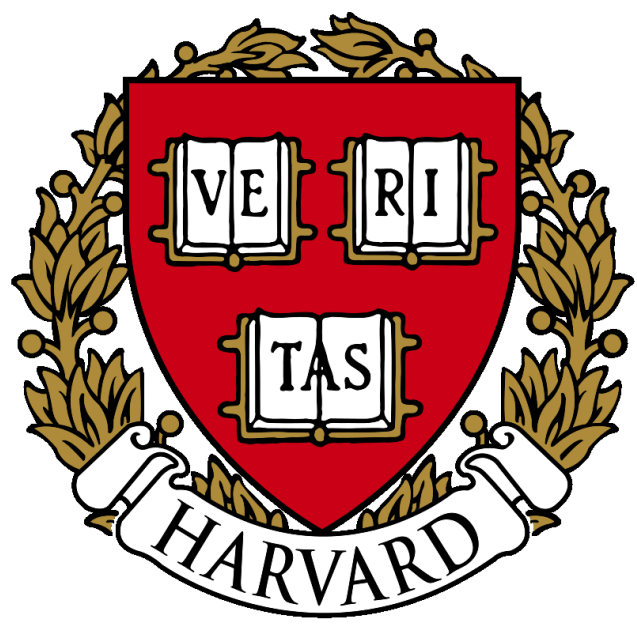




PCC effects in Alabama: Appl and v_{caus} steal features they cannot expone

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1 OVERVIEW

In Alabama (Muskogean, fieldwork done at the Alabama-Coushatta reservation in Texas, 2024–2026) objects can be cross-referenced in the verb by either “Patient” or “Applicative” markers (*Patient* + (*im-*)).

	SG	PL
1	<i>cha-</i>	<i>ko-/po-</i>
2	<i>chi-</i>	<i>hachi-</i>
3	$\emptyset$ -	$\emptyset$ -

Table 1: Patient markers

	SG	PL
1	<i>a-m-</i>	<i>ko-m-/po-m-</i>
2	<i>chi-m-</i>	<i>hachi-m-</i>
3	<i>im-</i>	<i>(aat)-im-</i>

Table 2: Applicative markers

Finding: older speaker do not have **Person Case Constraint (PCC)**—verbs agree with both objects, younger speakers have it in some contexts.

Question: Which argument structures exhibit PCC, and why only those?

Key take-away points:

- PCC arises when argument-introducing heads Appl and v_{caus} agree with two DPs at the same time (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018, Coon & Keine 2021 a.m.o.), but can expone only one set of ϕ -features—those of its specifier;
- unexponed agreement with Appl and v_{caus} still bleeds realization of agreement on lower heads due to *impoverishment*,
- results in the “repair”—lack of agreement with the lower DP.

2 APPL > PAT: STRONG PCC

- Strong PCC (1); “repair” (2): lack of agreement with the Theme DP.
- Reciprocal (3), quantificational binding: Goal is higher than Theme.

(1) *Ava-k (an-on) (isn-on) cha-chin/chin-cha -ka-ti.
Ava-NOM (1SG-OBL) (2SG-OBL) [1SG.PAT+2SG.APP] be-PST
‘Ava gave me to you.’

(2) Ava-k an-on (isn-on) chin-ka-ti.
Ava-NOM 1SG-OBL (2SG-OBL) 2SG.APP-be-PST
‘Ava gave me to you.’

(3) Ava-k posn-on itti-pon/*po-ittin- -ka-ti.
Ava-NOM 1PL-OBL REC.PAT-1PL.APP/1PL.PAT-REC.APP -be-PST
‘Ava gave us to each other.’

(4)
$$\begin{array}{c} vP \\ \text{ApplP} \quad v_{be} \\ \text{Goal} \quad \text{Appl} \quad ka \\ \text{2SG Theme} \quad \text{Appl} \\ \text{1SG} \quad \{2SG, 1SG\} \\ \Leftrightarrow \text{chin-} \end{array}$$

- Appl agrees both with its complement and with its Specifier;
- **Prioritize Your Specifier!** Appl must prioritize and expone the ϕ -features of the DP in its specifier $\Rightarrow$ only IO-agreement

3 PAT > APPL: NO PCC

- No PCC (5), agreement with both DPs, APPL-PAT-V order.
- Reciprocal (6), quantificational binding: Goal is lower than Causee.

(5) Ava-k chin-cha-palat-ka-chi-ti
Ava-NOM 2SG.APP-1SG.PAT-mad-*v*-CAUS-PST
‘Ava made me mad at you.’

(6) Ava-k kosn-on ittin-ko-/*kom-itti-
Ava-NOM 1PL-OBL REC.APP-1PL.PAT/1PL.APP-REC.PAT-
palatli-chi-ti.
be.mad-CAUS-PST1
‘Ava made us mad at each other.’

(7)
$$\begin{array}{c} vP \\ \text{VP} \quad v \\ \text{Causee} \quad \text{V} \quad -ka \\ \text{1SG PP} \quad \text{V} \\ \text{Goal P} \quad \{1SG\} \\ \text{2SG} \quad \{2SG\} \Leftrightarrow \text{cha-} \\ \Leftrightarrow \text{im-} \end{array}$$

- **Different structure:** V takes a PP as its complement, *im-* realizes P;
- V agrees with the PAT-marked Causee DP, P agrees with the Goal.
- There is no PCC because there are no gluttonous probes (Appl, v_{caus}) in the structure: 1 probe = 1 DP.

4 APPL > APPL: STRONG PCC

- Strong PCC (12); “repair”: lack of agreement on the low Appl;
- Binding, e.g. reciprocal (13): Benefactive is higher than Goal.

(12) Ava-k an-on chim-in/*chim-an-
Ava-NOM 1SG-OBL 2SG.APP-APP-/2SG.APP-1SG.APP-
-los-ka-ti.
lie-*v*-PST
‘Ava lied to me for you.’

(13) Ava-k kom-ittin-/*ittin-kon- loska-ti.
Ava-NOM 1.PL.APP-REC.APP- /REC.APP-1PL.APP- lie-*v*-PST
‘Ava lied for us to each other.’

- Lower Appl agrees with its specifier, higher one agrees with both DPs.

(14)
$$\begin{array}{c} vP \\ \text{ApplP} \quad v \\ \text{Benef.} \quad \text{Appl} \quad ka \\ \text{2SG ApplP} \quad \text{Appl} \\ \text{Goal Appl} \quad \{2SG, 1SG\} \\ \text{1SG VP} \quad \text{Appl} \quad \Leftrightarrow \text{chim-} \\ \text{1SG} \quad \{1SG\} \Leftrightarrow \text{in-} \end{array}$$

- This leads to *impoverishment*: ϕ -features on the lower Appl are removed.
- **Prioritize Your Specifier!** does not let the higher Appl expone the Goals’s features. $\Rightarrow$ only Benefactive agreement.

5 PAT > PAT: STRONG PCC

- Two PAT DPs (9); Strong PCC (8); “repair”: lack of agreement on V;
- Binding, e.g. reciprocal (10): Causee is higher than Theme.

(8) Ava-k an-on (*cha)-chi-hichaa-chi-ti.
Ava-NOM 1SG-OBL (1SG.PAT)-2SG.PAT-see-CAUS-PST
‘Ava showed me to you.’

(9) Ava-k Jacobka-n (an-on) cha-hiicha-chi-ti.
Ava-NOM Jacob-OBL (1SG-OBL) 1SG.PAT-see-CAUS-PST
‘Ava showed Jacob to me’ or ‘...me to Jacob.’

(10) Ava-k itta-ko-/*ko-itta- hiichaa-chi-ti.
Ava-NOM REC.PAT-1PL.PAT-/1PL.PAT-REC.PAT- see-CAUS-PST
‘Ava showed us to each other.’

- V agrees with Theme (its specifier), v_{caus} agrees with both DPs.

(11)
$$\begin{array}{c} v_{caus}P \\ \text{Causee} \quad v_{caus} \\ \text{2SG VP} \quad v_{caus} \\ \text{Theme V} \quad \{2SG, 1SG\} \\ \text{1SG} \quad \{1SG\} \Leftrightarrow \text{chi-} \end{array}$$

- This leads to *impoverishment* of the features on V.
- **Prioritize Your Specifier!** does not let v_{caus} expone the features of Theme. $\Rightarrow$ only agreement with the Causee.

6 THE NATURE OF THE “REPAIR”

- Full pronouns can co-exist with agreement in Alabama, e.g. (2), (6), (9), regardless of whether the configuration violates PCC.
- Full pronouns are not PPs: locative phrases allowed with verbs like *maatohno* ‘send’ cannot be substituted by oblique DPs.
- “Repair” is just lack of exponence of agreement with the lower DP. Cf. full pronoun with French “inherent DAT clitics” (Rezac 2011): *Je me rappelle vous, quand vous aviez quinze ans.* (Perlmutter 1971)

7 IMPLICATIONS

- Alabama supports that PCC is created when one head agrees with two DPs, but its “repair” is problematic for many theories.
- Approaches that argue that DO is targeted first (Deal 2023), expect DO-only agreement in PCC-violating cases like (2).
- Approaches that rely on PP-encapsulation (Béjar & Rezac 2011, Coon & Keine 2021, a.o.) face the challenge that full pronouns (i) are otherwise visible to Agree; (ii) show no evidence of being PPs.