Breaking Agreements:
Distinguishing Agreement and Clitic-Doubling by Their Failures

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Abstract

In this paper, I propose a novel way to distinguish between *agreement* and *clitic-doubling*. The innovation lies in examining what happens when the relation between the relevant agreement-morphology and the full noun-phrase fails to obtain: whether the agreement-morpheme still shows up, bearing default φ-features, or the agreement-morpheme disappears altogether.

The workings of the proposed diagnostic are demonstrated using a family of constructions in "substandard" Basque (Etxepare 2006). Besides supporting the proposed diagnostic, the analysis of Basque provides a new perspective on the typological status of the Basque agreement system, as well as evidence against the traditional analysis of unergatives in Basque as being underlyingly transitive.

1. Introduction

Across many languages and constructions, it is common to come across sentences in which a verbal argument is represented twice—once by a full noun-phrase, and once by a phonologically small morpheme. This morpheme matches the φ-features of the full noun-phrase, and is affixed either to the verb itself, or to some member of the extended verbal projection (an auxiliary verb, a tense marker, or an aspectual marker):

(1) host+[*agreement-morpheme*]$_{\varphi_1}$ … <other material> … [*full noun-phrase*]$_{\varphi_1}$

Let us refer to this morpheme as the *agreement-morpheme*, and the element to which it attaches (e.g., the verb) as the *host*.

The linguistic literature of the past few decades has identified two kinds of operations that can give rise to this state of affairs. One is *agreement*, in which the host and the full noun-phrase enter into some formal relation, as a result of which features of the full noun-phrase (e.g., person, number, gender) are morphologically reflected on the host. The other operation is *clitic-doubling*, which generally refers to a situation in which a phonologically small, pronoun-like morpheme is generated on the basis of the full noun-phrase—with features (e.g., person, number, gender) that match the full noun-phrase—and affixes to the host.

In this paper, I propose a novel way to distinguish between *agreement* and *clitic-doubling*, based on examining what happens when the relation in question fails to obtain. The workings of the proposed diagnostic will be demonstrated using a family of constructions in "substandard"

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Basque (Etxepare 2006).[1] These constructions are a particularly useful testing ground for the proposed diagnostic, due to the convergence of several factors: the full noun-phrase and the host are sufficiently far away from each other in this construction (in structural terms) to allow manipulations that would otherwise be unavailable; certain aspects of Basque syntax (e.g., the structure of ditransitive verb-phrases) are well understood, and can therefore be used as a baseline; and finally, the Basque auxiliary carries multiple kinds of agreement-morphology, and thus, the results of applying the proposed diagnostic to one kind of morpheme can be contrasted with its results when applied to a different morpheme *within the same construction, in the same language*.

Besides supporting the proposed diagnostic, this analysis of Basque also provides an interesting perspective on the Basque agreement system: at first blush, it appears to be an agreement system that coindexes all Case-marked arguments (i.e., absolutives, ergatives, and datives). However, I will argue that only the absolutive agreement-morphemes on the Basque auxiliary are the result of true agreement, while the ergative and dative agreement-morphemes are the result of clitic-doubling (see also Arregi and Nevins 2008). From a typological standpoint, this places the Basque agreement system on a par with systems that are familiar from nominative-accusative languages, in which agreement targets noun-phrases with one particular Case-marking (e.g., Icelandic, in which agreement targets nominative noun-phrases, regardless of whether the subject is nominative or not; see Boeckx 2000, Bobaljik 2008, Holmberg and Hroarsdottir 2003, Schutze 1997).

For concreteness, I assume the accounts of agreement and clitic-doubling given by Chomsky (2000, 2001) and Anagnostopoulou (2003), respectively—though as far as I can tell, the proposal is not crucially dependent on adopting these frameworks; any framework that gives a principled account of the properties in (2–3), below, can be substituted for these accounts, without changing the substance of the current proposal.

Agreement—henceforth, the *Agree* operation—can be characterized by the following properties (Chomsky 2000, 2001, and many others):

(2) PROPERTIES OF Agree

a. it is subject to *defective intervention*:
   - a host cannot *Agree* with a given noun-phrase if there is another noun-phrase structurally closer to the host (Chomsky 2001, McGinnis 1998, and many others)

b. it is subject to a locality condition that prevents it from operating across the boundaries of a tensed clause (e.g., Chomsky's 2000, 2001 *Phase Impenetrability Condition*)

The characteristics of clitic-doubling are crucially different (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, and references cited there):

[1] As pointed out by a reviewer, these data are not associated with one of the particular dialectal domains into which Basque is traditionally divided. Etxepare (2006) chooses the term "substandard" because these constructions are stigmatized, as far as standard Basque is concerned.

(3) *PROPERTIES OF CLITIC-DOUBLING*

a. it voids the status of its target as an intervener:[2]
   - the "chain" formed by clitic-doubling (i.e., the syntactic object consisting of the generated clitic and the full noun-phrase that it doubles) behaves as an A-chain, whose head is the clitic (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997, Anagnostopoulou 1994, Sportiche 1996, 1998)
   - only the heads of A-chains can intervene (Chomsky 1995, *et seq.*)

b. it conforms to a locality condition which for the current purposes can be approximated as the *clause-mate* relation
   - see Iatridou (1990) and related literature for more precise accounts

Note that (3b) is meant to capture the locality conditions on clitic-doubling, factoring out phenomena such as *clitic-climbing*. Crucially, clitic-climbing is widely assumed to be possible only under restructuring/"clause-union" (Burzio 1986, Rizzi 1982, Sportiche 1996)—and as will be shown in §2.3, the data examined in this paper cannot be accounted for in terms of restructuring. The formulation in (3b) is therefore sufficient for the purposes of this paper.

As mentioned earlier, the novel diagnostic proposed in this paper centers around the question of what happens when the relation in question fails to obtain. Prima facie, one might expect a failed attempt at establishing *Agree* to give rise to ungrammaticality; this is precisely what one finds in French dative experiencer constructions, for example:

(4) Agree *(AND SUBSEQUENT* Move*) BLOCKED BY INTERVENTION → UNGRAMMATICALITY*

?* Jean$_i$ semble à Marie [t$_i$ avoir du talent]. (French)
Jean seems to Marie have.INF of talent
'Jean seems to Marie to have talent.' *[Anagnostopoulou 2003:(66b)]*

(5) *INTERVENTION ALLEVIATED BY MOVEMENT*

Jean$_i$ lui$_j$-semble t$_j$ [t$_i$ avoir du talent].
Jean her.DAT-seems have.INF of talent
'Jean seems to her to have talent.' *[Anagnostopoulou 2003:(72a)]*

In (4), the dative *à Marie* ('to Marie') intervenes, blocking *Agree* between *semble* ('seem')—or more precisely, the T^0 head to which *semble* attaches—and the target noun-phrase *Jean*. However, if the dative intervener is moved out of the way (as in (5)), the aforementioned *Agree* relation can obtain (which in French, also results in movement of the target noun-phrase to [Spec,TP]). Crucially, the configuration in which *Agree* is blocked results in ungrammaticality.

Nevertheless, this is not always so: as shown by Holmberg and Hroarsdottir (2003), intervention effects in Icelandic do not give rise to outright ungrammaticality, but rather to the appearance of default number features on the probing head. Consider the following examples:

[2] As noted by Anagnostopoulou (2003), Spanish may pose an exception to this generalization (see Torrego 1996, 1998, and the discussion in Anagnostopoulou 2003).

(6) Agree *WITH DOWNSTAIRS NOMINATIVE SUBJECT*

Manninum virðast [hestarnir vera seinir]. (Icelandic)
the.man.sg.DAT seem.pl the.horses.pl.NOM be slow
'The man finds the horses slow.' *[Holmberg and Hroarsdottir 2003:(11)]*

(7) Agree *BLOCKED BY INTERVENTION → DEFAULT φ-FEATURES, NOT UNGRAMMATICALITY*

það virðist/*virðast einhverjum manni [hestarnir vera seinir].
EXPL seem.sg/*seem.pl some man.sg.DAT the.horses.pl.NOM be slow
'A man finds the horses slow.' *[Holmberg and Hroarsdottir 2003:(12)]*

In (6), the matrix verb *virðast* ('seem.pl') exhibits agreement in number (albeit, optionally) with the plural nominative subject of the embedded clause (*hestarnir* 'the.horses.NOM'). In (7), however, the structural position of the dative experiencer *einhverjum manni* ('some man.DAT') gives rise to intervention, blocking the aforementioned agreement relation. Crucially, this does not result in the ungrammaticality of (7); instead, the matrix verb is restricted to its default (i.e., singular) form—*virðist*—but the sentence remains grammatical.

The factors that determine whether a failed *Agree* relation results in ungrammaticality (as in the French example in (4)), or not (as in the Icelandic example in (7)), are not well-understood—nor will I provide a comprehensive account of them here.[3] However, the behavior of such constructions when they *are* grammatical, as in Icelandic, is not altogether surprising: agreement is essentially a feature-valuation relation; thus, if it fails for some reason, those features on the host which were supposed to be valued by the target noun-phrase are not valued—retaining their preexisting or default values. On the other hand, if *clitic-doubling* refers to the very creation of a feature-matched pronominal morpheme on the basis of an existing noun-phrase, then its failure should result in the absence of such a morpheme altogether.

The relevant contrast can therefore be stated as follows: while failed *Agree* should result in the appearance of a morpheme with default features (if the resulting utterance is grammatical at all), failed *clitic-doubling* should result in the wholesale absence of the relevant morpheme. This contrast will be undetectable, of course, if the morphological realization of default features is itself phonologically null; fortunately, this is not always so. The goal is therefore to come up with configurations in which the relevant relation between the agreement-morpheme and the host is broken, and investigate which of these two results emerges.

This is formalized below:

[3]It is somewhat suggestive that the *Agree* relation in (4–5), whose failure results in ungrammaticality, normally stands in a feeding relation with a movement operation—namely, movement to subject position (French not being a null-subject language). This is in contrast with the *Agree* relation in (6–7): as (6) shows, the *Agree* relation between the matrix verb (*virðast* 'seem.pl') and the downstairs nominative subject (*hestarnir* 'the.horses.NOM') does not feed movement, even when *Agree* itself is successful. This suggests that failed *Agree*, unto itself, never gives rise to ungrammaticality; rather, it is only when the *Agree* relation in question stands in a feeding relation with a movement operation, and that movement operation has nonetheless been instantiated (as is the case in (4)), that blocking it will result in ungrammaticality.

(8) *PROPOSED DIAGNOSTIC*

Given a scenario where the relation $\mathcal{R}$ between an agreement-morpheme $\mathcal{M}$ and target noun-phrase $\mathcal{X}$ is broken—but the result is still a grammatical utterance—the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about $\mathcal{R}$ as follows:

a. $\mathcal{M}$ shows up with default φ-features (rather than the features of $\mathcal{X}$) $\longrightarrow$ $\mathcal{R}$ is *Agree*

b. $\mathcal{M}$ disappears entirely $\longrightarrow$ $\mathcal{R}$ is clitic-doubling

Note that the proposal does not stake a claim about the deep ontology of clitics. The underlying workings of clitic-doubling are a topic of much debate in the literature (see Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003, Jaeggli 1982, Rezac 2008a, Sportiche 1996, 1998, Suner 1988, Torrego 1988, Uriagereka 1995, among others). Nonetheless, given the properties in (2a–b)/(3a–b), it is possible to *identify* whether a relation is clitic-doubling or not—and to determine whether a novel diagnostic correlates reliably with these established properties—which is the focus of the current paper.

Furthermore, the underlying nature of clitic-doubling notwithstanding, there is a sense in which (8) represents a plausible hypothesis to pursue (as alluded to earlier): given that *Agree* refers to the process of feature-valuation, rather than to the creation of any morphemes, it stands to reason that failed *Agree* would result in the spelling-out of features bearing default values (rather than in the wholesale disappearance of the agreeing morpheme). In other words, if we were to find that the facts lined up in precisely the inverse manner—that failed *Agree* resulted in the disappearance of the agreeing morpheme, while failed clitic-doubling resulted in the agreement-morpheme showing up with default feature-values—it would be more surprising than discovering that (8) holds.

The relevant Basque constructions, as well as their analysis (largely inspired by Etxepare 2006), will be introduced in section §2. In section §3, I apply the proposed diagnostic to these constructions, and show how they line up with the well-established properties of *Agree* and clitic-doubling in (2) and (3), respectively. In section §4, I present one possible implementation of the proposal, in specific technical terms, to examine its potential interaction with the *Person Case Constraint* (*PCC*). Section §5 is the conclusion.

2. Apparent *Long-Distance Agreement* in "Substandard" Basque

2.1. A First Glance at Basque Agreement-Morphology

Consider the following Basque sentences:[4]

(9) *EXAMPLES OF BASQUE AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY*

a. Gu amama-ri [bisit-a egite-ra] joan ga- tzai- zki- o.
we(ABS) grandmother-DAT visit-ART(ABS) make-DIR gone 1.ABS- be- pl.ABS- 3sg.DAT
'We have gone to grandmother to make a visit.' *[Laka 2005:(43)]*

[4]Legend: ABS=*absolutive*; ART=*article*; BEN=*benefactive*; DAT=*dative*; ERG=*ergative*; GEN=*genitive*; HAB=*habitual*; LOC=*locative*; NMZ=*nominalizer*; PRT=*participle*.

b. Guraso-e-k niri belarritako ederr-ak erosi d- i-
parent(s)-ART$_{pl}$-ERG me.DAT earring(s) beautiful-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) bought 3.ABS- have-
zki- da- te.
pl.ABS- 1sg.DAT- 3pl.ERG
'(My) parents have bought me beautiful earrings.' *[Laka 2005:(52)]*

As can be seen in the above examples, the Basque auxiliary carries agreement-morphemes that reflect the number and person features of each Case-marked noun-phrase in its clause (absolutive, dative, or ergative). In the following sections, I will present two construction that provide insight into the underlying nature of the agreement-morphemes that the auxiliary carries—in particular, into whether each kind of agreement-morpheme comes about via *Agree* or via clitic-doubling.

2.2. The Data

Etxepare (2006) discusses a variety of Basque in which certain constructions exhibit apparent *Long-Distance Agreement* (henceforth, *LDA*). Consider (10a–b), below:[5]

(10) *PLURALITY OF AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY (ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY) DETERMINED BY DOWNSTAIRS ARGUMENT (DP_T)*

a. Uko egin d- i- ϕ- e- ϕ [[agindu horiek]$_{DP_T}$
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- 3sg.ERG order(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS)
bete-tze-a-ri]$_{DP_C}$.
obey-NMZ-ART-DAT
'He or she has refused to obey those orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(99)]*

b. Muzin egin d- i- ϕ- e- ϕ [[horrelako
frown(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- 3sg.ERG such
liburu-ak]$_{DP_T}$ argitara-tze-a-ri]$_{DP_C}$.
book(s)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) publish-NMZ-ART-DAT
'He or she has frowned on publishing such books.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(86b)]*

The examples in (10a–b) conform to the following structural description:

(11) *STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION*

[[[[DP$_T$ V^0]-*tze-a*]$_{DP_C}$ V^0]$_{VP}$ … aux]$_{auxP}$

I will refer to this construction as *the Case-marked construction*.

DP$_T$ refers to the noun-phrase whose plurality determines the plural morphology on the auxiliary, while DP$_C$ refers to the entire nominalized embedded clause—including the article (/*-a*/), as well as whatever Case-marking is appropriate (/*-ri*/, when the Case is dative).[6] Interestingly, the agreement-morpheme whose plurality is determined by DP$_T$ is the dative agreement-morpheme

[5] The notation "ϕ" represents a phonologically-empty exponent.
[6] "T" is short for *Target*, "C" is short for *Clausal*.

on the auxiliary. This corresponds to the Case-marking on DP_C (which is dative), rather than the Case-marking on DP_T (which is absolutive).

These two Case-markings can be the same, of course:

(12) *BOTH DP_T AND DP_C MARKED WITH ABSOLUTIVE CASE*

[[Nobela erromantiko-ak]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ gustatzen ϕ- zai- zki- o.
novel(s) romantic-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be- pl.ABS- 3sg.DAT
'He or she likes to read romantic novels.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(1b)]*

In (12), both DP_C and DP_T are marked with absolutive Case, and not surprisingly, it is the absolutive agreement-morpheme on the auxiliary whose plurality is determined by the plurality of DP_T.

While the examples in (10a–b) and (12) exhibit what appears to be LDA in number features, comparable effects involving person features are unattested in the Case-marked construction:

(13) *UNLIKE NUMBER FEATURES, PERSON FEATURES OF DP_T CANNOT BE REFLECTED ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY (IN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION)*

* [[Zu]$_{DP_T}$ gonbida-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ baztertu za- it- u- zte.
you(ABS) invite-NMZ-ART(ABS) refused 2.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have refused to invite you.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(117b)]*

Note that the ungrammaticality of (13) is not a *Person-Case Constraint* (*PCC*) effect; *za-it-u-zte* is a possible auxiliary form in Basque, it simply cannot be used in (13). PCC effects in Basque are restricted to combinations involving dative agreement-morphemes (see Bejar and Rezac 2003, Laka 2005, Rezac 2004, 2008a,b, among others; and see section §4).

Unlike the Case-marked construction, in which the nominalized clause is introduced by the article and its associated Case morphology (null, when the Case is absolutive), this variety of Basque has a construction which exhibits similar LDA-like effects, but in which the nominalized clause is introduced by the adposition /*-n*/:[7]

(14) *PLURALITY OF AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY (ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY) DETERMINED BY DOWNSTAIRS ARGUMENT (DP_T), BUT THIS TIME EMBEDDED CLAUSE INTRODUCED BY /-n/*

[7] There is a similar construction involving the adposition /*-ko*/, rather than /*-n*/:

(i) *PLURALITY OF AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY (ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY) DETERMINED BY DOWNSTAIRS ARGUMENT (DP_T), BUT EMBEDDED CLAUSE INTRODUCED BY /-ko/*

[[Liburu-ak]$_{DP_T}$ itzul-tze-ko] eskatu d- i- zki- da- te.
book(s)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) return-NMZ-GEN.LOC asked 3.ABS- have- pl.ABS- 1sg.DAT- 3pl.ERG
'They have asked me to return the books.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG], experiencer argument is [*pro*-1sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(114b)]*

However, the status of /*-ko*/-phrases with respect to the presence or absence of the article is more difficult to ascertain. I will therefore leave /*-ko*/-phrases aside for the purposes of this paper.

a. [[Harri horiek]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
stone(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to lift those stones.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]*

b. Jon-i [[kopla horiek]$_{DP_T}$ kanta-tze-n] entzun d- i- zki- o-
Jon-DAT song(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) sing-NMZ-LOC heard 3.ABS- have- pl.ABS- 3sg.DAT-
t.
1sg.ERG
'I have heard/listened to Jon singing those songs.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(88a)]*

The examples in (14a–b) conform to the following structural description:

(15) *STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION*
[[[[DP$_T$ V^0]-*tze-n*]$_{PP}$ V^0]$_{VP}$ … aux]$_{auxP}$

I will refer to this construction as *the adpositional construction*.

Given (14a–b), in which the embedded clause contains a single overt argument marked with absolutive Case, one might expect to find comparable instances of apparent LDA into an adpositional clause that contains a single overt argument marked with dative Case. Interestingly, this expectation is not realized—targeting a dative DP$_T$ in the adpositional construction is impossible:

(16) *UNLIKE ABSOLUTIVE DOWNSTAIRS ARGUMENTS, DATIVE ONES CANNOT BE TARGETED*
* [[Agindu-e-i]$_{DP_T}$ kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tzai- ϕ- e- n.
order(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1.ABS- be- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- PAST
'I tried to pay attention to the orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ABS])

In contrast to the Case-marked construction, the adpositional construction does allow for the person features of the agreement-morphemes on the auxiliary to be determined by the person features of DP$_T$ (on par with its ability to reflect the number features of DP$_T$). There is a slight complication here, which is that the morphological paradigms for three-place auxiliaries (i.e., auxiliaries that simultaneously carry agreement-morphemes corresponding to absolutive, dative, and ergative noun-phrases) lack entries corresponding to *1st/2nd-person* absolutive (an instance of the PCC; see section §4); and as shown above, only absolutive noun-phrases can be targeted in the adpositional construction. Therefore, if the configuration calls for a three-place auxiliary, there is no way to realize the person features of DP$_T$ on the auxiliary. PCC effects also arise in certain contexts involving two-place auxiliaries, that encode only absolutive and dative agreement-morphology (see Rezac 2008b for details). To avoid this confound, one must construct examples that call for an auxiliary that encodes only absolutive and ergative agreement-morphology. Fortunately, this is possible, even within the confines of the adpositional construction:

(17) *IN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION, AUXILIARY CAN REFLECT THE PERSON FEATURES OF DP_T*

[[Ni]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu na- ϕ- u- te.
me(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 1.ABS- sg.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They attempted to lift me.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG])

As (17) shows, when one controls for the availability of morphological forms, the auxiliary in the adpositional construction will reflect the person features of DP_T, as well as its number features.

Note that in both the Case-marked construction and the adpositional construction, we find the morpheme /*-tze*/—which is widely considered to be a nominalizer, on par with English gerund morphology (Trask 2003). I will therefore consider it a head of category n^0 (due to its nominalizing function), which projects a phrase of category *n*P.

2.3. The Prospects for a Restructuring Account

In this subsection, I address the possibility of providing a restructuring account for the LDA-like effects in the Case-marked construction and in the adpositional construction—in other words, for the presence of agreement-morphemes on the upstairs auxiliary that reflect the φ-features of an argument of the downstairs predicate. If restructuring is indeed "clause-union", such an analysis makes the prediction that arguments of the downstairs verb would behave—for Case/agreement purposes—as if they were part of the upstairs clause.

Recall that in simple, mono-clausal constructions, the Basque auxiliary carries agreement-morphemes that match both the number features and the person features of its clause-mate arguments—be they absolutive, dative, or ergative (see §2.1). In the Case-marked construction, however, only the number features of DP_T—the argument of the embedded verb—are reflected by the agreement-morphemes of the upstairs auxiliary (as in (12), repeated below), to the exclusion of its person features (as shown (13), repeated below):

(12) *IN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION, THE AUXILIARY CAN REFLECT THE **NUMBER**-FEATURES OF DP_T, …*

[[Nobela erromantiko-ak]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ gustatzen ϕ- zai- zki- o.
novel(s) romantic-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be- pl.ABS- 3sg.DAT
'He or she likes to read romantic novels.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(1b)]*

(13) *… BUT NOT ITS **PERSON**-FEATURES*

* [[Zu]$_{DP_T}$ gonbida-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ baztertu za- it- u- zte.
you(ABS) invite-NMZ-ART(ABS) refused 2.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have refused to invite you.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(117b)]*

Thus, arguments of the downstairs verb do not behave—for Case/agreement purposes—as if they were part of the upstairs clause. This is contrary to the expectation that a restructuring/"clause-union" account would generate.

One may seek to salvage a restructuring account for the Case-marked construction, by assuming that it is a instance of partial restructuring—namely, that the embedded domain contains the functional layer relevant to person agreement, but lacks the functional layer relevant to number agreement. Thus, the number features of DP_T would be able to trigger agreement on the upstairs number agreement layer, whereas the person features of DP_T will already have triggered agreement on the embedded person agreement layer, rendering the person features of DP_T inactive and invisible to the upstairs person agreement layer. However, this requires separate φ-features of the same noun-phrase to be activated and inactivated independently of each other—and in particular, it requires the person features of DP_T to become inactivated (and therefore invisible) at the same point in the derivation where the number features of the very same noun-phrase are still active and visible. This conflicts with the established mechanics of defective intervention: it is the noun-phrase as a whole (i.e., its complete set of φ-features) that is either active or inactive (see the discussion in Chomsky 2000:p. 124; and in Chomsky 2001:p. 15).

In the adpositional construction, though both the number features and the person features of DP_T can be reflected by the agreement-morphemes of the upstairs auxiliary, both sets of features can only be reflected if DP_T is absolutive (as in (14a), repeated below), not if it is dative (as in (16), repeated below):

(14) a. *IN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION, AN **ABSOLUTIVE** DOWNSTAIRS ARGUMENT CAN BE TARGETED, ...*

[[Harri horiek]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
stone(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to lift those stones.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]*

(16) *... BUT NOT A **DATIVE** ONE*

* [[Agindu-e-i]$_{DP_T}$ kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tzai- ϕ- e- n.
order(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1.ABS- be- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- PAST
'I tried to pay attention to the orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ABS])

Thus, in the adpositional construction, dative arguments of the downstairs verb do not behave—for Case/agreement purposes—as if they were part of the upstairs clause. Again, this is contrary to the expectation that a restructuring/"clause-union" account would generate.

Again, one may seek to salvage a restructuring account by assuming partial restructuring—in particular, that the embedded domain contains the functional layer relevant to dative agreement, but lacks the functional layer relevant to absolutive agreement. Thus, an absolutive DP in the embedded domain will be able to trigger agreement on the upstairs absolutive agreement layer, whereas a dative DP in the embedded domain will already have triggered agreement on the downstairs dative agreement layer, rendering its own φ-features inactive and invisible to the upstairs dative agreement layer. There are two main reasons to reject such an account. First, it is not clear why such dative agreement in the embedded clause would lack any overt manifestation—in stark contrast to the general pattern of dative agreement in Basque. More importantly, however, section §3 will show converging evidence that the dative agreement-morpheme in Basque is not a reflex of *Agree* at all,

but rather the result of clitic-doubling; as such, it should not be subject to the logic of activation and inactivation, needed for a partial restructuring account.

It therefore appears that both in the Case-marked construction and in the adpositional construction, the presence of agreement-morphemes on the upstairs auxiliary that reflect the φ-features of an argument of the downstairs verb cannot be accounted for in terms of restructuring.

Note also that the same facts preclude an analysis of either the Case-marked construction or the adpositional construction in terms of movement of the embedded argument (i.e., DP_T) into the matrix clause (along the lines of *Object Shift* in Scandinavian languages). If DP_T in the Case-marked construction occupied a position in the matrix clause, the auxiliary would be able to reflect its person features, as well as its number features—contra (13). Similarly, if DP_T in the adpositional construction occupied a position in the matrix clause, the auxiliary would be able to reflect its features even if it were dative—contra (16).

2.4. Analyzing the Two Constructions

In this section, I present an analysis of the two LDA-like constructions introduced in §2.2. The analysis—particularly, of the Case-marked construction—is very much inspired by Etxepare's (2006) analysis.

As discussed earlier, the distinctive feature of the Case-marked construction is the appearance of the article, along with its associated Case-marking morphology (which is null, when the Case is absolutive). Let us therefore take a closer look at the morphology of the Basque article:

(18) *MORPHOLOGY OF THE BASQUE ARTICLE*

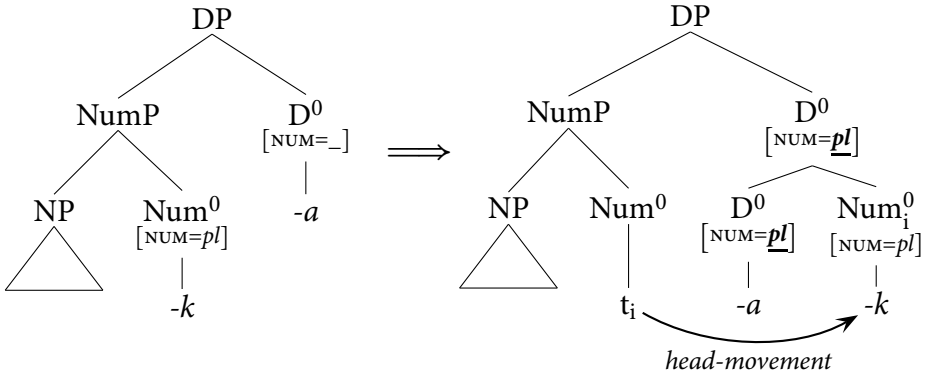
NUM	article
sg.	*-a*
pl.	*-ak*

It seems plausible that the Basque article is in fact composed of two independent parts: an invariant /*-a*/ morpheme, and a number morpheme, which is /*-k*/ when [NUM=*pl*], and either null or missing when [NUM=*sg*] (see Trask 2003, who adopts a similar analysis for Basque).

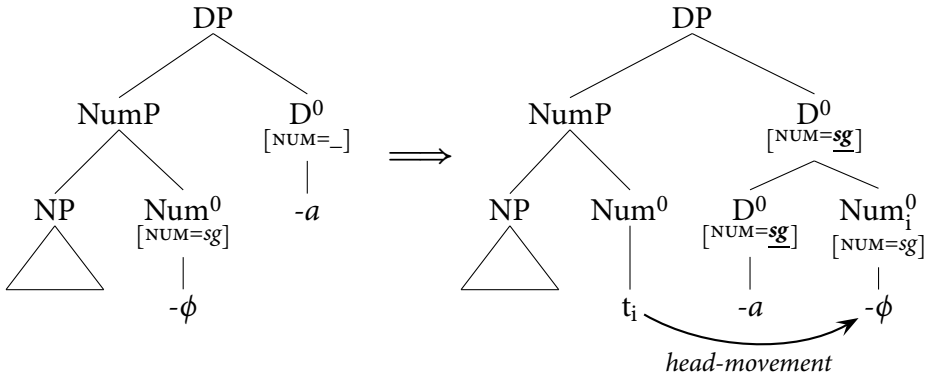
Based on this observation, I will adopt Etxeberria's (2005) proposal for the general structure of noun-phrases in Basque, which assumes a NumP projection between NP and DP (Ritter 1991, 1992):

(19) *GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE BASQUE NOUN-PHRASE*

a. plural:



b. singular:

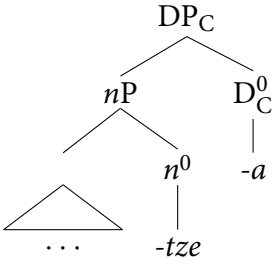


The Basque D^0 enters the derivation bearing an unvalued number feature (marked [NUM=_] in (19a–b)). This feature probes for a valued counterpart with which it can establish an *Agree* relation, and finds one on Num^0. Since D^0 and Num^0 are in an immediate c-command relation, Num^0-to-D^0 head-movement is triggered (see Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, who argue that this is a general property of such a configuration). This results in the fusing of the /*-a*/ morpheme (associated with D^0) and the /*-k*/ or /*-ϕ*/ morpheme (associated with Num^0) into what we might call "the article" (i.e., /*-a(k)*/).

On this view, /*-k*/ is not the phonological realization of [NUM=*pl*] on D^0, but rather the phonological realization of [NUM=*pl*] on Num^0 (which then undergoes head-adjunction to D^0).

With nominalized clauses in the Case-marked construction (i.e., those Case-marked nominalized clauses which give rise to LDA-like effects), one only finds the /*-a*/ form of "the article" (to the exclusion of /*-ak*/). This suggests that in the Case-marked construction, D^0_C selects *n*P (the phrase headed by /*-tze*/) directly—rather than selecting a NumP:

(20) *EMBEDDED STRUCTURE IN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION*



By hypothesis, D^0_C carries an unvalued number feature ([NUM=_]), as any other D^0 head would. As usual, this feature will probe in search of a valued number feature with which to establish an *Agree* relation. In this situation, however, there is no number feature on the category that is the immediate complement of D^0 (the /*-tze*/-phrase, labeled *n*P). In fact, there is arguably no closer number feature than the one on DP_T (the argument of the embedded verb).[8]

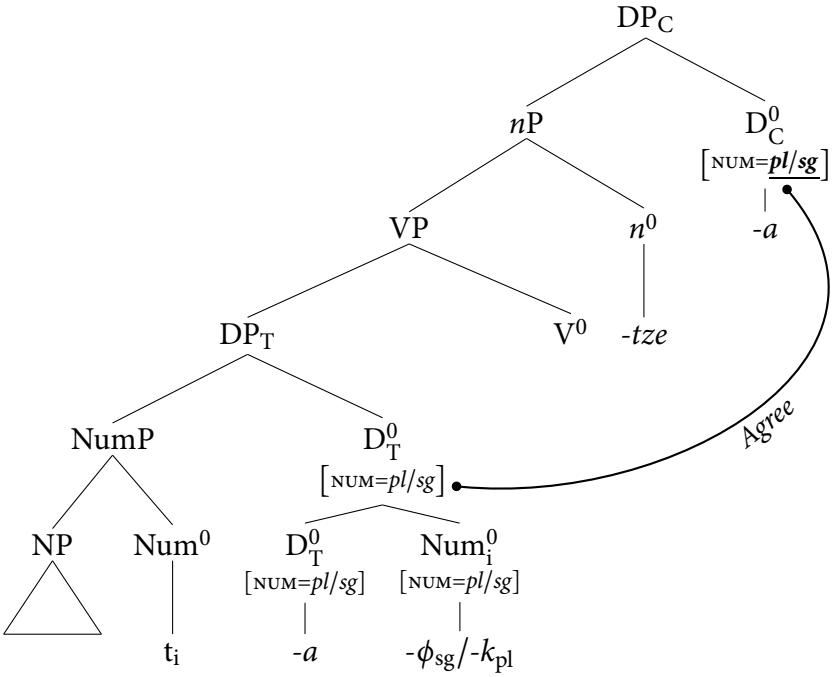
The nominalized embedded clauses in question (both in the Case-marked construction and in the adpositional construction) exhibit the characteristics of obligatory control (see Etxepare 2006 for the relevant diagnostics). Thus, following Wurmbrand's (2001) analysis of obligatory control

[8] This valued number feature on DP_T will itself have come about by virtue of an unvalued number feature ([NUM=_]) on D^0_T (the head of DP_T) having agreed with a valued number feature on the head of the NumP complement of D^0_T—in the same manner shown in (19).

complements, I will assume that the complement of $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ in these constructions is a bare VP.[9] The unvalued number feature on D^0_C is therefore able to probe into that VP, and establish an *Agree* relation with an argument within it (i.e., with DP_T, an argument of the downstairs V^0).

This is schematized below:

(21) D^0_C PROBES FOR (AND Agrees WITH) VALUED NUMBER FEATURE, FOUND ON DP_T



In (21), there are intervening heads between D^0_C and D^0_T—namely, V^0 and $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$, at the very least. Hence, head-movement of the kind shown in (19a–b) cannot arise here (due to the *Head-Movement Constraint*; Travis 1984). The morpheme in D^0_T (/*-a*/ if DP_T is singular, /*-ak*/ if it is plural) is therefore unable to move to D^0_C. This derives the fact that the article that introduces DP_C is always /*-a*/, and in particular, that it never carries the /*-k*/ morphology.[10]

On this view, apparent LDA in the Case-marked construction is in fact comprised of two separate relations, "stacked" on top of one another, with D^0_C serving as the intermediary. The first is *Agree* between D^0_C and DP_T, as outlined above. The second is the relation between the auxiliary and DP_C. Let us refer to the Case-marking on DP_C as $\mathcal{M}_C$. Since DP_C occupies a canonical argument position, whatever mechanism gives rise to agreement with $\mathcal{M}_C$-marked noun-phrases in straightforward mono-clausal constructions in Basque (whether it is *Agree* or clitic-doubling) will

[9] Etxepare (2006) actually argues that these constructions involve a full *v*P (I thank a reviewer for clarifying this). If this is correct, then either (i) the absolutive DPs targeted by in these constructions must first move to the periphery of this *v*P, to escape locality violations, or (ii) this *v*P does not constitute a locality boundary, on par with *v*Ps in raising/passive/unaccusative structures in English (cf. a phase-inducing *v*P, as discussed in §3.5). In either case, reference to "VP" in the text can be substituted with reference to such a *v*P; in the interest of simplicity, I will maintain the label "VP" in the text. This is not to be taken as an argument against Etxepare's analysis.

[10] As a reviewer points out, one could envision a state of affairs in which plural morphology arises on D^0 precisely as a reflex of long-distance *Agree* (of the kind schematized in (21)), contra to fact. The current analysis therefore relies on the assumption, stated earlier, that /*-k*/ is the phonological realization of [NUM=*pl*] on Num^0 (rather than D^0), while number features on D^0 have no phonological reflex unto themselves.

operate here as well. Thus, the agreement-morpheme corresponding to $\mathcal{M}_C$-marked arguments will reflect the number feature that has been transmitted from DP_T to D^0_C via *Agree* in (21).

In contrast to number features, and their morphological realization as /*-k*/ when [NUM=*pl*], Basque has no sign of person-morphology on the article. Therefore, an analogous story involving person features is far less plausible.[11] The existence of number-morphology on the Basque article, and the absence of comparable person-morphology, thus derives the lack of comparable LDA-like effects in person features—as exemplified by the contrast between (12) and (13) (repeated below):

(12) *IN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION, THE AUXILIARY CAN REFLECT THE **NUMBER**-FEATURES OF DP_T, …*

[[Nobela erromantiko-ak]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ gustatzen ϕ- zai- zki- o.
novel(s) romantic-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be- pl.ABS- 3sg.DAT
'He or she likes to read romantic novels.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(1b)]*

(13) *… BUT NOT ITS **PERSON**-FEATURES*

* [[Zu]$_{DP_T}$ gonbida-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ baztertu za- it- u- zte.
you(ABS) invite-NMZ-ART(ABS) refused 2.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have refused to invite you.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(117b)]*

Further support for the crucial role of D^0_C/DP_C, as an intermediary in the transmission of number features from DP_T to the auxiliary, comes from the comparison with the adpositional construction, in which the auxiliary is able to reflect the person features of DP_T (a point to which I will return shortly). Briefly, the adpositional construction lacks a DP layer (as will be shown), and therefore lacks a comparable intermediary in the transmission of features from the embedded noun-phrase to the upstairs auxiliary; consequently, there is no asymmetry between the transmission of number features and person features (also demonstrating that there is nothing intrinsically problematic with agreement in Basque targeting the person features of a noun-phrase that is in an embedded clause).

This analysis of the Case-marked construction shares with Etxepare's (2006) account the pivotal role of D^0_C/DP_C in the transmission of number features in the Case-marked construction. Unlike the current account, however, Etxepare argues that the φ-features on the auxiliary/agreement-morpheme enter into two *Agree* relations: once with DP_C in its entirety, and a second time with DP_T (on the issue of a single probe entering into multiple *Agree* relations, see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, Bhatt 2005, Richards 2005). DP_C, in Etxepare's account, has 3rd-person features, but no number features; it therefore values the person features on the probe, but does not value its number features. Subsequent *Agree* by the same probe must therefore target goals with the same person value (namely, 3rd-person; see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, Richards 2005). Thus, we get the appearance that the auxiliary/agreement-morpheme can agree in number, but not in person, with DP_T.

Under the current account, in contrast, there are two probes—namely, the auxiliary/agreement-morpheme and D^0_C—each of which probes exactly once. The role that D^0_C plays in the current

[11] This approach is reminiscent of Kayne's (2000) analysis of Romance 3rd-person pronouns as "determiner pronouns" (i.e., determiners that have acquired number and gender morphology). I thank a reviewer for turning my attention to this parallelism.

account—a probe that initiates its own *Agree* operations with DP_T—allows a straightforward account for the susceptibility of the LDA-like effects in the Case-marked construction to intervention, even when the relation between the upstairs auxiliary/agreement-morpheme and DP_C is a kind of relation that is clearly not susceptible to intervention (such as dative agreement-morphology; see §3.3).

In the adpositional construction, the nominalized clause (i.e., the *n*P headed by the nominalizing morpheme, $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$) is not selected by the article; rather, it is selected by the adposition $[\text{-}n]_{P^0}$ directly (see also Laka 2006a,b). Recall (14a), repeated below:

(14) a. *NO ARTICLE IN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION*

[[Harri horiek]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
stone(s) those$_{pl(ABS)}$ lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to lift those stones.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]*

The fact that the article is indeed absent between the nominalizer (/*-tze*/) and the adposition (/*-n*/) can be seen in the behavior of the same adposition when it selects a lexical noun-phrase directly:[12]

(22) *ARTICLE IS DISCERNIBLE IN SIMILAR PHONOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS*

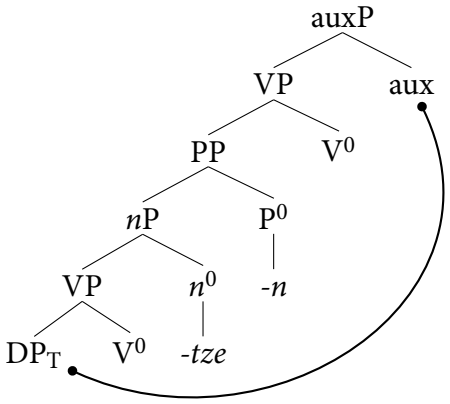
a. % etxe-n
house-LOC
'at home (*lit.*: in a house)'

b. etxe-a-n
house-ART-LOC
'in the house'

As shown in (22), the article (/*-a*/) is discernible before /*-n*/, even in post-vocalic position. Crucially, the adpositional construction (e.g., (14a)) is on a par with (22a), rather than (22b). The nominalizing morpheme (/*-tze*/) and the adposition (/*-n*/) appear adjacent to each other, without the article (/*-a*/) in between them.

Since there is no evidence of a DP layer between the auxiliary and the embedded verb and its arguments, it is plausible to handle the adpositional construction in terms of straightforward infinitival embedding (along the lines proposed by Wurmbrand 2001):

(23) *EMBEDDED STRUCTURE IN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION*



[12] A reviewer points out that the form in (22a) is a historical residue, and is possible only in a handful of eastern varieties of Basque. The availability of (22a), however, is not crucial to the argument in the text, which relies on the discernibility of the article (/*-a*/) in (22b). Crucially, the form in (22b) is universally accepted by Basque speakers.

The subordinating verb takes a PP complement headed by $[\text{-}n]_{\text{P}^0}$, which itself takes as its complement an *n*P headed by $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$, which itself takes a VP as its complement.

Since in (23), there is no locality boundary (DP, CP, or *v*P) in between the auxiliary and DP_T, the relation between the two is on par with agreement in the English expletive-associate construction, as far as locality is concerned:

(24) *AGREEMENT IN THE ENGLISH EXPLETIVE-ASSOCIATE CONSTRUCTION*

there were likely [to appear [to be arrested [$_{\text{DP}}$ three men]]]

In (24), agreement on the auxiliary (*were*) is determined by the plurality of *three men*. This relation, just like the one proposed in (23), does not span across the boundaries of a DP, a CP, or an active-transitive *v*P.

This analysis of the adpositional construction makes a further prediction, regarding person features. Recall that in the Case-marked construction, what appeared to be a single long-distance agreement relation was in fact broken down into two relations, each of which is perfectly local, which are "stacked" on top of one another: the relation between D^0_C (the head of the enclosing DP layer) and DP_T, which was analyzed as an *Agree* relation, and the relation between the auxiliary and DP_C. The presence of an unvalued number feature on D^0_C is what allows the number features that originated on DP_T to show up on the auxiliary.

In the proposed analysis of the adpositional construction, however, there is no comparable intermediary. Under the current proposal, the adpositional construction is an instance of the upstairs auxiliary agreeing with DP_T directly; and in simple, mono-clausal constructions, the Basque auxiliary carries agreement-morphemes that match both the number features and the person features of its clause-mate arguments. Thus, we predict that the auxiliary would reflect the person features of DP_T, as well as its number features. As shown in (17) (repeated below), this is indeed true:[13]

(17) *IN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION, AUXILIARY CAN REFLECT PERSON FEATURES OF* DP_T

[[Ni]$_{\text{DP}_\text{T}}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu na- ϕ- u- te.
me(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 1.ABS- sg.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They attempted to lift me.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG])

The example in (17) also demonstrates that when one controls for interfering factors (such as the *PCC*), one finds that there is nothing intrinsically wrong with agreement in person (as well as in number) between the auxiliary and a noun-phrase in an embedded clause in Basque.

As mentioned earlier, the impossibility of determining person agreement-morphology in the Case-marked construction (as opposed to the adpositional construction) supports the notion that it is indeed D^0_C—which I have called the *intermediary*—whose features are responsible for transmitting feature-values from DP_T to the agreement-morphemes in the Case-marked construction. The fact

[13] See §2.3 for why the distribution of agreement-morphemes in this construction cannot be analyzed in terms of restructuring (or partial restructuring) alone.

that D^0_C (like any other D^0) has number features but no person features, accounts for the asymmetry between number and person in the Case-marked construction.[14]

On this account, there is no difference in the syntax internal to the /*-tze*/-phrase (i.e., the *n*P), between instances where it is selected by the article (i.e., the Case-marked construction), and instances where it is selected by an adposition (i.e., the adpositional construction). In both constructions, $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ selects a VP as its complement; the differences between the two constructions follow from the difference in the category that selects the /*-tze*/-phrase (see §3.5, regarding the source of variation between varieties of Basque that do and do not exhibit these LDA-like effects).

3. *Agree* and Clitic-Doubling in Basque

As outlined in the Introduction, the goal of this paper is to demonstrate a novel diagnostic for distinguishing *Agree* from clitic-doubling—summarized in (8), repeated below:

(8) *PROPOSED DIAGNOSTIC*

Given a scenario where the relation $\mathcal{R}$ between an agreement-morpheme $\mathcal{M}$ and target noun-phrase $\mathcal{X}$ is broken—but the result is still a grammatical utterance—the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about $\mathcal{R}$ as follows:

a. $\mathcal{M}$ shows up with default φ-features (rather than the features of $\mathcal{X}$) $\longrightarrow$ $\mathcal{R}$ is *Agree*

b. $\mathcal{M}$ disappears entirely $\longrightarrow$ $\mathcal{R}$ is clitic-doubling

In the following subsections, I apply this diagnostic to the various agreement-morphemes found on the Basque auxiliary, using the constructions introduced in section §2 (and in particular, their limitations) to generate configurations in which the relation between the agreement-morpheme and the full noun-phrase whose φ-features it matches breaks down. I show that systematically, the verdict provided by the proposed diagnostic lines up with the characteristics of *Agree* and clitic-doubling—as identified in (2) and (3), respectively, and repeated below:[15]

(2) *PROPERTIES OF* Agree

a. is subject to *defective intervention* (Chomsky 2001, McGinnis 1998, and many others)

b. is subject to a locality condition that prevents it from operating across the boundaries of a tensed clause (e.g., Chomsky's 2000, 2001 *Phase Impenetrability Condition*)

[14] As pointed out by a reviewer, the analysis of the Case-marked construction as "stacked" agreement, with D^0_C serving as the intermediary, is reminiscent of Rezac's (2004) treatment of copy-raising as an instance of "stacked" φ-agreement with C^0 serving as the intermediary, as well as Rezac's (2008a) treatment of *dative-displacement* in Basque dialects as an instance of "stacked" φ-agreement with (dative) P^0 serving as the intermediary. In the latter, Rezac exploits the fact that P^0 can be specified for only a subset of the φ-features for which clausal φ-probes are specified, much in the same way the lack of person features on Basque D^0 (and in particular, on D^0_C) is exploited here.

[15] As noted in the Introduction, (3b) is meant to capture the locality conditions on clitic-doubling, factoring out phenomena such as *clitic-climbing*. Crucially, clitic-climbing is widely assumed to be possible only under restructuring/"clause-union" (Burzio 1986, Rizzi 1982, Sportiche 1996)—and as shown in §2.3, the data examined in this paper cannot be accounted for in terms of restructuring. The formulation in (3b) is therefore sufficient for the purposes of this paper.

(3) *PROPERTIES OF CLITIC-DOUBLING*

a. voids the status of its target as an intervener (Anagnostopoulou 2003)

b. conforms to a locality condition which for the current purposes can be approximated as the *clause-mate* relation (see Iatridou (1990) and related literature)

3.1. *Agree* vs. Clitic-Doubling in the Adpositional Construction

As shown in §2.2, an absolutive DP_T can be targeted in the adpositional construction, but a dative one cannot—recall the contrast between (14a) and (16), repeated below:

(14) a. *IN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION, AN **ABSOLUTIVE** DOWNSTAIRS ARGUMENT CAN BE TARGETED, ...*

[[Harri horiek]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
stone(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to lift those stones.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]*

(16) *... BUT NOT A **DATIVE** ONE*

* [[Agindu-e-i]$_{DP_T}$ kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tzai- ϕ- e- n.
order(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1.ABS- be- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- PAST
'I tried to pay attention to the orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ABS])

Whatever the reasons for this may be, it is quite clear that the relation that gives rise to the dative agreement-morpheme breaks down in the adpositional construction. It is therefore crucial, within the framework of the current proposal, to determine which of the following two repairs would render (16) grammatical: employing a dative agreement-morpheme with default features (which would indicate that the dative agreement-morpheme comes about by virtue of *Agree*), or eliminating the dative agreement-morpheme altogether (which would indicate that the dative agreement-morpheme comes about by virtue of clitic-doubling).

As shown in (25), below, using an auxiliary whose dative agreement-morpheme reflects default features (i.e., 3rd-person singular)—rather than the features of the dative DP_T—does not salvage (16):

(25) *USING A DATIVE AGREEMENT-MORPHEME THAT REFLECTS DEFAULT φ-FEATURES DOES NOT SALVAGE (16)*

* [[Agindu-e-i]$_{DP_T}$ kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tzai- ϕ- o- n.
order(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1.ABS- be- sg.ABS- 3sg.DAT- PAST
'I tried to pay attention to the orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ABS])

On the other hand, using an auxiliary that lacks a dative agreement-morpheme altogether (i.e., an auxiliary that carries only absolutive agreement-morphemes) renders the sentence grammatical:

(26) *USING AN AUXILIARY THAT HAS **NO** DATIVE AGREEMENT-MORPHEME SALVAGES (16)*

[[Agindu-e-i]$_{DP_T}$ kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tze- n.
order(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1sg.ABS- be- PAST
'I tried to pay attention to the orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ABS])

In other words, the relation between the dative agreement-morpheme and the dative noun-phrase behaves—according to the proposed diagnostic—as a clitic-doubling relation.

Crucially, the conclusion that the dative agreement-morpheme is the result of clitic-doubling (rather than *Agree*) fits well with the previously established properties of clitic-doubling. One source of corroborating evidence is the behavior of dative agreement-morphemes with respect to defective intervention; this will be discussed in §3.2.

A second source of corroborating evidence has to do with locality restrictions. Recall that clitic-doubling is expected to adhere to the *clause-mate* restriction (since in these contexts, clitic-climbing is ruled out; see the discussion in the INTRODUCTION and in §2.3). Looking again at the ungrammaticality of (16), it appears that something like the clause-mate restriction is indeed operative:[16]

(16) *AUXILIARY AND DATIVE DP_T ARE IN SEPARATE CLAUSES → CLITIC-DOUBLING BLOCKED*

* [[Agindu-e-i]$_{DP_T}$ kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tzai- ϕ- e- n.
order(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1.ABS- be- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- PAST
'I tried to pay attention to the orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ABS])

In (16), the dative DP_T and the auxiliary are in separate clauses. If dative agreement-morphemes are indeed the result of clitic-doubling (and therefore, subject to the clause-mate restriction), it is to be expected that generating a dative agreement-morpheme based on the φ-features of a dative noun-phrase in a separate clause would be impossible.[17]

An immediate consequence of the same approach is that unlike their dative counterparts, absolutive agreement-morphemes cannot be the result of clitic-doubling. That is because absolutive agreement-morphemes in the adpositional construction are able to reflect the φ-features of an absolutive DP_T located in the embedded clause—as in (14a), repeated below:

[16] A reviewer suggests a slightly different approach to the facts in (16, 25–26), whereby dative agreement-morphemes on the auxiliary are licensed by an applicative projection—and it is this applicative projection, rather than the dative noun-phrase itself, that must be in a clause-mate relation with the auxiliary. Under this approach, what prevents dative agreement-morphemes in a sentence like (16), is that an applicative projection in the downstairs domain could not license dative agreement-morphemes on the upstairs auxiliary; an applicative projection in the upstairs domain, on the other hand, would not be licensed, due to the fact that the upstairs verb (*saiatu* 'try') is not ditransitive. This is a particular example of a family of theories that tie the appearance of dative agreement-morphology on the auxiliary to the argument-structure of the verb to which it is associated. This family of theories is addressed at the end of this subsection (§3.1).

[17] Note that there cannot be a locality boundary (e.g., a phase) between the auxiliary and DP_T in (16) (and in the adpositional construction in general)—if there were, no LDA-like effects would ever show up in the adpositional construction (since *Agree* would be blocked by the locality boundary, and clitic-doubling would be blocked by the clause-mate restriction), contra the attested state of affairs (e.g., in (14a), above).

(14) a. *A "REGULAR" EXAMPLE OF THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION, TARGETING AN ABSOLUTIVE DP_T*

[[Harri horiek]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
stone(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to lift those stones.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]*

Since the auxiliary and DP_T are not in a clause-mate relation in (14a), and the relation responsible for generating absolutive agreement-morphemes can still obtain, the relation must be *Agree* (rather than clitic-doubling).

A reviewer asks if the absence of a dative agreement-morpheme on the auxiliary in cases like (26), repeated below, can be seen as a conclusive indicator of failed clitic-doubling, given that there is a sense in which the matrix verb *saiatu* ('try') does not "need" dative agreement-morphology in the first place: it selects an absolutive subject—in this case, *pro*-1sg.ABS—and an adpositionally-headed clausal complement; it does not, however, select a dative argument.

(26) *ABSENCE OF DATIVE AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY*

[[Agindu-e-i]$_{DP_T}$ kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tze- n.
order(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1sg.ABS- be- PAST
'I tried to pay attention to the orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ABS])

Notice, however, that these selectional properties are properties of the verb (*saiatu* 'try'), not of the auxiliary. Relying on the absence of a selected dative argument to explain the absence of dative agreement-morphology on the auxiliary implies the existence of some mechanism that transmits the selectional properties of the verb to the auxiliary. Under the current proposal, there is no need for such a mechanism; the auxiliary will bear agreement-morphology corresponding to whichever absolutive, dative, and ergative noun-phrases are within their respective locality domains, relative to the auxiliary (as shown here, these locality domains are not necessarily the same across different agreement-morphemes). A detailed discussion of how this might work is taken up in section §4.

Nevertheless, one could still envision such a mechanism whereby verbs with a particular kind of argument-structure are selected only by auxiliaries whose morphology matches that argument-structure. Thus, auxiliaries with dative agreement-morphology would only select verbs which themselves select a dative argument, while auxiliaries without dative agreement-morphology would only select verbs that do not select a dative argument. We have already seen evidence, however, that there cannot be a general mechanism of this sort at play in the Basque auxiliary system. In (14a), repeated below, the auxiliary bears absolutive agreement-morphemes, despite the fact that the verb (*probatu* 'attempt') selects only an ergative argument—in this case, *pro*-3pl.ERG—and an adpositionally-headed clausal complement:

(14) a. *ABSOLUTIVE AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY PRESENT, BUT NO ABSOLUTIVE ARGUMENT SELECTED*

[[Harri horiek]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
stone(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to lift those stones.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]*

In fact, absolutive agreement-morphology is always present on the auxiliary in Basque, regardless of the argument-structure of the main verb (see also §3.6). Obviously, one could stipulate that dative agreement-morphology is subject to the mechanism of selectional dependency outlined above, while absolutive agreement-morphology is not; but this would merely be a restatement of the facts in (26) and in (14a), respectively. The question is why this would be so. The current proposal provides an explanation for this asymmetry: absolutive agreement-morphemes are the result of *Agree*; as such, even if their target is inaccessible (e.g., due to a locality violation), they will still appear (reflecting default φ-features, of course). Dative agreement-morphemes, on the other hand, are the result of clitic-doubling; as such, they will be absent when their target is inaccessible. As will be shown immediately (in §3.2–§3.3), this is independently supported by the behavior of each type of agreement-morphology with respect to defective intervention.

3.2. Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

Section §3.1 ended with the conclusion that absolutive agreement-morphemes are the reflex of *Agree*. As discussed in the Introduction, this leads to an expectation that the relation between these morphemes and the full absolutive noun-phrase would be subject to intervention effects.

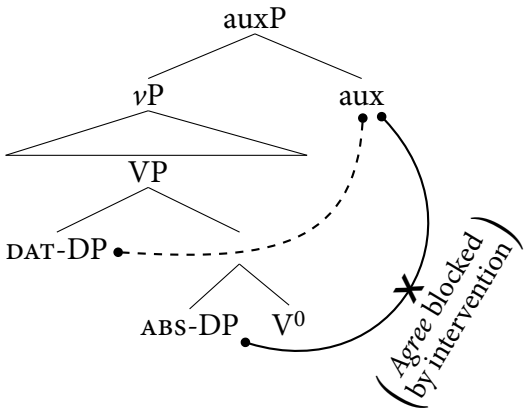
Consider ditransitive constructions in Basque—for example, (9b), repeated below:

(9) *simple, mono-clausal ditransitive*

b. Guraso-e-k niri [belarritako ederr-ak] erosi d- i-
parent(s)-ART$_{pl}$-ERG me.DAT earring(s) beautiful-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) bought 3.ABS- have-
zki- da- te.
pl.ABS- 1sg.DAT- 3pl.ERG
'(My) parents have bought me beautiful earrings.' *[Laka 2005:(52)]*

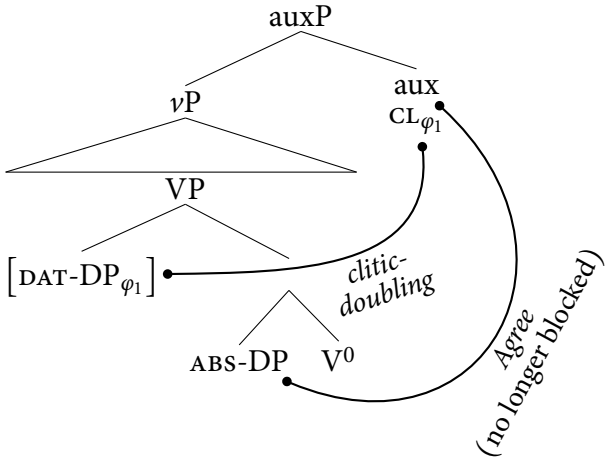
As (9b) shows, the auxiliary is perfectly capable of bearing absolutive agreement-morphemes that match the φ-features of the full absolutive noun-phrase, even in ditransitive constructions. This may seem surprising, since it is well-established that in Basque, the dative argument of a ditransitive verb occupies a higher structural position than the absolutive argument (Elordieta 2001, among others). Given such a configuration, one might expect the dative noun-phrase to give rise to defective intervention—on par with the Icelandic constructions mentioned in the Introduction—preventing *Agree* between the auxiliary and the absolutive DP from obtaining (here and throughout, the label "VP" is used for ditransitive verb-phrases; this is intended for simplicity, and does not amount to the claim that these verb-phrases lack more articulated internal structure; see section §4):

(27) *SCHEMATIZATION: INTERVENTION IN DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS*
(unattested in mono-clausal ditransitives)



However, as (9b) clearly shows, such intervention does not arise; the absolutive agreement-morphemes on the auxiliary are in fact able to reflect the φ-features of the absolutive noun-phrase. As mentioned in the INTRODUCTION, clitic-doubling of a noun-phrase has been cross-linguistically found to obviate subsequent intervention effects by that noun-phrase (Anagnostopoulou 2003); and as argued in §3.1, the dative agreement-morpheme—which the auxiliary in (9b) does carry—is the result of clitic-doubling. Therefore, in (9b), one would in fact predict no intervention effects would arise, because clitic-doubling has rendered the full dative noun-phrase incapable of intervening:

(28) *SCHEMATIZATION: CLITIC-DOUBLING BLEEDS INTERVENTION*



We have already seen, however, a situation that would be analyzed (on the current proposal) as an instance of failed clitic-doubling of the dative noun-phrase—namely, when the latter is contained within the embedded clause in the adpositional construction; and one can, in fact, select a ditransitive predicate as the embedded verb in this construction:[18]

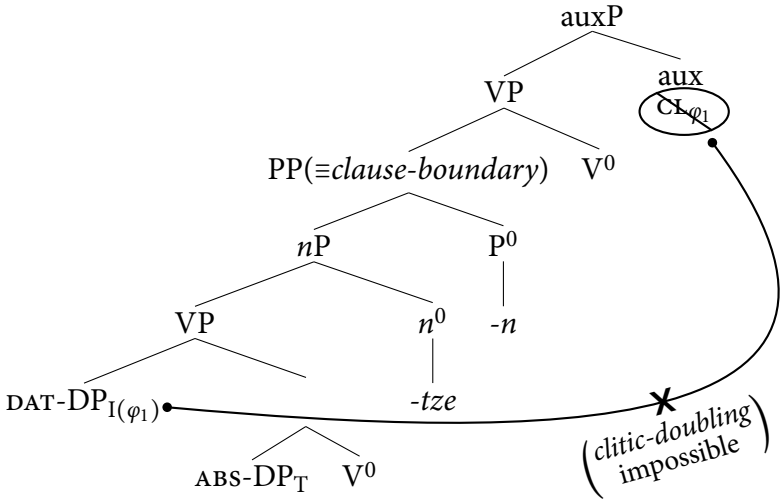
[18] The dative noun-phrase in (29) is labeled DP_I, where "I" stands for *Intervener*.

(29) *DITRANSITIVE EMBEDDED WITHIN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION → TARGETING OF ABSOLUTIVE DP_T BLOCKED*

[[Lankide-e-i]$_{DP_I}$ [liburu horiek]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze-n] probatu d-
colleague(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT book(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) read-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS-
ϕ/*it- u- (z)te.
sg.ABS/*pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to read those books to the colleagues.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG])

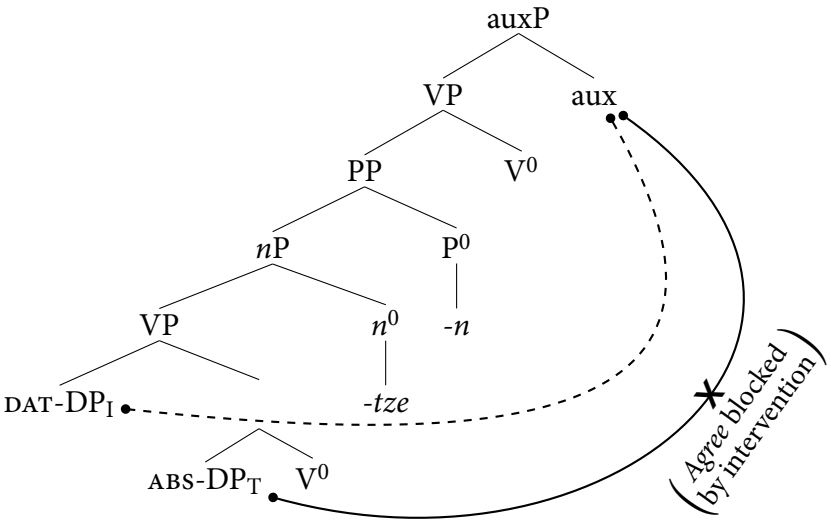
In (29), there is no dative agreement-morpheme on the matrix auxiliary. On the current proposal, this is expected—the dative DP_I and the matrix auxiliary are not clause-mates, therefore clitic-doubling of DP_I onto the auxiliary is blocked (see the discussion in §3.1):

(30) *SCHEMATIZATION: AUXILIARY AND DATIVE DP_I NOT CLAUSE-MATES → CLITIC-DOUBLING OF DATIVE DP_I IS IMPOSSIBLE*



Crucially, as the example in (29) demonstrates, this blocks the relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive DP_T; the absolutive agreement-morphemes on the matrix auxiliary in (29) can only reflect default features (i.e., 3rd-person singular), not the φ-features of DP_T:

(31) *schematization: intervention by (non clitic-doubled) dative DP_I*



Note that while the absolutive agreement-morphemes in (29) must reflect default *φ*-features (i.e., 3rd-person singular), they cannot be omitted. In other words, the relation between the absolutive agreement-morpheme and the absolutive noun-phrase behaves—according to the proposed diagnostic—as an *Agree* relation.

Further support for viewing the effect in (29) as syntactic intervention per se comes from the fact that not just any left-peripheral constituent disrupts the relation between the absolutive agreement-morphemes and the absolutive noun-phrase—as shown by Etxepare (2006):

(32) *unlike dative DPs, adjuncts do not intervene in relation between auxiliary and absolutive DP_T*

[Miren-entzat [harri horiek]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
Miren-BEN stone(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to lift those stones for Miren.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG])

While Case-marked noun-phrases such as the dative *lankide-e-i* ('colleague(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT') in (29) can disrupt the aforementioned relation, adjuncts such as *Miren-entzat* ('Miren-BEN') in (32) cannot—precisely the behavior that one would expect an *Agree* relation to exhibit.

The support that (29) provides for the proposal is thus twofold: first, it shows that the relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive noun-phrase is indeed susceptible to intervention effects (as one would expect of an *Agree* relation); second, when juxtaposed with examples of mono-clausal ditransitive constructions (such as (9b), repeated below), it shows that the dative agreement-morpheme behaves in a way that is typical of clitic-doubling—in that its absence creates a situation in which the dative noun-phrase counts as an intervener, while its presence suppresses the ability of the dative noun-phrase to intervene.

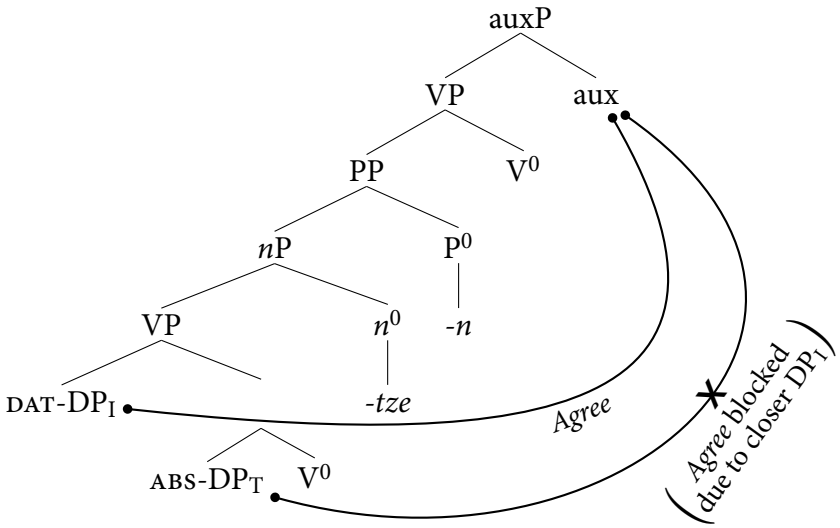
(9) *WHEN DATIVE AGREEMENT-MORPHEMES ARE PRESENT, DATIVE DP DOES NOT INTERVENE*

b. Guraso-e-k niri [belarritako ederr-ak] erosi d- i-
parent(s)-ART$_{pl}$-ERG me.DAT earring(s) beautiful-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) bought 3.ABS- have-
zki- da- te.
pl.ABS- 1sg.DAT- 3pl.ERG
'(My) parents have bought me beautiful earrings.' *[Laka 2005:(52)]*

The established properties of *Agree* and clitic-doubling thus line up in accordance with the verdicts that the new proposed diagnostic supplies, regarding absolutive agreement-morphology and dative agreement-morphology, respectively.

Finally, note that the dative noun-phrase behaves as a true *defective intervener*—while it is capable of obstructing the *Agree* relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive noun-phrase, the dative noun-phrase itself cannot value the features on the probe. I have been referring to the head that probes in this *Agree* relation as the "absolutive agreement-morpheme(s)", a term that presupposes[19] that it can only value its features using absolutive noun-phrases. In (29) (repeated below), the dative intervener is itself a plural noun-phrase (*lankide-e-i* 'colleague(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT'); if the probing head were able to value its features using the dative noun-phrase, one would expect the plural number features on the dative noun-phrase to be transmitted to the probing head. This would give rise to plural features on the so-called "absolutive agreement-morpheme(s)":

(33) *SCHEMATIZATION: TRANSMISSION OF FEATURES FROM INTERVENER, INSTEAD OF FROM DP$_T$ (unattested)*



This is not, however, the attested state of affairs—as evinced by (29), repeated below:

[19] Albeit correctly, as will be shown below.

(29) *NUMBER FEATURES OF DATIVE INTERVENER CANNOT THEMSELVES BE TRANSMITTED TO UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY*

[[Lankide-e-i]$_{DP_I}$ [liburu horiek]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze-n] probatu d-
colleague(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT book(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) read-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS-
ϕ/*it- u- (z)te.
sg.ABS/*pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to read those books to the colleagues.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG])

As (29) demonstrates, the φ-features of the dative DP_I do not matter; it intervenes, blocking the relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive DP_T, but it cannot value the features of the probe. The term "absolutive agreement-morpheme(s)" is therefore justified: the *Agree* operation that gives rise to these morphemes can only value the features on the probe using absolutive noun-phrases, not dative ones.[20] As will be shown in §3.3, this restriction is not specific to the *Agree* operation that gives rise to absolutive agreement-morphemes, but rather a general property of *Agree* in Basque.

To summarize, sections §3.1 and §3.2 have shown converging evidence that the relation between the dative agreement-morpheme and the dative noun-phrase is a clitic-doubling relation, while the relation between absolutive agreement-morphemes and the absolutive noun-phrase is an *Agree* relation. The evidence comes from the different locality restrictions that apply to the two relations; from the susceptibility of the absolutive relation to intervention (as one would expect of *Agree*), the defective nature of these intervention effects (i.e., the failure of dative interveners to transmit their own features to the probing head), and the expected distinction between intervening DP arguments and intervening PP adjuncts; and from the fact that the presence of dative agreement-morphemes obviates intervention by the dative noun-phrase (as one would expect of clitic-doubling). This, in turn, supports the reliability of the proposed diagnostic (when obstructing the relation between a given agreement-morpheme and the associated noun-phrase, the appearance of default φ-features indicates an *Agree* relation, while a missing morpheme indicates a clitic-doubling relation).

3.3. *Agree* in the Case-Marked Construction

In the Case-marked construction, the number features of the agreement-morphemes corresponding to the Case-marking on the nominalized clause are determined by the plurality of an argument within the nominalized clause—for example, recall (10a), repeated below:

(10) *"REGULAR" EXAMPLE OF THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION*

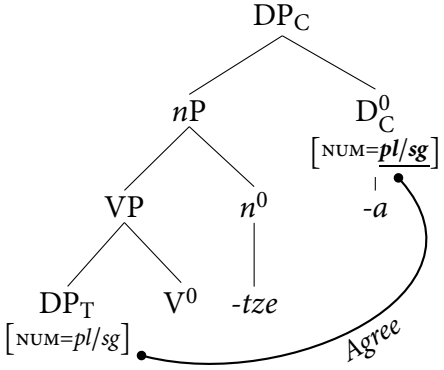
a. Uko egin d- i- ϕ- e- ϕ [[agindu horiek]$_{DP_T}$
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- 3sg.ERG order(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS)
bete-tze-a-ri]$_{DP_C}$.
obey-NMZ-ART-DAT
'He or she has refused to obey those orders.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(99)]*

[20] This is not the case in all dialects of Basque. As discussed in detail by Rezac (2006, 2008a), there exist dialects in which the dative noun-phrase can, under certain circumstances, value the features on the φ-probe using its own values—a separate phenomenon, termed *dative-displacement*.

In (10a), the plurality of the dative agreement-morpheme is determined by the plurality of the absolutive DP_T within the dative nominalized clause, DP_C.

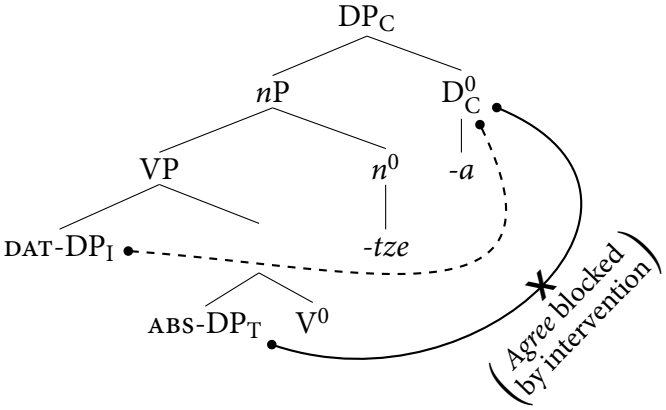
As argued in §2.4, this comes about by virtue of two separate relations, "stacked" on top of one another. The higher of the two is the relation between the auxiliary and DP_C (the precise nature of this relation—whether it is *Agree* or clitic-doubling—depends on the Case of DP_C; see §3.1). The lower of the two is the relation between D^0_C (the article heading the nominalized clause) and DP_T. Since the latter involves valuation of the number features on D^0_C, it is necessarily an *Agree* relation:

(34) *SCHEMATIZATION:* Agree *RELATION BETWEEN* D^0_C *AND* DP_T



As such, this relation should be susceptible to intervention effects (on par with those discussed in §3.2). As mentioned earlier, the dative argument in Basque ditransitive constructions occupies a structurally higher position than the absolutive argument (Elordieta 2001, among others). Therefore, given a ditransitive embedded within the Case-marked construction, one would expect the relation between D^0_C and DP_T to be disrupted:

(35) *SCHEMATIZATION: INTERVENING DATIVE DP DISRUPTING* Agree *BETWEEN* D^0_C *AND* DP_T



This prediction is borne out:

(36) *DITRANSITIVE EMBEDDED WITHIN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION → TARGETING OF ABSOLUTIVE DP_T BLOCKED*

Uko egin d- i- ϕ- o/*e- ϕ [[lankide-a-ri]$_{DP_I}$
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 3sg.DAT/*3pl.DAT- 3sg.ERG colleague-ART$_{sg}$-DAT
[liburu horiek]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze-a-ri]$_{DP_C}$.
book(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) read-NMZ-ART-DAT
'He or she has refused to read those books to the colleague.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG])

The fact that the dative agreement-morpheme is present but singular (as opposed to being entirely absent, as in the examples discussed in §3.1) is a result of the fact that it is not the relation between the dative agreement-morpheme and the dative DP_C which breaks down—the auxiliary and DP_C are in a clause-mate relation, and thus obey the necessary locality conditions on clitic-doubling, the mechanism responsible for generating the dative agreement-morpheme (as argued in §3.1).[21] The relation that breaks down in (36), due to intervention by the dative DP_I, is the relation between D^0_C and DP_T—which as argued above, is an *Agree* relation. Thus, the proposed diagnostic indeed predicts that the failure in (36) will give rise to a dative agreement-morpheme bearing default features, rather than the wholesale absence of a dative agreement-morpheme.

Just as with the adpositional construction, above, further support for viewing the effect in (36) as syntactic intervention per se comes from the fact that not any left-peripheral constituent will disrupt the relation between D^0_C and the absolutive DP_T—as shown by Etxepare (2006):

(37) *UNLIKE DATIVE DPS, ADJUNCTS DO NOT INTERVENE IN RELATION BETWEEN D^0_C AND ABSOLUTIVE DP_T*

Jon-ek [Miren-entzat [traste zahar-rak]$_{DP_T}$ bota-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ pentsatu d-
Jon-ERG Miren-BEN thing(s) old-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) discard-NMZ-ART(ABS) plan 3.ABS-
it- u- ϕ.
pl.ABS- have- 3sg.ERG
'Jon has planned to discard the old things for Miren.'

While Case-marked noun-phrases such as the dative *lankide-a-ri* ('colleague-ART$_{sg}$-DAT') in (36) can disrupt the aforementioned relation, adjuncts such as *Miren-entzat* ('Miren-BEN') in (37) cannot—precisely the behavior that one would expect an *Agree* relation to exhibit.

Finally, as in §3.2, the behavior of the intervener is precisely what one would expect of *defective intervention*—the dative DP_I disrupts the *Agree* relation between D^0_C and the absolutive DP_T, but it cannot value the features of the probe—as evinced by (38), below:

[21] The auxiliary and DP_C also obey the locality restrictions on *Agree*; we know this from the fact that the Case-marked construction allows the φ-features of absolutive agreement-morphemes to be determined by DP_C, if the latter is absolutive; and by the fact that in general, absolutive noun-phrases in object position can determine absolutive agreement-morphology. However, DP_C in (36) is dative, and therefore the relevant locality restriction is the clause-mate relation.

(38) *NUMBER FEATURES OF DATIVE INTERVENER CANNOT THEMSELVES BE TRANSMITTED TO PROBE*

[[Lankide-e-i]$_{DP_I}$ [liburu horiek]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ gustatzen ϕ- zai-
colleague(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT book(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be-
ϕ/*zki- o.
sg.ABS/*pl.ABS- 3sg.DAT
'He or she likes to read those books to the colleagues.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.DAT])

If *Agree* could value the number features of D^0_C using dative noun-phrases, the number features of DP_I in (38) would themselves be transmitted to D^0_C, and this would give rise to a plural absolutive agreement-morpheme on the matrix auxiliary (corresponding to the Case-marking on DP_C, which in (38) is absolutive), contrary to fact.[22]

We therefore have converging evidence that *Agree* in Basque can only value the features on the probe using absolutive noun-phrases, not dative ones—both from *Agree* between the so-called "absolutive agreement-morpheme(s)" on the auxiliary and the absolutive noun-phrase (where dative noun-phrases can intervene, but not value the features on the probe; see §3.2), and from *Agree* between D^0_C and DP_T in the Case-marked construction.

To summarize, this subsection has shown evidence that the relation between D^0_C and DP_T is an *Agree* relation. The evidence comes from the susceptibility of this relation to intervention (as one would expect of *Agree*), the defective nature of these intervention effects (i.e., the failure of dative interveners to transmit their own features to the probing head), and the expected distinction between intervening DP arguments and intervening PP adjuncts. This further supports the reliability of the proposed diagnostic (when obstructing the relation between a given agreement-morpheme and the associated noun-phrase, the appearance of default φ-features indicates an *Agree* relation).

3.4. Ergative Noun-Phrases and Ergative Agreement-Morphemes

In §3.1–§3.3, I have examined noun-phrases in the absolutive Case and in the dative Case, and the associated agreement-morphology on the auxiliary. In this subsection, I will examine the status of ergative agreement-morphemes.

Consider an instance of the Case-marked construction, where the downstairs argument is an ergative noun-phrase:

(39) *ERGATIVE DP_T IN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION → NUMBER FEATURES OF DP_T NOT TRANSMITTABLE TO AUXILIARY*

Jon-ek [[lehio-ko kristal-e-k]$_{DP_T}$ distira-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ pentsatu d-
Jon-ERG window-GEN.LOC glass(s)-ART$_{pl}$-ERG shine-NMZ-ART(ABS) plan 3.ABS-
ϕ/*it- u- ϕ.
sg.ABS/*pl.ABS- have- 3sg.ERG
'Jon has planned for the glass in the window to shine.'

[22] See APPENDIX (p. 46), regarding so-called "dative harmony" dialects.

In the Case-marked construction, D^0_C (the head of the nominalized embedded clause) probes for a noun-phrase with which it can establish an *Agree* relation (as argued in §2.4, and supported in §3.3). In the example in (39), there is no potential intervener in the downstairs clause that could block *Agree* with the ergative noun-phrase, yet the plural number features of the ergative DP_T (*lehio-ko kristal-e-k* 'window-GEN.LOC glass(s)-ART$_{pl}$-ERG') cannot be transmitted to the auxiliary. One possibility, suggested by a reviewer, is that this is the result of a locality boundary (e.g., a phase) blocking the relation between D^0_C and the ergative DP_T; on the other hand, this could indicate that *Agree* in Basque cannot value features on the probe using an ergative noun-phrase (on par with the behavior of dative noun-phrases, and in contrast to the behavior of absolutive ones). As it turns out, while both approaches account equally well for data such as (39), there exists, for each of the two approaches, data that is accounted for only under that approach. I will therefore conclude that both accounts are essentially correct, and transmitting the plural number features of the ergative DP_T in (39) to DP_C (and subsequently, to the upstairs auxiliary) happens to be ruled out on both counts.[23]

Let us first consider the former approach—that a locality boundary, such as a phase, blocks the relation between D^0_C and the ergative DP_T in (39). This locality boundary could not be part and parcel of the Case-marked construction, since that would prevent the features of a noun-phrase within the nominalized embedded clause from ever being transmitted to the upstairs auxiliary, contra to fact (see §2.2). Instead, this locality boundary—e.g., a CP layer—would have to emerge whenever an ergative noun-phrase is present in the nominalized embedded clause. This is not unreasonable: it might indicate that the assignment of ergative Case is dependent on the appearance of C^0, much in the same way that the assignment of nominative Case (in nominative-accusative languages) has been argued to depend on C^0. However, the reviewer suggests the following contrast as evidence for a locality-based account of examples such as (39):

(40) a. [[Liburu-ak]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$ gustatzen ϕ- zai- ϕ/zki- t.
book(s)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be- sg.ABS/pl.ABS- 1sg.DAT
'I like to read books.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(98a)]*

b. [[Haur-rak]$_{DP_T}$ geldi ego-te-a]$_{DP_C}$ gustatzen ϕ- zai-
child(ren)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) relaxed be-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be-
ϕ/*zki- t.
sg.ABS/*pl.ABS- 1sg.DAT
'I like it when the children are relaxed.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.DAT]) *[Etxepare 2006:(98b)]*

Even though (40b) does not contain an ergative noun-phrase, plural absolutive agreement-morphemes on the auxiliary (which would correspond to the plurality of the absolutive DP_T, *haur-rek* 'child(ren)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS)') are impossible. Etxepare (2006) argues that this has to do with the subjecthood of the absolutive noun-phrase *haur-rek* ('child(ren)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS)'). This suggests that the crucial factor in mandating a CP layer is not the assignment of ergative Case, but rather the licensing of a canonical subject.

The other approach, as mentioned above, is that *Agree* cannot value the features on a probe using an ergative noun-phrase (on par with dative noun-phrases), and that the ergative

[23] I thank the reviewer for turning my attention to the locality-based approach to data such as (39), as presented in the text. In retrospect, this subsection would not have been complete without proper discussion of this approach.

agreement-morphemes on the auxiliary come about by means of clitic-doubling. As discussed in §2.4, the relation between D^0_C and DP_T involves valuation of the number features on D^0_C, and is therefore necessarily an *Agree* relation. Thus, if *Agree* cannot value features on the probe using an ergative noun-phrase, the number features of an ergative DP_T cannot be transmitted to the upstairs auxiliary.

Both approaches account equally well for data such as (41), below:

(41) *ERGATIVE DP IN CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION BLOCKS TARGETING OF ABSOLUTIVE DP*

[[Mikel-ek]$_{DP_I}$	[nobela	erromantiko-ak]$_{DP_T}$	irakur-tze-a]$_{DP_C}$	proposatu	d-
Mikel-ERG	novel(s)	romantic-ART$_{pl}$(ABS)	read-NMZ-ART(ABS)	propose	3.ABS-
ϕ/*it-	u-	t.			
sg.ABS/*pl.ABS-	have-	1sg.ERG			

'I have proposed that Mikel read romantic novels.'
(subject is [*pro*-1sg.ERG])

As shown in (41), the presence of an ergative DP (*Mikel-ek* 'Mikel-ERG') in the nominalized embedded clause in the Case-marked construction precludes transmission of the plural number features of the absolutive DP_T (*nobela erromantiko-ak* 'novel(s) romantic-ART$_{pl}$(ABS)') to the upstairs auxiliary. Under the subjecthood-based approach, the impossibility of plural absolutive agreement-morphology results from the fact that the nominalized embedded clause contains a canonical subject, and this mandates a CP layer in the embedded domain; the latter constitutes a phase, preventing agreement from targeting DP_T, which is inside that phase. Under the clitic-doubling approach, the ergative DP (*Mikel-ek* 'Mikel-ERG') constitutes an intervener, since it has clearly not undergone clitic-doubling (the ergative agreement-morpheme on the matrix auxiliary coindexes the matrix subject, *pro*-1sg.ERG, not the embedded ergative DP); as a result, intervention arises in the *Agree* relation between D^0_C and the absolutive DP_T.

The advantage of the subjecthood-based approach is that it offers a unified account for examples like (39) and examples like (40b). Under the clitic-doubling approach, (40b) remains unexplained, as it contains no overt ergative noun-phrase (and in fact, no overt non-absolutive noun-phrase).

The advantage of the clitic-doubling approach is that it aligns very well with the morphological properties of the agreement-morphemes in question (as analyzed in detail by Arregi and Nevins 2008). First, note that dative agreement-morphemes and ergative agreement-morphemes in Basque bear a striking resemblance to each other (as well as to the series of strong pronouns in Basque). As an example, consider a sub-paradigm of the Basque *present-indicative* auxiliary:[24]

[24] Some clarifications regarding the table in (42) are in order. First, note that the *person-number* combination of *2pl*, while formally plural, is used for polite addressing of *2sg* individuals (cf. French *vous*). To differentiate actual 2nd-person plurality from mere "polite" uses of *2pl*, Basque adds another pluralizing morpheme, which I have labeled "*number+*". I refer to this *person-number* configuration as "*2pl+*". Second, note that dative and ergative *2sg* forms alternate based on gender. Finally, note that this 3-place auxiliary exhibits *Person-Case Constraint* (*PCC*) effects, ruling out non-*3rd-person* absolutive values; therefore, it is not clear that the /*d*-/ morpheme in the first column expresses *person* in any contentful way.

(42) *ABS-DAT-ERG PRESENT-INDICATIVE AUXILIARY PARADIGM*

	ABS person	ROOT (have)	ABS number	DAT person, number, "number+"	ERG person, number, "number+"
1sg	✗	i	✗	t/__#, *else* da	t
2sg	✗	i	✗	{k,n}/__#, *else* {a,na}	{k,n}
3sg	d	i		o	
1pl	✗	i	✗	gu	gu
2pl	✗	i	✗	zu	zu
2pl+	✗	i	✗	zue	zue
3pl	d	i	zki	e	te

Absolutive agreement-morphology, on the other hand, has a decidedly different shape. As a representative example, consider another sub-paradigm of the *present-indicative*:[25]

(43) *ABS-DAT PRESENT-INDICATIVE AUXILIARY PARADIGM*

	ABS person	ROOT (have)	ABS number	ABS "number+"	DAT person, number, "number+"
1sg	na	tzai			t
2sg	ha	tzai			{k,n}
3sg		zai			o
1pl	ga	tzai	zki		gu
2pl	za	tzai	zki		zu
2pl+	za	tzai	zki	te ⇝	zue
3pl		zai	zki		e

While absolutive *person*-morphology bears some similarity to dative/ergative *person*-morphology (namely, in the onset consonant of the plural forms), it is nonetheless quite different. Moreover, absolutive *number*-morphology is not only morphologically distinct from dative/ergative *number*-morphology, it actually appears (in both of these sub-paradigms) on the opposite side of the auxiliary-root from absolutive *person*-morphology. These morphological facts suggest that dative and ergative agreement-morphemes are the result of the same operation, while absolutive agreement-morphemes come about by means of a different operation. Given that absolutive agreement-morphology has already been shown to behave in ways typical of *Agree* (§3.2–§3.3), and that dative agreement-morphology has already been shown to behave in ways typical of clitic-doubling (§3.1–§3.2), the conclusion would be that ergative agreement-morphemes are the result of clitic-doubling, as well.

Since each of these two approaches—the subjecthood-based approach, and the clitic-doubling approach—has empirical advantages not shared by the other, it is important to note that the two are not mutually exclusive: the idea that ergative agreement-morphemes come about via clitic-doubling

[25] The reason a different sub-paradigm of the *present-indicative* must be used, is that the three-place auxiliary—exemplified in (42)—exhibits *Person-Case Constraint* (*PCC*) effects, ruling out non-*3rd-person* ABS values. The meaning of the "⇝" symbol is that /*-te*/, corresponding to the "*number+*" feature of the ABS exponent, appears after the DAT morpheme (rather than before it).This is particular to the sub-paradigm presented in (43).

is fully compatible with the idea that canonical subjects require the projection of a CP layer, and vice-versa; it is perfectly possible that both are correct, and that examples such as (39) and (41) just happen to be ruled out on both counts: both because canonical subjects require the projection of a CP layer, and because *Agree* cannot value the features on a probe using an ergative noun-phrase.

Thus, the two approaches are not in direct competition; rather, each approach has a distinct domain of empirical coverage, and these two domains have a certain degree of overlap (e.g., examples such as (39) and (41)). Examples like (40b), above (whose ungrammaticality is the result of the presence of a canonical subject, but contains no ergative noun-phrases), fall exclusively within the empirical domain of the subjecthood-based analysis. The morphological facts exemplified in (42–43), above—namely, the striking morphological similarity between dative agreement-morphology and ergative agreement-morphology—fall exclusively within the domain of the clitic-doubling analysis.

I will therefore adopt both analyses: that canonical subjects require the projection of a CP layer, and that independently, ergative agreement-morphemes are a result of clitic-doubling (as opposed to pure *Agree*).

This discussion might appear to relate to a wider research question, regarding the underlying nature of ergative Case in general, and ergative Case in Basque in particular. Laka (2006b) defends the view that ergative in Basque is *inherent Case* (see also Anand and Nevins 2005, Legate 2008, and Woolford 1997), while Rezac (2008a) defends the view that ergative in Basque is *structural Case* (note, in particular, the raising-to-ergative data discussed by Artiagoitia 2001).

Crucially, however, the distinction between structural Case and inherent Case does not map precisely onto the distinction between the two aforementioned approaches to an example like (39). The subjecthood-based approach, though *structural* in nature, relies on the structural nature of subjecthood, not of ergative Case. In fact, it is decidedly divorced from ergative Case, as demonstrated by the example in (40b), which has no ergative noun-phrases in it.

Similarly, the notion that ergative agreement-morphemes come about by means of clitic-doubling is not incompatible with ergative being *structural Case* (like absolutive, and unlike dative). For the sake of this discussion, let us adopt the analysis of inherent Case and clitic-doubling put forth by Rezac (2008a): in short, Rezac analyzes inherent (i.e., theta-dependent) Case as an instance of a DP contained within a PP, whose P^0 head may optionally probe for (some subset of) the φ-features on D^0, thereby making those features visible to probes outside of the PP; clitic-doubling, on the other hand, is analyzed as an instance of the (P^0+)D^0 head of a given argument affixing to the probe (as per the so-called *Big DP hypothesis*; Torrego 1988, Uriagereka 1995).[26] Since D^0 can undergo head-movement to P^0 (under the proper featural configuration), it is clear that even in noun-phrases marked with inherent Case, the morphological material associated with D^0 can find itself in a structural position that is accessible to clitic-doubling (namely, on the P^0 head of the argument marked with inherent Case). This puts noun-phrases marked with inherent Case and those marked with structural Case on a par, for purposes of clitic-doubling: in both cases, the morphological material associated with D^0 can, at least in principle, be targeted for clitic-doubling.

[26] This exposition is not intended to, and cannot, do justice to Rezac's (2008a) proposal; it is included here simply as a means of conducting the current discussion in somewhat more concrete terms. I strongly urge the reader to refer to Rezac (2008a) for more details.

Thus, whether or not the morphological material associated with D^0 ends up affixed to the φ-probe (i.e., whether or not the noun-phrase ends up *clitic-doubled*) is orthogonal to whether or not the DP is wrapped inside a PP (i.e., whether the Case-marking on the DP is *structural* or *inherent*).

3.5. The Locus of Variation

As mentioned at the outset (and discussed extensively by Etxepare 2006), the LDA-like effects under discussion are restricted to "substandard" Basque. Other varieties of Basque do not allow the features of agreement-morphemes in the upstairs clause in the Case-marked construction and the adpositional construction to be determined by noun-phrases in the embedded clause.

Within the current proposal, this variation can be captured in terms of categorical selection by $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$:

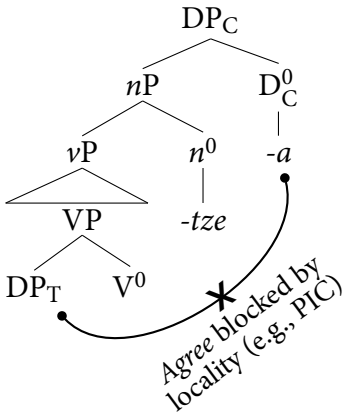
(44) CAPTURING VARIATION IN TERMS OF SELECTION REQUIREMENTS OF $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$

a. varieties without LDA-like effect: $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ always selects *v*P

b. varieties with LDA-like effect: $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ can select VP (in obligatory control contexts)

To see why (44a) would block the LDA-like effects under discussion, let us first consider the Case-marked construction:

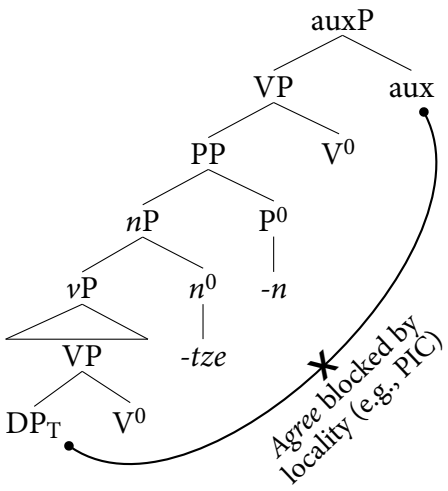
(45) $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ SELECTS *v*P → *LDA-LIKE EFFECTS BLOCKED (CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION)*



As shown in §2.4 and §3.3, transmitting the features of DP_T (the argument of the downstairs verb) to the upstairs auxiliary in the Case-marked construction is crucially dependent on establishing an *Agree* relation between D^0_C (the article heading the nominalized clause) and DP_T. However, if the complement of $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ is a *v*P, such an *Agree* relation would span across a locality boundary (e.g., a phase), and would therefore be illicit.

Next, consider the adpositional construction:

(46) $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ SELECTS vP → *LDA-LIKE EFFECTS BLOCKED (ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION)*



In the adpositional construction, the features of DP_T can only be transmitted to the upstairs auxiliary by means of *Agree* (since clitic-doubling would violate the clause-mate restriction; see §3.1). Again, however, if the complement of $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ is a *v*P, such an *Agree* relation would span across a locality boundary (e.g., a phase), and would therefore be illicit.

Just like the analysis of the variety of Basque that exhibits LDA-like effects, the proposed account of the variety that lacks them does not require any difference between the Case-marked construction and the adpositional construction, as far as the syntax internal to *n*P is concerned (cf. §2.4).

To summarize, within the current proposal, variation in the category selected by $[\text{-}tze]_{n^0}$ accounts for the attested variation on whether the Case-marked construction and the adpositional construction exhibit LDA-like effects.

3.6. Unergatives in Basque: Not Underlying Transitives, After All?

In previous sections, we have seen the effects of disrupting clitic-doubling of the dative noun-phrase (§3.1–§3.2), as well as clitic-doubling of the ergative noun-phrase (§3.4); we have also seen the effects of disrupting *Agree* by D^0_C (the article heading the nominalized clause) by embedding a ditransitive verb or an overt ergative subject in the Case-marked construction (§3.3, §3.4); and we have seen the effects of disrupting *Agree* by the auxiliary (in particular, *Agree* by the absolutive agreement-morpheme) by embedding a ditransitive verb or an overt ergative subject in the adpositional construction (§3.2, §3.4).

There is one more way to disrupt *Agree* by the auxiliary, which has not been examined so far. In §3.2, *Agree* by the auxiliary was disrupted by introducing an intervener (a dative noun-phrase that has not undergone clitic-doubling) in a position that is structurally in between the auxiliary and the absolutive noun-phrase; but what would be the fate of the absolutive agreement-morphemes in a derivation that simply lacked an absolutive noun-phrase altogether? In other words, what if *Agree* with the absolutive noun-phrase failed not due to a locality/minimality violation (i.e., intervention), but because there simply was no absolutive noun-phrase to be targeted?

On the current proposal, the prediction is that in a derivation where there is simply no absolutive noun-phrase to be found, the auxiliary will bear the hallmark of failed *Agree*: absolutive

agreement-morphemes reflecting default φ-features—which in Basque means *3rd-person singular*. Interestingly, this is precisely what one finds with simplex (i.e., non-analytic) unergative predicates in Basque:

(47) *AUXILIARY BEARS ABSOLUTIVE AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY EVEN WHEN ONLY OVERT DP IS ERGATIVE*

[Lehio-ko kristal-a-k] distiratu d- ϕ- u- ϕ.
window-GEN.LOC crystal-ART$_{sg}$-ERG shine 3.ABS- sg.ABS- have- 3sg.ERG
'The crystal in the window has shined.' *[Etxepare 2003:(93b)]*

In (47), the ergative agreement-morpheme on the auxiliary exhibits φ-features corresponding to the ergative noun-phrase (*lehio-ko kristal-a-k* 'window-GEN.LOC crystal-ART$_{sg}$-ERG'), and crucially, additional absolutive agreement-morphemes corresponding to 3rd-person singular—despite the fact that there is no 3rd-person singular absolutive noun-phrase to be found (and in fact no absolutive noun-phrase at all).

At first glance, this might seem to suggest that these unergatives are underlyingly transitive (Hale and Keyser 1993)—interpreting the 3rd-person singular absolutive agreement-morphemes as agreement with a tacit object which is not phonologically realized (or alternatively, an overt object which has been incorporated into a phonologically null light-verb). However, in light of the results in §3.1–§3.2, an auxiliary with 3rd-person singular absolutive agreement-morphemes is precisely what one would expect if an absolutive noun-phrase were completely absent (syntactically and phonologically)—in other words, it is precisely what one would expect if unergatives were underlyingly *intransitive*.

Given that the conclusions in §3.1–§3.2 were motivated independently of considerations having to do with argument-structure or the underlying nature of unergatives, and that these conclusions provide an alternative account for the appearance of 3rd-person singular absolutive agreement-morphemes in such environments, the appearance of these agreement-morphemes can no longer be taken as an argument for the underlying transitivity of these verbs.

This, by itself, does not constitute an argument that unergatives in Basque are underlyingly *intransitive*. Nevertheless, I believe that evidence for such an argument does exist. Consider (14a), repeated below:

(14) a. *A "REGULAR" EXAMPLE OF THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION, TARGETING AN ABSOLUTIVE DP$_T$*

[[Harri horiek]$_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
stone(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 3.ABS- pl.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They have attempted to lift those stones.'
(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]*

The matrix verb *probatu* ('attempt') in (14a) is very similar to the simplex unergatives discussed earlier; but in addition to the ergative subject (*pro*-3pl.ERG, in (14a)), it selects an adpositionally-headed embedded clause. Crucially, it selects no overt absolutive argument. If unergatives were underlyingly transitive—that is, if selecting an ergative subject were contingent on the existence of a tacit absolutive object—it would be entirely surprising that the absolutive agreement-morphemes on the auxiliary in (14a) are available to coindex the absolutive argument inside the adpositionally-headed embedded clause (*harri horiek* 'stone(s) those$_{pl}$(ABS)')—as

discussed extensively in §2.4—as opposed to bearing 3rd-person singular agreement with the aforementioned tacit object, like their counterparts in (47).

Under the current proposal, on the other hand, this behavior is entirely expected: 3rd-person singular absolutive agreement-morphemes in examples like (47), above, are the result of *Agree* failing to find an appropriate target; in (14a), such a target is available (in the form of an absolutive noun-phrase in the adpositionally-headed embedded clause), and therefore the *Agree* relation obtains.

A reviewer points out an additional advantage of the current proposal over the approach that takes simplex unergatives, of the kind exemplified by (47), to be underlyingly transitive. Simplex unergatives typically alternate with a light-verb construction, as shown in (48a–b):

(48) *SIMPLEX VS. LIGHT-VERB UNERGATIVES*

a. Jon-ek dantzatu d- ϕ- u- ϕ.
Jon-ERG dance-PRT 3.ABS- sg.ABS- have- 3sg.ERG
'Jon danced.'

b. Jon-ek dantza egin d- ϕ- u- ϕ.
Jon-ERG dance do 3.ABS- sg.ABS- have- 3sg.ERG
'Jon danced.'

In the light-verb construction in (48b), the complement of the light-verb *egin* ('do') is the bare nominal *dantza* ('dance'). It may therefore appear that both in (48a) and in (48b), the auxiliary exhibits absolutive agreement with this nominal element—and the difference between the two has something to do with incorporation, head-movement, and/or the phonological content of the light-verb itself. However, this approach runs into problems. As Etxepare (2003) observes, many of these unergative predicates are able to appear in a construction where the complement of the light-verb is not nominal, but rather locative or adverbial (resulting in an iterative reading):

(49) *POSSIBILITY OF LOCATIVE/ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENT TO LIGHT-VERB*

a. Dantza(n) egin d- ϕ- u- te.
dance-LOC do 3.ABS- sg.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
'They danced (repeatedly).'

b. Laster(ka) egin d-ϕ-u-te.
run-ADV do AUX
'They ran (repeatedly).'

c. Borroka(n) egin d-ϕ-u-te.
fight-LOC do AUX
'They fought (repeatedly).'

d. Oihu(ka) egin d-ϕ-u-te.
scream-ADV do AUX
'They screamed/yelled (repeatedly).'

e. Errieta(n) egin d-ϕ-u-te.
dispute-LOC do AUX
'They disputed (repeatedly).'

[Etxepare 2003:(117)]

Crucially, absolutive agreement-morphology on the auxiliary persists, whether the complement of the light-verb is nominal or not. If the source of absolutive agreement-morphology in (48a) were the nominal (*dantza* 'dance'), the persistence of absolutive agreement-morphology in examples such as (49a–e) would remain unexplained. Note that while it was shown in §2.4 that the adposition /*-n*/

does not constitute a locality boundary (e.g., a phase), its complement is not treated by the grammar as an absolutive noun-phrase; this, in fact, is what sets the adpositional construction apart from instances of the Case-marked construction in which DP_C happens to bear absolutive Case (see §2.4).

Under the current proposal, on the other hand, the persistence of absolutive agreement-morphology in examples such as (49a–e) is predictable: both in (48a) and in the locative/adverbial versions of (49a–e), there is no absolutive nominal to be found. As a result, the auxiliaries in both constructions bear the hallmark of failed *Agree*—namely, default (i.e., *3rd-person singular*) absolutive agreement-morphemes.[27]

3.7. Summary and Typological Implications

In the preceding subsections, I have argued that the various agreement-morphemes on the Basque auxiliary differ with respect to the mechanism by which they are generated—and in particular, that they come about according to the following classification:

(50) *BREAKDOWN OF AGREEMENT-MORPHEMES BY MECHANISM THAT GENERATES THEM*

agreement-morpheme	underlying mechanism
ABS	*Agree*
DAT, ERG	clitic-doubling

Arguments for this classification have come from observing well-established properties of *Agree* (Chomsky 2000, 2001) and clitic-doubling (Anagnostopoulou 2003)—such as their susceptibility (or lack thereof) to intervention, their effects (or lack thereof) on the subsequent status of their target as an intervener, and their differing locality restrictions—but also from the new diagnostic proposed in (8), and repeated below:

(8) *PROPOSED DIAGNOSTIC*

Given a scenario where the relation $\mathcal{R}$ between an agreement-morpheme $\mathcal{M}$ and target noun-phrase $\mathcal{X}$ is broken—but the result is still a grammatical utterance—the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about $\mathcal{R}$ as follows:

a. $\mathcal{M}$ shows up with default φ-features (rather than the features of $\mathcal{X}$) $\longrightarrow$ $\mathcal{R}$ is *Agree*

b. $\mathcal{M}$ disappears entirely $\longrightarrow$ $\mathcal{R}$ is clitic-doubling

Crucially, this diagnostic was shown to correlate reliably with the well-established properties of *Agree* and of clitic-doubling, which were mentioned earlier. Also, as discussed in the INTRODUCTION, the alignment in (8) represents an intuitively plausible state of affairs—in the sense that *Agree* is none other than feature-valuation, and therefore its failure should not result in the disappearance of the agreeing morpheme.

Furthermore, it was shown that being able to access the feature-values on absolutive noun-phrases, but not on other noun-phrases, was a general property of *Agree* in Basque—rather than just a property of the so-called "absolutive agreement-morpheme(s)" on the auxiliary. Evidence

[27] If it is indeed true that the relevant constructions lack an absolutive argument entirely, it raises several interesting questions regarding the mechanisms of Case-assignment, particularly with respect to accounts based on *Case competition*, which take ergative to be an instance of *dependent Case* (Marantz 1991, *et seq.*). I leave these questions to future research.

for this came from instances of *Agree* in the Case-marked construction between the article heading the nominalized clause (D^0_C) and a noun-phrase within that clause (DP_T).

From a typological perspective, this is a particularly interesting result. As discussed in §2.1, Basque may appear at first glance to be a language that exhibits agreement with all Case-marked arguments in a given clause. However, when the agreement-morphemes generated by clitic-doubling are factored out, one is left with a system in which agreement (i.e., *Agree*) targets only absolutive noun-phrases.

As Boeckx (2000), Bobaljik (2008), Holmberg and Hroarsdottir (2003), Schutze (1997), and others have shown, φ-feature agreement in Icelandic consistently targets only nominative noun-phrases—despite the fact that Icelandic does have non-nominative subjects. Basque, on the current proposal, is precisely the mirror image of Icelandic through the "NOM-ACC/ERG-ABS looking-glass": in both languages, *Agree* targets noun-phrases in the unmarked Case (nominative for Icelandic, absolutive for Basque), and only those noun-phrases—regardless of the inventory of Case-marked noun-phrases that happen to be present in a given clause.[28] Interestingly, Basque may also exhibit the mirror image of Icelandic predicates that take quirky subjects—namely, predicates that take an ergative argument but no absolutive one (see §3.6).

4. A PCC-compatible Implementation

Throughout this paper, I have avoided phrasing the proposal in terms that would limit its scope to a particular framework of analysis, or a particular set of background assumptions—except where absolutely necessary—in the obvious interest of making the eventual conclusions as independent as possible of such assumptions. I have therefore avoided unnecessary commitments on issues such as the structure of ditransitive verb-phrases; the underlying nature of ergativity (or the ergativity-parameter); the mechanics of Case-assignment; the precise mechanism behind clitic-doubling (as opposed to the properties that clitic-doubling, as a relation, exhibits); and others.

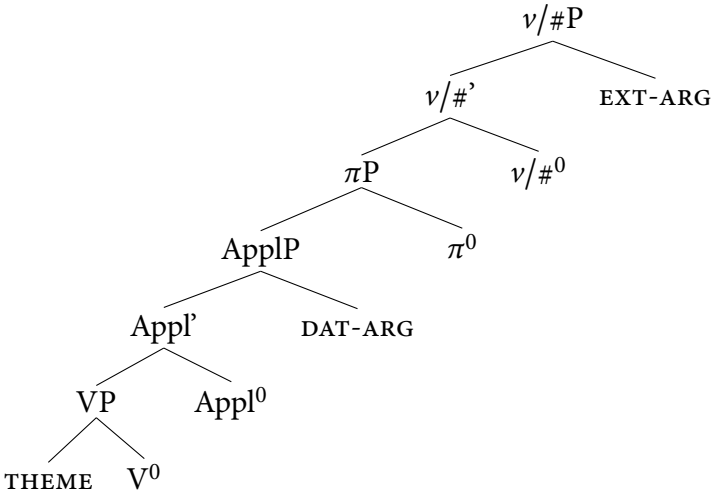
Nonetheless, following a reviewer's question, I will consider one possible implementation of the proposal in more specific and explicit terms. The reviewer asks how the current proposal relates to the *Person Case Constraint* (henceforth, *PCC*)—the effect that forces absolutive φ-features in ditransitive constructions to be *3rd-person* (throughout this section, the term *ditransitive* refers to true three-place predicates; the behavior of clauses with two internal arguments but no external argument with respect to the PCC in Basque is different; see Rezac's 2008b discussion of *applicative unaccusatives*). As it turns out, once these details are fleshed out, the current proposal works in perfect harmony with at least one well-known approach to the PCC—namely, the one taken by Anagnostopoulou (2003) and Bejar and Rezac (2003).

In addition to this account of the PCC, the implementation presented below draws on proposals by Arregi and Nevins (2008) and Rezac (2004, 2008a,b)—but differs in certain details, which are crucial to capture the observations made in sections §2–§3. For concreteness, let us assume that *person* (π) and *number* (#) are separate probes (following Bejar and Rezac 2003; see also Sigurdsson and Holmberg 2008, Taraldsen 1995), and that the dative argument is introduced by ApplP, in its specifier (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Marantz 1993, McGinnis 1998, Pylkkanen 2002,

[28] Note that this restriction is itself reminiscent of the *Hindi-Urdu agreement rule* (Bhatt 2005), which states that a probe will agree with the first noun-phrase in its scope that does not bear an overt Case-marking adposition.

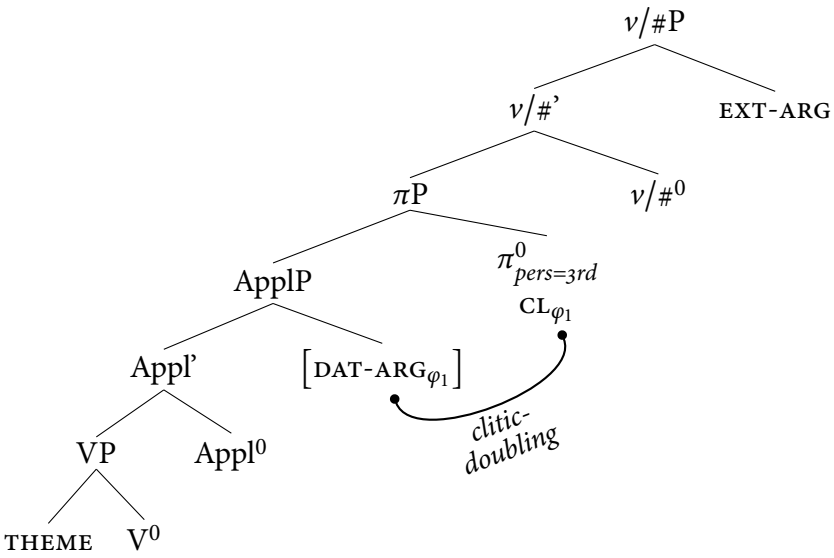
Ura 1996; and for Basque, see Elordieta 2001). I will assume the clause-structure in (51), in terms of base-generation sites:

(51) *DITRANSITIVE VERB-PHRASE: BASE-GENERATION*



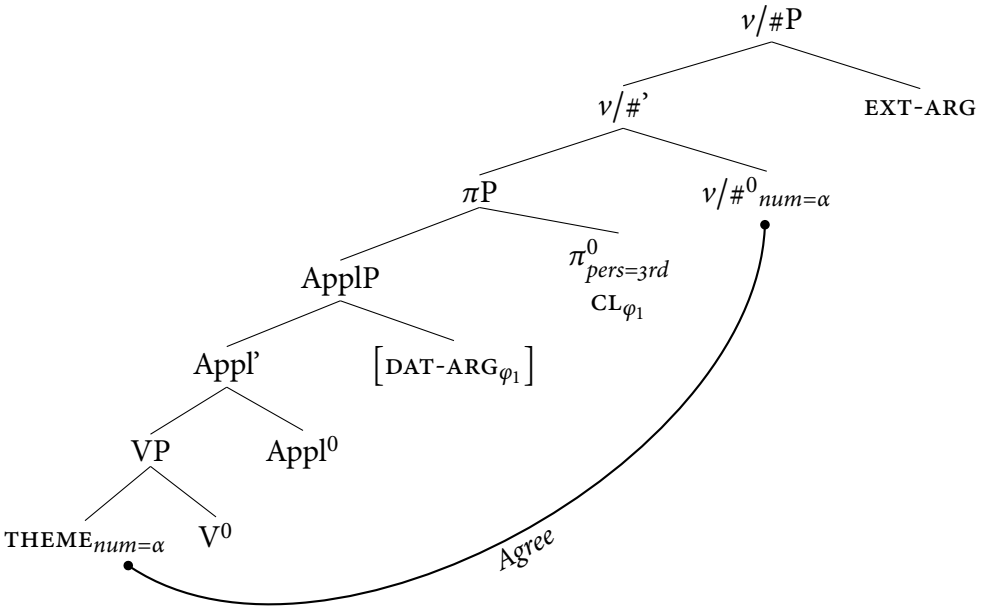
The derivational sequence would proceed as follows. First, π^0 probes for *person*-features in its domain. Anagnostopoulou's (2003) and Bejar and Rezac's (2003) account of the PCC assumes that dative noun-phrases, while preventing π^0 from probing further (and thus, from finding the absolutive direct object), cannot value the *person*-feature on π^0 with their own *person*-value. Interestingly, in §3.2–§3.3, dative noun-phrases were shown to behave in the exact same way with respect to *number*-probes (and independently of the PCC), suggesting that this is a property of datives with respect to *Agree* in general. The presence of DAT-ARG in [Spec,ApplP] thus results in default features on π^0—namely, *3rd-person*—regardless of the *person*-features of DAT-ARG. Given that π^0 and DAT-ARG are clause-mates, DAT-ARG undergoes clitic-doubling—affixing a pronominal clitic to π^0, and rendering the full dative noun-phrase invisible to further *Agree* operations:

(52) *DITRANSITIVE VERB-PHRASE: AFTER π-PROBING*



Next, v^0—which is also the probe for *number*—searches its domain. At this point, DAT-ARG is invisible (as a result of having undergone clitic-doubling), and thus the #-probe finds the THEME argument, valuing its own *number*-feature with the value found on the THEME (marked α, in (53)):

(53) *DITRANSITIVE VERB-PHRASE: AFTER #-PROBING*



If so-called "absolutive agreement-morphemes" are in fact the combination of the π^0 head and the $v/\#^0$ head, then in the derivation depicted in (51–53), absolutive *person*-morphology will reflect the value *3rd-person*, found on π^0—regardless of the *person*-features of the THEME—while absolutive *number*-morphology will reflect whatever value was transmitted from the THEME to $v/\#^0$ (marked α, in (53)). Also, if absolutive agreement does indeed come about by the combination of these two heads (π^0 and $v/\#^0$), we can account for the existence of sub-paradigms in which the *number* and *person* morphemes corresponding to the absolutive φ-features show up on opposite sides of the auxiliary root—a property found with absolutive agreement-morphology, but never with dative or ergative agreement-morphology (for examples of such sub-paradigms, see §3.4). Alongside the π^0 and $v/\#^0$ morphemes, (53) predicts that we will find a dative clitic (marked CL_{φ_1}, in (53)), reflecting the full set of φ-features (both *number* and *person*) of the full dative noun-phrase.

To summarize, the prediction is that we will find an agreement-complex that includes a morpheme corresponding to *3rd-person*, a morpheme corresponding to the *number*-feature of the THEME, and a clitic reflecting the full φ-feature set of the dative noun-phrase—precisely the attested state of affairs in PCC contexts (following Bejar and Rezac 2003, a *1st/2nd-person* absolutive argument cannot appear unless licensed by a π^0 head bearing the same feature-value; in particular, they cannot appear if π^0 bears a *3rd-person* value).[29]

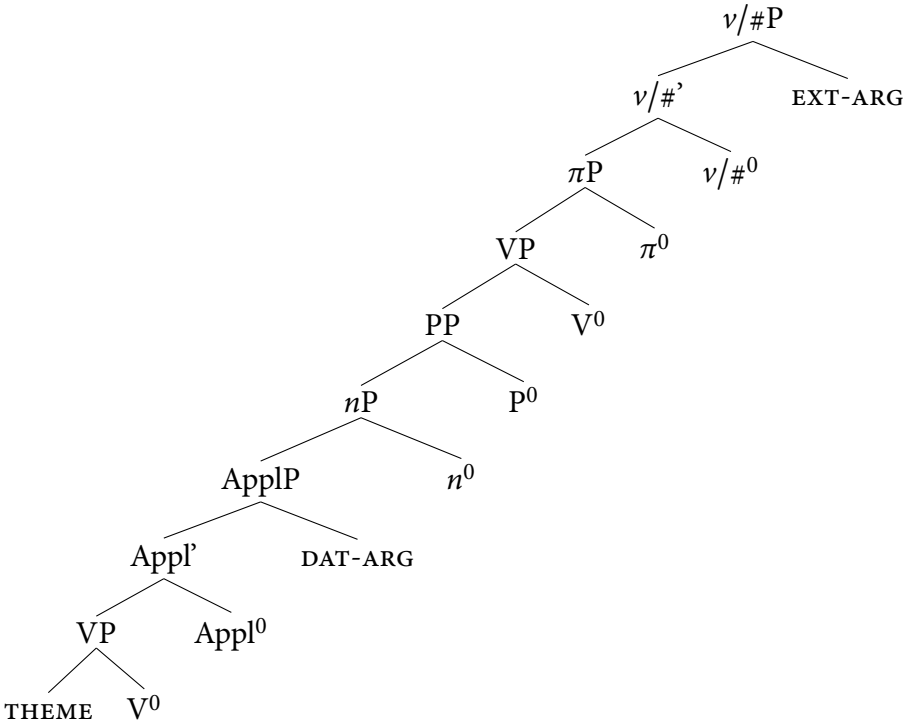
Under these assumptions, clitic-doubling of the dative argument, and its resulting invisibility, are not only unproblematic (from the perspective of the PCC), but in fact crucial to the derivation: if the

[29] In the interest of brevity, the derivation in (51–53), as well as the discussion of it, abstract away from the ergative external argument and the corresponding agreement-morphemes. The agreement complex will of course normally include these ergative agreement-morphemes, as well—but the focus of this discussion is the interaction between the current proposal and the PCC.

dative noun-phrase were not rendered invisible, step (53) would not go through; the full dative noun-phrase would intervene, preventing the *number*-feature of the THEME from being probed by $v/\#^0$ (following Anagnostopoulou 2003, and Rezac's 2008a adaptation thereof for Basque).

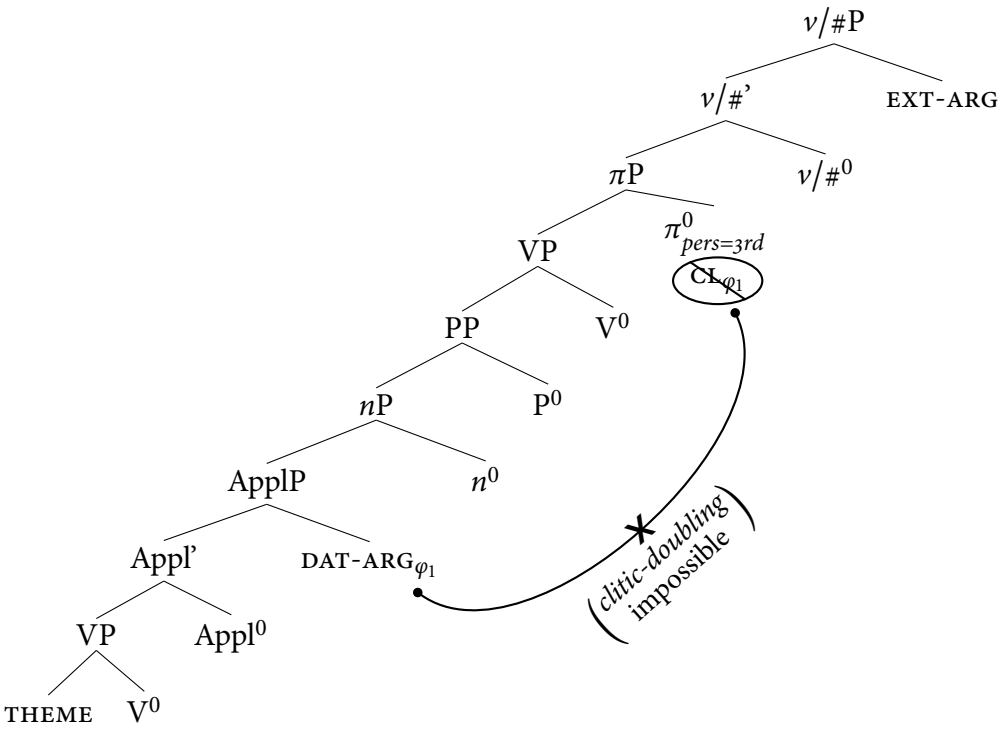
Next, consider a scenario in which the dative argument is too far away from π^0 to undergo clitic-doubling, because the dative argument and π^0 are not clause-mates—such as an instance of the adpositional construction in which the embedded verb-phrase is ditransitive (as discussed in §3.2):

(54) *DITRANSITIVE WITHIN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION: BASE-GENERATION*



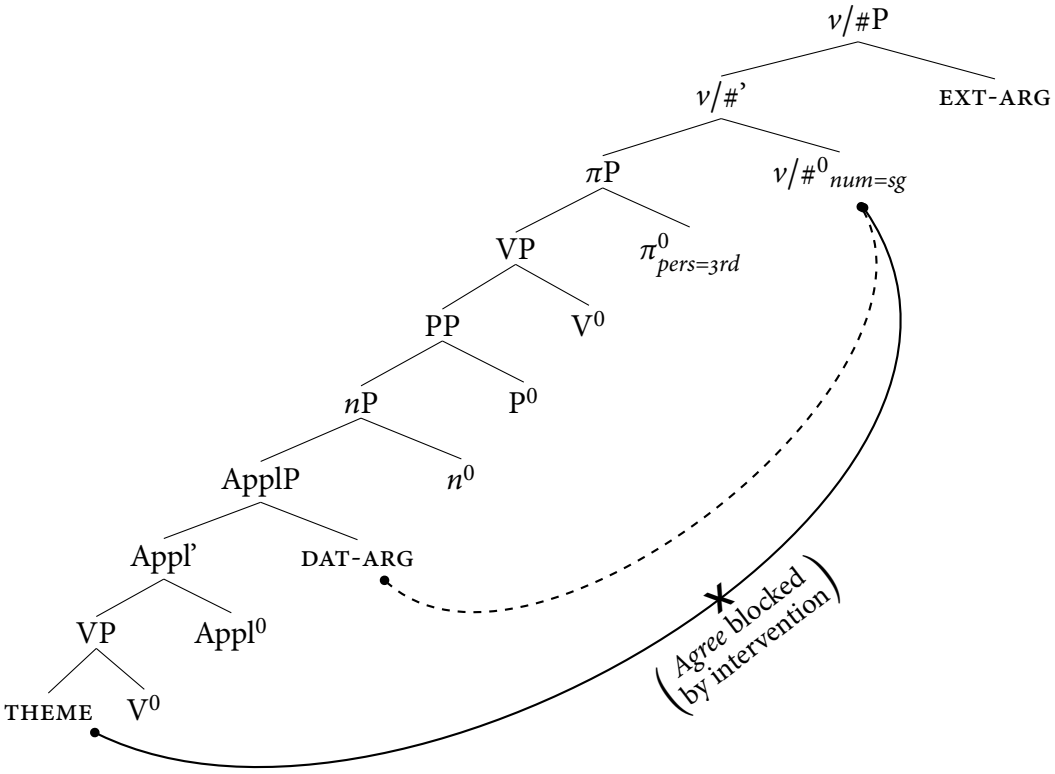
In this scenario, probing by π^0 will once again result in *3rd-person* on the π-probe—since the closest noun-phrase is the dative argument, which prevents the probe from searching further, but cannot transfer its own φ-features to the probe. However, unlike in (51–53), the dative argument and π^0 do not stand in a clause-mate relation, and therefore clitic-doubling cannot occur:

(55) *DITRANSITIVE WITHIN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION: AFTER π-PROBING*



As a result, the full dative noun-phrase is not rendered invisible (cf. (52)), and intervenes in probing by $v/\#^0$, as well; once again, the dative argument prevents the probe from searching further, but cannot transfer its own φ-features (in this case, *number*) to the probe, resulting in *num=sg* on the #-probe:

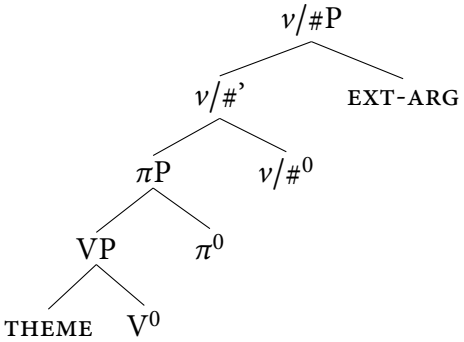
(56) *DITRANSITIVE WITHIN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION: AFTER #-PROBING*



This matches the attested state of affairs precisely: as shown in §3.2, a ditransitive verb-phrase embedded within the adpositional construction prevents both the *person* and the *number* features of the downstairs THEME, or of the intervening dative argument, from being transmitted to the upstairs "auxiliary"—which under these assumptions, consists of the π^0-$v/\#^0$ complex.

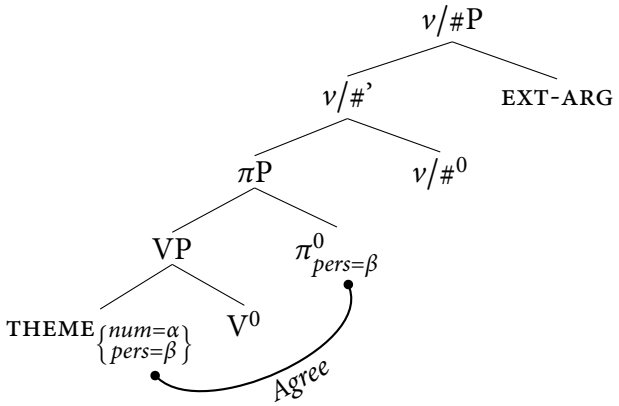
Finally, consider a simple, mono-transitive verb-phrase:

(57) *MONO-TRANSITIVE VERB-PHRASE: BASE-GENERATION*

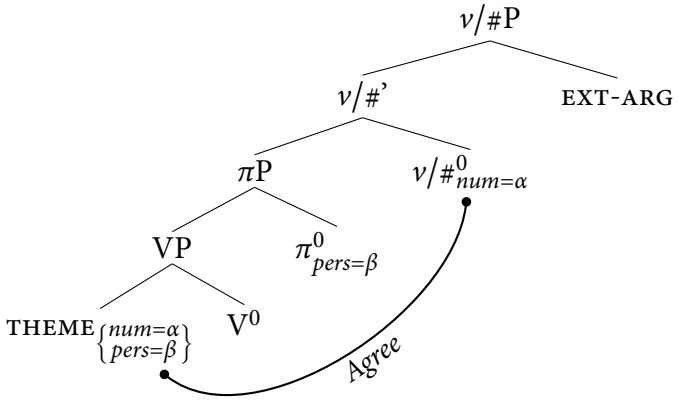


In this case, π^0 and $v/\#^0$ can both probe the corresponding features on the THEME, without intervention by any other noun-phrase—resulting in both the *person* and *number* features of THEME valuing their counterparts on π^0 and $v/\#^0$, respectively:

(58) *MONO-TRANSITIVE VERB-PHRASE: AFTER π-PROBING*



(59) *MONO-TRANSITIVE VERB-PHRASE: AFTER #-PROBING*



This, of course, gives rise the standard pattern of agreement for mono-transitive clauses in Basque (again, given that so-called "absolutive agreement-morphemes" are the combination of π^0 and $v/\#^0$). It is worth noting that the system set up in this section derives, without further assumptions, the fact that the morpheme that bears the PCC effect (i.e., the morpheme that is forced to reflect *3rd-person* features in ditransitives, as in (52), above), is the same morpheme that reflects the *person*-features of the direct object in mono-transitives—namely, π^0.

It is also of interest that, under these assumptions, there is no sense in which the auxiliary needs to "know" the valence of the verb (in other words, whether it is transitive or ditransitive) in order to carry the correct number of agreement-morphemes. In this system, the presence of a dative clitic on the auxiliary is simply a result of the dative noun-phrase being probed by π^0, and undergoing subsequent clitic-doubling onto the π^0 head.[30]

As mentioned earlier, this section is not intended as an integral part of the current proposal; one can easily accept the general proposal presented in this paper, but opt for a different technical implementation thereof. Rather, it is intended to illustrate one such implementation, which turns out to mesh quite well with Anagnostopoulou's (2003) and Bejar and Rezac's (2003) approach to the PCC (an insight that I owe to the reviewer having raised the question, in the first place).

[30] Instances in which the auxiliary root is phonologically different across different auxiliary valencies can be handled in terms of contextual allomorphy, conditioned by the presence of the dative clitic. For a concrete proposal along these lines, see Arregi and Nevins (2008).

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have proposed a novel diagnostic for distinguishing between *Agree* and clitic-doubling, based on the behavior of constructions in which the relation between an agreement-morpheme and the corresponding full noun-phrase breaks down. In particular, if the construction can be salvaged by replacing the agreement-morpheme with one that reflects default φ-features, this is taken to indicate that the relation is an *Agree* relation; on the other hand, if the construction can be salvaged by eliminating the agreement-morpheme altogether, this is taken to indicate that the relation is a clitic-doubling relation.

The workings of the proposed diagnostic were demonstrated using a family of LDA-like constructions in "substandard" Basque (Etxepare 2006). The verdict reached using the new diagnostic was shown to correlate reliably with the verdicts generated by well established properties of *Agree* (Chomsky 2000, 2001) and clitic-doubling (Anagnostopoulou 2003).

The particular analysis of Basque facilitated by these diagnostics places Basque on a par with familiar agreement systems: once the agreement-morphemes generated by clitic-doubling are factored out, one is left with a system in which *Agree* targets only absolutive noun-phrases—precisely the ergative-absolutive mirror image of familiar nominative-accusative agreement systems, in which *Agree* targets only nominative noun-phrases (e.g., Icelandic; see Boeckx 2000, Bobaljik 2008, Holmberg and Hroarsdottir 2003, Schutze 1997, among others).

Appendix: "Dative Harmony" Dialect(s)

There is one instance of a ditransitive Case-marked construction with a plural downstairs argument DP, in which for some speakers, using a plural agreement-morpheme on the auxiliary is marginal, rather than outright ungrammatical. This is an instance of the Case-marked construction in which the nominalized clause appears in the dative Case, and both internal arguments of the embedded ditransitive verb are plural:

(60) *BOTH ARGUMENTS OF DOWNSTAIRS DITRANSITIVE ARE PLURAL, DP_C IS DATIVE → PLURAL AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY IS TOLERABLE (FOR SOME SPEAKERS)*

*/? Uko egin d- i- ϕ- e- ϕ [[lankide-e-i]
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- 3sg.ERG colleague(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT
[opari-ak] egi-te-a-ri]$_{DP_C}$ haien urtebetzea-n.
present(s)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) do-NMZ-ART-DAT their birthday-LOC
'He or she has refused to make presents for the colleagues for their birthday.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(i), fn. 28]*

As observed by Etxepare (2006), this is arguably an entirely separate phenomenon—since changing the plurality of *either* the absolutive *opari-ak* ('present(s)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS)') or the dative *lankide-e-i* ('colleague(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT') renders use of the plural dative agreement-morpheme on the upstairs auxiliary (/*-e-*/) completely ungrammatical, even for those speakers who marginally tolerate (60):

(61) a. *PLURALITY OF DATIVE ARGUMENT ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH TO RENDER PLURAL AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY TOLERABLE*

* Uko egin d- i- ϕ- e- ϕ [[lankide-a-ri]
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- 3sg.ERG colleague-ART$_{sg}$-DAT
[opari-ak egi-te-a-ri]$_{DP_C}$.
present(s)-ART$_{pl}$(ABS) do-NMZ-ART-DAT
'He or she has refused to make presents for the colleague.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG])

b. *PLURALITY OF ABSOLUTIVE ARGUMENT ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH TO RENDER PLURAL AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY TOLERABLE*

* Uko egin d- i- ϕ- e- ϕ [[lankide-e-i]
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- 3sg.ERG colleague(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT
[opari-a egi-te-a-ri]$_{DP_C}$.
present-ART$_{sg}$(ABS) do-NMZ-ART-DAT
'He or she has refused to make a present for the colleagues.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG])

Similarly, a dative DP_C that embeds a mono-transitive verb taking a sole dative argument is judged marginal by the same speakers who accept (60) (speakers who reject (60), reject (62) as well):

(62) *SINGLE DATIVE ARGUMENT OF DOWNSTAIRS VERB IS PLURAL, DP_C IS DATIVE → PLURAL AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY ON UPSTAIRS AUXILIARY IS TOLERABLE (FOR SOME SPEAKERS)*

*/? Uko egin d- i- ϕ- e- ϕ [[buruzagi-e-i]]$_{DP_T}$
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 3pl.DAT- 3sg.ERG chief(s)-ART$_{pl}$-DAT
obedi-tze-a-ri]$_{DP_C}$.
obey-NMZ-ART-DAT
'He or she has refused to obey the chiefs.'
(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG]) *[Etxepare 2006:(105)]*

Since the acceptance of (62) is restricted to those speakers who accept (60), both are plausibly the result of a "dative harmony" effect, which can be characterized as follows: for these speakers, a plural dative DP_T can marginally transmit its number features to D^0_C provided that (a) DP_C is itself dative, and (b) there are no singular noun-phrases within DP_C (not even absolutive ones). This sensitivity to the plurality of other noun-phrases in the embedded clause (as well as the marginality of the construction, even for those speakers who accept it) suggests that "dative harmony" is some kind of processing effect, rather than a grammatical effect per se. Note that even for these speakers, targeting a dative noun-phrase in the adpositional construction (as in (16) in §2.2) is completely ruled out.

Interestingly, there is evidence of a very similar effect with respect to defective intervention in Icelandic. As noted in the INTRODUCTION, a dative experiencer argument in Icelandic will give rise to intervention, blocking *Agree* between the matrix tensed verb and an embedded nominative subject (see (6–7), in section §1), resulting in default (i.e., singular) number agreement on the matrix verb. However, if both the dative experiencer argument *and* the embedded nominative subject are

plural, using plural agreement-morphology on the matrix verb becomes marginally tolerable, for some speakers:

(63) *"DATIVE HARMONY" IN ICELANDIC: PLURAL AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY ON UPSTAIRS VERB MARGINALLY TOLERABLE IF **BOTH** INTERVENER AND TARGET ARE PLURAL*

? Það finnast mörgum stúdentum [tölvurnar ljótar]. (Icelandic)
EXPL find.pl many students.pl.DAT the.computers.pl.NOM ugly
'Many students find the computers ugly.' *[Holmberg and Hroarsdottir 2003:(i), fn. 6]*

Crucially, as with the Basque "dative harmony" effect exemplified by (60–62), the effect is dependent on the plurality of *both* the dative experiencer and the nominative embedded subject. Compare (63) with (64a–b), below:

(64) a. *PLURALITY OF DATIVE INTERVENER ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH TO RENDER PLURAL AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY ON UPSTAIRS VERB TOLERABLE*

* Það finnast mörgum stúdentum [tölvan ljótar].
EXPL find.pl many students.pl.DAT the.computer.sg.NOM ugly
'Many students find the computer ugly.' *[Holmberg and Hroarsdottir 2003:(iii), fn. 6]*

b. *PLURALITY OF TARGET NOMINATIVE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH TO RENDER PLURAL AGREEMENT-MORPHOLOGY ON UPSTAIRS VERB TOLERABLE*

* Það finnast einhverjum stúdent [tölvan ljótar].
EXPL find.pl some student.sg.DAT the.computer.sg.NOM ugly
'Some student finds the computer ugly.' *[Holmberg and Hroarsdottir 2003:(ii), fn. 6]*

It therefore appears that an effect very similar to Basque "dative harmony" is also attested in certain dialects of Icelandic.

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