1/2P vs 3P splits:
A view from Romance and Balkan non standard languages

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Sources

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1. DOM

In Geg Albanian (Shkodër), 1/2P present a syncretism between accusative (Acc) and oblique (Gen/Dat); 3P have distinct direct and oblique cases.

Geg Albanian: Shkodër

	1sg	*2sg*	*3sg*	*1pl*	*2pl*	*3pl*
Nom	un	ti	a'i/a'ja	na	ju	a'ta
Acc	mu	ty	a'tɛ	ne	__	__
Gen/Dat	__	__	a'tii/asɑi	__	__	atynɛ
Abl	mejɛt	tejɛt	__	neʃ	juʃ	__

(Manzini and Savoia 2012, 2018)

(1) ɛ/mə   ʃɔfin   atɛ/**mu**
3ACC/1SG   see.3PL   3ACC/1SG.OBL
'They see him/me'

(2) j/m   a   japin   atii/**mu**
3DAT/1SG   3ACC give.3PL 3OBL/1SG.OBL
'They give it to him/me'

In Arbëresh at least 1P present a syncretism between accusative (Acc) and oblique (Gen/Dat)

Arbëresh: Greci (Campania, Italy)

	1sg	*2sg*	*3sg*	*1pl*	*2pl*	*3pl*
Nom	u	ti	a'i/a'jɔ	na	ju	a'ta
Acc	mua	__	a'tə	ne	__	__
Gen/Dat	__	__	a'tia/asaita	neui	juvui	atirua/i

(Savoia and Manzini 2012, Manzini and Savoia 2018)

Syncretism can be accounted for in morphological terms, by means of underspecification/Impoverishment (Distributed Morphology), constraint ranking (OT) or other – but as far as we can tell, such an account encodes the facts without explaining them.

Though Albanian is not normally recognized as a DOM (Differential Object Marking) language, we propose that it does have DOM in the 1/2P.

To see the point, one must keep in mind that Indo-European languages, DOM is externalized by oblique morphology, most often coinciding with dative, e.g. Romance *a*.

Thus the essence of DOM is that highly ranked referents must be embedded in VP by means of an adposition P or oblique Case OBL (Manzini and Franco 2016). Positioning in Spec, Appl is also a compatible option (Torrego 2009, Pineda 2016).

(3) DOM (subject to parametric variation)
    [$_{VP}$ … *(P/K) DP …], where DP is referentially highly ranked

If we assume that Albanian does have DOM, albeit restricted to 1/2P (or 1SG), we do not just encode the Person split, but we predict the form it takes, namely identity between the 1P dative *mu* in (1) and the 1P DOM object *mu* in (2).

Differential treatment of 1/2P pronouns is also widespread in Romance. The Southern Italian variety of Sasso di Castalda (Lucania) has a single pronominal form for 3P. By contrast, 1/2P SG are associated with a four case system, again nominative, accusative (for the object of prepositions other than *a*), dative (for the object of the *a* preposition) and instrumental (for the object of the *ku* 'with' preposition).

South Italian: Sasso di Castalda (Lucania)

	1sg	*2sg*	*3sg*	*1pl*	*2pl*	*3sg*
Nom	ji	tu	iddə/edda	nujə	vujə	lɔrə
Acc	me	te				
Dat	mi	ti				
Instr	mikə	tikə				

(Manzini and Savoia 2010, 2014)

Animate/definite objects undergo DOM and are introduced by the preposition *a* in (4a), exactly like datives in (4b). Again note the differential (dative) marking of the 1/2P pronoun.

(4)   a. camənə a **mmi/tti**/jiddə
             call-3pl to me/you/him
             'They call me/you/him'
    b. u rainə   a **mmi/tti**/jiddə
             it give-3pl   to me/you/him
             'They give it to me/you/him'
(5)   l a   ffattə pə   **mme/tte**/jiddə
        it has   done for   me/you/him
        'S/he has done it for me/you/him'

Exactly the same conditions are observed in the Sardinian variety of Luras 3P pronouns lack any case distinction. 1/2P SG pronouns present four case distinctions.

Sardinian: Luras

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3sg
Nom	ɛɔ	tuɛ	issɛ	noizi	boizi	issɛzɛ
Acc	mɛ	tɛ				
Dat	miɛ	tiɛ				
Instr	meɣuzu	teɣuzu				

(Manzini and Savoia 2010)

(6)   a. ana   iðu   a **mmiɛ/ttiɛ**/issɛ
           they.have   seen   to me / you / him
           'they saw me/ you/him'

       b. l ana   daðu   a **mmiɛ/ttiɛ**/issɛ
           it they.have given to me / you / him
           'They gave it to me/you/him'

(7)   l ana   vattu prɔ   **mɛ/ttɛ**/issɛ
       it they.have done for   me / you / him
       'They did it for me/you/him'

In the Sursilvan Romansh of Vella, 3P pronouns do not display any Case differentiation. 1/2SG differentiate Nom, Acc and Dat (attested as the object of the *a* Preposition).

Romansh: Vella (Grisons, Switzerland)

	1sg	*2sg*	*3sg*	*1pl*	*2pl*	*3pl*
Nom	jau	ti	el/ɛ:la	nu:s	vu:s	els/ɛ:las
Acc	mai	tai				
Dat	mi	ti				

(Manzini and Savoia 2010, 2014)

(9)   els   klɔman **mai**/els
        they call-3pl me/them
        'They call me/them'

(10) els   datən   **a mi**/els
        they give-3pl to me/them
        'They give it to me/them'

We may construe (9) as yet another externalization of DOM, whereby 1/2P pronouns embedded in the VP have a specialized mark K, though here K does not overlap with Dat in (10).

2. DOM and Agree

In Romance, generally, 3P clitics have a separate form for Acc and Dat, while 1/2P clitics have a single exponent, cf. standard Italian.

Italian object clitics

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Acc	mi	ti	lo/la	ci	vi	li/le
Dat			gli/le			(loro)

(Geg) Albanian in (1)-(2) also opposes 3P *ε* (Acc) to *i* (Dat), while the 1P clitic has a single form *m(ə)*.

Following the discussion of full prounouns, we take the morphological syncretism in 1/2P to externalizes a syntactic DOM pattern, whereby 1/2P clitics are realized as Dat even when corresponding to the internal argument of the verb.

Now, Albanian has no perfect participle agreement – while Romance does not have perfect participle agreement with objects in situ but only with objects moved past the perfect participles (Kayne 1989). Therefore clitics allow us to observe the interaction of our DOM hypothesis with Agree.

3P Acc clitics agree. 3P Dat clitics do not agree.

(11) a. La   ho   vist-a/*vist-o
          her   I.have   seen-FSG/*MSG
          'I have seen her'
      b. Le   ho   vist-e/*vist-o
          them.F   I.have   seen-FPL/*MSG
          'I have seen them'
(12) Le   ho   parlat-o/*parlat-a
      to.her   I.have   spoken-MSG/*FSG
      'I have spoken to her'

However 1/2P clitics as internal arguments may or may not agree. Importantly, this has nothing to do with the intrinsic specifications of 1/2P, since 1/2P internal arguments raised to subject position obligatorily trigger agreement.

(13) a. Mi   ha   vist-a/vist-o
          me.F he.has seen-FSG/MSG
          'He has seen me'
      b. Vi   ha   vist-i/vist-e/vist-o
          you.PL he.has   seen-MPL/FPL/MSG
          'He has seen you'
(14) Siete   andat-i/andat-e/*andato
      you.are   gone-MPL/FPL/*MSG
      'You have gone'

Under a morphological account, it is difficult to see how the syncretism pattern of 1/2P clitics could be connected to the optional agreement. However if 1/2P clitics in Romance are DOMed, the alternation in agreement falls under an independently known parameter.

Indeed DOMed internal arguments in Indo-Aryan may or may not agree with perfect participles: they do not agree in Hindi, but they agree in Gujarati (Patel and Grosz 2014), cf. the VIVA Parameter of Anand & Nevins (2006).

In Punjabi ergative alignments, absolute objects agree with the perfect participle, as in (15b). However DOM objects do not, as in (15a). Note that in (15b), the goal dative is embedded under the *-nu* postposition, like the DOM argument in (15a).

(15) a.   mɛ: o-nu/una-nu   dekkh-ea
           I   s/he-DOM/they-DOM   see.PERF-MSG
           'I saw him/her/them.'

     b.   o-ne   kita:b   ditt-i   (si)   una-nu
           s/he-erg book.FSG give.PERF-FSG be.PST they-DAT
           'S/he gave the book to them'

<div align="right">Punjabi</div>

In Marwari (Rajasthani) (Verbeke 2013: 230), DOM arguments agree with the verb in ergative alignments (16a), exactly like absolutive objects. The same *naiṃ* morpheme externalizing the DOM object in (16a) also attaches to goal dative in (16b).

(16) a. mhaiṃ śaraṇ-naiṃ   dekh-ī
        I   Sharan.FSG-DOM   see.PERF-FSG
        'I saw Sharan.'
    b. bābū mha-naiṃ baiṭh jāv-ṇai-ro   isāro kar-yo
        boss I-DAT   sit   go-INF.GEN sign.M make.PERF-MSG
        'The boss made me a sign to sit down.'

Pesetsky (1982: 89) suggests a dual labelling analysis for agreement alternations in Russian psudopartitives: "in a phrase of the form [$_{XP}$ Q N], X must be either Q or N … A no-agreement numeral phrase is a QP; an agreement numeral phrase is an NP". In other words, "if we assume that a verb agrees with an NP, but not with a QP, we account for the agreement facts".

Suppose that in Punjabi the *-nu* postposition introducing the DOM argument *una* 'they' labels the resulting constituent as a PP. As a consequence the DOM object *una-nu* 'they-DOM' does not undergo Agree, as indicated in (17).

(17)   [$_{PP}$ [$_{DP}$ una-] [$_{P}$ nu]]   dekkh-ea   Punjabi
              3PL   MSG

Alternatively, upon Merge of P and DP, the resulting constituent may be labelled by D(P), so that it undergoes Agree like any object DP.

(18)   [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ śaraṇ-] [$_P$ naiṃ]]   dekh-ī   Marwari
                 FSG   FSG

Importantly, DOM obliques are structural, i.e. they depend on the DOM configuration being realized – while goal obliques are inherent, i.e. they are selected by the verb. Labelling by D(P) as opposed to labelling by P is impossible with inherent obliques, because they need to project the P content as part of the fact that their P properties are selected by the verb.

Hence the agreement parameter only affects structural obliques such as DOM and not the same obliques when they are inherent.

Based on the discussion of Indo-Aryan, we may also model the agreement alternation with 1/2P clitics. They can be analyzed as consisting of a lexical base [$_D$ *m-/t-*] and of an oblique K inflection [$_K$-*i*]. The 1/2P clitic may then be labelled by its D subconstituent, yielding agreement. Alternatively, it may be labelled by its oblique K subconstituent yielding no agreement.

(19)   a. [$_K$ [$_D$ m] [$_K$ i]] …   chiamat-o
             FSG   MSG
       b. [$_D$ [$_D$ m] [$_K$ i]] …   chiamat-a
             FSG   FSG

3. The third leg: the clitic position

The correspondence of morphologically syncretic form of 1/2P clitics and their optional agreement cannot be accidental, because a third phenomenon coincides with them, namely position in the clitic string.

Manzini and Savoia (2017) point out that the order of the clitic string directly translates into the normally assumed order of merger of constituents with V. The clitic hierarchy reproduces the order of merger of arguments within the extended projection of the verb. Phrasal constituents are ordered to the right of the verb in a head-initial structure. Clitics however are ordered before the verb, realized in T/v, yielding a head-final structure.

Order of clitics

(Dat/Loc)	>	Voice	>	(Dat/Loc)	>	Part/Acc	>	v/V
[Appl		[EA		[Appl		[IA		[v/V
(gli/ci)		*si*		*(ci)*		*lo/ne*		

As expected the IA merges with V first. Next, we know that obliques, including Dat and Loc/Instr can occur at different points of the syntactic tree – for instance as goal datives (low) or as benefactive datives (high). Here we will use Appl as a label for the relevant positions on the verbal skeleton: the low Appl follows the IA in the order of merger, followed in turn by the EA and by the high Appl, Finally we adopt the idea that *si* connects to the External Argument (EA).

(20) Voice > Part/Acc

Se lo compra   **Se ne** parla

M-P it buys   M-P of.it talks

'He buys himself it'   'It is talked about'

(21) Dat/Loc>Voice

Gli si dà   **Ci si** mette il sale

to.him M-P gives   there M-P puts the salt

'It is given to him'   'Salt is put in there'

(22) Dat/Loc > Part/Acc

Gli/ce lo/ne compra

to.him/there it/of.it buys

'He buys it/some of it there/for him'

1/2P clitics pattern with obliques. Specifically, they precede *si* and *ci* not only when they correspond to the Dat argument, but also when they correspond to the IA.

(23) 1/2P>EA/Loc

Ti	**si**	vede		**Ti**	**ci**	porta
you	M-P	sees		you	there	brings

  'You are seen'   'He brings you there'

If 1/2P systematically undergo DOM, where DOM implies oblique case at least in Romance, this automatically leads to the same positioning for 1/2P as for Dat.

In French, Le seems to be positioned higher in the clitic string (*le>lui/y*), Still the 1/2P clitic is ordered exactly as in Italian – as are the other clitics with respect to one another.

(24)   1/2P > Acc/Part/Loc
        Il **me**   **le/en/y**   donne/met
        he to.me it/of.it/there gives/puts
        'He gives (some of) it to me/He puts me there'

4. The PCC

The full extent of 1/2P vs 3P splits can only be appreciated if what are traditionally considered as low-level morphological phenomena are reanalyzed in syntactic terms. In this perspective 1/2p vs 3P splits in Romance are not far removed from those in Uralic.

E. Kiss (2017:379): "The type of constraint … restricting the assignment of accusative case to 1st and 2nd person nominals, is known cross-linguistically as the Person–Case Constraint.
    The Person–Case Constraint … is also present in Hungarian. Though object-marking by a -*t* suffix is obligatory in Hungarian, the 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns bear no -*t*"

The core configuration for the PCC is (43). The 1/2Dat > 3Acc configuration is allowed and the *3Dat>1/2Acc excluded under both the strong and the weak PCC.

(25) *Gli mi   presentano
      to.him me   they.introduce
      'They introduce me to him'

The literature (Anagnostopoulou 2005, Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2017 and many others in between) shares the ideas that in the relevant structures, the indirect object intervenes on the Agree path between some functional head and a 1/2P object and ungrammaticality results.
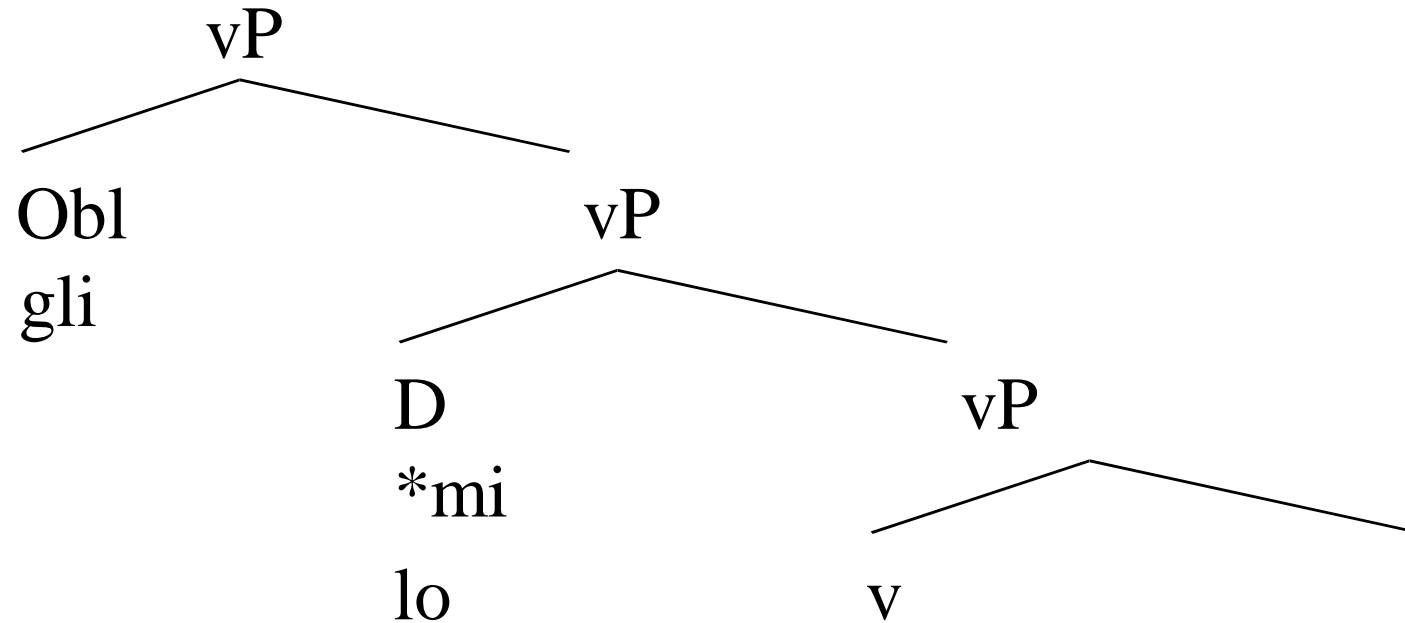
(26)   *[FP FP-feature [XP gliP-feature [VP presenta miP-feature]]
        |_____*_____|

A 3P accusative does not have the P-feature thus creating no problem

(27)   [FP F$_{\text{P-feature}}$ [XP gli$_{\text{P-feature}}$ [VP presenta lo]]]
              |_____|

The (apparent) simplicity of the Minimality account breaks down when it comes to the exact nature of the P-feature. Anagnostopoulou (2005, 2008) identifies it simply with Person, proposing that 3P indirect objects are [-person], while 3P direct objects lack [person] – and of course 1/2P are [+person].

   Pancheva & Zubizarreta take 3P direct object to be [-proximate] and 3P indirect objects to be [+proximate], as 1/2P pronouns are by default. But neither interpretively not morphologically is there a correlate of this distinction in Italian.

```
                    vP
            ┌───────┴───────┐
          Obl              vP
          gli         ┌─────┴─────┐
                      D          vP
                     *mi     ┌────┴────┐
                      lo     v
```

The 1/2P clitic cannot be hosted by the direct case D clitic position for the simple reason that it must undergo DOM, and therefore become associated with Obl. If it is inserted under Obl it prevents a goal from doing so, leading to illformedness.
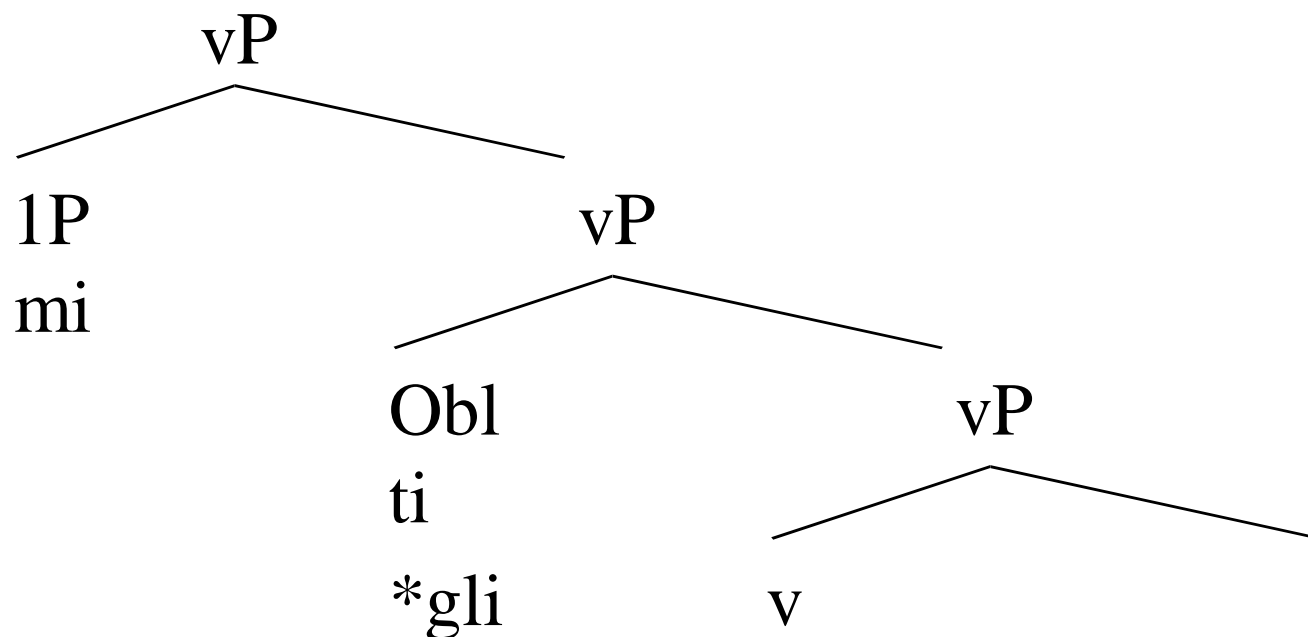
The insertion of 1/2P creates conditions (namely DOM, or pairing with Obl) which put severe restrictions on the subsequent build-up of the structure, essentially in the way suggested by Georgi (2012). Thus the (apparently) global PCC is reduced to a local split.

Italian however is not a strong, but a weak PCC language, where 1Dat > 2Acc or 2Dat > 1Acc are both licit. Though the surface order *mi ti* is obligated, either reading is possible.

(28)   Mi ti presenta
        me you he.introduces
        'He introduces me to you/you to me'

In Minimality approaches the switch from strong to weak PCC is signaled by a switch from Agree to Multiple Agree (Anagnostopoulou 2005) or from P-uniqueness to lack thereof (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2017). We suggest that weak PCC languages have a dedicated 1P or 2P position.

```
                    vP
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
         1P                     vP
         mi           ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                     Obl                    vP
                      ti              ┌──────┴──────┐
                     *gli            v
```

mi gli 'me to him' is still excluded. The 1P internal argument merges with the DOM position Obl, blocking the 3P goal. Some principle of minimal merge (Earliness) makes the additional 1P position unavailable.

Consider next the licit *mi ti* combination. Merger of the 2P clitic as the internal argument of the verb leads to DOM and hence association with Obl – and so does its merger as a thematic Dat. The specialty of Italian is that there is an extra 1P position where the goal 1P clitic can be merged, saving the configuration.

Since Catalan is like Italian but the order of the string *te m* is reversed, we can assume that the extra position available in Catalan is 2P.

Greek also has the strong PCC – but it has distinct forms for 1/2P singular direct object (Acc) and 1/2P singular indirect objects (Dat).

Greek 1/2P clitics

	Acc	Obl
1sg	me	mu
2sg	se	su
1pl	mas	
2pl	sas	

Incidentally, Acc 3P clitics are differentiated according to gender and number and in the animate singular can bear the same -*n* accusative inflection as Ns. This is not true of 1/2P.

(29) a. *Tha su   me   sistisune
          will   to.you me   introduce
          'They will introduce me to you'
      b. *Tha tu   se   stilune
          will   to.him   you   send
          'They will send you to him'

Syncretism with Dat provides us with an empirical argument in favour of DOM – it does not represent a *sine qua non* condition. We take *me/se* in (29) to be exponents of DOM, despite lack of syncretism with Obl.

In Romanian the PCC takes the Me-first shape. In essence it allows any combination except *3Dat>1Acc and *2Dat>1Acc.

(30)   a.   *I m   au recomandat   ieri
             to.him me   have recommended   yesterday
             'They have recommended me to him yesterday'
       b.   *Ti   m   a prezentat Ion   la petrecere
             to.you me has introduced Ion at.the party
             'Ion introduce me to you at the party'
       c.   mi   te   a prezentat   Ion   la petrecere
             to.me you   has introduced Ion   at.the party
             'Ion introduced you to me at the party'

This is a language where 1P is targeted by DOM; as such it cannot be inserted under D, but only under Obl, excluding Dat from it. Therefore combinations Dat > 1P are excluded. Other combinations are allowed.

```
              vP
           /      \
        Obl         vP
         i        /    \
        ti      D        vP
              *me       /    \
                      v
```