Some notes on the diachrony of
the Person Case Constraint (PCC)

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It is a well-known fact that languages have constraints involving specific combinations of morphological features and that very often there is a mismatch between the overt features and their interpretation. Since Meyer Lübke (1899), who documented the fact for Romance, it has been widely discussed that the modern Romance languages (among others) Catalan (1) and Spanish (2) show such restrictions whereas many of the modern Germanic languages don't (cf. Bonet 1991, 1995, Haspelmath 2001).

(1) a. *Al   noi,   les   pomes, les   li   donaré mes tard   *Catalan*
        to.the   boy   the   apples 3pl.acc 3.dat   give.fut later

     b. *Al   noi,   les   pomes, li   les   donaré   mes tard
        to.the   boy   the   apples, 3.dat 3pl.acc   give.fut   later

     c. Al   noi,   les   pomes, les   hi   donaré   mes tard
        to.the   boy   the   apples 3pl   loc   give.fut   later
        'The apples to the boy, I'll give them to him later'

(2) a. *Le   lo   diste   *Spanish*
        3dat 3acc gave

     b. *Lo   le   diste
        3acc   3dat gave

     c. Se   lo   diste
        Ref   3acc gave
        "You gave it to him"

(3) a. *D' Maria   zeigt   mir   en*   *Swiss German*
        The Maria   shows   1.dat 3.acc
        'Mary shows him to me'

     b. *D' Maria   zeigt   em   mich*
        The Maria   shows   3dat 1.acc
        'Mary shows me to him'

Different explanations were given in order to explain why some combinations are forbidden, and how we can explain the repair strategies attested in (1c) and (2c) that result in a mismatch between the overt morphological features and the semantic interpretation of these. In (1c) obviously the locative clitic appears instead of the third person dative clitic and in (2c) it is the reflexive clitic that transports the semantics of the 3person dative clitic.

As concerns the German data it has been argued by Anagnastopoulou (2003, 2008) that Swiss German (and German) is not completely insensitive to the PCC, but that we get a difference whether the order is ACC > DAT or DAT > ACC. Anagnastopoulou

therefore accounts for the lack of PCC effects in ACC > DAT environments by claiming that in this case the accusative moves first and checks person and number features; the dative moves afterwards and presumably checks only "definiteness and / or phonological features" (Anagnastopoulou 2008). This movement also gives the fixed order accusative > dative. The idea is then that the order dative > accusative gives rise to PCC effects, while the order accusative > dative does not. However, Anagnastopoulou (2008) does not have an explanation for the repair strategies used in Romance.

Looking at Old Catalan we notice that both orders are attested, the ACC > DAT as well as the DAT > ACC, furthermore the same kind of data show that in Old Catalan the repair strategy is not used yet.

(4)   a. Llavors volien-lo-li vendre;   (14a, 392, Corpus Fischer)

        a'. e com los li hagués pres   (13a, 240, Corpus Fischer)

        b. lo picaplet demanà-li-los   (14a, 384, Corpus Fischer)

This paper seeks to determine when the linear order in Catalan got fixed and when the repair strategy that results in the observed mismatches between morphology and semantics started to appear. I will propose an analysis that connects the PCC and the repair strategy to the fixation of the linear order in Catalan.

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