



Morphological person restrictions and the pressure to realize local persons

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PERSON RESTRICTIONS

□ Ditransitive person restrictions (such as the PCC) generally reference **syntactic position** and arise when two arguments are **weakly realized**.

□ Many analyses pin the PCC on Agree with two potential goals (e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Stegovec 2019)

□ There are morphological/hybrid analyses:

- Coon & Keine 2018: Conflict between Best Match vs. Attract Closest
- Walkow 2013: Lack of Agree requires insertion of default form (if there is one)

IO	DO	Strong	Weak	Caquinte
1	3	✓	✓	✓
2	3	✓	✓	✓
1	2	*	✓	*
2	1	*	✓	*
3	2	*	*	✓
3	1	*	*	✓

Table 1: PCC Patterns + Caquinte

CAQUINTE

□ Caquinte (ISO: cot) is a Kampa Arawak language spoken by several hundred speakers in southeastern Peru.

□ Relevant linguistic features:

- VSO, polysynthetic, head-marking
- Both objects reflected by verbal suffixes

□ All data comes from Zachary O'Hagan's in-situ fieldwork.

□ Page numbers are from two text collections, Salazar Torres & O'Hagan (2019; ST&O) and Salazar Torres et al. (2019; ST), the latter available online.



THE BASIC PATTERN

□ Verbal template:

e.g., **-na-mpi* (-1-2)
**-ri-ro* (-3M-3F)

- [SUBJ]-...-V-...-[LOCAL OBJ]-[NON-LOCAL OBJ]

□ Local>local slot competition is not tolerated, resulting in ungrammaticality.

(1) **Yojokakenampi.*

i- ojok -k -i -na -mpi
3M- give -PFV -AR -1 -2

Int: He gave me to you / you to me. (elic.)

(*1>2, *2>1)

□ 3>3 slot competition is grammatical: only the IO suffix surfaces, and the local slot is filled by the applicative morpheme *-nV*.

(2) ...*nojokakotajeneri aapani kishokiro...*

no- ojok -ako -aj -e -nV -ri aapani kishokiro
1- give -CL:vessel -REG -IRR -APPL -3M father.M cooked.manioc.F

...I'll give my father cooked manioc... (ST p.71)

(✓3M>3F)

□ Combinations of local and 3rd person suffixes are grammatical and may be hierarchy-obeying (4) or hierarchy-violating (5).

(3) "...*pamenagetenari nogepigairikitite.*"

pi- amen -ge -e -na -ri no- kepigairikiti -te
2- look.for -DSTR -IRR -1 -3M 1- louse.M -POSS

"...look for my lice for me." (ST p.98)

(✓1>3)

(4) ...*yojabakokenari Joanka.*

i- ojok -bako -k -i -na -ri Joanka
3M- give -hand -PFV -AR -1 -3M Juan

...he gave me to Juan. (ST&O p.19)

(✓3>1)

OUR CLAIMS

□ We propose a **hybrid** analysis: person restrictions arise independently in the morphological and syntactic components.

□ The basic *local>local restriction in Caquinte results from:

- Morphological competition in a position-class template
- A **REALIZEPARTICIPANT** constraint, which mandates overt agreement with local persons

□ Asymmetries between DO and IO extraction result from a syntactic Person Licensing Condition (Béjar & Rezac 2003).

□ These constraints conspire to **maximize recoverability** of local persons.

ANTI-AGREEMENT EFFECTS

□ Caquinte shows anti-agreement with focused & relativized elements.

(5) *Iro pitashitake chopeki.*

iro pi- tashi -ak -i (*-ro) chopeki
3F.FOC 2- roast -PFV -AR -3F plantains.F

Plantains are what you roasted. (elic.) (DO anti-agreement)

□ Following Baier (2018) and Baier & O'Hagan (2019), we implement anti-agreement as *morphological impoverishment* in \bar{A} contexts.

- $[\phi] \rightarrow \emptyset / [_ , \text{OP}, \text{V}]$

DO Extraction

□ DO extraction behaves as expected: only DO agreement disappears.

(6) *Iro namakempi paperi.*

iro no- am -k -i -mpi paperi
3F.FOC 1- bring -PFV -AR -2 book.F

It's the book that I brought you. (elic.)

(✓2>3extr)

□ Crucially, DO extraction can obviate local>local ungrammaticality.

(7) *Abiro yojokakena.*

abiro i- ojok -k -i -na
2.FOC 3M- give -PFV -AR -1

It's you that he gave to me. (elic.)

(✓1>2extr)

IO Extraction

□ Under IO extraction, both object suffixes disappear, leaving only *-nV*.

(8) *Abiro namakene paperi.*

abiro no- am -k -i -nV (*-ro) paperi
2.FOC 1- bring -PFV -AR -APPL -3F book.F

It's to you that I brought the book. (elic.)

(✓2extr>3)

□ If the remaining DO is local person, this results in ungrammaticality.

(9) **Irio nojakakene abiatimpa.*

irio no- ojok -k -i -nV abiatimpa
3M.FOC 1- give -PFV -AR -APPL 2.TOP

Int: It's to him that I gave you. (elic.)

(*3extr>2)

ANALYSIS

□ We propose a morphological constraint that requires overt exponence of local person agreement.

(10) **REALIZEPARTICIPANT:**

A [PART] feature within the complex V must be overtly realized.

□ In combination with a strict morphological template, this constraint yields the basic *local>local restriction.

- **REALIZEPARTICIPANT** applies after vocabulary insertion
- Allows the anti-agreement repair, which deletes [PART] features

(11) "He gave you to me".

a. *i- ojok -k -i -na -mpi
3M- give -PFV -AR -1 -2

(template)

b. *i- ojok -k -i -na
3M- give -PFV -AR -1

(REALIZEPART)

c. *i- ojok -k -i -na abiatimpa
3M- give -PFV -AR -1 2.TOP

(REALIZEPART)

(12) "He gave it to her".

a. *i- ojok -k -i -nV -ri -ro
3M- give -PFV -AR -APPL -3M -3F

(template)

b. i- ojok -k -i -nV -ro
3M- give -PFV -AR -APPL -3F

□ We also propose a Person Licensing Condition (PLC) for Caquinte, which requires Agree with local persons in the syntax.

(13) *Person Licensing Condition*

(Béjar & Rezac 2003)

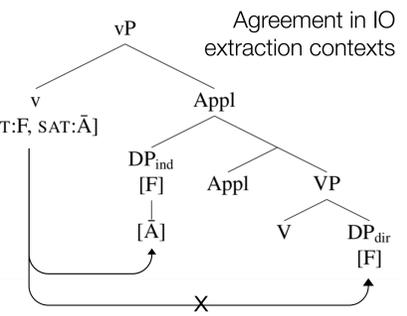
A [PART] feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category.

□ A PLC captures the IO extraction facts if object agreement is **halted by \bar{A}** .

- Using Interaction-Satisfaction (Deal 2015), the Caquinte probe is specified [INT: F, SAT: \bar{A}].

➢ If IO is \bar{A} -extracted, the DO will never be agreed with (8); if the DO is local, the PLC is violated (9).

➢ If DO is \bar{A} -extracted, the probe will agree with both objects (6, 7).



CONCLUSION

□ Morphological and syntactic person restrictions are distinct and can be active within the same language.

- This option could help to account for the differences between Strong and Weak PCC languages.

□ **REALIZEPARTICIPANT** in combination with a PLC can be understood as a conspiracy that maximizes agreement with local person arguments.

□ We predict that morphological restrictions will arise as a result of competition, while syntactic restrictions are freer in their distribution.

References: Anagnostopoulou 2003. *The Syntax of Ditransitives: Evidence from clitics*. Berlin: De Gruyter. • Baier & O'Hagan 2019. Morphological reflexes of subject extraction in Caquinte. *Proceedings of WSCLA 23*. • Béjar & Rezac 2003. Person licensing and the derivation of PCC effects. In *Romance linguistics: theory and acquisition*, 49–62. John Benjamins. • Walkow 2013. A unified analysis of the Person Case Constraint and 3-3-effects in Barceloní Catalan. *Proceedings of NELS 40*. • Deal 2015. Interaction and satisfaction in ϕ -agreement. *Proceedings of NELS 45*. • Coon & Keine 2018. Feature gluttony. Manuscript. • Salazar Torres et al. 2019. Tsabetsatsarentsipae itonkantajitakaroka igenketsatsare kankite. • Stegovec 2019. Taking case out of the person-case constraint. NLLT.