On the correlation between pronoun type and person restrictions

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When object clitics/agreement affixes co-occur, a language may exhibit *person restrictions*: e.g. when indirect object (IO) and direct object (DO) clitics co-occur in Greek, the DO can not be 1st or 2nd person, so a strong pronoun must be used instead (Anagnostopoulou 2003):

(1) a. *Tha **tu**   **se**   stilune
         FUT 3M.GEN 2.ACC send.3PL
         'They will send **you** to **him**.'

     b. Tha **tu**   stilune   *esena*
         FUT 3M.GEN send.3PL you.ACC
         'They will send *you* to **him**.'

Early generative analyses tied person restrictions to the affix/clitic status of the restricted elements (Perlmutter 1970; Bonet 1991; i.a.), while in later analyses the form of the restricted elements only reflects their special syntactic status (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar and Řezáč 2003; i.a.). Recently, Deal (2023) even argued for a complete dissociation between the syntax and the morphological status of the restricted elements.

  I argue, based on new typological generalizations, that the morphological status of the restricted elements is a key factor. I propose that person restrictions are tied to the syntactic status of person features, which is reflected in the morphological status of person-expressing elements.

Variation in person restrictions. Person restrictions vary in how many and which person combinations are banned: Greek has a *strong* (S) restriction, where DOs must be 3P, but weaker restrictions also exist. In (2), shaded cells are combinations excluded by a specific person restriction.

(2)

DO	1P	2P	3P
1P		S / D M	S D / W M
2P	S		S / D / W

Weak restrictions (W) exclude 1/2P DOs only if the IO is 3P (Bonet 1991), **descending restrictions (D)** also exclude 1P DOs if the IO is 2P (Nevins 2007), and **me-first restrictions (M)** exclude only 1P DOs (Nevins 2007). Below I identify a difference in the distribution of restrictions where the DO must be 3P **(STRONG)** and those where the DO can be 1P or 2P **(WEAK)**, so I focus on this division exclusively.

Variation in restricted elements. I call elements that express person contrasts outside free-standing pronouns *bound person markers* (BPMs). Although the morphological and syntactic status of BPMs is a highly debated topic (Nevins 2011; Baker and Kramer 2018; Yuan 2018; i.a.), I show that a sub-division of BPMs based on fairly superficial properties reveals interesting correlations between BPM-type and person restriction-type. The relevant BPM-types (defined more precisely in the talk) are: *1. Triple agreement* (S+O+O): BPMs of equal morphological status affixed on the verb, can cross-reference up to three arguments, can co-occur with any type of argument (cf. Kiowa [Kiowa-Tanoan], Monumbo [Torricelli], Manam [Austronesian]); *2. Double agreement* (S+O+Ø): like the previous group, but only one object can be cross-referenced (cf. Tzotzil [Mayan], Maasai [Nilotic], Khanty [Uralic]); *3. Clitic objects* (O+O CL): morphologically distinct from subject agreement, including a potential distinct host, complementary distribution with all free-standing objects or a subset of them based on referential properties—i.e. *clitic doubling* (cf. O'odham [Uto-Aztecan], Baraïn [Chadic], Ossetic [Indo-Iranian]); and *4. Weak objects* (O+O WK): must be adjacent to a prosodic word, with no or relaxed requirements on the category or position of the host (cf. Limbum [Grassfields], Swiss German, Polish).

Generalizations. (3) summarizes the results of a large-scale cross-linguistic survey, building on Stegovec (2017, 2019), including 117 data points across 26 language families and 3 isolates.

(3)

	S+O+O		S+O+Ø		O+O CL		O+O WK		Total	
STRONG	11	(84.62%)	21	(40.38%)	22	(56.41%)	0	(0.00%)	54	(46.15%)
WEAK	0	(0.00%)	4	(7.69%)	16	(41.03%)	7	(53.85%)	27	(23.08%)
no restr.	2	(15.38%)	27	(51.92%)	*1	(2.56%)	6	(46.15%)	36	(30.77%)

Note that no language with triple agreement has a WEAK restriction **(G1)**, no language with weak objects has a STRONG restriction **(G2)**, and languages with clitic objects must have person restrictions **(G3)**—with one exception, which I show in the talk is unrelated to BPM status.

Implications. Most approaches to person restrictions invoke Agree (Chomsky 2000) between a functional head (*v*) and two objects, where the IO intervenes between a person probe on *v* and the DO, preventing the licensing of person features on DO (cf. Béjar and Řezáč 2003) or the satisfaction of all the requirements of the probe (cf. Nevins 2007). Variation in restriction strength is then modeled by parameterizing the probe for what kinds of person feature values constitute acceptable multiple goals (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007; Deal 2023).

While this approach can derive all the person restriction variants, any correlations between BPM-type and person restriction strength must be attributed to coincidence: the parameterization is confined to the operation of Agree, which cannot be responsible for the realization of BPMs.

Proposal. I attribute the presence and strength of person restrictions to the internal structure of BPMs (Stegovec 2017, 2019, 2020). The proposal is outlined in (4): the internal structure of BPMs determines whether their person features ($[\pi]$) are (un)interpretable and/or (un)valued, but also constrains their possible morphological and prosodic requirements (Cardinaletti and Starke 1994). Person restrictions arise due to Agree-intervention, but what is blocked is *valuing* the person features of the DO pronoun by *v* (Kratzer 2009), where WEAK restrictions result from valuation-driven movement to Spec*v*P, and STRONG restrictions result from in-situ valuation.

(4)
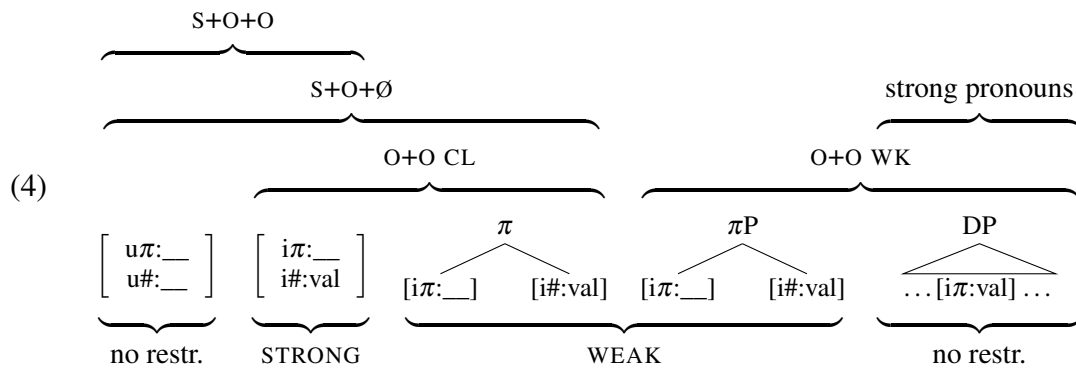
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