Two case studies in morphological person restrictions

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Person restrictions

- Many languages do not allow all person combinations to appear as the two objects of a ditransitive.
  - ▸ The most well-known of these restrictions is the Person-Case Constraint (PCC) (Bonet 1991, 1994), originally described in Romance.

(1) PCC in French

    a.   Je **le** **lui** ai présenté.
           1SG 3SG.ACC 3SG.DAT have introduced
           'I introduced him to her.'   (3>3)

    b. * Je **te** **lui** ai présenté.
           1SG 2SG 3SG.DAT have introduced
           Intended: 'I introduced you to her.'   (*3>2)

Person restrictions

- PCC-like patterns have now been described in many languages outside of Romance. (Anagnostopoulou 2017)
  - Restrictions are commonly found when two arguments are realized weakly (as clitics or agreement).

- The documented patterns of person restrictions are now quite diverse, but the literature has focused on two primary "flavors" of the PCC: **weak** & **strong**.

Person restrictions: Weak PCC

- Weak PCC languages (e.g. Catalan, Italian) ban combinations of 3rd person IOs with 1st or 2nd person (local) DOs.
  - We abbreviate this restriction as *3>local.

(2) Weak PCC in Catalan (Bonet 1991:178, Bonet 1994)

    a.   * ...**me**   **li**   va recomenar la   Mireia.

         1SG.ACC 3SG.DAT recommended the Mireia

       'She (Mireia) recommended me to him.'   (*3>1)

    b.   **Te**   **m'**   ha venut el   mercader més   important.

         2SG.ACC 1SG.DAT has sold   the merchant most important

       'The most important merchant has sold you to me.'   (1>2)

Person restrictions: Strong PCC

- Strong PCC languages (e.g. Greek, French) ban combinations of two local persons in addition to banning *3>local.

(3) Strong PCC in Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2005:202)

    a.   * Tha **tu** **me** sistisune.
           FUT 3M.GEN 1.ACC introduce.3PL
           Intended: 'They will introduce me to him.'   (*3>1)

    b.   * Tha **su** **me** sistisune.
           FUT 2.GEN 1.ACC introduce.3PL
           Intended: 'They will introduce me to you.'   (*2>1)

Person restrictions

- Other PCC patterns aside from Strong & Weak are also attested.
    - Me-first: 1st person must be IO (Nevins 2007)
    - Ultrastrong: IO must outrank DO on 1>2>3 hierarchy (Walkow 2012)

Table 1: Summary of attested PCC patterns

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

Person restrictions

- All of these patterns are **hierarchical** in nature.
    - They allow local>3 & ban some form of 3>local.
- To account for the hierarchical nature of the PCC, most current analyses claim that the restriction is fundamentally syntactic.
- They commonly rely on the Agree operation (Chomsky 2000) & assume that person restrictions arise when two goals are accessible within the domain of one probe.

Person restrictions

- In this talk, we describe a novel ditransitive person restriction, which is **non-hierarchical**: only local>local is ungrammatical.
  - This pattern is found in two unrelated, underdescribed languages: Caquinte (Arawak; Peru) & Kipsigis (Kalenjin; Kenya).

- We show that *local>local requires a morphological analysis: no existing syntactic analysis predicts this pattern.

- We then develop a cross-linguistic typology showing how syntactic & morphological restrictions interact to derive all attested PCC patterns.

Outline

1. Existing analyses of the PCC

2. Case studies
   - Caquinte
   - Kipsigis

3. Two classes of person restrictions

4. A predictive typology
   - Accounting for variation
   - A third case study: French
   - Empirical predictions

Types of analyses

- Analyses of ditransitive person restrictions can be divided into three categories:
  - ▶ Morphological
  - ▶ Syntactic
  - ▶ Hybrid morphosyntactic

Morphological analyses

- Morphological accounts generally ban particular surface combinations of morphemes.
- Bonet (1991, 1994) offers one of the earliest analyses of the Strong PCC in French, proposing the *me-lui* constraint.
  - This constraint blocks the surface co-occurrence of local person DO clitics & 3rd person IO clitics.

Morphological analyses

- However, this type of analysis faces empirical & theoretical challenges.
    - First, *me-lui* does not hold globally in French, since these clitic combinations are licit in ethical datives. (Perlmutter 1971)

    (4) French (Rezac 2008:68)

    Pierre **me** **lui** semble fidèle.
    Pierre 1SG.DAT 3SG.DAT seems faithful
    'Pierre seems to me to be faithful to her.'

    - Second, *me-lui* simply restates the empirical generalization without offering a real explanation.

Morphological analyses

- However, morphological analyses do well in accounting for *3>3, which can appear in addition to canonical PCC patterns (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1995; Pescarini 2005; Nevins 2007) or on their own (Dumézil 1975, Deal 2020)
    - ▶ In Spanish & Catalan, 3>3 configurations are ungrammatical unless the IO clitic is replaced with the reflexive pronoun (i.e. spurious-*se*).

    (5) Spanish (Bonet 1995:608)
        ... {se / *le}   lo   dieron   ayer.
            SE   3SG.ACC 3SG.DAT gave.3PL yesterday
        'They gave it to him yesterday.'   (*3>3)

Morphological analyses

- The appearance of 3>3 restrictions is surprising from a syntactic perspective.
  - 3rd persons are often thought to lack person features or to not require licensing. (e.g. Harley & Ritter 2002; Béjar & Rezac 2003)
- Rather, this effect parallels more established morphological processes.
  - *3>3 bans adjacent, featurally similar elements.
  - Dissimilation rescues the derivation, in a way that is reminiscent of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP).

Syntactic analyses

- The vast majority of current PCC analyses are syntactic. (e.g. Albizu 1997; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007; Rezac 2008; Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018; Preminger 2019; Deal 2020b; Stegovec 2020)

- Syntactic accounts generally rely on the Agree operation (Chomsky 2000) & assume that ditransitive person restrictions arise when two goals are accessible within the domain of one probe.

Syntactic analyses

- The exact source of ungrammaticality in one probe-two goal configurations varies from analysis to analysis.
  - Some argue that the relevant probe simply fails to Agree with both goals. (e.g. Béjar & Rezac 2003; Deal 2020b; Stegovec 2020)
  - Others claim that it Agrees with both goals, but finds conflicting specifications. (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007)
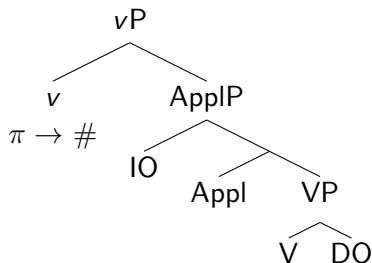
Syntactic analyses

- Crucially, though, none of these syntactic analyses captures *local>local as an independent restriction.
  - ▶ 3>local configurations are always ruled out alongside them.

Syntactic analyses: Béjar & Rezac (2003)

- Béjar & Rezac (2003) derive the Strong PCC using a person probe (π) & a number probe ($\#$) above the objects in a ditransitive.
  - π probes first, Agreeing with the IO.
  - The IO moves out of the way for subsequent probing (i.e. cliticization).
  - Then, $\#$ probes & Agrees with the DO.

(6)

```
                    vP
                   /  \
                  v    ApplP
              π → #    /    \
                     IO      \
                          Appl  VP
                                /  \
                               V    DO
```

- This creates a configuration in which the π probe is always "eaten up" by the structurally higher IO.

Syntactic analyses: Béjar & Rezac (2003)

- To derive ungrammaticality in PCC-violating configurations, Béjar & Rezac propose the Person Licensing Condition (PLC).
  - The PLC requires local person arguments to be Agreed with by a π probe in the syntax.
- Because the π probe always Agrees with the IO, local person DOs cannot be licensed—regardless of the features of the IO.
  - 3>local & local>local are ruled out together via the exact same mechanism.
- In this way, Béjar & Rezac are unable to derive *local>local independently.

Hybrid morphosyntactic analyses

- The final—and smallest—class of analyses treats ditransitive person restrictions as hybrid morphosyntactic phenomena. (Nevins 2007; Walkow 2012; Stegovec 2015; Coon & Keine to appear)
    - Some hybrid analyses account for certain restrictions like *3>local in the syntax & others like *3>3 in the morphology. (e.g. Nevins 2007)
    - Others rely on syntactic & morphological machinery to capture each restriction within a given PCC pattern. (e.g. Coon & Keine to appear)

Hybrid morphosyntactic analyses

- However, like the syntactic analyses presented earlier in this section, existing hybrid accounts are unable to rule out local>local as an independent restriction.
  - ▶ In fact, Coon & Keine (to appear) incorrectly predict that any language that rules out local>local should also rule out 3>local due to the nature of feature geometries. (Coon & Keine to appear:23)

Two case studies

- Descriptions from two unrelated, understudied languages: Caquinte (Arawak; Peru) & Kipsigis (Kalenjin; Kenya)
- Novel pattern: only *local>local is ungrammatical in ditransitives

The Caquinte pattern

- Kampa Arawak language with several hundred speakers in southeastern Peru

- Relevant linguistic features:

  - VSO, polysynthetic, head-marking

  - Rigidly-ordered morphology

  - All arguments reflected by verbal affixes

- All data come from Zachary O'Hagan's fieldwork in Kitepámpani

  - Page numbers are from two text collections:
    Salazar Torres & O'Hagan 2019 [ST&O]
    Salazar Torres et al. 2019 [ST]   (available online)

The Caquinte pattern

- Caquinte has strictly-ordered verbal morphology, presented pretheoretically below:

Basic verbal template

$$[\text{SUBJ}]\text{-}...\text{-V-}...\text{-}[\text{SLOT 1}]\text{-}[\text{SLOT 2}]$$

- ▶ Slot 1: Local person object suffixes, applicative *-nV* (V=copy vowel)
- ▶ Slot 2: 3rd person object suffixes

- Only one suffix may appear in each slot.

	SUBJ	OBJ
1	no-	-na
1INCL	a-	-aji
2	pi-	-mpi
3M	i-	-ri
3F	o-	-ro

Table 2: Caquinte argument affixes

The Caquinte pattern

- When object suffixes belong to different morphological "slots", the result is grammatical.
  - Unlike the PCC, this rules in both local>3 & 3>local.

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Local & 3 in Caquinte

(7)   a.   *...pamenagetenari*   *nogepigairikitite.*
        pi-amen-ge-e-**na-ri**   no-kepigairikiti-te
        2-look.for-DSTR-IRR-1-3M   1-louse-POSS
        '...look for my lice for me.' (ST p.98)   (1>3)

     b.   *...yojokabakokenari*   *Joanka.*
        i-ojok-bako-k-i-**na-ri**   Joanka
        3M-give-hand-PFV-AR-1-3M   Juan
        '...he gave me to Juan [in marriage].' (ST&O p.13)   (3>1)

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The Caquinte pattern

- When object suffixes belong to the same "slot" (local>local, 3>3), competition is resolved differently.
- Local>local competition is not tolerated; ditransitives that have two local person objects are simply ungrammatical.

*Local>local in Caquinte

(8) a. * *Yojokakenampi.*
          i-ojok-k-i-**na**-**mpi**
          3M-give-PFV-AR-1-2
          Intended: 'He gave you to me.'   (*1>2)

     b. * *Yojokakempina.*
          i-ojok-k-i-**mpi**-**na**
          3M-give-PFV-AR-2-1
          Intended: 'He gave me to you.'   (*2>1)

The Caquinte pattern

- 3>3 competition is permitted: only the IO suffix appears.
- The first suffix "slot" is filled by the applicative morpheme *-nV*
  - Evidence that *-nV* is an applicative (not a repair strategy) can be found in the Appendix.

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3>3 in Caquinte

(9)   *...nojokakotajeneri*   *aapani*   *kishokiro...*
     no-ojok-ako-aj-e-**nV-ri**   aapani   kishokiro
     1-give-A:INDR-REG-IRR-APPL-3M father.M cooked.manioc.F
     '...I'll give father cooked manioc...' (ST p.71)   (3M>3F)

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The Caquinte pattern: Summary

- Local>local is ungrammatical in any form.
- Combinations of local & 3 are grammatical regardless of hierarchy.
- 3>3 is grammatical & one suffix "wins" over the other.
- See Drummond & O'Hagan (to appear) for more details.

The Kipsigis pattern

- Nilo-Saharan language of the Kalenjin subgroup with about 1.9 million speakers in western Kenya (Eberhard et al. 2019)

- Relevant linguistic features:
  - ▶ VSO-VOS alternating
  - ▶ Postverbal word order dictated by information structure (Bossi & Diercks 2019)

- All data come from Madeline Bossi's fieldwork.

The Kipsigis pattern

- In 3>3 ditransitives, the verb surfaces with the Appl suffix *-i* & both objects can be realized independently.

Applicatives

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

- 3rd person pronouns can co-occur with *-i*, though they are often *pro*-dropped.

The Kipsigis pattern

- When the ditransitive contains one local person object, it surfaces as a suffix on the verb & replaces *-i*, regardless of its grammatical function.
  - Local>3: Verbal suffix tracks the IO (11)
  - 3>local: Verbal suffix tracks the DO (12)

Promiscuous agreement in ditransitives

(11) Koo-i-mut-**waan**   Nancy ineendet.
      PST-3-bring-1SG.IO Nancy 3SG
      'Nancy brought him/her to me (yesterday).'   (1>3)

(12) Koo-i-mut-**yaan**   Nancy ineendet.
      PST-3-bring-1SG.DO Nancy 3SG
      'Nancy brought me to him/her (yesterday).'   (3>1)

The Kipsigis pattern

- This type of pattern is known as promiscuous or context-sensitive agreement. (Béjar 2003)
  - The verb agrees sometimes with one argument (e.g. the IO) & other times with a different argument (e.g. the DO) depending on the ϕ-features of the other arguments within the agreement domain.

	IO	DO
1SG	-waan	-yaan
2SG	-uun	-yiin
3SG	∅	∅
1PL	-weech	-yeech
2PL	-woog	-yoog
3PL	∅	∅

Table 3: Kipsigis object suffixes

The Kipsigis pattern

- These local person object suffixes are obligatory.
  - ▶ Local person objects cannot be realized as full pronouns post-verbally.

Obligatory local suffixes

(13)   * Koo-i-mut^j-i   Chepkoech **ane** ineendet.
         PST-3-bring-APPL Chepkoech 1SG 3SG
         Intended: 'Chepkoech brought me to him/him to me
         (yesterday).'

The Kipsigis pattern

- (11) - (12) show that there is no canonical PCC pattern in Kipsigis.
  - Local>3 & 3>local combinations are both possible.
- However, local>local configurations are ungrammatical, regardless of which object is realized as a verbal suffix—be it the IO (14a) or the DO (14b).

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*Local>local in Kipsigis

(14) *1>2

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

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

The Kipsigis pattern

- Stacking of these local person suffixes is likewise impossible.

No suffix stacking

(15) a. * Koo-i-mut-**yaan**-**uun**   Kibeet.
          PST-3-bring-1SG.DO-2SG.IO Kibeet
          Intended: 'Kibeet brought me to you (yesterday).'

      b. * Koo-i-mut-**uun**-**yaan**   Kibeet.
          PST-3-bring-2SG.IO-1SG.DO Kibeet
          Intended: 'Kibeet brought me to you (yesterday).'

The Kipsigis pattern: Summary

- Combinations of local & 3 are grammatical regardless of hierarchy.
  - The local person object is a verbal suffix whether it is the IO or DO (promiscuous agreement; Béjar 2003).
- Local>local is ungrammatical in any form.
- 3>3 is grammatical & neither object surfaces as a verbal suffix.
- See Bossi (2020) for more details.

Case studies: Summary

- Both Caquinte & Kipsigis exhibit a novel *local>local restriction.
  - *Local>local is unique because it does not co-occur with any type of 3>local restriction in the languages.

Table 4: Caquinte & Kipsigis vs. attested PCCs

IO>DO	Caq/Kip	Strong	Weak	Me-first	Ultrastrong
1>3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2>3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1>2	*	*	✓	✓	✓
2>1	*	*	✓	*	*
3>1	✓	*	*	*	*
3>2	✓	*	*	✓	*

Two classes of person restrictions

- As seen in the previous section, *local>local in Caquinte & Kipsigis has different hallmarks than the PCC.
- We introduce one additional hallmark in this section: repair strategies.

Class 1: Syntactic
References syntactic hierarchy
No restriction on exponence
Syntactic repairs

Class 2: Morphological
Ignores syntactic hierarchy
Restrictions on exponence
(Post-)syntactic repairs

Hierarchy

- All existing PCC analyses reference syntactic hierarchy.
    - The structurally higher argument (IO) must outrank the structurally lower argument (DO) in the person dimension.
- Probe-based analyses—syntactic & hybrid morphosyntactic—rely on "finding" certain features (e.g. IO) before other features (e.g. DO).
- A striking example of syntactic hierarchy sensitivity is found in Slovenian, which has a Strong PCC. (Stegovec 2020)
    - When the DO scrambles above the IO, the PCC pattern is *reversed*.

Hierarchy

- By contrast, *local>local & *3>3 are symmetrical; either hierarchical configuration will yield the same result.
- When these restrictions appear on their own, as in Caquinte & Kipsigis, probe-based analyses overgenerate & predict hierarchy sensitivity.
  - All syntactic analyses in their current forms cannot capture *local>local without also predicting *3>local.

Restrictions on exponence

- PCC patterns are famously insensitive to morphological form.
  - Identical morpheme combinations can be ungrammatical in a certain syntactic configuration, but grammatical in another.

- French *me lui* is ungrammatical in double object constructions but grammatical in ethical datives, where both objects are dative.

(16) French (Rezac 2008:68)

    a. *Pierre me   lui   a   présenté.
          Pierre 1SG.ACC 3SG.DAT has introduced
          Intended: 'Pierre introduced me to her.'

    b.   Pierre me   lui   semble fidèle.
          Pierre 1SG.DAT 3SG.DAT seems faithful
          'Pierre seems to me to be faithful to her.'

Restrictions on exponence

- However, morphological person restrictions are sensitive to surface-level constraints on exponence.
- They appear in contexts in which two morphemes demand exponence, but only one can surface for a variety of reasons.
  - Templatic competition (Caquinte)
  - Realizing the same head (Kipsigis)
  - Ban on adjacent identical features (Spanish spurious-*se*)

Restrictions on exponence: Caquinte

- In Caquinte, position-class morphology (Simpson & Withgott 1986; Inkelas 1993) creates competition: only one morpheme may surface in each "slot".
- Evidence for this template comes from:
  - Arbitrary ordering of valence-changing morphology
  - The fixed order of local & non-local suffixes
  - The behavior of the applicative suffix *-nV* (Appendix)
- This template prevents two local person suffixes from appearing on the same verb.

Restrictions on exponence: Kipsigis

- In Kipsigis, only one local person object suffix can appear on the verb.
- Bossi (2020) analyzes them as portmanteaux (Appl+local object) because they replace the default Appl suffix -i.
- Given that all local person suffixes realize Appl, only one can be inserted in local>local ditransitives.
    - Morphological competition is formalized as realization of the same syntactic head.

Restrictions on exponence: Spanish

- In Spanish, two clitics with the same person features cannot be adjacent (*me-me, *nos-me, *le-lo*). (Nevins 2007)
- This effectively creates competition: two clitics are syntactically present, but both cannot surface.

Repairs

- Repair strategies for person restrictions also give key insight into how the restriction is derived.
- The canonical PCC repair is to place one of the arguments into a PP.
    - This alleviates the restriction by moving one of the arguments outside the domain of the probe.

(17) French repair strategy (Kayne 1975:174)

Paul me   présentera **à lui**.
Paul 1SG.ACC will.present to him
'Paul will introduce me to him.'   (3>1)

- This is a syntactic manipulation to fix a syntactic problem.

Repairs

- Yet for *local>local & *3>3, we see post-syntactic repairs in addition to syntactic ones.
- A post-syntactic repair is incompatible with a syntactic restriction, as the repair occurs *too late* to fix a syntactic problem.

Repairs: Anti-agreement

- In Caquinte & Kipsigis, when either object is fronted for focus, the morphology canonically triggered by that object must disappear.

Focus fronting & anti-agreement

(18) Iro   namakempi   paperi.
     iro   no-am-k-i-mpi(*-ro) paperi
     3F.FOC 1-bring-PFV-AR-2-3F book.F
     'It's the book that I brought you.'   (2>3extr)

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

- This anti-agreement is obligatory; fronted objects cannot be doubled by verbal morphology.

Repairs: Anti-agreement

- Crucially, fronting of either local person object in a local>local ditransitive obviates the person restriction.

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Anti-agreement rescues *local>local

(20) Abiro yojokakena   piraapanite.
      abiro i-ojok-k-i-**na**   pir-aapani-te
      2.FOC 3M-give-PFV-AR-1 2-father-POSS
      'It's you that your father gave me.'   (1>2extr)

(21) **Ane** ne   koo-i-mut-**yiin**   Kibeet.
      1SG REL.SG PST-3-bring-2SG.DO Kibeet
      'It's me who Kibeet brought you to (yesterday).'   (1extr>2)

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- In these cases, only the non-extracted object is realized using the standard verbal morphology.

Repairs: Anti-agreement

- The formal implementation of anti-agreement differs in Caquinte vs. Kipsigis.
  - In Caquinte: ϕ-features undergo morphological impoverishment in the context of Ā-features. (Baier & O'Hagan 2019)
  - In Kipsigis: The object that would otherwise be morphologically incorporated with the verb is moved. (Bossi 2020)

Repairs: Anti-agreement

- However, on both analyses the anti-agreement mechanism must be post-syntactic.
  - ▶ For Caquinte: Not all Ā-extracted elements trigger anti-agreement
    - ⋆ See Baier (2018), Baier & O'Hagan (2019) & Drummond & O'Hagan (to appear) for more detailed discussions of anti-agreement as impoverishment.
  - ▶ For Kipsigis: Focus fronting involves constituent movement, giving extraction & non-extraction contexts a shared underlying syntax
    - ⋆ See Bossi (2020) for more detailed discussion about why focus fronting resolves a morphological—rather than syntactic—issue.

Repairs: Anti-agreement

- Abstracting away from the analytical details, (20) - (21) show that when the offending morphological competition is removed, *local>local disappears.
  - ▶ When either object is fronted for focus, it is no longer realized as a verbal suffix.
  - ▶ This allows the non-extracted object to surface without competition.
    - ★ In Caquinte the relevant slot becomes open.
    - ★ In Kipsigis there is now only one suffix realizing Appl.

A predictive typology

- PCC analyses tend to propose a unified mechanism which can be parameterized to account for the full range of PCC patterns.
- The exception has been in analyzing 3>3 restrictions, which are typically analyzed morphologically. (cf. Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018)

A predictive typology

- Based on Caquinte & Kipsigis data, we believe it's helpful to extend the insight from 3>3 restrictions to local>local ones as well.
- We argue that certain restrictions—like those banning 3>local—are purely syntactic, while others are morphological (i.e. *3>3 & *local>local).

A predictive typology

- These morphological & syntactic person restrictions are fully modular, each functioning independently of the other.
- A modular system predicts a typology of person restrictions where certain ungrammatical combinations appear to "toggle" on & off.
  - ▶ The difference between the Strong & Weak PCCs is the acceptability of local>local in the Weak PCC.
  - ▶ 3>3 restrictions are attested independently of all PCC varieties.
    - ★ Varieties of Spanish show *3>3 alongside Strong, Weak & Ultrastrong patterns. (Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018)
    - ★ Ubykh bans 3>3 with no other person restriction. (Dumézil 1975; Deal 2020a)

A predictive typology

- Table 5 outlines a typology, showing how these modular syntactic &
  morphological restrictions interact to derive some attested PCC
  patterns.
    - If restrictions on similarity (i.e. *local>local, *3>3) can be attributed
      to the morphology, a division of labor between syntax & morphology
      could simplify the analyses in both modules.[1]

Table 5: A typology of ditransitive person restrictions

	SYNTACTIC	NO SYNTACTIC
MORPHOLOGICAL	Strong PCC	Caq/Kip
NO MORPHOLOGICAL	Weak PCC	No PCC

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[1]In Table 5 "morphological" refers to *local>local, though the same typology exists
for *3>3.

A predictive typology

Table 5: A typology of ditransitive person restrictions

	SYNTACTIC	NO SYNTACTIC
MORPHOLOGICAL	Strong PCC	Caq/Kip
NO MORPHOLOGICAL	Weak PCC	No PCC

- The Weak PCC, which rules out only 3>local, is purely syntactic.[2]
- The Caquinte & Kipsigis pattern forbidding local>local combinations is morphological.
- No PCC effects arise when neither type of restriction is active in a language.

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[2] The Me-first & Ultrastrong PCCs also fall into the syntactic category, since they rule out 3>local configurations while permitting certain local>local ones. See Nevins (2007); Deal (2020b); Coon & Keine (to appear) for possible implementations.

A predictive typology

Table 5: A typology of ditransitive person restrictions

	SYNTACTIC	NO SYNTACTIC
MORPHOLOGICAL	Strong PCC	Caq/Kip
NO MORPHOLOGICAL	Weak PCC	No PCC

- The Strong PCC results from the co-occurrence of syntactic & morphological restrictions, as it encompasses both *3>local & *local>local.
  - Different restrictions within the Strong PCC warrant different analyses.
  - *3>local is due to a syntactic restriction, while *local>local is morphological.

A third case study: French

- Preliminary evidence for this hybrid approach to the Strong PCC comes from French.
- French clitics surface in a fixed order, schematized below:

French clitic template (Perlmutter 1971:57)

[local persons]-[3.ACC]-[3.DAT]-[locative]-[partitive]

- ▶ In French, local person clitics including *me*, *te*, *nous* & *vous* are syncretic for case.
- ▶ Regardless of their grammatical function, these local person clitics surface in the same morphological slot.
- ▶ They are followed by separate slots for 3rd person DO & IO clitics.

A third case study: French

- French displays the Strong PCC, ruling out clitic combinations with a local person DO (i.e. *me-lui*).
- We've seen that *me lui* is acceptable in ethical dative constructions, even though this cluster is ungrammatical in PCC configurations.
  - This has been used to argue that the PCC cannot be morphological.

(22) *Me lui* in French ethical datives (Rezac 2008:68)

Pierre **me** **lui** semble fidèle.
Pierre 1SG.DAT 3SG.DAT seems faithful
'Pierre seems to me to be faithful to her.'

A third case study: French

- However, *me te* remains ungrammatical in ethical datives.
  - ▶ This asymmetry suggests that *me te* configurations are ruled out for a different reason than *me lui*.

(23) *Me te* in French ethical datives (Rezac 2008:98)
   *Elle **me** **te** semble infidèle.
   she 1SG.DAT 2SG.DAT seems unfaithful
   Intended: 'She seems to me to be unfaithful to you.'

A third case study: French

- If *me-te has a unique explanation in ethical datives, then it likely also has a unique explanation in PCC configurations.
    - Specifically, *me-te has a uniform morphological source across both types of constructions.
    - In ethical datives & PCC configurations, local person clitics "compete" for a single morphological slot, which prevents exponence of both clitics.

A third case study: French

- Such an analysis places French in the upper left quadrant of the proposed typology.
  - *3>local is due to a syntactic restriction, while *local>local is morphological—evidenced by the more widespread ungrammaticality of this clitic cluster.

Table 5: A typology of ditransitive person restrictions

	SYNTACTIC	NO SYNTACTIC
MORPHOLOGICAL	Strong PCC	Caq/Kip
NO MORPHOLOGICAL	Weak PCC	No PCC

Empirical predictions

- This hybrid analysis of the Strong PCC predicts that 3>local & local>local configurations should show different behaviors in different parts of the grammar.
  - ▶ If *local>local is morphological, it should be ruled out in a wider range of contexts than *3>local.
- More work that considers local>local behaviors separately from 3>local ones is needed to fully test the proposed typology.
- Our proposal leaves open the possibility that the Strong PCC pattern could be derived in multiple ways.

Conclusion

- Motivated a morphological analysis of a novel *local>local restriction found in two unrelated languages—Caquinte & Kipsigis
- Described two classes of person restrictions, each with their own hallmarks
  - Syntactic restrictions reference hierarchy, are not sensitive to constraints on exponence & only have syntactic repairs.
  - Morphological restrictions do not reference hierarchy, are sensitive to constraints on exponence & have syntactic or post-syntactic repairs.
- Detailed a cross-linguistic typology of person restrictions, which derives all attested PCC patterns
  - Weak/Ultrastrong/Me-first PCCs are syntactic.
  - *Local>local & *3>3 are morphological.
  - Strong PCC (or a PCC + *3>3) can arise from co-occurring syntactic & morphological restrictions.

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Appendix: Caquinte -*nV*

- In basic ditransitives, the morpheme -*nV* only appears in 3>3 configurations.
  - For this reason, Swift (1988) analyzes it as a more general realization of the DO (similar to Spanish spurious-*se*).
- We analyze -*nV* as an applicative (following O'Hagan 2018) because:
  1. -*nV* does not realize the DO
  2. -*nV* is not a *3>3 repair
  3. -*nV* is best analyzed as an Appl head

Appendix: Caquinte *-nV*

1. *-nV* does not realize the DO

- All focused objects in Caquinte undergo full anti-agreement.
- When the DO is extracted from a 3>3, both IO agreement and *-nV* remain on the verb (24).
  - ▶ If *-nV* realizes the DO, it should be fully impoverished by anti-agreement.

No anti-agreement of *-nV*

(24)   *Irokampa*   *ajokakeneri*   *sheri*   *obatsa.*
       iro=ka=mpa   a-ojok-k-e-**nV-ri**   sheri   obatsa
       3F.FOC=MOD=INC 1INCL-give-PFV-IRR-NV-3M tobacco dip
       'We might give him tobacco dip.' _(ST p.154)   (3>3extr)

Appendix: Caquinte -nV

2. **-nV is not a *3>3 repair**

- -nV appears outside of 3>3 contexts when local suffixes undergo anti-agreement.
- When extraction impoverishes a local person object, -nV always appears in the local suffix slot.

-nV outside of 3>3

(25) *Abiro yojokakeneri*   *iritinerijaniki.*
  abiro i-ojok-k-i-**nV**-ri   iri-tinerijaniki
  2.FOC 3M-give-PFV-AR-APPL-3M 3M-nephew
  'It's you that he gave to his nephew.'   (3>2extr)

(26) *Naro yojokakene*   *irorijanite.*
  naro i-ojok-k-i-**nV**   iri-orijani-te
  1.FOC 3M-give-PFV-AR-APPL 3M-daughter-POSS
  'It's to me that he gave his daughter.'   (1extr>3)

Appendix: Caquinte -nV

3. -nV is best analyzed as an Appl head

- -nV only appears in ditransitive contexts.
- The appearance of -nV after impoverishment (anti-agreement) suggests that it is always present in ditransitives.
- -nV appears whenever there is no local person suffix.
  - This is explained if -nV is realizes Appl, which arbitrarily competes in the same morphological slot as local person agreement.

IO↓ DO→	Local	3rd	Extracted
Local	—	-local-3	-local
3rd	-local-3	-nV-3	-nV-3
Extracted	*	-nV	—

Table 6: Distribution of -nV in ditransitives