

3rd person - just the absence of $\{PRTC, S_{pkr}(,Addr)\}$?

Yes, say Harley + Ritter (2002), McGinnis (2005).

↓
These arguments,
we saw in detail

No, says Nevins (2007): There are phenomena that can't be properly captured without explicit reference to $[-PRTC]$
(and also $[-S_{pkr}]$)

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Spanish "spurious se-"

Partial Clitic inventory:

me: 1st person dat/acc

te: 2nd person dat/acc

lo: 3rd acc masc

la: 3rd acc fem

le: 3rd dat masc/fem

-s: plural on any 3rd person, e.g., *los*, *las*, *les*

- (2) El premio, lo dieron a Pedro ayer
the prize, 3rd-acc gave-pl to Pedro yesterday
The prize, they gave to Pedro yesterday.

- (3) A Pedro, le dieron el premio ayer
to Pedro, 3rd-dat gave-pl the prize yesterday
To Pedro, they gave the prize yesterday.

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(4) *A Pedro, el premio le lo dieron ayer
to Pedro, the prize, 3rd-dat 3rd-acc gave-pl yesterday.

→ (5) A Pedro, el premio, se lo dieron ayer
to Pedro, the prize, se 3rd-acc gave-pl yesterday.

Nevins' focus is not on modeling the "repair" (5), but the condition defining the violation (4).

His formulation:

* 3rd person features on a dative morph. immediately preceding another 3rd person

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Examined and dismissed:

*clitic cluster w/o [PRTC]

(a lone 3rd person
clitic is fine)

"le" must be verb-adjacent

(12) ¡Escapa te le!
Escape.imper 2.refl 3.dat
Escape from him!

(13) ¡Entrega te le!
Turn-in.imper 2.refl 3.dat
Give yourself up to him!

... and several others of decreasing likelihoods.

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Other empirical domains requiring reference to $[-PRTC]$:

1. English "simple present"

(34)	sg	pl
1st	I play $\emptyset$	we play $\emptyset$
2nd	you play $\emptyset$	you/y'all play $\emptyset$
3rd	he/she plays	they play $\emptyset$

- (35) In the environment of T_{pres} :
- $/-s/ \leftrightarrow [-Participant, +Singular]$
- $/-\emptyset/ \leftrightarrow \text{elsewhere}$

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2. Menominee "independent order" suffix:

ke-pose-m, 'you embark'

ne-pose-m, 'I embark'.

pose-w, 'he embarks'

ne-nan-ek-w, 'he fetches me'

ne-nan-a-w, 'I fetch him'.

/-w/ ↔ [−Participant]

/-m/ ↔ elsewhere.

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This last example looks a lot like "omnivorous probing" for [-PRTC]!

BUT: In our Kichean case, we saw more decisive evidence that this was indeed what's going on — other features of the target got "dragged along" for the ride:

a. ja rja' x-øj-tz'et-ö röj
 FOC him PRFV-1pl.ABS-see-AF us
 'It was him who saw us.'

b. * ja rja' x-i/Ø/e-tz'et-ö röj
 FOC him PRFV-1sg/3sg/3pl.ABS-see-AF us

(I analyzed this in terms of clitic-doubling of the relevant argument; but that analysis being correct is not crucial here)

Crucially, the morpheme inserted here cannot be based on simply the aggregate features collected from among both arguments:

ja rje' x-i-tz'et-ö yin
 FOC them PRFV-1sg.ABS-see-AF me
 'It was them who saw me.'

* ja rje' x-øj/Ø/e-tz'et-ö
 FOC them PRFV-1pl/3sg/3pl.ABS-see-AF me

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Assuming for now that Nevins is correct – $[-PRTC]$ exists –

ke-pose-m, 'you embark'

ne-pose-m, 'I embark'.

pose-w, 'he embarks'

ne-nan-ek-w, 'he fetches me'

ne-nan-a-w, 'I fetch him'.

The environment for "-w"

can be specified as:

$$[-PRTC] \in \varphi_S \cup \varphi_O$$

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Varieties of PCC

① Strong PCC
(what we saw in Basque)

1 3

~~1 2~~

~~2 1~~

2 3

~~3 1~~

~~3 2~~

② Weak PCC
(e.g. in Catalan)

1 3

1 2

2 1

2 3

~~3 1~~

~~3 2~~

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③ "Me-first" PCC
(Romanian, Classical Arabic,
some speakers of Spanish)

1 3

1 2

~~2 1~~

2 3

~~3 1~~

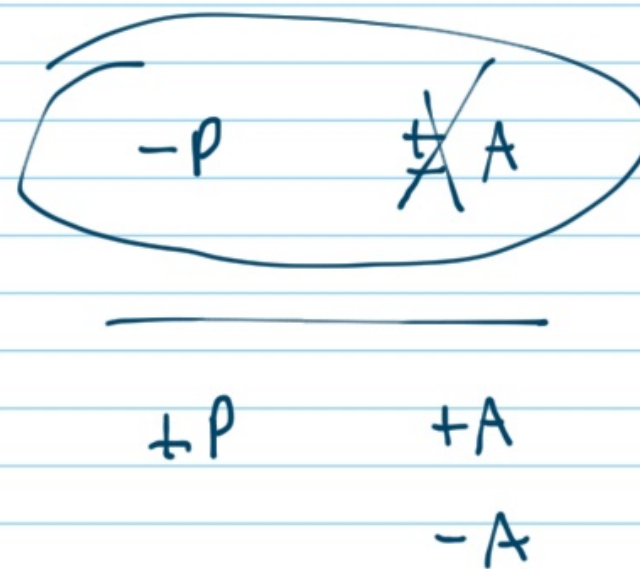
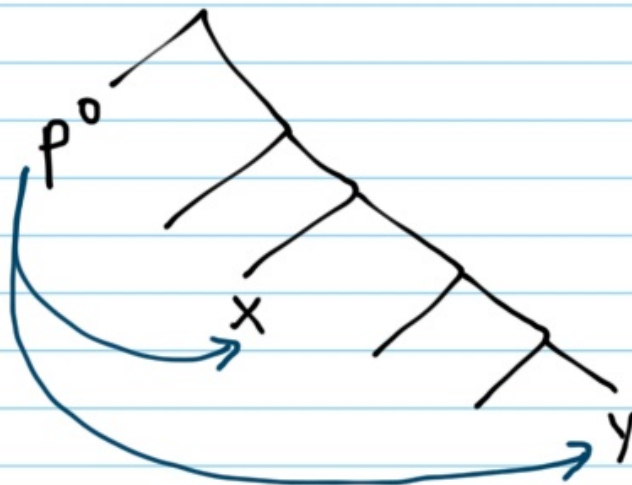
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Nevins (2007):

- (50) Contiguous Agree: For a relativization R of a feature F on a Probe P , and $x \in \text{Domain}(R(F))$,
 $\neg \exists y$, such that $y > x$ and $P > y$ and $y \notin \text{Domain}(R(F))$
“There can be no interveners between P and x that are not in the domain of relativization that includes x ”.
- (51) Matched Values: For a relativization R of a feature F , $\exists \alpha, \alpha \in \{+, -\}$,
 $\forall x, x \in \text{Domain}(R(F)), \text{val}(x, F) = \alpha$
“All elements within the domain of relativization must contain the same value for the feature F being agreed with”.

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Strong PCC: Acc must be 3rd.
 Relativization: Contrastive [Auth]

		CA	MV
✓	1 3		
	1 2		x
	2 1		x
✓	2 3		
	3 1	x	
	3 2	x	

Weak PCC: If Acc is 1/2, then Dat is 1/2.
 Probe's Value-Relativization: Marked [Part].

		CA	MV
✓	<u>1 3</u>		
✓	1 2		
✓	2 1		
✓	<u>2 3</u>		
	3 1	x	
	<u>3 2</u>	x	

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Me-First PCC. Relativization: Marked [Auth].

		CA	MV
✓	1 3		
✓	1 2		
	2 1	x	
✓	2 3		
	3 1	x	
✓	3 2		

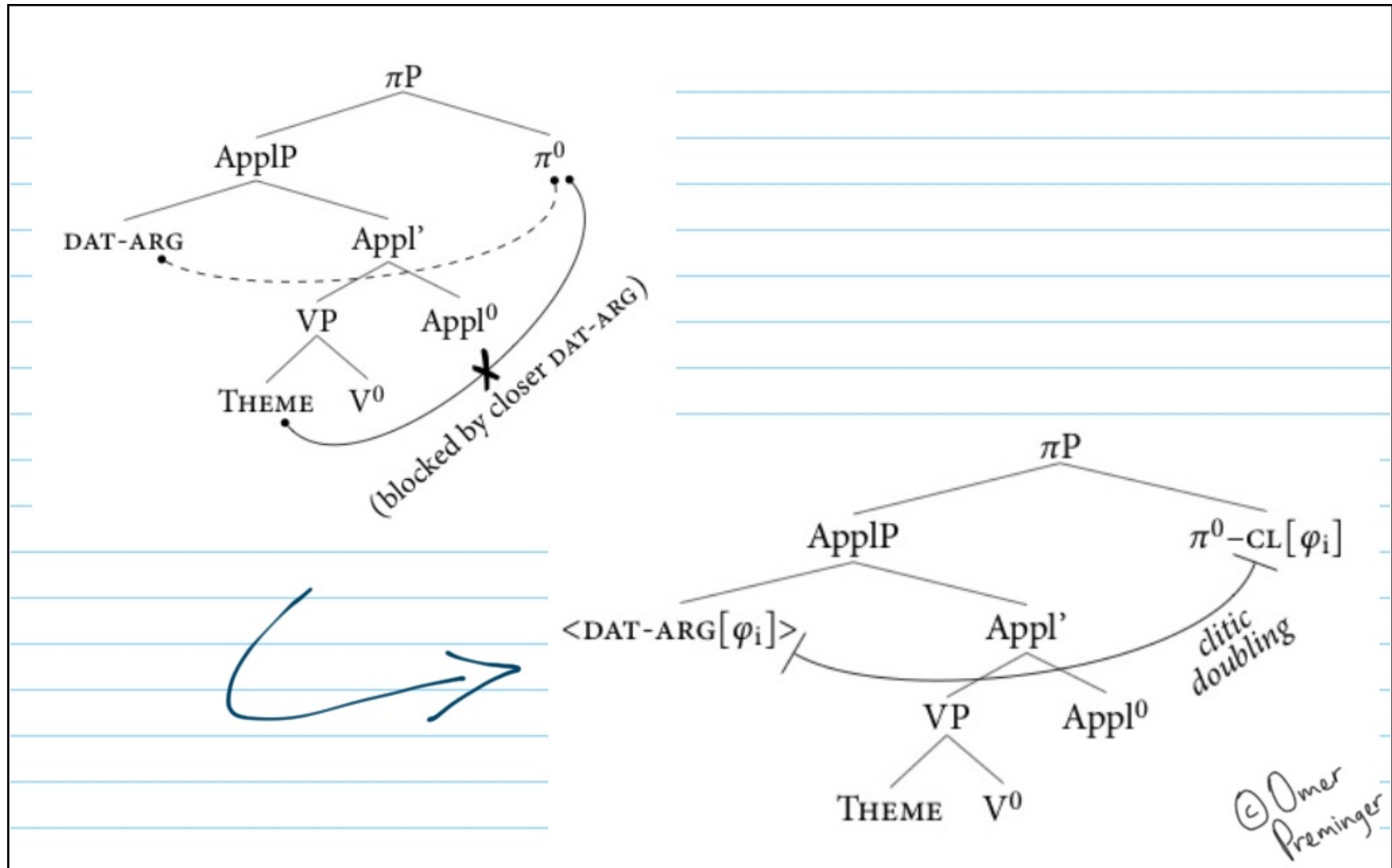
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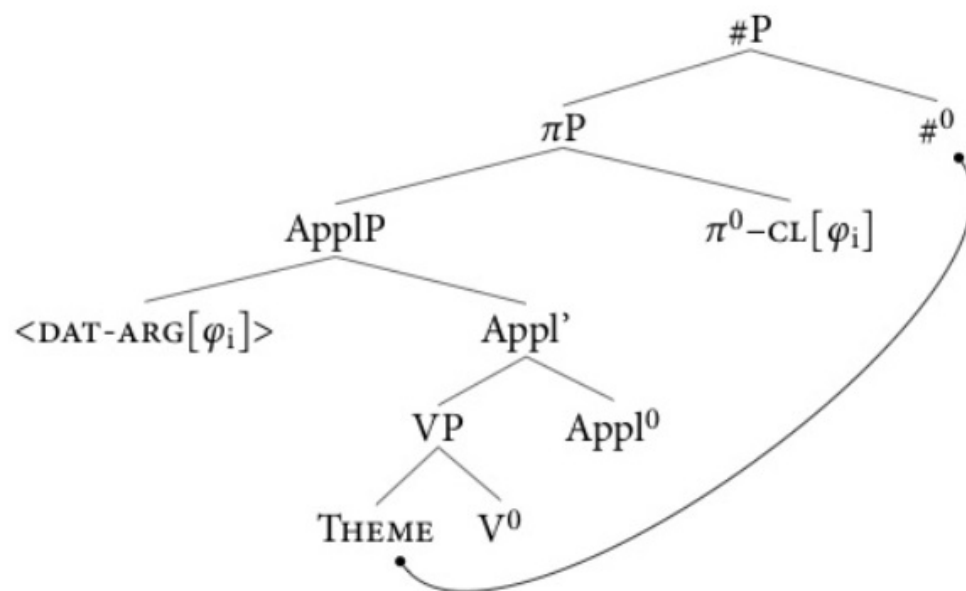
If one looks closely at Nevins' derivations, one finds that the only place where the existence of [-PRTC] was doing work was in deriving the Strong PCC.

But we already had an account of that —

It was based on Single Agree + the PLC.

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⇒ I.O. is "agreed with" in all features (really, clitic-doubled), and D.O. must be 3rd person - but is still agreed with in number.

=
Strong
PCC
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While this "cost" us adopting the PLC - not necessary on Nevins' account! - it actually allows us to do away with Nevins' Matching Values condition, which was only doing work for him in the Strong PCC.

Strong PCC: Acc must be 3rd.
Relativization: Contrastive [Auth]

		CA	MV
✓	1 3		
	1 2		(X)
	2 1		(X)
✓	2 3		
	3 1	x	
	3 2	x	

Not only that, but Strong PCC was also the only instance in this system of probing for [contrastive X], as opposed to [marked X].

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Interim Summary

Strong PCC — Single Agree (intervened with by any dative),
 +
 PLC

Weak PCC } — Multiple Agree + CA
 Me-first PCC }
 for $[(+)\text{PrTC}]$
 for $[(+)\text{Spkr}]$

⇒ No more probing for $[-X]$ anywhere in the system.

But the system looks at least as complicated as Nevins' original
 incl. variation in the inventory of elementary operations

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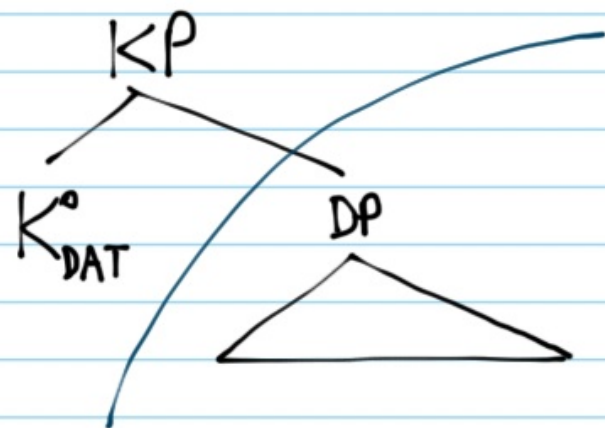
Observations:

① There are no grammatical-but-PLC-violating derivations in Nevins' account.

⇒ No need to assume "variation" in PLC

② Single Agree w/dative intervention qua Multiple Agree + CA?

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What does Π^0 in Basque
(Strong PCC lg.) search for?

[PRTC] - just like in
Weak PCC lgs.!

So the difference between Strong and Weak PCC amounts to whether or not datives "expose" their φ -features to the outside world.

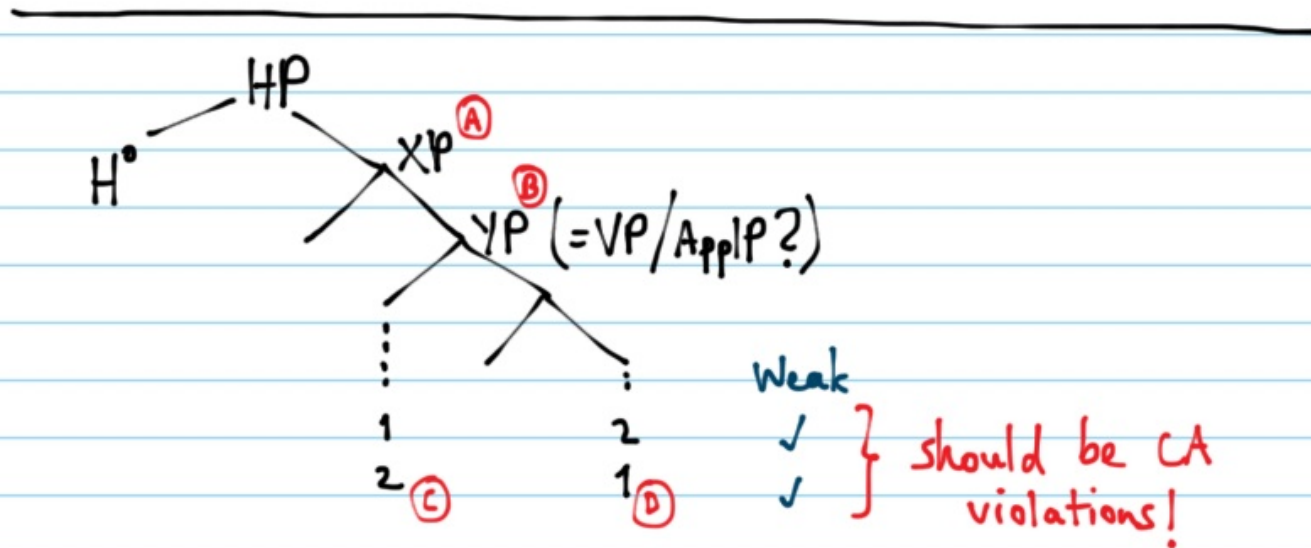
And the difference between Weak and Me-first is probing for [PRTC] vs. [Spkr].

NB: This distinction makes no difference if datives "hide" their features.

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BUT! Yesterday, I made hay of 3sg SUBJ being skipped en route to 1st/2nd and/or pl OBJ—

Crucially, not causing a CA violation.



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⇒ Nevins' theory already implicitly requires 2 levels of feature-relativization

I. CA-relativization "For what feature $[X]$ can you not go from a node that lacks $[X]$ to a node that carries $[X]$?"

II. Scanning relativization "Which nodes does (I) even look at?"

(Yesterday's relativization was an instance of (II).)

In acknowledging this, we are able to build a theory of the different varieties of PCC w/o reference to [-PRTC].

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We are left with a theory where only morph. insertion can refer to the absence of [PRTC]

(and even then, apparently as a very marked/rare option)

But syntax doesn't(/can't?)

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