Reanalyzing Agreement and Incorporation Restrictions in Southern Tiwa
Interaction/Satisfaction meets Gluttony

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Overview

- Southern Tiwa (Kiowa-Tanoan) exhibits several PCC-like restrictions that also extend to noun incorporation (Rosen 1990, Heck and Richards 2010)
- I explore how we can capture these patterns using more modern analyses of the PCC that don't invoke failed Agree or nominal licensing (Coon and Keine 2021)

Southern Tiwa: Basics and PCC Effects

Basics

- Rich agreement morphology – a single portmanteau encodes the person (π) and number (#) features of up to three arguments
- Inanimate internal arguments obligatorily incorporate. Animate internal arguments optionally incorporate (compare 1a vs 1b)

(1) a. *Seuanide* ***ti-*** *mu -ban*
man **1SG>3SG-** see -PAST
'I saw the man'

b. ***Ka-*** ***'u'u-*** *wia -ban*
1SG>2SG>3SG- **baby-** give -PAST
'I gave the baby to you'

Two PCC-like Agreement Restrictions

- ***Ergative Restriction*** (*3 > 1/2/non-incorporated) – a 3rd person agent 'ergative' cannot c-command any lower 1st person, 2nd person or non-incorporated argument

(2) a. *3 > 2
**Uide xxx- mu -ban*
Child 3SG>2SG- see -PAST
Int: 'The child saw you'

b. *3 > non-incorp
*****Seuanide*** *Ø- mu -ban*
man 3SG>3SG- see -PAST
Int: 'She saw the man'

- ***Dative Restriction*** (*1/2/3 > 1/2/non-incorporated) – no applied argument 'dative' can c-command a 1st person, 2nd person or non-incorporated internal argument

(3) a. *1 > 2
**xxx- wan -ban*
1SG>2SG- come -PAST
Int: 'You came to me'

b. *1 > non-incorp
*****Musan*** *im- hliaw -ban*
cats 1SG>3PL- come.down -PAST
Int: 'The cats came down to me'

- In ***ditransitives***, these restrictions combine to yield the following effects: 1) the agent 'ergative' cannot be 3rd person, 2) the internal argument cannot be 1st person, 2nd person or non-incorporated

(4) a. *3 > 3 > 3
**xxx- wia -ban*
3SG>3SG>3PL- give -PAST
Int: 'He gave them to him/her'

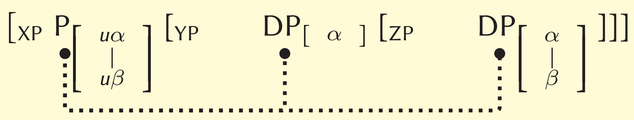
b. 1 > 2 > *non-incorp
*****'U'ude*** *ka- wia -ban*
baby 1SG>2SG>3SG- give -PAST
Int: 'I gave the baby to you'

Challenges and Ways Forward

Initial Challenges for Feature Gluttony

- Coon and Keine (2021) argue that PCC effects arise in *gluttonous configurations* where a probe agrees with multiple goals (overagreement)
- An articulated probe (P) consisting of hierarchically organized features (Béjar and Rezac 2009) first agrees with one goal that only matches a subset of its features, then proceeds to agree with a structurally lower goal that matches the remaining features

(5) Gluttonous Configuration (Coon and Keine 2021)



- Overagreement gives rise to ungrammaticality because it leads to morphological ineffability, or because it forces simultaneous movement, which can crash the derivation
- For Southern Tiwa, the configurations (*3 > non-incorporated) and (*1/2 > non-incorporated) pose a serious challenge to this account
- To get a Béjar and Rezac-style probe to overagree, non-incorporated goals must have a feature that higher goals lack, but *what could this possibly be?*

Interaction/Satisfaction meets Gluttony

- To extend a gluttony-based account to configurations such as (*3 > non-incorporated), I propose that overagreement can occur whenever two potential goals share the *same* features
- I explicitly model this using the *Interaction/Satisfaction* model of Agree (Deal 2015, 2021).

Starting Assumptions: Restrictions on DPs

- Reanalyze "PCC" effects in Southern Tiwa as constraints on the distribution of DPs (Heck and Richards 2010)

(6) Agreement Restrictions in Southern Tiwa (Heck and Richards 2010)

Ergative Restriction	Dative Restriction
(*3 > 1/2/non-incorp) = ***3DP > DP**	(*1/2/3 > 1/2/non-incorp) = ***DP > DP**

- All categories involved in ungrammatical agreement configurations are *syntactically animate*, and therefore DPs. Syntactic animacy is encoded by a person feature [π] on D (Adger and Harbour 2007, Heck and Richards 2010, Richards 2014)
- Internal arguments that incorporate are bare NPs that *lack* a DP layer

Starting Assumptions: Conditions on Incorporation

- DPs *never* undergo incorporation
- Bare NPs *always* undergo incorporation
  - This can be modelled via head movement (Baker 1988), or by proposing that NPs are too small to form independent prosodic words (Compton and Pittman 2010)

Analysis

Two Distinct Probes on Infl and Little v

- Infl: [INT:D, SAT:PART]
- v: [INT:D, SAT:Ø]
- Both probes have the categorial feature D as their interaction condition – whenever they encounter a DP target, they copy all features located on the D head
- Infl's probe has [PART] as a satisfaction condition – it stops probing once it finds a target with a [PART] feature (any 1st or 2nd person DP)
- Little v's probe is ***insatiable*** – it interacts with *every DP* in its c-command domain
  - Little v also has a number probe [INT:#, SAT:#] – this ensures that bare NP internal arguments also give rise to number agreement

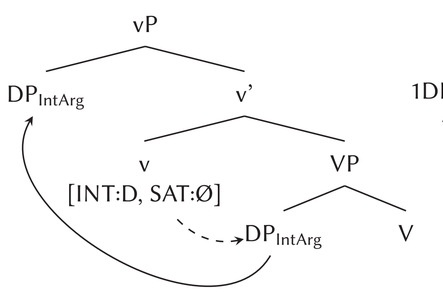
Interaction/Satisfaction gives rise to Gluttony

- Both probes have an [EPP] feature that triggers *phrasal movement* of any goal they interact with
- Interacting with two or more goals creates a *gluttonous configuration* in which two DPs must move at the same time, thereby *crashing the derivation* (Coon and Keine 2021, Coon et al 2022)

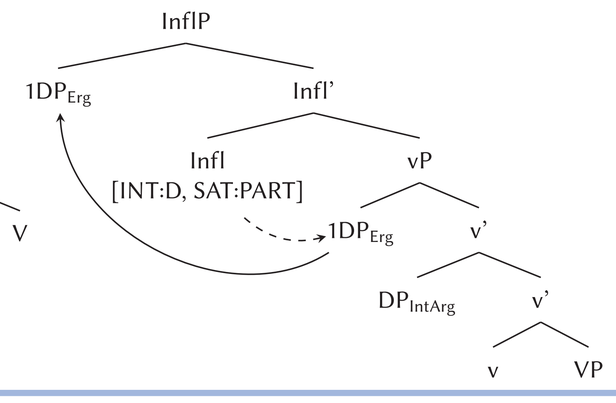
Grammatical Derivation ($1DP_{Erg} > DP_{IntArg}$)

- We start with a derivation for a grammatical transitive configuration in which a 1st person agent 'ergative' DP c-commands an internal argument DP (1DP > DP)

(7) a. [INT:D, SAT:Ø] agrees with the internal argument, triggering movement to [spec, vP]



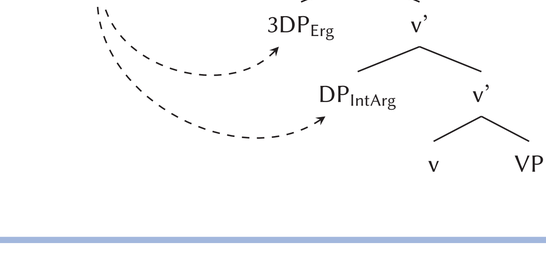
b. [INT:D, SAT:PART] only agrees with the [PART]-bearing agent, triggering movement to [spec, InflP]



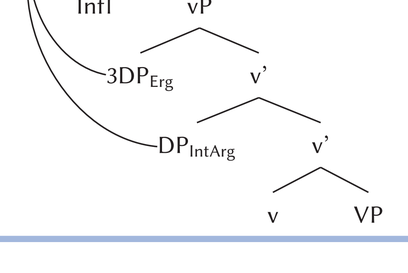
Dative Restriction (*$DP_{Dat} > DP_{IntArg}$)

- Consider what happens when little v c-commands two DPs: an applied argument 'dative' and a non-incorporated internal argument

(8) a. [INT:D, SAT:Ø] agrees with both DPs



b. Overagreement triggers simultaneous phrasal movement. Derivation crashes



Ergative Restriction (*$3DP_{Erg} > DP$)

- The exact same thing happens when a 3rd person agent (3DP) c-commands another DP

(9) a. [INT:D, SAT:PART] agrees with both DPs

b. Overagreement triggers simultaneous phrasal movement. Derivation crashes