VARIATION IN SUBJECT-TRIGGERED CLITIC RESTRICTIONS: A CASE OF PUNJABI

GURMEET KAUR
Indian Institute of Technology Delhi

1   Introduction

Cross-linguistically, clitics are well known to manifest person based restrictions. An illustration of such a restriction is provided by the Person Case Constraint (henceforth PCC), which bans a $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ direct object clitic in the presence of an indirect object clitic in ditransitive structures (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1991; Bejar & Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Adger and Harbour 2007). Consider the example in (1) from French, where *me/te* are disallowed with *lui*.

(1) *Paul   me/te   lui   presentera
      Paul   1.sg.acc/2.sg.acc   3.sg.dat   introduce.fut.3.sg
      'Paul will introduce me/you to him.'

Punjabi[1], a Western Indo-Aryan language also manifests person based restrictions on object clitics. However, differently from PCC languages where blocking of the clitic is determined by the indirect object, clitic-restriction in Punjabi is determined by the subject of the clause. Both 2nd and 3rd person clitics in the language are blocked with $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ nominative subjects in the imperfective, as represented in (2a). In the perfective aspect, however, only the 3rd clitic is banned with both $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ oblique subjects, as in (2b). The 2nd clitic, in contrast, is blocked only in the presence of a 2nd subject, but allowed with 1st subject (2c).

(2a) *$2^{nd}/3^{rd}$ clitic - $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subject
(2b) *3rd clitic - $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subject
(2c) *2nd clitic - 2nd subject

Employing this hitherto unexplained data, this paper attempts an account of the variation in clitic blocking with $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subjects in Punjabi. Specifically, I claim that the pattern in (2a-2c) ensues from a concert of two factors: (a) ban on multiple person/D licensing with a given

---

[1] The variety of Punjabi dealt with in this paper corresponds to the variant spoken in Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh in India.

functional head, and (b) interpretational reasons as ensuing from the differential underlying syntax of the two clitics in question.

   This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the restrictions on 2nd and 3rd clitics in Punjabi. With a view to explain differences in the blocking patterns, section 3 explores the nature of these clitics. First, their distinction from the agreement marker in the language is established. Furthermore, the section presents the point of difference between the two clitics and posits only –*suu* as a true clitic, while ascertaining –*je* as an addressee agreement marker. In section 4, a possible analysis is presented. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2   Presenting the Facts

Punjabi has 2nd and 3rd person 'argument replacing morphemes' that occur attached to the verb (Akhtar 1999; Butt 2007; Kaur 2016). Consider the perfective example in (3a) with a nominal 3rd person object. This object is replaced by the 3rd singular clitic in (3b). Similarly, the 3rd clitic can be employed to co-refer to the 3rd object of an imperfective structure, as shown in (4a) and (4b).

   (3a) karan-ne   kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa
         karan-erg   girl.f.sg-acc   see.perf.m.sg
         'Karan saw the girl.'
   (3b) karan-ne   vekhyaa-suu
         karan-erg   see.perf.m.sg-3cl
         'Karan saw him/her.'
   (4a) karan   kuRii-nuu   vekhdaa   e
         karan.nom   girl.f.sg-acc   see.hab.m.sg   be.pres
         'Karan sees the girl.'
   (4b) karan   vekhdaa-suu
         Karan.nom   see.hab.m.sg-3cl
         'Karan sees him/her.'

While it is possible to substitute the 3rd object with –*suu* in the presence of a 3rd subject as in (3b) and (4b), –*suu* in the presence of a 1st/2nd subject results in ungrammaticality. Consider the examples in (5) and (6) for perfective and imperfective sentences respectively.

   (5) *maiN/tuu   vekhyaa-suu
         1.sg.obl/2.sg.obl   see.perf.m.sg-3cl
         'I/you saw him/her.'
   (6)*maiN/tuu   vekhdaa-suu
         1.sg.nom/2.sg.nom   see.hab.m.sg-3cl
         'I/you see him/her.'

Similar to the 3rd person –*suu*, the 2nd person honorific/plural clitic –*je* can co-refer to a 2nd person object, as illustrated in the perfective (7a-b), and the imperfective (8a-b).

   (7a) karan-ne   twaa-nuu   vekhyaa
         Karan-erg   2.hon-acc   see.perf.m.sg
         'Karan saw you.'

(7b) karan-ne   vekhyaa-je
     Karan-erg   see.perf.m.sg-2cl
     'Karan saw him/her.'

(8a) karan   twaa-nuu   vekhdaa   e
     Karan.nom   2.sg.hon-acc   see.hab.m.sg   be.pres
     'Karan sees you.'

(8b) karan   vekhdaa-je
     Karan.nom   see.hab.m.sg-2cl
     'Karan sees you.'

Like *–suu*, *–je* is also blocked in the presence of 1st/2nd subjects in the imperfective structures. This is illustrated in (9). However, in the perfective domain, *–je* is blocked only in the presence of a 2nd subject, as in (10); it is permitted with a 1st subject, (11).

(9) *maiN/tuu   vekhdaa-je
     1.sg.nom/2.sg.nom   see.hab.m.sg-2cl
     'I/you see you.'

(10) *tussi   vekhyaa-je
      2.hon.obl   see.perf.m.sg-2cl
    '*You saw you (intended).'
     'You please take care of x.'

(11) maiN   vekhyaa-je
     1.sg.obl   see.perf.m.sg-2cl
     'I saw you.'

To sum up, the 3rd clitic is blocked across the perfective and imperfective domains in the presence of 1st/2nd subjects. The 2nd clitic, on the other hand, is banned with 1st/2nd subjects only in the imperfective. In the perfective, it can co-occur with the 1st subject. This variation in the blocking pattern between 2nd and 3rd clitics is surprising since both *–suu* and *–je* seem to be syntactically alike with regard to their distinctness from the agreement marker in the language. In order to ascertain the cause of this variation, the next section probes into the nature of *–suu* and *–je*. It shows that despite the similarities, *–suu* and *–je* are distinct in that only *–suu* is a true clitic while *–je* encodes addressee agreement. This leads to variation in their blocking with 1st/2nd subjects.

3 Determining the Nature of *–suu* and *-je*

Across many languages, phi features are represented twice in the structure: once on the noun phrase that bears them and once on a morpheme that attaches itself to the verb. This second instance of phi features can either be an agreement affix or clitic. While the two bear resemblance in that they are verbal morphemes, they are different entities. An agreement affix obtains on the verb as a consequence of a formal Agree relation (à la Chomsky 2000, 2001) between a functional head and a DP. Consider an instance where a functional head x head bears an unvalued set of number and gender features, while a DP possesses a valued set of number and gender features. The x head probes the DP located in its c-command domain and values its own

feature set. This syntactic relation between x and the DP results in the former obtaining an agreement affix. Consider the representation in (12).

(12) x   >   DP
      [uNum:_]   [iNum:sg]
      [uGen:_]   [iGen:f]
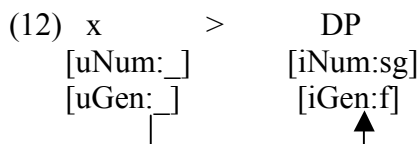
A clitic, in contrast, is a D-element that is generated inside a big-DP as shown in (13). This element moves from within the DP and attaches itself to a verbal host (in keeping with Uriagereka 1995, Torrego 1988, Arregi and Nevins 2008 among others).

(13) [DP D-clitic [DP D NP]]

Assuming this distinction, the subsections in 3.1 to 3.4 show that *–suu* and *–je* are clitic-like, and are different from the agreement affix in the language.

3.1   Choice of the Co-referenced Argument

In Punjabi, agreement on the verb is triggered by the highest unmarked argument in the clause (Bhatia 1993, Butt 2007). Consider the example in (14), where the verbal complex agrees with the nominative 3rd subject. In contrast, in the perfective example in (15), the subject is ergative marked. In this case, the verb agrees with the unmarked object. When both the subject and the object of a clause are adposition-marked, default agreement obtains on the verb, (16).

(14) karan   kuRii   vekh   reyaa   e
     Karan.nom   girl.f.sg   see   prog.m.sg   be.pres.3.sg
     'Karan is seeing a girl.'
(15) karan-ne   kuRii   vekhii
     Karan-erg   girl.f.sg   see.perf.f.sg
     'Karan saw a girl.'
(16) karan-ne   kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa
     Karan-erg   girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg
     'Karan saw the girl.'

Differently from the agreement affix, which obtains as a result of an agreement relation with the highest unmarked argument in the language, *–suu* and *–je* can co-refer to any 3rd and 2nd person DP in the clause. Thus, consider the examples in (17a-c). (17a) is a declarative sentence with a 3rd person subject and a 3rd object. As shown in (17b) and (17c), *–suu* can freely co-index either the subject or the object.

(17a) karan-ne   kuRii-nuu vekhyaa
      Karan-erg   girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg
      'Karan saw the girl.'
(17b) karan-ne   vekhyaa-suu
      Karan-erg   see.perf.m.sg-3cl
      'Karan saw him/her.'

(17c) kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa-suu
    girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg-3cl
    '(S)he saw the girl.'

Similarly, *–je* can also co-refer to any 2nd person DP in a given sentence. The example in (18a) has a full 2nd person pronominal object. This object is co-indexed by *–je* as shown in (18b). Further, (19a) has a 2nd person subject pronoun. This argument too can be co-referred to by *–je*, as in (19b).

(18a) karan-ne   twaa-nuu   vekhyaa
    Karan-erg 2.hon-acc see.perf.m.sg
    'Karan saw you.'
(18b) karan-ne   vekhyaa-je
    Karan-erg   see.perf.m.sg-2cl
(19a) tussii   kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa
    2.hon.obl girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg
    'You saw the girl.'
(19b) kuRii-nuu vekhyaa-je
    girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg-2cl
    #'You saw the girl.'
    'Please see/look after the girl[2].'

3.2   Invariance across Tense and Aspect Change

Based on their investigation of Basque verbal morphology, Arregi and Nevins (2008), and Nevins (2011) propose that clitics are tense-invariant since they are D elements. Agreement affixes, in contrast, by virtue of being non-D elements, are predicted to change with the change in tense/aspect. In keeping with this difference, we note that agreement affixes in Punjabi change their morphological form with a change in tense and aspect. For example, consider the example in (20), where the form of the verb-auxiliary complex varies across tense-aspect specifications.

(20) karan   kuRii-nuu   vekhdaa   e/   karan   kuRii-nuu vekh
    Karan.nom girl-acc   see.hab   be.pres/ Karan.nom girl-acc   see
    reyaa e/   karan-ne   kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa   sii
    prog be.pres/ Karan-erg   girl-acc   see.perf   be.past
    'Karan sees/is seeing/saw a girl.'

In contrast to the agreement marker, *–suu* and *–je* remain tense and aspect-invariant. Consider the examples in (21) and (22), where irrespective of the change in the agreement morphology of the verb as determined by the change in tense-aspect, *–suu* and *–je* remain unaltered.

(21) karan-ne   vekhyaa-suu/   karan   vekhdaa-suu/
    Karan-erg see.perf.m.sg-3cl/   Karan.nom   see.hab.m.sg-3cl/

---

[2] The presence of *–je* as co-referring to the 2nd subject in (19) obligatorily generates an imperative reading. The explanation for this shift in speech-act type from a declarative to an imperative is unclear at the moment.

>   karan   vekh   reyaa-suu
>   Karan.nom   see   prog.m.sg-3cl
>   'Karan saw/will see/is seeing him/her.'
> (22) karan-ne   vekhyaa-je/   karan   vekhdaa-je/   karan   vekh
>   Karan-erg see.perf.m.sg-2cl/ Karan.nom   see.hab.m.sg-2cl/ Karan.nom   see
>   reyaa-je
>   prog.m.sg-2cl
>   'Karan saw/will see/ is seeing you.'

Both (21) and (22) present three structures corresponding to three distinct aspectual specifications: perfective marked by the presence of *–yaa* on the verb, habitual marked by *–daa* and progressive realised by the progressive form *reyaa*. Across the three aspects, the forms *–suu* and *–je* remain invariant.

3.3   Semantic Restrictions on the Co-referent

Cross-linguistically, it has been noted that while clitics impose semantic restrictions on the argument that they co-reference, agreement markers are not sensitive to the semantic properties of the agreed-with noun (Sũner 1988, Uriagereka 1995 among others). We note that *–suu* and *–je* in Punjabi are also subject to two semantic requirements. First, the nominal co-referred to by these items must be animate. Two, the entity referred to by the nominal must be familiar to both the speaker and the hearer. Consider (23) and (24), where the use of *–suu* is grammatical only when it co-refers to 'girl', but not when it co-references 'book'.

> (23a) karan-ne   bazaar   vicc oss   kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa
>   Karan-erg   market   in   that girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg
>   'Karan saw that girl in the market.'
> (23b) karan-ne   bazaar vicc vekhyaa-suu
>   Karan-erg   market in   see.perf.m.sg-3cl
>   'Karan saw her (that girl) in the market.'
> (24a) karan-ne   bazaar toN oss kitaab-nuu   kharideyaa
>   Karan-erg   market from that book-acc   buy.perf.m.sg
>   'Karan bought that book from the market.'
> (24b) #karan-ne   bazaar toN   kharideyaa-suu
>   Karan-erg   market from   buy.perf.m.sg-3cl
>   'Karan bought him/her from the market.'
>   #Karan bought something/that thing (book) from the market.'

Additionally, the co-referred argument must be definite and familiar to the speaker and hearer. I adopt the notion of 'familiar' from Heim (1983), as given in (25).

> (25)   "A definite is used to refer to something that is already familiar at the current stage of the conversation. An indefinite is used to introduce a new referent." (Heim 1983: 223)

Assuming the *Familiarity Condition* on definites as given in (25), definite nominals can be considered familiar, while indefinites can be interpreted as novel entities that are not familiar to

the speaker and the hearer. Employing this distinction, we see that a non-familiar indefinite cannot be co-referenced by *–suu*.

(26a) karan-ne   bazaar vicc kisii kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa
        Karan-erg   market in   some girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg
        'Karan saw some girl in the market.'
(26b) #karan-ne   bazaar vicc vekhyaa-suu
        Karan-erg   market in   see.perf.m.sg-3cl
        'Karan saw her/him/#some girl in the market.'

Similarly, by virtue of co-indexing the 2nd person pronoun, which is always definite and animate, *–je* is also subject to the same semantic requirements. However, note that the agreement affix in the language is not affected by the animacy or definiteness/familiarity of the agreement triggering nominal. Consider the following example, where the inanimate 'book' triggers feminine, singular agreement on the verb, irrespective of its (in)definiteness.

(27) karan-ne   kitaab/o   waali   kitaab/koyii kitaab   khariddii
       karan-erg   book/that   wala.f.sg   book/some   book   buy.perf.f.sg
       'Karan bought a book/that particular book/some book.'

3.4 Optionality

Based on her study of Amharic, Kramer (2010) suggests that an agreement marker, even if default, must obtain in a structure. A clitic, on the contrary, is optional. Consider the case of Punjabi, where the agreement marker must obtain, as in (28), where object agreement *–iyaaN* (perf.f.pl) is obligatory and cannot be dropped.

(28) karan-ne   kitaabaaN   vecciyaaN/*vec
       Karan-erg   book.f.pl   sell.perf.f.pl/*sell
       'Karan sold books.

Contrary to the affix, *–suu* and *–je* are optional. A grammatical sentence in Punjabi can also be derived by retaining full pronominals/nominals but no clitic, as illustrated in (29).

(29) karan-ne   o-nuu/twaa-nuu   vekhyaa
       karan-erg   3.sg-acc/2.hon-acc   see.perf.m.sg
       'Karan saw him/her/you.'

To sum up the findings so far, we have seen that *–suu* and *–je* are alike in their difference from the agreement marker in the following ways: (a) choice of the co-referenced argument, (b) invariance across tense/aspect, (c) co-referencing specific DPs, and (d) optionality. However, despite these shared syntactic properties, *–suu* and *–je* differ along crucial respects that I present in the following subsection. Specifically, I show that of the two items in question, only *–suu* is a true clitic in that it must obligatorily co-reference a 3rd person selected argument of the verb. On the other hand, *–je* co-refers to the non-argumental addressee of the utterance.

3.5   Establishing *–je* as Addressee Agreement

As seen in the relevant examples so far, *–je* can co-index a 2nd person argument selected by the verb. In addition, *–je* can also co-index an unselected 2nd person pronoun. Consider the following examples in (30) and (31).

(30) karan-ne   jaan-ke   niccheyaa-je
       Karan-erg   knowingly sneeze.perf.m.sg-2cl
       '(I am telling you) Karan has sneezed intentionally.'
(31) karan-ne   kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa-je
       Karan-erg girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg-2cl
       '(I am telling you) Karan saw the girl.'

The example in (30) is an intransitive sentence with the unergative verb 'sneeze'. The verb selects one argument 'Karan'. With the argument structure of the verb satisfied by the 3rd subject, one would predict *–je* to be disallowed in the structure. However, as shown in (30), *–je* occurs attached to the verb. Similarly, in the transitive construction in (31), *–je* is found in addition to the two selected arguments of the verb 'see'. In both these examples, *–je* does not co-index any of the selected arguments of the verb. Instead, it seems to introduce the hearer of the utterance into syntax. Compare the above mentioned behavior of *–je* with that of *–suu*. Unlike *–je* which can occur attached to the verb even when it does not co-refer to a selected argument of the verb, *–suu* must obligatorily co-index a selected argument. Consider the following examples in (32) and (33), where the presence of *–suu* as referring to a 3rd entity different from the ones referred to by the selected arguments of the verb leads to ungrammaticality[3].

---

[3] Akhtar (1997) and Butt (2007) claim that all clitics in Punjabi can also replace adjuncts. Consider (i) for *–je*.
i. puttar-ne   kotiaaN   pejıa-je
   son-erg   jumper.m.pl send-perf.m.pl-2cl
   '(Your) son has sent jumpers for you (plural).'   (Akhtar 1997:284)
While the use of *–je* as replacing the adjunct is permitted in (i), *–suu* cannot be used to co-refer to adjuncts unless they correspond to the beneficiary of the action denoted by the verb. Thus, consider the example in (ii), where 'with the girl' cannot be co-referenced by the clitic. However, if the adjunct corresponds to the beneficiary of the sentence, it can be replaced by *–suu*. This is illustrated in (iii).
iia. karan-ne   kuRii-de-naal   kitaab   paRhii
     Karan-erg   girl-gen-with   book.f.sg read.perf.f.sg
     'Karan read a book with the girl.'
iib. *karan-ne   kitaab   paRhii-suu
      Karan-erg   book.f.sg   read.perf.f.sg-3cl
      'Karan read a book with him/her.'
iiia. karan-ne   miitaa-vaste kek   banaayaa
      Karan-erg   Mita-for   cake   make.perf.m.sg
      'Karan made a cake for Mita.'
iiib. karan-ne   kek banaayaa-suu
      Karan-erg cake make.perf.m.sg-3cl
      'Karan made a cake for her/him.'
A possible explanation for the clitic to be associated with the beneficiary could follow from the theoretical assumption that beneficiaries are licensed (for case and theta) by the verbal head (in keeping with Woolford 2006). An alternative would be to suggest that the beneficiary like other goal arguments is a PP, which is valued by the P head. Even if one adopts this approach, it must be noted that the P licensing the nominal is considered to be a complement of the verb (Pesetsky 1995; Harley 2002). For either of the accounts, the beneficiary argument is not an adjunct, but it corresponds to a beneficiary of the event denoted by the verb.

(32) *karan-ne   jaan-ke   niccheyaa-suu
     Karan-erg   knowingly   sneeze.perf.m.sg-3cl
(33) *karan-ne   kuRii-nuu   vekhyaa-suu
     Karan-erg   girl-acc   see.perf.m.sg-3cl

Further, *–suu* and *–je* also differ with regard to the complement clauses they can occur in. Specifically, *–je* occurs either in main clauses or in complement clauses of verbs of reporting such as 'say'. There is no such restriction on *–suu* which occurs freely. Let us consider Hooper and Thompson's (1973) classification of verbs in table I, where verbs of only Class A, B and E select complement clauses that express assertion.

Table I.

NON-FACTIVE			FACTIVE	
A	B	C	D	E
say	suppose	deny	regret	know
report	think	be (im)possible	be surprised	learn

Given this classification of verbs, let us explore the distribution of *–je*. It is noted that *–je* does not occur with factives, as shown in (34) for verbs 'suppose', 'regret' and 'know'. However, even within the non-factive group, *–je* can occur only with verbs of Class A, as in (35) and (36).

(34) *karan-nuu   lageyaa/   afsos hoyaa/   pataa e   ki   o   aayaa-je
      Karan-dat   supposed/ regret happened/ know be.pres that 3.sg   came-2cl
(35) *karan-ne   manaa kittaa   ki o   aayaa-je
      Karan-erg   deny   did   that 3.sg came-2cl
(36) karan-ne   keyaa/dasseyaa/boleyaa ki   o   aayaa-je
      Karan-erg   said/told/spoke   that 3.sg came-2cl
      '(I am telling you) Karan said/told/spoke that he has come.'

No such restriction is found on *–suu*, which is not banned with factives. Consider the following examples in (37) to (38) where *–suu* occurs both with factives and non-factives respectively.

(37) maiN-nuu   lageyaa/   afsos   hoyaa/   pataa e   ki   karan-ne
      1.sg-dat   supposed/ regret   happened/ know be.pres   that   Karan-erg
      maareyaa-suu
      hit.perf.m.sg-3cl
      'I supposed/regretted/know that Karan has hit her/him.'
(38) maiN   keyaa/ dasseyaa   ki   karan-ne   maareyaa-suu
      1.sg.obl   said/ told   that   Karan-erg   hit.perf.m.sg-3cl
   'I said/told that Karan hit her/him.'

Based on the above mentioned differences between *–suu* and *–je*, I claim that *–je* is different from *–suu* in that it is addressee agreement. Addressee or allocutive agreement can be understood as agreement of the verb with the addressee of the utterance, where the addressee does not correspond to a selected argument of the verb (Oyharçabal 1993, Miyagawa 2012 among others). As seen in this section, *–je* can co-refer to an unselected argument, the hearer of the clause. Additionally, it occurs either in the main clause, or in the reported clause in direct discourse with the speech predicate 'say', indicating that the presence of this 2nd person form is a root phenomenon corresponding to addressee agreement. In light of this finding, the next section attempts an account of the differential ban on *–suu* and *–je* with 1st/2nd subjects across perfective and imperfective aspect.

4   Explaining the Differential Ban on *–suu* and *-je*

This section explains the variation in blocking patterns with *–suu* and *–je*. I claim that the ban on *–suu* across aspects occurs due to the clitic and the 1st/2nd subjects targeting the same person/D licensing head − Part in the perfective and T in the imperfective, which can only license one person/D bearing element. The ban on *–je* with 1st/2nd imperfective subjects also follows from the subjects and *–je* targeting the same person licensor, albeit in the C-T domain since *–je* encodes agreement with the addressee located in the clausal periphery. In the perfective, *–je* is banned with the 2nd subject due to interpretational reasons.

4.1   Accounting for the Ban on *-suu*

We begin with *–suu*. Based on Kaur (2016), I claim that *–suu* is a 3rd person clitic that lacks case but requires D-licensing by virtue of its referential nature. To elaborate, the 3rd object clitic originates as part of the object DP that it co-references. From its position within the big-DP, the clitic raises to the edge of vP to license its D-feature. However, since the v in Punjabi is a minus person bearing head, the clitic bearing a D feature remains unlicensed. I suggest that the clitic moves independently from the edge of vP to the specifier of PartP in the perfective domain, and to the specifier of TP in the imperfective, and gets licensed for D. Once licensed, the clitic raises to the CP domain for discourse related reasons. Consider the schema in (39).

(39) [CP [TP/Part [vP 3rdSubj [vP Cl-Obj [VP…]]]]
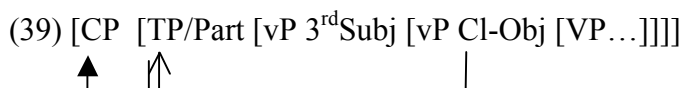
However, the derivation licensing *–suu* crashes in the presence of 1st/2nd person subjects since 1st/2nd subjects and *–suu* compete for person licensing at Part/T (see Chandra & Kaur 2014, 2017; Kaur 2015, 2016). Punjabi is a person based split ergative language, in that only 3rd person subjects bear an ergative case marker in the perfective aspect while 1st/2nd person subjects remain unmarked (Bhatia 1993; Butt & Deo 2001; Bhatt 2007; Kaur 2015, 2016) as exemplified in (40)-(41). In the imperfective, all subjects (1st/2nd and 3rd) remain unmarked and trigger full phi agreement on the verb, as in (42).

(40) munDe-ne/o-ne   roTTii   khaaddii
      boy-erg/3.sg-erg   bread.f.sg   eat.perf.f.sg
      'The boy/(S)he ate bread.'

(41) maiN-(*ne)/tuu-(*ne)   roTTii   khaaddii
     1.sg-(*erg)/2.sg-(*erg)   bread.f.sg   eat.perf.f.sg
      'I /you ate bread.'
(42) maiN/tuu/o   roTTii   khaandaa/khaandii
     1.sg.nom/2.sg.nom/3.sg.nom   bread.f.sg   eat.hab.m.sg/eat.hab.f.sg
     aaN/eN/e
     be.pres.1.sg/2.sg/3.sg
      'I /you/(S)he eat(s) bread.'

In keeping with Chandra & Kaur (2014) and Kaur (2015), I posit that the unmarked $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ DPs in the perfective in (41) are neither nominative nor ergative. Instead, these subjects are valued as oblique by movement to Participant/PartP to value their person features in keeping with the Person Licensing Condition/PLC of Bejar and Rezac (2003). The PLC is given below:

(43) *An interpretable $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category.*   (Béjar and Rezac, 2003: 53)

Specifically, $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ perfective subjects in Punjabi move from their base-generated position in the specifier of vP to the specifier of PartP. Here, they value their person feature and get valued as oblique. This is schematized in (44). In contrast, the personless 3rd subjects in (40), for lack of a person licensing requirement, stay in-situ in the specifier of vP and get ergative licensed. Schematically, consider (45).

(44) [TP [PartP $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subject$_{obl}$ [vP [VP obj V]]]]
(45) [TP   [vP 3rd subject-erg [VP Obj V]]]

In the imperfective, however, there is no PartP to license oblique subjects. All $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ and 3rd subjects are case valued as nominative by the person-bearing T head, which manifests full phi agreement. This is schematized in (46).

(46) [TP $1^{st}/2^{nd}/3^{rd}$ nom [vP [VP Obj V]]]

Returning to the ban on *–suu* with $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subjects, I claim that it is blocked with $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subjects due to competition between the clitic and said subjects for person/D licensing at Part/T. To elaborate, $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subjects are licensed at Part/T. Licensing of these $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subjects at PartP/TP renders the functional head's features inert for further computation, preventing the licensing of D-feature on *–suu*. Consider the structure in (47) for the perfective clause.

As discussed previously, the object clitic originates as part of a big-DP in the complement of VP. Recall that the big-DP is comprised of the adjoined clitic and the full argument. As for the external argument, it is base-generated in the specifier of vP. Starting with the object big-DP first, it cannot be licensed in-situ and must raise to the inner specifier of vP[4]. Since the big-DP object moves to the inner specifier of vP (in the sense of Richards, 1997, 1999), we maintain the subject-object hierarchy such that the subject is still placed in the higher specifier of the vP. At this juncture, there are two D-elements in the structure that require licensing: the $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subject in the outer edge of vP and the clitic in the big-DP. I suggest that the $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subject, located in the specifier of vP, raises to the edge of PartP in order to get its person and case valued. The clitic from within the big-DP also targets the Part head in order to license its D-feature. However, the person feature on Part head is unable to value the D feature on the clitic since licensing of the $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subject renders the feature set of PartP inactive for further computation, leaving the clitic unlicensed. In contrast with a $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subject, there is no interference by a 3rd subject in licensing *–suu*. As schematized in (45) previously, 3rd subject in the perfective gets ergative valued in the specifier of vP. As a consequence, the person/D feature at the Part head is available to license the D-feature on *–suu*.

(47)

```
FP
 └─ F'
     ├─ TP
     │   └─ T'
     │       ├─ PartP
     │       │   └─ Part'
     │       │       ├─ vP
     │       │       │   ├─ 1/2 subj
     │       │       │   └─ vP
     │       │       │       ├─ Obj DP
     │       │       │       │   ├─ DP
     │       │       │       │   └─ -suu
     │       │       │       └─ v'
     │       │       │           ├─ VP
     │       │       │           │   └─ V'
     │       │       │           │       ├─ Obj DP
     │       │       │           │       └─ v
     │       │       │           └─ v
     │       │       └─ Part
     │       └─ T
     └─ F
```

The ban on *–suu* with $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subjects in the imperfective also follows from intervention by the $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subjects. However, differently from the perfective domain, the targeted person licensing head in the imperfective clause is T. $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ subjects, base-generated in the specifier of vP move to the specifier of TP to satisfy the PLC and get nominative case valued. This prevents the subsequent licensing of *–suu* by this head.
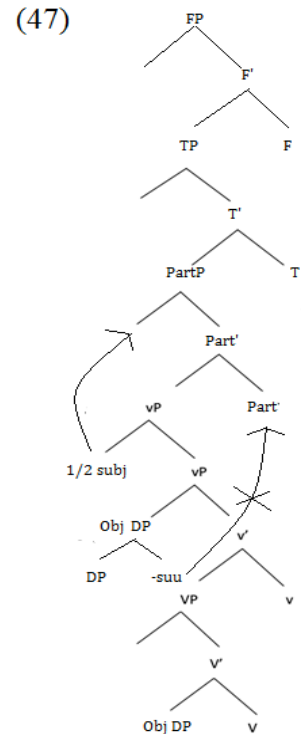
4.2   Accounting for the Ban on *–je*

As discussed in Section 3, *–je* is an addressee agreement marker. In keeping with Miyagawa (2012), I posit that *–je* is a result of agreement between a [participant] probe located in C-T and the Hearer goal located in the speech act projection/SAP (à la Speas &Tenny 2003). Concretely, I contend that the C head in Punjabi enters the derivation with an unvalued [participant] feature. This feature undergoes raising to the speech act head. From this position, it probes in its c-command domain and locates the Hearer located in SAP, with which it undergoes agreement to be realized as *–je*. Consider (48).

(48) [SAP Speaker [saP Hearer [CP [TP... T] C [upart]] sa] SA]

---

[4] Specific and definite animate objects in Punjabi cannot be licensed in situ and must move to the specifier of vP, failing which they get pseudo-incorporated into the verb (see Kaur 2016 for detailed discussion).

The abovementioned licensing of *–je* fails to take place with 1st/2nd subjects in the imperfective, and 2nd person subjects in the perfective. I start with the imperfective domain first. Specifically, I suggest that blocking of *–je* by 1st/2nd subjects arises due to competition for person licensing between 1st/2nd subjects and *–je* in the C-T domain, akin to the competition between 1st/2nd subjects and *–suu* at Part/T. To elaborate, the C head in Punjabi enters the derivation with an unvalued [participant/part] feature (in addition to number and tense features). This feature is inherited by the T head in keeping with Chomsky's (2005) *Feature Inheritance*. 1st/2nd subjects originate in the specifier of vP and agree with the unvalued (plus participant) feature set on T and get case-valued as nominative. As a result of this agreement relation, T manifests full phi agreement. Once the [part] feature on T agrees with the 1st/2nd subjects and is valued, it becomes unavailable to trigger a possible further agreement with the Hearer in the speech act projection.

(49)

The blocking of *–je* with 1st/2nd subjects in the imperfective is thereby a fallout of two [+part] items targeting the same unvalued [part] in the C-T domain. This feature can either value the 1st/2nd subject or *–je*, but not both, as in (49).
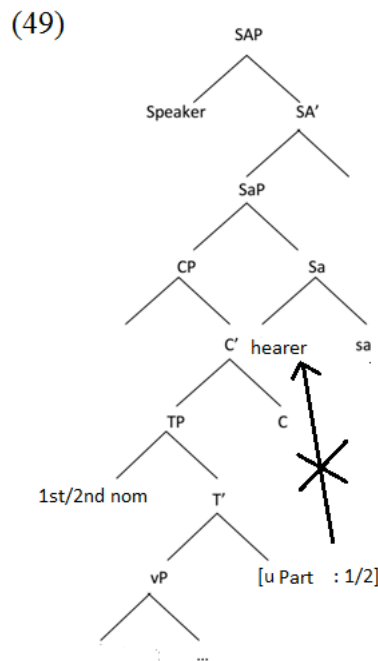
Moving to the perfective domain, *–je* is allowed to co-occur with the 1st subject, but not the 2nd subject. Let us begin with deriving the structure with *–je* and 1st subject in the perfective. Similar to the imperfective clause characterized by one instance of an unvalued [part] feature in the C-T, the perfective clause also hosts a [part] bearing C-T. However, as discussed previously 1st/2nd perfective subjects do not target the C-T domain for licensing. Instead, they are (oblique) licensed at PartP located between TP and vP. The presence of an unexhausted part feature at C-T allows free occurrence of *–je* in the presence of 1st subject licensed lower in the clause. As shown in the structure in (50), the 1st subject originates in the specifier of the vP. It moves from its base-generated position to the specifier of PartP where it gets person licensed and receives an oblique case. Upon the merger of C-T, *–je* can optionally be licensed by agreement with the 'hearer' located in the speech act projection. The presence of two instances of part feature in the clause predicts that 2nd subject should also be able to co-occur with *–je*. However, this co-occurrence is blocked. I claim that this combination is ruled out by the impossibility to establish an inter-personal relation between the 2nd subject and the addressee realized as *–je*. Hill (2007, 2013) proposes a general underspecified feature called the inter-personal [i-p] feature that

(50)
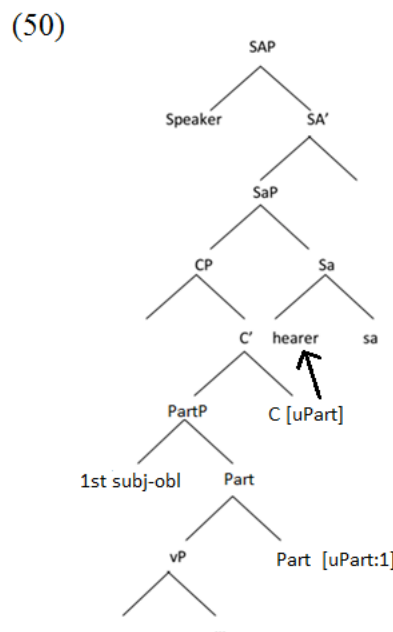
allows for various values defining the relation between speaker and addressee. For example, in Romanian, vocatives bear distinct morphology based on whether the hearer is in a formal or informal relation vis-à-vis the speaker. Thus, the language has the free morpheme *măi* for informal [i-p], as shown in (51). For indicating formality, however, there is no dedicated particle. Instead, the language uses semantically weakened adjectives like *stimat* 'beloved', *drag* 'dear', etc., as in (52). These forms are in complementary distribution with *măi.*

(51) Măi   fetiţo   (*isteaţă/mea), vino   mai   repede!
       MRK little.girl.VOC smart mine   come.2SG.IMP more   quick
       'Little girl, come quick!'
(52) (*Măi) stimate cititorule,   publicaţiile   noastre îţi
        MRK beloved reader.the.VOC publications.the our   you.DAT
       stau la dispoziţie.
       remain at disposal
       'Dear reader, our last publications are at your disposal'.   (Hill 2013)

Adopting the [i-p] feature from Hill with modifications, I suggest that the presence of a 2nd subject is ruled out with *–je* because it does not allow the formation of an interpersonal relation between the subject of the clause and the hearer. To elaborate, like Romanian, addressee agreement in Punjabi is sensitive to the hierarchy between the speaker and the hearer. A hearer in a formal relationship vis-à-vis the speaker is realized as *–je*. A non-formal/younger hearer is represented by *–ii/-aa*. However, in addition to the relationship between the hearer and the speaker, the presence of *–je* is also determined by the relationship between the subject of the clause and the hearer. For *–je* to obtain, the subject of the clause must also be younger/less-honorific than the addressee. That this requirement holds is indicated by the ungrammaticality of the following example in (53), where the 3rd subject is elder to the addressee.

(53) *twaaDe daarjii   aaye-je
        your.hon grandfather come.perf.m.pl/hon-2cl
       '(I am telling you) your grandfather has come.'

(53) is grammatical only in the presence of plural/honorific 3rd agreement on the verbal complex, as shown in (54).

(54) twaaDe   daarjii   aaye   ne
       your.hon grandfather come.perf.m.pl/hon be.3.pl/hon
       'Your grandfather has come.'

Based on the facts in (53) and (54), I suggest that while it is possible to license a 2nd subject with *–je* in syntax, the presence of a 2nd subject prevents the determination of the relationship between the subject and *–je*, both of which designate the addressee.

5   Conclusion

To conclude, the paper has shown that the blocking patterns of *–suu* and *–je* with 1st/2nd subjects (except *–je* with the 2nd perfective subject) follow from the subject and the said clitic/addressee

marker targeting the same person licensing functional head, which can license only one person/D bearing element in a derivation. This analysis is reminiscent of Anagnostopoulou's (2003, 2005) analysis of the Strong version of the Person Case Constraint (PCC), which explains the ban on a $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ direct object in ditransitives as arising from the direct and the indirect object targeting the same functional head, v, for feature checking. The blocking of *–je* with the 2nd subject in the perfective, however, ensues from interpretational reasons, which in turn, follow from the unique nature of *–je* as encoding the addressee.

References

Adger, David & David Harbour. 2007. Syntax and Syncretisms of the Person Case Constraint. *Syntax* 10:2-37.

Akhtar, Raja. 1997. Affix -s(uu) Constructions in Punjabi. In *Essex Graduate Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1–18. Colchester: University of Essex.

Akhtar, Raja. 1999. Aspectual Complex Predicates in Punjabi. Doctoral dissertation, University of Essex.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. *The Syntax of Ditransitives: Evidence from Clitics*. Berlin & New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2005. Strong and weak person restrictions: a feature checking analysis. In *Clitic and affix combinations: theoretical perspectives*, ed. by Heggie, L. & F. Ordonez, 199–235. Linguistics Today 74. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Arregi, Karlos & Andrew Nevins. 2008. Agreement and clitic restrictions in Basque. In *Agreement restrictions*, ed. by D'Alessandro, R., S. Fischer & G, 49–86. Hrafnbjargarson. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bejar, Susana & Milan Rezac. 2003. Person licensing and the derivation of PCC effects. In *Romance linguistics: theory and acquisition*, ed. by Perez-Leroux, A.T. & Y. Roberge, 49–62. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bhatia, Tej K. 1993. *Punjabi: A Cognitive-Descriptive Grammar*. Routledge Descriptive Grammar Series. London: Routledge.

Bhatt, Rajesh. 2007. *Ergativity in Indo-Aryan Languages*. Handout. Retrieved January 3, 2016, from http://people.umass.edu/bhatt/papers/mit-nov2007-handout.pdf.

Bonet, Eulalia. 1991. Morphology after syntax: Pronominal clitics in Romance. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Butt, Mirium & Ashwini Deo. 2001. Ergativity in Indo-Aryan. In *Online KURDICA Newsletter for Kurdish Language and Studies: 5* (http://ling.uni-konstanz.de/pages/home/butt/)

Butt, Mirium. 2007. The role of pronominal suffixes in Punjabi. In *Architecture, Rules, and Preferences*, ed. by Zaenen, A., J. Simpson, T.H. King, J. Grimshaw, J. Maling, and C. Manning, 341-368. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chandra, Pritha & Gurmeet Kaur. 2014. Two nominative cases in Punjabi? Paper presented at the Formal Approaches to South Asian Languages (FASAL 4), March 29-30, 2014, Rutgers University, USA.

Chandra, Pritha & Gurmeet Kaur. 2017. Differential Subject Marking and Person Licensing Condition. *Concentric: Studies in Linguistics* 43(1):25-46.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In *Step by step: essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Martin, R., D. Michaels & J. Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2005. Three factors in language design. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36:1–22.

Harley, Heidi. 2002. Possession and the double object construction. *Yearbook of Linguistic Variation* 2:29-68.

Heim, Irene. 1983. File change semantics and the familiarity theory of definiteness. In *Meaning, Use and the Interpretation of Language*, ed. by Bäuerle, R., C. Schwarze and A. von Stechow, 164-190. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Hill, Virginia. 2007. Vocatives and the Pragmatics-Syntax Interface. *Lingua* 117:2077-2105.

Hill, Virginia. 2013. Features and strategies: the internal syntax of vocative phrases. In *Vocatives! Addressing between system and performance*, ed. by Sonnenhauser, B. and P. Noel Aziz Hanna, 133-155. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hooper, John & Sandra Thompson. 1973. On the applicability of root transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4:465-497.

Kaur, Gurmeet. 2015. Person based split ergativity in Punjabi: Comparing transitive and unergative 1st/2nd subjects. *Indian Linguistics* 76 (3-4):27-43.

Kaur, Gurmeet. 2016. Person in Punjabi: Investigating Argument and Clitic Licensing. Doctoral dissertation, Indian Institute of Technology Delhi, India.

Kramer, Ruth. 2010. Object markers are doubled clitics in Amharic. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference on African Linguistics (ACAL), May 6-8, 2010, Montreal, Canada.

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in main clauses. In *Main Clause Phenomena. New Horizons*, ed. by Aelbrecht, L., Haegeman, L. and Rachel Nye, 79–112. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nevins, Andrew. 2011. Multiple agree with clitics: Person complementarity vs. omnivorous number. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29(4):939-971.

Oyharçabal, Bernard. 1993. Verb agreement with non arguments: On Allocutive Agreement. In *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics*, ed. by Hualde, J. & J. Ortiz de Urbina, 89-114. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Perlmutter, David. 1971. *Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax*. New York, NY: Rinehart and Winston.

Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Richards, Norvin. 1997. What moves where when in which language? Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Richards, Norvin. 1999. Featural cyclicity and the ordering of multiple specifiers. In *Working Minimalism*, ed. by Epstein, S. & N. Hornstein, 127-158. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Speas, Peggy & Carol Tenny. 2003. Configurational Properties of Point of View Roles. In *Asymmetry in Grammar*, ed. by DiSciullo, A, 315-344. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Suñer, Margarita. 1988. The role of agreement in clitic-doubled constructions. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 6:391–434.

Torrego, Esther. 1988. A DP analysis of Spanish nominals. Ms., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the Syntax of Clitic Placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry*: 26(1):79-123.

Woolford, Ellen. 2006. Lexical case, inherent case, and argument structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37:111–130.