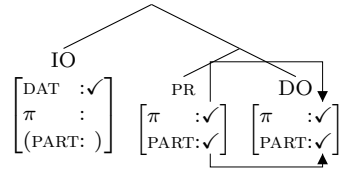
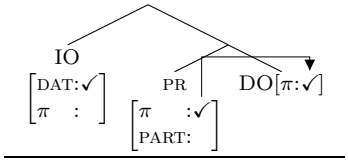
A Unified Analysis of the Person Case Constraint and 3-3-Effects in Barceloní Catalan

Person Effects. The Person Case Constraint (PCC, [6]), a ban on first and second person (*1/2*) direct object (DO) clitics or agreement markers in the presence of indirect object (IO) clitics or agreement markers, has been widely treated, in the tradition of [2], as an effect of intervention of IO on person marking on DO in the syntactic configuration [PR [IO DO]] (PR=person probe). To account for the possibility of combinations of 1/2-IOs and third person (*3*) DOs, these accounts usually assume that 3 does not need licensing or is licensed by a feature other than person (e.g. [3]). A second kind of person effect concerns the incompatibility of 3 DOs with 3 IOs (e.g. Spanish Spurious-*se* [12]), henceforth *3-3-Effect*. 3-3-Effects have been treated as morphological ([12, 8, 11]), not syntactic. Barceloní Catalan (*BC*, [6, 8]) shows both PCC in (1) and 3-3-Effects in (2), but allows the relevant combinations of clitics if IO is realized without person marking as /i/, which [9, 8] argues marks dative case but not person.

a. PCC: 1/2/3-IO 1/2-DO (1)



b. 3-3-Effect: 3-IO 3-DO (2)



c. Normal Forms: 1/2-IO 3-DO

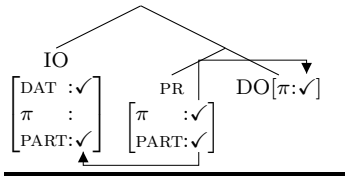


Table 1

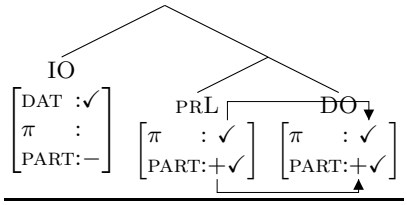
(1) M(e) ([**i**] /*[**li**]) ha recomanat la senyora Bofill
me (DAT /DAT-3RD) has recommended the Mrs. Bofill
'Mrs Bofill has recommended me to him/her.' [7]

(2) [. . .] [**əls** (**-i** /*-**li**)] donaré demà
[. . .] 3.ACC.PL (DAT /*DAT.3RD) will.give(1.st) tomorrow
'I will give them him tomorrow.' ([8], 610)

Person effects can be described as DO bleeding person marking on IO: (i) 3-DOs bleed person marking on 3-IOs, (ii) 1/2-DOs bleed person marking on IOs of any person. Case is unaffected. The existence of 3-3-Effects and the fact that they can be repaired the same way as PCC in BC calls into question a division between 3- and 1/2-licensing, and a treatment of PCC and 3-3-Effects as arising in different parts of the grammar. **The Proposal.** Both person effects are derived from (i) [4]'s system of syntactic feature-checking where probes and goals can fail to check features without causing the derivation to crash, (ii) the syntactic structure [IO [PR DO]], and (iii) the assumption that syntactic feature checking and its absence feed and bleed lexical insertion. The resulting system lets the syntax assemble PCC- and 3-3-structures fairly freely, but they crash at PF, if there are no lexical exponents for the featurally impoverished structures in them. Following [4], person probes consist of multiple features that can probe independently of each other. For BC, I assume [π] (person) and [PART(ICIPANT)]. Combinations of these features describe person specifications: 3 = [π], 1/2 = [π,PART]. Probes and goals are licensed if at least one of their features is checked. DAT(IVE), I assume, is inherently licensed. [4] derive constructions where an external argument (EA) only checks features of PR that the internal argument (IA) hasn't checked (e.g. Basque) from the structure [EA [PR IA]]. Giving PR access to IA before EA, derives that EA only checks what IA doesn't check. Similarly, in BC, IO only shows person marking, if DO hasn't checked the relevant features on PR. This follows from the structure [IO [PR DO]]. The absence of syntactic person licensing on IO feeds PF: only syntactically licensed person features, are visible to lexical insertion rules. The insertion rules of [8, 9]'s analysis of BC-clitics can be adapted to the features used here: [π]↦/l/ (3 marker), [DAT]↦/i/, rules for local person clitics refer to [PART]. To illustrate: in a PCC context (Tab.1a.), the DO checks all features on PR, no person features get licensed on IO. Since [DAT] is the only feature licensed on IO, PF can only insert /i/. Similarly, in 3-3-contexts (b.) the DO checks PR's [π], the [π]-feature on IO remains unchecked. Again, the only feature licensed on IO is [DAT] and it surfaces as /i/. Combinations where both DO and IO check person are in c.: DO checks [π] which leaves [PART] to be checked on IO. As insertion rules for 1/2-clitics refer to [PART], the normal IO-clitic can be inserted. PCC- and 3-3-structures don't crash in BC, because it has a PF-exponent for the small structure that is syntactically licensed on

IO. Person marked IO-clitics are impossible in PCC/3-3-contexts, because (i) person features on IO are not licensed in the syntax, and (ii) insertion rules are only sensitive to syntactically licensed person features. If a language only has 3-IO-clitics that refer to [π] in their insertion rules, the structures in Tab.1a./b. cannot be spelled out and the derivation crashes at PF. PCC and 3-3-Effects invariably arise in the syntax, but whether they become visible or cause a crash depends on the PF-inventory of the language. **Differences between 3-3 and PCC.** Clitic doubling of /i/-IOs is possible in 3-3-, but not in PCC-contexts ([6],p.212). This fact can be related to observations by [10]: (i) pronouns come in different sizes (strong, weak, clitic), smaller ones needing syntactic licensing, (ii) only clitics allow clitic doubling. The difference reduces to 3-3-, but not PCC-contexts licensing IO-clitics. The /i/s in both contexts are underlyingly pronouns of different sizes. The contrast can be implemented via [1]'s interpretation of [PART] as binary. [+PART] distinguishes 1/2 from 3. Lexical insertion rules for 1/2 refer to [+PART] instead of just [PART]. 3 can either lack [±PART] entirely or be specified as [−PART]. 3-IOs are specified as [−PART] (comp. Tab.2b). The difference between 3-3-Effect and PCC wrt. clitic doubling is accounted for, if checking [±PART] on IO is what licenses IO-clitics. Under PCC (Tab.2a.), DO checks [±PART] on PR and [−PART] remains unchecked on IO. IO clitics and clitic doubling are impossible. In 3-3-contexts, DO only checks [π], PR's [±PART] keeps probing and is valued to '−' by IO. This allows IO-clitics and clitic doubling in 3-3-contexts. This asymmetry follows from the same bleeding process as person effects. **Extensions.** [1]'s theory of [±PART] also provides an account of the absence of morphological 3-3-Effects. 3-IOs can be characterized either in terms of [π], or [−PART]. In a language where insertion rules for 3-IOs refer to [π] (e.g. BC), 3-IO clitics cannot be inserted, since [π] on IO is unchecked in 3-3-contexts (see Tab.2b). When insertion rules refer to [−PART], normal 3-IO clitics surface, since [−PART] is checked in in 3-3-contexts. The feature system also accounts for different repairs to person effects like Spanish Spurious *se*. Spurious *se* appears instead of normal IO-clitics in 3-3-contexts, but not under PCC. This is captured as follows: 3-IO clitics are specified for [π], 3-3-Effects arise. *se* is specified for [−PART], it can be inserted in 3-3-contexts, but not PCC ones. The account here predicts that 3-3-Effects, like PCC, are universally present in the syntax. [5] show that 3-3-contexts indeed have an unexpected property in a variety of languages that don't show morphological 3-3-Effects: DOs in 3-3-contexts cannot be bound by a higher quantifier. This independently supports a syntactic analysis of 3-3-Effects, rather than a morphological one.

a. PCC: 3-IO 1/2-DO (1)



b. 3-3-Effect: 3-IO 3-DO

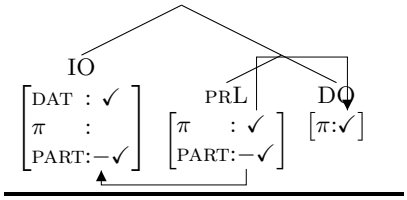


Table 2: PCC and 3-3-Effects with [±PART(ICIPANT)].

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