(1) **Big-Picture Questions**: Pronominal Clitics, Co-Occurrence, and The Nature of Agree

- **Classic PCC Effects**: Languages ban certain case-configurations of clitic pronouns (**me-lui*).
  - **The Person Case Constraint**: Perlmutter '71, Bonet '91, Anagnostopoulou '03, Béjar & Rezac '03, Ormazabal & Romero '07, Adger and Harbour '07, Nevins '07, Preminger '19.
  - **Some Canonical Examples**: STRONG (*1/2.ACC) and WEAK (*1/2ACC+3.DAT) PCC.

a. ***T'=em** van recomanar. (Cat)
2.ACC=1.DAT recommended
'They recommended you to me' (Bonet.91)

b. *O Kostas **su me** sistise. (Grk)
NAME 2.DAT 1.ACC introduced
'Kostas introduced me to you' (Anag.05)

c. ***Me le** recomendarón. (Spa)
1.ACC 3.DAT recommended
'They recommended me to him.' (Pmt.71)

d. Hegɔ́ k!yátáík!ii-**ęį em**-pɔɔbɔ́ɔ́tɔ́ɔ(Kiowa)
Now chief-LOC 2.ACC-i'll.bring
'I'll bring you to the chief.' (A&H.07)

  - **General Idea**: Specific person/case combinations banned beneath other clitics.
- **Theoretical Import**: the PCC tells us something about the nature of AGREE/GREED/ATTRACT.
  - **Clitic Licensing**: clitics ($pron_c$) are structurally deficient & need licensing (CarStar '99)
  - **Classic Take**: PCC effects show us something about the nature of Probing.
    - **Licensing**: weak ($pron_w$) and clitic ($pron_c$) pronouns must be licensed by Agree.
    - **Feature-Checking**: Goals *need* their *interpretable* features ($[\pi/\#/\gamma]$) checked; PCC effects from Probes' inability to iteratively check $[\pi]$. (Anag.03, B&R.03, A&H.07)
    - **N.B.**: blurred lines between iF and uF; requires checking-valuation split (P&T.07)
- **New Idea**: $pron_c$-licensing requires iF *matching*, but not via Agree.
  - **The Attractor**: the probe bears uFs ($[\pi/\#/\gamma]$) which must be checked via AGREE.
  - **The Attractee**: $pron_c$ bears iFs ($[\pi/\#/\gamma]$) which have no implicit need to be checked.
  - **The Licensing**: $pron_c$ must be **adjacent** to an X^0 hosting (at least) the iFs on $pron_c$.
  - **Implication**: Agree not required with each $pron_c$ for them to be licensed.
    (Contra: Anag.03,05, B&R.03, 09, A&H.07, Nevins.07,11)
    - **Some Reflections**: implications for movement; licensing; checking-valuation split.
      - **On Deficiency**: this claim draws PCC effects into the anti-Greed fold (Sichel 2002)
      - **On Valuation**: is a valuation/checking split still needed? (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007)

(2) **The Strong PCC**: The Classic Account

- **Definition**: "Rules out local (1/2) $pron_c$.ACC beneath *any* $pron_c$.DAT" (Catalan, Greek)
- **Range**: $pron_c$-clusters in Grk/Rom (Bonet '91); ban on local DO.NOM in Ice (Anag.03)
- **Sometimes**: PCC_S linked to the syntax of **ditransitives** (e.g. Kiowa , A&H.07)
- **Elsewhere**: PCC_S holds over EA-DO relation (Bsq (Pgr.19), Ice (B&R.03), **S.Zap**).

a. Bet=gak=**a'=ba'**
kill=PLUR=1.SG=3.AN
'I killed them (animals)'

b. *Bi llre'**=la'=o'**
NEG see=1.SG=2.SG
'I don't see you.'

c. *Bi llre'**=lo'=a'**
NEG see=2.SG=1.SG
'You don't see me.'

- **Classic Account**: Special conditions on licensing $1/2\pi$ (B&H.03,09, Anag.05)
  - **The Person-Licensing Condition** (PLC): $pron_{1/2}$ **must** Agree in π. (B&R.03)
    - **Feature Ordering**: Probes search for uFs in *Relativization* in the order $\pi > \# > \gamma$.
    - **Checking**: Once a Probe Agrees in π, $u\pi$ is checked/valued; no probing for π again.
    - **Intervention**: If $pron_{1/2/3\pi}$ stands above $pron_{1/2\pi}$, the latter never Agrees in π.
    - **Result**: The PLC derives a systematic ban on non-highest local $pron_{C/W}$.
    - **Strength**: $pron_s$ doesn't require AGR_π; licensed independently via SIZE (B&R.03).
  - **Open Questions**: Licensing size (Ice/Zap), F-ordering vs. multiple Ps (Bianchi.06)

(3) **The Weak PCC**: Relative Constraints and Partial Hierarchies

- **Weak PCC Definition**: "No $1/2\pi$ *pron*$_c$.ACC beneath 3π *pron*$_c$.DAT" (French, Spanish)
- **Relativity**: PCC$_{\text{W}}$ involves relative bans: nothing absolute (=the PLC) is behind it (Anag.05)
  - **On Configurations**: PCC$_{\text{W}}$ languages permit DO$_{1\pi}$-IO$_{2\pi}$ combinations: bad for the PLC.
  - **Consequence**: We really can't assimilate the specific ban on DO$_{1\pi}$-IO$_{3\pi}$ to a ban on DO$_{1\pi\cdot\text{S}}$.
  - **Variety**: What's more, relativized PCC$_{\text{W}}$s form a deeply heterogenous class.
    - **Me-First PCC**: Romanian requires *pron*$_{1\pi}$ to always be the highest clitic (F&K.80)
    - **Ultrastrong PCC**: Arabic: IO$_{1\pi}$ > DO$_{2\pi}$, IO$_{2\pi}$ > DO$_{3\pi}$, *IO$_{2\pi}$ > DO$_{1\pi}$, *IO$_{3\pi}$ > DO$_{2\pi}$
  - **Theoretical Status**: Relative PCCs typically excluded from discussion of the PCC
- **Idea**: To understand the PCC$_{\text{S}}$, let's set aside the SLC & consider the typology of the PCC$_{\text{W}}$.

(4) **Zapotec Gender-Case Constraints**: The Rising Staircase and Moving Wall.

- γ **in Sierra Zap**: 4-way split in 3π: *elder* humans EL, *humans* HU, *animals* AN, *inanimates* IN.
  - **Typology**: Zapotecan languages often show up to eight γ-categories (Marlett.10)
  - **Sierra Zap Inventory**: two series of pronouns: *pron*$_s$ and *pron*$_c$ (in C&S.99's system).
  - **Active Constraints**: PCC$_{\text{S}}$, Gender Case Constraint, Identical Pronoun Constraint.

	STRONG	CLITIC		STRONG	CLITIC
1.SG	*neda'*	*=a'*	3.EL	*lè'*	*=e'/=ne'*
1.PL.IN	*dziu'*	*=dzu*	3.HU	*leba'*	*=ba'*
1.PL.EX	*netu'*	*=tu'*	3.AN	*leb*	*=(e)b*
2.SG	*lhé'*	*=u*	3.IN	*lenh*	*=(e)nh*
2.PL	*le'e'*	*=lhe*			

- **Pronominal Placement**: *pron*$_c$s attract from their base positions to the verb.
  - **On Ordering**: rigid order EA-IO-DO immediately after the verb; pronouns raise no higher.
  - **On Movement to V**: no encliticization from coordinate structures nor onto nouns.

a. Blenh**=ba'=b**.
hug=3.HU=3.AN
'S/he hugged it.'

b. Tsgaw**=a'=ba'=nh**.
feed=1.SG=3.HU=3.IN
'I feed it to her/him'

c. *Tsjawi**=e'**$_1$ [t_1 na xna'=a'] taw=a'.
visit=3.EL & mom=1 grandma=1
'S/he and my mom visited my grandma.'

d. *Bdel Maria**=b**.
hug NAME=3.AN
'Maria hugged it'

  - **Distribution**: *pron*$_c$ required in discourse-neutral contexts *unless* syntax requires *pron*$_s$.

a. Dzaw**{=a', *neda'}** yet.
Eat=1.SG 1.SG tortilla
'I'm eating a tortilla.'

b. Tsjawi [*le'* na xna'=a'] taw=a'.
visit 3.EL & mom=1 grandma=1
'S/he and my mom visited my grandma.'

  - **Competition**: the distribution of *pron*$_{c/s}$ here regulated by classic **Economy** (C&S.99)
  - **Clitic Movement**: assumption that *pron*$_c$s XP-move to SPEC,FP; X^0-mvmt also possible.
    - **Doubling**: Sierra Zapotec permits pronominal clitics to double overt DPs, too.
    - **Working Theory**: Big-DP analysis of pronoun doubling (Uriagereka.95, but see Anag.06)
- **The IPC**: A Morphological Filter on Identical Pronouns
  - **Basic Pattern**: phonologically-identical clitics cannot be adjacent.
  - **Syntactic Analysis**: this constraint *could* come down to a ban on EA, DO of the same γ...
  - **Morphological Evidence**: but *pron*$_{\text{C}}$s with different verb-adjacent and non-adjacent forms **can** occur in subject and object slots of a single verb- so the ban's not syntactic.
  - **Crucial Conclusion**: there's no real *syntactic* prohibition on these combinations.

a. *Bdinn=**ba'=ba'**
bite=3.AN=3.AN
'It bit it.'

b. Bdel=**=e'=ne'**
hug=3.EL=3.EL
'S/he hugged him/her.'

- **The Strong PCC**: We've seen this above: Sierra Zap bans 1>2, 2>1.
- **The Gender Case Constraint**: A relative constraint across the entire [γ] system.
  - **The Hierarchy**: $[\gamma]_{pron.\text{EA}} > [\gamma]_{pron.\text{IO}} > [\gamma]_{pron.\text{DO}}$, with EL > HU > AN > IN.
  - **Translation**: *structurally* higher $pron_c$ must be higher in *gender*, too.
  - **Typology**: the GCC holds absolutely in *Yalálag* Zap; partially in *Laxopa*; *Zoogocho*.

Yalálag

	1SG	2SG	3.EL	3.HU	3.AN	3.IN
1SG	–	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
2SG	*	–	✓	✓	✓	✓
3.EL	*	*	(✓)	✓	✓	✓
3.HU	*	*	*	(✓)	✓	✓
3.AN	*	*	*	*	(✓)	✓
3.IN	*	*	*	*	*	(✓)

Laxopa

	1SG	2SG	3.EL	3.HU	3.AN	3.IN
1SG	–	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
2SG	*	–	✓	✓	✓	✓
3.EL	*	*	(✓)	✓	✓	✓
3.HU	*	*	✓	(✓)	✓	✓
3.AN	*	*	*	*	(✓)	✓
3.IN	*	*	*	*	*	(✓)

  - **Key Observation**: F&T.20 note that PCC Effects only ever have two shapes:

a. *Growing Staircase*

(✓)	✓	✓	✓
✓	(✓)	✓	✓
✓	✓	(✓)	✓
*	*	*	(✓)

(✓)	✓	✓	✓
✓	(✓)	✓	✓
*	*	(✓)	✓
*	*	*	(✓)

(✓)	✓	✓	✓
*	(✓)	✓	✓
*	*	(✓)	✓
*	*	*	(✓)

b. *Moving Wall*

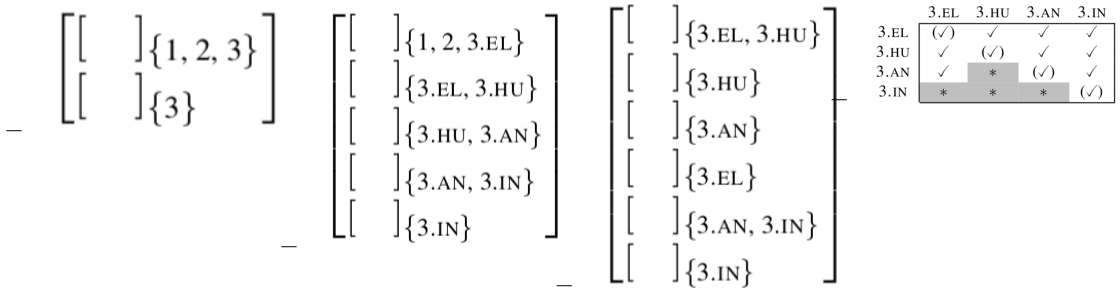
–	✓	✓
*	–	✓
*	✓	✓

–	*	✓
*	–	✓
*	*	✓

  - **Growing Staircase**: "For every ungrammatical combination of a higher pronoun α and a lower pronoun β , (i) $\beta > \alpha$ (on a feature hierarchy), and (ii) every combination of a higher pronoun δ and a lower pronoun γ such that $\delta < \alpha$ or $\gamma > \beta$ is also ungrammatical."
  - **Moving Wall**: "For every ungrammatical combination of a higher pronoun α and a lower pronoun β, every combination w/ a lower pronoun γ such that $\gamma > \beta$ is also ungrammatical."

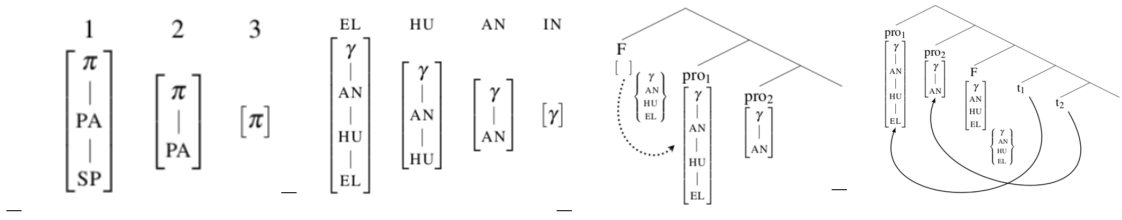
(5) **Towards a Theory**: A Universal Model of Relative and Absolute **ΦCC**s.

- **Three Key Hypotheses** on the structure of pronominal agreement and licensing:
  - **Agree**: some F^0 Agrees in ϕ-features w/ $pron_c$s one at a time, subject to intervention-based locality (e.g. *Attract Closest*, Ch.00) (B&R.03)
  - **Attract**: $pron_c$ has no implicit need to Agree with F^0 but can **only** move to be local to F^0 if F^0's ϕ-features match its own.
  - **Vary**: the relativization of F^0 (=its uF-list) varies across languages; this yields the attested variation in **ΦCC**s (N.07)
- **Clitic Pronoun Licensing**: here formally divorced from Agree; redefined in terms of adjacency.
  - **History**: Clitic-Agreement link (Borer.84, Suñer.88, Sportiche.93, Anag.03)
  - **PCC-Agree**: classic accounts (B&R.03) tie the PCC$_s$ to failure to Agree w/ $pron_{1/2\pi}$.
  - **Problem**: Consider probe structure. B&R.03 want probes to behave like the first thing below, where the first round can agree in $1/2/3\pi$ and the second only in 3π. But deriving relative **ΦCC**s in e.g. Zapotec requires very complex probes with specific requirements on each cycle, as in the second. And once you admit this, why not go crazy and allow for probes structured like the third, which derive tables like the fourth?



  - **Result**: this model forces stipulation on what constitutes a legal probe in the lexicon.

- **A New Theory of Licensing**: F&T's *Conditions on Pronominal Cliticization*
  - **Definition**: For a functional head H that has been valued (i.e., $\textsc{value}(H) \neq \emptyset$), a clitic pronoun P can move to H iff, for all relevant features F on P, $F \subseteq \textsc{value}(H)$.
  - **Motivation**: Clitic pronouns lack some functional structure, require licensing (C&S.99)
  - **Attraction**: This licensing occurs via adjacency to a probe with matching features.
  - **Subsets**: Crucially, the licensing conditions involve containment, not complete identity.
  - **Implication**: Agreeing with $pron_c$ with feature set F lets you attract and license all other $pron_c$s whose feature set constitutes a subset of F.
  - **Feature Geometry**: Entailment relations exist between features on pronouns (H&R.02)



  - **Result**: ΦCC-shapes other than Growing Staircase and Moving Wall are impossible.

- **Deriving the Growing Staircase**
  - **Variation**: Different 'Staircase' types stem from the features on the probe.
    - **Perfect Staircase**: *Yalálag* Zap has P fully specified for all features.
    - **Less Constrained Varieties**: P not relativized for an 'outermost' feature (e.g. [EL])
    - **Key point**: Relativization possibilities always respect the hierarchy: no 'holes'.
    - **Formalization**: *The Entailment Condition on Probe Relativization*
      If the relativization for a probe includes F, it also includes every feature F' such that F.
    - **Deriving the Growing Wall**
    - **Probe Valuation**: Valuation (for F&T) involves copying *feature treelets* from a goal.
      - **Two Possibilities**: either a trivial treelet (just one feature) or a branching treelet.
      - **Trivial Treelets**: Copying these derives absolute (Moving Wall) PCC_S patterns.
      - **Branching Treelets**: Copying these derives relative (Growing Staircase) PCC_W.