MORPHOLOGICAL DISTINCTIONS FOR SYNTACTIC FREEDOM: THE PCC AND CAUSATIVES

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Spanish & Portuguese

1. INTRODUCTION

The Person Case Constraint (PCC) has undergone various "transformations" in recent literature:

- The PCC is syntactic, not morphological (Albizu 1997; Béjar & Rezac 2003, 2009; Coon & Keine 2021; Deal 2021; Preminger 2014, 2019; Rezac 2008— *pace* Bonet 1991, 1994, *i.a.*)
- PCC effects have been shown to go beyond simple clitic clusters (Gravely & Irimia 2021; Ormazabal & Romero 2007, 2013; Sheehan 2020a, 2020b)

Recent work by Sheehan (2020a) aims at explaining a particular set of PCC effects observed in certain analytical causative constructions (known as *faire-infinitif*, henceforth FI)[1]

Investigation on PCC effects outside of contexts of *double weakness*, particularly following the work in Ormazabal & Romero (2007) regarding co-occurrence effects, has shown that hierarchical effects arise elsewhere in the grammar and are not limited to clitic clusters

Here I present data from Galician that confirms several theoretical claims made by Sheehan (2020a,b) and, in addition, permits us to build upon the empirical and theoretical bases related to the PCC

I propose two desiderata:

Desideratum 1: A true PCC effect outside of structures with *double weakness* should mirror the PCC type of a given language

Desideratum 2: PCC effects in FI causatives should confirm or deny previous claims relating Romance varieties to one PCC type or another

2. PCC TYPES & ANALYTICAL CAUSATIVES IN ROMANCE

The PCC is a set of restrictions regarding the person feature(s) of the two internal objects of a ditransitive predicate

There are four main identifiable PCC types cross-linguistically:[2]

- Strong PCC
- Weak PCC
- *Me*-first PCC
- Strictly descending ("Ultra-strong") PCC

I focus on the first two, as no Romance language seems to have both the *Me-first or Strictly descending* PCC variety **and** FI-type causatives[3]

(1) STRONG PCC
In certain combinations of direct and indirect objects, the direct object must 3rd-person

(2) WEAK PCC
In certain combinations of direct and indirect objects, if there is a 3rd-person it must be the direct object

Most languages show variation between PCC types (e.g. *Strong* vs. *Weak*)

- Although the judgements are marginal at best, it is often claimed that some Romance languages (e.g. Spanish, Italian) are *Weak PCC* languages

(3)   *Spanish* (Bonet 1991)
a.   ???Te   me   recomendaron
      CL2.SG   CL1.SG   recommend.PST.3PL
      'They recommended you to me/me to you.'

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[1] Some of this work on the FI structures is also mentioned in Sheehan (2020b), although it is not the centerpiece of that investigation.

[2] See Appendix §1 for reference to a plausible fifth type found in Spanish.
[3] Romanian is a *Me*-first PCC language, but it does not possess analytic causatives.

Italian (Bianchi 2006)
b. ???Mi te ha affidato
   CL1.SG CL2.SG have.PRS.3SG entrust.PRTCP
   'He entrusted you to me/me to you.'

- However, as Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2018) note for Spanish, these readings are largely idiolectal

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION: Spanish, Italian, etc. are *Strong PCC* languages (*pace* Bonet 1991)

In Gravely (2021), I claim that Galician is indeed a true *Weak PCC* language

(4) *Galician*
   a. Presentaron-**che-me**
      present.PST.3PL-CL$_{DAT.2SG}$-CL$_{ACC.1SG}$
      'They introduced me to you.'
   b. Presentaron-**te-me**
      present.PST.3PL-CL$_{ACC.2SG}$-CL$_{DAT.1SG}$
      'They introduced you to me.'

Galician is one of only two main Romance varieties that shows any 1st/2nd-person distinction morphologically
- In Gravely (2021a), I hypothesize that this morphological distinction is salient enough in the PLD for the child to unambiguously posit the *Weak PCC* pattern in the grammar
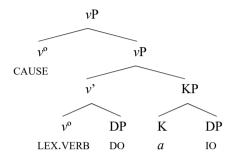
2.2 ANALYTICAL CAUSATIVE STRUCTURES

Following Sheehan (2020a,b), analytical causatives may be broken up into three main, structurally distinct types:
   o *faire infinitif* (FI)
   o *faire par* (FP)
   o ECM
- For this author, each of these causatives entails more or less functional structure

The most common structure of FI causatives understood to be monoclausal (Belletti 2017, Folli & Harley 2007, Sheehan 2020a,b)

(5) *FI CAUSATIVE STRUCTURE* (Sheehan 2020a:154)

Differently from FP constructions in which a causative v^o takes a VP (or a lexicalized vP) as its complement and ECM structures where causative v^o selects VoiceP, here it takes vP as its complement
- There seems to be slight variation between Spanish and Galician, Italian, Catalan, etc. with respect to the embedded vP due to the obligatory DOM marking of certain objects in the former but not the latter

Linearly, FI and ECM causatives are distinguished as follows:

(6) *Galician*
   a. Fixemos cantar a canción [**a Xabier**]
      make.PST.1PL sing.INF the song **DAT Xabier**
   b. *FI CAUSATIVES*
      [$_{vP}$ FARE [$_{vP}$ $_{v^o}$ cantar [$_{DP}$ a canción] [$_{ApplP}$ **a Xabier**]]]
   c. Fixemos [**a Xabier**] cantar a canción
      make.PST.1PL **DAT Xabier** cantar.INF the song
   d. *ECM CAUSATIVES*
      [$_{vP}$ FARE [$_{ApplP}$ **a Xabier**]$_i$ [$_{vP}$ $_{v^o}$ cantar [$_{DP}$ a canción] t_i]]

A puzzle for Sheehan (2020a) is why causative v^o may not license both arguments in a structure such as in (8) where the causee is realized as a full DP and the 1st/2nd-person direct object cliticizes to it:

(7) *Spanish*
  a. Ana   te   hizo   saludar   al   invitado
     Ana   CL$_{2SG}$ make.PST.3SG greet.INF DAT-the guest
     ✘ 'Ana made the guest greet you' / ✓ 'Ana made you greet the guest'

Galician
  b. Uxía   fixo-che   aprender   a   nena
     Uxía   make.PST.3SG-CL$_{DAT.2SG}$ teach.INF the girl
     'Uxía made you teach the girl.'

(8) *"SIMPLER PCC"* (Sheehan 2020a:152 *apud* Postal 1989)
  a. In a combination of a direct object and dative in a causative construction, the direct object has to be third person
  b. If the direct object is phonologically weak

(9) *French* (from Rezac 2011:128)
  a. Marcel l'-a   fait   dessiner   à   Ilse
     Marcel CL$_{F.SG}$-have.PRS.3SG make.PRTCP draw.INF   DAT Ilse
     'Marcel has made Ilse draw her.'
  b. *Marcel vous   a   fait   dessiner   à   Ilse
   Marcel CL$_{2PL}$ have.PRS.3SG make.PRTCP draw.INF   DAT Ilse
     Intended: 'Marcel made Ilse draw you.'

I claim that this constraint is due to the fact that Spanish, Italian, etc. are not true *Weak PCC* languages
- A true *Weak PCC* language should be able to license the lexical dative based on its probe specification (what I will claim must be [PART])

(10) *Galician*
     Alguén te   fixo   escoller   ó   mestre
     someone CL$_{ACC.2SG}$ make.PST.3SG choose.INF DAT-the teacher
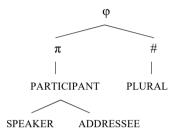   'Someone made the teacher choose you.'

3. THEORY OF THE PCC: ONE PROBE, TWO GOALS

Early syntactic accounts of the PCC (Anagnostopoulou 2005; Béjar & Rezac 2003, 2009) have provided fundamental steps in accounting for PCC types via the operation Agree
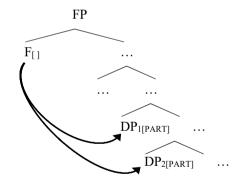- More recent work on the PCC (Coon & Keine 2021, Deal 2021, *i.a.*) has two principal commonalities:
  - the adoption of a Feature Geometry (Harley & Ritter 2002, McGinnis 2005, *i.a.*) (11)
  - the claim that a single functional head controls the Agree relation for both internal arguments (12)

(11) *FEATURE GEOMETRY*

(12) *ONE PROBE, TWO GOALS*

I adopt approach taken by Deal (2021) which relies on *interaction* and *satisfaction* conditions of probes (Deal 2015) in order to account for all four PCC types listed above
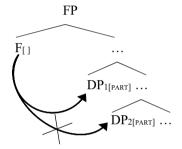
INTERACTION & SATISFACTION MODEL (DEAL 2015)
- A probe may *interact* with individual features of multiple φ-sets
- A probe will only cease to look for a viable goal once it has been *satisfied*
- If a probe does not find a viable goal, no crash is induced (Preminger 2014; *pace* Chomsky 2000, 2001)

A key addition to this model in Deal (2021) is the ***dynamic interaction*** mechanism: Interaction conditions (which always begin as [φ] for all probes) may change over the course of a derivation based on the features that have been copied thus far into the interaction specification of the probe
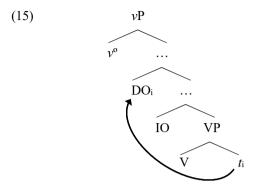
(13)   *Strong PCC*
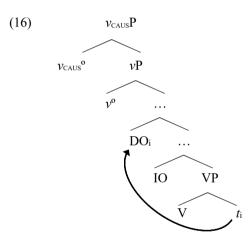
       Interaction: [φ]
       Satisfaction: [PART]

(14)   *French*
     a. Lucille   [me /   te]   la   présentera
         Lucille $CL_{1.SG}$ $CL_{2.SG}$ $CL_{F.SG}$ present.FUT.3SG
         'Lucille will introduce her to me/you.'
     b. *Lucille   me   te   présentera
         Lucille $CL_{1.SG}$ $CL_{2.SG}$ present.FUT.3SG
         Intended: 'Lucille will introduce you to me/me to you.'
     c. Lucille   te   présentera   [**à**   **moi**]
         Lucille $CL_{2.SG}$ present.FUT.3SG **DAT** **me**
         'Lucille will introduce you to me.'

Based on the fact that PCC effects are alleviated when the indirect object (but not the direct object) is lexicalized, I follow Deal in assuming that the DO is targeted first (*direct object preference*; cf. Walkow 2012, 2013)
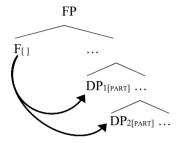
(15)

I shall assume the same for the causative structure (16)

(16)

(17)   *WEAK PCC*

Interaction: [φ]
Satisfaction: [-]*

FP
F[ ]   …
         DP1[PART] …
              DP2[PART] …
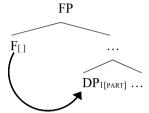
(18)   *Galician*
   a.   Deu-che-me
        give.PST.3SG-CL_DAT.2SG-CL_ACC.1SG
        'He gave me to you.'
   b.   Deu-te-me
        give.PST.3SG-CL_ACC.2SG-CL_DAT.1SG
        'He gave you to me.'

IMPORTANT GENERALIZATION: Cross-linguistically, *Weak PCC* patterns show that Agree with both arguments is possible regardless of the direct object's features (i.e., for any DO, there is at least one well-formed choice of the IO; Deal 2021:25)

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*Part of the *Weak PCC*'s interaction condition is that once it has probed and copied one [PART], it may only agree with [PART]

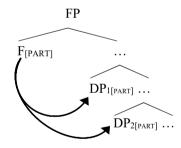(19)   a. Step 1: F finds and agrees with [PART] on DP1

Int: [φ]
Sat: [-]

FP
F[ ]   …
         DP1[PART] …

b. Step 2: The ***interaction specification*** of F's probe changes
           (its ***satisfaction specification*** need not, however)

   Int: [φ] → Int: [PART]

c. Step 3: The probe on F agrees with [PART] on DP2

FP
F[PART]   …
         DP1[PART] …
              DP2[PART] …

???— Why must the interaction specification change?

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(20)   *Galician*
   a.   Presentaron-**che-me**
        present.PST.3PL-**CL_DAT.2SG-CL_ACC.1SG**
        'They introduced me to you.'
   b.   *Presentaron-[**te**   /   **me**]-lle
        present.PST.3PL-**CL_ACC.2SG   CL_ACC.1SG**-CL_DAT.3SG
        Intended: 'They presented you/me to her.'

5

Were the *interaction specification* to remain as [φ], we would expect 3rd-person datives to be able to agree with the probe (contrary to fact)

This change forces the 3rd-person dative to surface as a lexical DP, presumably as a repair strategy (cf. Rezac 2011)

(21) *Galician*
   a. *Presentaron-[**te** / **me**]-lle
       present.PST.3PL-CL$_{ACC.2SG}$ CL$_{ACC.1SG}$-CL$_{DAT.3SG}$
   b. Presentaron-[**te** / **me**]   a   ela
       present.PST.3PL-CL$_{ACC.2SG}$ CL$_{ACC.1SG}$ DAT   she
       Intended: 'They presented you/me to her.'

3.2 PROBE SPECIFICATIONS ON CAUSATIVE $v°$

To consider this a true PCC phenomenon, we should expect that both the Causee (IO) and the Theme (DO) enter into an Agree relation with the same functional head
- I'll refer to this head as causative $v°$ ($v_{CAUS}°$)
  - However, nothing hinges on this (Sheehan 2020b claims this head is Voice°)

PROBLEM #1: Unlike in ditransitive situations, relegating the dative to a full DP does not improve grammaticality (9b) unlike what we find in ditransitive constructions (14c)

(9) *French*
   b. *Marcel vous   a   fait   dessiner   à   Ilse
       Marcel CL$_{2PL}$ have.PRS.3SG make.PRTCP draw.INF   DAT Ilse
       Intended: 'Marcel made Ilse draw you.'

(14) *French*
   c. Lucille   te   présentera   **à**   **moi**
       Lucille   CL$_{2.SG}$ present.FUT.3SG **DAT**   **me**
       'Lucille will introduce you to me.'

This may be the strongest argument for the fact that the dative-marked causee cannot be licensed by a Last Resort head when the probe has been *satisfied*

We are faced with two possibilities regarding an explanation of these data:

- These causative restrictions are not due to the PCC but, instead, are due to another licensing/Agree phenomenon (e.g. general domain co-occurrence restriction; cf. Ormazabal & Romero 2007, Gravely & Irimia 2021)
- These are indeed PCC effects (i.e., they stem from the same person restrictions seen in ditransitive constructions) but are realized without the need to account for *double weakness*

Based on the desideratum in Deal (2021:4), I shall argue for the latter

> **Desideratum 3**: The theory should allow for PCC restrictions to hold even in cases where the Double Weakness condition is not met, as well as for cases where the Double Weakness condition is met but PCC restrictions do not hold

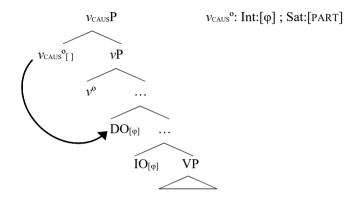### 4. ACCOUNTING FOR THE PCC CAUSATIVE RESTRICTIONS

Taking the theories above as the building blocks for my analysis, I propose the following:

- For Spanish, Italian, French, and Catalan, the probe on $v_{CAUS}°$ is the same one found on ditransitive $v°$ (Int: [φ]; Sat: [PART])
- For Galician, the probe on $v_{CAUS}°$ is initially *insatiable* as on ditransitive $v°$ (Int: [φ]; Sat: [-])
  - Recall: When a *Weak PCC* probe agrees with a DP bearing [PART], its *interaction condition* changes, forcing it to agree only with [PART]
- Unlike the repair strategy available to ditransitives, the dative must be licensed by $v_{CAUS}°$
  - Recall: This is why lexicalizing the IO DP does not prevent ungrammaticality in Spanish, Italian, French, etc.
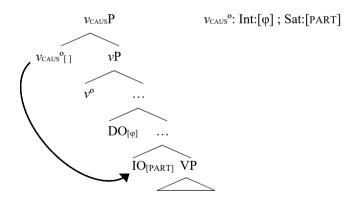
> **???— What happens when $v_{CAUS}°$ probes in a 3rd/3rd-person scenario?**

(9) *French*
  b. Marcel l'-a   fait   dessiner   à   Ilse
      Marcel CL.F.SG-have.PRS.3SG make.PRTCP draw.INF   DAT Ilse
      'Marcel has made Ilse draw her.'

(22)   a. *Step 1*: v_{CAUS}° AGREES WITH DO

v_{CAUS}P v_{CAUS}°: Int:[φ] ; Sat:[PART]

v_{CAUS}°[ ] vP

              v°   …

                    DO[φ]   …

                        IO[φ]   VP

    b. *Step 2*: v_{CAUS}° AGREES WITH IO

v_{CAUS}P v_{CAUS}°: Int:[φ] ; Sat:[PART]

v_{CAUS}°[ ] vP

              v°   …

                    DO[φ]   …

                        IO[PART]   VP

Following observations in Irimia (2020), I claim that the licensing of lexical
datives is via Agree with [PART]
- Licensing of lexical datives has been shown to be distinct both from the
  licensing of their clitic counterparts as well as DOMed direct objects (i.e.,
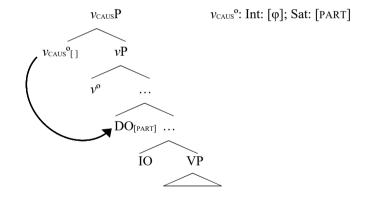 their licensing requirements are often more complex)

Preliminary results:
- The probe copies back a 3rd-person clitic and agrees with the lexical cause
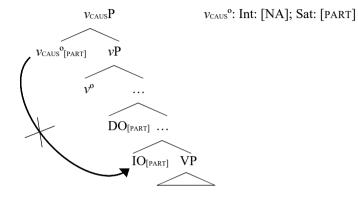 bearing [PART]

**???— What happens when v_{CAUS}° probes in a 1st/3rd or 2st/3rd-person
scenario?**

Let us begin with an accusative 2nd-person/dative 3rd-person split as in (9b)

(9) *French*
  b. *Marcel vous   a   fait   dessiner   à   Ilse
      Marcel CL2PL   have.PRS.3SG make.PRTCP draw.INF   DAT Ilse
      Intended: 'Marcel made Ilse draw you.'

(23)   a. *Step 1*: v_{CAUS}° AGREES WITH DO

v_{CAUS}P v_{CAUS}°: Int: [φ]; Sat: [PART]

v_{CAUS}°[ ] vP

              v°   …

                    DO[PART]   …

                        IO   VP

b. *Step 2*: v_{CAUS}° IS UNABLE TO AGREE WITH IO; [PART] HAS BEEN FOUND AND THE SATISFACTION CONDITION OF THE PROBE MAY NOT AGREE FURTHER

v_{CAUS}P v_{CAUS}°: Int: [NA]; Sat: [PART]

v_{CAUS}°[PART] vP

v°   …

DO[PART] …

IO[PART] VP

Result:
- The probe is satisfied after agreement with the DO due to its **satisfaction specification** being [PART]
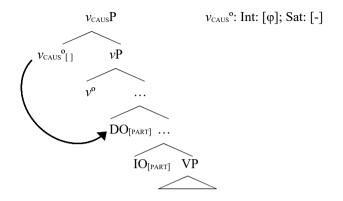- In turn, it is unable to agree with another DP (the IO) bearing [PART]

> INTERIM HYPOTHESIS: The conclusion that, unlike agreement with 3rd-person DOs, agreement with 3rd-person lexical IOs entails a [PART] probe explains why sentences such as (20) are illicit in *Strong PCC* languages

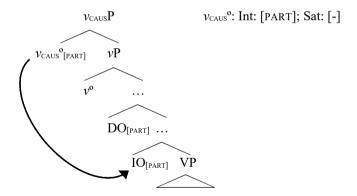Let us look at how this works for Galician, a *Weak PCC* language:

(10) *Galician*
Alguén   te   fixo   escoller   ó   mestre
someone   CL_ACC.2SG make.PST.3SG choose.INF DAT-the teacher
'Someone made the teacher choose you.'

(13) a. *Step 1*: v_{CAUS}° AGREES WITH DO

v_{CAUS}P v_{CAUS}°: Int: [φ]; Sat: [-]

v_{CAUS}°[ ] vP

v°   …

DO[PART] …

IO[PART] VP

b. *Step 2*: THE INTERACTION CONDITION OF THE PROBE ON v_{CAUS}° CHANGES FROM *[φ]* TO *[PART]*; IN TURN, IT IS ABLE TO AGREE WITH THE LEXICAL IO

v_{CAUS}P v_{CAUS}°: Int: [PART]; Sat: [-]

v_{CAUS}°[PART] vP

v°   …

DO[PART] …

IO[PART] VP

5. CONCLUSION

I have shown that the claims by Sheehan (2020a) are indeed correct: The PCC in Romance causatives hold without having to resort to cases of *double weakness*

- This is one of the principal objectives behind Deal (2021): to be able to account for all PCC patterns (those showing *double weakness* or otherwise) within the same model

Contrary to the claims found in Sheehan (2021a), however, I have shown that not only are there Romance varieties that display 1st/2nd-person DO cliticization but that the probe specification on v_{CAUS}° is identical to those found in ditransitive contexts

- This provides explanatory adequacy for PCC patterns more generally and seems to be a step in the right direct direction with respect to identifying and grouping syntactic phenomena of this type

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Appendix

1. ISSUES IN IDENTIFYING PCC PATTERNS IN ROMANCE

As mentioned in §2, it is often claimed that Spanish, Italian, and Catalan are *Weak PCC* languages

- To my knowledge, the disparity of this claim has not been challenged on any basis but certainly requires a re-evaluation

1.1 THE CASE OF SPANISH

Preliminary data (currently being collected) show that Spanish is not a *Weak PCC* language but a *Strong PCC* language (61 participants with *Strong PCC* readings, none with *Weak PCC* readings) with a minor exception for some speakers in favor of an *A-descending* PCC pattern (name taken from Deal 2021:31) (4 participants with *A-descending* readings)

(1) *A-descending PCC*
In certain combinations of direct and indirect objects, the IO must outrank the DO: 2 > 1 > 3

(2) *Spanish A-descending pattern*
Te   me   presentaron
CL$_{DAT.2SG}$ CL$_{ACC.1SG}$ introduce.PST.3PL
✓ They presented me to you / ✗ They presented you to me

According to Deal (2021), this is best captured by a probe specification:

Int: [φ], Sat: [ADDR]

For speakers with this PCC type, we would expect an FI causative string such as (3) to be licit

(3) *Spanish*
*Juan   me   hizo   pintar   a   ti
Juan   CL$_{1.SG}$ make.PST.3SG   paint.INF   DAT   you.OBL
Intended: 'Juan made you paint me.'

Even for speakers that can get a reading as in (2), the FI causative structure in (3) is ungrammatical

- This suggests that either this construction is marginal and forced even for those speakers that accept an *A-descending* reading (Irene Fernández Serrano, p.c.) or there is interference from/a preference for a biclausal version of the FI causative in which *hacer* selects a TP complement (cf. Casalicchio & Sheehan 2021) as in (4)

(4) *Spanish*
[$_{TP}$ Juan [$_{T}$ me   hizo…]]   [$_{TP}$ pintarte …]
    Juan   CL$_{DAT.1SG}$ make.PST.3SG   paint.INF-CL$_{ACC.2SG}$
'Juan made me paint you.'

In (4), the 2nd-person accusative *te* is licensed by *pintar*, not *hacer*, which suggests that *pintar* is not a 'lexical *v*P' as claimed by Sheehan (2020a) for FI causatives

1.2 Further problems in Italian and Catalan

Giuseppe Longobardi (p.c.) and others inform me that the *Weak PCC* examples in Bianchi (2006) are illicit

- Interestingly enough, Longobardi informs me that a forced reading of (5) derives an *A-descending* interpretation

(5) ???Mi   ti   presenteranno
     CL$_{1.SG}$ CL$_{2.SG}$ introduce.PST.3PL
     Intended: 'They introduced me to you.'

Weak PCC judgements look even bleaker for Catalan, however, as Irene Fernández Serrano and Laura Arias Rodríguez (p.c.) inform me that the clitic combination *te'm* in Catalan is impossible

(6) *Te'm   van   recomanar
     CL$_{2.SG}$-CL$_{1.SG}$ go.PRS.3PL recommend.INF
     Intended: 'They recommended you to me/me to you.'

> Although more data must be collected in all three of these Romance varieties, I preliminarily claim that these languages are *Strong PCC* languages with minimal *A-descending* readings for some speakers and that no reference to them as *Weak PCC* languages is accurate

2. Original data from the Interaction-Satisfaction model

The data in Deal (2015) are from the complementizer agreement (C-AGR) patterns in Nez Perce (Plateu Penutian); all data are taken from said investigation

Deal shows that the probe on Cº in this language is able to agree with multiple featural exponents
- Cº may interact with 1st-person on either argument (4)
- Cº may interact with 2nd-person on either argument (5)
- Cº may also interact with [PL] if found on either argument (6)

(4) a. ke-**x**   kaa   *pro*$_{SUBJ}$ 'e-cewcew-téetu A.-ne
        C-1   then   *pro*$_{1.SG}$ 3OBJ-telephone-TAM A.-ACC
        'When I call A'
    b. ke-**x**   kaa   A.-nim hi-cewcew-téetu   *pro*$_{OBJ}$
        C-1   then   A.-ERG 3SUBJ-telephone-TAM *pro*$_{1.SG}$
        'When A. calls me'

(5) a. ke-pe-m kaa   *pro*$_{SUBJ}$ 'e-cewcew-tée'nix A.-ne
        C-PL-2   then   *pro*$_{2.PL}$ 3OBJ-telephone-TAM A.-ACC
        'When you (pl.) call A'
    b. ke-pe-m kaa   A.-nim hi-cewcew-téetú   *pro*$_{OBJ}$
        C-PL-2   then   A.-ERG 3SUBJ-telephone-TAM *pro*$_{2.PL}$
        'When A. calls you (pl.)'

(6) a. ke-m   kaa   *pro*$_{SUBJ}$ cewcew-téetum   *pro*$_{OBJ}$
        C-2   then   *pro*$_{2.SG}$ telephone-TAM   *pro*$_{1.SG}$
        'When you call me'
    b. ke-m-ex kaa   *pro*$_{SUBJ}$ cewcew-téetum   *pro*$_{OBJ}$
        C-2-1   then   *pro*$_{1.SG}$ telephone-TAM   *pro*$_{2.SG}$
        'When I call you'

Cº in Nez Perce is able to probe all three of these exponents, as in (7)

(7) ke-pe-m-ex   kaa   *pro*$_{SUBJ}$ cewcew-tée'nix *pro*$_{OBJ}$
     C-PL-2-1   then   *pro*$_{1.SG}$ telephone-TAM   *pro*$_{2.SG}$
     'When we call you (sg.)'

The generalization is that Cº may not probe past a 2nd-person feature

(8) ke-m   kaa   *pro*$_{SUBJ}$ nees-cewcew-téetum   *pro*$_{OBJ}$
     C-2   then   *pro*$_{2.SG}$ O.PL-telephone-TAM   *pro*$_{1.PL}$
     'When you (sg.) call us (pl.)'

Therefore, Cº has the following *interaction-satisfaction* specifications:

    Int: [φ], Sat: [ADDR]

In (8), the 2nd-person subject is the structurally highest DP and, therefore, immediately meets the probe's satisfaction condition [ADDR]
- However, when there is no 2nd-person DP argument (4) or when [ADDR] is found on the lower DP probed by Cº (6b, 7), the probe interacts with other features (namely [SPKR] and [PL])