The Romance PCC and the Split-inflection in Paraguayan Guaraní. A Common Analysis.

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We argue for a unified account of direct/inverse systems, as observed in the yet unstudied inflectional system of Paraguayan Guaraní (PG) and the much studied Person Case Constraint (PCC), as observed for example in Romance (e.g. Bonet 1991, 1994, among many others). We will refer to it as the P(erson)-system and the languages that obey it as P-lgs. We propose that in P-lgs, AGR-domains with a head specified with a +part(icipant) feature are subject to (1) (the formulation of (1) builds partly on Coon and Preminger 2012), with the P-hierarchy defined as in (2). In PG, the relevant AGR-domains are those of *I* and *v* (as well as *D* and P, which we will not discuss here), while in Romance, the relevant domain is the Low Appl(icative) *v*. The former type are Gen(realized) P-lgs, while the latter (like Romance) are Rest(rictive) P-lgs.

(1) The highest event participant in the P-hierarchy must appear at the edge of an AGR (or phase) domain.

(2) *P-hierarchy*: a. Participant > 3P b. 1P > 2P

The Inflectional (I) system in PG. The direct I-system is a set of prefixes (Table 1) that surface with intransitives, and with transitives in which the ext(ernal) arg(ument) > Obj(ect) (internal args and raised Possessors) on the P-hierarchy. The inverse I-system emerges in transitives with Obj > ext arg (Table 2).(Portmanteaux (PORT) prefixes, a hall-mark of Gen P-lgs, are in bold)

Table 1. Direct Inflectional paradigm (intran & trans with ext arg > Obj).

Ext. Arg	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
1P	*a-* ***ro- with 2SG OBJ*** ***po- with 2PL Obj***	EXCL. ro- ***po- with 2PL Obj***	INCL. ja- /ña-
2P	re-	pe-	
3P	o-	o-	

Table 2. Inverse Inflectional paradigm (trans with Obj > ext arg)

Ext arg / Obj	2P	3P
1P	SG: *che* PL: *ñande* (incl), *ore* (excl)	SG: *che* PL: *ñande* (incl), *ore* (excl)
2P		SG: n*de /ne* PL: *pende / pene*

We assume the Minimalist premise that *I* and *v* function as probes that search for the highest c-commanded D to agree with. Consider the *v-domain.* If Obj D is specified [part, sp], *v* will be v_1 (=1P)*;* if it is specified [part], *v* will be v_2 (=2P). If D is unspecified, *v* will be unspecified and spelled-out as 3P. Two scenarios arise. Scenario 1. *Obj is less specified than the ext arg introduced by v.* In this case, there is no Obj promotion, and *I* agrees with the ext arg, located at the edge of the *v*-phase, promoting it to its own edge (Spec of *I*). The morpho-phonological spell- out is as in Table 1 (the direct pattern). The spell-out rule is as follows: If 1SG *I* merges with *v*2SG, it is spelled-out as *ro-*; if 1P (Excl) *I* merges with *v*2PL, it is spelled out as *po-*.

(3) a. **a**.karu/*re*.karu 'I/You eat'
1S.eat/2S.eat
b. **a**.juka/**re**.jukasg ichupe 'I/You killed him'
1S.kill/2S.kill him
c. **ro**.juka (ndève) 'I killed you'
PRT.kill (you)

Scenario 2**.** *Obj D is more specified than the ext arg D introduced by v*. In this case, (1) forces promotion of Obj D to the edge of *v*, and then to the edge of *I*. The morpho-phonological spell-out will be as in Table 2 (the inverse pattern). Cf. (3) and (4).The promoted Obj being a weak D adjoined to Infl, the DP ext arg (null or overt) can move pass it to Spec of Top(ic), without incurring a Minimality violation.

(4) a. **nde**.juka (*ndève) 'I/(S)he killed you.' b. **che**.juka (*chève) 'You/(S)he killed me.'
2S OBJ.kill (*you) 1S OBJ.killed (*me)

Evidence for Obj promotion into the I-domain in the case of (4) is provided by 1) the syntactic position of the 1P /2P OBJ pronoun (preverbal) vs. 3P OBJ pronoun (postverbal) in what is generally assumed to be an SVO language and 2) the marking of the initial consonant of the verbal root in the very productive "triforme" lexical class of verbs; eg. ***t**esha* (sight) - ***r**esha/* ***h**esha* (see 5). The *r*-inital root surfaces in the inverse paradigm (5a) and the *h*-initial root in the direct paradigm (5b).We argue that the *r*-root is the morpho-phonological signature of the syntactic relation in (6). The *h*-root is the otherwise (unmarked) case.

(5) a. (i) **che r**esha (*chève) 'You/(S)he see me.' (ii) **nde r**esha (*ndève) 'I/(S)he see you.'
1S OBJ.see (*me) 2S OBJ.see (*you)

b. (i) **a**.**h**esha/**re**.**h**esha ichupe 'I/You see him.' (ii) **ro**.**h**esha (ndève) 'I see you.'
1S.see /2S.see him PRT.see (you)

(6) [D_p [v_p [√[[D_p ...

Romance. The PCC, exemplified in (7), is stated as in (8) by Bonet 1991. The DAT weak pronoun is in Spec of a Low Appl, with DAT higher than ACC, as in English Double Objects (Demonte 1995). The facts below suggest that Romance *v,* immediately above Low Appl, is specified with a *Part* feature, and the effects of the PCC (as observed in (7a)) follows from the interaction of (1) with Minimality: a *Part*-specified DP must move to the edge of *v*; since DAT is higher than ACC, an ACC *Part*-specified *pro* is blocked by the an unspecified (=3P) DAT *pro*.

(7) a. **Me/Te** *le* recomendaron (i) Ok. 'They recommended him to me/you'
1PS/2PS 3PS recommend.PST.3PL (ii) * 'They recommended me/you to him'
b. **Me**/**Te** recomendaron a él 'They recommended me/you to him'
1PS/2PS.DAT recommend.PST.3PL to him

(8) In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker, or weak pronoun], the direct object has to be a third person (Bonet 1991:182)

The action of (1) in Romance is visible only in the Low Appl domain. Note that Low Appl is associated with inherent Case and hence linked to a specific theta-role, while *v* and I are associated with structural Case. For this reason, the Romance Obj cannot raise to the edge of Low Appl head, and hence the violation of (1) cannot be rescued, in stark contrast with the inverse system of PG. Romance *I* is unspecified with *Part*-feature; hence the ext arg is immune to the PCC. Clitics cluster at edge of *I* in Romance due to the requirement that clitics adjoin to T, and not to the action of (1).