Romanian Loves Me:
Clitic clusters, Ethics & Cyclic AGREE

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Spiel in a Nutshell

Romanian clitic clusters pose a challenge to the **Person Case Constraint (PCC)** literature. Not only is the ordering of the clitics sensitive to case and person hierarchies, as is characteristic of the PCC, but these hierarchies also interact with **number**, leading to a surprising total of three different PCC systems within the same language. This renders previous accounts of Romanian, such as Nevins (2007), insufficient. I argue that a **Cyclic AGREE** approach, along the lines of Béjar & Rezac (2009), can capture all three patterns, and propose that, in Romanian, the number probe is **conditional** on the person probe, with the two probes operating simultaneously.

Cross-linguistic PCC Flavors

PERSON CASE CONSTRAINT

In **ditransitive constructions**, phonologically weak elements (such as *Direct Object* (DO) and *Indirect Object* (IO) <u>clitics</u>, agreement markers and weak pronouns) obey certain ordering restrictions.

(1) a. *Lockhart i   m-   a prezentat.   * **3 1**
       Lockhart **3SG.Dat 1SG.Acc** has introduced
       'Lockhart introduced me to him'
    b. Lockhart mi   l-   a   prezentat.   ✓ **1 3**
       Lockhart **1SG.Dat 3SG.Acc** has introduced
       `Lockhart introduced him to me'.

PCC effects
◆ wide-range of languages (Algonquian, Austronesian, Bantu, Indo-European, etc.)
◆ PCC comes in 5 different varieties; it is generally assumed each PCC language is of one single variety
◆ various AGREE-based approaches aimed at deriving one pattern per language (Anagnostopoulu (2005), Nevins (2007), Béjar & Rezac (2009), Rezac (2011), a.o.).

PCC FLAVORS
Combinations of weak IO and DO in a given language fall under one of the following:

◆ **Strong PCC** (Bonet, 1991)
  The DO has to be 3rd.

◆ **Ultra-strong PCC** (Nevins, 2007)
  1 > 2 > 3 is always obeyed.

◆ *Me-First* PCC (Nevins, 2007)
  If the DO is 1st, then there is no IO.

+ *Weak PCC*, + *Superstrong PCC*

		Bulgarian	*Classical Arabic*	*Greek*
IO	**DO**	**ME-FIRST**	**ULTRA-STRONG**	**STRONG**
1	3	✓	✓	✓
2	3	✓	✓	✓
3	3	✓	✓	✓
1	2	✓	✓	*
2	1	*	*	*
3	2	✓	*	*
3	1	*	*	*

Romanian Loves Me: Clitic Clusters

CASE MATTERS
Dative clitics necessarily precede Accusative clitics.

(2) a. **Ți** <u>l-</u>   a   trimis.   b. *<u>Îl</u>   **ți-** a trimis.
    2SG.**Dat** 3SG.<u>Acc</u> has sent   3SG.<u>Acc</u> 2SG.**Dat** has sent
    'He/She sent him to you.'   'He/She him to you.'.

PERSON MATTERS
1st person clitics always come first.

(3) a. **Mi** <u>te-</u>   a   trimis.   b. *<u>Ți</u>   <u>m-</u>   a trimis.
    1SG.**Dat** 2SG.<u>Acc</u> has sent   2SG.**Dat** 1SG.<u>Acc</u> has sent
    'He sent you to me.'   'He sent me to you.'.

→ Nevins (2007): Romanian is *Me-First* (1 > 2, 3).
But, this is true only of singular clitic clusters.

NUMBER MATTERS (A LOT)

Although **3sg 2sg** is allowed, a **plural** on either of the clitics renders the cluster ungrammatical.

(4) a. Lockhart i   te-   a   prezentat.   ✓ **3sg 2sg**
       Lockhart **3SG.Dat 2SG.Acc** has introduced
       'Lockhart introduced you to him.'
    b. *Lockhart i   v-   a   prezentat.   * **3sg 2pl**
       Lockhart **3SG.Dat 2PL.Acc** has introduced
       `Lockhart introduced you guys to him.'
    c. *Lockhart li   te-   a   prezentat.   * **3pl 2sg**
       Lockhart **3PL.Dat 2SG.Acc** has introduced
       `Lockhart introduced you to them.'
    d. *Lockhart li   v-   a   prezentat.   * **3pl 2pl**
       Lockhart **3PL.Dat 2PL.Acc** has introduced
       `Lockhart introduced you guys to them.'

Although **1sg 2sg**, **1pl 2sg**, and **1sg 2pl** are allowed, if both are **pl.**, the cluster is ungrammatical.

(5) a. Lockhart ni   te-   a   prezentat.   ✓ **1pl 2sg**
       Lockhart **1PL.Dat 2SG.Acc** has introduced
       'Lockhart introduced you to us.'
    b. *Lockhart ni   v-   a   prezentat.   * **1pl 2pl**
       Lockhart **1PL.Dat 2PL.Acc** has introduced
       `Lockhart introduced you guys to us.'

TAKEAWAY & GENERALIZATIONS
Person-Number interactions (and not just number alone) affect the grammaticality of clitic clusters.
◆ ROMANIAN LOVES ME: if the ACC clitic is 1st person, it cannot be preceded by any DAT clitic.
◆ IT DOESN'T CARE ABOUT HIM: 3rd person ACC clitics lead to no feature restrictions on the DAT clitic.
◆ IT'S COMPLICATED WITH YOU: if the ACC clitic is 2SG, then only 3PL DAT is ungrammatical;
     if the ACC clitic is a 2PL, then only 1SG DAT is allowed.

Selected References
Anagnostopoulou, E. (2005). "Strong and Weak Person Restrictions: A Feature Checking Analysis." in *Clitic and Affix Combinations*. ● Bejar, S & M. Rezac. (2009). "Cyclic Agree." *Linguistic Inquiry 40*. ● Bonet, E. (1991). *Morphology after Syntax: Pronominal Clitics in Romance Languages*. PhD diss., MIT. ● Nevins, A. (2007). "The Representation of Third Person and Its Consequences for Person-Case Effects." *NLLT 25*. ● Nevins, A. & O. Savescu. (2008). "An Apparent 'Number Case Constraint' in Romanian." in *Romance Linguistics 2008: Interactions in Romance*. ● Rezac, M. (2011). *Phi-Features and the Modular Architecture of Language*. Berlin: Springer.

Number & the Romanian PCC

PCC FLAVORS IN ROMANIAN
◆ General assumption: **only one** variety of PCC per language.
◆ Romanian is not just *Me-First!*
◆ **Plural** extends the typology to *Ultra-Strong* and *Strong* PCC effects.
◆ Number does not affect **3rd Acc**, which is assumed to lack [Person] features (Anangnostopoulou, 2005, a.o.).

→ **Number interacts with Person**.

|		*sg-sg*	*sg-pl OR pl-sg*	*pl-pl*
IO	**DO**	**ME-FIRST**	**ULTRA-STRONG**	**STRONG**
1	3	✓	✓	✓
2	3	✓	✓	✓
3	3	✓	✓	✓
1	2	✓	✓	*
2	1	*	*	*
3	2	✓	*	*
3	1	*	*	*

NOT JUST AN 'APPARENT NUMBER-CASE CONSTRAINT'
◆ Nevins & Săvescu (2008): Clusters with 1**Acc** / 2**pl Acc** are ungrammatical / rated worse.
◆ In other words, they observe that (in non-finite clauses) clusters display **Strong PCC** effects.
◆ Nevins & Săvescu (2008): an **animacy** effect, not a number effect.

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◆ However, there are also **Ultra-Strong PCC** effects when only **one** of the clitics is **plural**.
◆ Nevins & Săvescu (2008) <u>undergenerates</u>: incorrectly predicts 1sg **2pl** is ungrammatical.
◆ Nevins (2007) <u>overgenerates</u>: incorrectly predicts 1pl **2pl**, 3sg **2pl**, 3pl **2sg**, 3pl **2pl** are bad.
◆ It's not pure number that matters (**3pl 3pl** is OK), but **person-number interactions**.

Cyclic AGREE based account

ASSUMPTIONS
◆ AGREE between a probe and DO/IO → create clitics.
◆ The **Appl** head hosts this probe.
◆ **Cyclic AGREE** (Béjar & Rezac, 2009): the probe first searches in its c-command domain, agrees with the DO (1), and then looks upwards, and agrees with the IO (2).
◆ The probe then moves higher up the tree (head-movement).
◆ Once the feature-set of the probe is exhausted (all features have been checked), then no more clitics can be created.
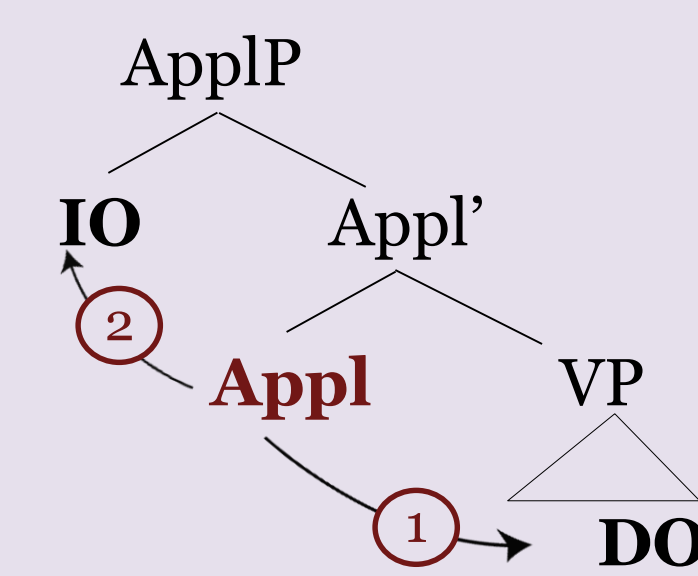
PROPOSAL
◆ A Cyclic AGREE probe can account for all three PCC patterns.
◆ The **person** and **number** probes are **active simultaneously** and both housed in **Appl**.
◆ The DO is checked first ①, checking all its features against Appl and creating the DO clitic.
◆ If step ② (AGREE with IO) is successful, and the IO can value the remaining features on Appl, an IO clitic is created.
◆ **Conditional Number probe**: Number probe only active if Person probe still active.
Once all **Person** probe features have been **exhausted**, the **Number probe** becomes **inactive**.

PLURAL IS +[PERSON]
◆ Clitics obey the following hierarchy, from most to least constrained:
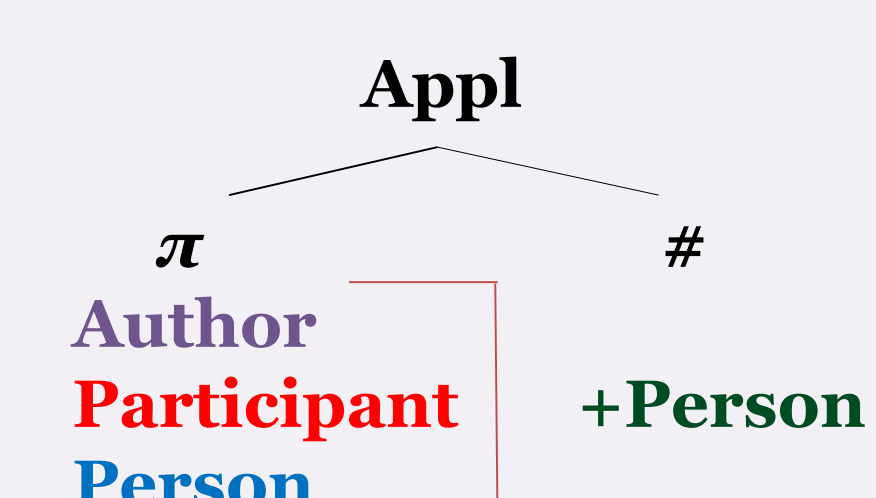
   1 (sg/pl) >> **2 pl >> 2sg , 3 pl** >> **3sg**   *Number is sensitive to Person*

◆ Intuitively, *we* = I + someone else.   *Plural = Singular + [Person]*

FEATURE MAKEUP: pronouns

	SINGULAR	**PLURAL**
1	[Author, Participant, Person]	1sg + [Person]
2	[Participant, Person]	2sg + [Person]
3 **Acc**	*underspecified*	*underspecified*
3 **Dat**	[Person]	3sgDat + [Person]

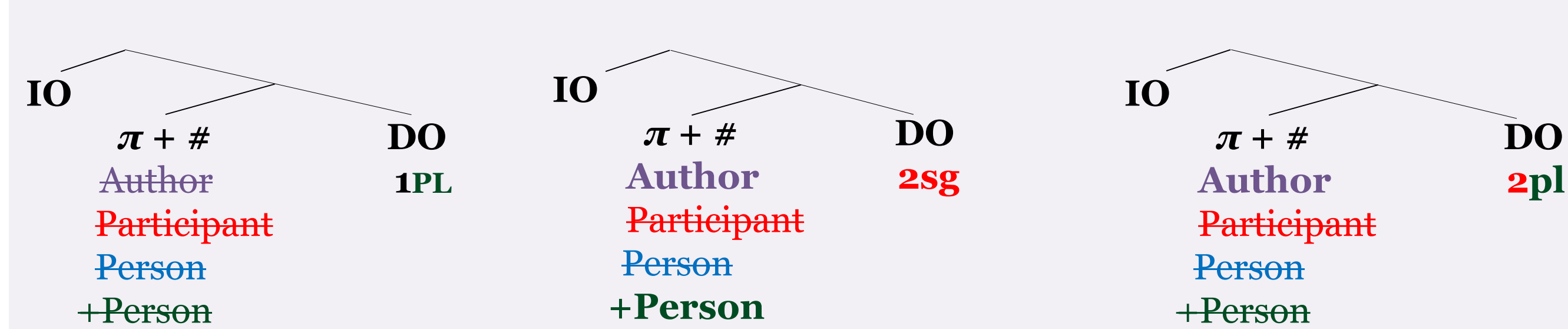### FEATURE MAKEUP: PROBE

Appl
π   #
Author +Person
Participant
Person

Assumptions:
◆ 3 **Acc** lacks [Person], 3 **Dat** does have [Person] features (Anangnostopoulou, 2005, a.o.)
◆ **Author** in the π probe is enough to license 1sg. However, a 1sg DO will exhaust all of the remaining person features the π probe, since it entails [Author, Participant, Person].

A FEW DERIVATIONS

```
IO                          IO                          IO
  π + #      DO              π + #      DO              π + #      DO
  Author     1PL            Author     2sg            Author     2pl
  Participant               Participant               Participant
  Person                    Person                    Person
  +Person                                             +Person
```

No features left for IO   *[Author + Person] left*   *[Author] left*
→ no cluster.   → 1sg, 1pl & 3sg can be IO.   → only 1sg can be IO.

The [+Person] #-probe may license plural forms or 3sg.DAT while the π-probe is still active.

A final note

◆ The PCC literature, though extensive, pays little attention to **person-number interactions**.
◆ Person-number combinations yield **different PCC varieties** in Romanian.
◆ **Greek** (E. Anagnostopoulou, p.c.) & **Bulgarian** (R. Pancheva, p.c.), too! (unaccounted for)
◆ A Cyclic AGREE approach (with a **conditional number probe**) captures the Romanian data AND it can predict the distribution of Ethical Datives: non-argument Datives which *also* obey the PCC.