MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

"The Person-Case Constraint in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian"

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2022 / Vienna, 2022

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Acknowledgements

First of all, I thank the Universe for giving me an opportunity to come and study at the University of Vienna.

I would like to thank my teacher and supervisor Dr. Dalina Kallulli. She helped me so much with her feedback on my ideas and the draft of this work.

Furthermore, I want to express my gratitude to to the entire staff of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Vienna, who have always been there for me whenever I had concerns or ran into problems.

A special thanks goes to my wife Merisa- for support, loving and always believing in me. She is the light of my life.

Abstract

The phenomenon that is commonly referred to as the "Person-Case Constraint" (PCC) has been the subject of a lot of research in linguistics since Perlmutter (1971), who referred to it as the *me-lui* constraint. There are two main variants of the *me-lui* constraint/PCC: *strong* and *weak*. The *strong* PCC forbids 1st and 2nd person phonologically weak direct objects from occurring together with 1st, 2nd or 3rd person phonologically weak indirect objects; on the other hand, the *weak* PCC permits combinations of 1st and 2nd person indirect and direct objects, and 1st and 2nd person weak direct objects are prohibited only in the presence of 3rd person weak indirect objects (Anagnostopoulou 2005:1) This thesis investigates this phenomenon in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS), a pluricentric South Slavic language. The reason for this investigation is the surviving controversy related to the existence of the constraint in BCS. Migdalski (2006), following the standard, minimalist approach to the PCC (Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003; Chomsky 2000, 2001, i.a.), argues *against* the existence of the PCC in BCS, primarily because the language allows the occurence of clitic combinations such as 3DAT»2ACC. On the other hand, Franks (2018), who puts an emphasis on the *properties* and *order* of clitics rather than on *case*, suggests that the constraint is operative in BCS. The main objective of this thesis lies in solving this controversy. With this aim in mind, I argue *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS in the spirit of Franks (2018). I demonstrate that the constraint can be derived for BCS based solely on the properties and order (height) of clitics, employing the mechanism of *spreading* of person features from what is called *a high Appl(icative)* node. Using the evidence from Franks (2018) as main empirical support, I show that the constraint in BCS falls in the category of *Me-First* PCC. The PCC in BCS is thus realized as *Me-First Ordering Constraint* (POC). Furthermore, this thesis presents Stegovec's (2018) derivation of the PCC for Slovenian, and then sets BCS and Slovenian PCC systems in comparison. The comparison shows, for instance, that the closeness of two languages and the similarity between their clitic systems do not necessarily indicate the similarity between their PCC systems. Ultimately, I argue that the recent type of approach from Franks (2018) and Stegovec (2018) could be considered as alternative when tackling the PCC. One of its advantages is that it is not as conditioned as minimalist approaches (e.g. one does not have to follow any kind of presupposed asymmetry between IO and DO). However, while this recent approach is efficient in deriving the PCC for Slovenian and BCS, its effectiveness beyond Slavic is to be further investigated in future research.

CHAPTER 1.INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the phenomenon known as "the Person Case Constraint" (or *me-lui* constraint) in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (henceforth: BCS). Anagnostopoulou (2016) notes that the Person-Case Constraint (henceforth: PCC) has two variants: the strong PCC (as in (1.0) a&b) and the weak PCC (as in (1.0) c):

(1.0) a. * Tha **su me** sistisune.   *Greek*

       Fut Cl (Gen, 2nd, sg) Cl (Acc, 1st, sg) introduce-3pl

       "They will introduce me to you".

   b.* Tha **tu se** stilune.

       Fut Cl (Gen, 3rd, sg, masc) Cl (Acc, *2nd*, sg) send-3pl

       "They will send you to him".

   c. **Te m'**   ha venut el mercader més important   *Catalan*

       you –DO me-IO   has   sold the merchant most important

       "The most important merchant has sold you to me".

                                 (Anagnostopoulou 2016: 2)

In (1.0 a&b) are given instances of the strong PCC in Greek. In this context, Anagnostopoulou (2016) provides the definition of the strong PCC taken from Bonet (1991: 182): "In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker, weak pronoun] the direct object has to be 3rd person" (Anagnostopoulou 2016: 2). On the other hand, in (1.0 c) are given instances of the weak PCC in Catalan. In this context, Anagnostopoulou (2016) lists the definition of the weak PCC, also taken from Bonet (1991: 182): "In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker or weak pronoun], if there is a third person it has to be the direct object" (Anagnostopoulou 2016: 2). Thus, Anagnostopoulou (2016) asserts that in Catalan 2/1 combinations are grammatical.

The PCC has been the subject of a lot of research since Perlmutter (1971). However, this phenomenon has been little investigated in some languages, such as BCS. The lack of research is the main reason for the still existing controversy related to the existence of the constraint in this language. Thus, Migdalski (2006), a proponent of the standard syntactic approach to the PCC (Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003; Chomsky 2000, 2001, i.a.), denies the existence of this contraint in BCS. On the other hand, Franks (2018), whose approach favors the *properties* and *order* of clitics instead of *case*, indicates that the PCC applies in BCS. The main aim of this thesis is to solve this controversy. Following Franks (2018), I argue *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS. Furthermore, this thesis presents the analysis of Slovenian within the framework of Stegovec (2018), and then compares Slovenian and BCS in terms of the PCC. Moreover, I argue that the kind of approach to the PCC which puts stress on properties and order of clitics instead of case in an analysis (Franks 2018; Stegovec 2018) could be considered as an alternative to minimalist approaches, whereby I provide some reasons for opting for the former.

In this chapter, I introduce the main concern of this thesis. In section 1, I provide an overview of BCS grammar. In section 2, I explain the essentials of that which this thesis examines. In section 3, I provide the outline.

1.1. BCS Grammar: Overview

Here I present a short overview of BCS grammar, primarily in relation to pronouns-particularly clitics.

First of all, what are clitics? Franks gives the following definition: "A clitic is a word (a lexical entry) that lacks word-level prosodic structure, hence must attach to another prosodic word in order to be pronounced. A lexical element with this general phonological property is called a "simple" clitic" (Franks 2010: 4). [1] However, the properties of clitics vary crosslinguistically. In view of Slavic, Franks (2010) remarks that even though the word order is, in general, relatively free, clitics must have a particular placement in the sentence, and must be arranged in a specific manner (Franks 2010: 5).

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[1] See also Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), and Zwicky (1977).

Franks (2010) also notes the fact related to BCS clitics, namely- that they go in second (a.k.a. "Wackernagel"[2]) position, no matter what kind of phrase goes first (Franks 2010: 5). I make use of his examples below (clitics are in bold):

(1.1) a. Zoran   **mi**   stalno   kupuje   knjige.

        Zoran   me.dat   constantly   buys   books

        'Zoran is constantly buying me books.'

    b. Stalno **mi** kupuje knjige Zoran.

    c. Knjige **mi** Zoran stalno kupuje.

    d. Kupuje **mi** stalno knjige Zoran.

<div align="right">(Franks 2010: 5)</div>

As we can see, clitics either follow the first phrase (1.1 a,b, c), or the verb (1.1 d).

If the Wackernagel rule is not followed, such as when the clitic is placed lower (1.2) or higher (1.3), the sentence results in ungrammaticality:

(1.2)   a. *Zoran stalno **mi** kupuje knjige.

    b. *Zoran stalno kupuje **mi** knjige.

<div align="right">(Franks 2010: 6)</div>

(1.3)   ***Mi** Zoran stalno kupuje knjige.

<div align="right">(Franks 2010: 6)</div>

Furthermore, if the direct object is instantiated by a third plural accusative clitic, such as *ih* ('them') instead of the full noun phrase *knjige* ('books'), it must immediately follow the dative clitic *mi*:

(1.4) Zoran **mi**   **ih**   stalno   kupuje.

    Zoran   me.dat   them.acc   constantly   buys.

    'Zoran is constantly buying me them.'

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[2] For details, see e.g. (Migdalski 2006: 166)

According to Franks, the BCS clitics can be characterized as *enclitic*- thus in PF they must attach to a prosodic word on their left for the purpose of receiving prosodic support, and cannot appear initially in a sentence (Franks 2010: 50).

Migdalski (2006) also remarks that BCS, just like all the other South Slavic languages, distinguishes between clitic and non-clitic forms in the pronominal, as well as auxiliary systems (Migdalski 2006: 171). Also, there are 3 cases in the pronominal paradigm: genitive, dative, and accusative, and these cases have full and clitic forms (Migdalski 2006: 171). BCS pronominal forms (taken from Migdalski 2006) are presented in the following table:

(1.5)   Pronominal Forms

	Acc (full/clitic)	Gen (full/clitic)	Dat (full/clitic)
1SG	mene/me	mene/me	meni/mi
2SG	tebe/te	tebe/te	tebi/ti
3SG M/N	njega/ga	njega/ga	njemu/mu
3SG F	nju/je	nje/je	njoj/joj
1PL	nâs/nas	nâs/nas	nama/nam
2PL	vâs/vas	vâs/vas	vama/vam
3PL	njih/ih	njih/ih	njima/im
REFL	sebe/se	sebe/-	sebi/si

(Migdalski 2006: 171; S-C, Franks & King 2000: 19-24)

As we can see in the table, 1SG accusative full pronoun, for instance, would be 'mene', whilst the clitic pronoun would be 'me'. Similarly, 1 SG dative full pronoun would be 'meni', whilst the clitic pronoun would be 'me'.

Also, as Migdalski (Migdalski 2006: 171) notes, present tense auxiliaries can be realized as full or clitic forms, and they can be additionally categorized into affirmative and negative variants:

(1.6)   Auxiliary Forms

	affirmative		negative	
	SG (full/clitic)	PL (full/clitic)	SG	PL
1	jesam/sam	jesmo/smo	nisam	nismo
2	jesi/si	jeste/ste	nisi	niste
3	jest(e)/je	jesu/su	nije	nisu

(Migdalski 2006: 171; S-C, Franks & King 2000: 19-24)

As we can see in the table, 1SG full auxiliary in affirmative, for instance, would be 'jesam', whilst the clitic counterpart would be 'sam'. This does not work this way with the negative form of the auxiliary, however, and in 1SG, for instance, we only have 'nisam'.

Moreover, a few other functional verbs, e.g. the future auxiliary *htjeti* ('want') and the conditional form of the verb *biti* ('to be') similarly have clitic and full forms (Migdalski 2006: 171). Additionally, there are negative (always strong) variants of *htjeti*. (Migdalski 2006: 171).

Finally, as indicated by Franks (Franks 2010: 6), the requirement *that the dative precedes the accusative* in BCS is part of a larger ordering pattern. What this means is that (as common in South and West Slavic languages) BCS has a requirement that two (or more) clitics be ordered in a specific way (Browne 2014: 84). Let us exemplify this. As Browne (Browne 2014: 84) notes, in BCS the auxiliary *sam* comes before *ga* (masculine accusative third person singular pronoun):

(1.7)   Našao sam ga.

        'I found him.'

(Browne 2014: 84)

As explained by Browne (Browne 2014: 85), if (1.7) had another word order, such as **Našao ga sam*, there would be no change in meaning, but the sentence would be bad. On the other hand, if we have the clitic *je* (the 3rd person singular), the correct order would be:

(1.8)   Našao ga je.

         'He found him.'

<div align="right">(Browne 2014: 85)</div>

Browne points out that in this case it is not allowed to have the same word order as in (1.7), and *Našao je ga* would be bad (Browne 2014: 85).

As the last segment of this section, I provide the template of the BCS clitic ordering pattern. The pattern I present here is described in Čamdžić & Hudson (2007):

(1.9) li – aux – dat – acc – se – je (or je-se)

<div align="right">(Čamdžić & Hudson 2007: 6)</div>

As asserted by Čamdžić & Hudson (2007), it is important to note the changeability with respect to the placement of the reflexive *se* and the third person singular auxiliary *je* here, as well as the split in the arrangement of *je* and other auxiliary forms- that is, whereas *je* is positioned at the end of the cluster, other auxiliary forms are set directly after the question particle *li* (Čamdžić & Hudson 2007: 6).

In the next section, I turn to the question of the PCC in BCS, the subject matter of this thesis.

1.2. The Phenomenon

As Runić notes, the existence of the PCC in Slavic languages which have sentential/second-position clitics (BCS among them) is still controversial (Runić 2013: 1). BCS is thus a language for which the existence of the PCC is still speculated upon. It is my belief that this is largely so due to insufficient research on this constraint in BCS.

I present here the key BCS data from Runić (2013) for the analysis at hand, after which I disclose two strong counter-arguments surrounding the existence of the PCC in BCS:

(1.10) a. Toplo **mu/joj** **te** preporučujem.

          warmly   him/her.**3DAT**   you **2.ACC**   recommend.1SG

'I warmly recommend you to him/her.'

     b. ?? (*) Toplo   **mu/joj**   **me**   preporučuješ.

             Warmly   him/her.**3DAT**   me.**1ACC**   recommend.2SG

'You warmly recommend me to him/her.'

<div align="right">(Runić 2013: 1)</div>

(1.11) a. Toplo   **mi**   **te**   preporučuje.

         warmly   me.**1DAT**   you.**2ACC**   recommends

'He warmly recommends you to me.'

     b. ?? (*) Toplo   **ti**   **me**   preporučuje.

            certainly   you.**2DAT**   me.**1ACC**   recommends

'He warmly recommends me to you.'

<div align="right">(Runić 2013: 1)</div>

Based on these data, we can see that the 2nd person accusative clitic pronouns are allowed (1.10 a & 1.11 a), whereas the 1st person accusative clitic pronouns are not (1.10 b & 1.11 b). In reference to these data, Migdalski (2006) would object to the PCC applying in BCS (Runić 2013). In the spirit of minimalist approach to the PCC (primarily Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003), Migdalski (2006) argues that, since in the examples such as (1.10 a) and (1.11 a) the 2nd person accusative clitic is allowed to occur together with the dative clitic, the PCC does not exist in BCS (Runić 2013: 2). Furthermore, following Bošković (2001) and Stjepanović (1999), Migdalski's (2006) argument lies in the fact that *pronominal clitics do not cluster in a single head in Serbo-Croatian* (Migdalski 2006: 216) [3]. This is in a direct connection with the fact that BCS is a Wackernagel language (Franks 2010, i.a.), given that Migdalski adheres to the idea that in Wackernagel clitic languages clitics do not cluster in a single head and that

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[3] To avoid unnecessary confusion, I have to note that many linguists refer to BCS also as ''Serbo-Croatian (SC)'' or ''Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian (BCMS)''.

the PCC in general does not exist in such languages (Migdalski 2006). However, in following the standard minimalist approach to the PCC, Migdalski (2006) comes to a false conclusion, and in chapter 4 of this thesis I explain why.

I have now provided the outline of Migdalski's (2006) argument *against* the existence of the PCC in BCS. However, let us refer to the data above again and consider (1.10 b) and (1.11 b).

In reference to the data in (1.10) and (1.11), Runić (2013) remarks: [4]

"This pattern shows that the PCC is actually operative since accusative clitics are fully acceptable in clusters with the 2nd person accusative (cf. (2a), (3a)), while clusters with the 1st person accusative are degraded (cf. (2b), (3b))" (Runić 2013: 2).

Now, looking back at Migdalski's (2006) argumentation above, the question inevitably arises: if the PCC does not apply in BCS, as he claims, how come that the 2nd Person ACC is allowed (cf. 1.10 a & 1.11 a) and the 1st Person ACC is not (cf. 1.10 b & 1.11 b)? It is in this context of Runić (2013) that I primarily argue *against* Migdalski's (2006) argument and *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS.

In constrast to Migdalski (2006), Franks (2018) suggests that the PCC *does* apply in BCS. I discuss Franks' (2018) analysis in chapter 4, but let me provide here a short description of his approach.

Franks' (2018) approach is distant from traditional, minimalist syntactic approaches (Adger&Harbour 2007; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Chomsky, 2000, 2001; Migdalski 2006; Nevins 2007, 2011; Richards 2008, i.a.), and is related to more recent ones such as Stegovec (2018), which deals with the PCC with respect to the *properties* and *order* of two clitics rather than *case*.

Thus, my analysis goes hand in hand with more recent approaches to the PCC (Franks 2018; Stegovec 2018, i.a) instead of standard, minimalist approaches (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Migdalski 2006, i.a.).

In this thesis, I argue that the PCC applies in BCS in the sense of Franks (2018). The constraint in BCS is thus categorized as *Me-First* PCC, but realized as *Me-First Ordering Constraint (POC)*.

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[4] (1.10 a&b) and (1.11 a &b) stand for Runić's (2013) examples (2 a&b) and (3 a&b), respectively.

In the next section I provide the outline of the thesis.

1.3. Outline

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical background. It is shown how the PCC became prominent in linguistics, and how it came to be stated as a universal constraint. I also discuss some significant syntactic approaches to the PCC, and provide its properties and typology. In chapter 3 I discuss Slovenian in relation to the PCC. The focus of this chapter is on the analysis of the Slovenian PCC by Stegovec (2018). Next, in chapter 4, I do my own analysis of the PCC in BCS, in which I argue that the PCC *does* apply in BCS. First, Migdalski's (2006) arguments *against* the existence of the PCC in BCS are presented, followed by the counterarguments based on the evidence presented by Franks (2018). Finally, I show that, unlike in a minimalist analysis such as that by Migdalski (2006), the PCC *can* be derived for BCS by employing Franks' (2018) analysis. Thus, in the sense of Franks' (2018) approach, I argue *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS. Moreover, in this chapter the PCC systems of Slovenian and BCS are set in comparison. In addition, I argue that the type of approach to the PCC employed in Stegovec (2018) and Franks (2018) could be considered as alternative to minimalist approaches, whereby I identify same advantages of the former. In chapter 5 I provide the conclusions to this thesis.

CHAPTER 2.THE PERSON CASE CONSTRAINT: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter is divided in two parts. In the first part I show how the research on surface structure constraints first became significant and started to attract a great deal of attention in linguistics. That's why in section 2.1 I first provide a short description of one of the most notable works in this domain: Perlmutter (1971)[5]. In section 2.2, I provide an account of two other vital works which followed Perlmutter, namely Bonet (1991, 1994). Lastly, in the second and final part of the chapter (section 3), I will provide a short overview of different theories surrounding the PCC, focusing specifically on the recent and significant works in the domain. Section 4 wraps the discussion up. Now I start with the section 1, where I describe the essentials of Perlmutter (1971).

2.1. Perlmutter (1971)

Here I illustrate the main idea behind Perlmutter (1971), and how the PCC first came to attract the attention in research.

Perlmutter (1971) remarks that certain Spanish clitic combinations always result in ungrammatical sentences. These clitic combinations are: *me te, *nos te, *le me and *se se*. To illustrate, I provide his examples with *me te* and *nos te*:

(2.0) a. Me escapé.

'I escaped.'

b. Me le escapé.

'I escaped from him.'

c. *Me te escapé.

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[5] I note here that, even though Perlmutter (1971) was a catalyst for PCC research in linguistics, the constraint itself was first documented by Meyer-Lübke (1899) for Romance languages, as pointed out by (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 1-2).

'I escaped from you.'

<div align="right">(Perlmutter 1971:26)</div>

(2.1) a. Nos escapamos.

'We escaped.'

b. Nos le escapamos.

'We escaped from him.'

c. *Nos te escapamos.

'We escaped from you.'

<div align="right">(Perlmutter 1971:26)</div>

As one can see, both (2.0 c) and (2.1 c), which contain the clitic combinations *me te and *nos te (respectively) are ungrammatical. Perlmutter (1971) indicates that, regardless of which transformations have applied to produce them, such clitic combinations in Spanish are not allowed. He notes that Spanish grammar must contain a device to filter out sentences which contain such clitic combinations in surface structure, i.e. it must contain a *surface structure constraint* to rule out certain outputs of the transformational component. Perlmutter (1971) then states the surface structure constraint for Spanish in the form of a chart[6]:

(2.2)   Output condition on clitic pronouns: *se*   II   I   III

<div align="right">(Perlmutter 1971:45)</div>

After this, he extracts what is universal from the Spanish constraint and comes to state a universal constraint for all languages. That is, Perlmutter (1971) indicates that in many languages clitics are subject to the same kind of order constraint found in Spanish. Thus he claims that such constraints are not an accidental property characteristic of particular languages such as Spanish, but that they follow from universal principles. Perlmuter (1971) states the constraint for all languages in the following way:

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[6] Perlmutter (1971) states the constraint for Spanish in a step-by-step manner. I do not provide all the steps of his analysis in detail, because the primary aim of this section is to provide the key idea of his work and illustrate how the PCC came to be prominent in linguistic research. For details, see (Perlmutter 1971: 43-45).

(2.3) "In all languages in which clitics move to a particular place in the sentence, there are surface structure constraints on the relative order of clitics."

<div align="right">(Perlmutter 1971: 48)</div>

Now I have demonstrated, in the narrowest sense possible, how Perlmutter (1971) came to state the surface structure constraint both for Spanish and universally. With this I have illustrated the essentials of his work, and how the PCC became notable in linguistics.

In the next section, I provide an account of Bonet (1991, 1994).

2.2. Bonet (1991, 1994): The Universality and the Division of the PCC

Bonet builds on the research of the linguists who precede her, especially that of Perlmutter (1971). It is two of her works, Bonet (1991) and Bonet (1994), that are enormously important for the research on the PCC.

Bonet (1991), like Perlmutter (1971), is concerned with Romance languages. She proposes, among other things, that pronominal clitics consist of hierarchical structures of morphological features, created in the mapping from S-structure to the *Morphology Component* (Bonet 1991). According to her, the sets of features present in the *Morphology Component* are impoverished to varying degrees with respect to different languages (Bonet 1991).

Until the 1990's, little attention was given to the PCC phenomenon in the literature. The categorization of the PCC is exactly what Bonet looks at. In the chapter 4 of her dissertation, Bonet tackles the question of *whether we are dealing with one or two PCC constraints*. On the basis of a variety of data[7], she concludes, having considered the existence of two different constraints, that we are actually dealing with two versions of one constraint (Bonet 1991: 181-182). Two versions, because they are very similar: she concluded that both of them affect phonologically weak elements, and that both apply in exactly the same environment- with ditransitive verbs. She calls these two versions *strong* and *weak*, respectively:[8]

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[7] For details, see (Bonet 1991: 179- 181)
[8] According to Bonet, this suggestion stems from Perlmutter (1971).

(2.4)   "***Me lui**/I-II Constraint

        a. STRONG VERSION: the direct object has to be third person

        b. WEAK VERSION: if there is a third person it has to be the direct object"

(Bonet 1991: 182)

Bonet presents these two versions of PCC in the form of a universal. [9]

Having presented the gist of Bonet (1991) and the universal (2.4), I now turn to Bonet (1994). Bonet (1994) deals with the PCC, and provides a detailed description of it. She also illustrates the three different repair strategies that languages use as means of avoiding potential violations of the PCC. Bonet (1994) also remarks that the fact that the PCC had not received much attention up until then could have been due to the fact that the constraint affects the combinations of agreement information, and many languages do not possess the appropriate conditions for the constraint to be applicable; that is, in many languages agreement is attested only with the direct object, whereas in others agreement with internal arguments is completely nonexistent (Bonet 1994: 40).

When it comes to the PCC, at the very onset Bonet (1994) repeats the nature of the constraint, stating that *it is a kind of constraint which forbids the existence of first or second person agreement with a direct object in the case of the existing dative agreement* (Bonet 1994: 33). She further states that this agreement can be conveyed by agreement morphemes on the verb, as well as by pronominal clitics such as in the Romance languages, or the sort of weakened pronouns attested in languages such as English (Bonet 1994: 33) In Bonet (1994), she aims to illustrate and support her overall claim that the PCC is universal. I will now provide a few of her examples from various languages which she uses to illustrate the universality of the PCC constraint.

Bonet (1994) first provides two basic instantiations of the violation of the PCC, one from Catalan (2.5), which has pronominal clitics, and the other from Georgian (2.6), which has a three-way agreement system, as shown below, respectively: [10]

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[9] More than a decade later, Anagnostopoulou (2005) also makes the same distinction.
[10] Bonet employs here the Georgian data from Harris (1981).

(2.5) ***Me   li**   ha   recomanat   la   senyora   Bofill.

    ACC-1st DAT-3d has recommended   the   Mrs.   Bofill

    'Mrs. Bofill has recommended me to him/her.'

<div align="right">(Bonet 1994: 33)</div>

(2.6) *Vanom   (sen)   segadara   givis

    Vano-ERG   you-NOM   he-compared-him-you-II-I   Givi-DAT

    'Vano compared you to Givi.'

<div align="right">(Bonet 1994: 33)</div>

I will list two more of Bonet's (1994) examples now. The first illustrates the cases where the PCC is related to ditransitive verbs, and the second illustrates the cases where the PCC is related to other type of constructions.

The first example is from Basque, an ergative language with a three-way agreement system[11]:

(2.7) *Lapurrek   Joni   ni   saldu   n   -(a)-i   -o   -te.

    thieves-ERG Jon-DAT me-ABS sold   ABS-1st-Aux-DAT-3rd- ERG-3rd-pl

    'The thieves have sold me to Jon.'

<div align="right">(Bonet 1994: 34)</div>

Regarding (2.7), Bonet (1994) explains the ungrammaticality of the Basque sentence by stating that a first person direct object cannot co-occur with a third person indirect object (Bonet 1994: 34).

The second example has to do with cases where the PCC is related to other type of constructions than ditransitive ones. This example is from French, and illustrates the PCC in the context of *datives of inalienable possession*: [12]

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[11] Bonet notes that some authors, such as Laka (1993), consider the agreement markers to be clitics.

(2.8)   a. * On   va   **te**   **lui**   mettre   dans   les   bras

Impers. is-going-to ACC-2nd DAT-3rd put   inside   the   arms

'They will put you in his/her arms.'

b. On   va   lui   mettre   le bébé   dans   les bras.

Impers.   is-going-to   DAT-3rd   put   the baby   inside the arms

'They will put the baby in his/her arms.'

(Bonet 1994: 37)

This concludes my discussion of Bonet's examples. As we have seen, Bonet shows the universality of PCC (first motivated in Perlmutter 1971) to be irrefutably correct by giving examples from many different languages. [13] Finally, she states the PCC informally and schematically at one point:

(2.9) **Person-Case Constraint**: If DAT then ACC-3rd.

(Bonet 1994: 36)

In this section I have summarized two influential works by Bonet (1991, 1994) on the PCC. I noted that the first one, Bonet (1991), is mainly concerned with the categorization of the PCC, and the question of whether one has to do with one or two constraints. As I pointed out, Bonet (1991) comes to the conclusion that, due to their similarity, one has to do with two versions of the same constraint: a "weak" and a "strong" one. I repeat her universal from (2.4) below:

(2.10) **"*Me lui/I-II Constraint**

a. STRONG VERSION: the direct object has to be third person

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[12] Bonet notes that the example is taken from Kayne (1975).
[13] Due to space constraints, I have as usual provided only a few examples of my own choosing. For details, see Bonet (1994).

20

b. WEAK VERSION: if there is a third person it has to be the direct object"[14]

<div align="right">(Bonet 1991: 182)</div>

I noted that in the second one, Bonet (1994), Bonet discusses the data from various languages to illustrate and support her overall claim that the PCC is universal. I have discussed Bonet's (1994) examples from the analysis of different languages. Based on (2.5) and (2.6), we could see the instantiation of the constraint in two distant languages, Catalan and Georgian. Furthermore, I have discussed two more of Bonet's (1994) examples which demonstrate the presence of PCC not only in ditranstive constructions, as in Basque in (2.7), but also in different types of constructions, such as constructions with datives of inalienable possession in French in (2.8). Based on my discussion of Bonet's (1994) analysis, we could see that through her versatile data she shows the theory of the universality of PCC (pioneered in Perlmutter's work) to be undeniably valid. I have also provided the informal and schematic representation of the universal from her dissertation (cf. (2.9) above).

With this section I have finished representing what are considered to be the most vital works in the domain of PCC: Perlmutter (1971) and Bonet (1991, 1994). Of course, there are numerous other works that came afterwards which can as well be considered vitally important, but I'm sure that the reader would probably also agree that these two are the most important among the *pioneering* works in the domain, back when there was not much literature to begin with. Having represented the argumentation of these two, the main idea behind the PCC should also have become perfectly clear.

In the next section, I shortly describe the most notable recent theoretical approaches surrounding PCC, and provide the properties and typology of the latter. The focus of the section is on Anagnostopoulou (2017).

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[14] It is crucial to note here that Bonet eventually adopts the *strong* version of the constraint in her works, setting the *weak* version aside- the primary reason for this being that the former is more stable and not prone to idiolectal variation the way the latter is. She also asserts that *agreement languages* always show strong PCC effects, whereas *clitic languages* tend to show both (Bonet 1994:40-41).

2.3. Anagnostopoulou (2017): PCC Theories, Properties and Typology

With this section begins the second part of this chapter. The section is organized as follows. First, in 2.3.1, I tackle the key theoretical approaches to the PCC as presented in Anagnostopoulou (2017); second, in 2.3.2, I provide Anagnostopoulou's (2017) description of the constraint, and its applicability crosslinguistically; and third, in 2.3.3, I give the typology of the PCC as presented in Borer (2018).

2.3.1. The Key Theoretical Approaches to the PCC

Anagnostopoulou (2017) gives an account focused mainly on *Agree-based* approaches. I will go over some of these approaches now.

The first one I discuss is related to *Case Syncretisms*. The theory was developed by Adger & Harbour (2007). Namely, as Anagnostopoulou (2017) reports, in many languages showing PCC effects, first- and second-person pronouns (be they direct or indirect objects) bear the same morphology or generate the same agreement; this is termed "case syncretism" by Adger & Harbour (2007):

(2.11) Case syncretism

"For any combination of number and local[15] person, direct object agreement/clitics and indirect object agreement/clitics are identical. "

(Adger & Harbour 2007; Anagnostopoulou 2017: 13)

As Anagnostopoulou points out, this phenomenon applies in many different languages, such as Romance languages (e.g. French) or Georgian, as well as for instance in Kiowa (Kiowa-Tanoan language of Oklahoma) (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 13; Foley 1991; Hewit 1995; Silverstein 1986). Anagnostopoulou provides an illustration of case syncretism on the example from French (taken from Adger & Harbour 2007):

---

[15] First and second person pronouns are widely referred to as 'local pronouns' since they are (locally) given in the linguistic context.

(2.12) French

On	me/	te/	nous/	vous	voit.
one	me. ACC/	you. SG. ACC	us. ACC	you-PL.ACC	sees

'They see me/you/us/you all.'

<div align="right">(Adger & Harbour 2007: 5, exs 10-11; Anagnostopoulou 2017: 13)</div>

(2.13) French

On	me/	te/	nous/	vous	donnera un livre.
one	me. DAT/	you.SG.DAT	us.DAT	you-PL. DAT	will.give a book

'They will give me/you/us/you-all a book.'

<div align="right">(Adger & Harbour 2007: 5, exs 10-11; Anagnostopoulous 2017: 14)</div>

Anagnostopoulou (2017) notes that Adger & Harbour (2007) try to explain the connection between case syncretism and the PCC. According to her, Adger & Harbour's (2007) account consists of two main ideas:

> (i) the idea that local person arguments bear the same phi-feature specification whether they are DOs or IOs, and (ii) the idea that a probe cannot select as its specifier an element bearing identical φ-features with the φ-features of a goal in its complement domain. (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 14)

Furthermore, Anagnostopoulou (2017) also provides the exact typology for pronominal elements proposed by Adger & Harbour (2007):

(2.14) "a. [participant: value, number: value][16]= first-and second-person pronominals of any number

b. [participant: number: value] = semantically animate third-person pronouns of any number

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[16] Anagnostopoulou provides a short explanation via footnote reference here. She indicates that [participant: 1,2, number: dual] in this case entails first-person inclusive dual; [participant: 1, number: singular] entails first-person singular; and [participant: 2, number: plural] entails second-person plural (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 40).

c. [number: value] = third-person pronominals, with no entailments as to semantic animacy."

(Adger & Harbour 2007: 20, ex. 61; Anagnostopoulou 2017: 14)

Anagnostopoulou (2017) further notes that Adger & Harbour (2007) are led by the assumption that IOs are introduced by an applicative head *Appl*[17], which requires that its specifier bear a participant feature [participant:]. In ditransitive constructions, the applicative head Appl is selected by a little v head that introduces the external argument and selects a VP containing the DO, as in (2.15):

(2.15)

```
              vP
            /    \
          X       v'
                /    \
            ApplP      v
           /    \
          Y      Appl'
               /     \
             VP        Appl
            /   \
           Z     V
```
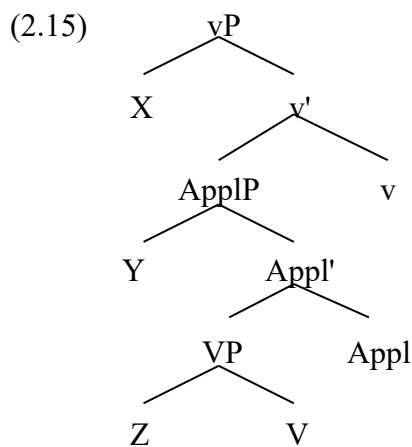
Due to the selection properties of Appl: Y = [participant: value, number: value].

(Anagnostopoulou 2017: 14)

As Anagnostopoulou (2017) points out, in (2.15) the IO Agrees with v and checks its uninterpretable φ-features, and the DO Agrees with Appl and checks its uninterpretable φ-features. In this context, she says, the PCC is the outcome of the following constraint:

(2.16) "The features that a functional head requires its specifier to bear cannot be used as probes in the head's complement domain."

(Adger & Harbour 2007: 26, ex. 77; Anagnostopoulou 2017: 15)

She notes here that, drawing on Rezac (2003), Adger & Harbour (2007) argue that Appl cannot have an argument which bears the feature [participant] in its complement domain

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[17] I discuss the applicative head (Appl) in more detail in chapter 4.

since then it will not be able to choose a specifier which bears the feature [participant]. As a result, the only legitimate direct objects in ditransitive constructions are arguments which bear [number], that is, third-person arguments, and it is this that derives the PCC effects (Anagnostopoulou 2017). [18]

I have shown here one theoretical, syntactic approach to PCC as proposed by Adger & Harbour (2007) and presented by Anagnostopolou (2017). I proceed now to illustrate another one, the approach which involves *animacy*.

Anagnostopoulou (2017) gives an account of the analysis proposed by Ormazabal & Romero (2007): namely, that the key property when it comes to PCC effects is *animacy* instead of *person*. Ormazabal & Romero (2007) base their account on leísta dialects of Spanish; these dialects belong to Peninsular Spanish and use the dative clitic pronoun *le* both for dative and accusative animate arguments (Anagnostopoulou 2017). This clitic system looks as follows:

(2.17) Accusative and dative clitics in Spanish *leísta* dialects

		Masculine	Feminine
Accusative	Animate	le	la/le
	Unmarked	lo	la
Dative			le

<div align="right">(Anagnostopoulou 2017: 18)</div>

As Anagnostopoulou (2017) shows, in these dialects, in the case when the accusative clitic occurs in isolation, it can only be realized as *lo* when inanimate, or as *le* when animate:

---

[18] Concerning case syncretism for first-and second-person DOs and IOs, Anagnostopoulou (2017) remarks that the latter carry completely the same feature specifications; for instance, a first-person singular DO has the features [participant: 1, number: singular], and an IO counterpart is identical. Therefore, the realization of local DOs and IOs is the same.

(2.18) a. Lo   vi.   b. Le   vi.

        Cl. ACC [.ANIMATE]   saw   Cl.ACC [.ANIMATE]   saw

        'I saw it.'   'I saw him.'

(Anagnostopoulou 2017: 18)

But what's significant here, she says, is that, when it comes to clitic clusters, it is the *animate* clitic that generates PCC effects, whereas with the inanimate one this is not the case:

(2.19) a. Te   lo   di.   b. *Te   le   di.

        2,DAT   3.ACC   gave   2.DAT   3.ACC   gave

        'I gave it to you.'   'I have him to you.'

(Anagnostopoulou 2017: 18)

Anagnostopoulou explains that Ormazabal & Romero (2007) hold the ungrammaticality of (2.19 b) to be evidence that it is animacy which is the generator of the PCC effects and not person (Anagnostopoulou 2017).

Furthermore, according to Anagnostopoulou (2017), Ormazabal & Romero (2007) showcase their argument on the basis of languages in which object agreement is induced by animacy, such as, for instance, KiRimi (Hualde 1989; Woolford 2000) and Mohawk (Baker 1996). Anagnostopoulou (2017) shows the examples from KiRimi discussed by Ormazabal & Romero (2007) and based on Hualde (1989); as Anagnostopoulou points out, KiRimi is the language where animate definite objects activate mandatory object agreement that is not allowed with inanimate objects:

(2.20) a. N   -a   -mU-on-aa Maria.

           I.SUBJ TNS OM-saw   Maria

           'I saw Maria.'

b.   *N   -a   -on-aa   Maria.

I. SUBJ TNS   -saw   Maria

'I saw Maria.'

(Anagnostopoulou 2017:19; Hualde 1989; Ormazabal & Romero 2007: 322, exs 17-18)

(2.21)   a.   *N   -a   -ki   -on-aa kitabu.

I. SUBJ TNS   OM   -saw   book

'I saw a book.'

b.   N   -a   -on-aa   kitabu.

I. SUBJ TNS   -saw   book

'I saw a book.'

(Anagnostopoulou 2017: 19 ; Hualde 1989; Ormazabal & Romero 2007: 322, exs. 17-18)

Moreover, Anagnostopoulou (2017) reports that in KiRimi there is agreement of the verb with the applicative IO, while agreement with the DO is blocked; the outcome of this is that inanimate DOs are grammatical, and definite and animate ones are not:

(2.22)   *N   -a   -va   -tUm -I-aa   alimu   Yohana.

1. SUBJ   TNS   OM. PL -bring- APPL teachers Yohana

'I sent the teachers Yohana.'

(Anagnostopoulou   2017:19; Ormazabal & Romero 2007, ex. 20)

Ormazabal & Romero (2007) analyze the ungrammaticality of (2.22) as resulting from a PCC effect in the sense of a constraint which blocks animate DOs when IOs are present (Anagnostopoulou 2017).

I have now shown another syntactic approach argued for by Ormazabal & Romero (2007) and presented by Anagnostopoulou (2017). My main intention here was to illustrate to the reader some of the significant syntactic PCC approaches. In the following sections I provide Anagnostopoulou's (2017) description of the PCC and its typology.

2.3.2. The General Characteristics of the PCC

Drawing on the work of Bonet (1991, 1994), and Anagostopoulou (2003, 2005), Anagnostopoulou (2017) notes the following general characteristics of the PCC:

i. It is attested in a great number of genetically unrelated languages (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 5).

Anagnostopoulou (2017) mentions languages discussed previously by Bonet: Arabic, Greek, Romance, Basque, Georgian, English, and Swiss German, and then proceeds by providing the list of languages from Haspelmath (2004)- as specified below:[19]

(2.23) *List of Languages showing the PCC*

Zurich German	Germanic	Werner (1999, 81)
Spanish	Romance	For example: Perlmutter (1971)
Catalan	Romance	For example: Bonet (1994, 33, 35)
Italian	Romance	For example: Seuren (1976), Wanner (1977)
Romanian	Romance	For example: Farkas & Kazazis (1980)
Albanian	Indo-European	Buchholz & Fiedler (1987, 449–450)
Maltese	Semitic	Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, 360)
Cairene Arabic	Semitic	Broselow (1983, 281–282)
Migama	Chadic	Jungraithmayr & Adams (1992, 40)

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[19] Anagnostopoulou (2017) also points to Ormazabal & Romero (2007: 317, fn. 2) referencing Albizu (1997), which introduces a study with 43 languages which belong to groups characterized by distinct typological properties (Algonquian, Athabaskan, Iroquoian, Kiowa-Tanoan, Mayan, Salishan, Cau casian,Tibeto-Burman, Semitic, and Pama-Nyungan). (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 39-40, footnote 4)

Georgian	Kartvelian	Harris (1981), Boeder (1999), Amiridze & Leuschner (2002)
Hakha Lai	Chin, Tibeto-Burman	Peterson (1998)
Kambera	Central Malayo-Polynesian	Klamer (1997, 903)
Manam	Oceanic, Austronesian	Lichtenberk (1983, 162, 166)
Yimas	Sepik-Ramu	Foley (1991, 210)
Monumbo	Torricelli	Vormann & Scharfenberger (1914)
Warlpiri	Pama-Nyungan	Hale (1973, 334)
Takelma	Penutian	Sapir (1922, 141–142)
Ojibwa	Algonquian	Rhodes (1990, 408)
Passamaquoddy	Algonquian	Leavitt (1996, 36)
Southern Tiwa	Kiowa-Tanoan	Allen et al. (1990), Rosen (1990)
Kiowa	Kiowa-Tanoan	Adger & Harbour (2007)
Tetelcingo Nahuatl	Uto-Aztecan	Tuggy (1977)

(Anagnostopoulou 2017: 6; Haspelmath 2004: table 1)

ii. It affects phonologically *weak* elements (namely clitics, agreement affixes, and weak pronouns) when they arise in *clusters*. However, when one of the two elements is not weak, the PCC does not apply (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 6).

iii. When certain languages are concerned, the PCC constrains combinations in which the accusative clitic is *reflexive* (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 7; Bonet 1991: 192; Kayne 1975: 173).

iv. Lastly, in many cases, the PCC is restricted to constructions with an *external argument*. Unaccusatives and passives with a dative and a first/second- person nominative/absolutive argument are grammatical (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 7).

These are the properties of the PCC as presented by Anagnostopoulou (2017). I now turn to the typology of the PCC.

2.3.3. The Typology of the PCC

In this section, I focus mainly on Borer (2018), because it is very recent, and because it serves as the best exposition of the typology of the PCC. Borer does this in one paragraph, but I will break it down in five theses below.

There are 5, so far-known, variations of the PCC:

1. **The Weak PCC**. If a sentence contains a 3rd person clitc, this clitic has to be an accusative clitic (Bonet 1991; Borer 2018: 7).

2. **The Strong PCC**. The accusative clitic has to be 3rd person (Bonet 1991; Borer 2018: 7).

3. **The *Me-First* PCC**. It only restricts combinations containing first-person arguments. Such first-person arguments have to be dative arguments (Borer 2018: 7; Nevins 2007).

4. **The Ultra-Strong PCC**. A fusion of the weak PCC and the *me-first* PCC. It bans any combinations that are banned by the weak or the *me-first* PCC (Borer 2018: 7; Nevins 2007).

5. **The Super-Strong PCC**: Similar to the strong PCC, but it forbids the combinations of two 3rd persons as well (Borer 2018: 7; Haspelmath 2004).

Borer summarizes this typology in the table (2.24) below (taken from Pancheva 2016):

(2.24)　　　　　　　Table of Known PCC Variation from Pancheva (2016)

DAT	ACC	weak PCC	me-first	Ultra-strong PCC	strong PCC	super-strong
1	3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3	3	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
1	2	✓	✓	✓	x	x
3	2	x	✓	x	x	x
2	1	✓	x	x	x	x
3	1	x	x	x	x	x

(Borer 2018: 8)

Borer (2018) ultimately notes that any analysis of the PCC has to be able to capture at least the variation in table (2.24).

2.4. Summary

In this chapter I have first summarized the essentials of Perlmuter (1971), explaining the gist of how he came to state the surface structure constraint both for Spanish and universally, and showing how the PCC became prominent in linguistics. Second, in section 2.2., I provided an overview of Bonet (1991) and Bonet (1994). I presented Bonet's categorization of the PCC into *strong* and *weak*, and we saw how she supports her claim for the universality of the PCC by showing the PCC to be operative in different languages, such as Catalan and Basque. In section 2.3., with Anagnostopoulou (2017) as the main work of focus, I have provided an account of some of the key syntactic approaches to the PCC, such as *case syncretisms* (Adger & Harbour 2007) and *animacy* (Ormazabal & Romero 2007). Furthermore, I described the properties of the PCC as presented by Anagnostopoulou (2017), where I also provided her list of languages showing the PCC (cf. (2.23)) taken from Haspelmath (2004). Finally, on the basis of Borer (2018), I shortly described the five variations of the PCC and the differences between them, that is, the typology of the PCC.

In the next chapter, I discuss the Slovenian PCC, and present Stegovec's (2018) analysis of the constraint in this language.

CHAPTER 3. THE PCC IN SLOVENIAN

In section 3.1. of the present chapter, I first give an overview of the Slovenian grammar, setting it in comparison with the BCS Grammar. Then, in section 3.2., I discuss Slovenian in relation to the PCC, and provide the basics of what's termed the "reverse" PCC. Finally, in section 3.3., I discuss Stegovec's (2018) analysis in detail, showing how he derives the canonical, as well as the *reverse* weak and strong PCC types. In section 3.4., I conclude.

3.1. Slovenian Grammar: An Overview and a Comparison to BCS Grammar

As Bošković (2001) shows, the clitics in Slovenian are similar to BCS clitics. For instance, they also occur in second (Wackernagel) position. The examples of Slovenian clitics are given below:

(3.0) a. Prinesel *sem*   *mu*   *jo*.

    brought   am.aux.1sg him.dat   it. Acc

    'I brought it to him.'

   b. Janez *mu*   *ga*   *je* dal.

     Janez him.dat   it.acc   is given

    'Janez gave it to him'.

   c. da *se*   *mu*   *je* posmehoval.

    that self   him.dat   is made-fun

    'that he made fun of him'.

   d. Veliko/Koliko/Toliko   *ji*   *je* kupil   knjig

     many/how many/so many   her.dat is   bought books

    'Many books, he bought her.'

'How many books did he buy her?'

'So many books, he bought her.' [20]

(Bošković 2001: 150)

Slovenian is thus a Wackernagel position language like BCS; however, as Franks notes (Franks 2010: 54), the clitics of modern Slovenian group together after the first main constituent in a clause, and do not break up phrases the way BCS clitics do. For instance, the BCS wording *moje je srce* is not allowed in the following Slovenian example:

(3.1) ...in moje srce *je* bilo veselo.

and my heart aux. 3sg was happy

'... and my heart was happy.'

(Franks 2010: 53-54)

Slovenian, hence, unlike BCS, does not tolerate splitting.

Furthermore, according to Franks, one big difference between Slovenian and BCS clitics is that in the former clitics can appear sentence-initially, which is impossible in BCS. (Franks 2010: 54). Franks (2010) indicates that numerous sources (cf. Bennett 1986; Derbyshire 1993; Golden & Milojević-Sheppard 2000; Milojević-Sheppard 1997; Priestly 1993; Toporišič 1976, i.a.) allude to the fact that the sentences with initial clitics are possible when the first word (or phrase) is deleted, as we see on the example of Slovenian below:

(3.2) a. *Si* *ga* videl?

Aux.2sg him.acc saw

'Have you seen him?'

b. Se *mi* *je* smejal.

refl me.dat aux.3sg laughed

'He was laughing at me.'

(Franks 2010: 54)

---

[20] Bošković takes example (d) from Golden & Milojević Sheppard (2000).

As Franks points out, in (3.2 a) the question particle *Ali* is removed, and there is no expletive *To* in (3.2 b) (Franks 2010: 54). Moreover, these clitics establish an individual prosodic unit with the verb- i.e., in view of prosody, Slovenian clitics are neutral, and can be both proclitics or enclitics (though they prefer to be enclitic) (Franks 2010: 54). BCS, on the other hand, as I have shown above (cf. chapter 1, section 1.2.) has only enclitics. This leads to the conclusion that BCS examples such as the Slovenian ones in (3.2) above are not possible.

Slovenian personal pronouns are given in the table (3.3) below. In this table (taken from Greenberg 2006), the clitic forms are encircled; in the case of an existing clitic form, the long forms are used with no preposition (solely for emphasis):

(3.3)[21]   Slovenian personal pronouns

	1st sg	2nd sg	1st pl	2nd pl	1st du	2nd du
NOM	jàz	tî	mî (F mê)	vî (F vê)	mîdva (F mêdve)	vîdva (F vêdve)
ACC	méɲe (me)	téƀe (te)	nàs (nas)	vàs (vas)	náju (naju)	váju (vaju)
GEN	méɲe	téƀe	nàs (nas)	vàs (vas)	náju (naju)	váju (vaju)
DAT	méɲi (mi)	téƀi (ti)	nàm (nam)	vàm (vam)	náma (nama)	váma (vama)
LOC	méɲi	téƀi	nàs	vàm	náju	váju
INSTR	menój ~ mâno	tebój ~ tâbo	nâmi	vâmi	náma	váma

(Greenberg 2006: 39)

Table (3.3) serves only as a general representation of Slovenian personal pronouns/clitics. However, because this thesis deals primarily with the PCC, I provide a simplified version of Slovenian clitics in ACC and DAT forms in the following one (taken from Stegovec 2016):

---

[21] Slovenian reflexive pronouns are given in a separate table in (Greenberg 2006: 41) .

(3.4)   Slovenian pronominal clitics in their ACC and DAT forms

CASE	1.SG 2.SG 3F. SG 3M.SG	1.PL 2.PL 3.PL	1.DU 2.DU 3.DU
ACC	me te jo ga	nas vas jih	naju vaju ju
DAT	mi ti ji mu	nam vam jim	nama vama jima

<div align="right">(Stegovec 2016: 8)</div>

All in all, despite many similarities between the clitic systems of Slovenian and BCS, we saw there are also some big differences. As Bošković (2001) remarks, the ability of Slovenian clitics to appear sentence-initially can be considered as one of the most important differences. Another important difference has to do with the fact that Slovenian clitics function both as enclitics and proclitics, whereas BCS has only enclitics. I also note that Slovenian clitic order is more *relaxed* than the BCS clitic order, allowing both IO»DO and DO»IO clitic combinations. In BCS, only IO»DO clitic order is possible.

I provide here Browne's (2014) template of Slovenian clitic ordering pattern, (cf. BCS clitic ordering pattern in (1.9)):

(3.5) Auxs – reflexives – datives – genitive/accusatives – 3sg Aux/future Aux

<div align="right">(Browne 2014: 86)</div>

In the next section, I discuss Slovenian in relation to the PCC, and introduce the reader to what is termed the "reverse" PCC.

3.2. Slovenian and the PCC

Previously I provided an account of Slovenian word order, pronouns and clitics. In the remainder of this chapter, I describe Slovenian in terms of the PCC, and discuss Stegovec's (2018) analysis of the PCC in this language.

In the following section, I provide the short description of the Slovenian PCC and its typology. I also introduce the reader to Stegovec (2018), specifically his account of the Slovenian *reverse* PCC.

3.2.1. Slovenian PCC and an Introduction to Stegovec (2018)

The following PCC types are attested in Slovenian:

1. *The Canonical Strong PCC*

2. *The Canonical Weak PCC*

3. *The Reverse Strong PCC*

4. *The Reverse Weak PCC*

(Stegovec 2015, 2018, i.a.)

Slovenian thus has both strong and weak PCC types, along with the *reverse* pattern (see below) characteristic of both these categories (Stegovec 2015, 2018, i.a.).

The main argument Stegovec (2018) puts forward is "that the PCC (in all its forms) arises with pronouns that are inherently unspecified for a person value and need to receive it externally from a functional head via Agree" (Stegovec 2018: 1). According to him, "the structurally higher pronoun blocks the structurally lower pronoun from receiving a person value, giving rise to the PCC" (Stegovec 2018: 1). The variation across languages related to the PCC is successfully captured by his analysis (Stegovec 2018: 1).

First of all, Stegovec points out, as noted above, that Slovenian object clitics are normally placed in the 2nd position of a clause (Stegovec 2018: 3). He says that, in ditransitive constructions, both objects can be clitics, just like in some other languages, such as Greek and Catalan (Stegovec 2018: 3-4). He also notes that, notwithstanding gender, number or person, one marks the DO clitic as accusative and the IO clitic as dative (Stegovec 2018: 4). Stegovec says that Slovenian is also similar to Greek and Catalan in that 3rd person IO clitics cannot arise in a combination with 1st/2nd person DO clitics (he remarks though that there are exceptions to this):

(3.6) a. Mama { **mi** | **ti** | **mu** } **ga** bo predstavila. IO»3.DO

      mom 1.DAT | 2.DAT | 3.M.DAT 3.M.ACC will.3 introduce. F

       'Mom will introduce him to me/you/him.'

   b. *Mama **mu** {**me** | **te** } bo predstavila. *3.IO»1/2.DO

      mom 3.M.DAT 1.ACC | 2.ACC will.3 introduce.F

       'Mom will introduce me/you to him.'

                                         (Stegovec 2018: 4)

However, as Stegovec (2018) shows, the key difference between Greek/Catalan on the one hand and Slovenian on the other is that in the latter the order of object clitics is much more flexible. That is, Slovenian permits both clitic orders, as seen in (3.7) and (3.8) [22]:

(3.7) Mama **mu** **ga** je opisala IO»DO

     mom 3.M.DAT 3.M.ACC is described.F

     'Mom described him to him.'

                                         (Stegovec 2018:4)

(3.8) Mama **ga** **mu** je opisala DO»IO

     mom 3.M.ACC 3.M.DAT is described.F

     'Mom described him to him.'

                                         (Stegovec 2018: 4)

Nevertheless, he adds that the DO»IO order is not completely free from person restrictions (Stegovec 2018: 4). For instance, with the DO»IO order, a 1/2P.IO clitic cannot occur with a 3P.DO clitic, as seen in (3.9 b):

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[22] Stegovec notes, however, that the two orders are not completely identical, and that discourse factors are involved when opting for one of them (Stegovec 2018:4).

(3.9) a. Mama { **me** | **te** | **ga** } **mu** bo predstavila. DO»3.IO

mom 1.ACC | 2.ACC | 3.M.ACC 3.M.DAT will.3 introduce.F

'Mom will introduce me/you/him to him.'

b. *Mama **ga** { **mi** | **ti** } bo predstavila. *3.DO»1/2.IO

Mom 3.M.ACC 1.DAT | 2.DAT will.3 introduce.F

'Mom will introduce him to me/you.'

(Stegovec 2018: 4)

Stegovec (2018) notes that in (3.9 b) one observes a pattern which he terms the *reverse PCC*, which is a total reversal of the standard (or canonical) PCC.

Furthermore, I have shown above that Slovenian has both the strong and weak PCC type (cf. 1-4 above). What I did not mention is that there exists a variation between the two groups of speakers related to these two types (Stegovec 2015, 2018, i.a.). In Stegovec (2015), Stegovec provides the following example, a sentence which is ungrammatical for both groups:

(3.10) *Sestra **mu** **me/ te** bo predstavila.

Sister him. DAT *me/you*. ACC *will introduce*

"The sister will introduce me/you to him'. *3.IO»1/2.DO

(Stegovec 2015: 1)

To summarize, there are both strong and weak PCC in Slovenian, and as I have shown now there is a variation between the speakers when it comes to the two types. Furthermore, as we have seen based on (3.9 b), there is also a PCC pattern which is a complete reversal of the standard pattern, the one that Stegovec (2018) calls the *reverse* PCC. Slovenian is thus a specific case, a language that has both IO»DO and DO»IO orders. This case-insensitive nature of the Slovenian constraint is of key importance in Stegovec's (2018) analysis of the PCC in his work.

3.3. Stegovec (2018)

Stegovec notes that the standard syntactic approach to the PCC is "to treat it as the result of locality restrictions that apply when two arguments must establish a syntactic dependency with a single functional head" (Stegovec 2018: 7). As he further remarks (Stegovec 2018: 7), this type of approach tackles the PCC in an entirely syntactic manner- that is, it primarily employs *Agree* (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) mechanism. Stegovec indicates that the main idea behind this type of approach is "that the PCC arises when two goals compete to enter Agree with a single probe" (Stegovec 2018: 7). As he explains (Stegovec 2018: 7), these approaches generally further assume that to some degree intervention is connected to the PCC; this means that in view of Number [#] and Person [π] features Agree happens separately (cf. Taraldsen 1995), whereby the IO prevents Agree from taking place between the *v* head and DO for [π], yet not for [#] features. I provide Stegovec's (2018) illustration of this below:

(3.11) $[_{vP}$ V $[_{VP}$ ⌞IO⌟ $[_{V'} V$ ⌞DO⌟ $]]]$

$[\pi]\bullet\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!\bullet[\pi]\checkmark$ $[\pi]\,\boldsymbol{\times}$

Agree

$[\#]\bullet\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!\bullet[\#]\checkmark$

Agree

(Stegovec 2018: 7)

In reference to (3.11), Stegovec points out that the IO asymmetrically c-commands the DO in its base position IO≫DO, and that's why the IO acts as the intervener for person Agree (Stegovec 2018: 7).[23]

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[23] Stegovec (2018) marks asymmetric c-command with "≫" and linear precedence with "»".

3.3.1. Béjar & Rezac (2003) and Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005)

Stegovec points out however that the intervention alone (cf. (3.11)) does not suffice; according to him, one must clarify why the absence of Agree with the DO's [π] features is of significance in this matter (that is, whether it can be 1/2P or not) (Stegovec 2018: 7). He says that the usual answer which the standard syntactic PCC approach provides is that 3P is in fact realized by the absence of [π]features, and that special licensing is needed for the existence of [π] on an argument (Stegovec 2018: 7). [24] Since Stegovec (2018) develops his approach largely in contrast to those of Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) and Béjar & Rezac (2003), I will now represent his account of the fundamentals of those approaches.

The approaches in Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) and Béjar & Rezac (2003) can be characterized as the standard syntactic approaches to the PCC, whereas Stegovec's approach goes in the opposite direction, differing primarily from the former in that they adhere to the notion that there exists an inherent asymmetry between IO and DO. This is problematic for Slovenian, as Stegovec (2018) shows in his analysis.

As already mentioned, there is a type of the PCC called the *reverse PCC* in Slovenian; with this type, the person restriction applies to the IO clitic is restricted by the PCC (Stegovec 2018). Commenting on Béjar & Rezac (2003), Stegovec says that a possible way to extend their analysis to the reverse PCC would be to presume that in Slovenian the DO»IO clitic order, which lends the reverse PCC, corresponds to a structure where the DO asymmetrically c-commands the IO below *v*- so that the DO intervenes for Agree between *v* and the IO (Stegovec 2018: 9) . However, according to him, this is problematic. Because for Béjar & Rezac (2003), the IO is always the complement of the P that assigns it DAT Case via Agree, which means that the IO cannot be person restricted (Stegovec 2018).

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[24] In this context Stegovec discusses Béjar & Rezac (2003) and points to their *Person Licensing Condition (PLC):* ''*An interpretable* 1P/2P *feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category*'' (Béjar & Rezac 2003: 53; Stegovec 2018: 7).

Stegovec (2018) asserts that Béjar & Rezac (2003) assume that Case is assigned due to Agree between φ-features; thus, the ACC case is assigned to DO under Agree relation with *v* (cf. Chomsky 2000), whereas the DAT case is assigned to IO under Agree relation with a null proposition (P) chosen by the verb (Stegovec 2018: 7). In this sense, Stegovec (2018) chooses to call as ''inherent'' the case which is assigned by P, and as ''structural'' the case which is assigned by *v* or T (Stegovec 2018: 7). For details, see (Stegovec 2018: 7-9).

Furthermore, the outcome is the same, Stegovec says, if we presume the DO»IO clitic order is the result of DO-over-IO movement below *v* (3.12 a), or if the DO is base generated above the IO inside VP (3.12 b):

(3.12). a. $[_{vP}$ V $[_{VP}$ $\boxed{\text{DO}}$ $[_{PP}$ P $\boxed{\text{IO}}$] $[_{V'}$ V t_{DO}]]]   (DO-over-IO movement)

    b. $[_{vP}$ V $[_{VP}$ $\boxed{\text{DO}}$ $[_{V'}$ V $[_{PP}$ P $\boxed{\text{IO}}$]]]   (base generation)

(Stegovec 2018: 9)

He asserts that, although the DO in (3.12 a) and (3.12 b) technically intervenes for Agree between *v* and the IO, the IO is always a complement of P and can therefore always Agree with P, i.e., any interpretable π features ([iπ]) on the IO can always be licensed (Stegovec 2018). This, he proceeds to say, wrongly predicts all person combinations to be possible, namely: [iπ] features on the IO can always be licensed, and with no intervener between *v* and DO, so can any [π] features on the DO. ,

Stegovec notes that the only way to derive the reverse PCC within the context of Béjar & Rezac's (2003) approach would be to stipulate for Slovenian that solely with the DO»IO clitic order the DO bears *inherent* ACC assigned by a null P and the IO bears *structural* DAT assigned by *v* (Stegovec 2018). However, he says that, aside from not being conceptually appealing, and the fact that Béjar & Rezac (2003) specifically assume that in ditransitives ACC is structural and DAT inherent, this move additionally makes wrong predictions regarding ditransitive passives, where Slovenian displays the cross-linguistically common restriction against DAT arguments becoming subjects of passives (Stegovec 2018)

Overall, Stegovec (2018) concludes that Béjar & Rezac's (2003) use of inherent DAT assignment as a [π] licenser presents the main problem when it comes to Slovenian, adding that similar problems will surface with any analysis which relies on an inherent asymmetry between IO and DO aside from their position (as e.g. Adger & Harbour 2007; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, i.a.). He notes that the combined PCC pattern in Slovenian is *symmetric*, which means that the second object clitic is restricted whether that clitic is the IO or DO; this said, the type of an analysis such as that of Béjar & Rezac (2003), which treats IO and DO asymmetrically, will always be problematic (Stegovec 2018). Nevertheless, Stegovec proposes that a kind of an altered syntactic intervention analysis can derive the reverse and
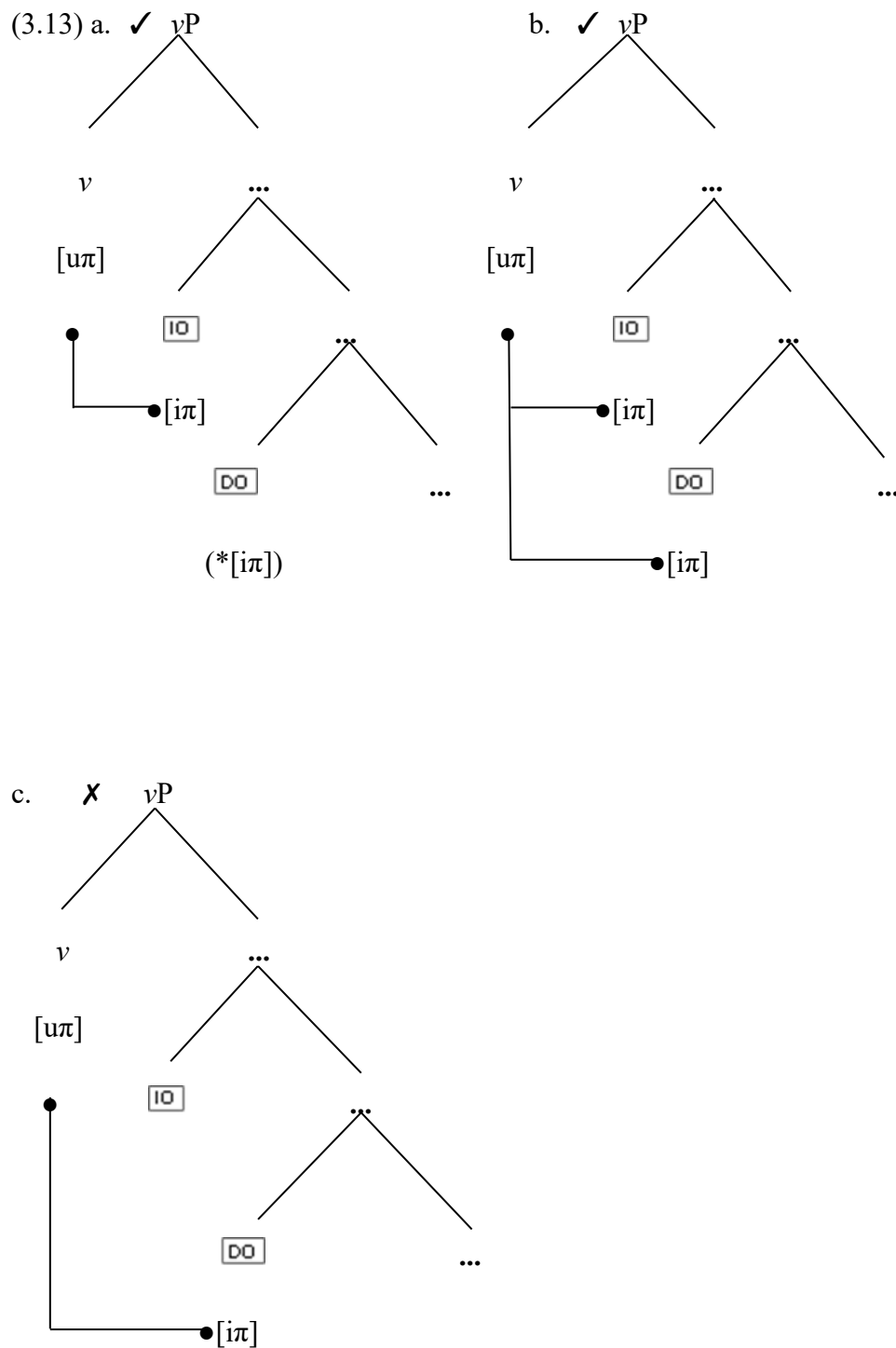
canonical PCC of Slovenian as a unified phenomenon (Stegovec 2018). He explains that this is possible when one assumes that it is actually the "deficient" status of the pronouns involved that drives the PCC, and not an inherent asymmetry between IO and DO. This is the key idea in Stegovec (2018), which, as he remarks, goes hand in hand with the notions of Perlmutter (1971) and Bonet (1991) (cf. chapter 2, sections 2.1 & 2.2), even though he derives the constraint as a syntactic one.

The discussion in this section has so far however centred primarily on the strong PCC- as Stegovec (2018) points out, this is the only type of the PCC which Béjar & Rezac's (2003) analysis can derive, where the PLC (cf. footnote 24) forbids the DO to be anything else but 3P, since it can only Agree with *v* in [#] features.

However, there is also the weak PCC[25]. In his discussion of the weak PCC, Stegovec (Stegovec 2018: 11) refers to Anagnostopoulou (2005), saying that her analysis suggests a derivation of the weak PCC where it occurs as a result of *Multiple Agree* (*MA*) (Hiraiwa 2001, 2004), whereby one head may set up Agree with multiple arguments for the same feature (contrary to regular Agree); Anagnostopoulou (2005) thus ascribes the strong vs. weak PCC split to the existence of a *MA parameter*.

In this context, Stegovec (2018) explains that Agree for [π] features is set up only with the higher object in the case of the strong PCC (3.13a), whereas this is allowed with both objects at the same time in the case of the weak PCC (3.13b):

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[25] Stegovec (2018) reminds here of the Weak PCC's characteristics, where 1/2P object pairs are permitted, but *3P.IO≫1/2P.DO (or *3P.IO≫1/2P.DO with the reverse PCC) is forbidden.

(3.13) a. ✓ *v*P

     v   …

 [uπ]

    ●   IO

      ●[iπ] …

         DO   …

     (*[iπ])

b. ✓ *v*P

     v   …

 [uπ]

    ●   IO

      ●[iπ] …

         DO   …

         ●[iπ]

c. ✗ *v*P

     v   …

 [uπ]

    ●   IO

          …

         DO   …

    ●[iπ]

(Stegovec 2018:11)

Stegovec asserts that (3.13 b) permits both IO and DO to be 1/2P. However, looking at (3.13 c), he notes that it needs to be ruled out (*3P≫1/2P). He says that because of this Anagnostopoulou (2005) states the following condition:

(3.14) "***Condition on MA***: *Multiple Agree can take place only under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements.* "

(Anagnostopoulou 2005: 221; Stegovec 2018: 11)

As pointed out by Stegovec (2018), it is assumed here that 3P and 1/2P are opposing feature specifications; thus, Multiple Agree is not possible if the goals have such values.[26] And as we saw above (cf. 3.13 c), in such a scenario regular Agree must occur and the higher goal acts as an intervener, giving rise to the PCC effect (Stegovec 2018).

Furthermore, Stegovec explains that this also means that the 1/2P≫3P vs. *3P≫1/2P constrast must occur in the same manner as in the case of the strong PCC; that is, the [u#] probe can omit the IO and Agree with a 3P.DO, but the [uπ] probe cannot omit the IO and Agree with a 1/2P.DO (Stegovec 2018). As he indicates, for Béjar & Rezac (2003) this is because [uπ] probes first and IO is not an active goal; on the other hand, for Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) this is because IO doesn't have [i#] features but has [iπ] features (Stegovec 2018). On the whole, Stegovec (2018) says that in both of these cases an IO vs. DO asymmetry resurfaces, which, as already mentioned, creates problems in view of Slovenian.

In my presentation of the core of Stegovec's (2018) analysis (section 3.3.3), it will be made clear that the PCC can also be derived without the inherent asymmetries between objects or Multiple Agree. It will also be made clear that the reverse PCC can be derived in the case of both weak and strong variant in Slovenian. But first, I have to shed some light on how Kratzer (2009) influenced Stegovec's work.

3.3.2. The Influence of Kratzer (2009)

One of the most important things to keep in mind is that the analysis put forward by Stegovec (2018) (as already mentioned above) does not follow the presupposition of standard syntactic approaches that there is an inherent asymmetry between IO and DO (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Béjar & Rezac 2003, i.a.). Stegovec's (2018) analysis is concentrated on the traits IO and DO pronouns share, and suggests that the pronouns

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[26] Stegovec (2018) remarks that a similar principle is used by Nevins (2007, 2011).
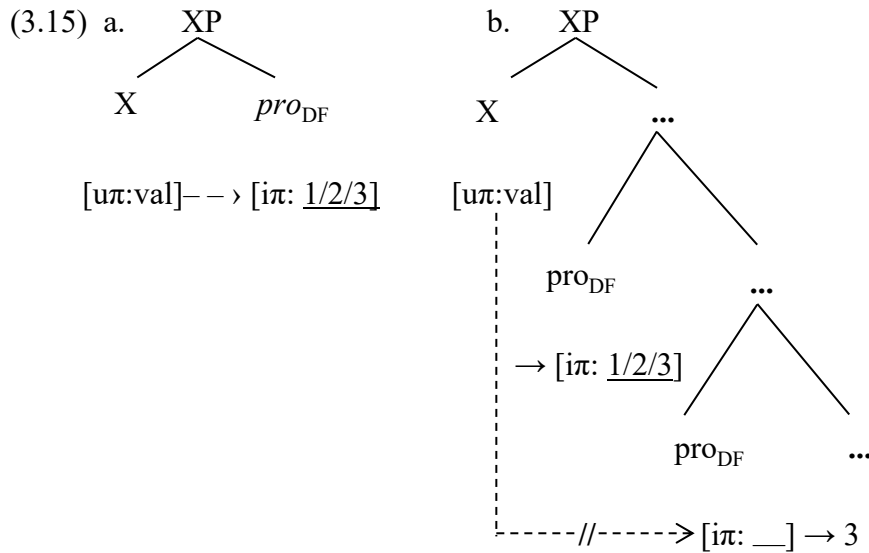
susceptible to the PCC are always reduced or deficient. [27] Furthermore, he embraces the principles which characterize one-probe/two-goals approaches in his analysis. However, what's different in Stegovec's (2018) approach is, for instance, that the PCC mainly arises from the φ-feature composition of the given probe and goals (contrary to a universal condition on Agree with [π] features seen in approaches such as, e.g., that of Béjar & Rezac 2003).

The analysis of the PCC that Stegovec puts forward largely takes after Kratzer (2009), specifically her treatment of bound pronouns (Stegovec 2018: 13). The main notion behind this, Stegovec explains, is that such pronouns are "minimal pronouns" that enter the derivation without φ-values and only obtain them from a functional head that has matching valued features during the derivation (Stegovec 2018: 13). He says that this is similar, for instance, to valuation in Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), according to which, when it comes to interpretable and uninterpretable features, the former can be unvalued when entering the derivation whilst the latter can be valued when entering the derivation (contra Chomsky 2000, 2001).

Stegovec (2018) argues that first, PCC-sensitive pronouns[28] (which he considers to be deficient-that is, clitic/weak pronouns- in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke 1994, 1999) enter the derivation with *unvalued* [iπ] features, and second that only certain functional heads, such as *v,* enter the derivation with *valued* [uπ] features (in the sense of Kratzer 2009 and Zanuttini et al. 2012). Due to the shortage of valued [uπ] features, the PCC occurs in a similar manner as in other intervention accounts except for the twist, i.e., the pronouns must be [π]-valued, and not *v.* He showcases this using tree diagrams, which look approximately as follows:

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[27] Stegovec (2018) notes that Nevins (2011) follows a similar approach.
[28] He calls them 'pro_{DF}'.

(3.15) a.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{XP} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{X} \qquad pro_{DF} \end{array}$$

$[u\pi{:}val]{-}{-}\rangle\ [i\pi{:}\ \underline{1/2/3}]$

b.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{XP} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{X} \qquad ... \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ pro_{DF} \qquad ... \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ pro_{DF} \qquad ... \end{array}$$

$[u\pi{:}val]$

$\rightarrow [i\pi{:}\ \underline{1/2/3}]$

$\cdots\ //\ \cdots\rangle\ [i\pi{:}\ \underline{\quad}] \rightarrow 3$

(Stegovec 2018:13)

According to Stegovec (2018), when one observes (3.15 a), the pronoun can get any $[\pi]$ value from X (given a sole pro_{DF} and functional head X hosting a valued $[u\pi]$); however, when one observes a structure with two pro_{DF} like (3.15 b), only the higher pro_{DF} can get a $[\pi]$ value from X. He explains that in this way it blocks $[\pi]$ valuation of the lower pro_{DF}, and the latter thus gets a default value, i.e. 3P. [29] On the whole, he says that, in constructions like (3.15 b), the PCC occurs due to the following key assumptions:

(3.16) "a. *A pro_{DF} has unvalued* $[i\pi]$ *features that must be valued before spell-out*;

b. *An unvalued $[\pi]$ can get a value either: (i) via Agree with a valued $[\pi]$, or (ii) by getting a default 3P value iff valuation via Agree is impossible.* "

(Stegovec 2018: 14)

According to Stegovec (2018), the outcome is that the PCC does not occur for the reason that a $[i\pi]$ fails to be licensed via Agree with a matching $[u\pi]$, but rather for the reason that an *unvalued* $[i\pi]$ fails to be valued by a matching *valued* $[u\pi]$ (Stegovec 2018). In this context, he explains, the restricted distribution of 1/2P is not brought on by particular configurations

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[29] At this point Stegovec (2018) notes that he assumes, just like Béjar & Rezac (2009) and Preminger (2014), that there is no difference between default 3P and valued 3P i.e., 3P is only a $[\pi]$ feature without positive speaker or participant specification, and it must not be mixed up with an unvalued $[\pi]$ or the lack of $[\pi]$.

of Case-assigning heads and arguments, but by a mismatch in the number of functional heads with valued [uπ] and pronouns with unvalued [iπ] (Stegovec 2018).

Furthermore, the claim that Stegovec (2018) makes, i.e. that pronouns sensitive to the PCC are minimal pronouns in the spirit of Kratzer (2009), is motivated by the way they behave in binding contexts. Thus, Stegovec says, bound subject pronouns must be null in numerous *pro*-drop languages (cf. Montalbetti 1984). This, as he shows (3.17 a), is also true for Slovenian; however, in the case when the bound pronoun is an object, it must be a clitic instead of a strong pronoun (3.17 b):

(3.17) a. Nihče$_i$ ne   misli,   da   je, { (***pro***$_i$) | on$_{k, *i}$ } neumen.

   no.one not thinks   that   is   3.M | he   stupid. M

    'No one$_i$ thinks that he$_{i, k}$ is stupid.'

   b. Nihče$_i$ ne   misli,   da   { ga$_i$ } bo   strela   udarila { njega$_{k, *i}$ }.

   no.one not thinks   that   3.M.ACC   will.3   lighting strike.F   him.ACC

    'No one$_i$ thinks that lighting will strike him$_{i, k}$.'

(Stegovec 2018: 14-15)

Continuing to refer to (3.17 b), Stegovec (2018) clarifies that the different behavior of the given two pronoun types can be explained in view of Kratzer (2009) when one presumes that clitic pronouns are minimal and strong pronouns are not.

Stegovec (2018) asserts that, according to Kratzer (2009), binding activates φ-valuation of the minimal pronoun, which leads to the antecedent and the bound pronoun possessing the same φ-feature values. Stegovec explains further that binding itself is mediated by functional heads (that is, either *v* or C), which bring the valued φ-features into play that value their correlatives on the bound minimal pronoun. Moreover, he points out that, what is essential for Kratzer (2009) here, is that the aforementioned *v*/C-mediated binding, as well as the ensuing φ-valuation, is namely in reciprocal distribution with Agree for φ-features between

v/C and pronouns; this is, Stegovec remarks, taken as an extension of the *anaphor agreement effect*[30] (Rizzi 1990; Stegovec 2018; Woolford 1999).

Stegovec says that he takes this as a crucial point when it comes to his analysis of the PCC. Namely, he states that the contraint, in the same way as binding in (3.17 b), applies solely to clitic (and not strong) pronouns (Stegovec 2018). One observes the same behavior, he says, where pro_{DF} is concerned; namely, pro_{DF} can get a $[\pi]$ value either by way of binding or by way of Agree with the functional head that else mediates binding- the two options are in reciprocal distribution (Stegovec 2018).

According to Stegovec (2018), the vital assumption in relation to the PCC is that in the absence of binding, the relevant functional head (in this context *v*) only carries valued $[u\pi]$ features, whereas the rest of the φ-features on it are unvalued. Similarly, he says, only the $[i\pi]$ features belonging to pro_{DF} are unvalued. Building on Kratzer's (2009) ideas, he proposes that outside of binding configurations, *v* carries solely those valued *φ*-features which are minimally needed in order to encode a speech act participant perspective- in other words, only valued $[\pi]$ features.

Stegovec (2018) considers all of this crucial in the derivation of the PCC. Essentially, as I will show below, the differences in the placement of the IO and DO relative to *v* at the point of $[\pi]$- valuation are at the core of his analysis.

I turn now to next and key subsection of chapter 3, which is Stegovec's (2018) derivation of the weak and strong PCC in Slovenian. As mentioned above, I consider this the core of his analysis, because therein it is shown how he in his approach succeeds in deriving the PCC *from the properties of the pronouns themselves*, without having to rely on inherent assymetries between IO and DO or Multiple Agree like the standard syntactic approaches such as Bejar & Rezac (2003) and Anagnostopoulou (2003). Furthermore, unlike the latter approaches, in his system Stegovec (2018) succeeds in deriving the reverse PCC for Slovenian in the case of both strong and weak PCC variant.

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[30] Anaphor agreement effect: "anaphors are always in a complementary distribution with agreement controllers. "
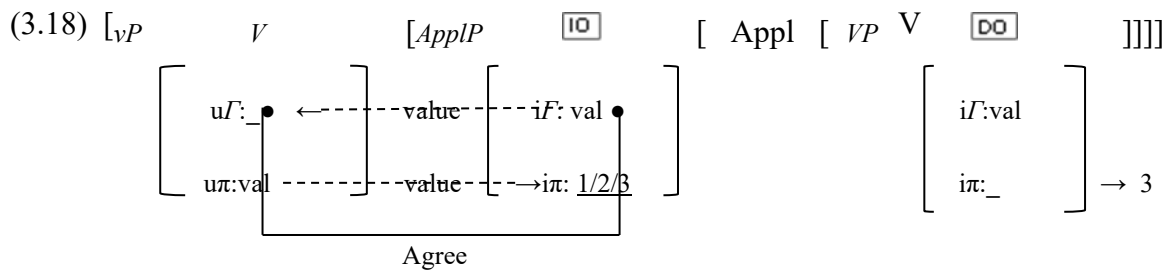
(Stegovec 2018:15)

3.3.3. Stegovec's (2018) Derivation of Slovenian PCC

The most essential aspect of Stegovec's analysis of Slovenian PCC lies in the fact that *clitic order* is important and *case* isn't. His approach is thus essentially intertwined with the possibility of the reverse PCC order in Slovenian, which is possible primarily because of the flexibility of Slovenian clitic order (cf. (3.7) & (3.8)). Stegovec also points out that Slovenian clitics can be taken to be more internally complex than clitics in other South Slavic languages due to a greater freedom in their placement; as a result of this, they tend to behave similarly as full NPs. He notes that this trait is exactly what allows IO/DO clitics to manifest the IO»DO/DO»IO alternation.

Stegovec's analysis is consistent with both base generation and derivational analyses. However, he still accepts Anagnostopoulou's (2003) proposal that *all double object constructions universally have a IO≫DO base,* and ultimately ascribes the IO»DO/DO»IO alternation to optional DO-over-IO movement below *v*.

(i) Stegovec's Derivation of the Strong PCC

In some languages, such as Greek and French, the strong PCC (cf. (1.0 a-b); also (2.4 a)), is the sole existent type of person restriction (Stegovec 2018). It is also attested in Slovenian with an IO»DO clitic order, where, in the presence of an IO clitic, the DO clitic must be 3P (Stegovec 2018). This is how the derivation of the standard (canonical) strong PCC in Stegovec's system looks like:

(3.18) $[_{vP}$ V $[_{ApplP}$ IO   [Appl [$_{VP}$ V   DO   ]]]]

$$\begin{bmatrix} u\Gamma\!:\_ \bullet \longleftarrow \text{--value--} \text{--} i F\!: val \bullet \\ u\pi\!:val \text{ -----} \text{--value--} \text{--} \rightarrow i\pi\!: \underline{1/2/3} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} i\Gamma\!:val \\ i\pi\!:\_ \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow 3$$

Agree

(Stegovec 2018: 17)

Stegovec embraces the approach to Agree where unvalued features act as probes, matching valued features act as their goals, and the probing domain is restricted to the c-command domain of the probe (Stegovec 2018: 17-18). Thus, as shown in (3.18) above,
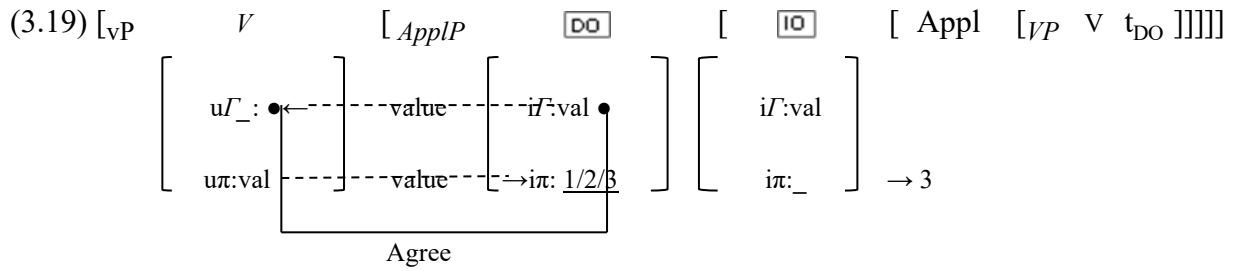
when *v* enters the derivation, its unvalued [uΓ] must probe for the nearest matching goal in its domain, i.e. the valued [iΓ] on the IO. Now, given that in (3.18) the IO is a pro_{DF}, it has an unvalued [iπ] as well. Once Agree is established between *v* and IO, this [iπ] feature can be valued as 1/2/3P by the corresponding valued [uπ] on *v*. Stegovec notes that this kind of parasitic valuation is the consequence of *Maximize Agree*[31]. He points out that, since [π] and [Γ] features in (3.18) are located on the same head with both *v* and the IO, the unvalued [iπ] on the IO can be valued by the c-commanding valued [uπ] in consequence of the Agree relation established for [Γ] features.

He explains that, after the [uΓ] probe on *v* has entered Agree with the IO, the [uΓ] is valued and thus ceases to be an active probe. Even in a scenario where the IO moves later somewhere above *v* (whereupon it leaves behind an inactive trace and removes itself as an intervener, as in Béjar & Rezac 2003), *v* can no longer trigger Agree with the DO (also a pro_{DF}) because *v*'s only unvalued feature has been satisfied.

Thus, Agree between *v* and IO deactivates *v* as a probe, and the result is Agree between *v* and DO. Since in (3.18) *v* cannot value the DO's [iπ] in any other way, its [iπ] must get a default 3P value as a last resort i.e., it is mandatory for a pro_{DF} DO to be 3P whenever a pro_{DF} IO is present, and this is how the the canonical strong PCC is derived by Stegovec.

Let us go over his derivation of the reverse strong PCC. In Stegovec's system, the reverse strong PCC arises with a DO≫IO configuration below *v*. He says that the only difference needed in order to get this configuration from that in (3.18) is the possibility of DO-over-IO clitic movement below *v*. The reverse PCC is thus possible in Slovenian, but not in languages such as Greek or French, because only Slovenian permits the DO≫IO configuration to arise at this point in the derivation. What's crucial to note here is that the reverse PCC can be derived in this system only when one takes the PCC to be independent from case-assignment and other comparable IO/DO asymmetries. Stegovec's derivation of the reverse *Strong* PCC looks as follows:

---

[31] *"**Maximize Agree**. If Agree holds between heads X and Y for any feature, then <u>all </u>the unvalued features on X and Y must be valued by any matching features on the other element regardless of the direction of valuation.*"
(Rezac 2004:477; Stegovec 2018: 18)

(3.19) $[_{vP}$ V $[_{ApplP}$ 〔DO〕 $[$ 〔IO〕 $[$ Appl $[_{VP}$ V t_{DO}]]]]]

$$\begin{bmatrix} u\Gamma\_: \bullet \leftarrow \text{-----value----} i\Gamma\text{:val} \bullet \\ u\pi\text{:val -----value---} \rightarrow i\pi: \underline{1/2/3} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} i\Gamma\text{:val} \\ i\pi:\_ \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow 3$$

Agree

(Stegovec 2018: 19)

According to Stegovec, (3.19) progresses just like (3.18), except that the roles of the IO and DO are *reversed*; that is, DO moves across IO before *v* is merged, and thus the DO (and not the IO) is the nearest goal for any probe on *v* when *v* enters the derivation (Stegovec 2018: 19). Because of this, [uΓ] on *v* enters Agree with the [iΓ] on DO, not IO, this time. Once Agree is established, the valued [uπ] on *v* also values the unvalued [iπ] on DO as 1/2/3P owing to the aforementioned *Maximize Agree*. Subsequently, the [uΓ] on *v* ceases to be a probe, so even if DO were to move above *v*, producing an inactive trace, the [iπ] on IO can no longer be valued by way of Agree with *v* i.e., it must get a default 3P value, which results in the reverse strong PCC.

So far, I have shown Stegovec's derivation of the canonical and reverse strong PCC. Essentially, in his system, the PCC arises from a mismatch in the number of *pro*$_{DF}$ objects and valued [uπ]. I now turn to his derivation of the weak PCC.
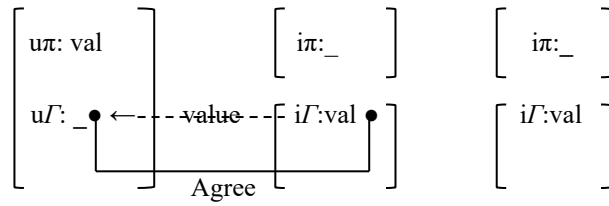
(ii) Stegovec's Derivation of the Weak PCC

Switching the focus to the weak PCC (cf. (1.0 c)); also (2.4 b)), it should first be noted that Stegovec demonstrates that the strong vs. weak PCC split can be derived from the sole properties of pronouns (without using an operation such as Anagnostopoulou's *Multiple Agree*, cf. (3.14)). [32]
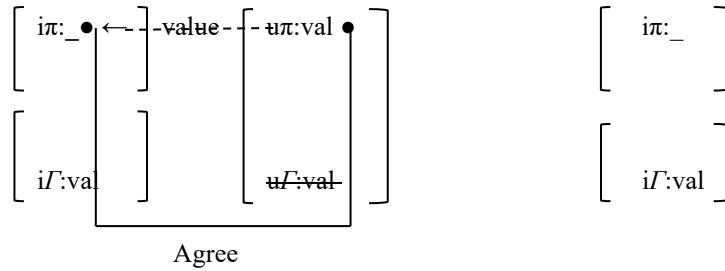
He first sets focus on the combinations ruled out with the strong PCC, that is 1/2P≫2/1P. This is how the derivation of the standard (canonical) weak PCC in his system looks like:

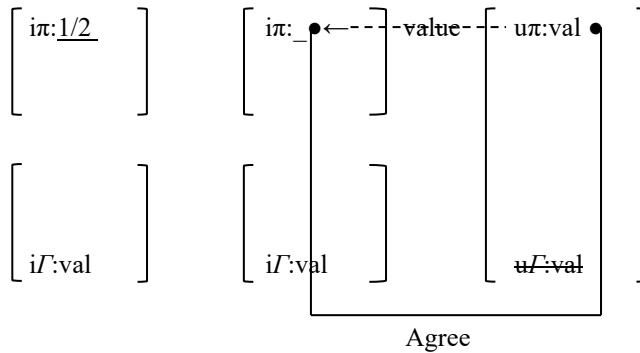[32] For details on strong vs. weak PCC split, see (Stegovec 2018: 19-21)

(3.20) a. [$_{vP}$　　V　　[$_{ApplP}$　　IO　　[$_{VP}$　　DO　　]]]

$$\begin{bmatrix} u\pi: val \\ u\Gamma: \_\ \bullet \leftarrow - - value - - \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} i\pi:\_ \\ i\Gamma:val \bullet \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} i\pi:\_ \\ i\Gamma:val \end{bmatrix}$$

Agree

b. [$_{vP}$　　IO　　[　　V　　[$_{ApplP}$　t$_{IO}$　[$_{VP}$　　DO　　]]]]

$$\begin{bmatrix} i\pi:\_\ \bullet \leftarrow -value- - \\ i\Gamma:val \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} u\pi:val \bullet \\ u\Gamma:val \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} i\pi:\_ \\ i\Gamma:val \end{bmatrix}$$

Agree

c. [$_{vP}$　　IO　　[　　DO　　[　　V　　[$_{ApplP}$　t$_{IO}$　[$_{VP}$　t$_{DO}$　]]]]]

$$\begin{bmatrix} i\pi:1/2 \\ i\Gamma:val \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} i\pi:\_\ \bullet \leftarrow - - - value - - \\ i\Gamma:val \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} u\pi:val \bullet \\ u\Gamma:val \end{bmatrix}$$

Agree

(Stegovec 2018: 21)

In reference to (3.20 a), Stegovec says that when *v* enters Agree with the IO in [*Γ*] features, *v* ceases to be a probe (Stegovec 2018: 21). He says that, given that *Maximize Agree* (cf. footnote 31) is not applicable, the [iπ] feature on IO can not be valued parasitically to [*Γ*]- because of this, [iπ] remains an active probe. Now, because IO's unvalued [iπ] does not c-command a suitable matching goal in its base position, it must move to Spec*v*P, where *v* hosts a matching valued [uπ]; after that, as shown in (3.20 b), [iπ] probes and Agree is established, and thus it can be valued 1/2P by the [uπ] on *v*. Stegovec then points out that DO's unvalued [iπ] also does not c-command a matching goal in its base position, and so it also must move to Spec*v*P. As demonstrated in (3.20 c), he explains that it does so by "tucking in" (cf.

Richards 1997, 2001) below the IO, where it is able to probe, enter Agree with [uπ] on *v*, and be valued as 1/2P. This is how the the canonical weak PCC is derived by Stegovec.

While discussing the reverse strong PCC, I mentioned that, in Stegovec's system, all that is required for the reverse PCC to arise is a short DO-over-IO movement. His derivation of the reverse weak PCC pattern looks as follows:

(3.21) a. [*vP*   V   [*ApplP*   DO   [IO   [*VP* t~DO~]]]]

$$\begin{bmatrix} u\pi\text{: val} \\ u\Gamma\text{: \_} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} i\pi\text{:\_} \\ i\Gamma\text{:val} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} i\pi\text{:\_} \\ i\Gamma\text{: val} \end{bmatrix}$$

uΓ: _ ←- - - - - value - - - - iΓ:val

Agree

b. [*vP*   DO   [V   [*ApplP* t~DO~ [IO   [*VP* t~DO~   ]]]]

$$\begin{bmatrix} i\pi\text{:\_} \\ i\Gamma\text{:val} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} u\pi\text{:val} \\ u\Gamma\text{:val} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} i\pi\text{:\_} \\ i\Gamma\text{:val} \end{bmatrix}$$

iπ:_ ←- - value - - uπ:val

Agree

c. [*vP*   DO   [IO   [V   [*ApplP* t~DO~ [t~IO~ [*VP* t~DO~]]]]]

$$\begin{bmatrix} i\pi\text{: 1/2} \\ i\Gamma\text{: val} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} i\pi\text{:\_} \\ i\Gamma\text{:val} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} u\pi\text{:val} \\ u\Gamma\text{:val} \end{bmatrix}$$

iπ:_ ←- - value - - uπ:val

Agree
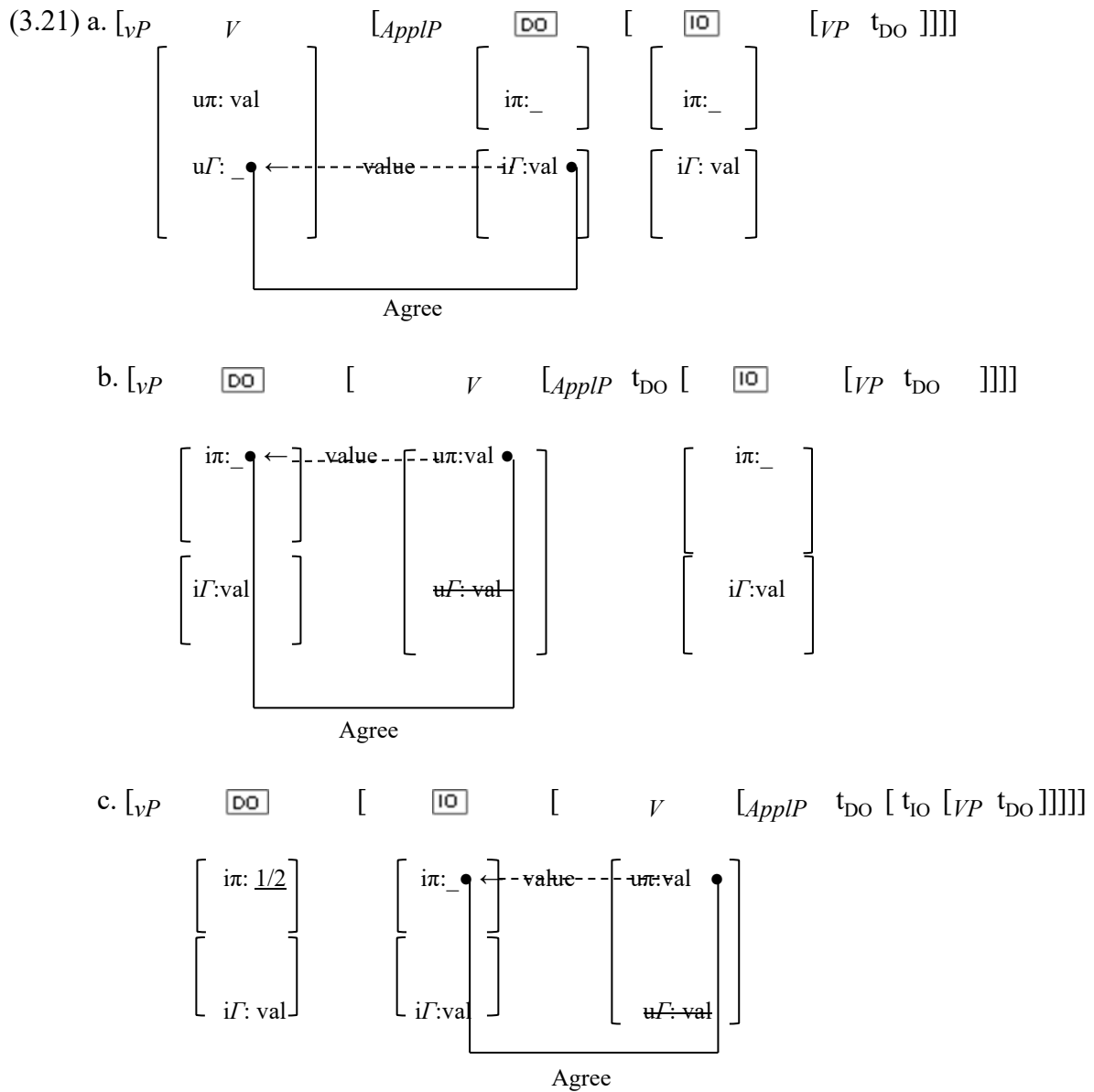
(Stegovec 2018: 22)

Comparing the derivation of the reverse weak PCC (cf. 3.21) to that of the canonical weak PCC (3.20), Stegovec notes that the only difference here is that IO and DO switch places at a level below *v* (Stegovec 2018: 22).. Thus, with the sole exception of IO and DO having reversed roles, the derivation in (3.21) progresses the same as (3.20). As shown in (3.21 a),

Stegovec explains that Agree first occurs between *v* and the DO *pro*$_{\text{DF}}$ in [*I*] features, leaving however the DO's [iπ] feature unvalued. As shown in (3.21 b), the DO must then move to Spec*v*P in order to get its [iπ] valued as 1/2P by way of Agree with *v*'s valued [uπ]. He points out that the IO *pro*$_{\text{DF}}$ then moves and tucks in below the DO, where IO's unvalued [iπ] also gets a 1/2P value by way of Agree with *v*'s [uπ], as shown in (3.21 c). This is how the reverse weak PCC is derived by Stegovec.

Based on the representation of Stegovec's analysis, I have shown that both the canonical and the reverse weak and strong PCC types can be derived in the system he proposes.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have first described Slovenian grammar (i.e. word order, pronouns and clitics), comparing it to the BCS grammar. This comparison has shown that, even though these two languages (being genetically related) have many things in common, there obtain some crucial differences between them. For instance, unlike BCS clitics, Slovenian clitics can appear sentence-initially, and can function both as enclitics and proclitics (Franks 2010). The Slovenian clitic ordering pattern (cf. (3.5)) was shown to be considerably different from the BCS ordering pattern (cf. (1.9)). I also noted that the Slovenian clitic order allows both IO»DO and DO»IO clitic combinations (Stegovec 2018), and is thus more relaxed than the BCS order. Then I presented the Slovenian PCC and its typology, introducing Stegovec (2018). As one could see, Slovenian has both the weak and strong PCC, with the variation between two groups of speakers related to these two types (Stegovec 2015, 2018, i.a.). I pointed out that Slovenian also has what Stegovec terms the *reverse* PCC (cf. (3.9) b), which applies to DO»IO clitic order, and which is a complete reversal of the standard (canonical) PCC. (Stegovec 2015, 2018, i.a.). Finally, I devoted myself to the discussion of Stegovec (2018). First of all, I explained that Stegovec (2018) distances oneself from the standard, minimalist approaches to the PCC, which lean on inherent asymmetries between the IO and DO (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Chomsky 2000, 2001, i.a.). Based on the discussion of Anagnostopoulou (2003) and Béjar & Rezac (2003), we could see that Stegovec (2018) doesn't follow the assumption that there exists any inherent asymmetry

between IO and DO. As shown, his analysis is more in line with Kratzer (2009) and her treatment of bound pronouns. I have emphasized that in Stegovec's (2018) system *clitic order* is important and *case* isn't, and that it is in this sense that he derives the Slovenian PCC. Furthermore, as pointed out, his argument is that the PCC arises with pronouns that are inherently unspecified for a person value and need to obtain it externally from a functional head by way of Agree. Ergo, Stegovec's (2018) analysis is concentrated on the traits which IO and DO pronouns share, and suggests that the pronouns susceptible to the PCC are always *reduced* or *deficient*. What's more, in tackling the reverse PCC, he concludes that, even though it exists in other languages, it can only exist in unity with a canonical PCC, and it is only justifiable under the assumption that the DO-over-IO clitic movement which triggers it is *always optional* and double object constructions have the same base in all languages. Lastly, I discussed Stegovec's (2018) derivation of the Slovenian PCC in detail. I have shown that both the canonical (3.18) and reverse (3.19) *strong* PCC, and the canonical (3.20 a, b & c) and reverse (3.21 a, b & c) *weak* PCC are derivable in his system.

In the next chapter I do the analysis of the BCS PCC, and present the results of my investigation in this thesis.

CHAPTER 4. THE PCC IN BCS

In this final chapter of the thesis, I do the analysis of the PCC in BCS. I show that the constraint *does* apply in this language, and that it can be derived in the sense of recent approaches relying on the properties and order of clitics rather than on case (Franks 2018; Stegovec 2018). In the previous chapter, I have discussed one of these, i.e. Stegovec (2018), who, as we saw, successfully derives the PCC for Slovenian. The focus of this chapter is on the other one, i.e. Franks (2018), who, as will be shown below, succesfully derives the PCC for BCS.

4.1. The Analysis of the PCC in BCS

In section 4.1.1., I first provide Migdalski's (2006) arguments *against* the existence of the PCC in BCS. Then, in section 4.1.2., I present the evidence *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS, which stems from Franks (2018). Finally, section 4.1.3 presents the core of the analysis and its results. In section 4.2. I conclude.

4.1.1. Migdalski (2006): The Arguments *against* the PCC in BCS

I have already outlined Migdalski's (2006) argumentation (cf. chapter 1, section 1.2), where I noted that he argues *against* the existence of the PCC in BCS. Now I will go into the details of his argument.

Migdalski (2006), a work which provides an account of the diachrony and synchrony of the structure of compound tenses in the modern Slavic family of languages, also integrates the examination of South Slavic clitics. First of all, whilst discussing the definition and origin of the PCC, Migdalski (2006) refers to Bonet (1994) and her claim that the constraint is universal (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2). At this point, he denies the correctness of Bonet's (1994) claim, arguing that the constraint cannot be universal, since the PCC does not exist in Czech, Polish, and *Serbo-Croatian* (Migdalski 2006). According to him, in these languages the PCC

does not exist for the reason that non-3rd person accusative clitics can appear together with dative clitics, as seen in the following BCS example:

(4.0) Ja   *im*   *te*   preporučujem

       I   them$_{CL.DAT}$ you$_{CL.ACC}$ recommend$_{PRES.1.SG}$

     "I am recommending you to them"

(Migdalski 2006: 198)

In (4.0.), the 2nd person accusative clitic ("te"= you) occurs together with the dative clitic ("im"=them). Thus, BCS allows a non-3rd person accusative clitic to occur together with a dative clitic. However, what's important to stress again is that Migdalski (2006) follows the standard, minimalist approach to the PCC (Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003; Béjar & Rezac 2003, i.a.). As already mentioned, Migdalski (2006) primarily takes after Anagnostopoulou (1999, 2003) in assuming that *it is because number and person feature checking are not compatible that the PCC arises,* providing a tree diagram to illustrate such a configuration, which looks as follows:

(4.1)
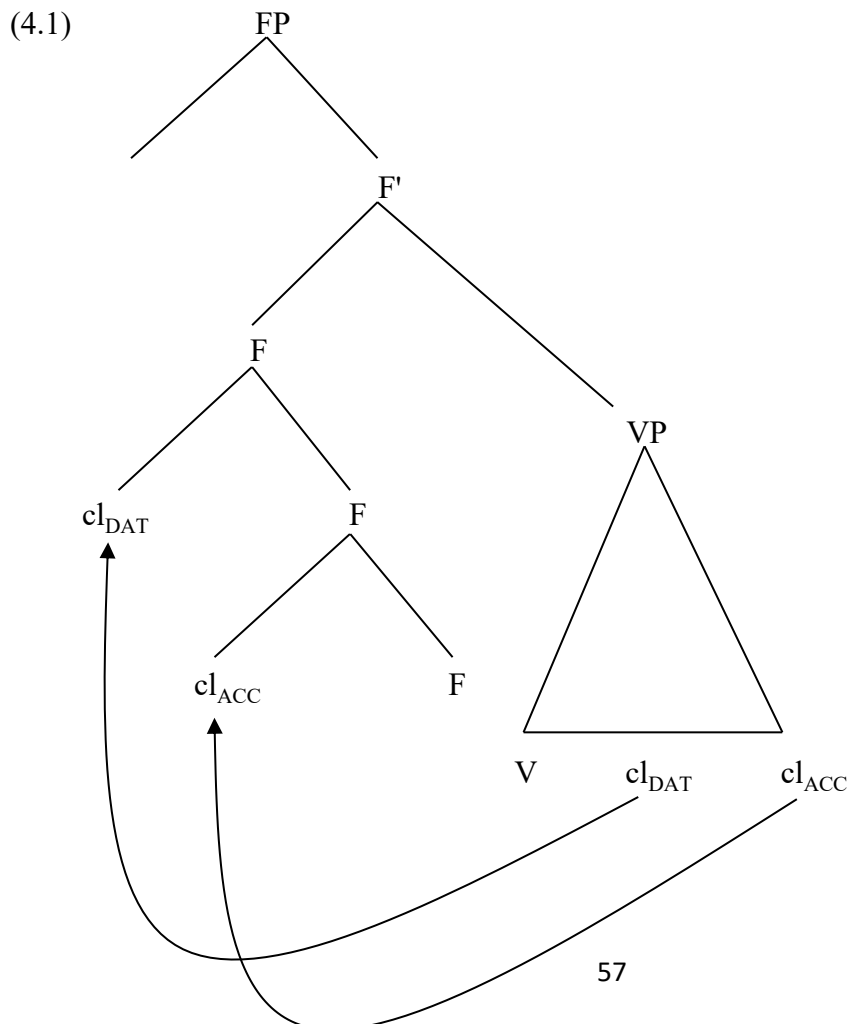
In reference to (4.1), Migdalski (2006) invites the reader to imagine a scenario where the F head contains person and number features which need checking. He explains then that the PCC applies once a dative clitic raises first from its base position inside the VP for the purpose of checking a person feature of F, and the accusative clitic, on the other hand, moves second for the purpose of checking the lingering number feature on F, wherupon it tucks in under the dative clitic (Migdalski 2006: 199). According to him, the derivation is able to converge only in the case when the accusative clitic bears solely a number feature (since the the dative has already checked the person feature) (Migdalski 2006: 199). Furthermore, he says that, when one assumes that there is only a number feature on 3rd person pronouns, it is them and *only* them that are suitable for the movement; that is, the derivation crashes in the case when a non-3rd person pronominal clitic raises, given that in this case we are still left with the unchecked person feature on the accusative (Migdalski 2006: 199).

Thus, following the standard, minimalist approach to the PCC (primarily Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003), Migdalski (2006) starts from the assumption *that the accusative clitic cannnot be 1st or 2nd person*, and because in (4.0) above the 2nd person accusative clitic ("te"=you) is allowed to occur with the dative clitic ("im"=them), he claims that the constraint does not apply in BCS. Recall that this exact argument was discussed in the context of Runić's (2013) data (cf. 1.10 a & 1.11 a). As pointed out, because BCS allows the non-3rd person accusative clitic to occur in the combination with the dative clitic, Migdalski (2006) argues that the PCC does not exist in BCS. However, this argument is problematic, and I argue against it in the context of Runić (2013) in section 4.1.3.1.

But recall also that there is more to Migdalski's (2006) argumentation (cf. chapter 1, section 1.2.). As mentioned, he makes the observation that the PCC does not exist in Wackernagel position clitic languages, stating thus that the PCC is nonexistent in BCS. Drawing on Bošković (2001) and Stjepanović (1999), he claims *that pronominal clitics do not cluster in a single head in Serbo-Croatian* (Migdalski 2006: 216). In this context, Migdalski says that it obvious why the PCC does not apply in this language- according to him, it is only when clitics are are clustered in a single head that the PCC applies (Migdalski 2006: 216).

This is the point where he compares BCS to Macedonian, in which, according to him, the PCC exists. What follows is his example of the PCC in Macedonian:

(4.2) a. *Jas   *im*   *te*   preporačuvam

  I   them$_{CL.DAT}$ you $_{CL.ACC}$ recommend$_{PRES.1SG}$

  b. Jas   *te*   preporačuvam   na   niv

  I   you$_{CL.ACC}$ recommend$_{PRES.1SG}$ to   them$_{CL.ACC}$

  "I am recommending you to them"

  c. Jas   *im*   *ja*   preporačuvam

  I   them$_{CL.DAT}$ her$_{CL.ACC}$ recommend$_{PRES.1SG}$

  "I am recommending her to them"

(Migdalski 2006:199)

Runić (2013) also lists the example in (4.2), discussing this part of Migdalski's (2006) argumentation. She points out that, as claimed by Migdalski (2006), what sets Macedonian apart from BCS is the *different syntactic positioning of clitics in two languages*. That is, she explains that, according to Migdalski (2006), verbal clitics are all clustered in one head in Macedonian, unlike the BCS clitics, which are placed in different syntactic positions (Runić 2013). Runić (2013) says that this explains why there is a discrepancy when it comes to feature checking in Macedonian, whereas in BCS there is not any, because the BCS clitics are able to check their features in seperate projections and so the derivation does not crash. However, Runić (2013) states that also this argument of Migdalski (2006) is problematic, and I argue against it in 4.1.3.1. as well, using her work as support.

In the next section, I present Franks' (2018) evidence *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS.

4.1.2. Franks (2018): The Evidence *for* the PCC in BCS

The main evidence *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS stems from Franks (2018). It is from the latter that I draw the main support for my argument. I will now provide an account of Franks (2018) and the corresponding approach.

As mentioned, Franks' (2018) approach also differs from standard, minimalist approaches (Adger & Harbour 2007; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Chomsky 2000, 2001; Migdalski 2006; Nevins 2007, 2011; Richards 2008, i.a.), and has much more in common with the recent ones such as Stegovec (2018), in which the emphasis is put on the *properties* and *order* of the two pronouns. First of all, Franks (2018) takes as its subject South Slavic languages, particularly Slovenian, Bulgarian, and BCS. At the very start of his account, he sets his approach apart from traditional syntactic approaches to the PCC, stating that the PCC is not in any way related to grammatical relations or case roles (Franks 2018). This is, he says, because there exists a repair strategy (i.e., the flipping of indirect and direct object clitics) which is able to fix violations of the PCC without influencing grammatical relations or case roles (Franks 2018). Franks (2018) thus claims that the PCC has to do with the *relative order* (specifically *height*) of clitics, and terms the PCC as "the Person *Ordering* Constraint (or POC)", where "ordering" is put in place of "case". This is the essence of his approach.

Let us get down first to the POC systems that Franks (2018) analyzes. He presents the three most common POC systems: *Strong*, *Weak* and *Me-First* POC (Franks 2018).

1. **The Strong Constraint**

Franks (2018) restates Bonet's version of the standard, that is, Strong PCC (cf. (2.4 a)) in this way:

(4.3) "**Strong POC**: In a combination of clitic pronouns, the last one has to be 3rd person."

(Franks 2018: 629)

According to him, this pattern is observable in Slovenian and Bulgarian. Since I've already discussed Slovenian in chapter 3, I will list Franks' (2018) Bulgarian examples (taken from Harizanov (2014))[33]:

(4.4) a. Vera   **mi/ti**   **go**   predstavi.   **1/2. OBL» 3.OBJ**

Vera   me/you$_{SG.OBL}$ him$_{OBJ}$ introduced

'Vera introduced him to me/you.'

 b. *Vera   **mu**   **me/te**   predstavi.   ***3.OBL»1/2.OBJ**

Vera   him$_{OBL}$ me/you$_{SG.OBJ}$ introduced

'Vera introduced me/you to him.'

 c. *Vera   **mi/ti**   **te/me**   predstavi.   ***1/2.OBL»2/1.OBJ**

Vera   me/you$_{SG.OBL}$ you/me$_{OBJ}$ introduced

'Vera introduced me to you.'

(Franks 2018: 630)

2. **The Weak Constraint**

Franks (2018) restates Bonet's version of the Weak PCC (cf. (2.4 b)) in the following way:

(4.5) "**Weak POC:** In a combination of clitic pronouns, if there is a 3rd person, then it has to come last."

(Franks 2018: 630)

According to him, this constraint also applies in Slovenian.

---

[33] Franks (2018) remarks that in Historical Bulgarian and Macedonian dative and accusative forms are glossed as OBL (ique) and OBJ (ective), which reflects the impoverished case systems of the modern languages. I note this simply for the reader's convenience.

3. **The Me-First Constraint**

Franks (2018) restates the *Me-First* PCC (cf. chapter 2, section 2.3.3) as follows:

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

<div align="right">(Franks 2018: 630)</div>

He claims that this type applies in BCS and describes it on the basis of Runić's (2013) data already listed at the beginning of this thesis (cf. (1.10 a & b) & (1.11 a & b). I repeat and go into these data further below, because they are integral part of Franks' (2018) derivation of the *Me-First POC* and crucial for my analysis here.

Having introduced the most common POC systems tackled by Franks (2018), I now explain in what manner he derives them, followed by the detailed discussion of his derivation of the *Me-First* POC. The ideas behind his analysis are as follows.

As mentioned, unlike standard, minimalist approaches such as Béjar & Rezac (2003) (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.1) and Adger & Harbour (2007) (cf. chapter 2, section 2.3.1) which incorporate licensing and Agree (whereby the person features are specified on the clitics but have to get in an Agree with a fuctional head) Franks (2018) has more in common with recent approaches to the PCC such as Stegovec (2018), which hold clitics for *defective vocabulary items* (i.e., clitics can be drastically underspecified). Franks (2018) alludes to the fact that clitics are characterized by semantic deficiency, and that the morphosyntactic information they contain can be restricted. This is, he says, where *person features* become involved, which give rise to POC effects. In view of person features, Franks (2018) adopts the system of Halle (1997), but interprets PART(icipant) and AUTH(or) as privative[34] (not polar), which define the different persons as shown below:

---

[34] As Yuni Kim (2002) notes: ''Privative features, rather than representing contrast as plus and minus values of a feature, represent it as the presence or absence of a feature. They can represent a maximally two-way opposition'' (Yuni Kim 2002: iv).

(4.7) **Person Features**

    a. **1st PERSON**: PART+AUTH   b. **2nd PERSON**: PART   c. **3rd Person**: Ø

<div align="right">(Franks 2018: 633)</div>

Franks (2018) points out that languages are different with respect to whether their clitics are unspecified for one of these two features, or for both. He also states that Person in the Slavic languages in question (Slovenian and BCS, i.a.) can be to a large extent characterized in the manner of both PART and AUTH, whereby the 3rd person indicates the absence of person (Franks 2018) Furthermore, he explains that when these person features are not present on clitics, they start to *spread* to them from, what he calls, a *high Appl (icative) node* in a top-down or left-to-right manner (Franks 2018). Above all, with regard to the person features PART and AUTH, Franks (2018) provides a representation of the restrictions with respect to clitics, i.e. the auxiliary restrictions on what morphosyntactic person information they contain:

(4.8) "**Overlay Restrictions**[35]

    a. **Restriction**$_{\text{PART+AUTH}}$: Clitics contain neither PART nor AUTH features.

    b. **Restriction**$_{\text{PART}}$: Clitics do not contain PART, but can contain AUTH.

    c. **Restriction**$_{\text{AUTH}}$: Clitics do not contain AUTH, but can contain PART."

<div align="right">(Franks 2018: 636)</div>

He says that it is these three restrictions that bring about different POC systems (Franks 2018). It is important to again stress the following. As mentioned above, when person features are not present on clitics, they spread to them from a *high Appl (icative)* node in a top-down or left-to-right manner. In this context, it is important to note that Franks (2018) adapts the *multiattachment model* of Franks (2017) in his derivation, whereby features spread to clitics from a *higher functional projection*. In Franks (2017), this projection was termed *Agr*, but Franks (2018) modifies this earlier account and employs *Appl(icative)* instead. As Franks (2018) notes, Appl can be related to recent works such as Charnavel & Mateu (2015),

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[35] Franks calls them "overlay restrictions" because they apply above all other deficiencies.

who consider the PCC an *antilogophoricity effect* deriving from a conflict of perspective between indirect and direct objects; according to Charnavel & Mateu (2015), the projection establishes a *logophoric* (i.e. *point-of-view*) center. Furthermore, Franks (2018) says that Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2017) develop on this, and use Appl in order to introduce the indirect object as a *perspectival center*. However, since spreading is only *down the tree*, Franks (2018) explains that he uses a higher node to provide person features and a lower node to merge the indirect object into the structure. He asserts that, in his system, *high ApplP*[36] (situated between *v*P and VP) provides person features, whereas the *low ApplP* introduces the indirect object as its specifier:

(4.9) [$_{vP}$ **Subj** V [$_{ApplP}$ <u>Appl</u> [$_{VP}$ V [$_{ApplP}$ **Ind-Obj** [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [**D-Obj**]]]]]]

(Franks 2018: 637)

In reference to (4.9), Franks (2018) says that clitics derive the featural content that specifies their person values from <u>Appl,</u> as it searches down the tree for a target. According to him, what's crucial here is that, when there is more than one clitic, it is the highest (the first) one which is provided with person features first. Because possible targets can not be skipped, the lower clitic can only be reached when the person features have spread to the higher clitic beforehand (Franks 2018). This, together with the effects of the restrictions in (4.8), represents the essence of how he derives different POC systems.

(i) **The Derivation of *Me-First* POC in Franks's (2018) system.**

The definition of *Me-First POC* has already been presented above (cf. (4.6)) As pointed out, according to Franks (2018), this constraint applies in BCS, and I now discuss his derivation of this type in detail. But something else must be done beforehand. First, Runić's (2013) data (cf. (1.10 a & b) & (1.11 a & b)) must be repeated as (4.10) and (4.11)[37] for ease of exposition, after which some additional aspects integral to Franks' (2018) derivation are also discussed.

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[36] Franks (2018) makes a reference to McGinnis (2008) concerning the discussion of *ApplP*.
[37] Thus, from now on, instead of (1.10) and (1.11), I refer to (4.10) and (4.11) when discussing Runić's (2013) BCS data.

(4.10) a. Toplo **mu/joj** **te** preporučujem.

warmly him/her.**3DAT** you **2.ACC** recommend.1SG

'I warmly recommend you to him/her.'

b. ?? (*) Toplo **mu/joj** **me** preporučuješ.

Warmly him/her.**3DAT** me.**1ACC** recommend.2SG

'You warmly recommend me to him/her.'

(Runić 2013:1)

(4.11) a. Toplo **mi** **te** preporučuje.

warmly me.**1DAT** you.**2ACC** recommends

'He warmly recommends you to me.'

b. ?? (*) Toplo **ti** **me** preporučuje.

certainly you.**2DAT** me.**1ACC** recommends

'He warmly recommends me to you.'

(Runić 2013:1)

Now, the additional aspects of Franks (2018) concern feature geometry, i.e., the categorization of person features. According to Franks (2018), the most standard one classifies them either as *speech-act participants*, or *non-participants*, and it is in this manner that he also classifies them- that is: PART and AUTH (and once again: as *privative*, not polar). Also, he considers 3rd person as *no person* (i.e., there is no such feature/node in the tree), and says that his approach is in the spirit of Harley & Ritter (2002), although their feature geometry differs in that it integrates a PARTICIPANT node with two dependents, *Speaker and Addressee*. But what's crucial here is what Franks (2018) says about the aspect of feature geometry related to the question of *what kind of relationship holds between PART and AUTH*. In this context he notes that, while AUTH without PART is indefinable, when

both of them are present both conceivable possibilites exist. In reference to (4.7), Franks (2018) explains that one can realize (4.7 a) either when one introduces AUTH as a value of PART or keeps them independent (Franks 2018). Finally, in view of Slavic pronominal clitics, he employs *K (ase)* as the node[38] , and then points out that, although languages differ with respect to which one they adopt, both feature geometries presented in (4.12 a & b) below are feasible ways to express 1st person:

(4.12) a. K   [=1st]   b.   K [=1st]

      |

   PART   PART   AUTH

     |

   AUTH
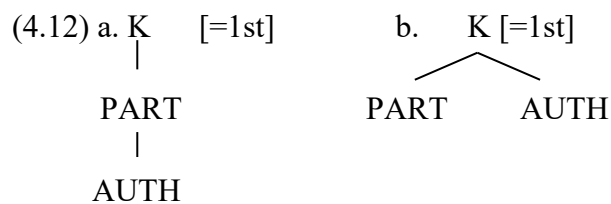
(Franks 2018: 635)

He notes that both 1st person feature geometries in (4.12) are acceptable in grammars. These geometries are of great relevance in his derivation of the *Me-First* POC, to which I now return.

First of all, according to Franks (2018), in *Me-First* POC *the 1st person must come before 2nd or 3rd person*. As he states, such clitics respect the overlay restriction in (4.13 a) below (cf. (4.8 c) above) in that they can contain PART but not AUTH, which must spread:

(4.13) a. **Restriction**_{AUTH:} Clitics do not contain AUTH, but can contain PART.

     b.   K

          |

      PART

        |

    AUTHOR

---
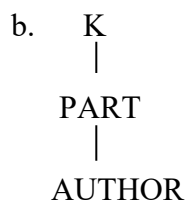
[38] Franks (2018) notes that he does this with respect to the origin of the 3rd person clitics, which serve in Slavic as true case markers (unlike, for instance, in Romance, where they are true D heads).

Now, let us look back to the feature geometries in (4.12) above. Franks (2018) says that (because, in *Me-First* POC system, 1st and 2nd clitics bear *PART* and not *AUTH*), it is not clear whether the geometry should be as in (4.12 a) or (4.12 b). He says that with (4.12 a) one wants an Appl—PART—AUTH structure, wheareas with (4.12 b) one wants an Appl—AUTH structure; at any rate, he explains that AUTH is the feature which spreads, whereby it attaches to PART in (4.12 a), and directly to the clitic in (4.12 b). Crucially, in the derivation of this system, Franks (2018) adopts the feature geometry as indicated in (4.13 b) (cf. 4.12 a above), for the reason that it is more compatible with a fully specified Appl (as he states, Appl—AUTH also necessarily implies PART).

Thus, according to him, we are lead to *1st »2nd and 1st »3rd*, and I give an identical representation of his derivation in this context, with *1st »2nd* in (4.14 a) and *1st »3rd* in (4.14 b):

(4.14) **Me-First System: Spreading of AUTH and clitics can contain PART**

[overlay restriction (4.13a); geometry (4.13b) depicted, but (4.12 b) viable]
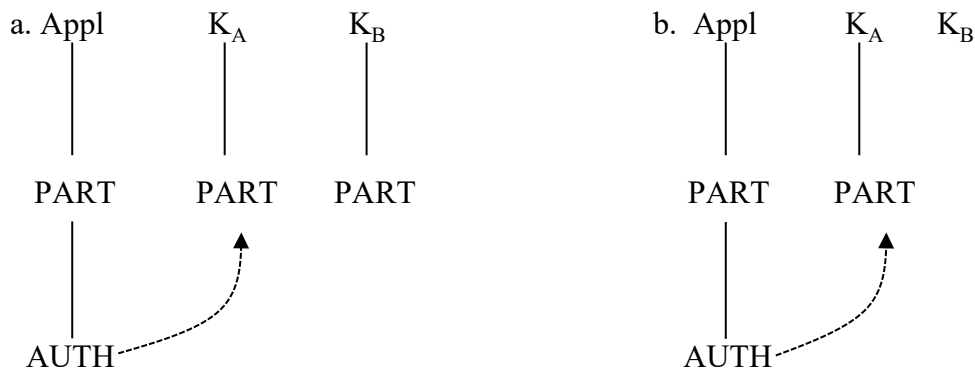
(Franks 2018: 640)

In reference to (4.14 a & b), Franks (2018) explains that, given that clitics can only acquire AUTH from above, it is mandatory for 1st person clitics to come first in any sequence that involves them. On the other hand, he points out that with no AUTH present, anything is possible i.e., the combinations like 3rd»2nd, such as in (4.10 a) above.

Franks (2018) emphasizes, however, that AUTH can not skip over K_A in any case:

(4.15) Me-First System: Failed Derivations of 3rd »1st (4.10b) and 2nd »1st (4.11b)

a. Appl K_A K_B b. Appl K_A K_B

PART   PART   PART   PART   PART

AUTH --------------------------◆   AUTH --------------------◆
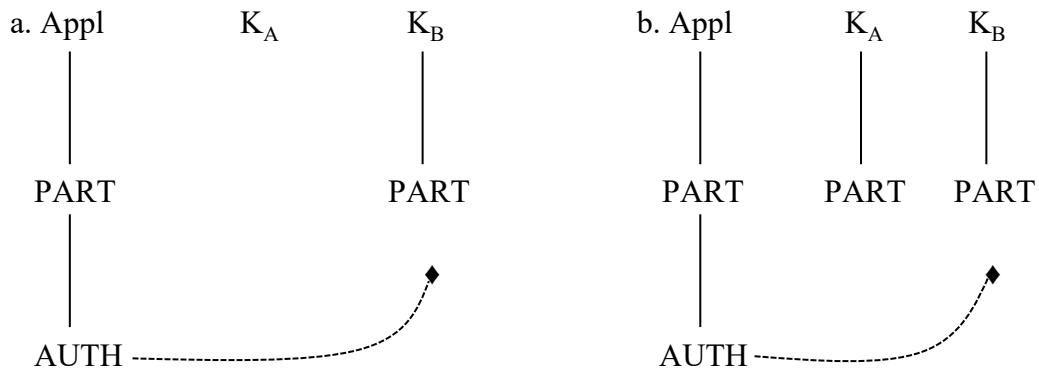
<div align="right">(Franks 2018: 641)</div>

Franks (2018) adds that that which makes this analysis intriguing is that it allows for 3rd»2nd person combination seen in (4.10 a). He notes that this is what arises in the case when Appl doesn't attribute person values to either clitic, and if clitic$_B$ bears PART i.e., if it is 2nd person. It is the restriction (4.8 c), he says, that permits this kind of combination, whereby spreading is not necessary:

(4.16) Representation of BCMS (4.10a) *mu/joj te* [3.DAT» 2.ACC][39]

K_A K_B

PART
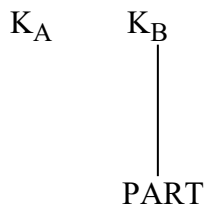
<div align="right">(Franks 2018: 641)</div>

He adds that there is no high Applicative Phrase (and with it no perspectival center) in such a structure as (4.16) because it plays no role; one presumes this to hold, he says, whenever the 3rd person is the highest argument (Franks 2018).

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[39] What's different here from Franks' (2018) illustration is the added feminine version of the dative clitic i.e., ''joj'', which I employ because it is part of Runić's (2013) original data, even though Franks (2018) left it out. The masculine ''mu'' is however sufficient and the feminine variant of the dative clitic ''joj'' is not necessary for the argument, but I remark this here to avoid confusion on the part of the reader.

Let us look back again at (4.15 a & b) above. Ultimately, as Franks (2018) points out, one can not derive any combination in which 1st person accusative follows a 3rd person dative clitic (see 4.15 a) or 2nd person dative clitic (see 4.15 b) if AUTH is removed from the clitics and placed under Appl. Since the clitic$_A$ cannot be skipped in accessing clitic$_B$, it is exactly this which ensures that, if there is a 1st person clitic, it must precede all others. He states that this is the essence of the *Me-First* Person Ordering Constraint.

With this I've finalized the discussion of Franks (2018)'s derivation of the *Me-First* POC System on the basis of BCS. Having shown both the arguments *against* and evidence *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS, I finally get down to the results of the analysis.

4.1.3. The Results of the Analysis

This final part of my analysis proceeds as follows: first, I provide the counterarguments to Migdalski (2006), discussed previously in 4.1.1. Second, I argue *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS based on Franks' (2018) analysis, discussed in 4.1.2. And finally, I compare the PCC systems in BCS and Slovenian.

4.1.3.1. The Counterarguments to Migdalski (2006)

In section 4.1.1., I presented Migdalski's arguments *against* the existence of the PCC in BCS. First of all, as mentioned, Migdalski (2006) denies Bonet's (1994) claim that the constraint is universal (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2), arguing that this cannot be true, because the PCC is not operative in Slavic languages like Czech, Polish and BCS. Migdalski's (2006) argument is that the PCC is not operative in these languages, because non-3rd person accusative clitics can appear together with dative clitics. He demonstrates this on the example of BCS, shown in (4.0). Based on this, I pointed out that the combination of a non-3rd person accusative clitic ("te"=you) with a dative clitic ("im"=them) is completely grammatical in BCS. Given that such combinations of clitics are allowed, Migdalski claims that the PCC does not hold in BCS. I pointed out that Migdalski's claim resides in the type of the approach prevalent in minimalist treatments of the PCC, particularly Anagnostopoulou (1999, 2003),

who holds *that the PCC comes about because person and number feature checking are incompatible*, as shown in (4.1.). In the vein of this approach, the accusative clitic cannnot be 1st or 2nd person, and since (cf. 4.0. again) the 2nd person accusative clitic ("te"=you) is allowed to occur with the dative clitic ("im"=them) in BCS, Migdalski (2006) claims that the constraint does not apply in this language.

Second of all, Migdalski, as mentioned, observes that the PCC does not exist in Wackernagel position clitic languages such as BCS, but also in Czech, Slovak and Slovenian (Migdalski 2006). Furthermore, following Bošković (2001) and Stjepanović (1999), Migdalski claims that *pronominal clitics do not cluster in a single head in Serbo-Croatian* (Migdalski 2006: 216); now, because, according to him, it is only when clitics are clustered in one head that the PCC comes about, he says that it is obvious why there is no PCC in BCS (Migdalski 2006: 216). In this context, Migdalski compares Macedonian to BCS (c.f. section 4.1.1, (4.2)). As seen above, Runić (2013) also discusses Migdalski (2006) and his data in (4.2). On the basis of her discussion, I have shown that Migdalski (2006) sets Macedonian (where the PCC applies) apart from BCS (where, according to him, it does not). The reason Migdalski (2006) does this is, as Runić (2013) points out, because verbal clitics are all clustered in one head in Macedonian, whereas BCS clitics are placed differently i.e, BCS clitics can check their features in seperate projections and thus the derivation does not crash. However, Runić (2013) argues against Migdalski (2006) in this context, reminding of the asymmetry between (a) and (b) examples in (4.10) and (4.11). This asymmetry, according to her, constitutes a problem in view of Migdalski's (2006) account (Runić 2013: 2). She says that if, as stated by Migdalski (2006), the PCC does not apply in BCS because clitics do not cluster together (cf. Bošković 2001), *there would be no mismatch when it comes to the 1st and 2nd person (i.e., their checking requirements), and thus (4.10 b) and (4.11b) would be grammatical* (Runić 2013: 2). However, as she points out, the end result is not satisfying, because whenever we have the 1st person accusative in the Agree domain, the derivation still crashes (Runić 2013: 2).

This is the point where I argue against Migdalski's (2006) claim that the PCC does not apply in BCS. Let us again turn our attention to Runić's (2013)'s data in (4.10 a&b) and (4.11 a&b). By the nature of his approach, Migdalski (2006) is led to claim that the constraint does not exist in BCS, since the clitic combinations in (4.10 a) and (4.11 a) with the 2nd person accusative are allowed (i.e., "te"=you). However, my question here is: what about (b) examples in (4.10) and (4.11)? As one can see, such sentences, which have the 1st person

accusative clitic ("me"= me) in combination with a dative clitic, are ungrammatical in BCS. How does one explain this ungrammaticality? This goes completely against Migdalski's (2006) argument that the PCC does not apply in BCS because, based on the ungrammaticality of 3DAT» 1ACC and 2DAT»1ACC clitic combinations, one can see that the constraint is still functional. If Migdalski's (2006) argument against the PCC in BCS were to be taken as plausible, then the sentences with the 1st person accusative clitic in (4.10 b) and (4.11 b) would have to be grammatical as well. However, this is not the case, and thus I argue against Migdalski's (2006) claim.

Furthermore, Runić (2013) also argues against Migdalski's claim in view of the fact that the (b) examples in (4.10) and (4.11) are ungrammatical. Moreover, at one point she specifically argues *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS. In view of the examples (4.10) and (4.11), she argues that that the PCC is actually operative in BCS, given that the combinations with the 2nd person accusative ((4.10 a) and (4.11 a)) are allowed, *whereas combinations with the 1st person accusative are not allowed (4.10 b) and (4.11 b))*.

Using Runić (2013) as main support, I have argued against Migdalski's (2006) claim that the PCC does not apply in BCS. I have shown that the minimalist approach he follows fails to disprove the existence of the constraint in this language; this is mainly because BCS does not allow a 1st person accusative clitic to occur in a combination with a dative clitic.

4.1.3.2. The PCC *Does* Apply in BCS

In section 4.1.2., I've discussed Franks' (2018) approach, specifically his derivation of the *Me-First* PCC for BCS, which is the main evidence for the PCC in BCS. This is exactly the approach that I adopt in arguing that the PCC *does* apply in BCS.

First of all, it was pointed out that Franks (2018), just like Stegovec (2018), holds clitics for defective vocabulary items- ergo, clitics can be drastically underspecified. Furthermore, according to Franks (2018), clitics are characterized by semantic deficiency, as well as by the restriction in terms of morphosyntactic information (person features) they contain. I have shown Franks' (2018) person features system (cf. (4.7)), and explained that, in his view,

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languages differ with respect to whether their clitics are unspecified for one or both of the person features. We saw that, in Franks' (2018) approach, when these person features are not present on the clitics, they start to spread to them from *a high Appl (icative) node* in a top-down or left-to-right manner. Since spreading is only down the tree, the system employs a higher node to provide person features and a lower node to merge the indirect object into the structure. Thus, the *high ApplP* (set between vP and VP) provides person features, and the *low ApplP* introduces the indirect object as its specifier (cf. (4.9)). I indicated that this, in combination with the effects of the overlay restrictions (cf. (4.8)), is essentially the method with which Franks (2018) derives different POC systems. I also indicated that the overlay restriction (4.8 c) is particularly relevant to BCS.

Then I have discussed Franks' (2018) derivation of the *Me-First* POC system for BCS (cf, (4.6)). As we saw, he derives this system for BCS in the context of Runić's (2013) data (cf. 4.10 a&b and 4.11 a&b again). First, it was pointed out that with respect to Slavic pronominal clitics Franks (2018) makes use of *K(ase)* as the node and notes that, depending on a language, the 1st person can be expressed by both feature geometries presented in (4.12 a&b). However, I've indicated that in the derivation of the BCS *Me-First* POC system, he adopts the feature geometry as presented in ((4.13 b) or (4.12a) above. Thus, he derives the *Me-First* System for BCS, as shown in (4.14a&b). We saw that, he, while tackling (4.14 a&b), stresses that in such a system 1st person clitics must come first in any sequence that involves them. On the other hand, in (4.15 a&b), we saw the failed derivation of the *Me-First* System with 3rd»1st (cf. 4.10 b) and 2nd»1st (cf. 4.11 b) combinations. It was shown that, since the 1st person clitics are not first with respect to the order, the effects of the *Me-First* constraint arise and the derivation crashes.

Finally, on the basis of Franks (2018) and the evidence provided therein, I argue for the existence of the PCC constraint in BCS. The PCC constraint in BCS is thus categorized as *Me-First* PCC (cf. chapter 2, section 2.3.3), but realized as *Me-First* Person Ordering Constraint (POC) in the sense of Franks (2018). I repeat the definition of this system:

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

(Franks 2018: 630)

On the basis of my investigation, I conclude that the *Me-First* POC is the only known type of the person constraint in this language.

Additionally, I consider the analyses employed in recent approaches to the PCC, specifically Franks (2018) and Stegovec (2018), to be efficient alternative analyses to the standard, minimalist ones (Adger & Harbour 2007; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Chomsky 2000, 2001; Migdalski 2006; Nevins 2007, 2011; Richards 2008, i.a.). The type of analysis of the PCC employed in Franks (2018) and Stegovec (2018) has at least two advantages over the minimalist analysis. First, it isn't as conditioned as the minimalist one. Namely, we saw on the example of Béjar & Rezac (2003) and Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.1) how conditioned minimalist approaches to the PCC can be. What's meant by "conditioned" is that these kind of approaches, for instance, lean on presupposed, inherent asymmetries between the IO and DO (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Chomsky 2000, 2001, i.a.) Second, we saw that *case* is left out in the analysis used by Franks (2018) and Stegovec (2018), and that the focus is set on the property of clitics and relative order of clitic pronouns instead. The advantage of this (where applicable) is that one does not automatically have to orientate onself with respect to *case*. Nevertheless, the minimalist analysis has even more advantages. One of the advantages of this approach is that it is vastly applicable. Namely, while the minimalist approach to the PCC has proven to be efficient when it comes to numerous languages, the approach focused on the order and properties of clitics (Franks 2018; Stegovec 2018) is still mostly restricted to Slavic. The type of the approach employed in the latter is still fresh, and its efficiency and practicality must be more tested.

4.1.3.3. The Comparison between BCS PCC and Slovenian PCC

In this section, I shortly compare the PCC systems of the two languages.

In the section 3.2.1. of chapter 3, we saw that the following PCC types are attested in Slovenian:

(1) The Canonical Strong PCC

(2) The Canonical Weak PCC

(3) The Reverse Strong PCC

(4) The Reverse Weak PCC

(Stegovec 2015, 2018, i.a.)

Slovenian thus has both strong and weak PCC, along with the phenomenon known as the *reverse* PCC (Stegovec 2015, 2018, i.a.).

We saw that all of the four types can be derived for Slovenian in terms of Stegovec's (2018) analysis (cf. (3.18 & (3.19) for the canonical and reverse strong PCC, respectively) and (3.20 a, b & c) & (3.21 a, b & c) for the canonical and reverse weak PCC, respectively). On the other hand, as shown above, the only type of the PCC which applies in BCS is the *Me-First* PCC, realized as *Me-First* POC in the sense of Franks (2018). We saw in 4.1.2, (4.15 a & b) how *Me-First* POC is derived for BCS in terms of Franks' (2018) analysis.

Thus, the PCC is attested in both BCS and Slovenian. Furthermore, the same, recent type of approach giving priority to the properties and order of clitics is efficient with both South Slavic languages in view of the derivation of the PCC. However, while Slovenian is exceptionally prone to the PCC, BCS, in which only the *Me-First* POC type is attested, is plainly not much susceptible to this constraint. This is interesting, given that two languages are very close relatives, and given many similarities between their clitic systems (cf. chapter 3, section 3.1.) The similarity in terms of the properties of clitic systems thus seems to play no big role in view of the PCC.

4.2. Conclusion

In this chapter I have done an analysis of the PCC in BCS, with an aim to show that the constraint applies in this language. First of all, I posed the arguments *against* and the evidence *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS. The arguments *against,* as shown, stem from Migdalski (2006), who, following the minimalist approach (Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003) claims that the constraint does not apply in BCS, primarily because the latter allows the 2nd

person accusative clitic in a combination with a dative clitic. The evidence *for*, as shown, stems from Franks (2018), whose approach is distant from the minimalist one in that it has to do with order (height) and underspecification of clitics, whereby clitics can lack person features which they then derive from the higher functional category (high Appl node) searching down the tree. Second of all, using Runić (2013) as principal support, I have argued against Migdalski's (2006) claim, and shown it to be false in view of the fact that BCS still does not allow combinations of the 1st person accusative clitic with a dative clitic. Subsequently, I have argued for the existence of the PCC in BCS based on Franks' (2018) approach. As was evident, his analysis successfully derives the constraint for this language, realized as *Me-First* POC. Thus I have argued that the constraint applies in BCS, with *Me-First* POC as the only existing type. Finally, I set the PCC systems of BCS and Slovenian in comparison. It was shown that the same kind of approach focused on the properties and order of clitics derives the PCC for both languages. However, in view of the PCC types attested, Slovenian proves to be much more prone to the constraint than BCS. In the next chapter I provide the conclusions to this thesis.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis I have examined the PCC phenomenon in BCS. The motivation behind this examination was the surviving controversy related to the existence of the constraint in this language. In this regard, I have argued *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS.

First of all, I presented the arguments *against* the PCC in BCS, which stem from Migdalski (2006). In the spirit of Anagnostopoulou (1999, 2003), according to which the PCC surfaces *when person and number feature checking are incompatible,* Migdalski (2006) claims that the PCC is not operative in BCS; the main reason for his claim is the possibility of clitic combinations such as 3DAT»2ACC in BCS, where a non-3rd person accusative clitic can appear together with a dative clitic. I have argued against this claim in view of the fact that clitic combinations such as 3DAT»1ACC and 2DAT»1ACC are still ungrammatical in BCS. I explained that this fact goes completely against Migdalski's (2006) account, because based on it one can see that the constraint is still operative in this language. It was pointed out that Runić (2013) also argues against Migdalski's (2006) claim in this regard, and that at one point she specifically argues *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS. The additional argument put forward by Migdalski (Migdalski 2006: 216) has to do with the fact *that pronominal clitics do not cluster in a single head in BCS* (cf. Bošković 2001; Stjepanović 1999). I indicated that Migdalski (2006) asserts that the PCC is only operative when clitics are adjoined to one head, and thus argues that the constraint does not apply in BCS. As pointed out on the basis of Runić (2013), Migdalski (2006) claims that the PCC applies in Macedonian because its verbal clitics cluster in one head, whereas he claims that the PCC does not apply in BCS because its clitics are placed in different syntactic positions; accordingly, BCS clitics can check their features in seperate projections and so the derivation does not crash. I have argued against this claim using again Runić (2013) as support. Runić notes that, if Migdalski's (2006) argument that the constraint does not apply in BCS because clitics do not cluster together (Bošković 2001; Stjepanović 1999) were valid, there would be no mismatch when it comes to the 1st and 2nd person (that is, their checking requirements), and clitic combinations 3DAT»1ACC and 2DAT»1ACC would also be grammatical (Runić 2013: 2). However, as she points out, whenever we have 1st person accusative in the Agree domain, the derivation crashes (Runić 2013: 2). Therefore, using Runić (2001) as the main support, I came to the conclusion that Migdalski's (2006) account fails to disprove the

existence of the PCC in BCS. The fact that BCS does not allow the 3DAT»1ACC and 2DAT»1ACC clitic combinations is contradictory to his argument.

Then I presented the evidence *for* the existence of the PCC in BCS, drawing on Franks (2018). I pointed out that his approach has nothing to do with *case*, but with the relative order (height) and properties (underspecification) of clitics, and that it is possible to derive the PCC for BCS within such a system. I showed that Franks (2018) does this in the following way. He adopts the feature geometry (PART and AUTH) from the system of Halle (1997), but interprets these features as privative (not polar). He takes this as his point of departure, together with the following overlay restriction relevant for BCS: "**Restriction**$_{\text{AUTH}}$: *Clitics do not contain AUTH, but can contain PART*" (Franks 2018: 636). Furthermore, Franks (2018) employs the mechanism of *spreading*. Namely, in line with his approach, clitics can lack person features, and these features *spread* to clitics from the higher functional projection called Appl (Charnavel & Mateu 2015; Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2017, i.a.). However, given that *spreading* is only down the tree, Franks (2018) employs a higher node to provide person features, and a lower node to merge the indirect object into the structure. Thus, in his system, *a high ApplP* (set between vP and VP) provides person features, and *a low ApplP* introduces the indirect object as its specifier. Crucially, given that possible targets cannot be skipped, when there is more than one clitic it is always the higher clitic that is provided with person features first. This, in the combination with the effects of the overlay restrictions (cf. (4.8)), is essentially how the constraint is derived for different Slavic languages, including BCS, in Franks' (2018) system. As pointed out, since Franks' (2018) approach has to do with the ordering and properties of clitics, the PCC is termed as *Person Ordering Constraint* (POC). In this context, I noted that BCS has *Me-First* system, where 1st person clitics must come first (Franks 2018; Nevins 2007; Runić 2013, i.a.). Then, based on Runić's (2013) data, I demonstrated Franks' (2018) derivation of the constraint for BCS. I showed that, according to Franks (2018), the constraint is operative in BCS with 3rd»1st and 2nd»1st clitic combinations- namely, since the 1st person clitics are not first with respect to the order, the effects of the *Me-First* POC arise, and the derivation crashes. On the basis of this evidence, I have argued *for* the existence of the PCC constraint in BCS.

The investigation in this thesis has thus shown that the PCC applies in BCS. It is categorized as the *Me-First* PCC, but realized as the *Me-First* POC in the sense of Franks (2018). This is the only known type of the PCC in BCS so far.

Furthermore, this thesis has set the PCC systems of BCS and Slovenian in comparison. It was pointed out that the constraint is derivable for both languages within the same type of approach that has to do with properties and order of clitics (Franks 2018; Stegovec 2018). It was also shown that Slovenian proves to be much more prone to the constraint than BCS. In Slovenian, both *weak* and *strong* PCC types (in addition to the reverse PCC) are attested, whereas BCS has only one type. I noted that this is interesting, given that two languages are relatives, and given many similarities between their clitic systems. It appears that the closeness of two languages and the resemblance between their grammars does not play a big role with respect to the question of susceptibility to the PCC. The constraint is puzzling in this respect, and further research is required.

Additionally, I have argued that the recent type of approaches to the PCC, specifically Franks (2018) and Stegovec (2018), could be considered as alternative approaches to standard, minimalist ones. I have pointed out that type of analysis in Franks (2018) and Stegovec (2018) has at least two advantages over the minimalist analysis. First, the former isn't as conditioned, and must not follow any kind of presupposed asymmetry between IO and DO like minimalist analyses (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Chomsky 2000, 2001, i.a.). Second, within the framework of Franks (2018) and Stegovec (2018), the importance is given to the order and properties of clitics rather than *case*. I noted that the advantage of this (where applicable) is that one does not have to automatically orientate oneself with regard to *case* in a syntactic analysis. However, minimalist analysis is still given much more preference, due to its evident applicability on a universal scale. While the minimalist approach has proved to be efficient when tackling numerous languages, the recent type of approach in Franks (2018) and Stegovec (2018) is mostly limited to Slavic. I indicated that this type of approach is fairly new, and its efficiency must be tested in future research. Still, it has proved extremely efficient when it comes to BCS, and I hope that in this thesis the surviving controversy related to the existence of the PCC in this language has thus been resolved.

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Zusammenfassung

Das Phänomen, das generell als „Person-Case Constraint" (PCC) bezeichnet wird, ist seit Perlmutter (1971), der es als *me-lui* Constraint bezeichnete, der Gegenstand zahlreicher linguistischer Forschungen. Es gibt zwei Hauptvarianten des me-lui Constraints/PCC: stark (strong) und schwach (weak). Das starke PCC verbietet, dass phonologisch schwache direkte Objekte der 1. und 2. Person zusammen mit phonologisch schwachen indirekten Objekten der 1., 2. oder 3. Person auftreten. Das schwache PCC erlaubt Kombinationen von indirekten und direkten Objekten der 1. und 2. Person, und schwache direkte Objekte der 1. und 2. Person sind nur in der Anwesenheit von schwachen indirekten Objekten der 3. Person verboten (Anagnostopoulou 2005: 1, u.a.). In der vorliegenden Masterarbeit untersuche ich das PCS Phänomen in der bosnisch-kroatisch-serbischen (BKS) Sprache. Der Grund für diese Untersuchung ist die anhaltende Kontroverse im Zusammenhang mit der Existenz dieser Beschränkung in BKS. Erstens werden die Argumente *gegen* die Existenz des PCS in BKS vorgestellt (Migdalski 2006), gefolgt von der Evidenz *für* die Existenz dieser Beschränkung in dieser Sprache (Franks 2018). Ich behaupte, dass das PCC in BKS existiert, und zwar im Sinne von Franks (2018). Somit fällt das PCC in BKS in die Kategorie des *Me-First* PCC und wird demnach als *Me-First Ordering Constraint* (POC) realisiert. Zusätzlich setzt diese Arbeit das PCC in BKS im Vergleich zum slowenischen PCC. Dieser Vergleich zeigt, dass die Nähe zweier Sprachen und die Ähnlichkeit zwischen ihren klitischen Systemen nicht unbedingt auf die Ähnlichkeit zwischen ihren PCC-Systemen hindeuten. Schließlich stelle ich den Ansatz zum PCC von Franks (2018) und Stegovec (2018) den minimalistischen Ansätzen (Chomsky 2000, 2001, u.a.) gegenüber, wobei ich argumentiere, dass der erstere als ein alternativer Ansatz zum PCC betrachtet werden kann.