Pronominal licensing in Mam (Mayan)   **Tessa Scott, UC Berkeley**
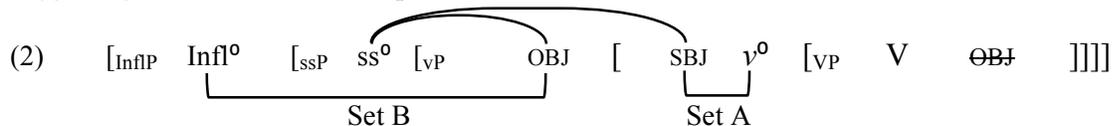
Introduction. Some varieties of Mam exhibit a restriction on the person features of the two pronominal arguments of active transitive clauses (Ixtahuacán: England 1983, 2017, Cajolá: Pérez Vail 2014). In Ixtahuacán Mam, a third person subject with a local person object is ungrammatical, while local > local is grammatical. Person constraints between the two pronominal objects in ditransitive constructions (Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects) are more familiar than transitive person restrictions, though I argue that the restriction in Mam can be explained using the same mechanisms that cause PCC effects: two pronouns in the domain of one probe. Subjects and objects are typically thought to be in separate agreement domains; however, in Mam, objects move into a position above the subject. This movement places both arguments in the domain of a probe which shows local person agreement with the subject, object, or both. I argue that all pronouns must agree with this probe to be properly licensed. While a local person licensing condition has been proposed to account for Strong PCC effects (PLC; Béjar and Rezac 2003), the claim here is that *all* pronouns require licensing in Mam, and further, that the licensing heads are distinct from the heads responsible for ergative and absolutive agreement. Evidence comes from the different behavior of R-expressions from third person pronouns and the nature of the 3 > local repair. I implement Deal's (2019) analysis of Weak PCC effects using an Interaction and Satisfaction model of Agree (Deal 2015a,b).

Omnivorous agreement. Mayan languages typically have two sets of agreement: Set A (ergative and possessive) and Set B (absolutive). Mam additionally has a third locus of agreement orthogonal to Set A and Set B: a verbal enclitic which tracks the person features of either the subject, object, or both, an example of "omnivorous" agreement (Nevins 2011). In (1a), the enclitic is present when both arguments are local person (LP). If only one argument is LP, =a can track either the subject (1b) or object (1c). If neither argument is LP, the clitic does not appear (1d) (data from England 1983).

(1)   a.   Ma   **chin**   ok   **t**-tzeeq'an=**a**.   c.   Ma   **chin**   tzaj   t-tzyu-'n=**a**   Kyel.
           PROX   **1SGB**   DIR   **2SGA**-hit=**LP**   PROX   **1SGB**   DIR   3SGA-grab-DIR=**LP**   Miguel
           'You hit me.'   'Miguel grabbed me.'

      b.   Ma   tz'=ok   **n**-tzeeq'an=**a**.   d.   Ma   tz'=ok   ky-tzeeq'an.
           PROX   3SGB=DIR   **1SGA**-hit=**LP**   PROX   3SGB=DIR   3PLA-hit
           'I hit him.'   'They hit him/her/it.'

Deal (2015a) proposes a model of Agree that easily handles such cases of omnivorous agreement: probes have two specifications: i) Interaction conditions: the features a probe can copy back and ii) Satisfaction conditions: the features that will cause a probe to stop probing. This allows us to state an insatiable probe: a probe that lacks satisfaction conditions (Deal 2015b); the data in (1) suggest that the LP probe is insatiable. In Mam, the object is in the same domain as the subject because it moves above the subject to the edge of vP, which is reflected in the ordering of Set B and Set A morphology (Coon et. al. 2019 a.o.). Following Coon (2017), I assume Set A reflects an Agree relationship with v^o and Set B reflects cliticization of arguments by Infl^o, shown schematically in (2). The LP enclitic is in the slot often labeled 'status suffix', representing the highest head in the verbal domain to which the verb moves (Clemens & Coon 2018), suggesting that the insatiable LP probe is on the status suffix head (ss^o).

(2)   [$_{InflP}$ Infl^o [$_{ssP}$ ss^o [$_{vP}$ OBJ   [SBJ v^o [$_{VP}$ V   ~~OBJ~~   ]]]]
                                        |_____Set B_____| |__Set A__|

The person restriction. England (1983:62-64) observes that active transitive clauses involving a third person pronominal subject and a LP object are ungrammatical for some speakers (4). Paired with the grammatical local > local configuration (1a), the Mam person restriction strongly resembles the Weak PCC and an analysis of one should also account for the other. In analyzing Weak PCC effects, Deal (2019) argues that probes can update their interaction conditions during the course of the derivation. For example, a probe may begin with the Interaction condition [ϕ], and upon interacting with a [PART(ICIPANT)] feature, copy [PART] to its interaction conditions, limiting further Agreement to [PART]. If the probe is also insatiable, a Weak PCC effect may arise. This is indeed the specification of the LP probe on ss^o: the probe always Agrees with the object, as its Interaction condition begins as [ϕ]. If the object has a [PART] feature, the probe copies

back [PART] to its Interaction condition. Since it lacks a Satisfaction condition, it continues probing its domain with the new [PART] Interaction condition. In local > local clauses, the subject can be agreed with because it has a [PART] feature. With a third person subject and first person object in (4) (England 1983), the probe fails to Agree with the subject, as it lacks an [PART] feature, shown in (3).

(3)

… [$_{ssP}$ ss^o [$_{vP}$ OBJ *pro*   [SBJ *pro*   …]]]
                1SG [PART]   3SG

(4)   *Ma   chin   ok   t-tzeeq'an(=a).
     PROX 1SGB DIR 3SGA-hit(=LP)
     Intended: 'She hit me.'

In (4), both arguments have been agreed with by v^o and Infl^o creating Set A and Set B morphology. The derivation in (3) fails because the LP probe on ss^o has not Agreed with, and licensed, the third person pronominal subject. Evidence that this is *pronominal* licensing comes from the minimal pair sentence in (1c): the subject *Kyel* is in the same structural position as *pro* in (3). The probe cannot agree with *Kyel* because it lacks [PART], but this does not crash the derivation because there is no licensing requirement on R-expressions, only *pronouns* must be licensed.

(Anti)passive repair. Further evidence for pronominal licensing comes from the nature of the repair for the ungrammatical combinations. In Ixtahuacán Mam, to express the intended meaning in (4), the antipassive suffix appears on the verb and the object is demoted to an oblique phrase (England 1983:56). In Cajolá Mam, 3 > local is expressed with the passive in (5)/(6) in which the agent is introduced by an agreeing relational noun and the patient is the sole argument of the passivized verb (Pérez Vail 2014:142).

(5) [$_{InflP}$ Infl^o [$_{ssP}$ ss^o [$_{vP}$ SBJ   [v^o [$_{VP}$ V   [$_{RNP}$ RN^o OBJ   ]]]]]
                                Set B   Set A

(6) Ma   Ø=kub'   tzuy-'n=a k-u'n.
    PROX 2SGB=DIR hit-DS=LP 3PLA-RN:AGNT
    'You were grabbed by them.'

(7) a. w-u'n=a
    1SGA-RN:AGNT=LP
    'by me'
    b. t-uuk'al=a
    2SGA-RN:COMM=LP
    'with you'

(Anti)passivization has two consequences: i) it demotes a DP to an oblique phrase, eliminating competition between the subject and object for Agree with ss^o, and ii) it introduces a new licensor via the relational noun. Relational nouns show Set A agreement with the nominal they introduce as well as occurring with the LP enclitic when they introduce pronouns (7) (England 1983). This suggests that the RN^o head hosts a LP probe as well as a Set A probe. Importantly, this further indicates that pronominal licensing in Mam is not accomplished by any Agree relationship, but specifically by a LP probe.

Consequences. The first major implication of this analysis is that even third person pronouns require licensing. Bejar and Rezac's PLC for local person pronouns can be captured by saying that first and second person share a feature that third person lacks. If all pronouns require licensing, what feature do they share that R-expressions do not? The answer may lie in extending this analysis to other transitive restrictions in Mam (and cross-linguistically) in which number, definiteness, and animacy hierarchies result in restrictions much like the person restriction. A final implication is that the probes responsible for overt ergative and absolutive agreement are distinct from those that license pronouns. This claim is supported by the fact that in both active and (anti)passive clauses, each pronoun is realized with either Set A or B marking, while the (anti)passive distinctly results in each pronoun in the domain of its own LP probe.

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