though Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2018) offer a unified treatment of all clitic cluster restrictions.[2] Generally, syntactic accounts rely on the operation Agree and assume that ditransitive person restrictions arise when two goals are accessible within the domain of one probe. They make use of relativized probing, in which probes are specified to look only for certain features like [PART], which identifies local person arguments but not 3rd person ones (Harley & Ritter 2002). The exact source of ungrammaticality in these one probe-two goal configurations varies across analyses; some argue that there is "too little Agree" in these cases—with the relevant probe failing to Agree with both goals (e.g. Béjar & Rezac 2003; Deal 2020; Stegovec 2020)—while others claim that it Agrees with both goals but finds conflicting specifications (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007).

None of these syntactic analyses captures *local > local as an independent restriction, since 3 > local configurations are ruled out alongside local > local ones. For instance, Nevins (2007) uses Multiple Agree to offer a unified syntactic treatment of all the PCC varieties in Table 2. For Nevins, Multiple Agree is subject to two conditions: Contiguous Agree and Matched Values (Nevins 2007:291).

(5) Contiguous Agree: For a relativization R of a feature F on a Probe P, and x ∈ Domain(R(F)),
     $\neg\exists y$, such that y > x and P > y and y ∉ Domain(R(F)).

(6) Matched Values: For a relativization R of a feature F, $\exists \alpha, \alpha \in \{+,-\}$,

$\forall x, x \in \text{Domain}(R(F)), \text{val}(x,F) = \alpha$

Contiguous Agree requires all elements between the probe and its lowest goal to be within the probe's domain of relativization. Matched Values requires all elements within the probe's domain of relativization to have the same value for the feature being Agreed with. These conditions are key components of Multiple Agree that remain constant across all languages, regardless of the PCC pattern that they display.

To derive the various PCC patterns, Nevins uses relativized probing; different PCC varieties arise via differently relativized probes. Rather than relativizing the probe to a particular feature value like [PART], Nevins argues that it is sensitive to the markedness or contrastiveness of features on the goals (2007:287-9). That is, probes are relativized to marked or contrastive values of a given feature, rather than to the feature itself.[3] This probe is housed in v above both objects in the ditransitive.

(7)
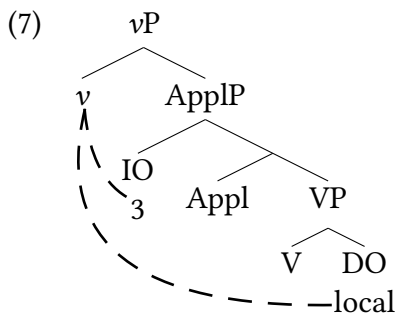
Given this set-up, 3rd person IOs are always interveners for Contiguous Agree—whether the probe is relativized to contrastive or marked values—because they make fewer contrastive distinctions and are less marked.[4] In this way, Nevins' framework necessarily rules out 3 > local alongside any other restriction.

To capture *local > local in this system, Contiguous Agree would have to be abandoned.

If Multiple Agree were only subject to Matched Values, *local > local would be accounted for; 1 > 2 and 2 > 1 configurations are ungrammatical because they have different values for [SPKR].[5] However, the central desideratum of Nevins' analysis is that all PCC varieties should be explained through the same Multiple Agree mechanism, and any differences between patterns should stem from probe relativization (2007:292). Abandoning Contiguous Agree would introduce a questionable point of cross-linguistic variation into the system. Whether or not Contiguous Agree applies is a difference in the mechanics of Multiple Agree rather than in probe structure, which is a widely accepted source of cross-linguistic variation.

The final—and smallest—class of analyses treats ditransitive person restrictions as hybrid morphosyntactic phenomena (Nevins 2007; Walkow 2012; Stegovec 2015; Coon & Keine to appear). Rather than assuming that the illicit argument combinations are due to "too little Agree" in a one probe-two goal configuration, Coon & Keine (to appear) argue that they result from "too much Agree." On their conception of Agree, different segments on a probe can Agree with different goals. Probe segments are determined based on feature hierarchies and entailment relationships between features (Harley & Ritter 2002). For instance, a [PART]-relativized probe contains two segments: [uπ] and [uPART], since [PART] entails [π]. In a 3 > local context with a [PART]-relativized probe on v, the [uπ] segment Agrees with the 3rd person IO, while the [uPART] segment Agrees with the local person DO, as the IO does not have [PART] features.

(8)

vP
- v [uπ] — [uPART] ⁻3
- ApplP
  - IO
  - Appl
  - VP
    - V
    - DO —local
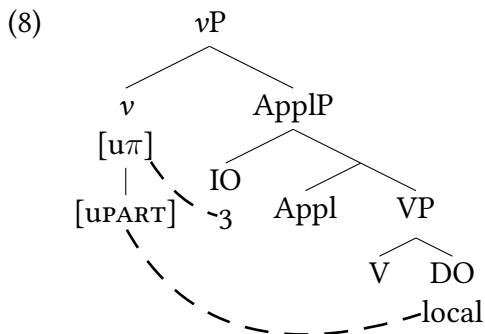
When different segments within a probe Agree with different goals—as in (8)—a so-called "gluttonous" configuration arises. This syntactic gluttony is not ungrammatical but can create ineffability later in the derivation. For example, the probe in (8) has features copied back from two different goals—3rd person features from the IO and local person ones from the DO. When it comes time to determine which features should be exponed in the morphology, this gluttony can create a problem if each value on the probe demands a different VI but only one can be inserted (e.g. the IO demands 3rd person agreement, while the DO demands local person agreement, and only one VI can be inserted for *v*). In this situation, the process of Vocabulary Insertion is unable to pick a VI for the multi-valued probe, which leads to ineffability and ungrammaticality (Coon & Keine to appear:33).

Coon & Keine manipulate probe structure to derive the PCC patterns in Table 2 through a single morphosyntactic mechanism. However, like the other analyses in this section, they incorrectly predict that any language that rules out local > local should also rule out 3 > local due to the nature of feature geometries and—by extension—probe structure (to appear:23). There is simply no way to generate gluttony in local > local configurations without also doing so in 3 > local ones. In fact, to rule out local > local in Strong PCC languages, Coon & Keine assume that IOs in these languages are encased in a syntactic shell, which makes them appear to be 3rd person. Such a configuration leads to gluttony, as described in the previous paragraphs. However, this means of deriving *local > local relies on the assumption that 3 > local configurations are *also* ungrammatical. In this way, Coon & Keine

are only able to rule out local > local by assimilating it with supposedly ungrammatical 3 > local configurations.

Unlike Coon & Keine (to appear), other hybrid analyses account for some illicit argument combinations via a syntactic mechanism and others via a morphological one (e.g. Nevins 2007; Stegovec 2015). Nevins (2007) argues that 3 > 3 restrictions are morphological, while more canonical PCC effects are syntactic, as discussed above. In this way, he invokes both the syntax and the morphology to understand the full range of ditransitive person restrictions. Yet this type of hybrid analysis is fundamentally different than Coon & Keine's because it distinguishes between different restrictions within a single PCC pattern.

Against this backdrop, I propose a hybrid account of the novel *local > local restriction in Kipsigis. Although my implementation differs from theirs, my analysis shares with Coon & Keine (to appear) the idea that the syntax can generate a configuration that only becomes problematic later in the derivation in the morphology. However, it also takes seriously the idea from Nevins (2007) that different restrictions warrant different explanations. Nevins only applies this logic to *3 > 3, but I argue that restrictions on like arguments more broadly—including *3 > 3 and *local > local—warrant a different analysis than that for *3 > local. Before turning to *local > local in §5, the following two sections provide background on Kipsigis and analyze object agreement in the language. The facts presented in these sections motivate my analysis of *local > local, making them key to understanding why this restriction must be morphological rather than syntactic.

3   Background on Kipsigis

Kipsigis is a verb-initial language with information structure-driven postverbal word order flexibility (Bossi & Diercks 2019).[6]

(9) a. Kii-∅-keer chiitɑ **tɛɛta**. b. Kii-∅-keer **tɛɛta** chiitɑ.

        PST-3-see   person cow   PST-3-see   cow person
        'A person saw a cow (long ago).'   'A person saw a cow (long ago).'

As seen in (9), 3rd person objects are not indexed on the verb. This is also true of pronominal 3rd person objects, though these are often *pro*-dropped.

(10) a. Kaa-∅-maas Kiproono (**ɪnɛɛndɛt**). b. Kaa-∅-maas Kiproono (**ɪchɛɛgɛt**).

        PST-3-hit   Kiproono 3SG   PST-3-hit   Kiproono 3PL
        'Kiproono hit him/her (now).'   'Kiproono hit them (now).'

On the other hand, local person objects must surface as verbal suffixes. When describing the data, I refer to these morphemes as suffixes to remain agnostic about their status as markers of syntactic agreement or cliticization. In §4.2, however, I ultimately argue for a cliticization-based account.

(11) a. Kaa-∅-maas-**an** Kiproono. c. Kaa-∅-maas-**ɛɛch** Kiproono.

        PST-3-hit-1SG.O Kiproono   PST-3-hit-1PL.O   Kiproono
        'Kiproono hit me (now).'   'Kiproono hit us (now).'

    b. Kaa-∅-maas-**ɪn** Kiproono. d. Kaa-∅-maas-**aak** Kiproono.

        PST-3-hit-2SG.O Kiproono   PST-3-hit-2PL.O   Kiproono
        'Kiproono hit you (sg) (now).'   'Kiproono hit you (pl) (now).'

Comparing (10) and (11) reveals different agreement behaviors for 3rd person vs. local person objects; local person objects are marked on the verb, while 3rd person ones are not. This paper considers these types of object agreement asymmetries in ditransitives where the verb has two objects to agree with, which gives rise to the *local > local restriction.

Ditransitive verbs in Kipsigis surface with an additional *-i* suffix (12), which disappears

when the IO is omitted (13).[7]

(12) Koo-i-mut^j-i   Kibeet *Linas* **ng'ookta**.

PST-3-bring-APPL Kibeet Linus dog
'Kibeet brought Linus the dog (yesterday).'

(13) Kɔɔ-ɪ-mʊt   Kibeet **ng'ookta**.

PST-3-bring Kibeet dog
'Kibeet brought the dog (yesterday).'

Both internal arguments in (12) receive the same unmarked case, which differentiates them from the tonally-marked subject.[8] The alternation in (12) - (13) suggests the existence of an additional functional projection in ditransitives, which houses *-i* and is absent in monotransitives. I identify this projection as a high ApplP as in Pylkkänen (2008).

(14)
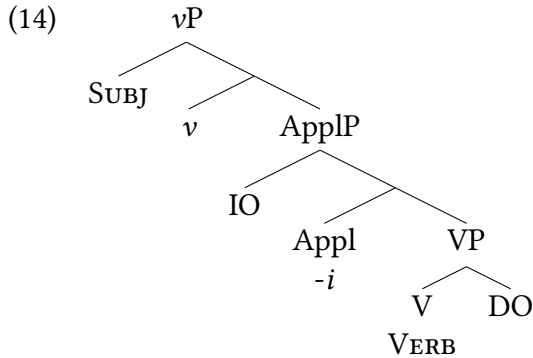
The DO is base-generated as the complement of the verb, while the IO is base-generated in Spec,ApplP. Throughout the paper, I assume the underlying ditransitive structure in (14).[9]

This section outlined some essentials about object marking and ditransitives in Kipsigis. The rest of the paper focuses on the intersection of these phenomena, looking at object marking in ditransitives and a novel ditransitive person restriction that bans only combinations of local person objects.

4 Promiscuous object agreement in Kipsigis

4.1 Describing the pattern

This section describes object marking in ditransitive sentences with pronominal objects.[10] When either the IO or the DO is a local person pronoun, it surfaces as a suffix on the verb regardless of its grammatical function alongside the applicative suffix, which exhibits allomorphy conditioned by the function of the suffixed object. In 3 > local configurations, the object suffix tracks the DO and the applicative is realized as its *-i* allomorph (15).[11]

(15) 3 > local ⟶ DO agreement

    a. Koo-i-mut-i-**an**   Nansɪ *ɪnɛɛndɛt.*

       PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.DO Nancy 3SG
       'Nancy brought me to him/her (yesterday).'

    b. Koo-i-mut-i-**in**   Nansɪ *ɪnɛɛndɛt.*

       PST-3-bring-APPL-2SG.DO Nancy 3SG
       'Nancy brought you (sg) to him/her (yesterday).'

    c. Koo-i-mut-i-**eech**   Nansɪ *ɪnɛɛndɛt.*

       PST-3-bring-APPL-1PL.DO Nancy 3SG
       'Nancy brought us to him/her (yesterday).'

    d. Koo-i-mut-i-**aak**   Nansɪ *ɪnɛɛndɛt.*

       PST-3-bring-APPL-2PL.DO Nancy 3SG
       'Nancy brought you (pl) to him/her (yesterday).'

In local > 3 configurations, the object suffix tracks the IO and the applicative is realized as *-u* (16), which is the ventive morpheme in Kipsigis.[12]

(16) Local > 3 ⟶ IO agreement

a. Koo-i-mut-u-*an*   Nansɪ **ɪnɛɛndɛt**.

PST-3-bring-VENT-1SG.IO Nancy 3SG
'Nancy brought him/her to me (yesterday).'

b. Koo-i-mut-u-*in*   Nansɪ **ɪnɛɛndɛt**.

PST-3-bring-VENT-2SG.IO Nancy 3SG
'Nancy brought him/her to you (sg) (yesterday).'

c. Koo-i-mut-u-*eech*   Nansɪ **ɪnɛɛndɛt**.

PST-3-bring-VENT-1PL.IO Nancy 3SG
'Nancy brought him/her to us (yesterday).'

d. Koo-i-mut-u-*aak*   Nansɪ **ɪnɛɛndɛt**.

PST-3-bring-VENT-2PL.IO Nancy 3SG
'Nancy brought him/her to you (pl) (yesterday).'

These IO and DO suffixes are identical to the monotransitive object suffixes seen in (11), although they condition different allomorphs of the applicative depending on their grammatical function. This distinction is reminiscent of case—in that realization of the applicative is sensitive to the IO vs. DO status of the suffixed object—despite the fact that both objects in Kipsigis receive unmarked morphological case as full DPs. For this reason, I appeal to case to account for the allomorphy of the applicative, even though the proposed case distinctions are not realized on the objects themselves.[13]

I assume that the 3rd person objects in (15) - (16) are not agreed with, since they are never indexed with overt verbal morphology. In this way, the data in (15) - (16) instantiate promiscuous or context-sensitive agreement (Béjar 2003); the verb agrees sometimes with one argument (e.g. the IO) and other times with a different argument (e.g. the DO) depending on the ϕ-features of the other arguments within the agreement domain. Promiscuous agreement is (to my knowledge) not otherwise documented in African languages, making these data a contribution to the typology of agreement systems around the world. Table 3

summarizes the object suffixes for all person and number combinations in Kipsigis.

Table 3: Kipsigis object suffixes

	SG	PL
1	-an	-ɛɛch
2	-ɪn	-aak
3	∅	∅

These local person object suffixes are obligatory; full 1st and 2nd person pronouns cannot be postverbal IOs or DOs, even when narrowly focused.

(17) *Koo-i-mutʲ-i   Chɛpkɔɛch **anɛɛ ɪnɛɛndɛt**.

PST-3-bring-APPL Chepkoech 1SG   3SG
Intended: 'Chepkoech brought me to him / him to me (yesterday).'

(18) *Koo-i-mutʲ-i   Chɛpkɔɛch **inyee ɪnɛɛndɛt**.

PST-3-bring-APPL Chepkoech 2SG   3SG
Intended: 'Chepkoech brought you (sg) to him / him to you (sg) (yesterday).'

(19) *Koo-i-mutʲ-i   Chɛpkɔɛch **ɛɛchɛɛk ɪnɛɛndɛt**.

PST-3-bring-APPL Chepkoech 1PL   3SG
Intended: 'Chepkoech brought us to him / him to us (yesterday).'

(20) *Koo-i-mutʲ-i   Chɛpkɔɛch **ɔɔkwɛɛk ɪnɛɛndɛt**.

PST-3-bring-APPL Chepkoech 2PL   3SG
Intended: 'Chepkoech brought you (pl) to him / him to you (pl) (yesterday).'

3rd person arguments, on the other hand, never surface as verbal suffixes and can be represented as independent pronouns, though they are often omitted due to *pro*-drop.

(21) a. Koo-∅-mɑɑs-i Madɛlın (*ınɛɛndɛt*) **Kibeet**.

        PST-3-hit-APPL Madeline 3SG   Kibeet
        'Madeline hit Kibeet for him/her (yesterday).'

    b. Koo-i-mutʲ-i   Nansı *ʄɔɔsɛf* (**ınɛɛndɛt**).

        PST-3-bring-APPL Nancy Joseph 3SG
        'Nancy brought him/her to Joseph (yesterday).'

Finally, local person object suffixes cannot co-occur with full local person pronouns.

(22) a. *Koo-∅-gur-i-**an**   Jeeni **anɛɛ** (*ınɛɛndɛt*).

        PST-3-call-APPL-1SG.DO Jane 1SG 3SG
        Intended: 'Jane called me for him/her (yesterday).'

    b. *Koo-∅-gur-i-**in**   Jeeni **inyee** (*ınɛɛndɛt*).

        PST-3-call-APPL-2SG.DO Jane 2SG   3SG
        Intended: 'Jane called you (sg) for him/her (yesterday).'

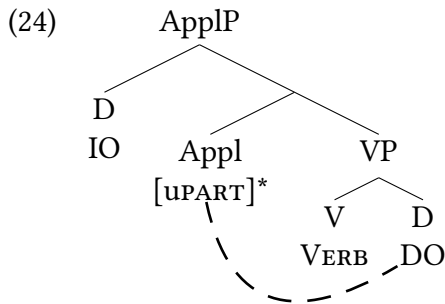These data highlight three key facts that my analysis must capture.

(23) a. Local person object suffixes are obligatory.

    b. The applicative surfaces alongside local person object suffixes and displays allomorphy conditioned by the grammatical function of the suffixed object.

    c. Local person object suffixes cannot be doubled by full pronouns.

In the following section, I develop a cliticization-based analysis that accounts for these observations. This analysis sets the stage for §5 where I introduce a complication to the empirical pattern—namely the ungrammaticality of local > local object combinations.

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4.2 Object suffixes are incorporated pronouns

I argue that object suffixes in Kipsigis are clitics derived via movement of local person objects to Spec,ApplP followed by post-syntactic m-merger between the object and Appl. This analysis follows work on Bulgarian clitics by Harizanov (2014). I assume a ϕ-feature geometry like that proposed in Harley & Ritter (2002). Although many details of their system are not relevant here (e.g. privative vs. bivalent features), their [PART] feature, which identifies local persons, is crucial. Only 1st and 2nd person arguments bear a [PART] feature, thereby enabling morphosyntactic processes to target this natural class to the exclusion of 3rd persons.[14] Finally, I assume that 1st persons are more highly specified than 2nd persons in Kipsigis, bearing a [SPKR] feature in addition to [PART].
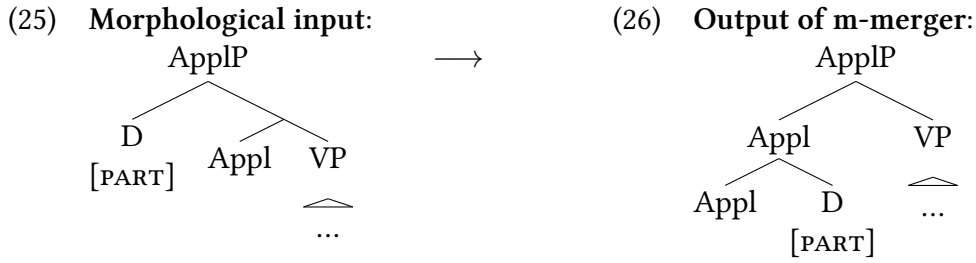
In Kipsigis, Appl houses a [PART]-relativized probe, which triggers tucking-in movement of local person DOs to an inner Spec,ApplP. If Agree succeeds (i.e. when the DO is a local person), the DO moves to an inner Spec,ApplP position. If Agree fails (i.e. when the DO is a 3rd person), the DO remains in-situ. Following Béjar (2003) and Preminger (2014), I assume that failed Agree does not crash the derivation.

(24)

```
           ApplP
          /     \
        D       /\
        IO   Appl      VP
          [uPART]*    /  \
             \      V     D
              \   VERB   DO
               _____/
```

where * is a diacritic indicating that Agree with the probe triggers movement.

The [uPART]* probe on Appl ignores 3rd person DOs but Agrees with and moves local person ones.[15] Following Harizanov's (2014) analysis of Bulgarian, I assume that Appl satisfies its thematic requirements before its morphosyntactic ones. Therefore, the thematic IO is base-generated in Spec,ApplP and then the local person DO tucks in to an inner specifier of this same projection, as in Richards (2001).

Local person arguments begin their derivational life as full pronouns, which are simultaneously minimal and maximal projections (Chomsky 1995). In this way, they can participate in post-syntactic m-merger—the process whereby two heads in a Spec-head configuration combine to output a single complex head (Matushansky 2006). M-merger in Kipsigis ditransitives maps (25) to (26).[16]

(25) **Morphological input**:

           ApplP

    D

  [PART] Appl VP

           ...

$\longrightarrow$

(26) **Output of m-merger**:

           ApplP

    Appl   VP

  Appl D   ...

      [PART]

I propose that m-merger is *also* [PART]-relativized in Kipsigis to prevent m-merger of 3rd person IOs, which are not realized as verbal clitics. The syntactic movement triggered by Agree with the probe on Appl can feed the morphological process in (26), but it is not necessary for m-merger to apply. In 3 > local configurations, [uPART]*-driven movement occurs, followed by m-merger of the local person DO. In local > 3 configurations, there is no [uPART]*-driven movement, but the local person IO—which is base-generated in Spec,ApplP—still undergoes m-merger.

This analysis captures the characteristics in (23) in the following ways. Because Agree and m-merger are both obligatory processes when their structural conditions are met, cliticization of local person objects is likewise obligatory; this accounts for why local person objects must be realized as clitics (23a). After m-merger, Appl is within the same complex head as the cliticized object, which makes it sufficiently local to condition allomorphy of Appl (23b). I assume that IOs have dative case and DOs accusative case, even though these distinctions are not realized on the objects themselves. Appl is then spelled out as the ventive -*u* when m-merged with a dative object and as -*i* in all other contexts.[17] Table 4 presents

the allomorphs of Appl as well as the object clitic VIs. Note that the clitic VIs surface in the context of Appl or *v*, which I assume hosts object clitics in monotransitives; this captures the fact that object clitics take the same form regardless of valence.

Table 4: Sample Kipsigis VIs

|			
	-i	⇔	Appl
	-u	⇔	Appl / ___ [DAT]
1SG	-an	⇔	D, π, PART, SPKR / {Appl, *v*} ___
2SG	-ɪn	⇔	D, π, PART / {Appl, *v*} ___
1PL	-ɛɛch	⇔	D, π, PART, SPKR, PL / {Appl, *v*} ___
2PL	-aak	⇔	D, π, PART, PL / {Appl, *v*} ___

Finally, local person object suffixes cannot double full pronouns, since these clitics are built from the pronouns themselves (23c). However, under the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1993), the question arises as to why the lower chain position cannot be pronounced as in Harizanov's (2014) analysis of clitic doubling in Bulgarian. Following Nunes (2004), Harizanov argues that m-merger renders the higher occurrence of a clitic-doubled element invisible for chain reduction; in this way, both the head and foot of the movement chain can be pronounced. To capture the difference between Bulgarian and Kipsigis, I assume that phonological chain reduction applies *before* m-merger in Kipsigis.[18] This order of operations means that the higher pronoun copy is still visible when chain reduction takes place. Given this visibility, the lower copy is deleted and only the higher one is pronounced. Varying the order of morphological operations offers a way to derive the difference between clitic doubling languages and those with single cliticization. I suggest that morphological processes like m-merger precede chain reduction in clitic doubling languages, while they follow chain reduction in single cliticization languages.[19]

Movement to Spec,ApplP followed by post-syntactic m-merger derives Kipsigis object cliticization. Understanding cliticization in these acceptable configurations is key to understanding how *local > local is derived in §5. Therefore, consider how my analysis generates the 3 > 1 sentence in (15a)—repeated below. In the narrow syntax, the [uPART]* probe on Appl triggers tucking-in movement of the local person DO to an inner Spec,ApplP.

(27) Koo-i-mut-i-**an**   Nansɪ *ɪnɛɛndɛt.*

PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.DO Nancy 3SG
'Nancy brought me to him/her (yesterday).'

(28)
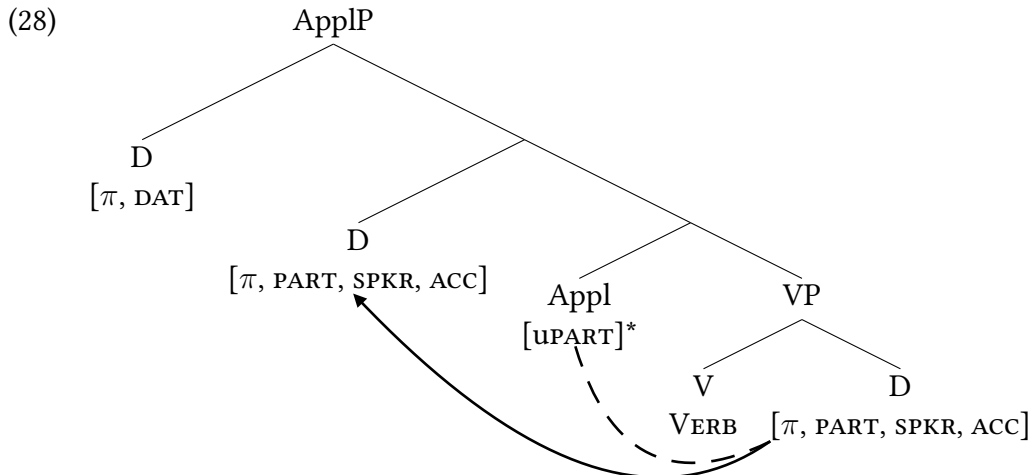
Then, in the morphology, chain reduction deletes the lower copy of the moved DO. M-merger applies to the 1st person DO, deriving the complex Appl head seen in (29).

(29)

21
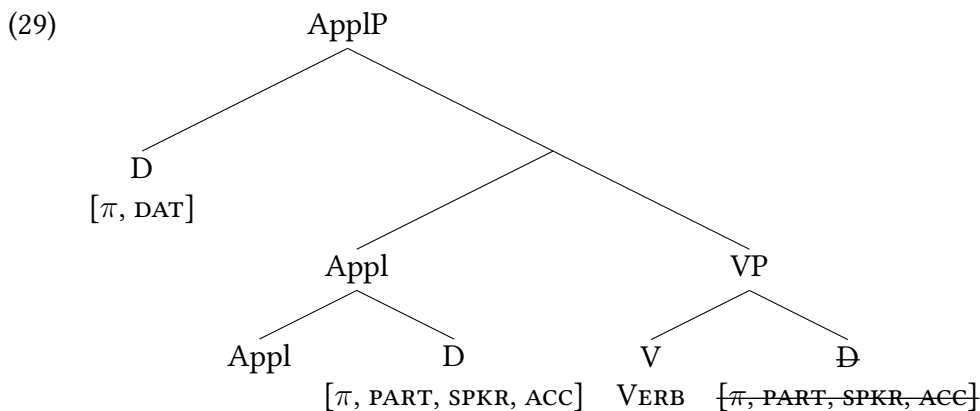
Because the cliticized object is accusative, Appl is realized as *-i* alongside the object clitic *-an* '1sg'. The 3rd person pronoun *mɛɛndɛt* 'him, her' is inserted for the IO in Spec,ApplP. A parallel process takes place in local > 3 configurations, simply without the syntactic movement in (28). The local person object is base-generated in Spec,ApplP. From this position, it undergoes m-merger with Appl. Appl is spelled out as its *-u* allomorph given dative case on the m-merged IO, while the object clitic remains *-an* '1sg'. In this way, m-merger can—but need not—be fed by syntactic movement.

The two [PART]-relativized processes introduced above are necessary for different reasons. First, the probe on Appl must be [PART]-relativized to prevent tucking-in movement of 3rd person DOs, which would bleed m-merger of local person IOs. The structure in (31) would arise in a 1 > 3 configuration if the 3rd person DO tucked in to an inner Spec,ApplP.

(30) Koo-i-mut-u-*an*   Nansɪ ɪnɛɛndɛt.

PST-3-bring-APPL-1sg.IO Nancy 3sg
'Nancy brought him/her to me (yesterday).'

(31)
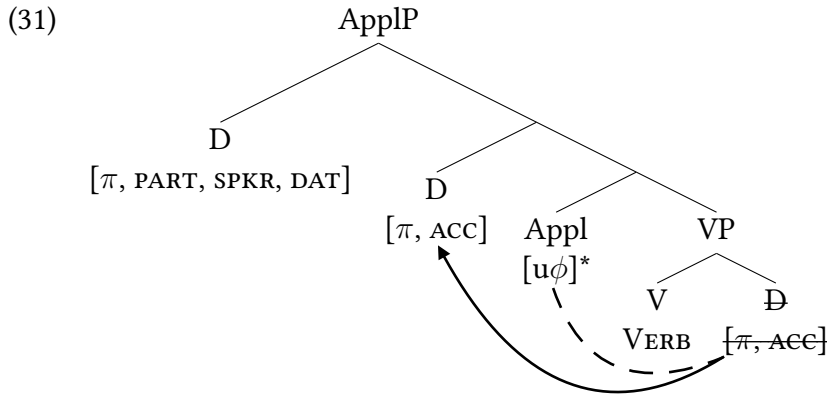
In this alternative structure, the [uφ]* probe on Appl Agrees with the DO regardless of its person specification and moves it to an inner Spec,ApplP, while the IO is base-generated as a specifier of ApplP. M-merger—as defined in Matushansky (2006:85)—requires head adjacency, meaning that nothing can intervene between two heads participating in m-merger. Given this need for adjacency, the local person IO would not be sufficiently local to Appl to

undergo m-merger in (31), as would be necessary to capture the data in (30).

Second, m-merger must be [PART]-relativized to allow 3rd person objects to be realized as full pronouns. On an analysis without [PART]-relativized m-merger, Appl in a 3 > 1 configuration like (27) would have the structure in (32) after m-merger. Both the 1st person DO and the 3rd person IO would be in Spec,ApplP positions and would undergo cyclic m-merger with Appl.

(32)

```
                          Appl
                         /    \
                     Appl       D
                    /    \     [π, DAT]
                 Appl     D
                /    \   [π, PART, SPKR, ACC]
            Appl      D
           [π, PART, SPKR, ACC]
```
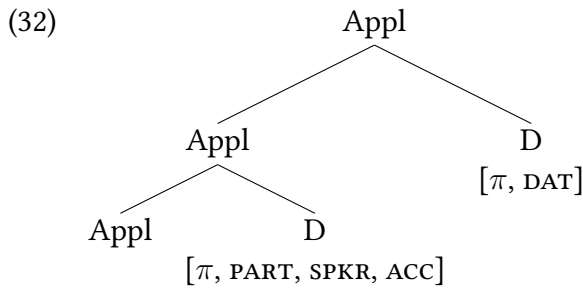
Here, Appl would be realized as *-i*, the 1st person DO clitic as *-an*, and the 3rd person IO as the full pronoun *ɪnɛɛndet*. However, such an analysis challenges the assumption in Distributed Morphology (DM; Halle & Marantz 1993) that VIs within a complex head correspond to a single morphological word. [PART]-relativized m-merger avoids this complication through a novel yet plausible modification to an existing morphological operation.

This section analyzed promiscuous object agreement in Kipsigis. In the following section, I describe an additional facet of the empirical pattern—namely *local > local—and extend my analysis to capture these facts.

5   *Local > local

5.1   The basic restriction

§4 described and analyzed ditransitives with a single local person object. However, the construction shows an additional complication; local > local configurations are ungrammatical in Kipsigis.[20] Regardless of which object is realized as a verbal suffix—be it the IO (a) or the DO (b)—local > local structures are ungrammatical.

(33)   *1 > 2

    a. *Koo-i-mut-u-*an*   Kibeet **inyee**.

        PST-3-bring-VENT-1SG.IO Kibeet 2SG
        Intended: 'Kibeet brought you (sg) to me (yesterday).'

    b. *Koo-i-mut-i-**in**   Kibeet *anɛɛ*.

        PST-3-bring-APPL-2SG.DO Kibeet 1SG
        Intended: 'Kibeet brought you (sg) to me (yesterday).'

(34)   *2 > 1

    a. *Koo-i-mut-u-*in*   Kibeet **anɛɛ**.

        PST-3-bring-VENT-2SG.IO Kibeet 1SG
        Intended: 'Kibeet brought me to you (sg) (yesterday).'

    b. *Koo-i-mut-i-**an**   Kibeet *inyee*.

        PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.DO Kibeet 2SG
        Intended: 'Kibeet brought me to you (sg) (yesterday).'

Stacking of local person suffixes is likewise impossible.

(35)   a. *Koo-i-mut-u-*in*-**an**   Kibeet.

        PST-3-bring-VENT-2SG.IO-1SG.DO Kibeet
        Intended: 'Kibeet brought me to you (sg) (yesterday).'

b. *Koo-i-mut-i-**an**-*in*   Kibeet.

       PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.DO-2SG.IO Kibeet
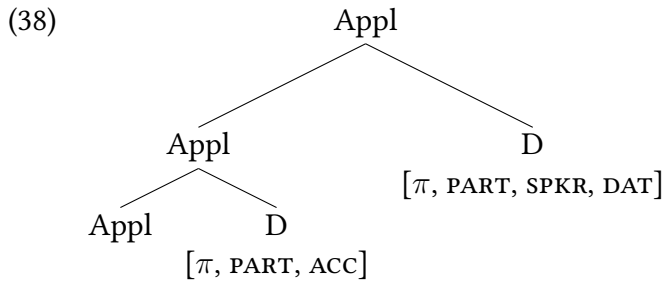   Intended: 'Kibeet brought me to you (sg) (yesterday).'

As seen in §4, there are no such restrictions on 3 > local or local > 3 configurations. This differentiates the Kipsigis pattern from more well-studied PCC effects, which typically ban combinations with structurally low local person arguments, as illustrated in Table 1.

    Further differentiating Kipsigis *local > local from canonical PCC effects is the fact that there is no dedicated *local > local repair. When expressing local > local object combinations—as in 'Nancy called me for you'—speakers offer monotransitive sentences with contextually recoverable beneficiaries (36) or paraphrase to avoid the double object construction altogether (37).

(36) Koo-∅-gur-**an** Nansɪ.

      PST-3-call-1SG.O Nancy
      'Nancy called me (for you (sg)) (yesterday).'

(37) Koo-∅-gur-**an** Nansɪ ɑɑ-nyoon ɑ-tɑɑret-**in**.

      PST-3-call-1SG.O Nancy 1SG-come 1SG-help-2SG.O
      'Nancy called me to come help you (sg) (yesterday).'

    However, the Kipsigis pattern shares with canonical PCC effects a dependence on so-called "double weakness" (Deal 2020). Double weakness refers to the fact that PCC effects typically arise when both objects of a ditransitive are realized as phonologically weak elements like clitics or agreement affixes. Like these other PCC effects, Kipsigis *local > local also appears in doubly weak contexts—when both local person objects should be realized as clitics.[21] Because there are no 3rd person object markers in the language, 3 > local and local > 3 configurations are not doubly weak and, therefore, are not subject to a restriction.

The analysis in §4.2 does not yet capture *local > local. In these configurations, both local person objects end up in Spec,ApplP positions; the IO is base-generated there, while the DO moves there after Agreeing with the [uPART]* probe on Appl. These local person objects then undergo cyclic m-merger resulting in a complex head like (38) for an ungrammatical 1 > 2 configuration.

(38)

```
                        Appl
                   ____/    \____
                Appl              D
              __/  \__          [π, PART, SPKR, DAT]
           Appl      D
                  [π, PART, ACC]
```

The current analysis predicts Appl to be spelled out as *-i*, while the DO and IO would be realized as *-in* '2SG' and *-an* '1SG', respectively. Because these morphemes are all part of the same morphological word, this instance of double cliticization does not violate any DM assumptions, unlike the hypothetical 3 > 1 configuration in (32). The ungrammaticality of this type of clitic-stacking (35) indicates that some additional principle is necessary to derive *local > local. In §5.4, I propose such a principle, but first I detail an additional empirical pattern in Kipsigis—namely, obviation of the restriction when either object is fronted for focus. These data motivate the morphological analysis in §5.4.

5.2   Fronting repairs *local > local

In addition to the strategies in (36) - (37), *local > local can also be repaired when either object surfaces in clause-initial position followed by the relativizer *ne*. This preverbal position is associated with focus, translated into English with an it-cleft (hence the label *ne*-cleft). When a local person object is fronted in a *ne*-cleft, the object suffix typically triggered by the focused constituent cannot appear on the verb.[22]

(39) a. ***Anɛɛ*** ne   koo-i-mutʲ-i   Kibeet ***mɛɛndɛt.***

      1SG   REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL Kibeet 3SG

      'It's me who Kibeet brought to her / her to (yesterday).'

    b. *****Anɛɛ*** ne   koo-i-mut-i-**an**   Kibeet *mɛɛndɛt.*

      1SG   REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.DO Kibeet 3SG

      Intended: 'It's me who Kibeet brought to her (yesterday).'

    c. **Anɛɛ* ne   koo-i-mut-u-*an*   Kibeet **mɛɛndɛt.**

      1SG   REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.IO Kibeet 3SG

      Intended: 'It's me who Kibeet brought her to (yesterday).'

(15) - (16) show baseline cases, in which the verb necessarily bears a DO or IO clitic. Fronting of the local person object forces the local person clitic to disappear and the default APPL suffix reappears. Fronting a 3rd person object does not trigger a change in verbal morphology; in 3 > local and local > 3 configurations, the verb still bears a local person suffix.

(40) a. *Inɛɛndɛt* ne   koo-i-mut-i-**an**   Kibeet.

      3SG   REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.DO Kibeet

      'It's her who Kibeet brought me to (yesterday).'

    b. **Inɛɛndɛt** ne   koo-i-mut-u-*an*   Kibeet.

      3SG   REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.IO Kibeet

      'It's her who Kibeet brought to me (yesterday).'

    Crucially for *local > local, fronting of either local person object in a ditransitive can repair the ungrammatical configuration. Although standard 1 > 2 and 2 > 1 combinations are ruled out, these object pairings become acceptable when either object surfaces clause-initially.

(41) Repaired 1 > 2

a. **Inyɛɛ** ne koo-i-mut-u-*an* Kibeet.

2SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.IO Kibeet
'It's you (sg) who Kibeet brought to me (yesterday).'

b. *Anɛɛ* ne koo-i-mut-i-**in** Kibeet.

1SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-2SG.DO Kibeet
'It's me who Kibeet brought you (sg) to (yesterday).'

(42) Repaired 2 > 1

a. **Anɛɛ** ne koo-i-mut-u-*in* Kibeet.

1SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-2SG.IO Kibeet
'It's me who Kibeet brought to you (sg) (yesterday).'

b. *Inyɛɛ* ne koo-i-mut-i-**an** Kibeet.

2SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.DO Kibeet
'It's you (sg) who Kibeet brought me to (yesterday).'

Although *ne*-fronting is independently available and triggers a different information structural meaning, I consider it a repair because the sentences in (41) - (42) involve the same—seemingly illicit—argument structure as the ungrammatical sentences in (33) - (34). In repaired cases, the verb agrees with the non-extracted object, be it the IO (a) or the DO (b).

I argue in §5.4 that this repair supports a morphological account of *local > local in Kipsigis. This conclusion follows from the fact that extracted and non-extracted local > local configurations have the same syntax at the point in the derivation when Appl probes (modulo an Ā-feature on the focused constituent in extraction contexts). Therefore, ungrammaticality is not due to syntactic malformation or unmet syntactic licensing requirements on local person arguments. Rather, it must be a morphological issue.

However, this conclusion depends on the syntactic structure of *ne*-clefts. Consider two possible analyses.[23] A first option is that objects fronted with *ne* are Ā-extracted from their base position within or below ApplP to clause-initial position. Under this analysis, extrac-

tion and non-extraction contexts share a common underlying syntax, making a syntactic account of *local > local untenable. However, a second option holds that clause-initial constituents with *ne* are actually base-generated in this high position; their interpretation arises via movement of an operator, which lacks local person ϕ-features, rather than the clause-initial constituent itself. Under this analysis, extraction contexts have a different underlying syntax than non-extraction ones, so a syntactic account remains plausible. In the following section, I show that *ne*-clefts in Kipsigis warrant the first analysis, as they involve movement of the fronted constituent. These findings motivate the morphological analysis of *local > local in §5.4.

5.3   The structure of *ne*-clefts

This section illustrates island sensitivity and reconstruction effects in Kipsigis *ne*-clefts. The existence of island effects indicates that there is movement in this construction—either of the fronted constituent or of a null operator. The reconstruction effects suggest that it is the fronted constituent that moves to clause-initial position, rather than an operator.

Ne-clefts are sensitive to adjunct (43), relative clause (44), and coordination islands (45).

(43) a. Koo-∅-wɑ Kiproono kotoomwɑ koo-∅-chɑp Chɛpkɔɛch nyɛɛndɪk.

 PST-3-go   Kiproono before   PST-3-make Chepkoech beans
 'Kiproono left before Chepkoech made the beans.'

 b. *Nyɛɛndɪk che   koo-∅-wɑ Kiproono kotoomwɑ koo-∅-chɑp Chɛpkɔɛch.

 beans   REL.PL PST-3-go   Kiproono before   PST-3-make Chepkoech
 Intended: 'It's the beans that Kiproono left before Chepkoech made.'

(44) a. Koo-∅-keer Chɛpkɔɛch ng'ooktɑ ne   kɔɔ-∅-sʊs Kiproono.

 PST-3-see   Chepkoech dog   REL.SG PST-3-bite Kiproono
 'Chepkoech saw the dog that bit Kiproono.'

b. *Kiproono ne   koo-∅-keer Chɛpkɔɛch ng'ooktɑ ne   kɔɔ-∅-sʊs.

Kiproono REL.SG PST-3-see   Chepkoech dog   REL.SG PST-3-bite
Intended: 'It's Kiproono who Chepkoech saw the dog that bit.'

(45) a. Koo-∅-keer Kibeet ng'ooktɑ ak   pagɛɛt.

PST-3-see   Kibeet dog   and cat
'Kiproono saw a dog and a cat.'

b. *Pagɛɛt ne   koo-∅-keer Kibeet ng'ooktɑ (ak).

cat   REL.SG PST-3-see   Kibeet dog   and
Intended: 'It's a cat that Kiproono saw a dog and.'

The existence of island sensitivity in (43) - (45) shows that movement of some sort—be it of the fronted constituent or of a null operator—takes place in *ne*-clefts.

Evidence in favor of constituent movement comes from reconstruction for Condition C and quantifier scope. First, fronted constituents are interpreted in their base positions for Condition C. (46) is a baseline example of a Condition C effect in Kipsigis.

(46) Koo-$\varnothing_{i/*j}$-keer pɪchaaɪt-aap Kɪplang'at$_j$.

PST-3-see   picture-of   Kiplang'at
'He$_{i/*j}$ saw a picture of Kiplang'at$_j$.'

When the object R-expression is fronted with *ne*, it still cannot be co-referential with the subject. This indicates reconstruction.

(47) Pɪchaaɪt-aap Kɪplang'at$_j$ ne   koo-$\varnothing_{i/*j}$-keer.

picture-of   Kiplang'at REL.SG PST-3-see
'It's a picture of Kiplang'at$_j$ that he$_{i/*j}$ saw.'

The *ne*-cleft in (47) makes for a revealing contrast with preverbal adjunct clauses, in which R-expressions can be co-referential with matrix subjects (48). Such data confirm that reconstruction—

rather than anything based purely on linear order—is responsible for the judgment in (47).

(48) Kot i-kitkit   Kiproono$_j$, koo-$\varnothing_{i/j}$-rɑɑri-e.

if   2SG-tickle Kiproono PST-3-laugh-IPFV
'If you (sg) tickle Kiproono$_j$, he$_{i/j}$ laughs.'

Second, when quantified constituents are fronted with *ne*, they can scope in either their surface or base positions, indicating reconstruction. In (49), the quantified object *ng'oo* 'who' is fronted with *ne* around the quantified subject *laakwɛɛt agɛ tʊgʊl* 'every child'. Crucially, both the surface and inverse scope readings are available.

(49) Ng'oo ne $\varnothing$-cham-ɛ laakwɛɛt agɛ tʊgʊl?

who   REL.SG 3-like-IPFV child   every
wh > every: 'Who does every child love?' (answer: Kibeet)
every > wh: 'For every child, who is such that they love that person?' (answer: Chepkoech loves Nancy, Kiplang'at loves Linus, Kiprootich loves Nicholas)

The availability of both readings in (49) cannot be due to quantifier raising of the subject, since the effects persist in biclausals, where such quantifier raising is ruled out (Fox 2000). (50) confirms that embedded quantifiers cannot typically scope out of their finite clause, as the every > two reading is unavailable.

(50) Koo-$\varnothing$-le ng'eetig oeeng'-u kaa-$\varnothing$-gal   Kibeet cheeptɑ agɛ tʊgʊl.

PST-3-say boys   two-NOM PST-3-mess.with Kibeet girl   every
two > every: 'Two boys said that Kibeet messed with every girl.'
*every > two: *'For every girl, two boys said that Kibeet messed with her.'

However, when an embedded *wh*-word is fronted with *ne* in a biclausal, both interpretations become available once again.

(51) Ng'oo ne   koo-∅-le Kibeet ∅-cham-ɛ   laakwɛɛt agɛ tʊgʊl?

who   REL.SG PST-3-say Kibeet 3-like-IPFV child   every

wh > every: 'Who did Kibeet say that every child loves?' (answer: Kipkoech)

every > wh: 'For every child, who is such that Kibeet said that they love that per-

son?' (answer: Chepkoech loves Nancy, Kiplang'at loves Linus, Kiprootich loves

Nicholas)

(50) shows that quantifier raising of the embedded subject is ruled out in (51). Nevertheless, *ng'oo* 'who' can be interpreted within the scope of *laakwɛɛt agɛ tʊgʊl* 'every child' in (51). This comparison shows that quantifiers fronted with *ne* can reconstruct to their base positions for interpretation. Island sensitivity and reconstruction effects in *ne*-clefts show that these constructions involve constituent movement to clause-initial position.

5.4   Accounting for extraction and *local > local

Given the findings in §5.3, standard and extracted local > local configurations have a shared syntax at the point in the derivation when Appl probes; both objects are below or within ApplP. *Local > local, then, must not be due to syntactic malformation or unmet syntactic licensing conditions on local person arguments. Instead, I suggest that *local > local results from a morphological restriction. This section extends the analysis of promiscuous agreement from §4.2 to account for the disappearance of object clitics in *ne*-clefts and updates a morphological principle from Arregi & Nevins (2012) to derive *local > local, while allowing this configuration when either object is fronted.

Based on the data in §5.3, I maintain that the fronted constituent originates lower in the structure and moves to its surface position. However, I remain agnostic as to whether *ne*-clefts are monoclausal structures involving focus movement to clause-initial position or are biclausal containing a relative clause headed by the moved constituent (following work in
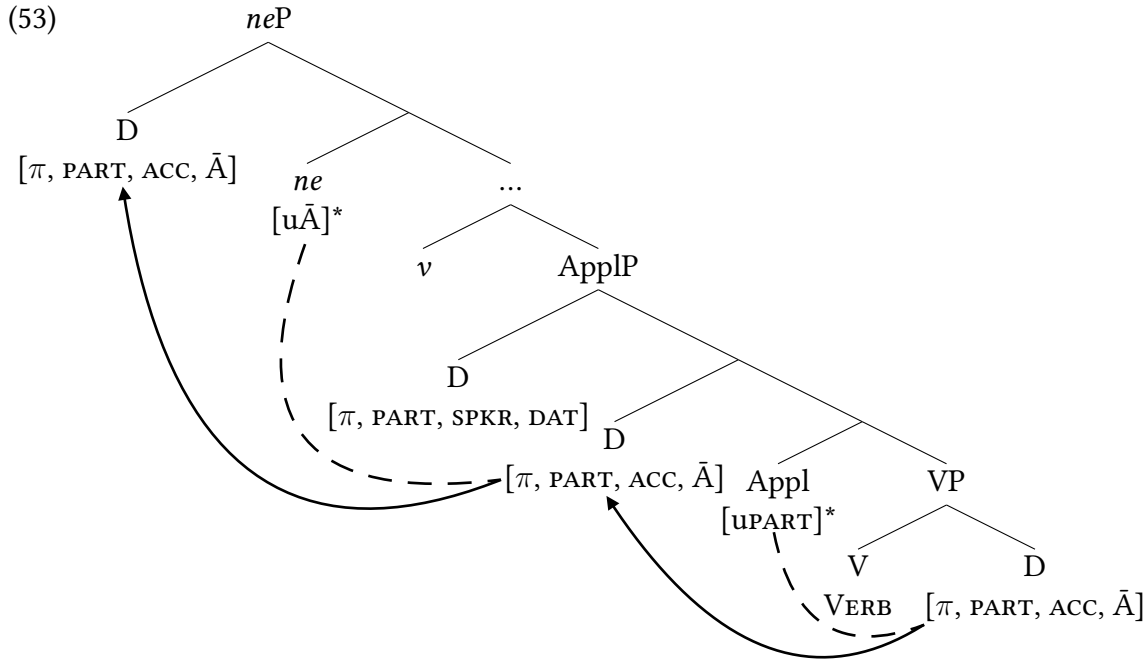
Kouneli 2019).[24] All that is crucial in light of the data in §5.3 is that the clause-initial constituent moves to its surface position from lower in the clause. For simplicity, I refer to projections headed by *ne* simply as *ne*Ps and assume that movement to this position is driven by some Ā-feature.

Given that fronting is derived by constituent movement, the disappearance of object clitics in extraction contexts falls out of the analysis in §4.2. Since object clitics are m-merged pronouns, they necessarily disappear when the pronoun is further extracted in the syntax. Because the highest copy of the moved pronoun must be pronounced, in extraction contexts, it is realized as a full pronoun in clause-initial position instead of an m-merged pronoun in Appl. As noted in §4.2, chain reduction precedes m-merger in Kipsigis, which derives single cliticization rather than clitic doubling. This order of operations also explains why only one copy of the pronoun can be pronounced in extraction contexts; because chain reduction takes place before m-merger, there is no morphological restructuring to shield the pronoun copy in Spec,ApplP from deletion.

Consider the 1 > 2 sentence with an extracted DO—repeated from (41a).

(52) **Inyee** ne koo-i-mut-u-*an* Kibeet.

2SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL-1SG.IO Kibeet
'It's you (sg) who Kibeet brought to me (yesterday).'

The extracted DO moves to Spec,*ne*P in the narrow syntax, leaving behind a copy in Spec,ApplP. I assume intermediate movement to Spec,*v*P before movement to Spec,*ne*P, though this is not represented in (53) for simplicity. I also assume that (53) is spelled out by phase, rather than as one complete structure.

(53)

```
                        neP
          ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
          D                             │
  [π, PART, ACC, Ā]         ┌───────────┴──────────┐
                            ne                     ...
                           [uĀ]*          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                            ┆             v                 ApplP
                            ┆                       ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                            ┆                       D                   │
                            ┆                [π, PART, SPKR, DAT]        │
                            ┆                            D               │
                            ┆                   [π, PART, ACC, Ā]  ┌─────┴─────┐
                            ┆                                    Appl        VP
                            ┆                                   [uPART]*  ┌───┴───┐
                            ┆                                     ┆       V       D
                            ┆                                     ┆     VERB  [π, PART, ACC, Ā]
```
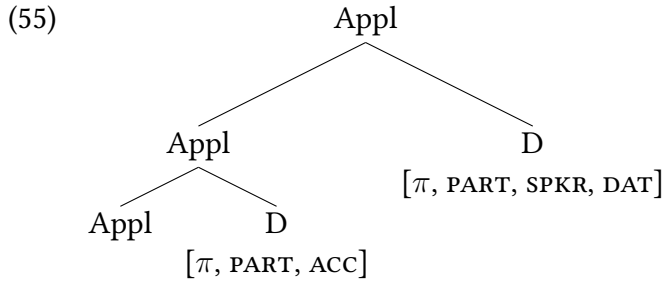
Early in the morphology, chain reduction applies, deleting the lower DO copies. In the *v*P phase, the highest DO copy is in Spec,*v*P, so the lower copies in Spec,ApplP and VP are deleted.[25] This deletion renders the lower copies transparent for subsequent morphological processes like m-merger. The 1st person IO is, then, in the appropriate head adjacency configuration to undergo m-merger with Appl, generating the complex head in (54).

(54)

```
            Appl
      ┌──────┴──────┐
    Appl            D
          [π, PART, SPKR, DAT]
```
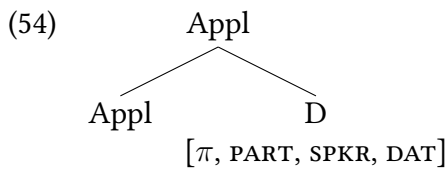
Appl is spelled out as its *-u* allomorph—conditioned by the dative case on the m-merged object—and *-an* '1SG' is inserted for the cliticized object. Feature deletion (i.e. chain reduction), therefore, creates a configuration in which only one object m-merges with Appl.

By contrast, in non-extraction local > local configurations, chain reduction does not occur, as the pronoun copies within Appl are highest. In the absence of chain reduction, both local person pronouns in Spec,ApplP m-merge successively. First, the DO m-merges, since

it is head adjacent to Appl, followed by the IO, which becomes head adjacent to Appl after m-merger of the DO.

(55)

```
                    Appl
                   /    \
              Appl        D
             /    \      [π, PART, SPKR, DAT]
         Appl      D
                  [π, PART, ACC]
```

Comparison of (54) and (55) reveals that extraction and non-extraction configurations are only minimally different; extraction triggers chain reduction, which means that only one pronoun m-merges with Appl, while chain reduction does not occur in the absence of extraction, which leads to two successive instances of m-merger.

In light of this minimal difference, I argue that *local > local arises as a result of too many clitics attaching to a single host—that is, m-merger applying successively to one head. Slightly modifying a principle from Arregi & Nevins (2012), I propose the condition in (56) to capture *local > local in Kipsigis.

(56)   Condition on Clitic Hosts (from Arregi & Nevins 2012:66)

A head can only host one clitic.

This principle requires a one-to-one correspondence between clitics and their hosts. In the framework developed here, this means that constructions in which multiple instances of m-merger target a single head are ungrammatical. Local > local configurations with an extracted object are grammatical because only one object ultimately cliticizes to Appl, whereas non-extracted local > local ones are ungrammatical because both objects cliticize to Appl. Arregi & Nevins propose a variant of (56) to account for PCC effects in Basque, though they explicitly limit their application of this condition to Basque, claiming that "any quest for a

unified account of all PCC effects in all languages is quixotic in nature" (Arregi & Nevins 2012:68). However, the extension of (56) to Kipsigis *local > local suggests that it has more cross-linguistic utility than originally assumed.

This account also captures the fact that insertion of full pronouns cannot remedy *local > local. M-merger is obligatory whenever there is a local person object in Spec,ApplP at the point when it applies. Therefore, the only way to avoid m-merger of multiple local person pronouns with Appl—in violation of (56)—is to delete a copy of one of the pronouns in Spec,ApplP first, as in extraction. Once m-merger generates a complex head containing Appl and multiple local person objects, there is no way to rescue the derivation. Clitic-stacking is straightforwardly ruled out by (56) and insertion of full pronouns within the Appl complex head violates the standard DM assumption that VIs within a complex head correspond to a single morphological word (Halle & Marantz 1993).
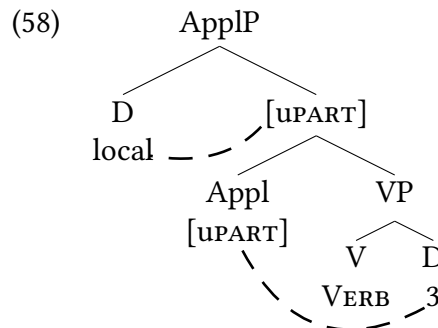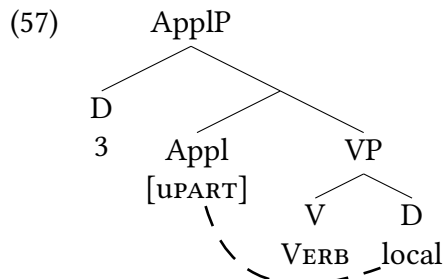
In the space of PCC analyses, my account of *local > local is most similar to Feature Gluttony as developed by Coon & Keine (to appear). Under both approaches, a head acquires two values, which impose conflicting demands on morphological realization, leading to ineffability and ungrammaticality. Under Feature Gluttony, this configuration arises in the syntax when multiple segments on a single probe Agree with different goals (e.g. [uπ] and [uPART] on a [PART]-relativized probe). This type of "gluttonous" syntax causes problems later in the derivation—for instance, during Vocabulary Insertion when it is determined which set of features copied back to the probe should be exponed. However, my analysis is more fully morphological, since both the unacceptable configuration and the constraint violation arise in the morphology. Here post-syntactic m-merger creates a complex Appl head, while the condition in (56) triggers ungrammaticality. Furthermore, as mentioned in §2, Coon & Keine incorrectly predict that any language that rules out local > local should also rule out 3 > local due to the nature of feature geometries (to appear:23).

My account also shares a key assumption of the PCC analysis in Nevins (2007)—namely that different restrictions warrant different analyses. Nevins argues that *3 > 3 is morphological, while other restrictions like *3 > local are syntactic. Here I extend Nevins' logic to *local > local, which also bans adjacent, featurally-similar elements. I show that, like *3 > 3, *local > local must be morphological, without making claims about the status of other ditransitive person restrictions (e.g. those banning 3 > local). In fact, one consequence of my morphological account of *local > local is that existing syntactic accounts of the PCC can remain as is (e.g. Nevins 2007; Deal 2020; Coon & Keine to appear). As seen in §2, these accounts do not capture *local > local and could not do so without significant modification. However, they are compatible with the existence of an additional morphological source of person restrictions, as proposed here. The resulting picture is one in which syntactic accounts of the PCC do some—but not all—of the work of constraining person combinations in ditransitives cross-linguistically.

5.5   Against a syntactic approach

The previous section offered a morphological account of *local > local and showed how it derives the restriction and the appropriate agreement pattern in *ne*-clefts. Yet following current work on promiscuous agreement and PCC effects, it is tempting to consider a purely syntactic account of the facts here and in §4.1. This section sketches such an alternative but shows that it is unable to capture the agreement pattern seen in *ne*-clefts.

Consider a variation on the syntactic set-up from §4.2 but based on agreement rather than cliticization. Appl houses a [PART]-relativized probe that does not trigger movement of the DO. In 3 > local configurations (57), the probe searches its c-command domain and finds the local person DO. Agree here is spelled out with the appropriate DO suffix.

(57)

ApplP
  D
  3
    Appl
    [uPART]
        VP
         V   D
       Verb   local

(58)

ApplP
  D
  local   [uPART]
                Appl
                [uPART]
                      VP
                       V   D
                     Verb   3

In local > 3 configurations (58), the probe does not find a goal within its c-command domain, which triggers cyclic expansion as in Rezac (2003). The probe re-projects to an intermediate Appl projection and searches its new c-command domain where it finds the local person IO. Here Agree is spelled out with the appropriate IO suffix.

On such an analysis, *local > local can be derived via familiar syntactic requirements like the Person Licensing Condition (PLC) defined in Béjar & Rezac (2003). The PLC requires local person arguments to be Agreed with by an appropriate probe in the syntax (Béjar & Rezac 2003:53). Local > local configurations violate the PLC because the [PART]-relativized probe on Appl cannot Agree with both objects. After Agreeing with the local person DO, the [uPART] probe cannot reproject, since its probing conditions have already been met; consequently, it cannot Agree with the local person IO. The inability to Agree with both objects leaves the local person IO un-licensed.

However, this analysis is unable to derive IO agreement in *ne*-clefts. Under this alternative, the [uPART] probe on Appl should show a DO preference in local > local configurations, since cyclic expansion cannot occur. Cyclic expansion only takes place when a probe does not find a suitable goal within its c-command domain. In local > local configurations, the DO bears a [PART] feature and so can Agree with the probe on Appl. Because the probe Agrees with the local person DO, there is no way to derive IO agreement, even when the DO is ultimately fronted with *ne*.[26] In this way, a purely syntactic account relying on [PART]-relativized probing and the PLC is unable to capture the pattern seen with Kipsigis

ne-clefts.[27]

5.6   Additional predictions of a morphological analysis

The morphological account in §5.4 further predicts that *local > local should be obviated in all contexts where the unacceptable competition between ditransitive object clitics is removed. §5.2 shows that this is the case in *ne*-clefts, while this section considers some constructions that provide additional support for my analysis. Specifically, *local > local disappears in reflexives and with coordinated objects, since these constructions do not require two object clitics. However, the restriction persists in impersonals, as object clitics remain obligatory.

The *local > local restriction disappears in ditransitives when either local person object is reflexivized, since the reflexivized object is realized as a dedicated reflexive morpheme while the other object is realized as an object clitic. Reflexives in Kipsigis make use of the suffix *-kɛɛ*, which is outside the word's [ATR] harmony domain and remains the same across person specifications and valences.

(59)   a.   Kɔɔ-a-maas-**kɛɛ**.

PST-1SG-hit-REFL
'I hit myself (yesterday).'

b.   Kɔɔ-ɪ-maas-**kɛɛ**.

PST-2SG-hit-REFL
'You (sg) hit yourself (yesterday).'

c.   Koo-i-mutʲ-i-**kɛɛ**   Kibeet *poolis.*

PST-3-bring-APPL-REFL Kibeet police
'Kibeet brought himself to the police (yesterday).'

Because the reflexive suffix is the same across valences and co-occurs with the APPL suffix,

it must not expone Appl. In this way, it must not compete with ditransitive object clitics for exponence. My account, then, predicts that local > local configurations should be grammatical if one of the objects is reflexivized. This prediction is upheld; (60) shows acceptable 1 > 2 and 2 > 1 configurations, in which the DO is realized as the reflexive suffix.

(60)   a. Koo-ii-mut-u-*aan*-**kɛɛ**.

        PST-2SG-bring-APPL-1SG.IO-REFL
        'You (sg) brought yourself to me (yesterday).'

    b. Koo-ɑɑ-mut-u-*iin*-**kɛɛ**.

        PST-1SG-bring-APPL-2SG.IO-REFL
        'I brought myself to you (sg) (yesterday).'

The disappearance of *local > local here falls out of my analysis, since the restriction should only appear in contexts of competition.

*Local > local can also be obviated when either local person object is part of a coordination. Because coordinated objects need not be realized as clitics, there is no competition in local > local ditransitives when either object includes coordination. Object clitics are obligatory when the object is a single pronoun (61), but not when the object includes coordinated pronouns (62).[28]

(61)   *Koo-∅-keer **anɛɛ** Cheruyot lɑkini mo-∅-keer **Kibeet**.

    PST-3-see   1SG Cheruyot but   NEG-3-see Kibeet
    Intended: 'Cheruyot saw me, but he didn't see Kibeet (yesterday).'

(62)   ?Koo-∅-keer **anɛɛ ak inyee** Cheruyot lɑkini mo-∅-keer **Kibeet**.

    PST-3-see   1SG and 2SG Cheruyot but   NEG-3-see Kibeet
    'Cheruyot saw me and you (sg), but he didn't see Kibeet (yesterday).'

I assume that coordinated objects do not cliticize because the local person ϕ-features are buried within the coordination, making them inaccessible to the [uPART]* probe on Appl.

Crucially, because object clitics are not obligatory in such sentences, my analysis predicts that local > local ditransitives should be grammatical if one of the objects involves a coordination. This prediction is borne out. If either the IO or the DO includes coordination, the non-coordinated object is realized as a clitic on the verb.

(63)   a. ?Koo-i-mut-u-*in*   Cheruyot **anɛɛ ak** **Kibeet**.

          PST-3-bring-APPL-2SG.IO Cheruyot 1SG   and Kibeet
          'Cheruyot brought me and Kibeet to you (sg) (yesterday).'

       b. ?Koo-i-mut-i-**in**   Cheruyot *anɛɛ ak* *Kibeet*.

          PST-3-bring-APPL-2SG.DO Cheruyot 1SG   and Kibeet
          'Cheruyot brought you (sg) to me and Kibeet (yesterday).'

Coordinations, then, offer an additional context in which competition between ditransitive object clitics disappears alongside the *local > local restriction. Licensing-based syntactic analyses are unable to account for this pattern, since there is no obvious way for the coordinated local person object to be licensed via Agree.

Following this line of thought, one might expect *local > local to be obviated in passives, if one object were realized as the syntactic subject and the other remained an object. In such a configuration, there would be no competition between Appl clitics, since one semantic object would be realized with subject morphology and the other with object morphology. However, so-called "passives" in Kipsigis behave like impersonals; the subject is demoted—replaced with the impersonal morpheme *ki-* and the 3rd person tonal melody of the verb stem—but objects are not promoted to subject position. (64) illustrates this fact, in that the semantic subject is realized as a monotransitive object clitic.

(64)   a. Kɔɔ-kɪ-maas-**an**.   b. Kɔɔ-kɪ-maas-**ɪn**.

          PST-IMP-hit-1SG.O   PST-IMP-hit-2SG.O
          'I was hit (yesterday).'   'You (sg) were hit (yesterday).'

Because passivization in Kipsigis does not involve object promotion, my account predicts *local > local to persist in passives of ditransitives—a prediction that is upheld. Passivized local > local constructions are ungrammatical, just like their active counterparts.

(65)   a.   *Koo-ki-mut-i-**in**   *anɛɛ*-i?

PST-IMP-bring-APPL-2SG.DO 1SG-Q
Intended: 'Were you (sg) brought to me (yesterday)?'

b.   *Koo-ki-mut-u-*an*   **inyee**-i?

PST-IMP-bring-APPL-1SG.IO 2SG-Q
Intended: 'Were you (sg) brought to me (yesterday)?'

The persistence of *local > local here falls out of my analysis exactly as it does in active sentences; both objects in a passive of a ditransitive must be realized as object clitics, so the unacceptable morphological competition remains.

6   Conclusion

This paper describes and analyzes promiscuous object agreement and a novel *local > local ditransitive person restriction in Kipsigis. I show that Kipsigis promiscuous agreement requires a morphological analysis, arising via cliticization of local person objects, which is formalized as post-syntactic m-merger of these pronouns with Appl. This analysis of promiscuous object agreement feeds my claim that *local > local also has a morphological source. This restriction is due to a morphological condition (56), which requires that heads can only host one clitic. Although my analysis of promiscuous agreement is Kipsigis-specific, my claim that *local > local is morphological applies cross-linguistically. While syntactic explanations are well-equipped to handle certain ditransitive person restrictions, morphological constraints must also play a role in deriving the cross-linguistic typology.

As mentioned throughout, the hybrid approach proposed here preserves syntactic PCC

analyses by limiting their scope to certain restrictions. Although they are not responsible for *local > local (or *3 > 3 according to Nevins 2007), syntactic analyses are still relevant for hierarchy-sensitive restrictions; given the current understanding of Agree, probe relativization and placement can be manipulated to derive *3 > local without necessarily ruling out local > 3. On my analysis, these morphological and syntactic person restrictions are fully modular, each functioning independently of the other. A modular system predicts a typology of person restrictions where certain ungrammatical combinations appear to switch on and off. For instance, the only difference between the Strong and Weak PCCs is the acceptability of local > local in the Weak PCC, while 3 > 3 restrictions are attested in combination with many different PCC varieties.

Table 5: A typology of ditransitive person restrictions

	Syntactic	No syntactic
Morphological	Strong PCC	Kipsigis
No morphological	Weak PCC, Strong PCC	No PCC

Table 5 outlines a typology, showing how these syntactic and morphological restrictions interact to derive some attested PCC patterns. If restrictions on similarity (i.e. *local > local, *3 > 3) can be attributed to the morphology, a division of labor between syntax and morphology could simplify the analyses in both modules (Bossi et al. 2020). The Weak PCC, which only rules out 3 > local configurations, is purely syntactic—derived via relativized probing.[29] By contrast, the Kipsigis pattern forbidding local > local combinations is morphological—resulting from conditions like (56). No PCC effects arise when neither type of restriction is active in a language. Finally, there are two versions of this typology for deriving the Strong PCC. The strict version holds that all instances of the Strong PCC result from the co-occurrence of syntactic and morphological restrictions, as this pattern encompasses *3 > local and *local > local. Different restrictions within the Strong PCC pattern,

then, warrant different analyses; *3 > local is due to a syntactic restriction, while *local > local is morphological. The weak version allows for two possible derivations of the Strong PCC—one that is hybrid morphosyntactic and another that is purely syntactic. These different derivations have unique hallmarks, making the two patterns empirically distinguishable.

I do not pick between the strict and weak versions of this typology here. However, preliminary evidence for a hybrid approach to the Strong PCC comes from French inherent dative constructions. Here the clitic combination *me lui* is acceptable because both elements bear inherent dative case (66a), even though this same cluster is ungrammatical in PCC configurations. By contrast, *me te* remains ungrammatical in inherent datives (66b), which indicates that some other mechanism must be responsible for this restriction.

(66)   *French* (Rezac 2008:68, 98)

    a. Pierre me   lui   semble fidèle.

       Pierre 1SG.DAT 3SG.DAT seems faithful
       'Pierre seems to me to be faithful to her.'

    b. *Elle me   te   semble infidèle.

       she   1SG.DAT 2SG.DAT seems unfaithful
       Intended: 'She seems to me unfaithful to you.'

The ungrammaticality of (66b)—coupled with the acceptability of (66a)—shows that combinations of local person clitics are banned for a different reason than *me lui*, which becomes grammatical in this construction. If *me-te* has a unique explanation in inherent datives, it is reasonable to posit that it also has a unique explanation in PCC-violating configurations. In fact, the unacceptability of *me te* might have a uniform morphological source across both types of constructions. Such an analysis places French in the upper left quadrant of the typology in Table 5; *3 > local is due to a syntactic restriction, while *local > local is morphological—evidenced by the more widespread ungrammaticality of this clitic cluster.

Arguments against a morphological approach to the Strong PCC come from Albizu (1997) and Rezac (2008), who claim that this pattern must be syntactic in Basque. Specifically, Rezac (2008) argues that the Strong PCC in Basque cannot be due to surface morphological constraints, since such an account does not take into consideration the necessary structural distinctions, nor does it predict that movement would repair the agreement configuration. However, Rezac's arguments do not rule out the current proposal for two reasons. First, Rezac only argues against a *purely* morphological account, though here I claim that—on the strict version of the typology—the Strong PCC involves both syntactic and morphological restrictions. I do not argue that every restriction within the Strong PCC should be accounted for in the morphology; some parts of the pattern like *local > local are morphological, while others like *3 > local are syntactic. The data in Rezac (2008) focus primarily on 3 > local configurations, with less discussion of local > local ones and whether or not they consistently pattern with *3 > local. Further research into the extent to which 3 > local and local > local configurations pattern together is required to test my hybrid account of the Strong PCC.

Second, the analysis proposed here—and in Arregi & Nevins (2012) for Basque—is more abstract than most existing morphological approaches, which focus largely on banned surface strings rather than processes (see e.g. Bonet 1991). This type of abstract morphological analysis offers a way around some of Rezac's critiques.[30] For instance, Kipsigis shows that the morphology is still highly sensitive to syntactic structure and that movement can serve as a *local > local repair even if the restriction is morphological at its core. Yet the possibility of a syntactic repair for a morphological restriction depends on a more general definition of "repair" than that adopted in Rezac (2008). According to Rezac, a repair is a structure that is only made available when the alternative violates the PCC. In this way, PCC violations must arise in the syntax in order to trigger a syntactic repair. However, I adopt a more general definition of "repair"—any construction that expresses the same local > local argument

structure while obviating the restriction can be a repair. For this reason, *ne*-clefts and reflexives count as *local > local repairs in Kipsigis, despite being independently available in the language. Given this understanding of PCC repairs, there is no longer a strict requirement that the violation and the repair arise in the same grammatical module. Both syntactic and morphological restrictions can be obviated in the syntax, though syntactic restrictions should not be reparable in the morphology.[31]

Nevertheless, it is possible that the weak version of the typology is correct and that there are simply two distinct derivations for the Strong PCC. One involves both morphological and syntactic restrictions, while the other is purely syntactic. The existence of two derivations for the Strong PCC might explain why this pattern is so common cross-linguistically, if the number of possible derivations correlates with a pattern's level of attestation.[32] These two analyses can be distinguished via the behavior of local person combinations in other parts of the grammar, as seen above with French inherent dative constructions. In hybrid Strong PCC languages, local person combinations should be banned in a wider range of contexts, while *3 > local should have a more restricted distribution. In syntactic Strong PCC languages, *local > local and *3 > local should have the same distribution, since they are derived through the same syntactic mechanism. To test the PCC typology proposed here, more data is needed, which considers the possibility that local > local combinations might behave differently than 3 > local ones—both in and out of canonical ditransitives. This paper offers some such data from Kipsigis and shows that morphology has an important role to play in deriving ditransitive person restrictions cross-linguistically.

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Notes

[1]Abbreviations include: 1=first person, 2=second person, 3=third person, APPL=applicative, ACC=accusative, DAT=dative, IPFV=imperfective aspect, IMP=impersonal, PST=past tense, PL=plural, REFL=reflexive, REL=relativizer, SG=singular, Q=yes/no question particle.

[2]Notably, Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2018) are able to toggle on and off *3 > 3, which captures its co-occurrence with various PCC patterns, but their system cannot toggle *local > local in the same way. Pancheva & Zubizarreta's analysis relies on [participant] and [proximate] features, which identify local persons and perspectival centers, respectively. To derive *3 > 3 in Spanish, they argue that [+proximate] is incompatible with [-participant] in the language, which leads to the deletion of the [-participant] feature on the 3rd person IO. To extend this logic to *local > local, one would have to claim that in languages like Kipsigis, [+proximate] is incompatible with [+participant].

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However, this incompatibility is at odds with Pancheva & Zubizarreta's assumption that local person arguments are inherently proximate, since they are part of the speech event (1300).

[3][+PART] and [+SPKR] are marked values, while contrastive values are determined paradigmatically—based on whether there is another person specification in the inventory that differs only in terms of that feature. See Nevins (2007:289) for more detailed definitions.

[4]This is a slight simplification, since Nevins' system can derive the Me-first PCC, which allows 3 > 2. However, even for the Me-first PCC, Contiguous Agree rules out 3 > 1—a more specific instantiation of 3 > local.

[5]This update to Nevins' system captures the basic *local > local restriction, but it is still unable to account for the disappearance of this restriction with focus fronting (§5.2).

[6]In Kipsigis data examples, the DO is **bold** and the IO *italicized.* 3rd person subject agreement is either null or *i-* as determined by the conjugation class of the verb (i.e. Class I or Class II). Many verbs alternate between the two classes with a semantic effect—specifically, anticausative vs. causative interpretation—while many others appear exclusively in one class with no semantic generalization predicting which class a verb is in. See Toweett (1979) and Creider & Creider (1989) for more discussion of Kalenjin verb classes.

[7]The citation form of this suffix is *-chi*, though it surfaces as *-i* after alveolar obstruents. Throughout the paper, I refer to this suffix as *-i* for simplicity, since this form surfaces in the majority of my data examples. Kipsigis also has an [ATR] harmony system in which a [+ATR] vowel in the harmony domain (generally the phonological word) causes all [-ATR] vowels to become [+ATR]. The *-i* suffix is [+ATR] and triggers harmony in the rest of the word— hence the difference in vowel quality in (12) vs. (13).

[8]See Kouneli (2019:36) and Kouneli & Nie (to appear) for more information about the tone patterns of nominative arguments in Kipsigis. Generally, nominative case involves the replacement of lexical tone with a L-H*-L melody. I have chosen not to transcribe tone to avoid misrepresenting the data, and—impressionistically—tone does not play a crucial role in the object marking patterns analyzed here.

[9]The structure in (14) is widely assumed cross-linguistically. Nevertheless, Kipsigis-internal evidence comes from quantifier-variable binding. In sentences with IO-DO order, IO quantifiers can bind DO variables (67a), though DO quantifiers cannot bind IO variables (67b).

(67) a. Koo-ɑɑ-goo-chi *laakwɛɛt agɛ tʊgʊl* **kɪtabʊ-nyɪn**.

       PST-1SG-give-APPL child   every   book-his

       'I gave [every child]ᵢ hisᵢ book (yesterday).'

   b. *Koo-ɑɑ-goo-chi *siiriinde-nyɪn* **kɪtabʊʊt agɛ tʊgʊl**.

       PST-1SG-give-APPL author-its   book   every

       Intended: 'I gave [every book]ᵢ to itsᵢ author (yesterday).'

The pattern in (67) follows if the IO asymmetrically c-commands the DO as in (14). However, DO-IO order is also possible. With this object order, the binding pattern reverses. Now IO quantifiers cannot bind DO variables (68a), but DO quantifiers can bind IO variables (68b).

(68) a. *Koo-ɑɑ-goo-chi **kɪtabʊ-nyɪn** *laakwɛɛt agɛ tʊgʊl*.

       PST-1SG-give-APPL book-his   child   every

       Intended: 'I gave [every child]ᵢ hisᵢ book (yesterday).'

   b. Koo-ɑɑ-goo-chi   **kɪtabʊʊt agɛ tʊgʊl** *siriinde-nyɪn*.

       PST-1SG-give-APPL book   every   author-its

       'I gave [every book]ᵢ to itsᵢ author (yesterday).'

To derive DO-IO order, I assume short A-scrambling of the DO to a position above the IO. In (68b), the DO is interpreted in its derived position where it c-commands the IO. A DO quantifier is, then, able to bind an IO variable in this—and only this—configuration.

[10]Full DP objects in these contexts behave exactly like 3rd person pronouns.

[11]Data examples show underlying phonological representations (modulo *-i* 'APPL' for underlying *-chi*). Surface forms involve the application of gliding and vowel coalescence, which are regular phonological processes in Kipsigis. Specifically, *-i* and *-u* 'APPL' undergo gliding to *-y* and *-w*, respectively, before most object suffixes, and *-u* 'APPL' followed by *-in* '2SG' coalesces to *-uun*.

[12]It is worth nothing that directional morphology like the ventive is used in ditransitives in a wide range of languages. In fact, recent work by Driemel et al. (2020) incorporates these morphemes into an analysis of the PCC.

[13]Mayan languages display a similar pattern, in which case distinctions are realized only in agreement morphology rather than on DPs (Larsen & Norman 1979 and much subsequent work). Although Kipsigis involves conditioned allomorphy rather than agreement, these facts show that it is possible for case distinctions to be visible only indirectly—through their effects on other elements in the sentence.

[14]Although 3rd persons must not have [PART] features, I remain agnostic about whether they have person features at all, as this distinction is irrelevant for my proposed analysis (see e.g. Nevins 2007 for arguments in favor of 3rd person features).

[15]On any Agree implementation, it is key that the [PART]-relativized probe only triggers movement of local person DOs, though this fact can be captured in a number of frameworks. For instance, in the Interaction-Satisfaction model (Deal 2015), there are two ways to derive the configuration in (24); either the probe interacts with all ϕ-features but is only satisfied by [PART], which triggers movement of the [PART]-bearing constituent, or it only interacts with [PART] features and moves all interacted-with constituents.

[16]See also Macaulay (2005) for m-merger of Appl and the argument in Spec,ApplP. Following Matushansky (2006) and Harizanov (2014), I assume that m-merger generates a branching structure in which the order of the m-merged heads is reversed; this configuration creates the correct ordering of Appl and the object suffix in Kipsigis.

[17]There are other ways to capture IO vs. DO differences without appeal to case—for instance, a diacritic feature on moved objects, which essentially tags DOs. On my analysis, IOs are base-generated in Spec,ApplP, while local person DOs move to this position. In this way, there is a built-in asymmetry between the objects, which could be used to explain the fact that IO vs. DO clitics trigger different allomorphs of Appl. I use case for simplicity.

[18]See §5.4 for additional data from cleft constructions that support this conclusion.

[19]To maintain a uniform order of operations cross-linguistically, the Bulgarian facts could be accounted for via a "big DP" analysis of clitic doubling. Big DP approaches hold that clitics are generated in a specifier of the doubled DP and that only the clitic moves to its surface position (see Anagnostopoulou 2017a for an overview). The highest copy of the moved clitic and the doubled DP are both pronounced. For Bulgarian, the clitic portion of the big DP would behave like the pronoun in Harizanov's analysis; it moves and undergoes m-merger. However, there is no need for invisibility when chain reduction applies because only one copy of each element is pronounced. In single cliticization languages like Kipsigis, there is simply no big DP.

[20](33) - (34) illustrate this pattern for singular local > local contexts, though the same is true for plural ones.

[21]Unlike canonical PCC effects, insertion of a strong pronoun cannot repair *local > local, as seen in (33) - (34).

[22]In this section, I use the term "fronting" descriptively, as shorthand for "in clause-initial position." However, see §5.3 for arguments that *ne*-clefts involve constituent movement.

[23]These possibilities parallel existing accounts of relative clauses, which often draw a distinction between raising and matching (see e.g. Cinque 2015 and references therein). This is an apt comparison, since *ne*-clefts are identical to relative clauses in Kipsigis.

[24]A third alternative analysis of *ne*-clefts treats them as pseudoclefts, in which the clause-initial constituent is a predicate and the remainder of the sentence is a headless relative clause with *ne*. Although some empirical facts point to a pseudocleft analysis (e.g. nominative case marking on *ne*), the reconstruction facts in §5.3—in particular, the Condition C effects—are difficult to capture on this approach. Given this, I assume one of the structures sketched in the main text and leave a full analysis of Kipsigis *ne*-clefts for future work. It is also worth highlighting that my morphological analysis of *local > local is compatible with all three possible *ne*-cleft structures.

[25]In the *ne*P phase, the highest pronoun copy is in Spec,*ne*P, which leads to deletion of the copy in Spec,*v*P. In this way, spellout and the resulting morphological processes proceed phase-by-phase, but elements at the phase edge behave as though they were in both phases.

[26]Assuming that the probe is on v does not solve this problem. A [uPART] probe on v would simply have a different object preference—for the IO rather than the DO regardless of fronting.

[27]To salvage an Agree-based analysis, one would need to assume an insatiable probe as in Deal (2015). Insatiable probes are never satisfied, so they Agree with all goals in their domain. Coupled with morphological anti-agreement for Ā-extracted elements (Baier 2018), this analysis captures the Kipsigis *ne*-cleft data. Yet crucially, this analysis also requires some morphological constraint to derive *local > local. Because both objects are Agreed with in the syntax, the PLC cannot derive the restriction. Therefore, the key takeaway about the morphological nature of *local > local remains the same. See Bossi (2020) for more on this alternative.

[28]Although (62) is labeled '?', it is markedly better than (61), which points to the contrast discussed here.

[29]The Me-first and Ultrastrong PCCs also fall into the syntactic category, since they rule out 3 > local configurations while permitting certain local > local ones. These patterns can be derived syntactically via [SPKR]-relativized—rather than [PART]-relativized—probing. See Nevins (2007); Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2018); Deal (2020); Coon & Keine (to appear) for some possible syntactic analyses of these patterns.

[30]In fact, Rezac (2008) notes this possibility, commenting that if a morphological analysis were made sufficiently abstract, then it could account for the Basque pattern (Rezac 2008:97). Despite this empirical adequacy, Rezac disfavors such an analysis on theoretical grounds, claiming that it simply replicates the syntax in the morphology. How-

ever, in DM, morphological structure is based directly on syntactic structure, making parallelism between these two domains unsurprising rather than problematic.

[31]An apparent counterexample to the prediction that syntactic restrictions should not have a morphological repair comes from syncretism in Icelandic. In a pattern reminiscent of the Strong PCC, Icelandic forbids certain local person nominative objects (Sigurðsson 1996). However, these same nominative objects become more acceptable when the verb is syncretic between the local person and 3rd person forms.

(69) *Icelandic* (Sigurðsson 1996:27)

   ??Henni likaði   ég.

   her.DAT liked.1SG/3SG I.NOM
   'She liked me.'

Morphological syncretism, then, appears to remedy a syntactic *3 > local restriction. However, syncretism does not completely fix the ungrammatical configuration, but rather ameliorates it from '*' to '??'. Given this, Deal (2020:36) argues that this improvement is psycholinguistic in nature—reminiscent of agreement attraction effects in language processing. If this "syncretism fix" can be attributed to general cognitive factors instead of purely grammatical ones, the predictions detailed here remain intact.

[32]This assumption is borrowed from phonology (e.g. Anttila's 1997 account of variable phonological processes). However, it is not uncontroversial; see Coetzee & Pater (2011) for more discussion.