*Local > Local Is Morphological

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1. Introduction

This paper analyzes a novel *local > local ditransitive person restriction in Kipsigis—a Kalenjin language (Nilo-Saharan) spoken by about 1.9 million people in western Kenya (Eberhard et al. 2019). In Kipsigis, local > local object combinations are ungrammatical, but 3 > local and local > 3 configurations are acceptable. Ditransitive person restrictions are common cross-linguistically—most famously for the Person-Case Constraint (PCC; Bonet 1991). However, unlike in Kipsigis, they are typically sensitive to hierarchical structure, requiring local persons to be structurally higher than 3rd persons.

Given this hierarchy sensitivity, most PCC analyses are syntactic in nature. However, I argue that *local > local in Kipsigis must be morphological, stemming from an inviolable morphological rule called REALIZEPARTICIPANT, which requires local person ϕ-features in Appl to be exponed. Evidence for this morphological analysis is threefold. First, 3 > local configurations are acceptable in Kipsigis, though they are consistently banned under syntactic analyses. Second, Kipsigis shows morphological competition which forces exponence of only one verbal object suffix in local > local ditransitives. Third, *local > local is obviated when either local person object is realized as a full pronoun for independent reasons (e.g. focus fronting), which nullifies the unacceptable morphological competition.

While syntactic explanations are well-equipped to handle certain restrictions, the Kipsigis facts show that morphological constraints must also play a role. In this way, ditransitive person restrictions do not necessarily have a uniform source cross-linguistically. Although I argue that *local > local is morphological, my analysis is compatible with syntactic accounts of *3 > local. This hybrid morphosyntactic approach offers a way to preserve syntactic analyses of ditransitive person restrictions in light of the novel Kipsigis pattern, but does so by limiting their scope to certain restrictions.

2. An overview of ditransitive person restrictions

Many languages ban ditransitives whose arguments have certain combinations of person features. These restrictions are most well-known from the PCC, which comes in several varieties and holds in many unrelated languages. The Strong PCC forbids all object combinations with a local person DO. The Weak PCC is less restrictive, ruling in local > local. The Me-first PCC requires 1st person arguments to be structurally highest when present (Nevins 2007). Finally, the Ultrastrong PCC requires the IO to be higher than the DO on a 1 > 2 > 3 hierarchy (Walkow 2012). These patterns are summarized in Table 1 alongside the novel Kipsigis-style restriction.

There are three types of analyses of ditransitive person restrictions: morphological, syntactic, and hybrid morphosyntactic. Morphological accounts generally ban surface combinations of morphemes (e.g. Bonet's 1991 *me-lui, which blocks the co-occurrence of local person DO clitics and third person IO clitics). Yet this approach simply restates the empirical generalization and, moreover, the surface ban on *me lui* sequences does not hold throughout the grammar (e.g. *me lui* is allowed in French ethical datives; Perlmutter 1971).

Table 1: Kipsigis vs. attested PCC patterns

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

Morphological analyses have gained traction in accounting for *3 > 3, which often appears in addition to canonical PCC patterns (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1995; Nevins 2007). *3 > 3 is generally unexpected from a syntactic perspective, as 3rd persons are thought to lack person features or to not require licensing (e.g. Harley & Ritter 2002; Béjar & Rezac 2003). Yet such a restriction on adjacent, featurally similar elements is familiar from the morphophonological literature, paralleling other OCP phenomena.

Most current PCC analyses are syntactic (e.g. Béjar & Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007; Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018; Deal 2019; Preminger 2019; Stegovec 2020). They rely on Agree and argue that restrictions arise when two goals are within the domain of one probe. The source of ungrammaticality varies, with some arguing that the relevant probe fails to Agree with both goals (e.g. Béjar & Rezac 2003; Deal 2019) and others that it Agrees with both but finds conflicting specifications (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007). Crucially, none of these analyses are able to capture *local > local as an independent restriction; in these systems, 3 > local is necessarily ruled out alongside local > local.

The last type of analysis is hybrid morphosyntactic (Nevins 2007; Walkow 2012; Coon & Keine to appear). Coon & Keine (to appear) argue that ditransitive person restrictions arise when a probe acquires too many values in the syntax, which leads to morphological ineffability. By contrast, Nevins (2007) claims that some restrictions are purely morphological (e.g. *3 > 3) while others are syntactic (e.g. *3 > local). Here I propose a hybrid account of *local > local. My analysis shares with Coon & Keine (to appear) the idea that the syntax can generate a structure that causes problems only later in the derivation, while advancing the claim in Nevins (2007) that different restrictions warrant unique explanations.

3. Kipsigis essentials

Kipsigis is a V1 language with information structure-driven word order flexibility (Bossi & Diercks 2019). 3rd person objects are not marked on the verb, and pronominal 3rd person objects are often *pro*-dropped (1). Local person objects, on the other hand, surface as verbal suffixes (2).[1]

(1) Kaa-∅-maas **Kiproono** (<u>ineendet</u>).
    PST-3-hit   Kiproono 3SG
    'Kiproono hit him/her.'

(2) a. Kaa-∅-maas-<u>aan</u> **Kiproono**.
       PST-3-hit-1SG.DO Kiproono
       'Kiproono hit me.'

    b. Kaa-∅-maas-<u>iin</u> **Kiproono**.
       PST-3-hit-2SG.DO Kiproono
       'Kiproono hit you (sg).'

This paper focuses on these object agreement asymmetries in ditransitives. Kipsigis ditransitives surface with an additional *-i* suffix (3), which is absent when the IO is omitted (4).

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[1] The subject is **bold**, the DO <u>underlined</u>, and the IO *italicized* throughout. Abbreviations include: 1=first person, 2=second person, 3=third person, APPL=applicative, ACC=accusative, DAT=dative, PST=past tense, PL=plural, PROG=progressive aspect, REL=relative complementizer, SG=singular.

(3) Koo-i-mut^j-i   **Kibeet** *Linus* ng'ookta.
     PST-3-bring-APPL Kibeet Linus <u>dog</u>
     'Kibeet brought Linus the dog.'

(4) Koo-i-mut   **Kibeet** ng'ookta.
     PST-3-bring Kibeet <u>dog</u>
     'Kibeet brought the dog.'

The pattern in (3) - (4) suggests the existence of an additional functional projection in ditransitives, which houses -*i* and is absent in monotransitives (i.e. ApplP as in Pylkkännen 2002).

(5)
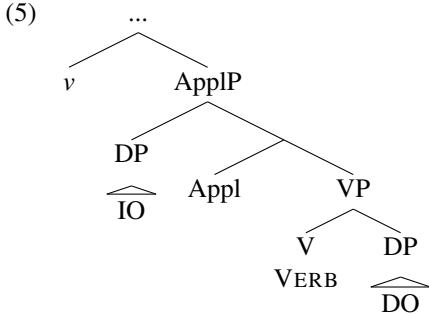
Evidence that the IO c-commands the DO underlyingly comes from three sources. First, the preferred word order is V-S-IO-DO, paralleling the structure above (Bossi & Diercks 2019:8). Second, in sentences with the preferred IO-DO order, IO R-expressions can bind DO pronouns, while DO R-expressions cannot bind IO pronouns. Third, with this same IO-DO word order, IO quantifiers can bind DO variables (6a), but DO quantifiers cannot bind IO variables (6b).

(6) a. Koo-**a**-goo-chi   *laakweet age tugul* kitabu-nyin.
         PST-1SG-give-APPL child   every   <u>book-his</u>
         'I gave [every child]$_i$ his$_i$ book.'

     b. *Koo-**a**-goo-chi   *siriinde-nyin* <u>kitabut</u> age tugul.
         PST-1SG-give-APPL author-its   book   <u>every</u>
         Int: 'I gave [every book]$_i$ to its$_i$ author.'

These data provide support for the structure in (5) and indicate that the IO asymmetrically c-commands the DO, at least with the base generated word order (see Bossi 2020 for more data and discussion).

4. Promiscuous object agreement
4.1. Describing the pattern

When both objects of a ditransitive are pronouns and the utterance contains one local person object, the local person replaces -*i* and surfaces as a suffix on the verb, regardless of its grammatical function.

(7) 1SG suffixes

     a. Koo-i-mut-*waan*   **Nancy** <u>ineendet</u>.
         PST-3-bring-1SG.IO Nancy 3SG
         'Nancy brought him/her to me.'

     b. Koo-i-mut-<u>jaan</u>   **Nancy** *ineendet*.
         PST-3-bring-1SG.DO Nancy 3SG
         'Nancy brought me to him/her.'

(8) 2SG suffixes

     a. Koo-i-mut-*uun*   **Nancy** <u>ineendet</u>.
         PST-3-bring-2SG.IO Nancy 3SG
         'Nancy brought him/her to you (sg).'

     b. Koo-i-mut-<u>jiin</u>   **Nancy** *ineendet*.
         PST-3-bring-2SG.DO Nancy 3SG
         'Nancy brought you (sg) to him/her.'

This type of pattern is known as promiscuous or context-sensitive agreement (Béjar 2003).[2] The verb agrees sometimes with one argument (e.g. the DO) and other times with a different argument (e.g. the IO) depending on the ϕ-features of the other arguments within the agreement domain. Table 2 summarizes the ditransitive object suffixes found in Kipsigis.

Table 2: Kipsigis object suffixes

	Ditransitive IO	Ditransitive DO
1SG	-waan	-jaan
2SG	-uun	-jiin
3SG	∅	∅
1PL	-weech	-jeech
2PL	-woog	-joog
3PL	∅	∅

Local person suffixes are obligatory; full local person pronouns are ungrammatical in this position.

(9) *Koo-i-mutʲ-i   **Chepkoech** <u>*ane*</u> *<u>ineendet</u>*.
      PST-3-bring-APPL Chepkoech 1SG 3SG
      Int: 'Chepkoech brought me to him/him to me.'

By contrast, 3rd person arguments never surface as verbal suffixes and can be represented as full pronouns, though they are often *pro*-dropped.

(10) a. Koo-∅-maas-i **Madeline** (*ineendet*) <u>Kibeet</u>.
          PST-3-hit-APPL Madeline 3SG   Kibeet
          'Madeline hit Kibeet for him/her.'

      b. Koo-i-mutʲ-i   **Nancy** *Joseph* (<u>ineendet</u>).
          PST-3-bring-APPL Nancy Joseph 3SG
          'Nancy brought him/her to Joseph.'

As seen in (10), 3rd person pronouns co-occur with the default APPL suffix, while local person suffixes cannot surface alongside full local person pronouns.

(11) a. *Koo-∅-gur-jaan   **Jane** <u>*ane*</u> *ineendet*.   b. *Koo-∅-gur-jiin   **Jane** <u>inye</u> *ineendet*.
          PST-3-call-1SG.DO Jane 1SG 3SG   PST-3-call-2SG.DO Jane 2SG 3SG
          Int: 'Jane called me for him/her.'   Int: 'Jane called you (sg) for him/her.'

These data highlight three facts that my analysis must capture, summarized in (12).

(12) a. Local person suffixes are obligatory.
      b. The APPL suffix *-i* is in complementary distribution with local person suffixes.
      c. Local person suffixes cannot be doubled by full pronouns.

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[2] Nevins (2011) refers to a similar phenomenon as omnivorous agreement, though syncretism between suffixes with the same person specifications but different grammatical functions is important for him. By contrast, IO and DO local person suffixes are morphologically distinct in Kipsigis.

## 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 by Harizanov (2014) on Bulgarian clitics. Specifically, Appl houses a PART-relativized probe, which triggers tucking-in movement of local person DOs to an inner Spec,ApplP.

(13)

ApplP
DP
D
IO
Appl
uPART*
VP
V
VERB
DP
D
DO
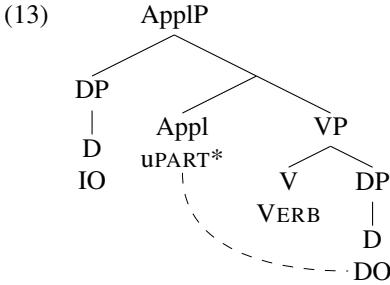
where * is a diacritic indicating that Agree with the probe triggers movement.

If Agree succeeds, the DO moves to an inner Spec,ApplP. If Agree fails (i.e. when the DO is 3rd person), the DO remains in-situ. Following Béjar (2003) and Preminger (2011), I assume that failed Agree does not cause the derivation to crash.

Local person arguments begin as full pronouns, which are simultaneously minimal and maximal projections. 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. Schematically, m-merger in Kipsigis maps (14) to (15).

(14) **Input**:

XP
DP
D
[PART]
X
ZP
...

$\longrightarrow$

(15) **M-merger output**:

XP
X
X
D
[PART]
ZP
...
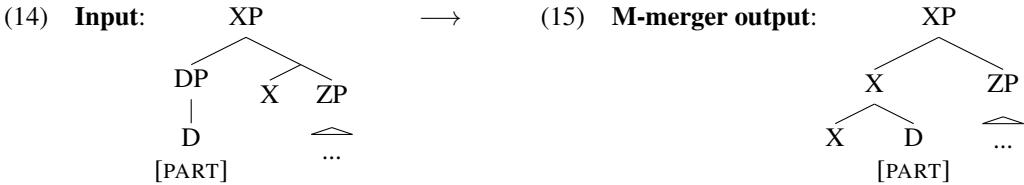
The syntactic movement triggered by Agree with the probe on Appl feeds the morphological process in (15), by creating the appropriate configuration.

Crucially, both movement to Spec,ApplP and m-merger must be PART-relativized in Kipsigis. The PART-relativized probe on Appl prevents movement of 3rd person DOs, which would block m-merger of local person IOs, assuming that strict adjacency between a specifier and head is necessary for m-merger. M-merger must also be PART-relativizated to prevent incorporation of 3rd person IOs, which are base-generated in Spec,ApplP and are optionally spelled out as full pronouns.

Because Agree and m-merger are both obligatory processes when their structural conditions are met, cliticization of local person objects is likewise obligatory (12a). After m-merger, the resulting complex head is spelled out as the appropriate object suffix given the inventory of VIs in Kipsigis.[3]

Table 3: Sample Kipsigis VIs

|	-i	$\Leftrightarrow$	Appl
1SG.DO	-jaan	$\Leftrightarrow$	Appl, [D, π, PART, SPKR, ACC]
2SG.DO	-jiin	$\Leftrightarrow$	Appl, [D, π, PART, ACC]
1SG.IO	-waan	$\Leftrightarrow$	Appl, [D, π, PART, SPKR, DAT]
2SG.IO	-uun	$\Leftrightarrow$	Appl, [D, π, PART, DAT]

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3 For simplicity, I assume that the different IO vs. DO clitics stem from case differences between the two objects.

All VIs—including the local person suffixes—expone Appl, which captures complementarity between the default suffix *-i* and local person suffixes (12b). Finally, local person suffixes cannot double full pronouns, since these clitics are built from the pronouns themselves (12c). I assume a Copy Theory of movement (Chomsky 1993), in which Kipsigis requires pronunciation of the highest copy in the movement chain. This principle of chain reduction blocks the clitic doubling seen in many languages.
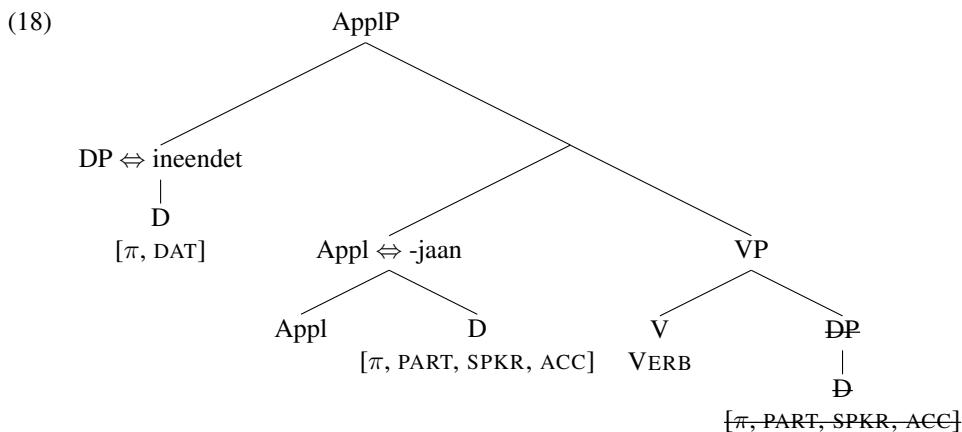
For concreteness, consider the 3 > 1 sentence repeated from (7b).

(16) Koo-i-mut-jaan   **Nancy** *ineendet.*
      PST-3-bring-1SG.DO Nancy 3SG
      'Nancy brought me to him/her.'

In the syntax, the uPART* probe on Appl triggers movement of the 1st person DO to an inner Spec,ApplP.

(17)
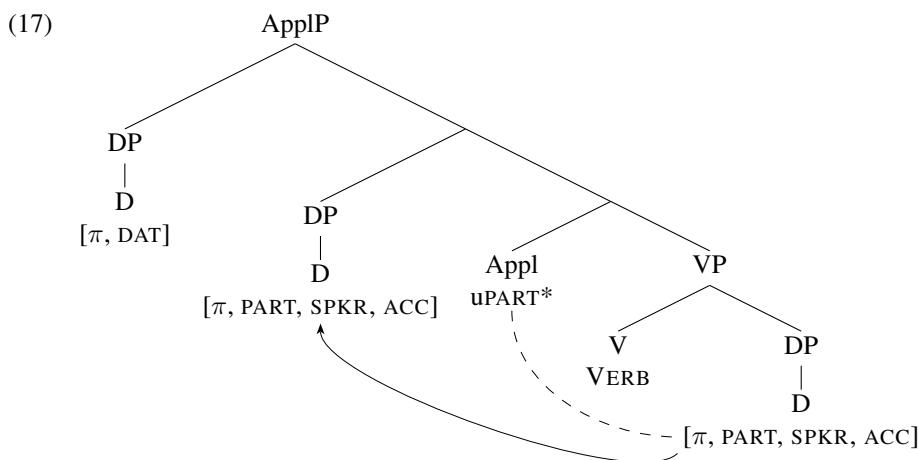
Then, in the morphology, m-merger applies, since Spec,ApplP contains a DP with a [PART] feature.

(18)

Chain reduction deletes the features of the lower copy of the moved DO. Given the inventory of Kipsigis VIs, *-jaan* is inserted for the entire complex Appl head. Following Embick & Noyer (2001), this analysis assumes that m-merger occurs before vocabulary insertion.[4]

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[4] I also assume that Kipsigis V1 is derived via postsyntactic head movement as developed in Harizanov & Gribanova (2018). However, m-merger must precede head movement; otherwise the pronouns would m-merge with a head that has already undergone amalgamation.

5. *Local > local
5.1. The restriction

Sentences with two local person objects are ungrammatical in Kipsigis, regardless of which object is realized as a verbal suffix.

(19)   *1 > 2
    a. *Koo-i-mut-*waan*   **Kibeet** inye.
         PST-3-bring-1SG.IO Kibeet 2SG
         Int: 'Kibeet brought you (sg) to me.'

    b. *Koo-i-mut-jiin   **Kibeet** *ane*.
         PST-3-bring-2SG.DO Kibeet 1SG
         Int: 'Kibeet brought you (sg) to me.'

(20)   *2 > 1
    a. *Koo-i-mut-*uun*   **Kibeet** ane.
         PST-3-bring-2SG.IO Kibeet 1SG
         Int: 'Kibeet brought me to you (sg).'

    b. *Koo-i-mut-jaan   **Kibeet** *inye*.
         PST-3-bring-1SG.DO Kibeet 2SG
         Int: 'Kibeet brought me to you (sg).'

Stacking of local person suffixes is likewise impossible.

(21)   a. *Koo-i-mut-jaan-*uun*   **Kibeet**.
         PST-3-bring-1SG.DO-1SG.IO Kibeet
         Int: 'Kibeet brought me to you (sg).'

    b. *Koo-i-mut-*uun*-jaan   **Kibeet**.
         PST-3-bring-1SG.IO-1SG.DO Kibeet
         Int: 'Kibeet brought me to you (sg).'

As seen in §4.1, there are no such restrictions on 3 > local or local > 3 configurations, differentiating the Kipsigis pattern from more well-studied PCC effects.

5.2. Clefting "repairs" *local > local

Unlike in many PCC languages, there is no obvious *local > local repair (e.g. marking the IO with a preposition as in French). Instead, my consultant prefers to omit the IO or to paraphrase in a way that avoids the double object construction (22).

(22)   Koo-i-mut-waan Nancy a-nyoo   koo-ng'ung'.
       PST-3-bring-1SG Nancy 1SG-come house-your
       'Nancy brought me to your house.'

*Local > local can also be "repaired" when either local person object is fronted for focus with the complementizer *ne*.[5] When local person objects front with *ne*, the standard object must suffixes disappear (cf. (7) vs. (23)).

(23)   a. *Ane* ne   koo-i-mutʲ-i   **Kibeet** *ineendet*.
         1SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-APPL Kibeet 3SG
         'It's me who Kibeet brought to her.'
         'It's me who Kibeet brought her to.'

    b. *Ane ne   koo-i-mut-jaan   **Kibeet** *ineendet*.
         1SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-1SG.DO Kibeet 3SG
         Int: 'It's me who Kibeet brought to her.'

Fronting of either local person object in a local > local ditransitive fixes the ungrammatical configuration. The verb agrees with the non-extracted object, be it the IO (a) or the DO (b).

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[5]   Although fronting has information structural consequences, I consider it a "repair" because it enables expression of the formerly ungrammatical object combination.

(24) "Repaired" 1 > 2

    a. <u>Inye</u> ne   koo-i-mut-*waan*   **Kibeet**.
       2SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-1SG.IO Kibeet
       'It's you (sg) who Kibeet brought to me.'

    b. *Ane* ne   koo-i-mut-<u>jiin</u>   **Kibeet**.
       1SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-2SG.DO Kibeet
       'It's me who Kibeet brought you (sg) to.'

(25) "Repaired" 2 > 1

    a. <u>Ane</u> ne   koo-i-mut-*uun*   **Kibeet**.
       1SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-2SG.IO Kibeet
       'It's me who Kibeet brought to you (sg).'

    b. *Inye* ne   koo-i-mut-<u>jaan</u>   **Kibeet**.
       2SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-1SG.DO Kibeet
       'It's you (sg) who Kibeet brought me to.'

I argue that these *ne*-clefts involve constituent movement to the preverbal position. *Ne*-clefts are sensitive to adjunct, relative clause, and coordination islands, which show that they are derived via movement. Evidence that the fronted constituent moves—rather than a null operator—comes from reconstruction for Principle C. R-expressions cannot be bound in Kipsigis, suggesting that Principle C is respected in the language.

(26) Koo-$\varnothing_{i/*j}$-geer pichaait-aap Kiplangat$_j$.
    PST-3-see   picture-of   Kiplangat
    'He$_{i/*j}$ saw a picture of Kiplangat$_j$.'

When object R-expressions are *ne*-clefted, they still cannot be co-referential with the subject, even though the subject no longer c-commands them.

(27) Pichaait-aap Kiplangat$_j$ ne   koo-$\varnothing_{i/*j}$-geer.
    picture-of   Kiplangat REL.SG PST-3-see
    'It's a picture of Kiplangat$_j$ that he$_{i/*j}$ saw.'

These data indicate that the fronted object reconstructs to its base-position for interpretation (see Bossi 2020 for additional reconstruction data from quantifier scope). These island and reconstruction effects show that *ne*-clefts in Kipsigis involve movement of the fronted constituent.

    Given this analysis of *ne*-cleft structure, extracted and non-extracted local > local configurations have a shared syntax at the point in the derivation when Appl probes (modulo an Ā-feature on the focused constituent in extraction contexts). Ungrammaticality cannot, then, be due to syntactic malformation or unmet syntactic licensing requirements; rather, it must be a morphological issue.
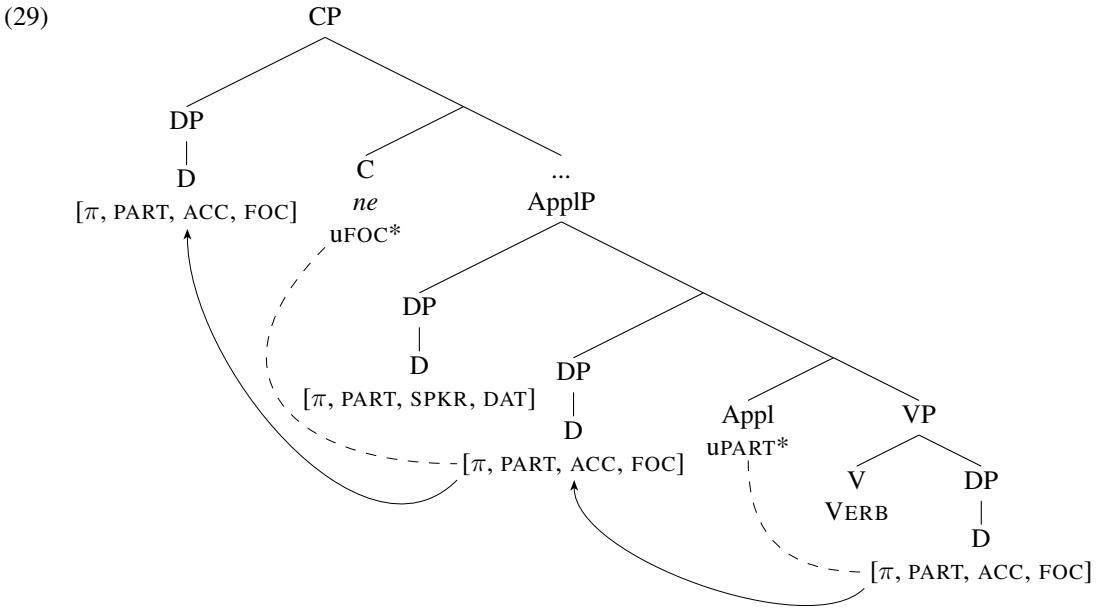
5.3. Accounting for extraction and *local > local

    The disappearance of object suffixes in extraction contexts (23) falls out of my analysis. Since object suffixes are m-merged pronouns, they necessarily disappear when the pronoun is further extracted in the syntax. Consider the 1 > 2extr(action) sentence repeated from (24a).

(28) <u>Inye</u> ne   koo-i-mut-*waan*   **Kibeet**.
    2SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-1SG.IO Kibeet
    'It's you (sg) who Kibeet brought to me.'

The extracted DO moves to Spec,CP in the narrow syntax, leaving behind a copy in Spec,ApplP. [6]

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[6] I assume intermediate movement to Spec,*v*P, though this is not represented in (29) for simplicity.

(29)

CP
- DP
  - D
    - [π, PART, ACC, FOC]
- C
  - *ne*
  - uFOC*
- ...
  - ApplP
    - DP
      - D
        - [π, PART, SPKR, DAT]
    - DP
      - D
        - [π, PART, ACC, FOC]
    - Appl
      - uPART*
    - VP
      - V
        - VERB
      - DP
        - D
          - [π, PART, ACC, FOC]

Chain reduction applies, deleting lower copies of the fronted DO. Then, the non-extracted IO m-merges with Appl, deriving the complex head in (30). The VI *-waan* '1SG.IO' is inserted for this complex head.

(30) **1 > 2extr**:   Appl ⇔ -waan

Appl   D
[π, PART, SPKR, DAT]
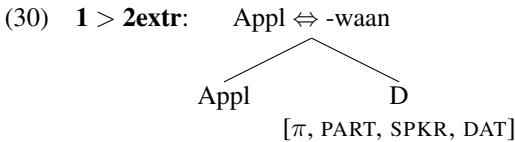
By contrast, in standard local > local configurations feature deletion (i.e. chain reduction) does not occur, as the pronoun copies within Appl are highest. As a result, both objects undergo cyclic m-merger with Appl to generate the structure in (31).

(31) **1 > 2**:

Appl
- Appl
  - Appl
  - D
    - [π, PART, ACC]
- D
  - [π, PART, SPKR, DAT]
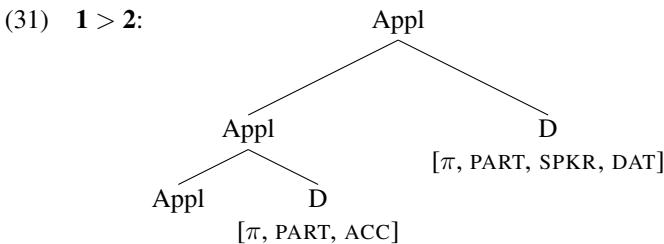
A comparison between (30) and (31) reveals that extraction and standard configurations are minimally different—one involves feature deletion, while the other does not. I argue that the absence of feature deletion is key to understanding *local > local. The absence of feature deletion in (31) creates a morphological problem, as there are no VIs that spell out the entire complex head. Because all verbal suffixes expone Appl, only one can be inserted. Yet given the structure in (31), this necessarily leaves certain local person φ-features unexponed.

These unexponed local person φ-features are the source of ungrammaticality in local > local configurations. This restriction is formalized as REALIZEPARTICIPANT—an inviolable morphological rule.

(32) REALIZEPARTICIPANT: Local person φ-features in Appl must be exponed.[7]

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[7] This rule can be made more general (e.g. requiring exponence of local person φ-features within the complex V, rather than Appl). See Drummond & O'Hagan (to appear) for such an alternative.

I treat REALIZEPARTICIPANT as a filter that applies after Vocabulary Insertion. When VIs are inserted, the features that they expone are deleted. After Vocabulary Insertion, REALIZEPARTICIPANT checks to ensure that no local person ϕ-features remain. The 1 > 2extr configuration in (30) is grammatical, since the VI -*waan* expones all of Appl's local person ϕ-features that remain after chain reduction. However, the 1 > 2 configuration in (31) is ungrammatical, since there is no VI that realizes all the local person ϕ-features in Appl.

In this way, *local > local results from an unacceptable morphological configuration, rather than a syntactic one. This analysis of *local > local is reminiscent of Feature Gluttony (Coon & Keine to appear). Under both approaches, a head acquires two values, which impose conflicting demands on morphological realization (i.e. a "gluttonous" configuration). This gluttony leads to ineffability and ungrammaticality (Coon & Keine to appear:3). However, my analysis is more fully modular than Coon & Keine's, since both the gluttonous configuration and the violated constraints arise in the morphology via m-merger and REALIZEPARTICIPANT, respectively.

6. Conclusion

Data from Kipsigis supports a morphological analysis of promiscuous agreement and the novel *local > local restriction. While syntactic explanations are well-equipped to handle certain restrictions, the Kipsigis facts indicate that morphological constraints must also play a role. Though not suited to the Kipsigis data, nothing in my analysis precludes syntactic restrictions cross-linguistically. On my analysis, morphological and syntactic restrictions each function independently of the other. Such a modular system predicts a typology of person restrictions where certain ungrammatical combinations appear to "toggle" on and off.

The only difference between the Strong and Weak PCCs is the acceptability of local > local in the Weak PCC. Furthermore, 3 > 3 restrictions are attested in combination with many different PCC varieties. If these 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.

Table 4: A typology of ditransitive person restrictions

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

The Weak PCC arises via a syntactic mechanism, while the Kipsigis pattern is morphological. The Strong PCC, by contrast, is derived through the coexistence of syntactic and morphological restrictions, as it rules out the object combinations forbidden in both Weak PCC languages and Kipsigis.

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