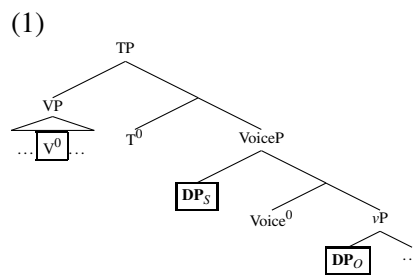


More on ‘Lexical DP Blocking’ effects in the PCC: Evidence from Mixtec

Sichel & Toosarvandani (to appear) (henceforth, ‘S&T’) demonstrate that Southeastern Sierra Zapotec (SSZ) displays a Person-Case Constraint (PCC) effect on subject/object clitic combinations. Importantly, SSZ also displays an otherwise novel constraint, termed a **Lexical DP Blocking (LDB) effect**: *all* object clitics are banned in the presence of a lexical DP subject. This is analyzed by S&T as an intervention effect, in that the subject prevents the object clitic from being licensed by a higher probe. This talk investigates the LDB by comparing SSZ to the (related) San Juan Piñas variety of Mixtec (SJPM). SJPM also displays the PCC, as well as a version of the LDB. Crucially, the exact nature of the effect in SJPM reveals that the LDB *does not involve subject intervention*—thus motivating a reframing of the phenomenon. I develop an *object preference* account of the PCC/LDB in both languages, building on Deal (to appear): the object is Agreed with first, and this may bleed Agree with the subject. This talk thus clarifies how full DPs should be integrated into existing typologies and theories of the PCC.

1. The PCC/LDB in SSZ. Zapotec belongs to the Oto-Manguean family, which also includes Mixtec. It displays base Verb Phrase-Subject-Object word order, derived by object shift to Spec-*v*P, followed by



remnant VP-movement to Spec-TP, past the low subject, (1) (Adler et al. 2018). For expository ease, I place the low subject in Spec-VoiceP. Pronominal arguments may be encoded as post-verbal clitics. There are no case distinctions. Southeastern Sierra varieties display a strong PCC pattern, in that subject/object clitic combinations are banned if the object is 1/2 but not 3rd pers., (2-3). Moreover, object clitics of *all* persons are banned when the subject is a full DP—this is the LDB, (4). The ill-formed combinations are ‘repaired’ by encoding the object as a tonic pronoun instead (**boxed** throughout). (Finally, in 3-on-3 clitic combinations, the object must not outrank the subject in animacy, omitted for space.)

(2) Wdill=**ba**’ **nada**’ (3) Blenh=**ba**’=**b** (4) Blenh **Xwanha**’ **leb**

stung=3.AN PRON.1S
‘It stung me.’ (*=*a*)

carried=3.HU=3.AN
‘S/he carried it.’

carried Juana PRON.3.AN
‘Juana carried it.’ (*=*b*)

Since both full DPs and pronouns participate in the overall PCC pattern, S&T propose a feature geometry that also includes DPs: [δ - ϕ -PART]. DPs bear [δ], 3 pers. pronouns bear [δ , ϕ], and 1/2 pers. pronouns bear [δ , ϕ ,PART]. Assuming that pronominal cliticization involves Agree and subsequent movement, S&T argue that: (i) a single probe, P, c-commands *both* subject (G_1) and object (G_2), and (ii) P may undergo a second round of Agree only if G_2 does not bear any features already copied onto P through Agreeing with G_1 . The PCC/LDB is thus a *defective intervention* effect (see (9) on p. 2). In (2) and (4), the object is more featurally-specified than the subject, so P can neither Agree with nor move it past the subject. In (3), however, P may Agree with both subject and object, so both are able to cliticize to P.

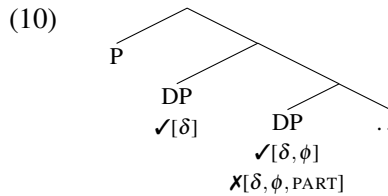
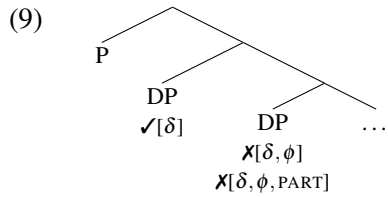
2. The PCC/LDB in SJPM. Mixtec also displays VP-S-O word order and has the structure in (1) (AUTHOR 2022). This talk focuses on the San Juan Piñas variety, though the general pattern discussed here has been documented elsewhere in Mixtec (see p. 2). Like SSZ, SJPM displays a strong PCC pattern among subject/object clitics, (5-6) (illustrated with 2P vs. 3S.M for phonological reasons). However, *only PART object clitics* are affected by the LDB, (7); 3 pers. object clitics are licit with full DP subjects and simply encliticize to them, (8). That the object cliticizes to the subject is evidenced by rightward low-tone spreading from the subject NP, which only applies within a prosodic word: =*ra*³ [M] in (6) becomes =*ra*¹ [L] in (8). (SJPM also lacks the 3-on-3 animacy restrictions found in SSZ, (6).)

(5) $\text{ji}^{13}\text{ni}^{31}=\text{ti}^5$ **ndo⁵ʔo¹**
saw=3.AN PRON.2P
‘It (anim.) saw you (pl.).’ (*=*ndo*⁵)

(6) $\text{ji}^{13}\text{ni}^{31}=\text{ti}^5=\text{ra}^3$
saw=3.AN=3S.M
‘It (anim.) saw him.’

(7) $\text{ji}^{13}\text{ni}^{31}$ [ti^5 **kwa⁵ʒu¹**] **ndo⁵ʔo¹**
saw D.3.AN horse PRON.2P
‘The horse saw you (pl.).’ (*=*ndo*⁵)

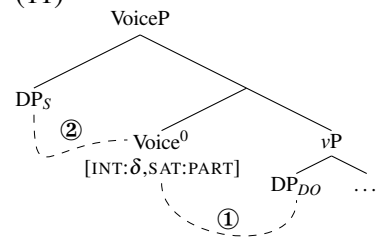
(8) $\text{ji}^{13}\text{ni}^{31}$ [ti^5 **kwa⁵ʒu¹**]=*ra*¹
saw D.3.AN horse =3S.M
‘The horse saw him.’



These data show that the LDB is operative in multiple Oto-Manguean languages. Thus, variation between SSZ and SJPM should ideally be analyzed as micro-parameterization within an otherwise uniform grammatical system. However, S&T’s intervention-based analysis of the LDB *cannot* be extended to SJPM. Given S&T’s feature geometry, 1/2 and 3 pers. pronouns are *both* more specified than lexical DPs. The SJPM pattern presents a contradiction: DP ([δ]) subjects block 1/2 pers. ([δ, φ, PART]) objects from cliticizing to P, but simultaneously allow 3 pers. ([δ, φ]) pronominal objects to do so. The difference between the two languages is illustrated in (9) (for SSZ) and (10) (for SJPM), respectively.

3. Object preference. To resolve this, I argue that the subject is not an intervener for object cliticization in SJPM or SSZ. Indeed, (8) reveals that the locus of object cliticization in SJPM is *below* the subject, not above it. We may also extend this to SSZ, as we lack positive empirical evidence for object clitics raising past subjects to begin with. Together, these points motivate an *object preference* account, whereby the object is Agreed with before the subject. This can be modeled in a *Cyclic Agree* approach (Bejar & Rezac 2009). Given the tree in (1), placing the probe in Voice⁰ allows it to target the object before expanding its search domain to include the subject in Spec-VoiceP (see (11)).

4. An INT/SAT account. To derive the PCC/LDB, I use Deal’s (2015, to appear) *interaction/satisfaction* theory of Agree, since object preference is central to Deal’s account of the PCC. Probes are specified with *interaction* and *satisfaction* conditions, which dictate which features are simply copied to the probe vs. which ones halt the probing process altogether. Deal posits that the strong PCC arises when a probe, P, is specified for [INT:φ, SAT:PART] and targets the lower DP (object) first. For SJPM, we need [INT:δ] rather than [INT:φ], as in (11). In strong PCC/LDB contexts (*3-on-PART; *DP-on-PART), Voice⁰ is satisfied by the PART object, so it does not probe for the subject. For SSZ, Voice⁰ is likewise specified for [INT:δ, SAT:PART], but it also *dynamically* interacts with [φ] (as S&T themselves sketch out). Thus, when Voice⁰ encounters a 3 pers. ([δ, φ]) object pronoun, Voice⁰ gets updated as [INT:φ, SAT:PART]. As a result, Voice⁰ may not target a full DP subject, thus deriving the LDB in SSZ. (The 3-on-3 animacy hierarchy in SSZ can also be modeled dynamically.) Altogether, variation in the LDB in SJPM and SSZ boils down to a single difference pertaining to the probing conditions of Voice⁰.



5. The ‘repair’. In this analysis, the object is always accessible to the probe for cliticization, but the subject is not. Why, then, is the PCC/LDB apparently ‘repaired’ by tonic pronouns in *object position*? Following Deal (to appear), tonic pronouns are not derivationally related to the pronominal clitics. I propose that tonic pronouns are enclosed within *an additional DP layer*, so their features are invisible to Voice⁰, (12). Thus, if Voice⁰ finds a DP-containing pronoun, only [δ] is copied. (This builds on a similar proposal for the Anaphor Agreement Effect (Woolford 1999).) Voice⁰ may then Agree with the subject, which I suggest allows it to be licensed (recall from (1) that T⁰ plays no role in subject licensing). Although this hypothesized structure is null in SJPM, overt evidence comes from closely related San Sebastián del Monte Mixtec (SSMM) (Mantenuto 2020). SSMM displays the same strong PCC/LDB pattern as SJPM, (13-15). Notably, there is no tonic pronoun form for 2S.HON; in PCC/LDB contexts, it is indeed realized inside a complex structure, (12).

(12)

- (13) Kàni=rà **mee=ní** (14) Kàni Juan **mee=ní** (15) Sàsi Juan=**ti**
 hit=3S.M D=2S.HON hit Juan D=2S.HON ate Juan=3.AN
 ‘He hit you.’ (*only =ní) ‘Juan hit you.’ (*only =ní) ‘Juan ate it (anim.)’

6. Conclusion. Building on S&T, this talk provides new insights into the status of full DPs within the PCC. The LDB, previously only attested in SSZ, is shown to be a feature of Oto-Manguean more generally; future comparative work may uncover a finer-grained typology. An investigation of SJPM moreover reveals that the LDB is not a subject intervention effect, despite surface appearances.