

3-on-3 restrictions and PCC typology



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Two types of person restrictions in ditransitives

1. *Those that involve local person clitics, esp. first person*

The person-case constraint (PCC)—**me lui*, combos of 3IO + 1DO are out (*3>1)

- (1) * Elle me lui présentera [French]
She 1SG 3SG.DAT will.introduce
She will introduce me to him.

2. *Those that rule out all combinations of two third person clitics: *3-on-3*

In Spanish, this is the context requiring “spurious *se*”

- (2) a. * Le lo recomendé. [Spanish]
3s.dat 3sm.acc recommended
Intended: I recommended it to him.
- b. Se lo recomendé.
3s.dat 3sm.acc recommended
I recommended it to him.

Are these restrictions grammatically related?

NO: Perlmutter (1971), Bonet (1991), Nevins (2007)

YES: Walkow (2012), Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018)

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*3-on-3 without PCC in Ubykh (NW Caucasian)

- In Ubykh, all three arguments of a ditransitive are clitic-doubled on the verb, ordered ABS=DAT=ERG=ROOT (see the paper for arguments for clitic doubling)
- **No PCC effect of any type**, whether strong, weak, ultrastrong, me-first, forward or reverse. Outside of 3>3, clitics just concatenate straightforwardly

- (3) a. s-é-n-t^wi-n
1S.ABS-3P.DAT-3S.ERG-give-PRES
She gives me to them. (3>1)
- b. w-é-n-t^wi-n
2S.ABS-3P.DAT-3S.ERG-give-PRES
She gives you to them. (3>2)
- c. e-sí-n-t^wi-n
3.ABS-1S.DAT-3S.ERG-give-PRES
She gives him to me. (1>3)
- (Dumézil 1975, Fenwick 2011)

*3-on-3 in Ubykh

(4) Ubykh 3rd person clitics

	ABS	DAT	ERG
SG	e-	Ø-	n(i)-, Ø-
PL	e-	e-	e-, ne-

- Given Ubykh phonology, any 3ABS-3DAT- combination should yield e-:

(a) e-Ø → e- (b) e-e- → e-

- This expectation is met only when the dative is plural. 3ABS-3DAT.SG yields an otherwise unattested form, *jɨ*. e-Ø → jɨ- ! (cp. *3-on-3 only in the singular in Catalan, Bonet 1993)

(5) e-n-t^wi-n

3.ABS+3P.DAT-3S.ERG-give-PRES

She gives it to them.

(6) jɨ-Ø-n-t^wi-n

3SG.ABS-3S.DAT-3S.ERG-give-PRES

She gives it to her.

	3sg dat	3pl dat
3sg abs	jɨ-	e-
3pl abs	jɨ-	e-

(7) *Jɨ-replacement generalization*

The 3rd person absolutive clitic is realized as *jɨ*- instead of *e*- when the immediately following clitic is 3rd person singular.

*3-on-3 is not tied to ditransitive syntax in Ubykh

- In ditransitives, *ji*-replacement holds for ABS-DAT clitic clusters (DO-IO-)
- Outside of ditransitives, it also holds for ABS-DAT intransitive clusters (S-IO-) and ABS-ERG clusters (DO-S-), too.

(8) $j\dot{i}-\emptyset-b(i)j\acute{3}-n$
3.ABS-3S.ERG-see-PRES
She sees him. [transitive]

(9) $j\dot{i}'-\emptyset-j\acute{3}-n$
3.ABS-3S.DAT-hit-PRES
She hits him. [oblique intransitive]

- > A treatment similar to Nevins (2007) on spurious *se*, entirely independent of PCC/ditransitive syntax:

(10) Morphological rule for Ubykh *ji*-replacement
Delete/alter the features corresponding to 3rd person on an absolutive clitic when it precedes a 3rd person singular clitic.

Ubykh's version of spurious *se* violates the "Closed System Generalization" from Bonet (1991) – *ji*- has no other usage

Typological implications

The Ubykh data demonstrate the independence of *3-on-3 from PCC.

PCC type		3>3	*3>3
weak	$1>2$ $2>1$ $1>3$ $2>3$ $*3>1$ $*3>2$	Sambaa [Bantu]	Spanish A
strong	$*1>2$ $*2>1$ $1>3$ $2>3$ $*3>1$ $*3>2$	French	Spanish B Kambera [Austronesian]
ultrastrong	$1>2$ $*2>1$ $1>3$ $2>3$ $*3>1$ $*3>2$	Czech	Spanish C Classical Arabic
me-first	$1>2$ $*2>1$ $1>3$ $2>3$ $*3>1$ $3>2$	Bulgarian	Accidental gap?
no PCC	$1>2$ $2>1$ $1>3$ $2>3$ $3>1$ $3>2$	Moro [Kordofanian]	Ubykh

PCC types are rows, not individual cells. No need to recognize a “superstrong PCC” (strong PCC + *3-on-3), *pace* Haspelmath (2004), Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018)

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