

Strong and Weak Person Restrictions: a Feature Checking analysis¹

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Abstract

This paper investigates two versions of a constraint, known in the literature as the *me lui* or *Person-Case* Constraint. The *strong version* of the Person Case Constraint prevents 1st and 2nd person phonologically weak direct objects from co-occurring with phonologically weak indirect objects of any person (1st, 2nd or 3rd). According to the *weak version* of the Person Case Constraint, combinations of 1st and 2nd indirect and direct objects are licit; 1st and 2nd person weak direct objects are ruled out only in the presence of 3rd person weak indirect objects. I develop an analysis for the two constraints in terms of Checking Theory. I argue that both constraints arise when two objects enter a feature checking relation with one and the same functional head, namely transitive v. In these configurations, high indirect objects move to transitive v first, followed by movement of direct objects. In languages with the *strong version* of the constraint indirect objects check person on transitive v, and direct objects can only check the remaining number features of v resulting in a person restriction. Languages with the *weak version* of the Person Case Constraint have the additional option of Multiple Agree, i.e. the person feature of transitive v can be checked *simultaneously* against the indirect and the direct object. The inappropriate combination 3rd IO > 1st, 2nd DO is argued to result from a restriction against conflicting feature specifications in Multiple Agree constructions.

0. Introduction

Research on pronominal elements has revealed the existence of a constraint which prohibits 1st and 2nd person phonologically weak direct objects (clitics, agreement markers, weak pronouns) when they cluster together with phonologically weak indirect objects in ditransitives. This constraint, which is extremely robust cross-linguistically, is

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known as the *me lui* or *Person-Case* Constraint. The *me lui* Constraint has been treated in the literature as either a morphological or a syntactic restriction arising in configurations in which there is some sort of competition between the two objects.

The precise definition of what constitutes the core environments of the constraint has been a matter of some debate in the literature. According to one view (Bonet 1991, 1994, Boeckx 2000, Ormazabal and Romero 2001, Haspelmath 2001, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Bejar and Rezac 2003, Adger and Harbour 2003, Desouvrey, this volume, among others), there is an absolute prohibition against 1st and 2nd person weak direct objects in the presence of weak indirect objects regardless of the person of the latter, i.e. whether they are 1st, 2nd or 3rd. This conception is known as *the Strong Version* of the Constraint (Bonet 1991, 1994). According to another view (Murasugi 1994, Bianchi 2003, Nicol, this volume), the prohibition against 1st and 2nd person direct objects is not absolute. What is truly universal² is the fact that 1st and 2nd person weak direct objects cannot co-occur with 3rd person weak indirect objects. Combinations of 1st/2nd direct and 1st/2nd indirect objects are allowed in principle. And indeed, they are permitted in some, though not all, languages. This less absolute formulation has been referred to by the term *the Weak Version* of the Constraint (Bonet 1991, 1994).

As has been pointed out by a number of researchers in recent years (Boeckx 2000, Ormazabal and Romero 2001, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Bejar and Rezac 2003, Bianchi 2003, among others), there are interesting correlations between the Person-Case Constraint in ditransitives and agreement restrictions attested in a number of other syntactic contexts in different languages. Boeckx (2000; but see Boeckx 2003 for a different view), Ormazabal and Romero (2001) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) draw attention to the fact that Icelandic passives, unaccusatives and infinitival constructions do not allow 1st and 2nd agreeing pronouns in the presence of higher quirky dative subjects (Sigurðsson 1990-1991, 1996, Taraldsen 1995). This restriction is strongly reminiscent of the Person Case Constraint understood in its strong/absolute form. On the other hand, Haspelmath (2001) and Bianchi (2003) point out that the Person Case Constraint can be viewed as a reflex of a person/animacy hierarchy the effects of which are most transparently reflected on the syntax of "hierarchical" or "inverse" systems found in e.g. several Algonquian languages (Silverstein 1986, Klaiman 1992, Ura 1996, Aissen 1999, Nichols 2001, Bruening 2001 among many others). Inverse systems have the following descriptive rules (see Nichols 2001: 516): (I) Argument features are given a relative ranking, e.g. 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person animate > 3rd person inanimate. (II) Object Person must not outrank subject person. The requirement for alignment of grammatical function prominence and person/animacy prominence has as a result that the object cannot be ranked higher than the subject in the person/animacy scale. When the logical object outranks the logical subject in person/animacy the "inverse" Voice or the passive must be employed. In the "direct" Voice, a 1st and 2nd person object in the presence of a 3rd person subject or an animate object in the presence of a non-animate subject are prevented. Crucially, in such systems a subject and an object are allowed to co-occur (in the, so called, "direct" Voice) as long as they are equally ranked in the person/animacy hierarchy. For example, a language that treats 1st and 2nd person as being equally ranked (i.e. distinguishes "local" from "non-local" arguments without ranking 1st relative to 2nd) permits 1st and 2nd person subjects to co-occur with 1st and 2nd person objects. The Person-Case Constraint can be most straightforwardly viewed as a

² Richrad Kayne (personal communication) points out that the weak version of the restriction is not universal either. In Paduan strings like '?te ghe meto in brasso' ('I put you in his/her/their arms'), are to some degree acceptable, as opposed to Italian '*ti gli metto in braccio' (Paola Beninca, personal communication to R. Kayne).

phenomenon also reflecting relative ranking of the indirect object and the direct object in the person/ animacy hierarchy if the effects of the *Weak Version* of the constraint are taken to constitute the core of the PCC (see, in particular, Bianchi 2003 for such an analysis).

In previous work (Anagnostopoulou 2003), I took as a starting point the *Strong Version* of the Person Case Constraint following Bonet (1991, 1994), and I argued for a syntactic analysis of the absolute prohibition against 1st and 2nd person weak direct objects in the presence of higher weak indirect objects. My account was based on the idea that the ban against a 1st, 2nd person direct object arises whenever both objects enter a split feature checking relation with the same functional head, transitive v (v-Tr). The same basic analysis can straightforwardly accommodate the prohibition against 1st and 2nd person objects in Icelandic quirky subject constructions, with the difference that in the latter constructions split feature checking is performed on T. In this account, person/ animacy hierarchies play no role.

It is the aim of this paper to outline the motivation and mechanics of the approach advanced in Anagnostopoulou (2003) (sections 2-4) in order to further explore how languages showing the effects of the *Weak Version* of the Person Case Constraint can be accommodated in an account along these lines which dispenses with hierarchies and relies exclusively on feature checking procedures (section 5). Specifically, I will argue that languages with the *Weak Version* of the Person Case Constraint have the option of *Multiple Agree* (the person feature of v-Tr is checked against both the indirect and the direct object), while *Multiple Agree* is impossible in languages with the *Strong Version* of the Person Case Constraint. I will finally consider the syntax of Passamaquoddy, an inverse system recently discussed by Bruening (2001). I will point out that there is clear evidence in favor of Bruening's analysis of Passamaquoddy, which links hierarchical effects in this language to the syntax of obviation. Obviation plays no role in Person Case Constraint environments and quirky subject constructions, and therefore the two types of hierarchical effects cannot be unified (section 6).

1. Two versions of the Person-Case Constraint

As mentioned in the introduction, combinations of dative and accusative phonologically weak elements (clitics, agreement markers, weak pronouns) show a constraint known in the literature as the **me lui/I-II Constraint*, or *Person-Case Constraint* (henceforth the PCC; see Perlmutter 1971, Kayne 1975, Warburton 1977, Duranti 1979, Bonet 1991, 1994, Miller & Sag 1997, Monachesi 1996, Albizu 1997, Gerlach 1998, Ormazabal & Romero 2001, Haspelmath 2001, Bejar and Rezac 2003, Adger and Harbour 2003, Bianchi 2003, Desouvrey, this volume, Nicol, this volume, among many others).

The PCC comes in two versions. The *strong version* of the PCC (based on Bonet 1991: 182) is formulated in (1) and exemplified in (2) with data from Greek, a language which never allows 1st and 2nd person direct object clitics in the presence of indirect object clitics:

(1) *The Strong Version of the PCC*

In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker or weak pronoun], the direct object has to be 3rd person (Bonet 1991: 182)

- (2)
- a. Tha mu *to* stilune
Fut Cl(Gen, 1st, sg) Cl(Acc, 3rd, sg, neut) send-3pl
“They will send it to me”
 - b. Tha su *ton* stilune
Fut Cl(Gen, 2nd, sg) Cl(Acc, 3rd, sg, masc) send-3pl
“They will send him to you”
 - c. *Tha su *me* sistisune
Fut Cl(Gen, 2nd, sg) Cl(Acc, 1st, sg) introduce-3pl
“They will introduce me to you”
 - d. *Tha tu *se* stilune
Fut Cl(Gen, 3rd, sg, masc) Cl(Acc, 2nd, sg) send-3pl
“They will send you to him”

Examples (2a) and (2b) which contain a genitive 1st and 2nd person indirect object clitic and an accusative 3rd person direct object clitic are well-formed. On the other hand, examples (2b) and (2c) in which a genitive co-occurs with a 1st and 2nd person accusative are ill-formed. Observe that (2c), which contains a cluster of a 2nd and a 1st person clitic, is as strongly ungrammatical as (2d) in which a 3rd person genitive co-occurs with a 2nd person accusative.

The *weak version* of the PCC (cf. Murasugi’s 1994 *Constraint on the Feature Specification of Agr*) is formulated in (3).

- (3) *The Weak Version of the PCC*
In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker or weak pronoun], if there is a third person it has to be the direct object. (Bonet 1991: 182)

The weak version intends to capture the fact that in some languages combinations of 1st and 2nd indirect object and direct object clitics are by some speakers acceptable. This is exemplified in (4a) and (4b) with examples from Catalan (see Bonet 1994: 41; see section 5 for more detailed discussion and more facts):

- (4)
- a. Te m’ ha venut el mercader més important
you-DO me-IO has sold the merchant most important
“The most important merchant has sold you to me”
 - b. Vi ci manderà
2-PL-IO 1PL-DO send-fut-3sg
“S/he will send us to you (pl)”

According to Bonet (1991: 179-182, 1994: 40-41), the judgments concerning combinations of 1st and 2nd person clitics vary considerable from speaker to speaker in Catalan, unlike the effects of the strong version of the PCC which are much more robust and do not show comparable idiolectal variation. This difference led her to adopt the strong version of the PCC in (1) and to put aside (3). The PCC, as discussed by Bonet (1991, 1994), has five properties:

(i) It applies to a wide range of genetically unrelated languages. The languages discussed by Bonet are Arabic, Greek, Romance, Basque, Georgian, English, Swiss German (see Haspelmath 2001:5 for an additional list).

(ii) It affects phonologically *weak* elements, i.e. clitics, agreement affixes and weak pronouns.

(iii) It only affects *combinations* of weak elements. As long as one of the two elements is not weak, the constraint does not apply. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate this for combinations of clitics and stressed pronouns. In (5) a 3rd person dative clitic co-occurs with a 2nd person accusative full pronoun while in (6) a 1st person accusative clitic co-occurs with a 3rd person dative full pronoun. Both examples are grammatical.³

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------|
| (5) | Tha tu stilune <i>esena</i>
Fut Cl(Gen) send-3pl you(Acc)
“They will send you to him” | (cf. (2)d) <i>Greek</i> |
| (6) | Paul me présentera à <i>lui</i>
Paul 1st(Acc) will introduce-3rd to him
“Paul will introduce me to him” | <i>French</i> |

(iv) The fourth property of the PCC is that it also affects combinations in which the accusative clitic is *reflexive* (Kayne 1975:173, Bonet 1991:192 citing Herschensohn 1979):

- (7) *Elle *se lui* est donnée entièrement
She refl him(Dat) is given(fem) entirely
“She gave herself to him entirely”

As shown in (7), a dative cannot co-occur with an accusative reflexive clitic.

Note, though, the **IO-dat SE-reflexive-acc* constraint (and prior claims to this effect) go counter to some facts, among other the Italian sentence in (8) (Nicol, this volume; see also Monachesi 1996):

- (8) Ci si è rivolto in inglese
(he) to-us SE-refl has spoken in English

I will return to this complication in section 5.

(v) Finally, the PCC is limited to constructions with an *external argument*. Unaccusatives and passives with a dative and a 1st/2nd person nominative/absolutive argument are well- formed. This is shown in (9) with an example from Basque:

- (9) Joni joan na-atzai-t
John(Dat) go 1Abs-root- 3(Dat)
“I went to John”

In this example a 1st person absolutive agreement marker may co-occur with a 3rd person dative. The difference between this example and all the examples discussed so far is that it involves an unaccusative and not an active ditransitive predicate.

³ Richard Kayne (personal communication) notes that there are counterexamples to the claim that the restriction is limited to combinations of weak or clitic pronouns. More specifically, the following contrast in French shows that the constraint also affects combinations of accusative clitics and dative full phrases:

- (i) Il la/le faut à mon ami.
‘my friend needs her/him/it’
(ii) *Il te faut à mon ami(e).
‘my friend needs you’

He furthermore points out that these cases would fall back into place if there was a covert dative clitic associated with the *à*-experiencer in (i) and (ii).

2. The Restriction on Nominative Objects

Taraldsen (1994, 1995) and Sigurðsson (1990-1991, 1996) observed and discussed a restriction on nominative objects in Icelandic quirky subject constructions. This is formulated in (10):

- (10) *The Person Restriction on (agreeing) Nominative Objects*
In the presence of a dative subject, the agreeing nominative object has to be 3rd person.

The properties of the person restriction can be summarized as follows.

- (i) It is found in Icelandic only, i.e. it looks like a language-specific constraint.
- (ii) It applies to constructions with a dative subject and a nominative object. Two environments must be distinguished for reasons that will become clear soon:
 - (a) Infinitival constructions in which the matrix subject is realized as dative and the nominative serves as an argument of the infinitival. These are called by Sigurðsson (1996) *Dative and Nominative with Infinitive* and are exemplified in (11). (11a) contains a 3rd person nominative and the sentence is well formed. (11b) contains a 1st person nominative and the sentence is ill formed:

- (11) a. *Mér* höfðu fundist [*þær* vera gáfaðar]
Me(Dat) had found they(Nom,pl) be intelligent
“I had found them intelligent”
b. **Þeim* höfum alltaf fundist [*við* vinna vel]
Them(Dat) have always found we(Nom,pl) work well
“They have always thought that we work well”

- (b) Mono-clausal quirky subject constructions (passives, unaccusatives) with nominative objects. Here again we find a contrast in grammaticality, depending on whether the nominative object is 3rd or 1st, 2nd person:

- (12) a. *Henni* leiddust *þeir*
She(Dat) was bored by-3pl they (Nom)
“She was bored by them”
b. **Henni* leiddumst *við*
She(Dat) was bored by-1pl us(Nom)
“She was bored by us”

- (iii) It affects nominative objects whenever they *agree* with the verb. When the nominative object does not agree with the verb, the constraint does not apply. To illustrate this, it is necessary to look into bi-clausal and mono-clausal constructions separately because the former show the interplay between the person restriction and agreement more straightforwardly than the latter.

- (a) In *Dative and Nominative with Infinitive constructions*, agreement between the matrix verb and the nominative argument of the infinitival is optional. In (13) below the matrix verb is either plural agreeing with the argument of the infinitival or it shows 3rd person singular default agreement:

- (13) a. Mér þóttu/þótti [þær vera duglegar]
 Me(Dat) thought(3pl/dft) they(Nom pl) be industrious
 “I thought they were industrious”
 b. Mér virtust/virtist [þær vinna vel]
 Me(Dat) seemed (3pl/dft) they(Nom,pl) work well
 “It seemed to me that they were working well”

The 3rd person restriction surfaces only when the matrix verb is marked for agreement (Taraldsen 1995, Sigurðsson 1996, Schütze 1997). Example (14) containing a 1st person nominative is ungrammatical only when the matrix verb agrees with it, not when it shows default singular agreement:

- (14) Þeim hefur/*höfum alltaf fundist [við vinna vel]
 Them(Dat) has-sg/*have-pl always found we(Nom,pl) work well
 “They have always thought that we work well”

(b) According to Sigurðsson (1996), in *monoclausal constructions*, agreement between the verb and the nominative object is in most cases obligatory (contra Thráinsson 1979 and Andrews 1990).⁴ For this reason, the person restriction arises always. Still, there are certain cases where the restriction is relaxed in mono-clausal constructions (Sigurðsson 1996:33). The data below illustrate variability in judgments depending on the agreement marking on the verb:

		AGREEMENT MARKER	PERSON MARKER
		ON VERB	ON OBJECT
(15)	a.	?? Henni líkaði ég Her(Dat) liked I(Nom)	1/3sg 1sg
	b.	*Henni líkaðir þú	2sg
	c.	*Henni líkuðum við	1pl
	d.	*Henni líkuðuð þið	2pl
(16)	a.	? Henni leiddist ég Her(Dat) bored I(Nom)	1/2/3sg 1sg
	b.	?Henni leiddist þú	1/2/3sg
	c.	*Henni leiddumst við	1pl
	d.	*Henni leiddust þið	2/3pl

Sigurðsson (1996) points out that the cases that are judged acceptable by many native speakers (15a, 16a, 16b) have verb forms that “...are homophonous with non-agreeing (default 3rd person singular) forms.” I take this to mean that in mono-clausal constructions - just as in bi-clausal constructions -, the person restriction does not apply when the nominative does not agree with the verb.

(iv) Arguably, the constraint also holds in constructions with a nominative reflexive (Taraldsen 1994). In infinitival constructions, reflexive nominative arguments are ruled out (17a) while reflexive accusative objects are ruled in (17b). Thus, reflexive nominatives pattern with 1st and 2nd person nominatives in not being able to co-occur with dative subjects:

⁴ According to Sigurðsson (1996:24ff), lack of agreement is exceptional and largely limited to clauses with either *leiðast* ‘find boring’ or *líka* ‘like’. Even there, agreement is preferred to non-agreement.

- (17) a. **Maríu* fannst *sig* vera gáfuð
 Mary(Dat) thought-3sg *sig* (Nom) be gifted(Nom)
 “Mary thought she was gifted”
 b. *María* taldi *sig* vera gáfaða
 Mary(Nom) believed-3sg *sig* (Acc) be gifted(Acc)
 “Mary believed she was gifted”

(v) Finally, the restriction is limited to constructions *without an external argument*. Active ditransitives with a dative and a 1st, 2nd person accusative are well formed (Collins & Thráinsson 1996: 423, fn 42, Schütze 1997: 117 citing H. Sigurðsson p.c.):

- (18) a. **Honum* varst gefinn þú
 Him(Dat) was given you(Nom)
 b. *Ég* gaf honum þig í jólagjöf
 I(Nom) gave him(Dat) you(Acc) as Xmas-gift
 “I gave him you as a Christmas present”

Example (18a) features a passive ditransitive verb, and the person restriction applies. In its active counterpart (18b), the person restriction does not apply.

3. The strong version of the PCC and the restriction on nominative objects in Icelandic: Similarities and Differences

In Anagnostopoulou (2003), I argue that the strong version of the PCC and the person restriction on nominative objects should be correlated. In both cases a 1st and 2nd person argument is banned under very similar conditions:

(i) *Roles of the arguments affected*: In both cases, the restriction arises in environments involving an *argument with an indirect object role* (goal, benefactor, experiencer) and another argument with a *direct object role* (theme) or, in infinitivals, a *lower subject*. Active ditransitives with a goal, benefactor or possessor co-occurring with a theme constitute the main environment in which the PCC is found. Similarly, in Icelandic the restriction arises in quirky subject constructions formed with passive ditransitives or with unaccusatives, and thus they typically involve a goal, an experiencer or a benefactor co-occurring with a theme (mono-clausal constructions) or a lower subject (bi-clausal constructions).

(ii) *Case properties of the two arguments*: In both types of constructions, the indirect object argument typically bears *morphological dative or genitive case* while the other argument has *structural Case*. In the core PCC environments, the indirect object with dative (Romance, Basque, Swiss German) or genitive (Greek)⁵ co-occurs with the direct object which has accusative (Romance, Swiss German, Greek) or absolutive (Basque, Georgian). In quirky subject constructions, the quirky subject, which has dative, co-occurs with the object bearing nominative case.

(iii) *Structural Case-3rd person*: In both cases, the argument with structural Case has to be 3rd person. In PCC-constructions the accusative or absolutive object cannot be

⁵ As pointed out by Ormazabal & Romero (2001) and Haspelmath (2001), the PCC also arises in languages where the indirect object has accusative or no morphology. I take indirect objects in these languages to behave like the dative arguments discussed here. See Anagnostopoulou (2003: 316-321) for discussion.

1st, 2nd person and in quirky subject constructions the nominative object cannot be 1st, 2nd person.

(iv) *Constraint on SE-Reflexives*: The fourth property the two constraints arguably have in common is the fact that reflexives pattern with 1st and 2nd person pronouns in not being able to co-occur with the dative argument.

(v) *Relation to the same verbal head*: Another property with respect to which the two constraints match is that they arise whenever both the dative and the argument with structural Case relate to the *same functional head* via movement or agreement. We saw in section 1 that in PCC-constructions, the constraint applies only to *clusters* of weak elements: clitics, agreements, weak pronouns. As long as one of the two arguments is a strong pronoun realized in its base position the constraint does not arise. As was shown in section 2, in quirky subject constructions, the restriction arises only when the dative argument undergoes (EPP-driven) movement to the [Spec,TP] and the nominative argument *agrees* with the inflected verb, i.e. both arguments relate to the same verbal head via movement (the dative subject) and agreement (the nominative object) when the restriction arises. If clusters of clitics, agreement markers and weak pronouns are assumed to relate to the same head (see Richards 1997; Anagnostopoulou 2003), then the PCC arises whenever both arguments relate to the same functional head, similarly to the person restriction in Icelandic.

(vi) *Some notion of competition is involved*: Finally, independent and otherwise obligatory constraints are relaxed in order to circumvent a violation of the 1st/2nd person prohibition in both domains:

(a) Starting from the PCC, in all dialects of Spanish clitic doubling of strong personal pronouns is obligatory (see Anagnostopoulou 2002 for a survey of the literature on obligatory doubling of this type). This is shown in (19a) for direct objects and (19b) for indirect objects. Both are ungrammatical if the doubling clitic is absent:

- (19) a. **(La) nombraron a ella* como embajadora *direct object doubling*
 Cl(Acc) appointed-3pl *a* her(Acc) as ambassador
 ‘‘They appointed her as ambassador’’
 b. **(Le) di el libro a él* *indirect object doubling*
 CL(Dat) gave-1sg the book to him(Dat)
 ‘‘I gave the book to him’’

In order to overcome a PCC violation, however, clitic doubling of dative pronouns does not take place in the presence of a 1st/2nd person accusative (see Bonet 1994 for an analysis in terms of Optimality Theory). In (20) clitic doubling of the dative pronoun does not take place and the result is grammatical. Crucially, this example contains an accusative 1st or 2nd person pronoun.

- (20) Me/te recomendaron a él *no indirect object doubling*
 Me/you(Acc) recommended-3pl to him *in a PCC environment*
 ‘‘They recommended me/you to him’’

(b) Coming to the person restriction on nominative objects (see Sigurðsson 1996, Schütze 1997 for discussion), recall that in Icelandic mono-clausal constructions, agreement with nominative objects is by and large obligatory. In the exceptional cases where agreement is optional (see fn 4), the agreeing form (21a) is still preferred over the non-agreeing one (21b).

- (21) a. Henni *líkuðu* ekki þessar *athugasemdir*
 Her(Dat) liked-3pl not these comments(Nom)
 “She did not like these comments”
 b. Henni *líkaði* ekki þessar *athugasemdir*
 Her(Dat) liked-dft not these comments(Nom)
 “She did not like these comments”

Nevertheless, we saw that some speakers allow 1st/2nd person nominative objects in mono-clausal constructions when agreement can be interpreted as default (see the discussion of (15) and (16) above). Thus, even though agreement in Icelandic mono-clausal constructions is obligatory or strongly preferred, it is relaxed in the presence of a 1st or 2nd person nominative object. Just like Spanish clitic doubling - which is otherwise required - is not triggered in order to avoid a violation of the PCC, agreement between nominative objects and verbs in Icelandic - which is otherwise strongly preferred - is suspended in order not to incur a violation of the person restriction.

Despite their similarities, the PCC and person restriction on nominative objects differ in three respects:

(i) *External arguments*: First, the PCC arises in constructions *with external arguments* while the person restriction in Icelandic is attested in constructions *without external arguments*. Recall that the PCC is not triggered in passives and unaccusatives while the person restriction in Icelandic is not attested in active ditransitives.

(ii) *Weak elements vs. full DPs*: The second difference is that the PCC affects combinations of weak elements (clitics, agreement affixes, weak pronouns). On the other side, the restriction in Icelandic affects full pronominal nominatives, i.e. “lightness” or “heaviness” do not seem to play a role.

(iii) *Emergency strategies*: A related difference concerns the strategies used to overcome the ban on 1st and 2nd person pronouns. While violations of the PCC are salvaged by employing full dative or accusative pronouns, structures that would otherwise offend the person restriction in Icelandic are saved by choosing a non-agreeing verb form.

4. A common analysis in terms of split feature checking

In order to capture the properties the two constraints have in common, in Anagnostopoulou (2003) I argue for a uniform analysis of the two constraints in terms of Checking Theory. I propose that in constructions where a person restriction arises ϕ -features are not checked simultaneously. Person is checked separately from number. Split ϕ -feature checking takes place whenever two arguments, an indirect object and a lower argument with structural Case (accusative or nominative), relate to the same functional head via Move or Agree. In such “two arguments against one head” configurations, the indirect object checks person and the lower argument checks number. In the PCC-environments, split ϕ -feature checking takes place in transitive v. In Quirky Subject constructions, split checking takes place in T. The different locus of split feature checking derives the differences between the two constraints.

More specifically, I follow Taraldsen (1995) who assumes that datives have person features which permit them to enter checking against functional heads. Taraldsen argues that even though INFL enters person checking with quirky subjects, verbs do not overtly agree in person with quirky subjects because of failure of number agreement. Consider a

sentence like (22) where the dative subject is 1st person and the verb inflects for 3rd person:

- (22) Mér líkar/*líka bókin
 I-DAT like-3sg/*1sg the book-NOM
 “I like the book”

Taraldsen proposes that the fact that the dative and the verb do not agree in number provides the key to the understanding of the person agreement pattern in (22). 1st and 2nd verbal agreement must result from a combination of [1], [2] with singularity or plurality (see Taraldsen 1995 for detailed argumentation). In (22), the person feature of the verb is checked against the person of the dative but the number of the verb is not checked against the number of the dative, but against the number of the nominative. Since the person value [1] does not combine with number, [1] is not a possible specification for verbal inflection. As a result, the verb must surface as 3. In Anagnostopoulou (2003) I adopt the essentials of this proposal, recasting it in a theory according to which, uninterpretable ϕ -features are unvalued, and feature checking is the mechanism that values them (Chomsky 2001). Specifically, I assume that the dative in (22) is “defective” in the sense that its number feature is inaccessible to T (i.e. in Chomsky’s terminology “it does not match T”). Under the assumption that the values [1] or [2] must combine with the values [singular] or [plural], [1] is not a possible value for the person feature of T in (22), because the dative is not allowed to also check and value the number feature of T. Therefore, the person value of the verb in (22) is the default (Chomsky 2001).

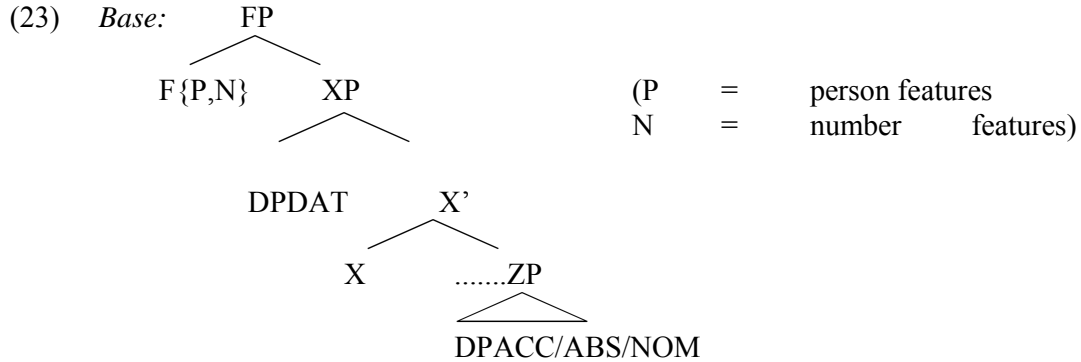
I furthermore assume that 1st, 2nd and reflexive pronouns are [+person]⁶ pronouns (Bonet 1991, 1995, Taraldsen 1995, Ritter 1995, Kayne 2000) while 3rd person pronouns are ‘determiner pronouns’. (Benveniste 1966, Postal 1966, Silverstein 1986, Bonet 1991, Johns 1993, Taraldsen 1995, Ritter 1995 and Kayne 2000 among many others). I assume, though, that dative/ indirect object arguments are specified for person (and therefore check person features on T and v) even when they are 3rd person (see Anagnostopoulou 2003: 270-271 who discusses evidence for this based on the serialization of agreement markers in Georgian) while accusative-nominative/ direct object 3rd person pronouns lack person features altogether (cf. Desouvrey, this volume, for an alternative account which takes all oblique clitics to be specified for the feature *animate*, unlike accusative clitics). Technically this distinction can be expressed if we follow Adger and Harbour (2003) who argue that 3rd person indirect objects have a negative person specification (i.e. they are [-person]) while 3rd person direct objects lack a person feature entirely.⁷ In sections 5 and 6, I will make crucial use of this proposal.

Finally, I argue (following Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001 and Richards 1997) that two arguments can target a single functional head resulting in a “two arguments against one head” construction. The argument that is closer to the functional head moves/agrees first while the argument that is further down moves/agrees second. Multiple movements to the same head employ *tucking in* which results in crossing paths, i.e. the pre-movement configuration is preserved.

⁶ The terms [+/-person] and [+/-participant] are synonyms and are used interchangeably in the present paper. Sometimes I use the notation +/-Person/ +/-Participant (see especially section 6).

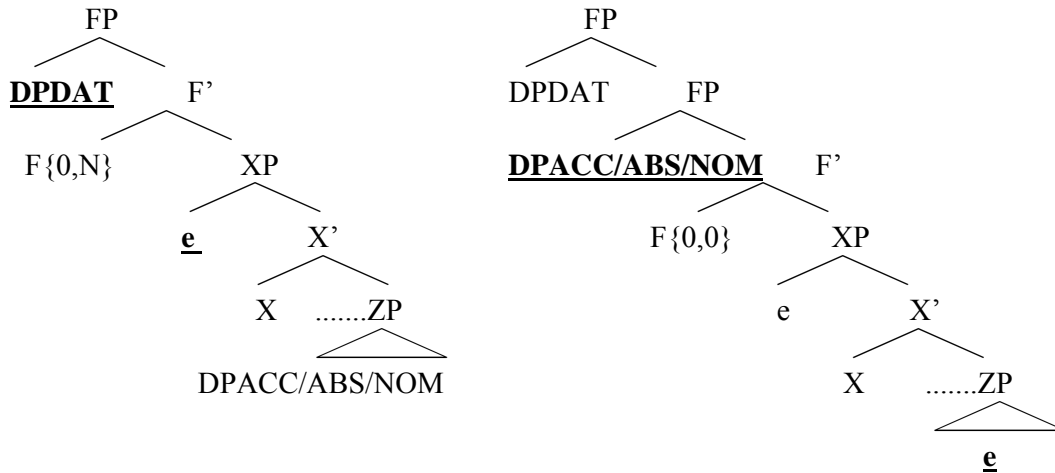
⁷ Adger and Harbour (2003) argue that indirect objects must have a +/- participant value since they encode point of view, affectedness etc. On the other hand, direct objects are undergoers and therefore they do not have to have a participant value (they have one only when they are 1st or 2nd person).

I argue that both the PCC and the restriction on nominative objects arise in "two arguments against one head" contexts. Whenever a dative argument enters Move/Agree with a functional head F checking its person features, as in Step I of (23), the lower argument enters Moves/Agree with F *second* and checks the remaining number features, as in Step II of (23):



Step I: Checking of person feature by dative

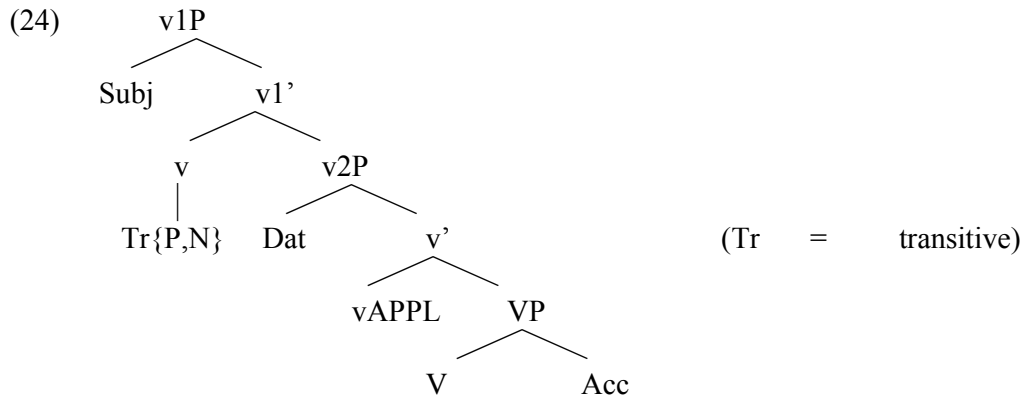
Step II: Checking of number by structurally marked DP



If the lower argument is of an appropriate type (third person, i.e. no person) the derivation converges. If, however, the accusative/absolutive or nominative argument is inappropriate (1st, 2nd person or *se* reflexive pronoun, i.e. person pronouns) the derivation crashes. (Cf. Ormazabal and Romero 2001, Desouvrey, this volume, for alternative accounts of the PCC in terms of *animacy*; see Anagnostopoulou 2003 for arguments against an analysis of the PCC as found in Greek in terms of *animacy*).

The most straightforward way of explaining the inappropriateness of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in contexts where only the number feature of F is available for checking is to propose that the person feature of pronouns undergoing movement to a checking position must be checked against the person feature of a functional head (see Taraldsen 1995). The requirement for complete checking can, in turn, be reduced to structural Case (cf. Chomsky 2000; 2001). Assuming that Case checking takes place only when there is complete phi-checking, it follows that pronouns entering Case-checking cannot have phi-features that remain unchecked.

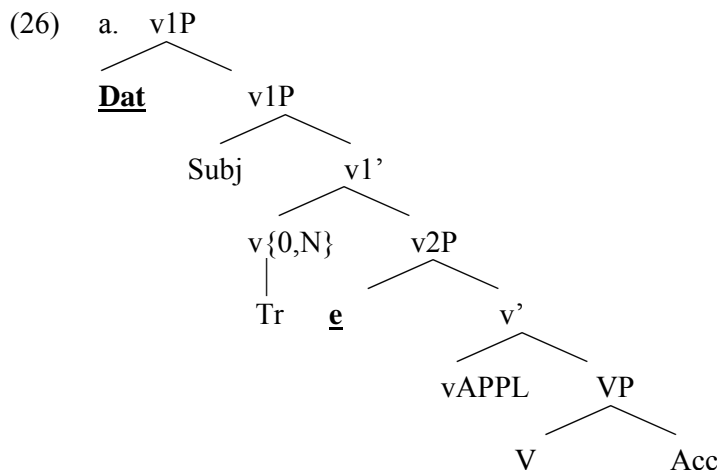
Having outlined the basic analysis of the two constraints, I now proceed to the details of each one of them. In Anagnostopoulou (2003) I argue that the PCC obtains in transitive double object constructions where the indirect object is introduced by an applicative light *v* head and the external argument is introduced by a higher transitive *v* as in (24) (Marantz 1993, Collins 1997, McGinnis 1998, Anagnostopoulou 2003). I furthermore propose that transitive *v* in (24) contains ϕ -features to check, namely person and number, while applicative *v* lacks ϕ -features.



The dative is closer to *v*-Tr than the accusative by the definition of "Closeness" in (25) (Chomsky 1995; Collins 1997).

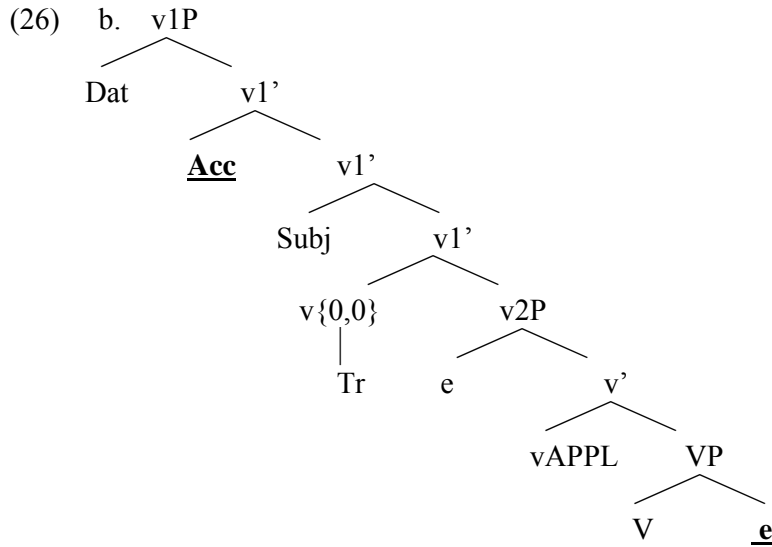
- (25) If β c-commands α , and τ is the target of movement, then β is closer to τ than α unless β is in the same minimal domain as (i) τ or (ii) α

Being closer to *v*-Tr, the indirect object moves first to *v*-Tr checking its person feature, as illustrated in (26a).



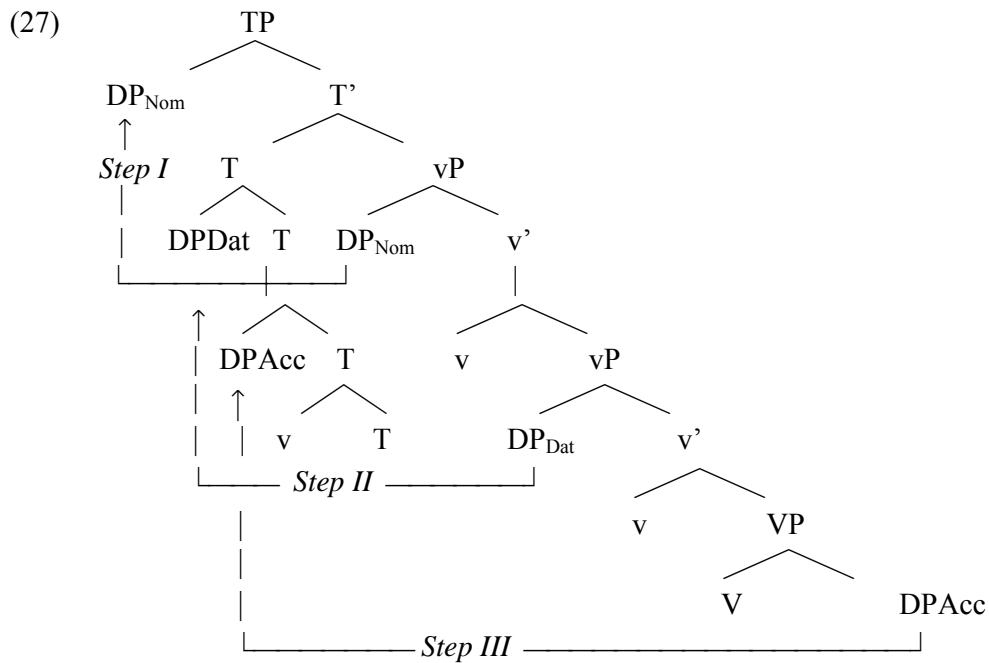
The accusative moves next to another specifier *v*-Tr.⁸ Only the number feature of *v* can be checked against the accusative, as illustrated in (26b):

⁸ See Anagnostopoulou (2003) for extensive discussion of how the order predicted by tucking in is altered by the morphology in combinations of clitics and agreement markers. Cf. Desouvrey, this volume, and Nicol, this volume, for extensive discussion of clitic ordering in Romance.



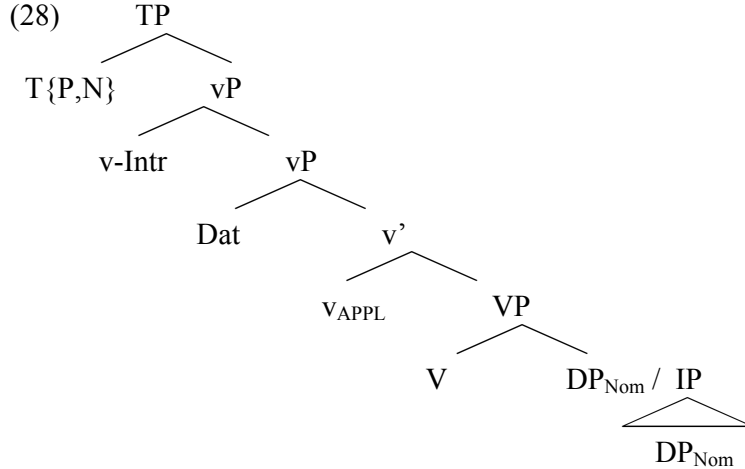
In (26) determiner pronouns match $v\{0,N\}$ while 1st/2nd person pronouns and reflexives do not. The result is the PCC effect.

Note, on the side, that nothing in the analysis would change if clitics checked features directly on the complex head $[v - T]$, i.e. if the verbal complex $v-V$ moved to T first, followed by movement of the subject and the two clitics to the $v-T$ complex. In the schematic derivation (27), the external argument raises first (Step I) and enters a checking relation with the most proximate/external head, namely T . In Step II, the dative clitic raises and checks the person features of $v-Tr$. Finally, the accusative clitic raises last, and can only check $v-Tr$'s number features (Step III).

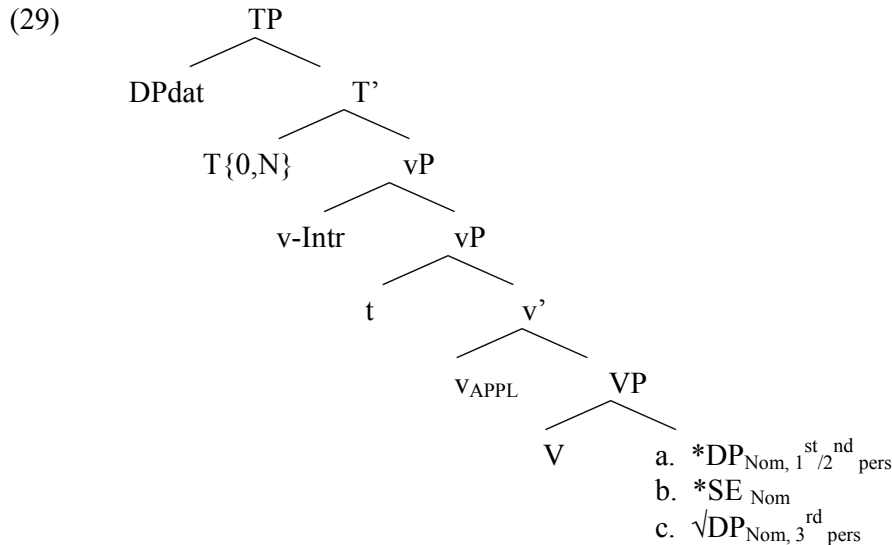


Turning to Icelandic next, I assume that in Icelandic quirky subject constructions, the dative is introduced by an applicative head (see McGinnis 1998

among others), while the nominative is in a lower domain, the VP in mono-clausal constructions and the infinitival TP in bi-clausal constructions. Following Collins (1997) and others, I assume that in passives and unaccusatives an intransitive *v* is present, which lacks a specifier and cannot check Case of the object. I furthermore propose that *v*-Intr lacks ϕ -features. T is merged with ϕ -features resulting in (28).



The person restriction arises when the dative and the nominative check features on T. The dative raises first because it is closer to T than the nominative: the dative is in the minimal domain of *v*APPL, the nominative is in the minimal domain of V or infinitival T. Raising first, it checks the P feature of T. Since the person feature of T is checked, the nominative DP can't be 1st/2nd person or a SE pronoun:



In (29), determiner pronouns match *T*{0,N}, because they lack the feature [person] while 1st/2nd person pronouns and reflexives do not match *T*{0,N}, since they are [+person]. The analysis of the person restriction on nominatives is identical to the analysis of the PCC except that in the former the two arguments check features on T while in the latter on *v*-Tr.

The proposal that the PCC results from split checking in *v*-Tr while the restriction on nominative objects results from split checking in T leads to a view on

checking of dative arguments according to which they check person features “parasitically” either on the head that canonically checks nominative (T) or on the head that canonically checks accusative/absolutive (v-Tr). This is expressed in (30):

(30) *Dative checking*

The dative argument checks [+/- PERSON/PARTICIPANT] either on v-Tr or in T

- a. [+/- PERSON/ PARTICIPANT] is checked in v-Tr.
- b. [+/- PERSON/ PARTICIPANT] is checked in T.

The PCC arises when datives and accusatives check features against v-Tr, which introduces the external argument. The person restriction against nominative objects arises when both arguments check features against T, a process taking place in constructions lacking an external argument. This accounts for the first difference between the two constraints noted in section 3: presence vs. absence of an external argument. As pointed out in sections 1 and 2, the PCC is found in a wide range of languages while the person restriction on nominatives looks like a language-specific constraint, i.e. it is found mainly in Icelandic. This entails that dative arguments check person features against v-Tr more frequently than they do against T. In Anagnostopoulou (2003) I argue that that this correlates with the fact that quirky subjects of the type found in Icelandic are crosslinguistically rare.⁹

Turning, finally, to a comparison of the conditions under which the two constraints are suspended, I start by looking more closely at the conditions under which the PCC does not arise. The PCC does not arise when either (i) the dative clitic is spelled out as a strong pronoun or (ii) the accusative clitic is spelled out as a strong pronoun. Option (i) is instantiated in French, as illustrated in (31):

- (31) a. Paul me présentera à lui
 Paul 1st(Acc) will introduce-3rd to him
 “Paul will introduce me to him”
 b. *Paul me lui présentera
 Paul 1st(Acc) 3rd(Dat) will introduce(3rd)
 “Paul will introduce me to him”

As pointed out by Kayne (1975) and Bonet (1991), the reverse is not possible in French, Spanish and Catalan. A 3rd person dative clitic cannot co-occur with an accusative 1st or 2nd strong pronoun:

- (32) a. *Paul *lui* présentera moi *French*
 Paul 3rd(Dat) will-introduce-3rd 1st(Acc)
 “Paul will introduce me to him”

⁹Georgian has been argued to be a true quirky subject language, and yet Georgian has the PCC and shows no restriction against nominative objects, as illustrated in (i):

(i) Turme dedas caubarebixar mascavleblastvis
 Apparently mother(Dat) she-rendered-you-EV teacher-for
 “Apparently mother has turned you over to the teacher”

However, in Georgian quirky subject constructions datives agree in number with the verb and nominatives do not (see Harris 1984 for discussion). This is a crucial difference between Georgian and Icelandic quirky subject constructions (see Anagnostopoulou 2003 for more details on Georgian).

- b. **Le recomendaron a mi* *Spanish*
 3rd(Dat) recommended-3pl to me
 “They recommended me to him”

The restriction illustrated in (32) is not general, though. In Greek such sequences are grammatical:

- (33) a. Tu sistisan emena *Greek*
 Cl(3rd Gen) introduced-3pl me(Acc)
 “They introduced me to him”
 b. Tu sistisan esena
 Cl(3rd Gen) introduced-3pl you (Acc)
 “They introduced you to him”

According to Kayne (1975:174), the ungrammaticality of the French example (32a) is due to the fact that cliticization of accusative pronouns is absolutely obligatory in French. He furthermore suggests that (31a) is grammatical because dative cliticization is sometimes optional (see also Kayne 2000 who discusses a comparable difference between accusatives and datives in constructions showing clitic doubling of strong personal pronouns in French). Adopting and extending his account, I suggest that in Catalan and Spanish, clitic doubling or cliticization of accusative personal pronouns is always obligatory, while this requirement is less strict with datives. Unlike French, Catalan and Spanish, Greek does not require clitic doubling or cliticization of accusative personal pronouns, as shown in (34) and, as expected, the examples in (33) are grammatical.

- (34) Idhe emena xtes
 Saw-3sg me (Acc) yesterday
 “He saw me yesterday”

Turning to an explanation of the facts in (31) and (33), when the dative is a strong pronoun, as in the French example (31a), then the accusative moves to *v* checking both person and number, and the dative stays *in situ*. A similar configuration exists in Icelandic where, as shown in (35a) as opposed to (35b), 1st/2nd person nominative arguments are licit as long as they precede the dative:

- (35) a. *Þú* varst gefinn *honum* *Nom > Dat*
 You(Nom) were-2sg given him(Dat)
 b. **honum* var/varst gefinn *þú* **Dat > Nom*
 Him(Dat) was-3sg/2sg given you(Nom)
 “You were given to him”

As in French (31a), in Icelandic (35a) the restriction is suspended when the dative remains *in situ* and the nominative checks both person and number on T.

On the other hand, constructions like the Greek examples in (33), where the accusative is a strong pronoun, have exactly the same syntax as the Icelandic quirky subject constructions with a non-agreeing verbal form of the type illustrated in (14), repeated here:

- (14) Þeim hefur/*höfum alltaf fundist [við vinna vel]
 Them(Dat) has-sg/*have-pl always found we(Nom,pl) work well
 “They have always thought that we work well”

In Anagnostopoulou (2003) I argue that absence of agreement on the verb in (14) signifies the absence of a Move/Agree relation between the nominative argument and T, which in turn permits to the nominative to be 1st and 2nd person. More specifically, nominative pronouns in Dat>Nom constructions can be specified for person when they do not check ϕ - and Case- features, presumably because the language makes use of default Case in such constructions. In a similar manner, the absence of an accusative clitic/agreement marker in (33) signifies the absence of a Move/Agree relation between the accusative and v-Tr. When there is no clitic on the verb, as in (33), then there is no Move/Agree between the accusative and v-Tr, and the accusative can be 1st and 2nd person. Similarly to nominative pronouns, accusative pronouns in Dat>Acc constructions can be specified for person provided that they do not check ϕ - (and Case-) features against v-Tr. On this view, accusative clitics and verbal agreement with nominatives in the two environments have an entirely parallel syntax: they reflect Move/Agree, resulting in checking of ϕ -features and Case (see Anagnostopoulou 2003: 316-321 for discussion of the implications of this analysis for the theory of Case and Agreement).

5. The weak version of the PCC and the Multiple Agree Parameter

Even though Bonet attempted to dismiss the *weak version* of the PCC on the basis of the observation that the availability of 1st/2nd > 1st/2nd sequences is limited and subject to idiolectal variation (see the discussion in section 1 above), the mere well-formedness of such combinations even for a small group of native speakers calls for an explanation. It moreover seems that data supporting the weak version of the PCC are quite widespread among varieties of Romance leading to the view that the distribution of clusters of two clitics with the feature [person] is more systematic than Bonet claims.

More specifically, as discussed in Nicol (this volume), Spanish and Italian along with Catalan (see examples (4) in section 1 from Catalan; see the examples in (37) and (38) below for Spanish and Italian) tolerate violations of the strong version of the PCC rather easily.¹⁰ Moreover, violations of the strong version of the PCC in Old Occitan are well-attested, as shown by (36):

- (36) qu'ie us mi don ses bauzia.
 that I 2pl-IO 1sg-DO give without deceit
 “I surrender myself to you without deceit”. (Jensen 1986: 105-6)

Modern Occitan varieties productively violate the strong version of the PCC too. Other counterexamples can be found in literary Portuguese texts. Fabrice Nicol (personal communication) points out that violations of the strong version of the PCC are easier in non-vernacular, dialectal, mainly spoken, and possibly less prestigious varieties, and that there might be a North-South gradient too, as French seems to have never allowed PC violations, while all southern Romance varieties seem to have allowed them at least to some extent at some point of their diachronic evolution.

¹⁰ See Seuren (1976) for Italian and Spanish, and Wanner (1987) for Italian. See also Monachesi (1996).

There appears to be interesting micro-variation in the conditions under which 1st /2nd person clusters are allowed to surface in those languages that they do. Nicol (this volume) observes that 1st/ 2nd person combinations in Spanish are judged grammatical when the direct object is interpreted as reflexive (37a) while they are considered to be less acceptable when the direct object is understood as a pronoun (37b):

- (37) a. Te me presentas
 DO-2sg IO-1sg presented-2sg
 “You presented yourself to me”
 b. ?Te me presentó
 IO-2sg DO-1sg presented-3sg
 “He presented me to you”

On the other hand, the two types of clusters are considered to be equally acceptable in Italian:

- (38) a. Mi ti presentano
 DO-1sg IO-2sg introduce-3pl
 “They introduce me to you”
 b. Mi ti presento
 DO-1sg IO-2sg introduce-1sg
 “I introduce myself to you”

Recall, finally, from section 1 that *se* reflexive clitics are allowed to co-occur with 1st and 2nd person clitics in e.g. Italian. An example illustrating this has been provided in (8).

It thus seems accurate to conclude that clitic languages split into two basic types:¹¹

(i) Italian, Spanish and Catalan have the *weak version of the PCC*. Combinations of 1st and 2nd person clitics are allowed to surface. What is not permitted is a 1st/ 2nd direct object in the presence of a 3rd person indirect object. Moreover, clusters of a 1st and 2nd person indirect object with a *se* reflexive direct object are also permitted in (a subset of) languages showing the weak version of the PCC, as expected by an analysis that treats *se* reflexives as having a person feature. The conditions permitting 1st/2nd person clusters are not fully understood, but one factor that appears to play a role is reflexivity. When a 1st or 2nd direct object is interpreted as reflexive, 1st/2nd combinations are more readily acceptable in e.g. Spanish.¹²

(ii) Greek and French have the *strong version of the PCC*. 1st and 2nd person direct object clitics are absolutely impossible, regardless of the person of the indirect object. Greek doesn't have *se* reflexives but French does. As expected, *se* clitics can never co-occur with an indirect object in French (see example (7) in section 1; see also Nicol, this volume).

Proceeding now to an explanation of the *weak version of the PCC* in the present system,¹³ it is evident that the analysis in terms of split ϕ -feature checking outlined in section 4 cannot, as it stands, account for languages permitting 1st/ 2nd combinations. In

¹¹ Bonet (1994) claims that only clitic languages show the weak version of the PCC. Agreement languages always have the strong version of the PCC. It is not clear to me why there is this difference.

¹² Bonet (1991) notes that inherent reflexive clitics do not trigger the PCC, but the examples listed above contain non-inherent reflexive clitics.

¹³ See Murasugi (1994), Bianchi (2003), Nicol (this volume) for alternative proposals.

its present form, this analysis prevents direct objects with a person feature from entering Move/Agree with v-Tr in the presence a higher moving/agreeing indirect object. Since it has been checked and deleted by the indirect object, the person feature of v-Tr is no longer available to check person (and Case) on the direct object. Only the number feature of v-Tr is available for checking, and only 3rd person determiner pronouns, which have number but lack person, are predicted to be licit.

The proposal I would like to make for languages with the *weak version of the PCC* is that in e.g. Catalan, Italian and Spanish the person feature of v-Tr is allowed to enter *Multiple Agree* with the two objects, i.e. [person] can be checked *simultaneously* against both objects. Multiple Agree is parametrized, just as the availability of layered specifiers to C, T, v-Tr and applicative v-APPL has been argued in the literature to result from a parameter (see, among many others, Chomsky 1995 and Ura 1996 for v-Tr, Richards 1997 for C, McGinnis 1998 and Anagnostopoulou 2003 for v-APPL). The proposal that person on v-Tr can enter multiple Agree explains why 1st, 2nd and *se* clitics are allowed to occur in the direct object position of clitic clusters. The person (and Case) feature of the direct object can be checked against v-Tr even when the higher indirect object enters Agree with the person feature of v-Tr. On the other hand, the ban against 1st, 2nd person and *se* direct object pronouns is absolute in languages showing the *strong version of the PCC* because these languages do not have the option of multiple Agree.

Proceeding next to a characterization and an analysis of the possible and impossible combinations in languages with the *weak version of the PCC*, there are three cases to consider, which are schematically represented in (39):

- (39) a. $\sqrt{1^{st}/2^{nd} \text{ IO} > 1^{st}/2^{nd} / SE-refl \text{ DO}}$
 b. $\sqrt{1^{st}/2^{nd}/3^{rd} \text{ IO} > 3^{rd} \text{ DO}}$
 c. $*3^{rd} \text{ IO} > 1^{st}/2^{nd} \text{ DO}$

Starting from the well-formed sequences in (39a), it is straightforward that 1st and 2nd person and *se* pronouns are allowed to co-occur since both objects are allowed to check [+person] against v-Tr due to the Multiple Agree parameter. Sequences as in (39b), i.e. combinations of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person indirect objects with 3rd person direct objects, have the same analysis as comparable clusters in languages with the *strong version of the PCC*, which have been extensively discussed in section 4. The indirect object checks the person feature of v-Tr and the direct object the number feature of v-Tr. These combinations instantiate split ϕ -feature checking of the familiar type and do not result from multiple Agree.

The interesting case to explain is the ungrammaticality of (39c) where a 3rd person indirect object is not allowed to co-occur with a 1st and 2nd person direct object, i.e. the combination that appears to reflect a person-hierarchy effect (see the discussion in the introductory section). In order to account for this order, I would like to suggest that two pronouns are allowed to enter into *multiple Agree* with v-Tr only when they do not have conflicting feature specifications. Condition (40) captures this requirement:

- (40) *A Condition on Multiple Agree*
 Multiple Agree can take place only under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements

In (39c) the indirect object is 3rd person, hence specified as [-person]. Recall from section 4 that indirect objects are always specified for person and that 3rd person IOs are

[-person], unlike 3rd person DOs, which lack a person feature altogether. On the other hand, the direct object is specified as [+person]. Since the feature specifications of the two objects are contradictory, sequences as in (39c) are ruled out by (40).¹⁴

Icelandic long distance agreement in expletive constructions provides independent evidence for the claim that Multiple Agree is possible only if the agreeing NPs have non-conflicting feature values.

We saw in sections 3 and 4 that in Icelandic infinitival constructions the embedded nominative may enter Agree with T, and when it does, a person restriction arises. When a dative argument intervenes between the matrix T and the nominative in the embedded infinitival, default agreement on the matrix verb is obligatory, as illustrated by (41) (data from Schütze 1997: 108):

- (41) Mér fannst/*fundust henni leiðast þeir
 Me-DAT seem-3sg/*3pl she-DAT to-be bored they-NOM
 “I thought she was bored with them”

Chomsky (2000) proposes that default agreement in examples like (41) is the reflex of an MLC effect on long-distance Agree (see also Schütze 1997 and others). The intervening dative blocks agreement between matrix T and the nominative, and therefore, the matrix verb bears default singular specification obligatorily. Chomsky (2000, 2001) assumes that the MLC effect in (41) is an instance of what he calls “a defective intervention effect”. Specifically, he proposes that even though the intervening dative is inactive (i.e. it does not have a Case feature that matches matrix T), it still has interpretable ϕ -features which block the checking relationship between the matrix T and the ϕ -features of the nominative in the embedded clause.

In expletive constructions with a dative experiencer, though, the defective intervention effect of intervening datives is lifted. When EPP on the matrix T is checked by an expletive, the verb agrees in number with the nominative argument of the infinitival clause, even though a dative experiencer intervenes between the matrix T and the embedded nominative (Jonas 1998 cited in McGinnis 1998: 51). In (42) matrix T has plural specification, agreeing in number with the plural embedded nominative across the dative experiencer:

- (42) Það virðist sumum málfræðingum
 there seem-pl some linguists-DAT
 Þessir stúdentar vera duglegir
 these students-NOM be intelligent
 “These students seem to some linguists to be intelligent”

The crucial difference between (41) and (42) is that in (42) the dative is the associate of the expletive in Spec, TP. The *Definiteness Restriction (DR)* effect induced by expletives manifests itself on the dative experiencer rather than the embedded nominative, as evidenced by the fact that in (42) the dative experiencer is indefinite and

¹⁴ Observe that the ban against conflicting feature specifications of DPs in contexts of *Multiple Agree* is quite natural in a theory like the one advanced in Chomsky (2000, 2001) where checking leads to valuing of uninterpretable ϕ -features of T and v-Tr. Two DPs that check and value the ϕ -features of T and v-Tr cannot have conflicting feature specifications as this will lead to contradictory values for the features of T and v-Tr. However, see the discussion of Icelandic agreement below (and, in particular, fn 15) for a complication.

the embedded nominative is definite. Further evidence for this is provided by the data in (43), which show that when the dative is definite the sentence is ill-formed, even when the nominative is indefinite:

- (43) *Það virðast þessum málfræðingum
 there seem-pl these linguists-DAT
 margir stúdentar vera duglegir
 many students-NOM be intelligent
 “Many students seem to these linguists to be intelligent”

Thus, the dative and not the nominative argument is the associate of the expletive (see McGinnis 1998; Chomsky 2000). Chomsky (2000, 2001) argues that the expletive associate relation is mediated through T: the expletive enters agreement with T, and T agrees with the associate. Matrix T then enters agreement with (i) the expletive, (ii) the associate and (iii) the nominative in (42), as schematically represented in (44):

- (44) *I EPP*
 $\sqrt{[[\text{EXPL } T_1^0 \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{NOM}]]}$
II Associate
III Number Agreement

Crucially, long distance agreement with the nominative is licit when the intervening dative is in an Agree relation with the matrix T, i.e. such configurations represent one more instance of *Multiple Agree*.

Condition (40) above, namely that Multiple Agree can only take place under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements, now predicts that Multiple Agree between the matrix T and the dative and nominative arguments will be possible only if both NPs have the same number, i.e. when they are both [+plural], as in (42) above, or when they are both [-plural]. The matrix verb will not be able to agree (i) with a [+plural] nominative across a [-plural] dative or (ii) with a [-plural] nominative across a [+plural] dative. The second part of the prediction cannot be tested because the verb anyway surfaces with default 3rd person singular agreement when it does not enter long-distance Agree with the nominative, as has been seen in (41). The first part, though, can be tested, and indeed the prediction is borne out. As extensively discussed in Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (2002), an intervening dative experiencer blocks agreement between the matrix verb and the embedded plural nominative when it is singular, i.e. the defective intervention effect re-emerges when the two arguments have contradictory values with respect to plurality:

- (45) Það virðist/ *virðast einhverjum manni [hestarnir vera seinir]
 there seems-sg/seem-pl some man-DAT the horses-NOM be slow
 “It seems to some man that the horses are slow”

This provides independent evidence for Condition (40) above.¹⁵ Multiple Agree in Icelandic is possible when both the dative and the nominative are [+plural] and impossible when the dative is [-plural] and the nominative [+plural].

Before closing this discussion, I would like to return to the observation that in some languages, like Spanish, 1st / 2nd combinations are preferred when the 1st or 2nd person direct object receives a reflexive interpretation. In the present account, this entails that reflexivity activates or facilitates the option of multiple Agree, a proposal that fits the view of reflexive binding as a relation mediated through checking of ϕ -features against functional heads advocated in Reinhart & Reuland (1991), Reuland (1996) and others.

6. A comparison to inverse systems

I finally turn to an inverse language, namely Passamaquoddy, where, as will be seen in this section, hierarchical effects result from the interaction of the following factors:

- (i) Person/ participant features are hosted on only one head in the clause, namely T.
- (ii) In the transitive clause, person/ participant features on T must be checked (an EPP-like requirement).
- (iii) [+Person] arguments must always check their features against T.
- (iv) 3rd person arguments check a person/ participant feature against T only as a Last Resort: to satisfy the requirement of T in the transitive clause to enter Agree with a person/ participant feature on an NP (see condition (ii) above).

The analysis I will propose, which relies heavily on Bruening (2001), makes use of the ingredients discussed in section 4 and 5. Crucially, though, hierarchical effects in inverse systems never result from split ϕ -feature checking, unlike the effects found in PCC environments and quirky subject constructions. Hierarchical effects in Passamaquoddy are the result of the fact that 1st and 2nd person arguments must check their features against T, while 3rd person arguments are assigned a participant feature only when they must check a person/participant feature of T. As in the case of the PCC and the person restriction in Icelandic, person/ animacy hierarchies play no role in the analysis of inverse systems, which relies exclusively on feature checking conditions.

In Passamaquoddy, transitive verbs are formed with finals that reflect the animacy of the object. There are TA (Transitive Animate) verbs that take animate objects, and TI (Transitive Inanimate) verbs that take inanimate objects. All animate nouns qualify as either *proximate* or *obviative*, depending on several (discourse and grammatical) factors. TA verbs have a prefix that always marks the proximate argument (italicized in (46)). A plural suffix (italicized in (46)) also marks this argument. The other argument is marked by a suffix in final position (underlined in (46)). If the subject is the proximate argument, the verb is Direct (marked by *a*), as in (46a). If the object is the proximate argument, the verb is Inverse (marked by *ku*), as in (46b). First and second persons are always proximate with respect to third persons:

¹⁵ As pointed out by Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (2002: 157, fn 5), these facts entail that T can “see” the number feature of datives, even though the number feature of T cannot be valued by dative arguments. This has two consequences for the present analysis. First, Condition (40) cannot be reduced to conflicting valuing, contrary to what has been suggested in fn 14 above. Second, it must be ensured that even though T has the option of entering into some kind of defective Agree with the number feature of the dative associate in expletive constructions, T and v-Tr do not enter Agree in number with dative arguments in Quirky Subject Constructions and PCC environments. Otherwise, Condition (40) would be at play incorrectly predicting number restrictions in such environments (i.e. that both objects must be singular or both plural).

- (46) a. *k-ciksotuw-a-nnu-k* *Direct*
 2-listen to TA-DIR-1P-3P
 “we (Incl) listen to them”
 b. *k-ciksota-ku-nnu-k* *Inverse*
 2-listen to TA-INV-1P-3P
 “they listen to us (Incl)”

First and second person subjects and objects show a different agreement pattern. According to Bruening (2001), they behave as if they are competing for the same agreement slot: the slot they would occupy if their co-argument were a third person. The principle that decides the conflict is that the second person prefix always over-rules the first person prefix. Suffixes display the opposite preference: if there is a first person plural it is marked. Otherwise, a second person plural is marked. Which is the subject and which the object is marked by a sign, similar to the one marking the Direct and Inverse in (46): first person subject, second person object is marked by *l*; second person subject, first person object is marked by *i*:

- (47) a. *k-ciksotuw-i-pon*
 2-listen to TA-2/1-1P
 “you(Sg/P) listen to us (Excl)”
 b. *k-ciksotu-l-pon*
 2-listen to TA-1/2-1P
 “we listen to you (Sg/P)”

Drawing on evidence from binding, Bruening argues convincingly that inversion is A-movement of the object across the subject to a higher head H, which proceeds via a secondary specifier to *v-Tr*, the head that introduces the subject. As argued extensively in Ura (1996), Richards (1997) and Anagnostopoulou (2003), non-local A-movement always proceeds successive cyclically through the specifier of a higher head introducing the intervener. I will therefore adopt the essentials of Bruening’s analysis and I will assume that the target H of inversion is T. I will furthermore assume that inverse languages have two types of *v-Tr* (see Ura 1996): (i) (*Direct*) *v-Tr* does not license a secondary specifier that can host the object on its way to T; therefore, only the subject is allowed to move to T in the Direct Voice. (ii) (*Inverse*) *v-Tr* licenses a secondary specifier through which the object moves to T across the subject.

Bruening hypothesizes that there is a syntactic uninterpretable feature in Passamaquoddy *Proximate* [P] which is a feature on NPs. When this feature has a positive specification [+P] it must be checked against T. First and second person pronouns are always [+P]. Inanimates cannot be [+P]. Animate third person arguments have unvalued [P]. When two animate NPs co-occur in a single clause, one of them is assigned [+P]. If the subject is [+P], it enters Agree with T. If the object is [+P] it has to move to T through a layered specifier to (inverse) *v-Tr*. The other argument receives an unvalued [P] feature which is checked against *v*, and is then assigned another feature [Obv] which is spelled out as the obviative suffix in the morphology. As pointed out by Bruening (2001: 120), in this analysis of the Direct/ Inverse alternation there is no need to appeal to a person/animacy hierarchy of an uncertain grammatical status, no need for ranking of violable constraints (e.g. Aissen 1999), or any other mechanisms.

I will adopt the essentials of this analysis, except that instead of postulating a syntactic uninterpretable feature *Proximate* [P] to underlie obviation, I will assume that

the crucial feature is *Person/ Participant*, an interpretable feature on NPs (cf. Bianchi 2003; see fn 6 above on the "Person/ Participant" notation I use). As will be seen immediately, this quite naturally accounts for the characterization of certain NPs as necessarily proximate and of other NPs as necessarily obviative. More specifically, extending the featural analysis of pronouns and NPs proposed in section 4 for PCC languages and Icelandic to languages with inverse systems, I propose that NPs can be inherently specified as [+Person/ Participant], they can be specified as [-Person/ Participant] or they can lack a Person/ Participant feature altogether. 1st and 2nd person pronouns are [+Person/ Participant]. Inanimate NPs lack [Person/ Participant] features since they cannot encode point of view (see footnote 7 above on Adger & Harbour's 2003 proposal). Animate 3rd person NPs can, in principle, have a specification for person. When they are contextually salient (topic-like) they are assigned the feature [-Person/ Participant], i.e. they have a feature specification similar to 3rd person dative arguments discussed in section 4. When they are not salient they lack a person/ participant feature, being similar to 3rd person accusative/ nominative/ absolutive arguments discussed in section 4. When 3rd person animates are assigned the feature [-Person/ Participant] they surface with unmarked *proximate* morphology, and the prefix on the verb agrees with them. When they lack the participant feature they have marked *obviative* morphology and are coindexed with the verb's final suffix. The [-Person/ Participant] specification is assigned in opposition to another third person argument which lacks the [Person/ Participant] feature.

To sum up, the feature specification of NPs in languages with inverse systems is no different than the feature specification of NPs in languages with the PCC and Icelandic (contra Bruening 2001). The only special property of inverse languages is that animate 3rd person NPs must be assigned a feature [-Participant] in opposition to another 3rd person NP. As will be seen below, obligatory assignment of a [-Participant] feature to one third person animate NP in a transitive clause lacking another 1st or 2nd person argument is linked to the (EPP-like) requirement of T in the transitive clause to check a participant feature.

The other crucial property of languages with inverse systems that differentiates them from the languages discussed in section 4 is that only T hosts person/ participant features that can be checked against NPs. That is, a [+/-Person/ Participant] object cannot check its person feature against v-Tr, and must enter an Agree relation with T. By contrast, in PCC languages and Icelandic, a subject specified as [+person] checks its features against T and an object specified as [+person] checks its features against v-Tr (see Bianchi 2003 for a different implementation of the same intuition). Therefore, a first/second person subject in Icelandic or Italian surfaces as nominative and a first/second person object in Icelandic or Italian transitive clauses surfaces as accusative. On the other hand, in Passamaquoddy 1st/2nd person subjects and objects occupy the proximate agreement slots (prefix and pre-final number suffix), as was seen in (47), entering a *Multiple Agree* relation with T (see Bruening 2001: 119-122 for detailed argumentation). With respect to Multiple Agree, Passamaquoddy behaves like a language with the *Weak Version of the PCC*: T may enter multiple Agree with the subject and the object. The difference between e.g. Italian and Passamaquoddy is that in Italian v-Tr enters multiple Agree with the indirect object and the direct object because v-Tr has participant features, and the subject checks its person feature separately on T. In Passamaquoddy only T has person/ participant features, and [+Person/ +Participant] subject and object agree with the verb's prefix and the pre-final number suffix, i.e. they both show *proximate* agreement.

In addition, T must check a participant feature in the transitive clause, i.e. it has an EPP-like requirement (in the sense of Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, 2001) to enter an Agree relation with an argument that bears a participant feature (regardless of whether this is positively specified as [+Person/ +Participant] or it is negatively specified as [-Person/ -Participant]). As discussed by Bruening (2001), certain asymmetries between transitive and intransitive clauses lead to the conclusion that T in transitives must check a [Person/Participant] feature,¹⁶ unlike T in intransitives which may or may not enter Agree with a [Person/Participant] feature.

First of all, observe that 1st and 2nd person arguments agree on the verb in intransitives as subjects of transitives ((48a), (48b)), but third persons agree on the verb like objects (48c):

- (48) a. *nt-op*
1-sit
“I sit”
b. *kt-op*
“2-sit”
c. *opu-wok* (cf. *n-tokom-a-k*)
sit-3P 1-hit-Dir-3P
“they sit” “I hit them”

The fact that there is never a prefix for a third person in an intransitive clause suggests that only 1st and 2nd person arguments, which are inherently specified as [+Participant/ +Person], check their features against T in the intransitive clause. 3rd person arguments do not enter Agree with T but with v-Intr. Syntactically they behave as *obviative* (i.e. they lack a Person/Participant feature) arguments, even though they surface with unmarked (i.e. *proximate*) case morphology. This is expected if assignment of a participant feature to a 3rd person argument is always performed in opposition to another third person argument, as proposed by Bruening. (See Marantz 1991 on comparable mismatches between marked - and “dependent” - agreement and case morphology in so called split ergativity phenomena.) The example in (48c) provides evidence that T does not have to enter Agree in intransitives.

In contrast, T in transitives must enter Agree. For this reason, when 1st and 2nd person arguments are not present in the clause a 3rd person animate argument that is considered central is singled out as proximate; all other third persons are obviative. When the proximate argument is the subject, as in (49) below (Bruening 2001: 38), the Direct Voice is employed:

- (49) Mali ‘-kis-ewestuwam-a-l peskuw-ol pomawsuwinuw-ol
Mary 3-Perf-talk to-Dir-3 one-Obv person-Obv
“Mary (Prox) spoke to one person (Obv)”

When the proximate argument is the object, the Inverse Voice is employed. Crucially, it is absolutely impossible for two inanimates to co-occur as subject and object in Passamaquoddy (see Bruening 2001: 127 who shows that there is no such restriction against inanimate arguments in intransitives), a restriction that follows from the requirement that T must enter Agree in transitives. Since inanimate arguments cannot be

¹⁶ The transitive/intransitive asymmetry is reminiscent of the *Subject in-situ Generalization* discussed in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001).

assigned a [-Participant] feature, the requirement of T to enter Agree is not satisfied, and the derivation crashes.

In conclusion, the subject and the object in Passamaquoddy check features against the same head T only when they are both inherently specified as [+Person/+Participant], i.e. they are both 1st and 2nd person, as in (47) above. In constructions of this type both arguments are allowed to surface due to the *Multiple Agree Parameter*. Note that if a 3rd person argument and a 1st, 2nd person argument both entered Agree with T in transitives, the analysis in section 5 would predict 1,2>3 combinations and 3>1,2 combinations to be equally impossible in Passamaquoddy (in both the Direct and the Inverse) due to Condition (40). Since a 3rd person argument moving to T in Passamaquoddy is [-Participant], and a 1st, 2nd person argument is [+Participant], the two arguments are not expected to enter multiple Agree with T, regardless of their order, because they have conflicting feature values. But we saw that assignment of the [-Participant] feature on an animate 3rd person argument is forced by the requirement of T in transitives to enter Agree. Intransitive T does not have this requirement, and 3rd person arguments do not Agree with T in e.g. (48c), i.e. they are not assigned the [-Person/ Participant] feature. The fact that 1,2>3 combinations are licit and 3>1,2 combinations are illicit in this language is therefore reduced to an independent factor. As shown by the transitive examples in (47) and the intransitive ones in (48a) and (48b), arguments inherently specified as [+Participant] must always enter Agree with T. In contrast, 3rd person animate arguments are assigned the feature [-Participant] only in opposition to another third person argument as a Last-Resort: when there is no other way to satisfy properties of T.

7. Summary

In this paper I investigated two versions of the *me-lui* or *Person Case Constraint*, namely the *strong version* in (1) and the *weak version* in (3), repeated here:

- (1) *The Strong Version of the PCC*
In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker or weak pronoun], the direct object has to be 3rd person (Bonet 1991: 182)
- (3) *The Weak Version of the PCC*
In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker or weak pronoun], if there is a third person it has to be the direct object. (Bonet 1991: 182)

I argued that both (1) and (3) arise in configurations in which the two objects check features against a single functional head, namely v-TR. In that sense, they share the same underlying syntax. However, (1) and (3) should be seen as separate Constraints as they reflect different feature checking procedures.

More specifically, the strong version of the PCC is the result of split ϕ -feature checking. In languages where (1) is operative (i.e. Greek, French), the dative object checks person and the accusative number, a situation that prevents the accusative from being 1st, 2nd or reflexive, regardless of the person of the dative. Exactly the same restriction holds in Icelandic quirky subject constructions, except that the head against which split checking is performed is T.

On the other hand, the weak version of the PCC is the result of Multiple Agree. In languages where (3) is operative (i.e. Italian, Catalan), both objects are allowed to check person against v-TR, and therefore accusative 1st, 2nd person objects and reflexives are allowed to surface in the presence of 1st and 2nd person datives. Illicit IO-3>DO-1,2,refl combinations are reflexes of the constraint in (40), repeated here, which prevents arguments with conflicting feature specifications from entering Multiple Agree.

- (40) *A Condition on Multiple Agree*
Multiple Agree can take place only under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements

The same constraint has been argued to regulate multiple long distance number agreement dependencies in Icelandic.

I finally compared the effects of (1) and (3) to hierarchical effects in Passamaquoddy, an inverse language. Similarly to languages with (1) and (3), hierarchical effects arise in Passamaquoddy because the subject and the object check features against a single functional head, namely T. In this respect, all three phenomena share the same underlying syntax, i.e. they arise in "two arguments against one head" configurations. Even though Passamaquoddy has also been seen to have Multiple Agree, similarly to languages with the weak version of the PCC, illicit 3>1,2 combinations do not result from (40). They are reduced to an independent property of the language, namely that 3rd person animate arguments are assigned a [-Person/Participant] feature only as a Last Resort when there is no 1st or 2nd person argument in the transitive clause to satisfy the requirement of T to enter person agreement.

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