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# Person Feature Geometry and Pronominal Clitic Ordering Preferences

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**Summary:** This paper examines so-called “Person Case Constraint” (PCC) effects. These are ordering restrictions on co-occurring clitic pronouns, where only certain person combinations are felicitous but the possibilities vary cross-linguistically. Taking the South Slavic languages as a point of departure, an account is developed in terms of person feature spreading from a high Appl(icative) node to underspecified clitic pronouns. It is argued that 3<sup>rd</sup> person is the absence of person features, hence there is no PERS(on) node per se, and that person can be characterized in terms of PART(icipant) and AUTH(or). It is further argued that languages may differ in terms of how these two features are arranged, accounting for additional systems. Finally, speculations are offered on how feature spreading enlightens PCC violation repair strategies.

**Keywords:** Person Case Constraint, Pronominal Clitics, Person, Feature Geometry, South Slavic

## 1 Introduction to Person Ordering Constraints

The observation that certain combinations of clitic pronouns are incompatible goes back in the generative literature at least to Perlmutter (1971). He handled restrictions in Spanish and French by positing idiosyncratic surface filters, re-

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**Note:** This paper reevaluates data and ideas in Franks (2017, in press). Improvements include the treatment in section 3.2 of 3<sup>rd</sup> person as the absence of person per se, together with the concomitant rejection of PERS as a feature, as well as the extension in section 5 of the approach to systems beyond South Slavic. Versions of this material have also been presented at the 20th Biennial Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, Literature and Folklore (April 2016, Salt Lake City, UT), as well as at Ca’ Foscari University of Venice (September 2017) and The University of Chicago (December 2017).

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marking (p. 27) that “there is no intrinsic reason why they [the clitics] should have to come in one order and not another.” Since Perlmutter’s seminal study of what is now generally known as the Person Case Constraint, much ink has been spilled trying to understand what is going on and, more importantly, why.<sup>1</sup> This work has sought to expand the range of languages under consideration, to explain the typology of possible systems, and to achieve greater insight into the general nature of the PCC phenomenon. This paper is a small contribution with those same aims.

The traditional PCC, due to Bonet (1991), states that in a combination of weak direct and indirect object pronouns—i.e., ACC(usative) and DAT(ive)—the direct object has to be 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Despite this standard description, as shown by Stegovec (2016) and the data in section 6.1 below, the PCC really has nothing to do with grammatical relations or case roles per se. This is because of the existence of a repair strategy which appears to fix violations without altering either of these factors. Thus, the constraint at hand concerns the relative order (or, more precisely, height) of the two pronouns, and that is how my characterizations are expressed in this paper. I thus refer to the phenomenon in terms of a Person *Ordering* Constraint (POC) instead, replacing “Case” with “Ordering” as the crucial criterion.

## 2 Three South Slavic POC Systems

This section presents the systems described for Slovenian (Slvn), Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian (BCMS), and Bulgarian (Bg).<sup>2</sup> Together these represent three of the most common POC systems.

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**1** Relevant studies include Bonet (1991), Béjar & Řezáč (2003), Nevins (2007), Adger & Harbour (2007), Walkow (2012), Sturgeon et al. (2012), Preminger (2014), Charnavel & Mateu (2015), Stegovec (2016), Franks (2017: 257–303), and especially Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017). See also Anagnostopoulou (2017) for an extensive overview (albeit one which completely avoids mention of Slavic).

**2** The languages spoken in Bosnia, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia are treated together (as BCMS) because I am unaware of any regional differences with respect to POC behavior. Also, Macedonian (Mac) is put aside here, largely for the reasons mentioned in Franks (2017: 292–298).

## 2.1 The Strong Constraint

Bonet's original version of the constraint, based on Romance data, is the "Strong" one. Here is my restatement of the relevant restriction:

- (1) **Strong POC:** In a combination of clitic pronouns, the last one has to be 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

According to Stegovec (2016), standard Slvn instantiates this pattern; the description in Harizanov (2014) of Bg is similar.<sup>3</sup> Some of their examples are given in (2) and (3), respectively:

- (2) a. Sestra **mi/ti** **ga** bo predstavila. **1/2.DAT » 3.ACC**  
 sister me/you<sub>DAT</sub> him<sub>ACC</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub>  
 'The sister will introduce him to me/you.'  
 b. \*Sestra **mu** **me/te** bo predstavila. **\*3.DAT » 1/2.ACC**  
 sister him<sub>DAT</sub> me/you<sub>ACC</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub>  
 'The sister will introduce me/you to him.'

**3** Roumyana Pancheva (p.c.) points out that Bg also shows variation. For her, as noted in Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017), it is a Me-First system in the singular, so that she accepts (3b) with 3<sup>rd</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup> (similarly (44) below) and (3c) with 1<sup>st</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup>. Interestingly, she still rejects these orders in the plural, which essentially amounts to the observation that the OBJ form *vi* cannot occur in combination with an OBL clitic. Other languages also show number-dependent POC constraint variation (see Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2017: footnote 24 and references therein), but here this may be because the Bg clitic system exhibits a syncretism, *vi* also being the OBL form, whereas in the singular *ti* and *te* are distinct. (As Nevins & Săvescu 2010 report, the same pattern characterizes neighboring Romanian, with comparable POC judgments.) Further corroboration for a morphological account is that Mac—at least if one relies on Tomić's (2012: 233–234) examples, also discussed in Franks (2017: section 5.2.4.4)—do not show a similar number effect. She offers the following example, with singular *te* and plural *ve* equally viable:

- (i) Petre **mi** **te/ve** pretstavi. **1SG.OBL » 2SG/PL.OBJ**  
 Petre me<sub>OBL</sub> you<sub>SG/PL.OBJ</sub> introduced.  
 'Petre introduced you (sg/pl) to me.'

This seems to correlate with the fact that, as (i) shows, Mac differs from Bg in that there is an OBJ *ve* (distinct from OBL *vi*), although careful dialect work would be needed to test the hypothesized correlation. Finally, Pancheva comments that it makes sense for her dialect to be closer to BCMS vis-à-vis that of Harizanov, since she is from Sofia (relatively near to Serbia) while he is from Stara Zagora (230 km east).

- c. (\*)Sestra **mi/ti** **te/me** bo predstavila. \*1/2.DAT » 2/1.ACC  
 sister me/you<sub>DAT</sub> you/me<sub>ACC</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub>  
 ‘The sister will introduce me/you to you/me.’
- (3) a. Vera **mi/ti** **go** predstavila.<sup>4</sup> 1/2.OBL » 3.OBJ  
 Vera me/you<sub>SG.OBL</sub> him<sub>OBJ</sub> introduced  
 ‘Vera introduced him to me/you.’
- b. \*Vera **mu** **me/te** predstavila. \*3.OBL » 1/2.OBJ  
 Vera him<sub>OBL</sub> me/you<sub>SG.OBJ</sub> introduced  
 ‘Vera introduced me/you to him.’
- c. \*Vera **mi/ti** **te/me** predstavila. \*1/2.OBL » 2/1.OBJ  
 Vera me/you<sub>SG.OBL</sub> you/me<sub>OBJ</sub> introduced  
 ‘Vera introduced me to you.’

## 2.2 The Weak Constraint

The Weak POC can be described as in (4). This allows Slvn (2c), which Stegovec (2016) writes that some Slvn speakers accept; this is why the “\*” in (2c) was placed in parentheses:

- (4) **Weak POC:** In a combination of clitic pronouns, if there is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person, then it has to come last.

It will be noted that (4) still rules (2b) out, since there is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun. This ordering is bad for all Slvn speakers, regardless of whether the ACC clitic is 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

## 2.3 The Me-First Constraint

A third fairly common type is given in (5):

- (5) **Me-First POC:** In a combination of clitic pronouns, if there is a 1<sup>st</sup> person, then it has to come first.

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<sup>4</sup> Historical Bg (and Mac) DAT and ACC forms are glossed as OBL(ique) and OBJ(ective), reflecting the impoverished case systems of the modern languages. Nothing in the paper hinges on this decision.

BCMS, as described by Runić (2013), belongs to this system. Here are some of her examples:

- (6) a. Toplo **mu** **te** preporučujem. **3.DAT » 2.ACC**  
 warmly him<sub>DAT</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub> recommend<sub>1.SG</sub>  
 ‘I warmly recommend you to him.’
- b. ??(\*)Toplo **mu** **me** preporučuješ. **\*3.DAT » 1.ACC**  
 warmly him<sub>DAT</sub> me<sub>ACC</sub> recommend<sub>2.SG</sub>  
 ‘You warmly recommend me to him.’
- (7) a. Toplo **mi** **te** preporučuje. **1.DAT » 2.ACC**  
 warmly me<sub>DAT</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub> recommend<sub>3.SG</sub>  
 ‘He warmly recommends you to me.’
- b. ??(\*)Toplo **ti** **me** preporučuje. **\*2.DAT » 1.ACC**  
 warmly you<sub>DAT</sub> me<sub>ACC</sub> recommend<sub>3.SG</sub>  
 ‘He warmly recommends me to you.’

The data in (6) show that 3<sup>rd</sup> person can precede 2<sup>nd</sup> person but not 1<sup>st</sup> person, while (7) shows that 1<sup>st</sup> person can precede 2<sup>nd</sup> person but not vice versa. The possibility in (6a) of having *mu te* ‘him<sub>DAT</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub>’ is particularly interesting, given that this ordering is inadmissible under either the Strong or Weak alternatives—compare (6a) with Slvn (2b) or Bg (3b). This concludes our initial survey of POC types.

### 3 Some Conceptual Components

This section introduces some ideas needed for the analysis in section 4. There are three distinct conceptual components: (i) clitics are defective vocabulary items, (ii) person is expressed in terms of privative features, and (iii) these features can be provided to clitics derivationally. This will allow us to treat certain clitics as missing person features, which they may subsequently acquire from a higher functional head, and—by varying the deficiencies—to obtain the three different POC systems above.

### 3.1 Clitic Underspecification

One popular approach in the minimalist literature involves licensing and agree.<sup>5</sup> In systems such as those of Béjar & Řezáč (2003), Adger & Harbour (2007), Nevins (2007, 2011), or Anagnostopoulou (2017 and references therein), the person features are specified on the clitics but need to enter into an agreement relation with a functional head.<sup>6</sup> An alternative perspective, following Stegovec (2016), is that the clitics can come with unvalued features, which then, for the purposes of Spell-Out, need to be valued in the course of the derivation. My approach is in the same spirit but slightly different, in that features literally accrue in the course of the derivation. This is more reflective of much earlier transformational derivations, and is implemented through feature spreading in the multiattachment model of Franks (2017). That is, as we shall see below, clitics can lack person feature specifications, which they must then derive from some higher functional category searching down the tree. One key difference, then, between the minimalist probe/licensing approach and the underspecification approach is that systems which do not exhibit PCC effects simply have clitics which enter the derivation already fully specified for person features.<sup>7</sup>

In Franks (2016; 2017 sect. 4.1), I develop the general idea that, as minimal vocabulary items, clitics typically lack specifications enjoyed by contentful words. Starting from the hallmark fact that clitics are prosodically deficient, it is claimed that potential semantic and syntactic deficiencies are optimal clitic properties as well. In particular, it is argued, they do not project prosodic feet, they do not express syntactic complexity, and they do not contain rich (open-ended) semantic information. What this means is that, canonically and as a lexical property, clitics cannot bear independent stress or show internal (phrasal) structure. For the purposes of the present paper, however, the important deficiency is the third one, namely, that clitics are pure grammatical items—they are exhaustive instantiations of functional features rather than semantically contentful ones (what Zwart 1997: 158 called “lexical-categorial” features, i.e., features of lexical as opposed to functional categories). Moreover, on top of this overarching semantic deficiency, clitics can be additionally restricted in terms of what morphosyntactic information they may contain. This is where person features come

<sup>5</sup> Thanks to Roumyana Pancheva for suggesting that I include this discussion.

<sup>6</sup> Béjar & Řezáč's (2003: 53) “Person Licensing Condition,” for example, requires that “an interpretable 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category.”

<sup>7</sup> This is proposed in section 6.1 for Polish.

into play, giving rise to POC effects. But before laying out these additional restrictions in section 3.3, let us turn to person features more generally.

## 3.2 Person Features

While various featural breakdowns of person exist in the literature, depending in part on the phenomena they are intended to capture, the most standard one distinguishes speech-act participants from non-participants, and, among the former, opposes the speaker to the hearer. In this vein, I adopt PART and AUTH as privative features. These define the various persons as follows:

### (8) Person features

- a. 1<sup>st</sup> PERSON: PART+AUTH    b. 2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON: PART    c. 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON:  $\emptyset$

This is essentially the system of Halle (1997), but interpreted as privative rather than polar features.<sup>8</sup>

This will be important because of the way spreading works and the nature of feature deficiencies, but it should be acknowledged that Nevins (2007) explicitly argues for polar features, partly on the basis of how 3<sup>rd</sup> person should be treated.<sup>9</sup>

Turning, then, to 3<sup>rd</sup> person in (8c), I will treat this as no person. That is, contrary to the account in Franks (2017), in which 3<sup>rd</sup> person was a PERS(on) node unelaborated in terms of PART and AUTH, there is in fact no such node (i.e., feature). This approach is in the spirit of Harley & Ritter (2002), although in their feature geometry there is a PARTIPANT node with two dependents, Speaker and Addressee.<sup>10</sup> It also follows a long tradition. As Harley & Ritter (2002: 486) observe, the idea that 3<sup>rd</sup> person is no person goes back at least to Benveniste

<sup>8</sup> Kerstens (1993) proposed an isomorphic system, with his “utterance” and “speaker” corresponding to Halle’s “participant” and “author,” respectively. Thus, for Kerstens, 1<sup>st</sup> person is [+utterance, +speaker], 2<sup>nd</sup> person is [+utterance, –speaker], and 3<sup>rd</sup> person is [–utterance, –speaker].

<sup>9</sup> While most accounts, e.g., those of Anagnostopoulou or Adger & Harbour, argue that 3<sup>rd</sup> person has no person features, Nevins (2007) presents several arguments that it should be analyzed as [–Part, –Auth]. See, however, Franks (2017: 272) for some relevant criticism.

<sup>10</sup> Admittedly, they were aiming toward broader empirical coverage. Others, such as Ackema & Neeleman (2013), employ the privative features PROX(imate) and DIST(al), where for them 1<sup>st</sup> person is only PROX, 3<sup>rd</sup> is only DIST, and 2<sup>nd</sup> is both PROX and DIST. Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017), who adopt [±participant] and [±author], also use a [±proximate] feature. This helps them to build a model of logophoricity and to extend the account to obviation. Two recent monographs which tackle problems of person inter alia are Rezac (2011) and Harbour (2016).

(1956): “‘Person’ belongs only to *I/you*, and is lacking in *he*.”<sup>11</sup> The minimal status of 3<sup>rd</sup> person expresses itself in a variety of ways. That 3<sup>rd</sup> person is least marked and should be understood as lacking the “shifting” quality of the speech act participants is a classic observation.<sup>12</sup> Jespersen (1924) defined 3<sup>rd</sup> person as one that is neither the speaker (*I*) nor spoken to (*you*). This negative definition is variously reflected in morphology and syntax. Harley & Ritter (2002: 487), summarizing the generalizations in Forchheimer’s (1953: 6) classic study of person, offer the following properties, most if not all of which any reader familiar with Slavic will surely recognize:

- (9) a. 3<sup>rd</sup> person agreement is often zero, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement is overt.
- b. Many languages have no 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun—or at least no nominative form.
- c. Many languages have distinct 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns only; for 3<sup>rd</sup> person they use demonstratives.
- d. Closely related languages often have cognate 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns but 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns which are not obviously related.
- e. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person are often similar in form and inflection but dissimilar from that of 3<sup>rd</sup> person.
- f. 3<sup>rd</sup> person is much more subject to objective subdivisions such as class, gender, and location.

Finally, while my concern here is with pronouns, nouns intrinsically do not vary by person hence should not express such a category in the first place.<sup>13</sup> So, rather

**11** Here is the original which they paraphrase from Benveniste (1956: 34): “Celle-ci [la notion de «personne»] est propre seulement à *je/tu*, et fait défaut dans *il*.”

**12** Jespersen’s term shifter was of course made famous for Slavists by Jakobson (1971: 131): “the general meaning of a shifter cannot be defined without a reference to the message.”

**13** Wayles Browne (p.c.) draws my attention to the fact that in Slvn nouns are compatible with agreement, as in the headline *Finci smo sistematski, slovinci ste hitri* ‘(We) Finns are systematic, (you) Slovenians are rapid’. Adrian Stegovec (p.c.) confirms this as a general possibility for any noun that could be taken as a group (“it’s perfectly fine to do it with any group the speaker/addressee is a part of”), even adding the following with a 1<sup>st</sup> person dual:

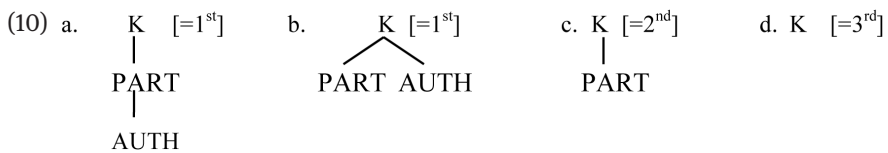
(i) Mama in tata sva se odločila, da lahko ostaneš doma.  
 mom and dad AUX<sub>1, DUAL</sub> REFL decided<sub>1, DUAL</sub> that can stay<sub>2, SG</sub> home  
 ‘(We) Mom and dad decided that you can stay home.’

He notes that, as in English, this is impossible in the singular (*We linguists are*/\**I (a) linguist am* ...). It seems reasonable to treat this not as an optional person feature for nouns, but rather as a way of providing DPs with person, perhaps via a silent *pro*. Interestingly, BCMS does not allow 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> plural agreement with group NPs. A similar close pair is Spanish, with the construction, versus Italian, which lacks it.



than saying that nouns are always specified as 3<sup>rd</sup> person, we can say that they are always “3<sup>rd</sup> person” because they embody the absence of person.

There is one more aspect of the feature geometry which needs to be made explicit, namely: What is the relationship between PART and AUTH? While AUTH without PART is clearly ineffable, I contend that when both are present both conceivable possibilities exist. In particular, (8a) can be implemented either by introducing AUTH as a value of PART or by keeping AUTH and PART independent. That is, using K(ase) as the node for Slavic pronominal clitics,<sup>14</sup> both feature geometries in (10a, b) are viable ways to express 1<sup>st</sup> person, with languages differing in terms of which one they adopt:



One reason for positing these two alternatives will emerge when the different systems are analyzed. The “non-conventional” nature of structure (10b), as well as the associated overlay restriction in (11b), should, however, be acknowledged: as Roumyana Pancheva (p.c.) points out, being an Author implies being a Participant. Indeed, in Franks (2017: section 5.3) I wrestled with this dilemma, ultimately opting for (10b) over (10a), despite its semantic incongruity,<sup>15</sup> because

<sup>14</sup> My reason for this is based on the origin of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics, which seem to be pure case markers in Slavic (as opposed to pure D heads in Romance). One might however take issue with this move in that it does not so readily extend to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic pronouns (and similarly for Romance). Indeed, as some of the generalizations in (9) express, there may well be good reason to keep 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns categorially distinct from 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>. One possibility is that, while the former are indeed bare K heads, the latter are more accurately K(P) over N(P). If person features actually elaborate N, not K (which is after all for introducing case features), then (10d) follows automatically (and in (10a–c) K should be replaced by N). And if 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns reflect more structure, then we might understand their tendency to move differently (e.g., to scramble as phrases, as noted in section 6.2 below, or to occur with prepositions, as mentioned in Franks 2017: 161–162 and references therein, in apparent violation of Abels’s 2003 antilocality account of why clitics are usually prohibited in PPs). In this paper I put these far from trivial issues aside for future exploration. The reader may, however, chose to make the appropriate adjustments in the analyses that follow, replacing K with N in the diagrams, except where 3<sup>rd</sup> person is involved.

<sup>15</sup> That is, although AUTH without PART is meaningless, I see the technology of morphosyntax as operating independently of an ultimately interpretative semantics. I assume that if an element were to end up with an AUTH value without an accompanying PART value, then it would be simply undefined, hence excluded as ineffable. As Nevins (2007: 288) similarly indicates using

making AUTH not formally dependent on PART, as it is in (10a), played a central role in the analyses of both the Weak system and the Strictly Descending system (discussed in section 5.1 below).<sup>16</sup> That account, however, not only stipulated (10b) as the only viable geometry, but required an autonomous PERS node. In this paper this defect is corrected, in that there is no call for a PERS node (leading to a better understanding of the nature of 3<sup>rd</sup> person) and grammars are able to adopt either 1<sup>st</sup> person feature geometry in (10).

### 3.3 Mechanics of Spreading

We now return to the idea that clitics are defective elements and to the question of how their deficiencies are remedied.<sup>17</sup> In addition to being limited to the instantiation of grammatical features, clitics may be underspecified for person. Given the particular features PART and AUTH, (11) represents the possible auxiliary restrictions on what morphosyntactic person information they contain. Since these apply on top of any other existing deficiencies, I refer to them as “overlay” restrictions:

#### (11) Overlay Restrictions

- a. **Restriction**<sub>PART+AUTH</sub>: Clitics contain neither PART nor AUTH features.
- b. **Restriction**<sub>PART</sub>: Clitics do not contain PART, but can contain AUTH.
- c. **Restriction**<sub>AUTH</sub>: Clitics do not contain AUTH, but can contain PART.

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polar features (with which this sort of situation is of course common): “[+Auth, –Part] = logically impossible.” Whether or not one must devise feature geometries to avoid ineffable structures is, to my mind, an empirical question.

**16** Pancheva suggests handling the Weak POC by letting clitics contain PART–AUTH and then just having PART spread from Appl. This proposal is problematic because it entails that the PART from Appl can skip a PART (e.g., on  $K_A$  in (18)) that is already specified, something the multi-attachment technology developed in Franks (2017) eschews, and also because if Appl happens not to provide PART (or if there is no Appl), then there is nothing to prevent the first clitic from being 3<sup>rd</sup> person (since the second one can already be specified as 2<sup>nd</sup> person PART or 1<sup>st</sup> person AUTH–PART). On the other hand, under the approach laid out in section 4.2, which crucially relies on restriction (11b), the only way a clitic can bear PART is for that feature to spread from Appl. Finally, even if these obstacles can be surmounted, the geometry in (10b) is unavoidable for the Strictly Descending POC system.

**17** Issues of prosody (clitics do not project prosodic feet, forcing them to adjoin to a prosodic host or, as in Slvn, to acquire default prosodic structure as a last resort) and syntax (clitics do not project phrasal structure, hence typically move as heads) are discussed in Franks (2016; 2017: section 4.1).

In what follows I will show how these three restrictions give rise to the various POC systems.

Before turning to the analysis we need to consider one last component. This concerns how person is supplied to clitics when underspecified as in (11). I adapt the multiattachment model of Franks (2017), so that the errant features spread to the clitics from a higher functional projection. In Franks (2017) this projection was Agr, but here I will modify that account and make use of Appl(licative) instead.<sup>18</sup> Following Charnavel & Mateu (2015), who understand the PCC as an antilogophoricity effect deriving from a conflict of perspective between indirect and direct objects, the projection establishes a logophoric (or point-of-view) center. Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017) build on their insight, employing Appl for the purpose of introducing the indirect object as a perspectival center. Since, however, spreading is only down the tree, I need to use a higher node to provide person features and a lower one to merge the indirect object into the structure. It is therefore the so-called “high” ApplP—which I situate between  $\nu$ P and VP (i.e., like erstwhile AgrP)—that does the needed work in terms of providing person features, and it is the “low” one that introduces the indirect object as its specifier:<sup>19</sup>

(12) [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> **Subj**  $\nu$  [<sub>AppIP</sub> Appl] [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>AppIP</sub> **Ind-Obj**] [<sub>AppI'</sub> Appl [**D-Obj**]]]]]]

Clitics derive the featural content that specifies their person values from Appl in (12), as it searches down the tree for a target. Crucially, when there is more than one clitic, it is the highest (= first) that is reached first and provided with person features. Since potential targets cannot be skipped, the lower clitic can only be accessed once the person features have already spread to the higher clitic. This, in a nutshell, is the system we will exploit in deriving the various POC systems.

## 4 Deriving the Three Systems

The provenance of the South Slavic POC patterns is explained in this section. The effect of the restrictions in (11), coupled with feature spreading from a higher Appl node, is demonstrated for each pattern in turn.

<sup>18</sup> The earliest work to connect Appl with PCC effects that I know of is Adger & Harbour (2007). They, however, sought to derive these effects from morphological syncretism.

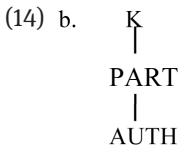
<sup>19</sup> See McGinnis (2008) and references therein for discussion of ApplP. Note that non-argument datives (ethical, benefactive, etc.) are introduced by the high ApplP, hence do not enter into the Person Ordering Constraints.

## 4.1 The Strong System

We first show how the effects of the Strong Constraint, given in (1) and repeated below, can be derived.

- (13) **Strong POC:** In a combination of clitic pronouns, the last one has to be 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

In the Strong system, clitics respect (11a), meaning that they have no specification for person. In addition, in the Strong system AUTH is an optional feature of PART, as in (10a), hence can only spread together with it. These factors are summarized together in (14):



Thus, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person spread as in (15a) and (15b), respectively:

- (15) **Strong System: Spreading of PART**  
 [overlay restriction (14a); geometry (14b)]



The result is that the second clitic, K<sub>B</sub>, can only surface as a person-less form, i.e., it must be 3<sup>rd</sup> person.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> One might ask why PART could not continue to spread in (15), identifying the second clitic, K<sub>B</sub>, as 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person, just like K<sub>A</sub>. Indeed nothing prevents this; the only issue, as discussed in Franks (2017: 277–279), is whether the result would lead to a subsequent Binding Condition B violation.

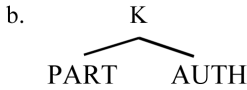
### 4.2 The Weak System

As stated in (4) and repeated below, in the Weak system 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics can cooccur but, if there is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic, then that must come last.

(16) **Weak POC:** In a combination of clitic pronouns, if there is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person, then it has to come last.

In this system, the overlay restriction in (11b) applies, meaning that clitics can bear the AUTH feature whereas PART must spread. Also, for this sort of representation to be viable, AUTH must be independent of PART. These factors are summarized in (17):

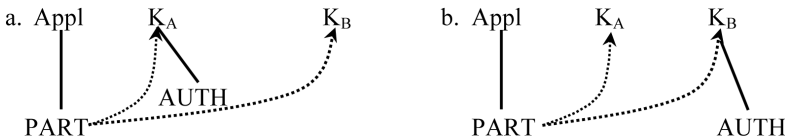
(17) a. **Restriction<sub>PART</sub>:** Clitics do not contain PART, but can contain AUTH.



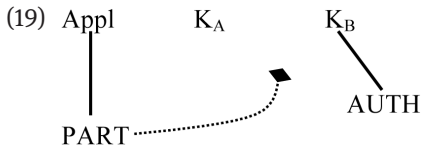
This means PART spreads to the clitics as in (18):

(18) **Weak System: Spreading of PART AND clitics can contain AUTH**

[overlay restriction (17a); geometry (17b)]



With respect to Slvn (2c), which it will be recalled is acceptable for some speakers of Slvn, (18a) gives the order *mi te* ‘me<sub>DAT</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub>’ and (18b) gives *ti me* ‘you<sub>DAT</sub> me<sub>ACC</sub>’. Spreading is optional, however, so if it stops at K<sub>A</sub> in (18a), then K<sub>B</sub> will be 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Crucially, what is not derivable is an order in which 3<sup>rd</sup> person precedes 1<sup>st</sup> (or 2<sup>nd</sup>, without AUTH), since K<sub>A</sub> cannot be skipped in reaching K<sub>B</sub>:



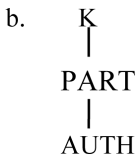
### 4.3 The Me-First System

We turn now to the Me-First System described for BCMS. A description of this system was given in (5) and is repeated below.

- (20) **Me-First POC:** In a combination of clitic pronouns, if there is a 1<sup>st</sup> person, then it has to come first.

Here, 1<sup>st</sup> person is required to precede 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>, but that is all. Such clitics respect (11c), given again in (21a), in that they can contain PART but not AUTH, which must spread. Since it is PART (rather than AUTH) which 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics bear in this system, it is not obvious whether the geometry should be as in (10a) or (10b). If the former, then we want an Appl–PART–AUTH structure, and if the latter, we want an Appl–AUTH structure; either way, it is AUTH which spreads, attaching under (10a) to PART and under (10b) directly to the clitic. Here I adopt geometry (10a), as indicated in (21b), because it is more compatible with a fully specified Appl (i.e., Appl–AUTH necessarily implies PART as well), although it is conceivable that there may be additional technical ramifications.

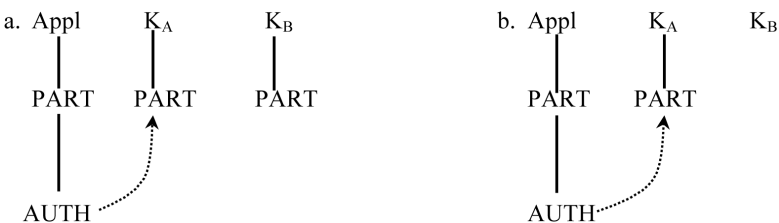
- (21) a. **Restriction<sub>AUTH</sub>:** Clitics do not contain AUTH, but can contain PART.



This produces 1<sup>st</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup>, as shown in (22a) and (22b), respectively:

- (22) **Me-First System: Spreading of AUTH AND clitics can contain PART**

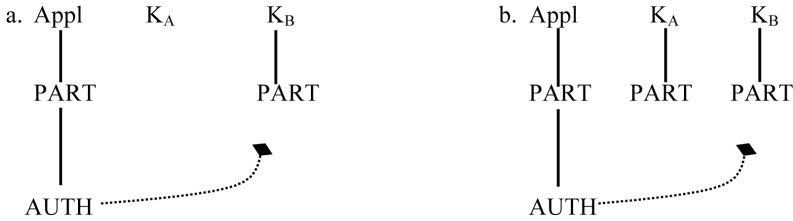
[overlay restriction (21a); geometry (21b) depicted, but (10b) also viable]



Since clitics can only acquire AUTH from above, 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics must come first in any sequence that involves them. But in the absence of AUTH anything is

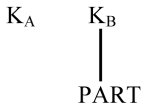
possible—i.e., 2<sup>nd</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup> and even 3<sup>rd</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup>, as in BCMS (6a), which should be compared to impossible Slvn (2b) and Bg (3b). What cannot happen, however, is for AUTH to skip over K<sub>A</sub>, whether or not that bears PART (i.e., is 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person):

(23) **Me-First System: Failed derivations of 3<sup>rd</sup> » 1<sup>st</sup> (6b) and 2<sup>nd</sup> » 1<sup>st</sup> (7b)**



The most striking aspect of this analysis is that it allows for 3<sup>rd</sup> person to precede 2<sup>nd</sup>, as in BCMS (6a), something we have seen is impossible in the other POC systems. That is what emerges if Appl adds no person values to either clitic, and if clitic<sub>B</sub> bears PART (i.e., is 2<sup>nd</sup> person). This configuration is specifically allowed by (11c), with no spreading needed:

(24) **Representation of BCMS (6a) *mu te* [3.DAT » 2.ACC]**



Since it plays no role, there is in this structure no high Applicative Phrase (hence no perspectival center). This is presumably true whenever the highest argument is 3<sup>rd</sup> person, a point which will become relevant when the Super Strong system is considered in section 5.2. On the other hand, any combination in which 1<sup>st</sup> person ACC follows a 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person DAT clitic, as attempted in (23a) and (23b), respectively, cannot be derived if AUTH is removed from the clitics and placed under Appl. The fact that clitic<sub>A</sub> cannot be skipped in accessing clitic<sub>B</sub> ensures that, if there is a 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic, then it must precede all others. This is, after all, what the *Me-First* Person Ordering Constraint means.

## 5 Two Additional Systems

This may seem like a lot of machinery to handle just three patterns. In this section I discuss two other POC systems mentioned in the literature, and show how the account developed for South Slavic can also accommodate these systems.

### 5.1 Strictly Descending (Ultra-Strong)

Yet another possibility is the following:

- (25) **Strictly Descending POC (Ultra-Strong):** In a combination of clitic pronouns, the argument with the “higher” person specification (where 1<sup>st</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup>) has to come first.

Nevins (2007) uses the term “Ultra-Strong” for this pattern,<sup>21</sup> and this is how it is often referred to in the literature (cf. e.g. Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2017 or Anagnostopoulou 2017), although Strictly Descending strikes me as more transparent.<sup>22</sup> Languages identified by Nevins as reflecting this pattern include Classical Arabic (cf. Fassi-Fehri 1988), and dialects of Spanish (according to Perlmutter 1971) and Catalan (according to Bonet 1991). In laying out PCC types, Sturgeon et al. (2012) describe Czech as Strictly Descending, although they eventually decide that “Czech is not subject to the PCC and what looks like the Strictly Descending PCC on the surface, in fact, results from constraints on the linearization of clitic clusters” (p. 123). In their survey of the Czech National Corpus (CNC) and internet traffic, they also found some exceptions to Strictly Descending,<sup>23</sup> as well as deviations from the canonical Slavic DAT » ACC order (to be discussed in section 6.1). Be that as it may, here is one of their examples which shows that 1<sup>st</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Nevins (2007: 298) describes this as “a combination of the Me-First PCC together with the weak PCC,” the former putting 1<sup>st</sup> person first and the latter putting 3<sup>rd</sup> person last. This will in fact follow from the analysis offered in this section, in that the Strictly Descending system depends on removing from the clitics *both* PART (as in the Weak system) and AUTH (as in the Me-First system), and spreading them from Appl, independently.

<sup>22</sup> Neither term is admittedly ideal: there is nothing “ultra strong” about it, but since (unlike the Super Strong system) this pattern also allows 3<sup>rd</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup> it is not *strictly* descending either.

<sup>23</sup> Two in the former and eight in the latter. They state (p. 122) however that the few Strictly Descending PCC violations revealed by their study “are often judged as ungrammatical or degraded by native speakers.” Since other speakers, e.g. Peter Kosta (p.c.), find 2<sup>nd</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup> equally acceptable, I conclude that there are both Me-First and Strictly Descending varieties of Czech (just as there are Strong and Weak varieties of Slvn).



person can precede 2<sup>nd</sup> but not vice versa, a pattern which is consistent with either the Strictly Descending or the Me-First POC; see (27) below:

- (26) a. Představil **mi** **tě** včera v Hradci Králové. **1.DAT » 2.ACC**  
 introduced<sub>M</sub> me<sub>DAT</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub> yesterday in Hradec Králové  
 ‘He introduced you to me yesterday in Hradec Králové.’
- b. \*Představil **ti** **mě** včera v Hradci Králové. **\*2.DAT » 1.ACC**  
 introduced<sub>M</sub> you<sub>DAT</sub> me<sub>ACC</sub> yesterday in Hradec Králové  
 ‘He introduced me to you yesterday in Hradec Králové.’

To distinguish between these two systems one needs to consider what happens when 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic pronouns are combined. While Sturgeon et al. do not provide explicit examples, they cite data from an acceptability rating task to show that 2<sup>nd</sup> can precede 3<sup>rd</sup> but not vice versa, and support this conclusion with data from a corpus study (but see footnote 23).

Given the existence of a Strictly Descending system (whether or not Czech instantiates it),<sup>24</sup> how is the model developed thus far able to accommodate it? Observe that the difference between the Strictly Descending POC and the Strong POC lies in the fact that the latter does not allow 1<sup>st</sup> person to precede 2<sup>nd</sup> person, as indicated in (31e) below. I thus see this system as a variant of the Strong POC, but one in which, although the clitics contain neither PART nor AUTH features, as in overlay restriction (11a), respected by the Strong system, unlike in that system these features must be able to operate independently. This entails that the needed feature geometry for 1<sup>st</sup> person must be as in (10b). These two factors are stated in (27):

- (27) a. **Restriction<sub>PART+AUTH</sub>**: Clitics contain neither PART nor AUTH features.
- b.
- ```

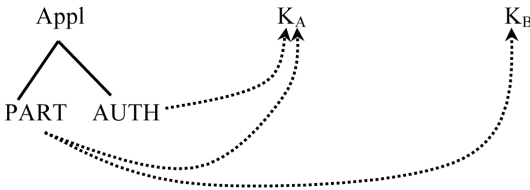
      K
     / \
    PART AUTH
  
```

Here then is the derivation of Czech (26a):

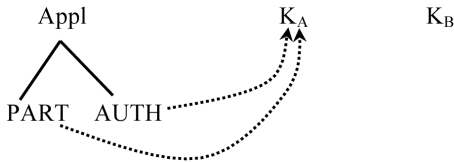
<sup>24</sup> In Franks (2017: section 5.2.4.4) I suggest that some speakers of Mac may also adhere to this system, but suspect that in fact there are no true clitic combinations in this language, in that OBJ (traditional ACC) clitics are really object agreement markers, as argued in Franks (2009), and that, when they cooccur with OBJ ones, the OBL (traditional DAT) clitics are really non-argument (ethical) datives, introduced in the specifier of (high) ApplP.

(28) **Strictly Descending System: Spreading of PART AND AUTH**

[overlay restriction (27a); geometry (27b)]



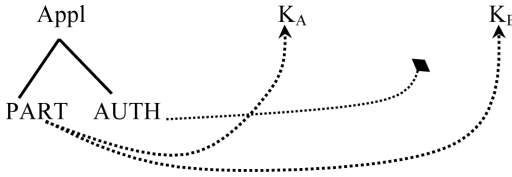
This sort of spreading clearly would be impossible if AUTH were a feature of PART, as it is in the Strong system. The ordering 1<sup>st</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup>, which is perfect under any POC system, is derived as follows:

(29) **Strictly Descending System: Derivation of 1<sup>st</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup>**

Here, since  $K_B$  ends up as 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the fact that AUTH and PART are independent is irrelevant. Lastly, the 2<sup>nd</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup> ordering, which again is perfect in any system, is derived exactly as depicted for the Strong POC in (15b). Thus, both systems share the fact that what defines them is the overlay restriction in (11a), namely that the clitics do not come with person values. The difference is one of feature geometry: in the Strictly Descending system, but not in the Strong one, AUTH is not dependent on PART.<sup>25</sup> The result is that clitic<sub>A</sub> can be 1<sup>st</sup> person and clitic<sub>B</sub> can be 2<sup>nd</sup>. This is precisely what is needed to derive the Strictly Descending POC order 1<sup>st</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup> in (26a) and to make it diverge from the Strong PCC in just this one way.

Finally, unlike in the Weak pattern of BCMS, the order in Czech (26b) is not possible; cf. (31f):

<sup>25</sup> This differs from the analysis in Franks (forthcoming), which maintains the feature geometry in (9b) for all POC systems but requires an explicit PERS node (the proposal there being that clitics have no PERS node in the Strong system but do have one in Strictly Descending). I now see PERS as both unwarranted and technically problematic.

(30) **Strictly Descending System: Failed derivation of 2<sup>nd</sup> » 1<sup>st</sup> (26b)**

## 5.2 Super-Strong

Here is a summary of all the patterns analyzed up to this point:

| (31) | <u>Strictly Descending POC</u>     | <u>Weak POC</u>                    | <u>Me-First POC</u>                | <u>Strong POC</u>                  |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a.   | 1 <sup>st</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 1 <sup>st</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 1 <sup>st</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 1 <sup>st</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  |
| b.   | *3 <sup>rd</sup> » 1 <sup>st</sup> | *3 <sup>rd</sup> » 1 <sup>st</sup> | *3 <sup>rd</sup> » 1 <sup>st</sup> | *3 <sup>rd</sup> » 1 <sup>st</sup> |
| c.   | 2 <sup>nd</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  |
| d.   | *3 <sup>rd</sup> » 2 <sup>nd</sup> | *3 <sup>rd</sup> » 2 <sup>nd</sup> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> » 2 <sup>nd</sup>  | *3 <sup>rd</sup> » 2 <sup>nd</sup> |
| e.   | 1 <sup>st</sup> » 2 <sup>nd</sup>  | 1 <sup>st</sup> » 2 <sup>nd</sup>  | 1 <sup>st</sup> » 2 <sup>nd</sup>  | *1 <sup>st</sup> » 2 <sup>nd</sup> |
| f.   | *2 <sup>nd</sup> » 1 <sup>st</sup> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> » 1 <sup>st</sup>  | *2 <sup>nd</sup> » 1 <sup>st</sup> | *2 <sup>nd</sup> » 1 <sup>st</sup> |
| g.   | 3 <sup>rd</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> » 3 <sup>rd</sup>  |

These reflect the standard systems, as reported in the PCC literature, and are also those I tried to address in Franks (2017).

There is, however one more variant to be considered. In their catalog of PCC types, Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017) discuss a highly restrictive system dubbed “Super-Strong” by Haspelmath (2004). It looks like this:

(32) Super-Strong POC

- a. 1<sup>st</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup>
- b. \*3<sup>rd</sup> » 1<sup>st</sup>
- c. 2<sup>nd</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup>
- d. \*3<sup>rd</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup>
- e. \*1<sup>st</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup>
- f. \*2<sup>nd</sup> » 1<sup>st</sup>
- g. \*3<sup>rd</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup>

The only admissible combinations are ones in which 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person precedes 3<sup>rd</sup> person; even two 3<sup>rd</sup> persons, as in (32g), is not allowed. Pancheva & Zubizarreta rightly remark that “this is the least well-known variety of PCC,” and here one

needs to go well beyond Slavic to demonstrate it. I give the Kambera (Malayo-Polynesian) examples they cite from Klamer (1997: 903–904):<sup>26</sup>

- (33) a. Na-            wua    **-ngga**        **-nya.**            **1.io » 3.do**  
           3SG.NOM-    give    -1SG.DAT(10) -3SG.DAT(0)  
           ‘He gives it to me.’
- b. Na-            wua    **-nggau**        **-nja.**            **2.io » 3.do**  
           3SG.NOM-    give    -2SG.DAT(10) -3PL.DAT(0)  
           ‘He gives them to you.’
- c. \*Na-            wua    **-nja**            **-nya.**            **\*3.io » 3.do**  
           3SG.NOM-    give    -3PL.DAT(10) -3SG.DAT(0)  
           ‘He gives it to them.’
- d. \*Na-            wua    **-nya**            **-ngga.**            **\*3.io » 1.do**  
           3SG.NOM-    give    -3SG.DAT(10) -1SG.DAT(0)  
           ‘He gives me to him.’
- e. \*Na-            wua    **-ngga**        **-nggau.**            **\*1.io » 2.do**  
           3SG.NOM-    give    -1SG.DAT(10) -2SG.DAT(0)  
           ‘He gives you to me.’

As Klamer (1997: 903) describes it, “a sequence of two object clitics marking third person (number is irrelevant) is always disallowed” and “two object clitics can only occur in sequence if the inner clitic is first or second person and the outer clitic is third person.” We thus have:

- (34) **Super-Strong POC:** In a combination of clitic pronouns, the first clitic cannot be 3<sup>rd</sup> person and the second clitic must be.

She mentions other complexities involving clitics, but this is the only one that is sensitive to person. As such, it is quite strange and not easily assimilated to more

**26** Note that in the double object construction both arguments are DAT, but the order is IO » DO. Haspelmath (2004) and Doliana (2014) also discuss the Kambera data, the former—who perhaps most transparently refers to the PCC as the “Ditransitive Person-Role Constraint”—offering a usage-based account and the latter couching his analysis within an optimality-theoretic version of minimalism. Matsigenka (or Machiguenga), an Arawak language of southeastern Peru, is the only other Super-Strong language identified in the literature, by Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017); cf. O’Hagan (2014). This language does not distinguish case on its object markers (hence also does not mark IO and DO differently), supporting the suggestion made at the end of this section that case may be the relevant factor. (It is also famous, according to Hurford (2012: 610) and references therein, for not having proper names.)

general approaches. It is not clear that what I have put forward for Slavic can be extended to handle the Super-Strong pattern, but here is an attempt.

Imagine that such languages necessarily embody a perspectival center. Thus, in my system, we can force the first clitic in a sequence to be 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person. That gives (32a) and (32c). If, moreover, we assume that clitics never bear person features of their own, as in the Strong and Strictly-Descending systems, and we assume that PART dominates AUTH, as in the Strong system and unlike the Strictly-Descending one, then exactly the results in (33) can be derived. If so, Super-Strong actually looks a lot like the Strong system, provided one can additionally rule out combinations of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns. So the derivations of (33a) and (33b) are just like the derivations of (standard) Slvn and Bg (2a) and (3a), as depicted in (15) and repeated in (35):

(35) **Super-Strong System: Spreading of PART**

[overlay restriction (14a); geometry (14b)]



Admittedly, since the only special addition is the blocking of combinations of 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics, there may be better ways of accomplishing this than requiring an Appl to force the first one to be 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person. While it is certainly credible that some independent factor prevents \*3<sup>rd</sup> » 3<sup>rd</sup>, here my goal is simply to show how the approach in this paper can accommodate such a Super-Strong system; cf. also the treatments in Haspelmath (2004), Doliana (2014), and Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017).

There is, finally, one potentially serious problem with my characterization of such languages as having to include a high ApplP: if there is just one clitic, it *can* be 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Moreover, this is true even when there is an implicit second argument. In addition to the ditransitive examples in (33), Klamer (1997: 903) cites the following; cf. also the discussion of anti-agreement in Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017):

- (36) a. Na-            wua    -**nya**.                            **3.io OR 3.do**  
 3SG.NOM-    give    -3SG.DAT  
 ‘He gives (it) to him.’  
 ‘He gives it.’

- b. Na-                    wua    -**ngga.**                                    **1.io OR 1.do**  
 3SG.NOM-            give    -1SG.DAT  
 ‘He gives (it) to me.’  
 ‘He gives me (e.g., as a bride to someone).’

First, I would maintain that there is only one argument *syntactically* represented in (36). Clitics, to be sure, double full arguments, which in such languages are often silent pro, but I take the absence of a second dative clitic to mean there is no second argument in the structure. This is why both IO and DO interpretations are available. So my conclusion about the obligatory presence of a high ApplP is that this must only be true in ditransitive constructions. Why might there be such a correlation? Here is my speculation: whenever there is a low ApplP, there must (in Kambara, at least) also be a high ApplP. By connecting them in this way, ditransitives—and only these—imply a perspectival center. That is, in the clause structure in (12), repeated below, the low ApplP can only exist if there is also a high ApplP:

- (37) [<sub>VP</sub> **Subj** v [<sub>AppIP</sub> Appl [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>AppIP</sub> **Ind-Obj** [<sub>AppI</sub> Appl [**D-Obj**]]]]]]]

Since the opposite is not true, i.e., it is a one-way correlation, my guess is that the low ApplP must be locally c-commanded by another Appl to be licensed. Another idea, if the proposal suggested in footnote 14 is adopted, is that there is simply a prohibition on two consecutive K heads (recall that these are necessarily 3<sup>rd</sup> person, since person features are borne by N). The pattern in (34) thus becomes a matter of case, which is not surprising given that in Kambara both IO and DO are marked the same, i.e., DAT (even though there is an ACC; cf. e.g. Klamer 1997). The difference between Strong and Super Strong is thus not really a matter of one of the POC variables put forward in this article, it is really a restricted version of the family Strong system.

## 6 Spreading and Repair Strategies

We now return to Slavic. In this section we ask what the underspecification and feature spreading model has to say about the relative felicity of different available repair strategies when the operative POC would otherwise be violated. One strategy is accessible for languages in which the order of the clitics is not fixed as DAT » ACC, and involves putting the accusative pronoun above the dative one. The other is available more generally, and involves substituting a tonic pronoun for one of the clitics. It will be argued that these strategies succeed to the extent

that they involve eliminating the sequence of two clitics, thereby by-passing any conceivable effect of blocking access to the lower one by the higher one.

## 6.1 Reordering

The canonical, unmarked order of clitics throughout Slavic is DAT » ACC, a fact which in virtually every generative approach follows in one way or another from clausal architecture. I thus take departures from this order to reflect movement of the accusative pronoun to a position above the dative one. Here I am not so much concerned with the mechanics of this movement as with its result: since there is now only one clitic to worry about, all POC effects are obviated.

Languages (and speakers) differ in how acceptable non-canonical orders are, but at least Czech, Polish, and Slvn seem to avail themselves of this strategy. Consider West Slavic Czech, in which under any POC scenario the order *mu tě* ‘him<sub>DAT</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub>’ would be infelicitous. Franks, Junghanns & Law (2004: 21) offer the example in (38), citing Lenertová (2004: 153):<sup>27</sup>

- (38) Já    **tě**    **mu**    nedám!  
       I    you<sub>ACC</sub>    him<sub>DAT</sub>    not-give<sub>I.SG</sub>  
       ‘I won’t give you to him!’

While it is not obvious what to make of this strategy (especially given footnote 27), it is at least clear that the order *tě mu* means that person features, spread down from Appl, only need to access the first clitic, *tě*. And the fact that this is ACC rather than DAT appears to be irrelevant. That is the main reason why I have eschewed reference to case in describing the POC phenomenon.

In a series of recent papers, Stegovec also reaches the conclusion that person restrictions on clitic order are not about case. Recall Slvn example (2b), in which 3<sup>rd</sup> person DAT *mu* illegally precedes either 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person ACC *me* or *te*. As in Czech, this can easily be repaired by reordering *me/te* before *mu*. Stegovec (2016: 292) offers (39) as the grammatical way to express (2b):

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<sup>27</sup> Sturgeon et al. (2012) also mention the unexpected ACC » DAT order, stating (p. 121) that “this clitic order only surfaces when the clitic combination violates the PCC.” However, while they found 12 such examples on the web (and none in the CNC), they also found eight PCC violations (plus two in the CNC) with the order *mu tě* ‘him<sub>DAT</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub>’ in examples just like (38). Given this, as well as the fact that other languages with freer pronoun order, such as Slvn and Polish, can exhibit non-canonical orders even when the POC does not come into play, I am suspicious of the ostensible last resort nature of the reordering solution in Czech.

- (39) Sestra **me/te** **mu** bo predstavila. **1/2.ACC » 3.DAT**  
 sister me/you<sub>ACC</sub> him<sub>DAT</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub>  
 ‘The sister will introduce me/you to him.’

In my system, person features will spread from Appl to *me/te*, which is now highest/first, so that no interference from an intervening clitic comes into play. On the other hand, as Stegovec points out, “the ACC » DAT clitic order is not devoid of person restrictions,” citing the following as ungrammatical:

- (40) a. \*Sestra **ga** **mi/ti** bo predstavila. **\*3.ACC » 1/2.DAT**  
 sister him<sub>ACC</sub> me/you<sub>DAT</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub>  
 ‘The sister will introduce him to me/you.’  
 b. (\*)Sestra **me/te** **ti/mi** bo predstavila. **(\*)1/2.ACC » 2/1.DAT**  
 sister me/you<sub>ACC</sub> you/me<sub>DAT</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub>  
 ‘The sister will introduce me/you to you/me.’

The judgment in (40a) follows as before, in that it is impossible to spread PART to *mi/ti* over *ga*. In standard Slvn (40b) is similar, but for speakers who respect the Weak POC this is acceptable, since in that system either clitic can bear AUTH (independently of PART, which spreads to both of them). Once again, case is irrelevant.

While I have been intentionally vague as to how or why the ACC pronoun moves, the general proposal put forward in Franks (1998/2010) in considering similar phenomena in Polish is that, whereas fixed orders derive from clitics behaving as heads, variable orders are the consequence of them moving as phrases. In other words, whenever in these languages the ACC pronoun appears above the DAT one, that is the result of it scrambling as an XP. While this is not surprising for the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics, since I have suggested that these might better be analyzed with a K(P)-over-N(P) structure, it also extends to 3<sup>rd</sup> person ones, which are just K(P). Thus, the order in (40a) is derivable, with *ga* above *mi/ti*, but this makes it then impossible for *mi* or *ti* to receive person features. The possibility that even 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics are able to scramble in Slvn as phrases is consistent with arguments in Franks (2016) that they can enjoy additional nominal structure, and is buttressed by the fact that in Slvn the inverse order can apply much more generally (so long as the POC is respected). Stegovec (2016) provides the minimal pair in (41), both with two 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics, albeit noting (p. 292) that “the two orders are not entirely equivalent”:



- (41) a. Gospa **mu** **ga** je opisala. **3.DAT » 3.ACC**  
 lady him<sub>DAT</sub> him<sub>ACC</sub> AUX<sub>3.SG</sub> describe<sub>F</sub>  
 ‘The lady described him to him.’
- b. Gospa **ga** **mu** je opisala. **3.ACC » 3.DAT**  
 lady him<sub>ACC</sub> him<sub>DAT</sub> AUX<sub>3.SG</sub> describe<sub>F</sub>  
 ‘The lady described him to him.’

Of course, since this is scrambling, viability of the marked order in (41b) depends on imagining an appropriate discourse context.<sup>28</sup> The key point for the present paper, however, is that neither order is relevant for the POC, since in neither case do the clitics need person features.

The account nonetheless raises important questions which should at least be mentioned.<sup>29</sup> One fundamental issue concerns whether or not a language even displays POC effects. For example, the Polish facts, which were my point of departure in Franks (2017, forthcoming) in identifying the reordering solution, are much less clear.<sup>30</sup> Judgments are mixed and, for many speakers, it seems that Cetnarowski (2003: 17) was correct in concluding that “the PCC does not hold for Polish.” The fix for this, however, is straightforward in my system: if a pronoun is fully specified for person features, then it has no need for them to be valued by

<sup>28</sup> Adrian Stegovec (p.c.) suggests (41b) as a natural response to the question in (i), with *lopova* ‘(the) thief’ fronted:

- (i) Kdo je lopova opisal Petru?  
 who AUX<sub>3.SG</sub> thief<sub>ACC</sub> describe<sub>M</sub> Peter<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘Who described the thief to Peter?’

This makes perfect sense if, just like the phrases for which they substitute, clitics can scramble in S<sub>ltn</sub> to reflect the exigencies of functional sentence perspective.

<sup>29</sup> I thank Jacek Witkoś (p.c.) for drawing these issues to my attention in an (at the time) anonymous review of Franks (forthcoming), some of which also appear in Witkoś (2018).

<sup>30</sup> In Franks (1998/2010) and Franks & King (2000) I reported judgments for Polish (from Piotr Bański, p.c.) according to which (i) was degraded (assuming no special pragmatics or prosody) while (ii), with its non-canonical ACC » DAT order, served as its neutral replacement:

- (i) ??Pokazali **mu** **cię** wczoraj.  
 showed<sub>VIR</sub> him<sub>DAT</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub> yesterday.  
 ??‘They showed ’im you [mju] yesterday.’
- (ii) Pokazali **cię mu** wczoraj.  
 ‘They showed you to him yesterday.’

However, as noted in Franks (2017, forthcoming), this has been subsequently contested. Krzysztof Migdalski (p.c.) comments that (i) is perfect, whereas the order in (ii) “requires a special context” in which *cię* ‘you’ is highlighted. This again implies that, although the unmarked order is DAT » ACC, as argued by Cetnarowska (2003), no POC is in effect (hence Polish clitic pronouns are fully specified) and that they can scramble for pragmatic reasons (just as phrases do).

Appl and is therefore not subject to POC-type restrictions. This begs the question, however, of the extent to which full specification correlates with phrasal projection status. While this seems to be a strong tendency, it is far from absolute; so-called “weak” pronouns (cf. e.g. Cardinaletti & Starke 1994) in languages like English also seem to show POC effects, hence are like (most) Slavic clitics in not being fully specified, but they do not have the “special” syntax (in the sense of Zwicky 1977) attributable to the head (and paradigmatic) status of Slavic pronominal clitics. Also, as discussed in Franks (1998/2010) and Franks & King (2000), *inter alia*, the fact that clitic pronouns have a far greater freedom of occurrence in Polish than in the other languages—being neither second-position nor verb-adjacent—is one obvious reason to treat them as phrasal.<sup>31</sup> Whether or not they are clitics prosodically is an independent matter, and indeed, for the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular at least, original clitic forms are being replaced by the tonic variants (i.e., *mnie* is used instead of ACC *mnę* and DAT *mi*, probably facilitated by complete segmental syncretism in the plural, as well as 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine and neuter in the singular).<sup>32</sup> But the fact that they are becoming weak pronouns does not necessarily free them from the POC. A second important question is why some clitics can move as phrases (scramble) and others cannot. It is tempting to connect this to one of the other variables, but it seems that elements with no internal structure do not necessarily behave as heads. For example, as discussed in Nunes (2004: section 1.5.3.3) and Franks (2017: chapter 2), *wh*-phrases that are also *wh*-words can be reanalyzed as heads, but phrases that are not also words cannot. This is why, for some speakers of German (and other languages), at intermediate sites it is possible to pronounce copies (for Nunes; for me this is a matter of multiattachment instead), as in (42), but only when the fronted *wh*-phrase can also double as a head, as (43) shows:

- (42) [<sub>CP</sub> **Wen** glaubt Hans [<sub>CP</sub> **wen** [<sub>TP</sub> Jakob ~~wen~~ gesehen hat]]]?  
 whom believes Hans whom Jakob whom seen has  
 ‘Who does Hans believe that Jakob saw?’

**31** Another is that even the erstwhile auxiliary clitics are becoming inflectional, meaning that special clitics are under pressure in Polish in general.

**32** This trend is probably a matter of syllable structure, since it occurs only with the monosyllabic full forms and not with the bisyllabic ones (i.e., 2<sup>nd</sup> person *ciebie*, *tobie*, reflexive *siebie*, *sobie*, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person *jego*, *jemu*).

- (43) \*<sub>[CP</sub> **Welchen Mann** glaubt Hans <sub>[CP</sub> **welchen Mann** <sub>[TP</sub> Jakob ~~welchen Mann~~ gesehen hat]]]?  
 which man believes Hans Jakob  
**Mann** gesehen hat]]]?  
 seen has  
 ‘Which man does Hans believe that Jakob saw?’

Why such *wh*-copying happens when it does and why other morphologically simplex *wh*-phrases do not allow it remains a mystery, and I have nothing substantive to add to Nunes’s (2004: 42–43) suggestion that the vagaries of apparent intermediate copy pronunciation are “due not to syntactic computations proper, but to the degree of permissiveness of a given dialect or idiolect to morphological reanalysis.” Similarly for clitics, it remains a mystery to me why, as one travels north and west through the Slavic terrain, the propensity to treat pronominal clitics as phrases seems to increase. In sum, I do not attempt to resolve such questions here, as nothing in my feature spreading account of POC typology bears on them, and leave them as matters for future research.

## 6.2 Person Features and Tonic Substitution Repairs<sup>33</sup>

The repair strategy of tonic substitution, on the other hand, turns out to have considerable import for the analysis presented in section 4. Combinations of clitics can also be eliminated by replacing one of them with a tonic/full pronoun, with the result that there is only one clitic and no POC is invoked in the first place. As will be shown below, this is where the feature spreading system leads to some novel insights. The effects of tonic substitution repair thus constitute the topic of the remainder of this paper.

In a language like Bg, in which clitics are necessarily heads, tonic substitution is the only repair strategy available. So instead of (44) we have (45), where tonic forms are glossed using small caps:

- (44) \*Pokazvat **mu** **te**.  
 show<sub>3PL</sub> him<sub>OBL</sub> you<sub>OBJ</sub>  
 ??‘They are showing ’im you [mju].’

<sup>33</sup> This section is based on Franks (forthcoming: section 3.2).

- (45) a. Pokazvat **te** na nego.  
 show<sub>3PL</sub> you<sub>OBJ</sub> to HIM<sub>OBJ</sub>  
 ‘They are showing you to him.’
- b. Pokazvat **mu** tebe.  
 show<sub>3PL</sub> him<sub>OBL</sub> you<sub>OBJ</sub>  
 ‘They are showing him YOU.’

Both variants circumvent the infelicitous string *mu te* ‘him<sub>OBL</sub> you<sub>OBJ</sub>’ in (44), which comes up against the Strong POC in (13). But there is a difference: (45b), which retains 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic *mu*, is marked in that tonic *tebe* ‘you’ bears contrastive focus, whereas (45a), with 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic *te* and tonic *na nego*, is stylistically neutral, not contrastive.<sup>34</sup> More generally, Bg speakers consistently report that, for clitic combinations of 3<sup>rd</sup> person OBL plus 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person OBJ, the unmarked resolution is for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person to be expressed with a tonic pronoun and for the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person OBJ to be retained as a clitic.<sup>35</sup> The OBJ 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person tonic form is then perceived as bearing contrastive focus, so that one expects (45b) to be followed for example by *a ne mene* ‘and not me.’ Let us examine the difference between these competing tonic substitution repairs.

Our point of departure is the claim that clitics can be un- (or under-)specified for person, receiving their values from a higher functional category. In this way they differ from full forms, which are fully specified. I showed in section 4.1 that Bg clitics are minimally specified hence canonical clitics, lacking as they do both PART and AUTH. This causes them to conform to the Strong system. Thus, the sole clitics in the two alternatives in (45) cannot differ in terms of their person features, because they have none.<sup>36</sup> However, from the perspective of the features of Appl they diverge, in that spreading to a 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic requires Appl to be more specified (i.e., [PART—AUTH]) than spreading to a 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic (i.e., just [PART]). And a 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic requires no input from Appl, since a non-participant in the speech act receives a default “non-person” interpretation. It appears, then, that there is a flip side to the desideratum that clitics bear minimal feature

<sup>34</sup> Roumyana Pancheva (p.c.) points out to me that, as a general feature of Bg, *na* followed by a full pronoun does not need to be emphatic, although a full pronoun always does. There could thus be less at stake here, since the reported contrast may not be solely a matter of POC repair.

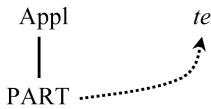
<sup>35</sup> I thank Boris Harizanov, Iliana Krapova, Roumyana Pancheva, and Vesela Simeonova for judgments and helpful discussion of the Bg data.

<sup>36</sup> More accurately, 2<sup>nd</sup> person *te* in (45a) lacks person features because of the restriction in (11a) whereas 3<sup>rd</sup> person *mu* in (45b) lacks them in principle. This also follows from the idea (in footnote 14) that the former is an N whereas the latter is a K, since only N (and not K) can be elaborated with person features. Although possibly relevant, I put this factor aside in the discussion in the text.

values, namely that the Appl node which expresses point of view and identifies the clitics should be maximally specified. What this means is that the more specified the logophoric center of the sentence, the better. In this way, 1<sup>st</sup> person is the optimal point of view perspective, with 2<sup>nd</sup> person next, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person, as not part of the speech act at all, is unable to provide a point of view perspective.

Let us make this explicit. In a Strong system such as Bg all person features are spread to the clitics from above. Thus, in (45a), features are valued on *te* as follows:

(46) **Spreading of PART in (45a)**



From the perspective of Appl this is superior to what is needed for (45b), because there *mu*, as unmarked 3<sup>rd</sup> person, needs no features from a high Appl (and which is presumably not even present in the structure). The approach makes additional predictions, some of which are quite delicate. For example, (48a) and (49a) should beat (48b) and (49b) as the neutral resolutions of Bg (3c), repeated as (47):

(47) \*Vera **mi/ti**                      **te/me**                      predstavi.                      \*1/2. OBL » 2/1.OBJ  
Vera    me/you<sub>SG-OBL</sub>    you/me<sub>OBL</sub>    introduced  
'Vera introduced me to you.'

(48) a. Vera    **me**                      predstavi                      na teb(e).  
Vera    me<sub>OBL</sub>                      introduced                      TO-YOU<sub>OBL</sub>  
b. Vera    **ti**                      predstavi                      mene.  
Vera    you<sub>OBL</sub>                      introduced                      ME<sub>OBL</sub>

(49) a. Vera    **mi**                      predstavi                      tebe.  
Vera    me<sub>OBL</sub>                      introduced                      YOU<sub>OBL</sub>  
b. Vera    **te**                      predstavi                      na men(e).  
Vera    you<sub>OBL</sub>                      introduced                      TO-ME<sub>OBL</sub>

This follows because for Appl to be 1<sup>st</sup> person ([PART—AUTH]), as needed for the (a) examples with *me* and *mi*, provides more specification, i.e., a richer logophoric center, than for it to be 2<sup>nd</sup> person (just [PART]), as needed for the (b) examples with *ti* and *te*.

Similar contrasts are expected to be true of Slvn. Stegovec (2016: 204) points out that, in addition to the reordering strategy identified in section 6.1, another

possibility of “repair is to realize one of the members of the banned clitic cluster as a strong pronoun.” He provides the examples in (50) as ways to resolve the POC violations in (2):

- (50) a. Sestra **mu** bo predstavila mene/tebe.  
 sister him<sub>DAT</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub> ME/YOU<sub>ACC</sub>
- b. Sestra **mi/ti** bo predstavila tebe/mene.  
 sister me/you<sub>DAT</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub> ME/YOU<sub>ACC</sub>
- c. Sestra **me/te** bo predstavila tebi/meni.  
 sister me/you<sub>ACC</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub> YOU/ME<sub>DAT</sub>

Specifically, (50a) repairs (2b), while (50b) and (50c) both repair (2c), for those speakers who respect the Strong (rather than Weak) POC system. He does not compare the variants *Sestra mi bo predstavila tebe* (from (50b)) and *Sestra te bo predstavila meni* (from (50c)), both of which he translates as ‘The sister will introduce you to me’, but for Strong POC speakers, the former should be less marked and the latter should imply contrastive focus on *meni*. The Slvn judgments are complicated by the fact that this is a language which also allows the phrasal analysis of pronominal clitics, hence it exhibits both options. Thus, (50a) exists alongside the reordering solution in (39). Also, one should compare with (50a), which retains 3<sup>rd</sup> person *mu*, the alternative, offered by Adrian Stegovec (p. c.), which replaces that with its full version *njemu* and retains the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic *me/te* instead:

- (51) Sestra **me/te** bo predstavila njemu.  
 sister me/you<sub>ACC</sub> FUT<sub>3.SG</sub> introduce<sub>F</sub> HIM<sub>DAT</sub>

We turn finally to BCMS, which it will be recalled obeys a Me-First system. Hence the clitic combinations *mu me* ‘him<sub>DAT</sub> me<sub>ACC</sub>’ in (6b) and *ti me* ‘you<sub>DAT</sub> me<sub>ACC</sub>’ in (7b) are unacceptable. The neutral resolution should retain ACC clitic *me* ‘me’ and introduce tonic DAT forms *njemu* ‘him’ and *tebi* ‘you’, rather than the other way around. The results for repairing (6b) are thus just as in the Strong system:

- (52) a. Toplo **mu** preporučuješ mene.  
 warmly him<sub>DAT</sub> recommend<sub>2.SG</sub> ME<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘It is ME who you warmly recommend to him.’
- b. Toplo **me** preporučuješ njemu.  
 warmly me<sub>ACC</sub> recommend<sub>2.SG</sub> HIM<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘You warmly recommend me to him.’

While these data add nothing new to what has already been established, additional if perhaps somewhat less forceful arguments can be made by exploiting the relationship between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person in a Me-First system. Specifically, one wonders how Runić's BCMS (7b), repeated in (53) and blocked in (23b), can be repaired.

- (53) ??(\*)Toplo **ti** **me** preporučuje. \*2.DAT » 1.ACC  
 warmly you<sub>DAT</sub> me<sub>ACC</sub> recommend<sub>3.SG</sub>  
 'He warmly recommends me to you.'

One possibility would be to retain the ACC 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic *me* and to use a full form for the DAT 2<sup>nd</sup> person, as in (54a), while the other would be to retain the DAT 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic *ti* and to use a full form for the ACC 1<sup>st</sup> person, as in (54b).

- (54) a. Toplo **me** tebi preporučuje.  
 warmly me<sub>ACC</sub> YOU<sub>DAT</sub> recommend<sub>3.SG</sub>  
 'S/he warmly recommends you to me.'  
 b. Toplo **ti** mene preporučuje.  
 warmly you<sub>DAT</sub> ME<sub>ACC</sub> recommend<sub>3.SG</sub>  
 'It is ME who s/he warmly recommends to you.'

While judgments are subtle,<sup>37</sup> it seems that the former alternative is the less marked option. We can diagram the spreading alternatives in (54) as follows:

(55) Spreading of PART in (54)



It is, finally, interesting to note that the contrast is stronger (hence clearer) in (52), where the choice is between spreading two features (to *me*) or nothing (to *mu*),

<sup>37</sup> Although these judgments have been confirmed by a number of BCMS speakers, including Miloje Despić, Ljiljana Progovac, Sandra Stjepanović, and Aida Talić, Jelena Runić (p.c.) herself expresses some doubt about the differences here. All consultants nonetheless sensed a contrast when 3<sup>rd</sup> person is involved. Further study of the variants and their appropriate contexts is clearly warranted, in BCMS and beyond.

than in (54), where it is between Appl having two features or one, as illustrated in (55).

It remains to be seen whether other systems, both within Slavic and beyond, are amenable to this way of mediating the choice between competing repair strategies. And of course, all these examples also differ in case. One might, therefore, contend that, given the choice of an ACC/OBJ clitic or a DAT/OBL one, it is always the ACC/OBJ clitic that wins. This seems wrong, given the conclusion one is led to on the basis of the reordering repair strategy described in section 6.1, namely, that the POC has nothing to do with case. It is not easy to demonstrate the irrelevance of case on the basis of Slavic data (since DAT » ACC); nor do I know what a case-theoretic account would look like. One possible Slavic argument can however be made using the resolution of infelicitous 1<sup>st</sup> » 2<sup>nd</sup> in Strong PCC languages, such as Bg (47) with \**mi te* ‘me you’: here we saw that retaining oblique *mi*, as in (49a), is pragmatically unmarked. A more persuasive argument for the present approach could in principle also be constructed with the right language. The most compelling situation would be one in which some POC violation involved an ACC clitic before a DAT one and the language in question employed the tonic pronoun repair strategy: the system described in this paper would then end up replacing the ACC clitic and retaining the DAT one.

## 7 Summary and Conclusions

The present paper has explored the nature and derivation of person restrictions on the ordering of co-occurring clitic pronouns, referred to here as Person Ordering Constraints. In section 2, three different South Slavic POC systems were described: a Strong one, a Weak one, and a Me-First one. These were shown to follow from a set of assumptions, laid out in section 3, about clitics and person features, namely: (i) that clitics can be radically underspecified; (ii) that person (at least for the Slavic languages under consideration) can be exhaustively characterized in terms of two features, PART(icipant) and AUTH(or), with 3<sup>rd</sup> person instantiating the absence of person; (iii) that languages differ in terms of whether their clitics are unspecified for PART, for AUTH, or for both; and (iv) that when absent on the clitics, these features spread, in a top-down (or left-to-right) fashion, to the clitics from a high Appl(icative) node. Section 4 showed how the three South Slavic systems could be derived, with one important variable—in addition to the extent of underspecification—being the actual feature geometry of PART and AUTH. In section 5 the account was extended to two additional systems, Strictly Descending and Super-Strong (although the latter, which is very rare, may well follow from independent restrictions which further limit the Strong



POC). Finally, in section 6, speculations were offered on how feature spreading might shed light on two POC violation repair strategies observed in South Slavic data, a reordering strategy which scrambles the lower clitic to render it higher, hence accessible by Appl, and a substitution strategy which replaces one of the clitics with its full, tonic counterpart. Competition between the options was examined, and it was proposed that the less marked repair maximizes the person feature specification of Appl.

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