Licensing and Locality in Person Phenomena
Bethany Lochbiher, *McGill University*

This paper argues for specific approach to Person Licensing of arguments that accounts for person restrictions and complex morphology in diverse languages. I claim that Person Licensing, like Case, is a realizationn of the underlying universal of Argument Licensing. Person Licensing has a unique cluster of properties, such as a one-to-many licensor-argument interaction (also licensing in θ/A′-positions), where Case Licensing is strictly one-to-one (and licenses in A-positions). This difference, and others, derive from the fact that a Person licensor bears [uπ], which is a complex bundle of features, but Case licensors bear the categorial [uD] feature (Chomsky 1993), which is simplex. However, both follow strict locality in feature checking. These two types of Argument Licensing create a three-way typology: (i) Case Licensing (e.g. English); (ii) Person Licensing in the absence of Case (e.g. Algonquian, see Ritter & Rosen 2005 who argue that these languages lack Case/A-phenomena); and (iii) languages that require arguments to be Case and Person licensed, which I claim is the case for Romance languages.

I argue that the locus of Person Licensing is little v which bears a complex probe (i.e. v[u2 u1 u3]) that can check against multiple goals. In Algonquian languages, both the internal and external argument of a verb can be licensed by entering an Agree relation with v, which spells out as a verbal theme-sign suffix. The theme-sign encodes the relative grammatical relations of the internal and external arguments, realizing the person specifications of both (1) (see Bruening 2001, Valentine 2001, Béjar & Rezac to appear, Déchaine & Reinholtz 2007, among others).

(1) a.   g-waabam-i   b.   g-waabm-in   (Ojibwe)
           2-see-2/1(DIRECT)   2-see-1/2(INVERSE)
           'You see me.'   'I see you.' (Valentine 2001:270)

The one-to-many Person Licensing schematic is illustrated in (2). Little v probes into its complement and Agrees with the internal argument that matches a subset of features on v. Then v can probe into spec vP, where the external argument is merged, and Agrees with that argument which must bear another subset of matching Person features (i.e. that have not been checked by the internal argument).

Conversely, Case licensing exhibits a one-to-one correspondence where a Case licensor (e.g. T with NOM) can only Agree with one argument (e.g. the subject moved to spec TP) since [uD] is simplex. The kind of Agreement shown in (2) follows the notion of Cyclic Agree proposed by Béjar & Rezac (to appear), except I claim that this type of Agree is not in fact a type of Case but is unique to Person Licensing.

(2) **One-to-many Person Licensing** (cf. (1a))   (3)   **Person licensing in a ditransitive**
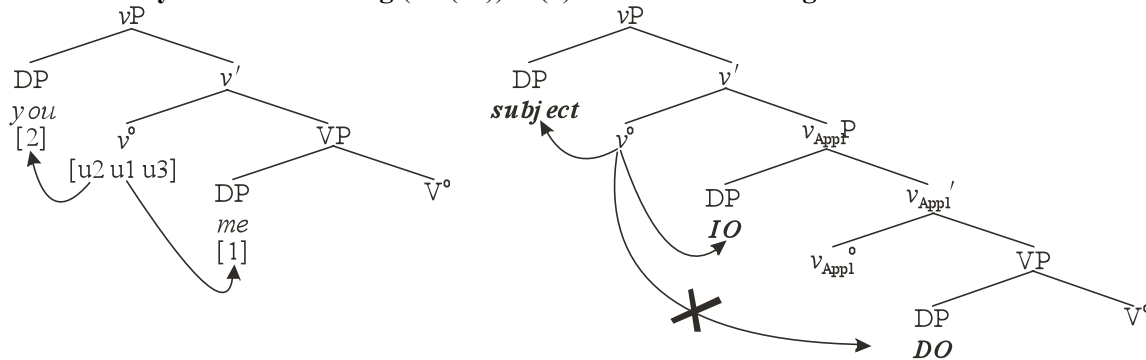
Even though a one-to-many correspondence is possible in Person licensing, strict locality is obeyed. Ditransitive constructions in Ojibwe (Eastern Algonquian) are subject to the Strong Person-Case Constraint (PCC, Bonet 1991, 1994) which restricts direct objects (DO) to third person (i.e. relatively impoverished person features) in the presence of an indirect object (IO) (4).

Licensing and Locality in Person Phenomena
Bethany Lochbiher, *McGill University*

(4) a. n-gii-miin-aa   emkwanes **wiin**   b.   *n-gii-min-aa   **giin**   (Ojibwe)
       1-pst-give-DIR   spoon   him   1-pst-give- DIR(NL)   you
       'I gave a spoon to him.'   'I gave you to him/her.'

Assuming the double object construction, there are two internal arguments (IO, DO) which are possible goals for v in Ojibwe. Only the IO may check against v and the DO is blocked from Agreeing with v since the IO is an intervener (3) – the one-to-many licensor-to-argument aspect of Person Licensing is actually restricted to at most one-to-two because of locality. The DO must be impoverished as a 3rd person argument since it cannot be properly Person licensed.

      Romance languages exhibit both Case phenomena and Person restrictions. The Strong PCC is similarly present in French (5a) which can be accounted for via Person Licensing (in the same manner as Ojibwe in (3)). My approach to Person licensing is parsimonious with the repairs we find for Person restrictions, like in (5b) which changes the structure of (5a), placing the IO in a PP which can independently license the argument, dissolving the intervention effects affecting the DO and v.

(5) a.   *Paul **me**   **lui**   présentera.   b.   Paul me   présentera   **à lui**. (French)
        Paul   **1-ACC 3-DAT** will.introduce   Paul 1-ACC will.introduce(3rd) **to him**
        'Paul will introduce me to him.'   'Paul will introduce me to him.'
        (Anagnostopoulou 2005:16)

(6)   Me   *li/hi   ha   recomanat   la   senyora   Bofill.   (Catalan)
      1-ACC   **3rd-DAT/LOC**   has   recommended   the   Mrs.   Bofill
      'Mrs. Bofill has recommended me to him/her.'   (Bonet 1994:48)

Further, Catalan uses a morphological repair that impoverishes a dative clitic to a locative form in constructions violating the Weak PCC (6). I claim that this removal of person features from the dative argument eliminates it as an intervenor between v and the accusative argument. The clitic *hi* 'LOC' does not have any Person features that must be licensed, and v can probe past the IO to the DO *me* '1-ACC' and license that argument which is the most local goal in the complement of vP. Therefore, the kind of Person licensing I am proposing can explain the different possible repairs we find for Person restriction violations cross-linguistically in terms of locality, feature matching and Agreement. Person restrictions are a direct consequence of how Person features on arguments are licensed, dependent on their relationship and with a licensor like v.

      The characterization of Person Licensing as Cyclic Agree I present shows that locality effects are robust in Person phenomena and can explain the repairs for offending constructions. This paper unifies Person restrictions in different languages and predicts that these languages will share the properties unique to Person Licensing. Person and Case Licensing are two examples of the more general requirement of Argument Licensing, both subject to universal constraints like locality and feature matching.

References
Anagnostopoulou, E. (2005). Strong and weak person restrictions: a feature checking analysis. In L. Heggie & F. Ordoñez (Eds.), *Romance Linguistics: Theory and Acquisition*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 49-62. | **Béjar, S. & M. Rezac** (2008). Cyclic Agree. *Linguistic Inquiry*, to appear. | **Bonet, E.** (1991). Morphology after Syntax: Pronominal Clitics in Romance Languages. PhD thesis, MIT. | **Bonet, E.** (1994). The Person-Case constraint: a morphological approach. In H. Harley & C. Phillips (Eds.), *The Morphology-Syntax Connection*. MIT Press, pp. 33-52. | **Bruening, B.** (2001). *Syntax at the Edge*. Ph.D. thesis, MIT. | **Chomsky, N.** (1993). A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In Hale, K., & S. J. Keyser (eds.), *The view from building 20*, pp. 167-176. MIT Press. | **Déchaine, R.-M. & C. Reinholtz** (2007). *Direct/Inverse as Case*. Presented at Concordia University, December 6. | **Ritter, E. & S.T. Rosen** (2005). Agreement without A positions. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36, 648-660. | Valentine, J. R. (2001). Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar. University of Toronto Press.