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Guiding Probes[1]

Sondas-guia

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ABSTRACT
In the framework of the Agree operation of Chomsky (2000, 2001) and the feature geometry of Harley and Ritter (2002), this paper develops the hypothesis that the impossibility of combining certain clitics (Person Case Constraint (PCC)) is a consequence of the lack of certain probes in the functional head v. These missing probes would have the function of guiding a whole set of probes towards a certain goal. Two different types of guiding probes are proposed: the probe that copies the gender feature of the direct object and the probe in charge of copying the addressee feature also of the direct object.
KEYWORDS: Person case constraint. Probes. Syntactic features. Feature geometry.

RESUMO
No âmbito da operação Agree de Chomsky (2000, 2001) e da geometria de traços de Harley e Ritter (2002), este artigo desenvolve a hipótese de que a impossibilidade de combinar certos clíticos (Person Case Constraint (PCC)) é uma consequência da falta de certas sondas no núcleo funcional v. Essas sondas ausentes teriam a função de guiar todo um conjunto de sondas em direção a um determinado alvo. São propostos dois tipos diferentes de sondas-guia: a sonda que copia o traço de gênero do objeto direto e a sonda encarregada de copiar o traço addressee também do objeto direto.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Person case constraint. Sondas. Traços sintáticos. Geometria de traços.

1. Introduction

With the formulation of the Agree operation in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 2000 and subsequent), the possibility arises to analyze the different constraints on the combination of clitics (PCC) as the result of the functioning of such an operation. Thus, the PCC becomes an optimal candidate to show us the limits of Agree. The combination of a 1st person or 2nd person accusative clitic with a 3rd person dative clitic (in Spanish, *me*/*te* (DO)-*le*(IO)) is not possible in many languages of the world.[3] Bonet (1991) called the impossibility of such a combination as Strong PCC. Different types of explanations have been proposed in relation to Strong PCC: Perlmutter (1971), Bonet (1991,

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[3] The abbreviations to be used are as follows: DO: direct object; IO: indirect object; 1p: first person; 2p: second person; 3p: third person.

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1994, 2008); Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005, 2017); Béjar and Rezac (2003); Adger and Harbour (2007); Ormazabal and Romero (2007); Nevins (2007), Coon and Keine (2021), Preminger (2019), Stegovec (2020), Ordóñez (2002). In this paper, a syntactic perspective is developed. In principle, the hypothesis that clitics are generated in the verb as agreement morphemes (Suñer, 1988; Sánchez, 2006; among others) is adopted. A general Multiple Agree mechanism (Hiraiwa, 2004) is also assumed to account for the different types of PCC. In the framework of Harley and Ritter's (2002) feature geometry, it is proposed that, in the context of a two-object clause, some probes will seek to do Matching with a certain object (the direct object (DO)). Without these probes in the functional head v, the derivation will crash, because the feature sets will not 'know' which object to match with. The proposal is based on the idea that, in a two-object context, probing between probes and goals cannot be random, hence the name guiding probes.

The analysis is based on data from American Spanish, although it can be extended to other varieties of Spanish and other languages. A case of Romanian and French PCC will also be discussed.

In section 2, I present the theoretical assumptions I am assuming in the analysis. In section 3, I develop the hypotheses of my analysis. Finally, the conclusions.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Strong and Weak PCC

The type of constraint most frequently present in the PCC environment is the so-called Strong PCC (Bonet (1991)), formulated as follows:

The Strong PCC

In a combination of a direct object clitic and an indirect object clitic, the direct object has to be third person (Bonet, 1991, p. 182).

Let's look at the following Spanish data:

(1) a. *Juan me(DO) le(IO) presentó.
Juan cl.1sg cl.3sg introduces
'Juan introduced me to him/her.'

b. Juan me(IO) las(DO) presentó.
Juan cl.1sg cl.3pl introduces
'Juan introduced them to me.'

According to Bonet, the problem in sentence (1a) is that the direct object (DO) must be 3rd person, as in (1b). However, many languages in the Romance area (although not exclusively) allow clitic combinations such as those in (2), in which the DO is not 3rd person.

(2) Spanish

a. Juan te(DO) me(IO) presentó.
Juan cl.2sg cl.1sg introduces
'Juan introduced you to me.'

Catalan

b. Te m' ha venut el mercader més important.
you.DO me.IO has sold the merchant most important
'The most important merchant has sold you to me.' (Bonet, 1994, p. 41)

Italiano

c. Mi ti presentano.
DO.1SG IO.2SG introduce.3PL
'They introduce me to you.' (Nicol, 2005, p. 153)

Bonet points out that there is variation in speaker judgments in cases such as (2b). The author called that combination Weak PCC.

The Weak PCC

In a combination of a direct object clitic and an indirect object clitic, if there is a third person it has to be the direct object (Bonet, 1991, p. 182).

In the analysis developed in this text, in addition to the Strong PCC and Weak PCC cases, other types of PCC will be analyzed: Ultrastrong PCC (Nevins, 2007), Me-first PCC (Nevins, 2007), Number Case Constraint, and *le-lo PCC.

The main theoretical tools that will be used in this text are the Agree operation of Chomsky (2000, 2002 and subsequent) and the feature geometry of Harley and Ritter (2002).

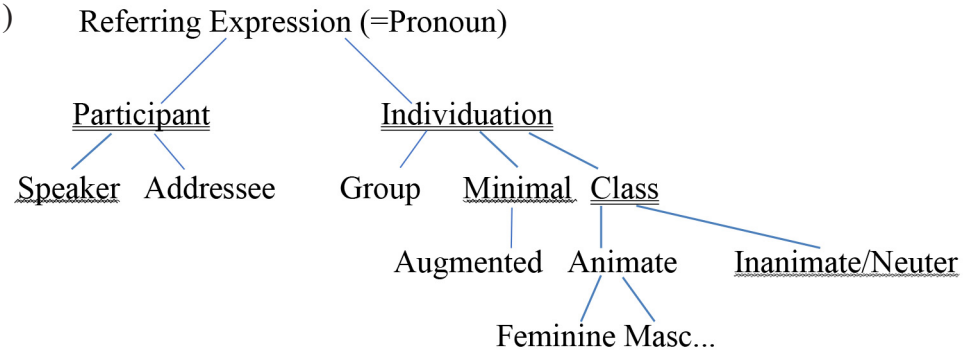
2.2. Geometry of Harley and Ritter (2002)

Harley and Ritter (2002) propose a morphosyntactic feature geometry to explain the pronominal system and agreement paradigms in the languages of the world. They assume that geometry expresses the grammaticalization of fundamental cognitive categories: reference, plurality, and taxonomy. The authors point out that geometry has two formal characteristics: monovalence and structural dependence. The first refers to the fact that a feature only appears in the structure if it is active; there is no negatively valued feature. The second characteristic expresses the fact that if a feature A dominates a feature B, then B will only appear if A is present. This is an implication relation.

In (3) below, the Phi features are separated into three groups or categories: The first group is participant, which includes the [speaker] and [addressee] features. The second group is individuation, which includes the features [group], [minimal], and [augmented]. The third group is class, which includes [animate], [inanimate/neutral], gender, and other types of information (shape, size, function). The underlined features (<u>X</u>) are called organizing nodes (ON). Speaker, minimal and inanimate/neuter

are the default features (X). The default features may not be present in the geometry, a crucial point.[4]

(3)



Source: Harley and Ritter (2002)

2.3. Clitics

As indicated, this article concentrates mainly on the PCC of American Spanish. The clitics used in this variety are the following:

(4) **Table 1:** Object clitics in Spanish

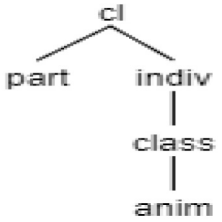
Object clitics	**Singular**			**Plural**		
	DO		IO	DO		IO
1st person	me			nos		
2nd person	te			--		
3rd person	lo, la	se	le	los, las	se	les

Source: Elaboration author

An important difference with the standard peninsular dialect is that in the dialect of America there is no clitic *os* (2nd person, plural, object). Instead of this form, the clitic *les* is used, which is also used for the 3rd person, object. Regarding clitic combinations, there is also an asymmetry between dialects. The combination *te-me* is allowed in both dialects; however, the combination *te-nos* is not possible in the peninsular dialect. The analysis of this case will be developed in section 3.

I will assume that the clitics in Spanish present the following geometries:

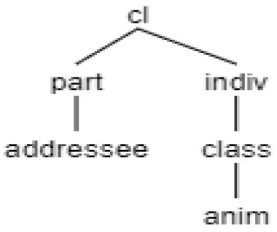
(5) clitics *me, nos*



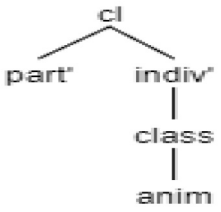
[4] According to the authors, the default features would be the first to be acquired by the child.

The geometry of (5) represents the clitic *me*; for the plural (*nos*), the ON individuation must dominate the feature group.

(6) clitic *te*



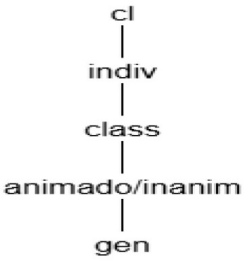
(7) clitic *se*



I will assume that the clitics *me*/*nos*, *te*, *se* are marked with the feature animate, as shown in the corresponding geometries. Following Harris (1995), Halle and Marantz (1994) propose that the morpheme *-e* of a clitic as *se* corresponds to the theme of the clitic. The theme morpheme expresses animacy and gender information. I assume this proposal; although in a different framework than that of the authors, for whom each feature corresponds to a node in the structure. On the other hand, in relation to the number feature, an aspect that should be emphasized is that the clitic *se* does not present plural (**ses*). Such an impossibility can be understood as a type of defectivity. I will express the defectiveness of an ON with the diacritic ‘.

A common aspect in the clitics *me/nos*, *te*, *se* and that differentiates them from the clitics *lo(s)*/ *la(s*), *le(s*) is the presence of the ON participant. The following are the geometries of the accusative clitic *lo(*s)/*la*(s) and the dative clitic *le*(s).[5]

(8) clitics *lo(s), la(s)*

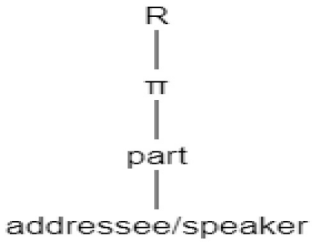


[5] The clitics *lo*, *le* and variants must also exhibit features of specificity and definiteness, similar to the determiners to which they are related. In the geometries that follow, these features are not represented because they do not seem to play an active role in PCC. See Camacho Ramírez (2019, 2022, 2023) for an analysis of these grammaticalized pragmatic features.

(9) clitics *le(s)*

The clitics represented in the geometries of (5)-(7) have an ON participant; whereas the clitics of (8)-(9) do not. This difference is important because the ON participant participates in PCC constraints. The 3rd person has frequently been characterized as the 'non-person' (Kayne 2000, Harley and Ritter 2000, among others); however, some authors argue that the 3rd person can be fully underspecified only in some cases. Béjar (2003) points out that, although there is evidence that certain 3rd persons are fully underspecified, there is also evidence that some 3rd persons are not, as they can function as interveners. An intervenor is an element that becomes a potential goal, even if it was not originally one. These 3rd persons that become potential goals should be marked with a feature π, which the author adds to the geometry of Harley and Ritter. This feature is placed between R and participant (see geometry (10)). π is another way of referring to the person.

(10)



(Béjar, 2003, p. 48)

Along the same lines as Béjar (2003), Nevins (2007) argues that the 3rd person does not lack person features, except when it is impersonal or reflexive. The author's main argument falls on the so-called spurious *se*. This clitic *se* must replace the dative clitic *le* in the combination **le-lo entregó* (>*se-lo entregó* 'he gave it to him/her'). According to Nevins, a rule of dissimilation has been applied in the change of **le-lo* to *se-lo*. This rule must occur when there are two adjacent identical person features. Thus, the clitics *le* and *lo* must have features of person that justify the application of the dissimilation rule.

Although I do not assume the proposals of Béjar and Nevins in all respects, I consider that indeed 3rd person can present person features in some clitics, although not in others. Specifically, the proposal I defend is that the dative clitics *le(s)* and accusative clitics *lo(s)/la(s)* are totally underspecified for person features. The clitic *se*, however, is marked with an ON participant, although that ON will not dominate any feature as the geometry of (7) shows (note the diacritic ', indicating the defectivity of that ON). The main reason for that assumption is based on the morphological similarity

between accusative clitics and definite determiners in Spanish: *el/los*, *la(s)*. As is generally assumed, determiners are not marked with the person feature. Thus, the clitics related to these determiners (the forms *lo*(*s*)/*la*(*s*) and *le*(*s*)) should not present this feature either (Uriagereka 1995). On the other hand, if we observe what happens in reflexivity, we notice that the reflexive clitics (*me*, *te*, *se* and variants) do not include in their inventory the clitics *lo*(*s*)/*la*(*s*) and *le*(*s*). If we assume that the central feature in reflexivity is person (Sundaresan (2020), Reuland (2018), among others), we can infer that the clitics that are not used in reflexive binding should not present the person feature.

The question arises as to how the geometries of the clitics *me* and *se* differ, since in both the ON participant does not dominate either probe. The ON participant of the clitic *se* is marked with a defective feature (‘); the ON participant of the clitic *me* is not. This could be a way to differentiate them.

2.4. Agree

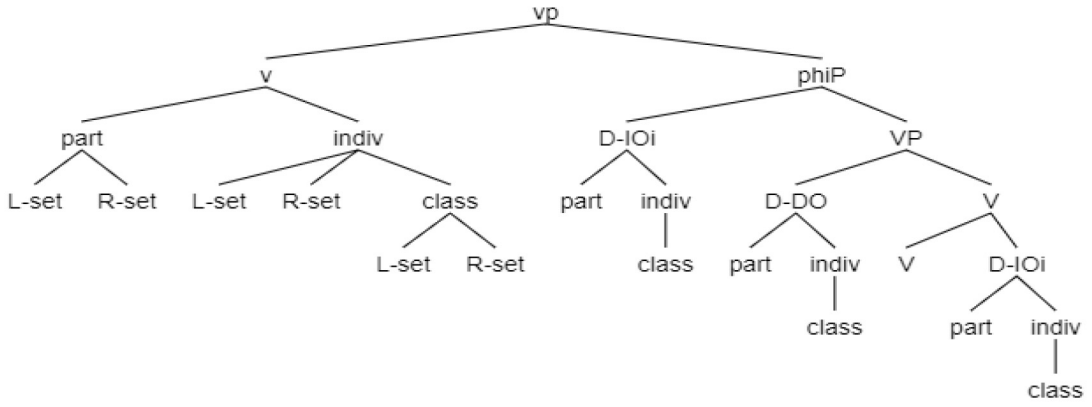
In this paper, Chomsky’s (2001, 2004 and subsequent) proposal of Agree will be adopted. Chomsky argues that the functional heads T and v enter the derivation with uninterpretable and unvalued phi features. These features obtain a value when they enter into an Agree relation with a goal containing a set of interpretable and valued phi features; after valued they should be removed. T and v function as a probe that must c-command the goal in order to value its phi features. As a result of this valuation, the goal DP values its uninterpretable and unvalued case feature, which is then removed as well.

It is necessary to adapt Agree to the geometry. A first aspect is that the probes will be dominated by the different ONs of the geometry (individuation, participant, class). I will also assume that these probes do not copy values of the goals (there are no values in the Harley and Ritter geometry) but features.[6] That is, the probes of a functional head (e.g., the transitive v (v*)) will copy the features dominated by the ONs of the goal (D).[7] On the other hand, a crucial assumption in the proposal I advocate is that v* dominates two sets of probes. Since in a PCC context there are two objects, and each object must enter into an Agree relation, it is reasonable to assume that the functional head v* dominates two probe sets, one for each object. This crucial assumption can be framed in Hiraiwa’s (2004) Multiple Agree theory, in which the feature of a functional head (e.g., the person feature) can do Matching with two objects. The Multiple Agree hypothesis applied to PCC has been taken up to varying degrees by Anagnostopoulou (2005, 2017), Nevins (2007), among others. One difference between proposals in the literature and the one I advocate is that a functional head will be able to dominate two sets of features, one for each object. The following is the abstract representation of the functional head v* with its two feature sets.

[6] Different authors (Béjar (2003), Preminger (2014), Kalin (2017)) also assume a similar proposal.

[7] A reviewer argues that geometry would not be an object accessible to Agree, although placing each feature in a node would be. Chomsky (2007) argues that features form structured sets used by Merge to form expressions. In this sense, the feature geometry of Harley and Ritter (2002) can be understood as a hypothesis about the possible structure of those features.

(11)



We can say that the probes to the left of the ONs all form a probe set, the left probe set (L-set). The probes to the right of the ONs will form the right probe set (R-set). Thus, in a two-object context, v* will dominate ONs which in turn will dominate two sets of features (the L-set and the R-set), one for each object. For example, the sets on the right (R-set) could match the DO, therefore, the set on the left (L-set) would have to match the IO. The probe sets are identical before Agree, since they are just probes. They will go on to differentiate after they have copied the features of the goal. On the other hand, I assume that the objects form a clause where V initially merge with the IO; the DO will be merged after (Larson, 1988).[8]

Chomsky (2001) proposes that a feature set can function as a probe searching for a goal. When the probe finds the right goal, a Matching relation (feature identity) will be established between them. Next, the probe will copy the values of the features from the goal. Since in Harley and Ritter geometry there are no feature values, it was assumed that the probe must copy the features of the goal. In this context, feature Matching between a probe and a goal should occur when an ON dominates a probe and the equivalent ON in the goal dominates a feature (which the probe will copy). There would be no Matching if, for example, the ON dominates a probe, but the equivalent ON in the goal does not dominate any feature. In what follows, I will use the term Matching referring to its version adapted to feature geometry.

Based on the Agree operation (Chomsky, 2001 and subsequent) understood as feature copying, I will assume that clitics are formed in V with the phi features that v copied from the goal. How do v*'s features pass for V (a necessary operation so that clitics can be formed in V)? Chomsky (2008, 2013, 2015) proposes that before Agree, V must inherit the features of v*. Afterwards, v* is valued

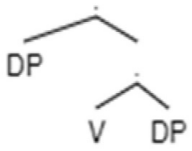
[8] In Adger and Harbour (2007) a syntactic structure is proposed in which each object checks its features against a different functional head. The DO argument (dominated by the IO argument) checks its features against an applicative node (which introduces the IO argument) and the IO checks its features against a v (which introduces the external argument and which dominates the applicative node). On the other hand, in Anagnostopoulou (2005, 2017) it is proposed that both objects check their features against the same functional head. In the proposal I defend, the objects establish an Agree relation with a single head, as in Anagnostopoulou; although, differently from the author, each object will Agree with a different set of features from that same head.

with the features of the goal, and the features that V inherited from v* will also become valued.[9]

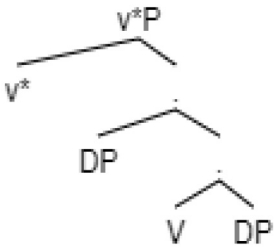
Adapting these ideas to the geometric version of Agree, we can say that V inherits the ONs of v*. Then, the probes of v* will copy the features dominated by the ONs of the goal. As a consequence, the ONs that V inherited will also come to dominate the same features that v* dominates.[10] I will assume that clitics will be formed with those features that V ends up hosting. The clitics could not be formed with the features that v* copied because those features will be eliminated because they are uninterpretable.[11] This hypothesis is in line with the theory that considers clitics as agreement morphemes (Suñer, 1988; Franco,1993; among others).

The ideas about feature inheritance are part of a theory about labeling (Chomsky, 2013, 2015), which I assume in this article. Regarding VP labeling, the first step is the merge between the verbal root (V) and the object (12a). Then, the object will be moved so that V can label (12a). After that, v* will be merged (12b). V must inherit the features of v. After that inheritance operation, Agree occurs. The features that v* values (copy, in the adapted version) will also appear in V. The object will receive a case. The missing labels (VP and phiP) will appear as in (12c) (see also the geometry of (11)). The label phiP is the result of sharing the prominent features of the DP and VP.

(12) a. Merge V, and movement of the DP.



b. Merge v*

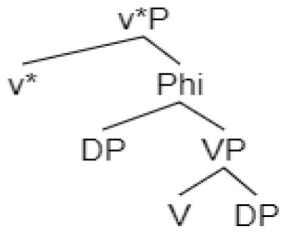


[9] It could be said that since V inherited the features of v, whatever happens to the features of v, will also happen to the features of V. Specifically, the features inherited from V will have the same value as the features of v.

[10] Although it is not discussed in Chomsky (2013, 2015) why V inherits the features from v*, in Camacho Ramírez (2022, 2023) it is proposed that the phi features inherited for V are used to license the lexical features of that V, features such as affectedness, for example.

[11] I would like to emphasize that v is still the probe; V is the place where the clitics would be formed (with the features that V inherited from v). V is never a probe.

c. Labeling



With the theoretical tools just described, I will continue with the analysis.

2.5. Clitics order

There is an important aspect in relation to the position of clitics in Spanish and other Romance languages; the combination of clitics shows a fixed order. For example, a possible combination in Spanish is *me*(IO)-*las*(DO), as in (1b) (*Juan me*(IO) *las*(DO) *presentó* 'Juan introduced them to me'); but never **las*(DO)-*me*(IO). Assuming that the arrangement of the sets (L-set, R-set) reflects the order in which the clitics appear, we can say that the gender probe (gender is part of the clitic of the DO *lo*) must be with the right set (R-set); never with the left set (L-set). On the other hand, that the gender probe is with the R-set seems to be idiosyncratic, because in Cheso (an Aragonese variety spoken in the Valley of Echo in Huesca) the clitic order for cases like (1b) is *lo(DO)-me(IO)* (13) and not *me(IO)-lo(DO)* as in Spanish.

(13) Lo me quies dar.
You cl.3sg cl.1sg want give
'You want to give it to me.' (Landa, 2005, p. 117)

The data show that, for example, the DO can be probed by either the R-set (Spanish) or the L-set (Cheso); there does not seem to be any restriction in that sense. What seems to be avoided in a language is that both sets have the option of probing an object, at least in Romance languages.[12] What is remarkable here is that, in a language, there is a fixed order in the position of the clitics. That order could derive from the fixed position that certain features must have in that language. One of those features would be gender (always with the R-set in Spanish); although it would not be the only one as we shall see.

The combination of 1p with 2p clitics also shows that the clitic order must be fixed in Spanish. The addressee probe must be with the left set (L-set); never with the right set (R-set) as shown in (14b).

[12] The reason for this impossibility is not clear. Perhaps it is a way to simplify (thus making more manageable) the possibilities of combining clitics.

(14) a. Juan te(DO) me(IO) presentó (a ti(DO)) (a mí(IO)).
Juan cl.2sg cl.1sg introduces (to you(DO)) (to me(IO))
'Juan introduced you to me.'

b. *Juan me te presentó (a ti(DO)) (a mí(IO)).
Juan cl.1sg cl.2sg introduces (to you(DO)) (to me(IO))
'Juan introduced me to you.'

I was saying that one of the features that should be placed in a given set is gender (in Spanish it is possible *me-la*, but not **la-me*; gender must be with the R-set). The other feature that should be placed in a given set would be addressee, which must always be with the L-set. The proposal I advocate is that gender and addressee are the features that will always look for the DO. This is what happens in the *me*(IO)-*la*(DO) combination and the *te*(DO)-*me*(IO) combination. The search for the DO that gender and addressee do will guide the other features in the set towards that DO (hence the name guiding-probes). In the next section, these proposals will be developed in detail.[13]

3. The proposed hypotheses

In this section, I develop my proposal on PCC in Spanish. I will start with the analysis of the combination of 3rd person clitics with 1st, 2nd or 3rd person clitics. Then I will move on to the analysis of the combination of 1st person clitics with 2nd person clitics. Next, I will present my proposal on a Number Case Constraint. Finally, I will develop my analysis on the impossibility of the combination **le-lo*.

3.1. Combining 3rd person clitics with 1st, 2nd or 3rd person clitics

The combination of a 3rd person dative clitic with a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person accusative clitic is not possible in Spanish, as shown in (15a). The cases in (15b) show the resolution strategy with two clitics: the change of function of the clitics, from DO to IO and from IO to DO.

(15) a. *Juan me/te/se(DO) le(IO) entregó.
Juan cl1sg/cl2sg/cl.3sg cl.3sg gives
'Juan gave me/you/him-her to him-her.'

b. Juan me/te/se(IO) lo(DO) entregó.
Juan cl1sg/cl2sg/cl.3sg cl.3sg gives
'Juan gave it to me/you/him-her.'

[13] A pioneering work to account for the order of clitics in Spanish is that of Perlmutter (1971). In this study, the order is derived from filters (global and non-global, specific to each language) that must be applied to the surface structure. Ordóñez (2002) analyzes the order of clitics in Spanish and other Romance languages from a syntactic point of view. The author argues that many clitic combinations can be explained with a theory of adjunctions and head, and XP movement.

The general proposal I advocate is that, if there is more than one probe set, a probe from one of those sets will search for a specific goal. There will be more than one probe set when there is more than one goal. In the specific case of (15b), there are two objects, DO and IO. Each of them should be probed by a probe set. These probe sets depend on the same functional head, v*, as said. The reason for the impossibility of the combinations in (15a) is the lack of the probe that must search for a certain goal.

The following are the specific hypotheses I propose. Hypothesis A applies to all cases of PCC; hypothesis B refers only to the cases of (15a).[14]

Hypothesis A: In a combination of two clitics, one of the two sets dominated by the functional head v* must contain a probe that searches for a specific goal.

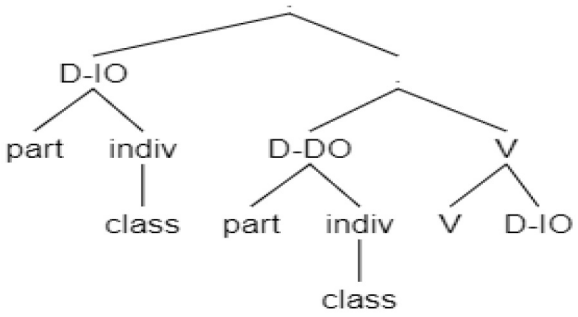
The intuition that captures hypothesis A is that there must be a probe that must guide one of the sets to a certain object. The probing of the two probe sets could not be random. Hypothesis B indicates which probe and which goal are relevant.

Hypothesis B: If the clitic combination involves a 3rd person clitic, the gender probe should guide one of the probe sets to the DO.[15]

According to hypothesis B, we can say that one of the problems in the impossibility of the combinations in (15a) is that a probe guiding a set is missing. This is corrected in (15b) by the introduction of the gender probe appearing in the accusative clitic. We will see later that there is another problem in the combinations of (15a). This other problem is a consequence of the lack of gender.

The question arises as to how the gender probe detects the DO, its sought object. As said, I assume Chomsky's (2013, 2015) model of labeling, according to which the object that did merge with the verbal root (V) must move in order for V to label (12a). This movement occurs before Agree. The structure is as follows (see also (11)):

(16) before Agree and labeling



According to (16), the DO stays at a lower position with respect to the moved IO. We can say that the gender probe searches for the lower argument. Thus, the gender probe must search for the

[14] As stated in Section 2, I assume that each clitic is V-formed with a particular set of ONs.

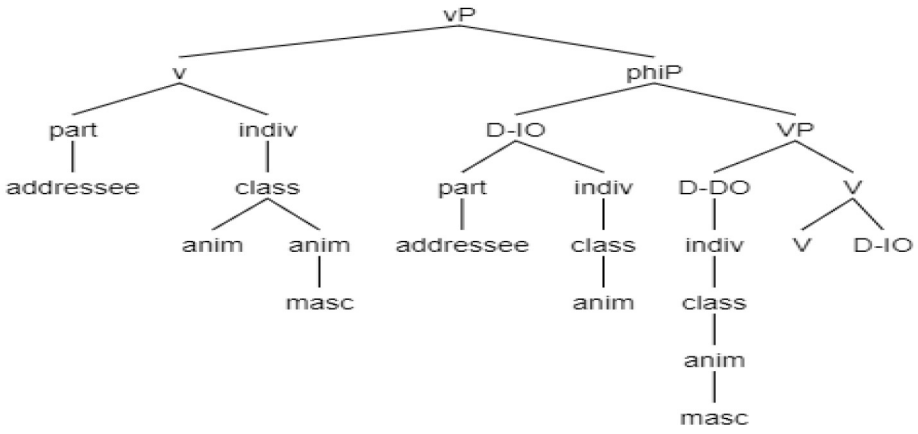
[15] It is necessary to emphasize that I am using the rhetoric of 'the gender probe' meaning that it is the probe that will copy the feature gender from the goal. The hypotheses refer to the time before the feature copying.

argument that occupies a certain position.[16] In what follows, I will use the rhetoric that the gender probe searches for the DO assuming that this probe is searching for the lowest argument.

I was saying that in the impossible combinations of (15a) (**Juan me/te/se*(DO) *le*(IO) *entregó*) there is another problem (besides the lack of gender, that is, the lack of guidance in the Matching). In the clitic combination of (15a), only one of the clitics presents the ON participant, since the 3rd person would not be marked with that ON.[17] Thus, participant must dominate only one probe. This should create a problem about where to place that single probe, either with the R-set or with the L-set.

Observe the geometry of the *te*(IO)-*lo*(DO) combination of (15b) (*Juan te lo entregó* 'Juan gave it to you').

(17)



As indicated, the ONs will dominate two probes; in (17) class-v dominates two probes that have copied the feature [anim] from the goals. Since the DO has gender (masc(uline)), there must be a probe to copy that feature. The ON individuation does not dominate any probe, because the minimal feature (of the DO and the IO) is default (hence, it does not appear), therefore, there is no

[16] A reviewer argues that without a justification of another nature, the idea that the gender probe should look for the direct object because it is the lowest argument in the object clause would be a stipulation. I would like to propose the following other option. Following ideas of Tenny (1994), in Camacho Ramírez (2022, 2023), the idea is developed that there is a lexical feature of affectedness in some transitive verbs. This feature in V must be licensed with the ON class that V inherits from v. When in the phi label (a label that is the result of the DP and VP having shared prominent features ((11), (12c)), there are the feature affectedness, class and (crucially) the feature [animate] (copied from the direct object (DO)), this DO will be marked with the morpheme A (DOM). Thus, it is plausible to think that the v-set that will match the DO 'must' search (gender-guided) for that object, because it is with that object that the lexical verbal feature affectedness must be licensed. According to Tenny, only direct objects can be affected (in Tenny's words, only the DO can measure the verbal event; the indirect object delimits such an event). Thus, we can say that gender is the feature 'chosen' to fulfill the task of the probe licensing the feature affectedness with the direct object, and not with another object. The feature must be gender, because it is dominated by class, the ON that licenses affectedness in V. It is as if class chooses one of its features to fulfill one of its functions, licensing affectedness with the DO features.
Although this other option is plausible, I will still assume in this text that the search criterion is the position of the object. Thus, the gender probe must search for the lowest argument.

[17] As discussed in section 2, I assume that the 3rd person in Spanish (although the same seems to occur in different languages), presents two geometries, one with participant (that of the clitic *se*) and one without participant (that of the clitics *lo/a(s)*, *le(s)*).

probe for that feature. The ON participant dominates only the addressee probe (of the IO) because the 3p (of the DO) has no participant. As said, the fact that participant dominates only one probe should create a problem about where to place that single probe, either with the R-set or with the L-set. Here the gender feature helps to solve the problem. I propose that gender should complete the number of possible features in a given set. Specifically, if a feature set has a probe for gender, there cannot be an ON participant in such a set. The formulation of the hypothesis is as follows:

Hypothesis C: The gender probe completes the number of features of a clitic preventing participant from being considered as part of that set.

What is described by hypothesis C is supported by the data. Clitics such as *me*, *te*, *se* and variants present participant, but not gender markers (although they do present animacy, as was assumed). On the other hand, clitics like *lo*(*s*), *la*(*s*) present gender marking, but would not contain an ON participant. The clitic *le*(*s*) has neither gender nor participant. What is not observed in Spanish is a clitic with gender and participant, therefore, it seems plausible to assume a distribution between these features.[18] The ON participant cannot be included in the same set that has a gender probe; participant must be placed in the other set. The gender probe in Spanish is always placed with the R-set; therefore, participant should go with the L-set. This corresponds to the order of clitics observed in the combinations *me/te/se*(IO)-*lo*(DO) in (15b).

We can say that the presence of the gender probe in a feature set has two effects: it guides the probes of that set to the DO (hypothesis B) and allows the ON participant to be located in the L-set (hypothesis C). Since the location of an ON is related to the construction of the geometry, and therefore, is prior to probing; it is reasonable to assume that gender first locates the ON participant and then guides the set.

The observed relationship between gender and participant can also be formulated in the following terms:

Condition P: In a clitic combination, the presence of participant in one clitic depends on the presence of the gender feature in the other clitic.

Condition P expresses a dependency that, in Spanish, can be read even from the gender feature.

Condition G: In a combination of clitics in which one of them has gender and the other does not, the presence of gender in one clitic depends on the presence of the ON participant in the other clitic.

Condition G expresses the fact that, in a clitic combination context, the gender probe appears only when there is an ON participant (which it will end up locating, as condition P says).

We have that the P condition and the G condition form a biconditional relation between the gender feature and the ON participant. In Spanish, this relation of mutual dependence is always fulfilled. The relevance of these two conditions will be shown later in the analysis of the impossibility of the **le-lo* combination of Spanish and French.

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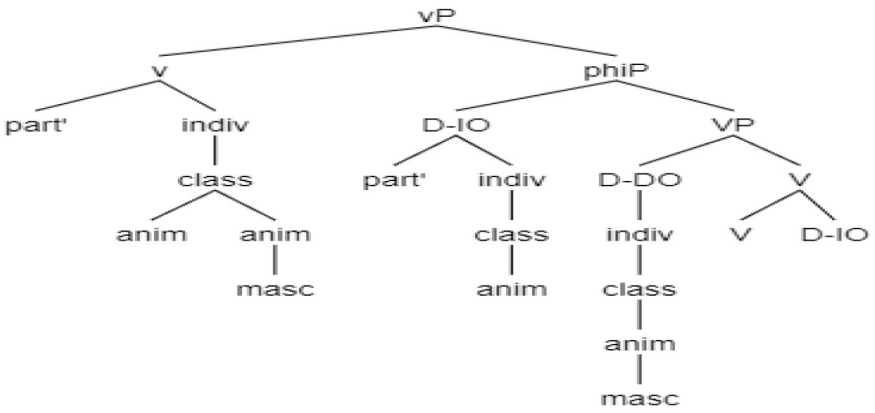
[18] This distribution, of course, has been noted in the literature. See Nevins (2007), and Siewierska (2013) for a discussion of the relevant data.

The geometry of (19) corresponds to the clitic combination of (18).

(18) Juan se(IO) lo(DO) entregó (el premio) (a María).
Juan cl.3sg cl.3sg gives (the prize) (to María)
'Juan delivered the prize to Mary.'

(19)



In (19), the animacy probe of the R-set class copies the animate feature of the DO, and the gender probe copies the masculine feature of that DO. Likewise, the animacy probe of the L-set class copies the animate feature from the IO; however, the class of the L-set would not have a gender probe. The ON participant' of v must be placed with the L-set to form (in V) the clitic *se*. This is due to the presence of gender in the R-set. The DO has no participant.[19]

In the proposal I defend, the person feature is not directly responsible for PCC in Spanish; the gender feature is. The idea that PCC is not (directly) about the feature person is already present in the literature on PCC in Spanish[20]. Ormazabal and Romero (2007) develop an analysis in which the animacy feature is responsible for the impossibility of combining a 1st or 2nd person accusative clitic with a 3rd person dative[21]. The authors' hypothesis is centrally based on what happens in the *leísta* dialects of Spanish. In these dialects, the masculine accusative clitic of 3rd person *lo* is replaced by the dative clitic of 3rd person *le* when the former refers to an animate entity; the form *lo* is still used if it refers to an inanimate entity. See the following table with the dative and accusative clitics in Spanish *leísta* dialects.

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[19] As we have seen, in Spanish, in a combination of two clitics, only one of them can have gender, that of the DO. In Slovenian, the 3p DO clitic can have gender, and so can the 3p IO clitic. If the 3p clitic IO can have gender, that gender will be able to guide; therefore, there should be no problem combining 1p/2p(DO) with 3p(IO), i.e., there would be no strong PCC. The prediction holds true. For a comprehensive analysis of PCC in Slovenian, although from different hypotheses, see Stegovec (2020).

[20] For similar ideas applied to Italian, see Bianchi (2006).

[21] The Authors' analysis includes other types of constructions in other languages. Here I will only concentrate on their analysis of PCC in Spanish.

(20) **Table 2:** Object clitics in *leísta* dialects

		MASCULINE	FEMININE
ACCUSATIVE	Animate	le	la/le
	Unmarked	lo	la
DATIVE		le	

Source: Ormazabal y Romero, 2007, p. 6

In (21b) below, the clitic of the direct object is *le*, because the object is animate. In (21a), the clitic of the direct object is *lo*, because the object is not animate.

(21) a. Lo vi
3ACC[-Animate] saw
'I saw it'

b. Le vi
3ACC[+Animate] saw
'I saw him'

(Ormazabal; Romero, 2007, p. 8)

Interestingly, in a clitic combination context, the clitic to be used is always *lo* and not *le*.

(22) a. Te lo di
2DAT 3ACC gave
'I gave it to you'

b. *Te le di
2DAT 3ACC gave
'I gave him to you'

(Ormazabal; Romero, 2007, p. 8)

Ormazabal and Romero claim that if PCC were governed by the person feature, as described by Bonet's (1991) generalization below, the *te-le* combination of (22b) should be possible, since the accusative is 3rd person as in (22a).

(23) In a combination of a direct object clitic and an indirect object clitic, the direct object has to be third person.

The authors conclude that if the animate clitic is the *le* form, and it is with this clitic that there is Strong PCC, then PCC must be related to the animacy feature, and not to the person feature.

Ormazabal and Romero propose that only animate direct objects ([+anim]) will be able to establish an Agree relation; inanimate objects will not. Thus, the DO of (22a), will not make Agree because it is [-anim]. This allows the IO to make Agree, and the derivation is not blocked. In note, the authors clarify that, for many *leísta* speakers, the DO of (22a) can also be interpreted as [+anim], (*I gave him to you*). Note that since (22a) is also possible with an animate object, this feature [anim] should be ignored so that the IO can do Agree. The authors do not clarify the point.

Regarding (22b), Ormazabal and Romero claim that the [anim] feature of the direct object forces Agree with the verb; which prevents the IO from being able to Agree, and thus the derivation is blocked. It is not clear, however, why the [anim] feature of the direct object of (22b) (which causes the presence of the clitic *le*) forces Agree, and the [anim] feature that the direct object of (22a) may have does not force such an operation.

For Ormazabal and Romero, the feature [anim] is responsible for the restriction in the combination of clitics. In my proposal, it could be said that the animacy features are part of the resolution strategy in a case of PCC, since the animacy features ([+anim] and [-anim]) dominate the [gender] features, responsible for guiding a set of probes to the DO.

The hypothesis I defend in relation to the impossibility of the **te-le* combination of (22b) is that a gender probe is necessary to guide one of the sets to the DO (hypothesis B) even in dialects that, in certain contexts (as in (21b)) impoverish the gender feature; that is, in *leísta* dialects of Spanish. *Leísmo* is not possible in (22b), because it would be a priority to guide one of the sets in a context of clitic combination. This makes the presence of gender necessary in (22b) (with gender present there will no longer be *leísmo*). In a single object context (21), guidance is not necessary, because there is no possibility of error in Matching if there is only one object; then *leísmo* (gender impoverishment) appears.

Ormazabal and Romero do not include in their analysis the combinations of 1st person clitics with 2nd person clitics. According to the authors, the data are not robust enough to be relevant in the analysis; although they admit that for some speakers such combinations are possible. As said, different researchers report such combinations as possible. The speakers I have interviewed (all Peruvians) accept the combination of a 2nd person clitic with a 1st person clitic. So, although the Weak version of PCC is not as robust in terms of presence as Strong PCC, it should be studied.[22] It is necessary to inquire into the reason for that relative presence. The following subsection is devoted to that point.

3.2. Combination of 1st person clitics with 2nd person clitics

In Spanish, the combination of clitics *te*(2p)-*me*(1p) is possible. I repeat case (14a) here.[23] (24) is the geometry of (23).

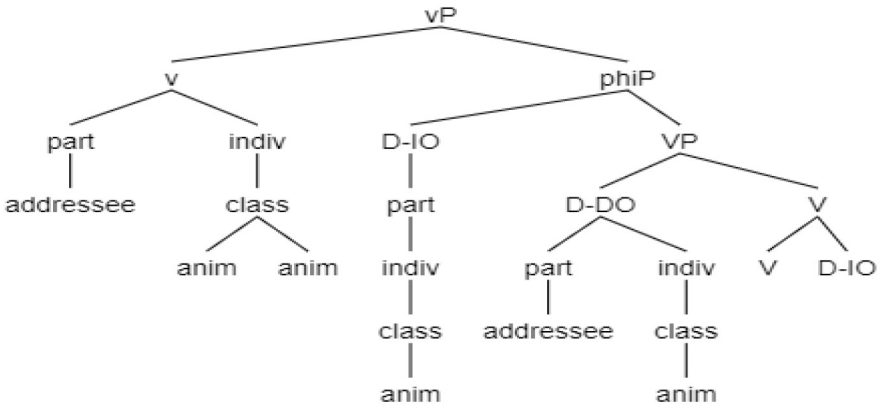
(23) Juan te(DO) me(IO) presentó (a ti(DO)) (a mí(IO)).
Juan cl.2sg cl.1sg introduces (to you(DO)) (to me(IO))
'Juan introduced you to me.'

[22] Anagnostopoulou (2017) advocates similar ideas.

[23] The combination **me-te* in (14b) (repeated here as (i)) is not possible. In Spanish, the addressee feature must be placed with the L-set in a combination of 1p with 2p clitics. That is the position chosen in Spanish.

(i) *Juan me te presentó (a ti(DO)) (a mí(IO)).
Juan cl.1sg cl.2sg introduces (to you(DO)) (to me(IO))
'Juan introduced me to you.'

(24)



In geometry (24), participant-v codifies the two clitics. In the case of *te*(DO), participant dominates addressee; and in the case of *me*(IO), participant does not dominate probe because speaker is default.

It was established in hypothesis A that when there are two sets of probes depending on the same head, there must be a probe guiding one of the sets to one of the goals; otherwise, the sets could match with the inappropriate goal (the matching of two sets of probes must be predictable). In the case of combinations of a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person accusative clitic with a 3rd person dative clitic, it was proposed that the probe guiding one of the sets toward the DO must be the gender probe (the hypothesis B). In cases of combining a 1st person clitic with a 2nd person clitic (as in (23)), I propose that the guiding probe should be the one that should copy the addressee feature of the goal (since 1st and 2nd person clitics have no gender, another feature should guide, the addressee feature). The following is the hypothesis:

Hypothesis D: In the context of combining a 1st person clitic with a 2nd person clitic, the probe guiding one of the sets to the DO should be the one that copies the addressee feature of the goal.[24]

Why should the addressee feature be the guiding one? The addressee feature is no-default in the Harley and Ritter geometry; therefore, it must be present. It seems reasonable to assume that, if a feature is present in the geometry, the probe copying that feature should also be present. If the feature is not present in the geometry (because it is default), the probe that 'copies' it should also not be present. A probe would not be needed to copy a feature that is not present in the goal geometry. Since the probe guiding one of the sets must be present (an absent probe could not guide), the choice of the guiding probe cannot be other than addressee, the non-default feature in the ON participant.

Let us now observe a variation in the function of the clitics in a combination of 1st person with 2nd person. In this case, the dative clitic is the 2nd person and the accusative clitic is the 1st person. Nevins (2007) calls this combination Ultrastrong.

[24] As indicated, I assume that DO is the lowest argument. See the structure of (16).

(25) Juan te(IO) me(DO) presentó.
Juan cl.2sg cl.1sg introduces
'Juan introduced me to you.'

As we saw in (23), the typical order of a *te-me* type combination is with the clitic *te* as DO and the clitic *me* as IO; case (25) is an inversion of that order. Interestingly, Fernández Soriano (1999) emphasizes the fact that speakers who allow (25) allow (23), although the reverse does not occur. Thus, it can be said that Ultrastrong speakers form a small subgroup. What is the guiding probe in (25)? One plausible option is that Ultrastrong speakers would also use the default speaker probe as a guide-probe; they would not only use the addressee probe. Such speakers would relax the criterion that the non-default probe must guide. Non-Ultrastrong speakers of (23) would restrict the options to the addressee probe; the criterion that a non-default probe must guide prevails.

We see that the addressee probe can guide a set of features to the DO as the gender probe does. The question arises as to why the addressee probe cannot guide in the impossible combination **te-le* (**Juan te le presentó*); in other words, why, in that impossible combination, the gender probe is needed to guide. The answer is that the ON participant is not located in the **te-le* combination; that ON could be in either the R-set or the L-set. We saw in the previous subsection that the presence of the gender probe in a feature set has two effects: it guides probes from one of the sets to the DO (hypothesis B) and allows participant to be located in the L-set (hypothesis C). It was concluded that the placement of the ON participant should occur before the operation of guiding the set to the DO. This being so, in the **te-le* combination, the addressee probe cannot guide, because the ON on which it depends (participant) was not located. The gender probe (which is always located in the R-set) is needed so that the ON participant can be located in the L-set; the possible combination is *te*(IO)-*lo*(DO), where the probe that guides to the DO is the gender probe. Note that the problem of locating the ON participant does not exist in combinations of the *te-me* type, because it is not necessary to locate participant; this ON is present in both clitics, as indicated.

3.3. An apparent counterexample

Regarding the impossibility of the combination of a 3rd person dative clitic with a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person accusative one, it was proposed that such combinations are not possible because of the lack of a gender probe, which should locate the ON participant and guide a set to the DO. However, Romanian seems to challenge that hypothesis.

Săvescu (2011) shows that in Romanian the combination of a 3rd person dative clitic with a 2nd person accusative is possible, as in (26a) below; the combination of a 3rd person dative clitic with a 1st person accusative is not possible (26b). Nevins (2007) calls the constraints in (26) as Me-First PCC.

(26) a. I te - au recomandat ieri.
3DAT.SG 2ACC.SG have.3rd recommended yesterday
'They recommended you to him yesterday'. (Săvescu, 2011, p. 102)

b. *Maria i- m- a prezentat
Maria 3-dat 1-acc has introduced
'Maria has has introduced me to her.' (Nevins, 2007, p. 297)

We saw that in Spanish the addressee probe can guide a set in a context of combining a 1st person clitic with a 2nd person clitic, where typically the clitic *te* is the DO and the clitic *me* is the IO. I repeat the case (23) here.

(27) Juan te(DO) me(OI) presentó.
Juan cl.2sg cl.1sg introduces
'Juan introduced you to me.'

In Romanian this combination is also possible (28). In this language, the order of the clitics is always the same: The clitic that corresponds to the IO is on the left; on the right, the clitic that corresponds to the DO.

(28) Mi te - a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
1DAT 2ACC has introduced John at party
'John has introduced you to me at the party' (Săvescu, 2011, p. 98)

As was advocated for the Spanish case, the probe that should guide one of the sets to the DO in (27) should be the probe that will copy the addressee feature of the goal. The same can be applied for the case (28) of Romanian[25]. Regarding (26a), it is an option to think that, in Romanian, the probe that copies the addressee feature guides toward the DO not only when the other clitic is 1st person dative as in (28), but even when that other clitic is 3rd person dative (26a). This is an option that does not exist in Spanish; in this language the combination **te-le*, equivalent to that of (26a), is not possible (see 3.2). In Spanish, in this context, gender must be inserted to guide (**te-le* > *te-lo*). On the other hand, as expected, in Romanian, the gender probe can also guide to the DO when the other clitic is a dative of 1st, 2nd or 3rd person (29).

[25] There is a difference in relation to the position of the guiding probe in both languages. In Spanish, the addressee probe is located to the left of the ON participant (L-set); in Romanian it is located to the right (R-set). It is interesting to note that in Sambaa two orders are possible (Riedel, 2009): 2-1 and 1-2; something impossible in Spanish and Romanian. This suggests that in Sambaa the guide-probe does not have a fixed position. It is not clear why there are such parametric differences.

(29) Mi-l trimite astăzi.
1SG.IO-3SG.DO s/he.sends today.
'S/he sends it to me.' (Desouvrey, 2019, p. 13)

It is interesting to note that the two guiding probes in Romanian occupy the same position, on the right (R-set). Comparatively, in Spanish, the addressee probe goes to the left (L-set) and the gender probe to the right (R-set). It is an option to relate the fact that the guide-probes occupy the same place to the fact that, in a context, the addressee probe can alternate with the gender probe as a guide-probe. However, in order to arrive at some kind of generalization on this issue it is necessary to apply the analysis to other languages; a work that exceeds the limits of this article.

The hypothesis I advocate that some probes guide a given set toward DO can account for the Romanian data, data recalcitrant to other types of analysis. For example, see Săvescu's (2011) critique of Anagnostoupuolos (2003, 2005, 2007).

3.4. Number Case Constraint

In the peninsular Spanish dialect, the possibility of combining a 1st person clitic with a 2nd person clitic is diminished when one or both of the clitics become plural. This does not occur in the Limean dialect spoken in Peru, in which I include myself. Observe the following data of peninsular Spanish[26]:

(30) a. *María te nos presentó.
Maria cl.2sg cl.1pl introduces
'Maria introduced us to you.'

b. *Enrique os nos presentó.
Enrique cl.2pl cl.1pl introduces
'Enrique introduced us to you.'

c. *Juan os me presentó.
Juan cl.2pl cl.1sg introduces
'Juan introduced me to you.'

The hypothesis I defend about the impossibility of the cases of (30) in the peninsular dialect is based on the idea already stated that only a non-default probe (therefore, present in the geometry, and with the function of copying a feature) can guide the match to the DO. Peninsular speakers would be considering that the no-default probe of individuation (group) can also be a guide-probe. Thus, the problem in (30) would be that there are two possible non-default probes that can guide the set to the DO, the addressee probe and the group probe. In (30a), the problem would be between the addressee probe of the clitic *te* and the group probe of the clitic *nos*. In (30b) something similar would occur,

[26] I thank Francisco Ordóñez for his collaboration with the Peninsular Spanish data.

and the problem could also be between the group probe of both clitics. In (30c), the problem would be between the addressee probe and the group probe of the same clitic, *os*.

In the peninsular dialect, there would be no way to decide which should be the guide-probe. In the Limean dialect there would be no such problem; the guiding probe would always be addressee. It should not be an option for the group probe to guide. Apparently, this is a parametric issue. On the other hand, since in the Limean variety there is no form *os* (2p, plural), *os-nos* and *os-me* combinations are not possible.

Note that the combination *nos*(IO)-*los*(DO) is possible in Peninsular Spanish, (31) below. This must be because the gender probe guides the match. In this case, it would not be possible for another probe (the group probe) to guide. (31) shows us that gender also overrides group as a possible probe-guide. As we saw, in the *te*(IO)-*lo*(DO) combination, the gender probe guides to the DO by overriding the addressee probe. We can conclude that there is no problem regarding which probe will guide the set to the DO when the gender probe is present in one of the sets. It will always be this gender probe that will guide the match to the DO.

(31) Juan nos los entregó.
Juan cl.1pl cl.3pl gives
'Juan gave them to us.'

Regarding the impossibility of combining certain clitics depending on the number, some authors have chosen not to consider these cases as PCC effects. Analyzing Romanian data, Nevins and Săvescu (2010) consider that the impossibility of combining in Romanian 2nd pl.dat with 1st sg.acc or 2nd sg.dat with 1st pl.acc is related to the animacy of the two objects, and not to number. On the other hand, Coon and Kein (2021) assume the Cyclic Agree version of Béjar and Rezac (2003), according to which person probes first and then number. The first goal to be probed is the IO and then the DO. The clitic doubling process will make the IO invisible, therefore, when the number probe seeks to Agree with the DO, the IO will not be visible. Thus, the context for a Number Case Constraint is not created. We can say that the reason given by the authors for the impossibility of such a constraint is internal to their proposal. I consider that it is possible to treat the cases of (30) as a case of Number Case Constraint, since the same type of constraints observed in the combinations with the feature person are now seen with number, namely, particular combinations of certain features in clitics occupying a certain position are not possible, although others are.

4.5. *le-lo PCC

In Spanish, combinations such as **le*(IO)-*lo*(DO) are not possible. I will use the expression *le-lo PCC already present in the literature to refer to the impossibility of that combination. Let us observe the following cases:

(32) a. *Juan le(IO) lo(DO) entregó.
Juan cl.3sg cl.3sg gives
'Juan gave it to him/her.'

b. Juan se(IO) lo(DO) entregó.
Juan cl.3sg cl.3sg gives
'Juan gave it to him/her.'

The resolution strategy here is to change the clitic *le* from (32a) to the clitic *se* (32b). The hypothesis I propose to explain the need for this change is based on what is established in condition G.

Condition G: In a combination of clitics in which one of them presents gender and the other does not, the presence of gender in one clitic depends on the presence of the ON participant in the other clitic.

According to condition G, for there to be gender in one clitic, it is necessary to have participant in the other. Thus, we can say that the problem in the combination **le-lo* is the lack of participant in the dative clitic *le*. The respective hypothesis is as follows:

Hypothesis D: Since it is necessary to include an ON participant in one clitic to justify the presence of gender in the other clitic, in a combination of the **le-lo* type, the clitic *le* (which has no participant) must be changed to the clitic *se*, which does present that ON.

According to hypothesis D, we can say that the 'guilty' of the impossibility of the combination **le-lo* in Spanish is gender. The gender feature must appear in a context of combining a 3rd person clitic with a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person clitic (where the 3rd person must be the clitic *se*, a clitic with participant) to guide a set to the DO and locate participant. However, in the combination **le-lo*, there is no participant, so the presence of the feature gender is not justified (recall that the first gender function would be to place an ON participant). We can say that the resolution strategy proposed in hypothesis D (insert participant) takes as a starting point what happens in the combination of a 3rd person clitic with a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person clitic.

As discussed in 2.3, Nevins (2007) develops a hypothesis in which the impossibility of the combination **le-lo* is explained by the lack of morphological dissimilation. To differentiate the clitic *le* from the clitic *lo* it is necessary to change the clitic *le* to the clitic *se*. We thus have two types of explanations to account for the impossibility of combining certain clitics, one syntactic (for the cases of Strong PCC, Weak PCC, Ultrastrong PCC, Me-First PCC) and the other morphophonological (for the case of the combination **le-lo*).[27] It is desirable, however, to have a single explanation for all types of PCC. The proposal I defend uses the same set of syntactic hypotheses to account for the different PCCs.

Let's look at the case of French, a language that allows the combination *le*(DO)-*lui*(IO). My explanation begins by noting that the French resolution strategy in facing the impossibility of combining a 3rd person dative clitic with a 1st or 2nd person accusative clitic (33a) is to insert gender (33b), as in Spanish. The following data are from Richard (1982).

[27] See also Anagnostopoulou (2017), Coon and Keine (2021), among others, for similar ideas.

(33) a. *Paul me lui recommendera.
Paul cl.1sg 3sg recommend
'Paul will recommend me to him.'

b. Paul me la donnera.
Paul cl.1sg cl.3sg gives
'Paul gives it to me (Richard, 1982, p. 24)

(34) Paul le lui recommendera.
Paul cl.3sg cl.3sg recommend
'Paul will recommend him to her.' (Richard, 1982, p. 24)

As in Spanish, the clitic with gender in French is located on the right; indicating that the gender probe is located with the R-set. It was assumed that the presence of gender in one clitic requires the presence of the ON participant in the other clitic (the condition G). As it was seen, the condition G is active in Spanish (it allows to explain the impossibility of the combination **le*(IO)-*lo*(DO)). It also seems to operate in French, because the combination **lui*(IO)-*le*(DO), which presents the order that the possible combinations must have (e.g., *me*(IO)-*la*(DO) of (47b)), is not possible. As we saw, in Spanish, the resolution strategy is to change the clitic *le* for the clitic *se* (**le-lo* > *se-lo*). In French, the strategy is different, the order of the clitics is changed, **lui-le* > *le-lui* (34). Why does the change of position of the clitics work as a resolution strategy? My proposal is that the condition G is neutralized when the gender feature is inserted in a position different from where it is typically inserted (to the R-set, in the case of French and Spanish). In the possible combination *le-lui*, the clitic with gender is on the left (L-set), the position where participant is typically placed (see the combination *me-la* in (33b)). Arguably, if gender occupies the place of the ON participant, then the G condition is neutralized; there would be nowhere to place the ON participant, its position was occupied.

In French, condition G is 'avoided' by changing the position of the clitics. In Spanish, it could be said that the G-condition's mandate is 'assumed', and a clitic is inserted with participant (the *se* form). It is interesting to know what other forms of interacting with the condition G other languages exhibit. This is an analysis that will be left for further work.

Conclusion

This article has developed the central hypothesis that, in a context of combination of clitics, it is necessary that a probe of one of the two sets searches for a certain goal. In the context of two goals and two probe sets, the Matching between probes and goals cannot be random. The proposed guide-probes are gender and addressee; the proposed goal is always the DO argument. The hypotheses developed could be applied to different types of PCCs: Strong PCC, Weak PCC, Ultrastrong PCC, Number Case Constraint. The proposed hypotheses made it possible to consider the impossible combination **le-lo*

of Spanish as a case of PCC. The analysis, focused mainly on Spanish data, was also able to account for some problematic aspects of PCC in Romanian (Me-First PCC) and French (*le-lo PCC).

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