

The Person Case Constraint and Absolutive Displacement in Basque*

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Abstract: This paper develops and verifies a prediction of the syntactic "Case/Agree" approach to the Person Case Constraint (PCC), whereby person Agree by a head H with a DP is blocked across an intervener. The prediction is that movement of the DP past the intervener should be able to feed person Agree with H. This is demonstrated by applicative unaccusatives in Basque. The PCC occurs for all speakers, and blocks person Agree between the absolutive Case/Agree locus v and 1st/2nd person subject, in the presence of a dative experiencer. Some speakers allow the subject to become ergative in all and only PCC contexts (absolutive displacement). The subject raises past the dative to satisfy the EPP of T. It is argued that the raising allows a new person Agree relation between ergative Case/Agree locus T and the subject, in which the dative can no longer intervene. Icelandic "long raising" is adduced to illustrate the proposed contingency of agreement on movement. Extension to accusative languages resolves the mystery of the apparent absence of the PCC from applicative unaccusatives in them. The result is simply not detectable from surface case and agreement in them, but the mechanics correctly predict that the PCC resurfaces when the subject cannot move past the intervener.

1 Introduction

The *Person Case Constraint*, henceforth *PCC*, describes the impossibility of (person) agreement with a 1st/2nd person pronoun in certain contexts, and/or the impossibility of such a pronoun itself. (1) exemplifies the PCC in Basque, an ergative language. The verb *gustatu* 'appeal to, like' is has a dative experiencer and an absolutive theme, which controls agreement in person and number (underlined). A 3rd person theme is unproblematic. However, a 1st/2nd person theme cannot control the expected person agreement morphology. The morphology itself is fine; substituting the *hurbiltzen* 'approaching' for *gustatzen* in (1) yields the unproblematic "They / I approach Itxaso".¹

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¹ Abbreviations used in the glosses are: A agent, ABS absolutive, ACC accusative, ALL allative, ART article, BEN benefactive applicative, COM comitative applicative, DAT dative, DYN dynamic, ERG ergative, ETH ethical dative, F feminine, FUT future (FUT1 of O'Herin 2002), GEN genitive, INF infinitive, HON honorific, INST instrumental applicative, LOC locative applicative, M masculine, NOM nominative, N neuter / inanimate, NPT non-past, O direct object, O' applied object, POS possessive, PL plural, PL' plural morpheme different from PL (Basque), PT past, PV Abaza preverb, SE Romance *se* clitic, SG singular, SUBJ subjunctive, TM theme marker (Basque verb), X default prefix (Basque verb); 1, 2, 3 for 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; Basque distinguishes in person 1 1st person singular from 1' first person plural (independently of the further number distinction). Also in the Basque verb, $\sqrt{\quad}$ introduces a root; in most cases the root is an auxiliary whose choice depends on what Case is assigned in addition to the absolutive, so that \sqrt{E} , \sqrt{ED} , \sqrt{D} are used for auxiliaries characterized by assigning ergative + absolutive, ergative + dative + absolutive, and absolutive + dative (Albizu 2002). The notation $\langle\alpha\rangle \dots \langle\beta\rangle$ indicates only one of α , β is to be

- (1) a. Haiek_i Itxaso-ri_j gustatzen zai-zki_i-o_j
 3PL.ABS Itxaso-DAT liking √D-PL-3
 Itxaso likes them.
 b. *Ni_i Itxaso-ri_j gustatzen ni-a-tzai-o_j.
 1SG.ABS Itxaso-DAT liking 1-TM-√D-3
 Itxaso likes me. (see further section 3, example (18))

In this paper I adopt and extend an approach to the Person Case Constraint based on ϕ -Agree and Case licensing. It puts at the heart of the PCC the intervention of a DP, like the dative experiencer of *gustatu* in (1)b, for person agreement. Person agreement itself is construed as an unbounded, locality-sensitive syntactic dependency. The framework is the Agree model of Chomsky (2000) et seq., of which the following elements will be important:²

- (2) a. *Agree*: Syntactic dependencies are established by Agree between an uninterpretable feature, called a *probe*, and *matching* interpretable features on a *goal*.
 b. *Features*: Features are composed of types, such as "person", and values, such as "1st". Features *match* if identical in type. Agree copies values from the goal to the probe.
 c. *Locality*: (i) *Search-space*: The probe must c-command the goal, which is thus in its search space. (ii) *Feature-relativized locality*: A probe cannot Agree with a goal across a matching feature c-commanding the goal. (See (3), where > is c-command).

- (3) Goal_A with F > Probe for F > Goal_B with F > Goal_C with F
 * √ *
- Agree*

The probes in the syntactic domain discussed here are always ϕ -features such as person and number, and potential goals bear matching ϕ -features. A further relevant aspect of the framework is that structural Case is assigned to a goal by the probe in ϕ -Agree. It is convenient to have a term for those functional heads that have ϕ -probes, Agree with DPs, and assign Case: these will be *Case/Agree loci*, or more briefly *CA loci*.

I will refer to the class of approaches that seek to derive the Person Case Constraint from ϕ -Agree and/or Case licensing as the *CA (Case/Agree) approach* (Taraldsen 1995, Albizu 1997, Ormazabal and Romero 1998, forthcoming, Chomsky 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Béjar and Rezac 2003, D'Alessandro 2004). The CA approach proposes to describe the PCC as follows, and then sets out to explain it:

realized on a particular reading (it is the discontinuous analogue of α/β).

In presenting Basque data, I code the consultant according to note 20. I regularize dialectal variation in line with *euskara batua* "unified Basque", when this does not affect the relevant morphological break-down. For example, *gusta_x-tzen_y d_i-i_j-da_k-zu_l* (lik-ing X-√ED-1-2) is *gusta_x-tze_y-y_{i+j}-a_k-zu_l* for T1; only the merger of the default prefix *d* and the root *i > y* has occurred, and when that is not relevant to the discussion, the former form is given.

² α c-commands β iff α is the sister of a constituent γ that reflexively contains β (α Merges with γ). For issues in the interaction of c-command and bare phrase structure as given by Merge, which depend on whether there are, and what are, labels (mutual c-command, specifier-head c-command, complex specifiers), see Fitzpatrick (2002), Abels (2003: chapter 2), Rezac (2004: chapter 1), and note 23 below. Different models of matching and valuation are discussed in Béjar (2003: chapter 2), Pesetsky and Torrego (forthcoming), with further references.

- (4) Person Case Constraint: A 1st/2nd person DP Y cannot Agree with and get Case from a CA locus H if another DP X intervenes between the two; X is possibly embedded in a PP or an inherent Case shell. If Y has no other means of getting Case-licensed, it fails to receive Case at the end of the derivation, resulting in a crash.

- (5)
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{H} & > & (\text{P}) & \text{X} & > & \text{Y: 1}^{\text{st}}/\text{2}^{\text{nd}} \text{ person} & > \text{ is c-command} \\ & & \underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}} & * & & & * \text{Case/Agree} \end{array}$$

The CA approach makes certain predictions about the relative configuration of X and Y. These predictions are the subject of this paper. First, X must intervene between H and Y. If X is below Y there is no PCC, though other properties such as case and agreement be the same. An illustration can be found in the Basque unaccusative verb *hurbildu* 'approach' mentioned above, which has a dative goal of motion instead of the experiencer of *gustatu* 'like'. The two datives of *gustatu* and *hurbildu* differ in that the experiencer dative of *gustatu* is base-generated above the theme, while the goal dative of *hurbildu* below, as section 3 shows. Only in the former scenario does the dative intervene as X between the theme as Y and a higher probe. Accordingly, (1)b with *hurbildu*, unlike with *gustatu*, shows no PCC.

Second, if Y moves past the intervener X, a configuration is established where X can no longer intervene for person Agree between Y and some CA locus H, provided that Y remains in the search-space of H. Thus, the movement of 1st/2nd person Y past an intervener should void the PCC. This prediction is the main subject of this paper. I will adduce a new paradigm from Basque dialects to illustrate it, *absolute displacement*, exemplified in (6). Here also *gustatu* appears as in (1)b, with the same configuration of arguments and ϕ -features, but no PCC is incurred. The absence of the PCC correlates with ergative case on and ergative-type agreement by the unaccusative 1SG theme. This is an anomaly of canonical correlations between case/agreement and theta-roles, which occurs only in potential PCC contexts. I will argue that it arises through Agree between the theme and the ergative CA locus T, after the theme (Y) moves past the dative intervener (X) to satisfy the EPP of T, and I will bring an unrelated paradigm from Icelandic to verify the mechanics of this proposal.

- (6) Ni-k_i Itxaso-ri_j gustatzen d-i-o_j-t_i.
 1SG-ERG Itxaso-DAT liking X-√ED-3-1
 Itxaso likes me. (T1, see further section 4)

PCC and absolute displacement in Basque shed considerable light on the PCC in unaccusative + dative structures in other languages. The assembled paradigms show a persistent correlation between the PCC and the intervention of X in the configuration (5) at the point of H-Y person Agree. Apparent counter-examples come either from the base-generation of X below Y so that there is in fact no intervention, which has already been argued in the literature (Albizu 1997, Anagnostopoulou 2003); or from movement of Y past the intervener X, for which absolute displacement for the first time witnesses clearly a theoretical move made in the CA approach literature (Albizu 1997, Ormazabal and Romero 1998, Béjar and Rezac 2003).

The article is organized as follows: In section 2 I develop the CA approach and specify its predictions. Section 3 lays the groundwork for absolute displacement by examining dative-absolutive constructions in Basque, and showing that there is a correlation between the occurrence of the PCC and the base-generation of the dative above the theme. Sections 4 and 5

are the heart of the paper: absolutive displacement is introduced and analysed, and the parallel of Icelandic long raising is adduced to support the analysis. Section 6 shows how the PCC in other languages fits the CA approach, and why accusative languages often seem to be anomalous. Section 7 concludes by further sharpening the predictions of the CA approach and comparing other agreement restrictions.

2 The Case/Agree approach to the Person Case Constraint

Before introducing the PCC itself, the domain of investigation must be introduced: applicative constructions, in both ergative and accusative languages.

I will discuss examples from languages that are syntactically accusative but morphologically accusative or ergative.³ The manifestation of this difference is that in accusative languages the subject of transitives (A) and intransitives (S) pattern together for case and agreement morphology, nominative, while the object of transitives (O) is accusative, (7)a. In ergative languages of the kind considered here, S and O pattern together for case and agreement as absolutive, and A is differentiated as ergative. The syntactic unity of both types of languages is that c-command relationships among arguments are $A > O$, and that both A and S pass certain subjecthood properties. The details of the theory of the ergative-accusative difference that I adopt, that of Bobaljik (1993), Laka (1993), are discussed in section 3. The essential is this. Both types of languages have the same to CA loci, $T_{nom/erg}$ and $v_{acc/abs}$, so that ergative and nominative both arise from a Case/Agree relation of a DP to T, and the absolutive and accusative, to v. The difference comes down simply to whether S establishes a Case/Agree relationship with v (an absolutive language) or T (an ergative language).

- (7) a. Accusative languages: $\boxed{A\ S}_{T-nom}\ O_{v-acc}$ b. Ergative languages: $A_{T-erg}\ \boxed{S\ O}_{v-abs}$

Virtually all the examples of the PCC in this paper come from *applicative constructions*. An applicative construction is related to a plain unaccusative or transitive construction by the presence of an applied object at a position that c-commands the VP-internal argument, that is the subject of unaccusatives and the direct object of transitives, but is c-commanded by the external argument of transitives. The added applied object may have the Case/Agree properties of the simple direct object, that is structural Case; or, more commonly in the applicatives discussed here, it may have inherent Case such as a dative, or even a PP shell. The applied object is introduced into argument structure by a special applicative head Appl. (see Baker 1988; McGinnis 1998, 2001, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Cuervo 2003).⁴ The argument added by an applicative construction is referred to as the applied object, whether it has structural or inherent Case (PP), and notated O'. The abbreviations A, O, S, O' will be used throughout this paper.

- (8) a. Applicative unaccusative: $[_{TP}\ T\ [_{VP}\ v\ [_{AppIP}\ O'\ Appl\ [_{VP}\ V\ S]]]]$
b. Applicative transitive: $[_{TP}\ T\ [_{VP}\ A\ [_{v}\ [_{AppIP}\ O'\ Appl\ [_{VP}\ V\ O]]]]]$

³ More precisely, "split ergative", in that they differentiate two classes of intransitives: unergatives (whether viewed syntactically or morphologically) whose subject behaves like the subject of transitives and that I group with them, and unaccusatives, whose subject behaves like the object of transitives. I omit the qualifier "split" throughout.

⁴ Baker derives this structure from one a different one; current theories generally do not, but posit two kinds of applicatives, one where Appl is introduced above the VP and within the VP. I will keep to the former structures, elaborated for Basque by Elordieta (2001). All that is important for my purposes are the c-command relations between A, O, S, O' and CA loci, which are the same under any of these variants.

Applicative constructions have been the core of PCC studies. Empirically, it is in applicative constructions that 1st/2nd person S and O are often found excluded, where they are fine in corresponding plain unaccusatives or transitives. Theoretically, the Case/Agree approach to the PCC predicts it here. It is often possible to establish that a Case/Agree relation occurs between T/v and S/O as in a corresponding non-applicative, from case and agreement. Yet in applicatives the applied object serves as the intervener X of (5), so the PCC should affect S/O.

Examples of the PCC are the constructions in (9) and (10), where a dative intervenes between a DP and its CA locus, *v*. (9)a shows an applicative transitive construction in Basque with a 3PL O and the plural agreement PL that it controls. In (9)b, agreement with a 1st/2nd person O is ruled out by the PCC, and so is the O pronoun itself, for it must control agreement in Basque finite clauses (Oyharçabal 1992: 327). (9)c demonstrates the PCC in a multiple-predicate construction. The dative is a causee corresponding to the A argument of the infinitive, and the PCC affects the absolutive O, which depends for its Case/Agree relations on the matrix clause (cf. section 3).

- (9) a. Zu-k_i polizi-a-ri_j haiek_k eraman d-i-zki_k-o_j-zu_i.
 2-ERG police-ART-DAT 3PL.ABS brought X-√ED-PL-2
 You brought them to the police.
- b. *Zu-k_i polizi-a-ri_j ni_k eraman n_k-(a)-i-o_j-zu_i-e_i.
 2-ERG police-ART-DAT 1SG.ABS brought 1-TM-√ED-3-2-PL'
 You brought me to the police. (cf. Artiagoitia 2000: 405)
- c. Am-a-k_i [(bera_j / *ni_j) etxe-ra ekarr-arazi]
 mother-ART-ERG 3SG.ABS 1SG.ABS house-ALL bring-CAUS
 d-i-o_k / *n_j-a-i-o_k anai-a-ri_k.
 X-√ED-3.S.D 1-TM-√ED-3 brother-ART-DAT
 Mother made the brother bring him/*me home. (Albizu 2001: 58 note 13)

French is like Basque (9)b, except that what is affected is not agreement with O for there is none, but the very possibility of O realized as a clitic. Thus (10) like (9)c shows the PCC in a causative.⁵

- (10) a. Je le_i lui_j laiss-er-ai e_j voir e_i
 1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ACC 3SG.DAT let-FUT-1SG see.INF
 I will let her see it/*you. (see Postal 1981: 312, Quicoli 1984: 67, 78-9)
- b. *Je vous_i lui_j laiss-er-ai e_j voir e_i
 1SG.NOM 2PL.ACC 3SG.DAT let-FUT-1SG see.INF
 I will let her see it/*you. (see Postal 1981: 312, Quicoli 1984: 67, 78-9)

These patterns are found in a wide variety of languages, and Bonet (1991) has proposed that the PCC, stated correctly, is universal.⁶ The observation that underlies the CA approach is that

⁵ In French, 1st/2nd person clitics are syncretic for accusative, dative, and ethical dative, but standard diagnostics such as possible participle agreement lead to the glosses ACC, DAT, ETH. The standard analysis of French clitics is that they are arguments, not agreement with arguments; alternatively French is simply just like Basque.

⁶ Some languages with the PCC are the following, drawing on Bonet (1991), Albizu (1997), and Haspelmath (2004): Georgian (Kartvelian); Arabic (Afroasiatic: Semitic); Kera (Afroasiatic: East Chadic); Shambala (Niger-Congo: Bantu G); Akan (Niger-Congo: Kwa); Ojibwa (Algonquian); Southern Tiwa (Kiowa-Tanoan); Tzotzil (Mayan); Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan); Hakha Lai (Tibeto-Burman); Kambera (Central Malayo-Polynesian); Manam

alternative approaches to the PCC, such as the morphological filters of Bonet (1991), do not draw the correct distinctions. There is no problem with the morpheme combinations banned by the PCC. They surface when the dative is replaced by a non-argumental element originating high in the clausal architecture, above CA loci, such as the "ethical" clitics of French in (11)a (Morin 1979), or the allocutive agreement of Basque (Rebuschi 1984: 659 note 4, Albizu 1997). There is no semantic problem either. The argument combinations blocked by the PCC are fine for example in Basque non-finite clauses where there is no agreement (Laka 1993b: 27), (11)b (see also (30)).

- (11) a. Ce roman te me vous transporte dans le XIIème d'un coup
 this novel 2SG.ETH 1SG.ETH 2PL.ACC transport into the XIIth of a blow
 This novel transports you into the twelfth century right away.
 b. *pro*_i gaizki iruditzen zai-t_i [zu-k ni harakin-a-ri saltze-a].
 1SG.DAT wrong seeming $\sqrt{D-1}$ 2-ERG 1SG.ABS butcher-ART-DAT selling-ART
 Your selling me to the butcher seems wrong to me (Laka 1993b: 27)

More strikingly, the CA approach makes some remarkably correct empirical predictions supporting the core of the proposal, which refers to the relative c-command of H, X, and Y, and to the role of Case in person licensing, against for example morphological alternatives.⁷ This can be seen in French clitic sequences that are identical to those banned by the PCC, but differ in that Y has inherent Case (Postal 1981, 1985, 1990: appendix A), or that Y c-commands X, as in (12) (Postal 1990). In (12)a *lui* and *me* both have inherent dative, as the experiencer of *sembler* and the complement of *infidèle* respectively. In (12)b, there is an accusative *vous* (*le*) and dative *lui*, but the pre-cliticisation c-command is accusative > dative. Some languages reflect the different pre-cliticisation c-commands in clitic ordering (see Albizu 1997, Anagnostopoulou 2003: 276-8, 295-300 for Swiss German), but not French (or Basque in section 3). The very same clitic sequences are unacceptable when their source is dative > 1st/2nd person accusative.⁸

- (12) a. Pierre me_i lui_j semble e_i (être) fidèle e_j.
 Pierre 1SG.DAT 3SG.DAT seem.3SG be.INF faithful
 Pierre seems to me to be faithful to her. (Postal 1981: 318)
 b. Je le_i / vous_i lui_j croi-s e_i infidèle e_j
 1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ACC 2PL.ACC 3SG.DAT believe-1SG unfaithful
 I believe him/you to be unfaithful to her. (Postal 1990: 177)

(Austronesian); Yimas (Sepik-Ramu); Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan). The PCC in Basque applicative transitives is a classical observation dating to the first work on the grammar of the language in early eighteenth century. Generative references include Albizu (1997), Ormazabal and Romero (1998, forthcoming), Rezac (2006b: chapter 5); see the last for references to traditional grammars.

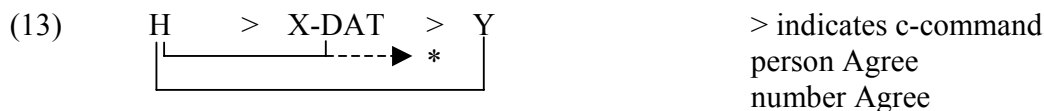
I set aside the supposed "weak PCC", according to which some systems with clitics permit combinations of a 1st/2nd person dative and accusative, while still blocking a 3rd person dative + 1st/2nd person accusative (Perlmutter 1971: 27ff., 81, Bonet 1991: 180, Nicol 2005, Anagnostopoulou, forthcoming). Ormazabal and Romero (forthcoming, note 00) demonstrate that the exceptional combinations do not involve two argumental clitics.

⁷ This argument has been first formulated by Postal (1990), in a very different framework, and Albizu (1997) in a variant of the present one.

⁸ Some French speakers possess other restrictions, banning multiple datives, clitic climbing, etc. What Postal (1990: Appendix A) emphasises is that speakers who accept the combinations in (12) still do not accept those in (10).

I follow the CA approach to the PCC proposed in Anagnostopoulou (2003: chapter 5) and Béjar and Rezac (2003). They seek to explain the PCC as a consequence of feature-relativized locality, whereby the intervening ϕ -features of X in (5) block person Agree between Y and its CA locus H. The specific elements are in (i)-(iv), (13):⁹

- (i) PCC arises when two (or more) goals, X and Y, Agree with the same CA locus H.
- (ii) Split Agree: H has person and number probes that can seek to Agree independently.
- (iii) Locality and intervention: X has features visible to the probe(s) of H, which prevents H-Y Agree for those probes because X is closer to H than Y.
 - (a) In the simplest scenario, X has structural Case: it values the probes of H for whatever features it has, so that these probes never reach Y (Ormazabal and Romero 1998).
 - (b) In the less understood scenario, X has inherent Case or a PP shell, and it behaves if it blocked the person probe of H (forcing it to 3rd person) but not its number probe.
- (iv) The Case Filter: ϕ -features of DPs need structural Case. In particular 1st/2nd person features need person Agree for Case licensing, while for 3rd person DPs, arguably person-less, number Agree suffices. Thus, a 1st/2nd person Y crashes at the interface without the person Agree blocked by X, unless it has alternative means of Case licensing.



Elements (i-iv) of the CA approach involve some widely shared postulates of recent minimalist syntax, such as feature-relativized locality, and others that have been argued to be independently desirable, such as the existence of separate person and number Agree (Laka 1993b, Taraldsen 1995, Béjar 2003). There are also two outstanding issues, but their resolution will not be pertinent here. First, (iii-b): a DP with inherent Case, commonly a dative, intervenes for the person probe of H only, though the said person probe is spelled out as (homophonous to) 3rd person and the DP's features themselves do not value it. There have been several attempts to derive such *defective intervention*, and there are approaches that do not appeal to feature-relativized locality but still yield (iii-b); they are cited in section 7. I simply assume that something does yield (iii-b). Second, (iv): Clitic pronouns are regularly ruled out in PCC contexts, which follows from (iv) if they need Agree to be Case licensed, but some other pronouns can survive. They seem to be simply those that need not or cannot control agreement, as in Basque non-finite clauses like (11), or in the more subtle Icelandic data discussed in Taraldsen (1995), Sigurðsson (1996), Schütze (1997: 118-121), Anagnostopoulou (2003: 279-280). Béjar and Rezac (2003: 54) propose that such pronouns have a means of Case licensing, namely a person probe within their extended DP. Almost all examples of the PCC here concern overt agreement, so again it is only the consequences of (iv) that matter, ruling out for example 1st/2nd person pronouns that fail to Agree in Basque finite clauses.

In this paper, I will be mainly concerned with the following prediction of the CA approach:

⁹ I follow more closely Anagnostopoulou (2003: 274) for the role of Case. The building blocks of this CA approach are: Taraldsen (1995), for split person and number dependencies, and the "defective intervener" nature of dative X; Albizu (1997), who was the first to posit that the PCC in general involves H > X > Y in a single Case-Agree domain; Ormazabal and Romero (1998) who unify examples where X has inherent Case with Baker's (1996: 192-4) treatment of examples where X has structural Case and fully absorbs the agreement needed by Y.

- (14) In the configuration $H > X > Y$, where $>$ is c-command, H has a person probe, and X is an intervener for person Agree, either H-Y person Agree is impossible (PCC), or Y raises past X and then Agrees with H for person (no PCC).

Applicative unaccusatives for the basic test-bed for (14), because there is in them a VP-external position, the EPP position at the TP, to which S (as Y) can sometimes raise, and Agree with the available ϕ -probe of T (as H). In applicative transitives, A occupies the EPP position and Agrees with T, and O (as Y) is trapped below O' (as X), unable to Agree either with v or T (as H).

I explore two paradigms where the PCC is avoided through (14). The first is how Basque applicative unaccusatives escape the PCC. Basque is an ergative language, so the O of transitives and the S of unaccusatives have the same Case/Agree relationships, both with v as the absolutive CA locus. The applied object X blocks person Agree between the v and O/S alike, so in both the PCC arises at the v P stage of the derivation in (15) and (16). However, in unaccusatives there is no A, and so the ergative CA locus, T, remains potentially available for Agree. If in the derivation subsequent to the v P stage were to bring S past the dative, for example to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, S would find itself in a context where the dative does not interfere in Agree between it and T, as in (16). S would thus escape the PCC; but it would also show up with ergative case and agreement, anomalous for it as the theme of unaccusatives.

- (15) A T_{ERG} t_A v_{ABS} X-DAT Y
└───────────┘ * v-X person Agree blocked by Y

- (16) Y T_{ERG} v_{ABS} X-DAT t_Y
└──────────┘ └──────────┘ *
T-Y person Agree v-Y person Agree blocked by X

This is the derivation that rescues PCC contexts in some Basque dialects, as in (6). As a result, S oscillates between ergative and absolutive depending on whether it finds itself in a PCC context or not. Extending the nomenclature established for other non-canonical agreement and case by Laka (1993b) and Fernández (2001), I will call the anomalous ergativity of S *absolutive displacement*. The analysis of AD bears on distribution of ϕ -probes, movement to satisfy the EPP, and equidistance, and these will be discussed in sections 4 and 5, bolstered by a partially analogous phenomenon in Icelandic.

The second consequence of (14) explains the apparent absence of PCC effects in applicative unaccusatives of some accusative languages. It has already been proposed that these involve a derivation where S and O' switch c-command relationships from $O' > S$ to $S > O'$, so at the point of person Agree between T and S, O' does not intervene (Béjar and Rezac 2003, and in closely related terms, Albizu 1997, Ormazabal and Romero 1998). Basque absolutive displacement manifests this derivation in case and agreement. I will demonstrate that while ergative languages show absolutive displacement in this manner, accusative languages cannot, because the movement of S past O' keeps it in the range of the same CA locus, T. Nevertheless, even in them it is verifiable that the absence of PCC effects in applicative unaccusatives depends on the movement of S past the intervening O', for example when this movement is blocked.

I begin with the structure of applicative unaccusatives in Basque

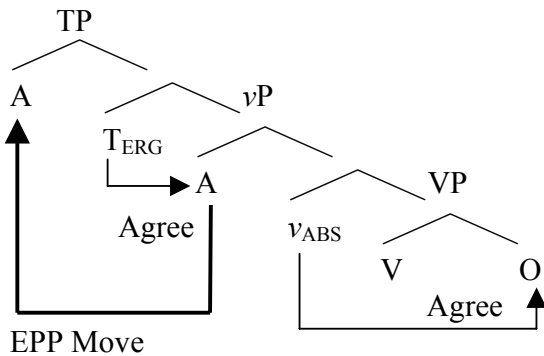
3 PCC in Basque applicative unaccusatives

In this section I discuss the structure of Basque applicative unaccusatives, where are found both the PCC and absolutive displacement. The analysis shows that the PCC occurs in them because a dative intervenes for person Agree, and that it does not occur in unaccusatives with the same case and agreement morphology, where the dative does not intervene for person Agree. First however, I outline the syntax assumed here for the relevant Case and Agree phenomena in Basque.

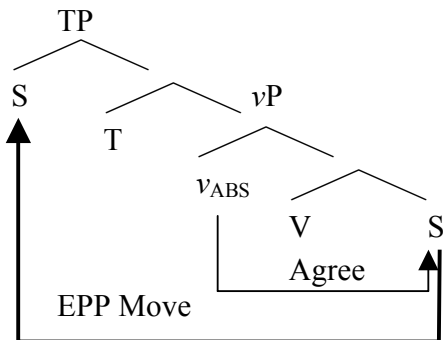
Basque is a syntactically accusative, morphologically ergative language that codes ergative, dative, and absolutive by both case and agreement morphology. Both ergative and absolutive are structural; Artiagoitia (2001ab) offers the strongest evidence for this, discussing raising to ergative and raising to absolutive. Following Bobaljik (1993), Laka (1993a, 2000), Albizu (1997), Fernández (2001), Rezac (2003), I assume that the absolutive CA locus is v_{ABS} and the ergative one is T_{ERG} , where their defining properties are simply that the sister of v contains all the internal arguments but not the external argument, while the sister of T contains the external argument as well (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Agree and EPP in Basque simple transitives and intransitives

Transitive:



Unaccusative:



Person and number agreement morphology spell out the person and number probes of CA loci in Basque. The relationship of a DP to T_{ERG} or v_{ABS} is fully differentiated in agreement and case morphology alike, save for the null 3SG agreement of both: thus in (1)b, the prefix *n* is controlled by the absolutive 1SG, while in (6), 1SG ergative controls the suffix *t*. Another morphology fills the gap for 3SG arguments: Rebuschi (1984) and Albizu (2002) demonstrate that the very activation of T_{ERG} (ergative assignment) can be determined from allomorphy of the root in the agreement complex.¹⁰

The parameter that differentiates morphologically ergative languages from accusative ones is the *Obligatory Case Parameter* of Bobaljik (1993: 50) and Laka (1993a: 166, 2000), as given in (17). In an ergative language, an internal argument always gets v -Case, absolutive, and T is activated secondarily to assign Case to the external argument if there is one. In an accusative language, T is the primary locus and v the secondary one; it is then T -Case, nominative, that is

¹⁰ The corresponding glosses in Basque examples here are $\sqrt{E(D)}$ when T_{ERG} is active.

always assigned. The highest argument of both language types raises to satisfy the EPP of T (Figure 1). This groups A and S against the O for diagnostics that refer to syntactic position.

- (17) Obligatory Case Parameter: If there is only one active Case/Agree locus, it must be:
 (A) v ($= v_{\text{ABS}}$), for ergative languages;
 (B) T ($= T_{\text{NOM}}$), for accusative languages.

The Basque agreement complex can also code the person and number of a dative argument. All applicative datives appear to obligatorily control agreement (cf. Joppen and Wunderlich 1995, Elordieta 2001, Rezac 2006: chapter 3).¹¹ Dative agreement presents several asymmetries against ergative / absolutive agreement that suggest two different systems are involved.¹² One may compare the asymmetry to the one that appears in languages like Greek and Spanish between agreement with a nominative on the verb, which a dative argument cannot control, and a dative clitic that doubles the dative argument, which plays the intervener role in the PCC; Ormazabal and Romero (1998) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) present two different analyses. I return to it in section 5; for reasons seen there, I will for now represent dative agreement as a D^0 moved to v from the dative. Alternatives are compatible, provided the dative plays the role of X in (13), blocking person Agree with a lower DP.

The PCC in Basque occurs in applicative transitives, as had been seen in (9). It also occurs in applicative unaccusatives. In these participate *DAT-ABS verbs* like *gustatu* 'like', *iruditu* 'seem', *erori* 'seem (Spanish *caerse*)' (cf. Artiagoitia 2000: 406-7). There are other constructions with the same absolutive + dative case and agreement morphology, such as *hurbildu* 'approach' (absolutive of patient, dative of animate goal), or *mintzatu* 'talk to' (absolutive of speaker, dative of addressee), henceforth *ABS-DAT verbs*. I will argue that the DAT-ABS class base-generates the dative above the absolutive, and the ABS-DAT class has the reverse c-command, a conclusion already reached with partly different tests by Joppen and Wunderlich (1995). Therefore, the PCC is only expected with the DAT-ABS, because the dative intervenes for person Agree between v and the absolutive (see (16)). Indeed, the PCC is found with DAT-ABS but not with ABS-DAT verbs, as Albizu (1997) first observes:¹³

¹¹ See sections 2, 7 for how references to analyses that rely on the dative's ϕ -features in person intervention in the PCC, including some that highlight dative agreement. I simply assume that it does intervene.

¹² 3SG is overtly signalled; and while ergative and absolutive can control each other's canonical agreement in certain instances, that is in "ergative displacement" and for raising-to-ergative verbs, a dative cannot (Rezac 2003: 166 note 8, Rezac 2006: chapter 1). More complex issues are discussed in Fernández (2001) and Rezac (forthcoming) on "dative displacement", and Etxepare (2006) on dative vs. absolutive asymmetries in long distance Agree.

¹³ ABS-DAT verbs have been cited in the literature as evidence that the PCC does not occur in Basque unaccusatives (Bonet 1991: 198, Anagnostopoulou 2003: 254). Though traditional and dialectal grammars do not note the DAT-ABS / ABS-DAT distinction, agreement combinations that would violate the PCC always seem to be exemplified by ABS-DAT verbs, and this holds for literary usage as well (Rezac 2006b: chapter 5); the rare exceptions (e.g. Joppen and Wunderlich 1995: 134, example 19a) may involve ABS-DAT verbs with an experiencer construed as location.

Some dialects lack the morphological forms that code 1st/2nd person absolutive + dative as such (Albizu 1997: 21 note 14). This is a morphological gap widely documented in dialectal grammars such as Agirretxe et al. (1998: 124). These grammars also reveal that it can range from complete absence to isolated survivors to some gaps in an otherwise complete paradigm. It does not affect the ensuing discussion: all the following diagnostics differentiating ABS-DAT vs. DAT-ABS verbs hold; absolutive displacement remains restricted to DAT-ABS verbs; and when speakers with such a gap have learned the missing forms in primary school, which is generally the case for my informants, it is used with ABS-DAT but not with DAT-ABS verbs.

- (18) a. Ni_i Peru- ri_j hurbildu n_i -a-tzai- o_j . [1:ABS-3:DAT]
 1SG.ABS Peru-DAT approached 1-TM- \sqrt{D} -3
 I approached Peru.
- b. Pello- i Miren- i_j baldarr-a iruditu zai- o_j . [3:DAT-3:ABS]
 Pello.ABS Miren-DAT clumsy-ART seemed \sqrt{D} -3
 Pello looked clumsy to Miren.
- c. Miren- i_j gozoki- ak_i gustatzen zai-zki- o_j . [3:DAT-3:ABS]
 Miren-DAT sweets-ART.PL.ABS liking \sqrt{D} -PL-3
 Miren likes candies.
- d. $*/?/?Ni_i$ Miren- i_j baldarr-a iruditu n_i -a-tzai- o_j . [3:DAT-1:ABS]
 1SG.ABS Miren-DAT clumsy-ART seemed 1-TM- \sqrt{D} -3
 Intended: I seemed clumsy to Miren.
- e. $*/?/?Ni_i$ Miren- i_j gustatzen n_i -a-tzai- o_j . [3:DAT-1:ABS]
 1SG.ABS Miren-DAT liking 1-TM- \sqrt{D} -3
 Miren likes me. (Albizu 1997: 21)
- (19) a. (Ni_i) bera- ri_j joaiten / $*gustatzen$ n_i -a-k- o_j .
 1SG.ABS 3SG-DAT going liking 1-TM-DF-3
 I go to her / $*I$ appeal to her. (H)
- b. pro_i bera- ri_j joaiten / gustatzen z-a-k- o_j .
 3SG.ABS 3SG-DAT coming liking X-TM-DF-3
 He goes to her / $*He$ appeals to her. (H)

Three diagnostics indicate the proposed structure of DAT-ABS and ABS-DAT verbs: causativisation, anaphora binding, and obligatory control (Rezac 2006b: chapter 5).

Causativisation identifies the dative experiencer as the higher of the two arguments at base-generation. Basque has a causative type with the following properties (Ortiz de Urbina 2003a), common cross-linguistically (Baker 1988: 162-3):

- (i) A suffix attaches to the causativized verb, and adds a causer argument.
- (ii) The result is a monoclausal structure where the causative and causativised predicates form a single domain for agreement, and behave as a single head for verb raising.
- (iii) The causer is coded by ergative case and corresponding agreement.
- (iv) The causee is coded by dative case and corresponding agreement, like other applied objects, if it is the A of the causativised predicate; but by absolutive case and agreement, like O/S, if it is S. The O of the causativised predicate retains absolutive case and agreement.

One way to capture these properties is to take the causative suffix as v , taking the causativised predicate as its VP complement. If there is only one argument in need of Case, S, it receives absolutive from the causative v . If there are two, A and O, A must be introduced as an applied object, and O gets absolutive from v . What is interpreted as the causee is the the highest-projected argument of the embedded predicate, S/A. Joppen and Wunderlich (1995) offer a lexicalist treatment, where likewise the highest argument ends up as the causee.

Ortiz de Urbina (2003a) observes an interesting difference between the causatives of ABS-DAT verbs like *etorri* 'come' and of DAT-ABS verbs like *gustatu* 'like' (see also Joppen and Wunderlich 1995: 153-4). In the former, it is S that is the causee, (20)a; in the latter, the causee

is rather the experiencer, resulting in a causee-experiencer reading, (20)b. This indicates that the experiencer is projected higher than the ABS theme with DAT-ABS verbs, and the other way around with ABS-DAT verbs.¹⁴

- (20) a. Beharr-a-k_i Mikel_j pro_k diru eske etorr-erazi d-i-t_k.
 need-ART-ERG Mikel.ABS 1SG.DAT money asking come-CAUS X-√ED-1
 Need made Mikel come up to me asking for money.
- b. Gose-a-k_i zopa hori_j izugarri gustatu-erazi z-i-o_k-n
 hunger-ART-ERG soup that.ABS terribly liked-CAUSE X-√ED-3-PT
 mutil-a-ri_k.
 boy-ART-DAT
 Hunger made the boy like that soup a lot. (Ortiz de Urbina 2003a)

The next diagnostic is binding of the *bere buru* 'his head' anaphor, whose properties are discussed in Rezac (2006b: chapter 2), reviewing Elordieta (2001: 78-82), Artiagoitia (2000: 110, 2003a), and Oyharçabal (2003).¹⁵ As an anaphor, *bere buru* is sensitive simply to base-generated positions; Elordieta shows that it cannot be fed by \bar{A} -movement or even local A-scrambling, although the latter feeds quantifier-variable binding, scope, and other anaphora binding.¹⁶ In DAT-ABS structures, the dative can bind an absolutive *bere buru* (Artiagoitia 2000: 411), but the absolutive cannot bind a dative one, (21). ABS-DAT verbs differ: the dative cannot bind absolutive *bere buru*, (21)c, while generally but not always absolutive > dative binding is fine, (21)d (under conditions not clear to me and not relevant here).

- (21) a. Kepa-ri_i bere buru-a_{j=i} gustatzen z-a-k-o_j.
 Kepa-DAT 3SG.POS head-ART.ABS liking X-TM-DF-3
- b. *Kepa_i bere buru-a-ri_{j=i} gustatzen za-k-o_j.
 Kepa.ABS 3SG.POS head-ART-DAT liking X-TM-DF-3
 Kepa likes himself. (H)
- c. *Kepa-ri_i bere buru-a_{j=i} jiten z-a-k-o_i ispilu-a-n.
 Kepa-DAT 3SG.POS head-ART.ABS coming X-TM-√D-3 mirror-ART-LOC
 Kepa is approaching himself in the mirror. (H)
- d. Miren_i bere buru-a-ri_{j=i} mintzatu zai-o_i.
 Miren.ABS 3SG.POS head-ART-DAT talked √D-3.
 Miren talked to herself. (Elordieta 2001: 82: n.b.: *zaio* = *zako*)

The last diagnostic is the ability to be PRO. Applying it requires care in the selection of the control clause. I make use of the *wh*-headed participle complement to *jakin* 'know' and similar verbs, discussed by Ortiz de Urbina (1989: 16-7), Artiagoitia (2003b: 698-700), San Martin

¹⁴ There is an arguably correlated difference: the experiencer of psych-verbs but not the goal of motion verbs is obligatory (Albizu 1997: 00 note 16, Artiagoitia 2000: 406-7).

¹⁵ There are no subject-oriented anaphora. Of other anaphoric expressions such as *bata beste*, *elkar* 'each other', less is known, but they can be fed by A-scrambling (= overt precedence, modulo the \bar{A} -system which A-scrambling cannot feed) (see Rebuschi 1993 in addition to sources cited).

¹⁶ This would follow theoretically from the proposal of Reinhart and Reuland (1991), Reuland (2005a) for English *self* type anaphors (although the binding of the latter seems to be in fact fed by A-movement, *Every runner_i seemed to herself_i t_i to finish second*): the interpretation of *bere buru* involves incorporation of the *buru* 'head' part to the predicate that selects it to, forming a complex predicate with a single argument structure.

(2000). It is one of the few contexts in Basque that both requires obligatory control (no *pro* or overt subjects) and yet passes no restructuring diagnostics. There is a unique candidate for PRO outside the DAT-ABS/ABS-DAT classes: the A of (applicative or plain) transitives, and the S of plain unaccusatives. Applied to DAT-ABS/ ABS-DAT verbs, it turns out that for both only S can be PRO. (22) shows this for the DAT-ABS verb *gustatu*; the judgments are the same for the ABS-DAT verb *hurbildu* 'approach' (Pablo Albizu, p.c.).¹⁷

- (22) a. Kepa-_{ki} ez d-a-_{ki} nor-i PRO_i gustatu.
 Kepa-ERG not X-TM-√know who-DAT liked
 Kepa does not know to whom to appeal (please). (K1, E, H)
 b. *Kepa-_{ki} ez d-a-_{ki} zer PRO_i gustatu.
 Kepa-ERG not X-TM-√know what.ABS liked
 Kepa does not know what/who should appeal to him. (K1, E, H)

To resume: causativisation and *bere buru* binding indicate dative > absolutive base-generation for DAT-ABS verbs the reverse for ABS-DAT verbs; yet PRO indicates that S, not O', ends up as PRO for both. For DAT-ABS verbs, the first two diagnostics make O' higher and the last, S. The same pattern appears in languages like Spanish, where PRO and binding of the subject-oriented anaphor *se* single out the nominative S, but quantifier-binding singles out the dative O' as the highest A-position in psych-verbs (Masullo 1993, Béjar and Rezac 2003). In Icelandic by contrast, all diagnostics converge on O' (Sigurðsson 2002, Jónsson 1996).

Table 1: EPP vs. lexical content diagnostics

Diagnostic	Icelandic	Spanish	Basque
Subject-oriented anaphora binding	O' > S, *S > O'	*O' > S, S > O'	--
Obligatory control PRO	O', *S	*O', S	*O', S
Lexical content diagnostics	O' > S, *S > O'	O' > S, *S > O'	O' > S, *S > O
agreement with T	S - number; *O'	S - full; *O'	S - number; *O'
Satisfaction of EPP (other diag.)	S, *O	-- (<i>pro</i> -drop)	-- (<i>pro</i> -drop)

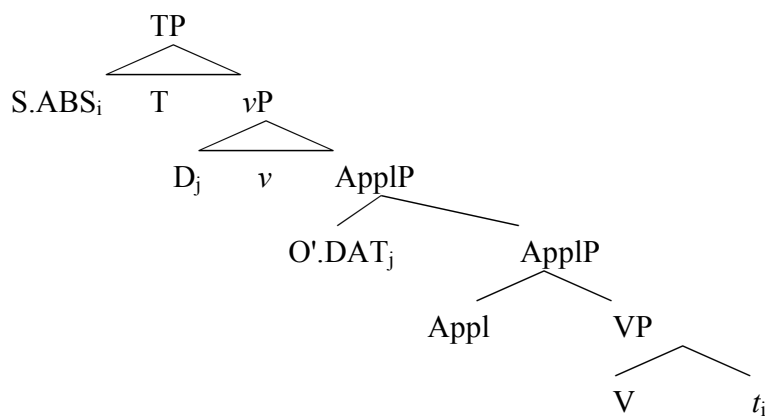
Béjar and Rezac (2003: 58-61) and Anagnostopoulou (2003: 310) propose that the key the behavior of Spanish-type languages is that the different diagnostics depend on different properties. Scope and variable binding requires the lexical content of the antecedent quantifier to c-command the lower element from an A-position (Reinhart 2000). *Bere buru* binding and causativisation in Basque refer specifically base-generated configurations. In Table 1, I group these as "lexical content diagnostics". In contrast, subject-oriented anaphora binding and being PRO arguably make reference to the relationship that a ϕ -feature set establishes to T by satisfying the EPP.¹⁸ Béjar and Rezac (2003) resolve the contrast in Spanish between lexical

¹⁷ Joppen and Wunderlich (1995: 134) also argue that S of DAT-ABS verbs is a subject from participial control complements of *nahi*; here the restructuring situation can be more complicated (Ortiz de Urbina 2003c).

¹⁸ The role that might be played by the relationship of a ϕ -set to T is illustrated in Landau's (2001) theory of control, where the controller establishes an Agree link with the ϕ -set in the C/T layer of the control CP (see Borer 1989, Watanabe 2000 for related proposals). For subject-oriented anaphora binding, Reuland (2001, 2005b) develops a proposal where the binder and the bindee share the same ϕ -set via Agree through T. However, in Icelandic applicative unaccusatives, it is O' and not S that can bind subject-oriented anaphora (Jónsson 1996: 123), and O' controls no overt agreement on T while S controls number agreement (not person, by the PCC). O' can be seen from

diagnostics and PRO / subject oriented anaphora binding by keeping the lexical content of O' above S, but having the rich agreement of S, viewed as its D head, satisfy the EPP, along the lines of Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998). For Basque DAT-ABS verbs, an even weaker position suffices: O' c-commands S at base-generation, but S, whole or just its D head, moves to satisfy the EPP. In Icelandic on the other hand, O' passes all EPP diagnostics. I return to possible reasons for this Icelandic-Spanish/Basque contrast in section 5. Interestingly, Table 1 leads to the conclusion that whether S or O' satisfies the EPP has no bearing on whether the PCC occurs in applicative unaccusatives, contra Béjar and Rezac (2003) and Anagnostopoulou (2003: 309). The PCC occurs in Icelandic, Basque, but not Spanish, but the O' satisfies the EPP only in Icelandic.

Figure 2: The structure of Basque DAT-ABS verbs (head movement omitted)



Now all the elements are in place to present the derivation of DAT-ABS verbs (Figure 2). Up to the ν P, the derivation is as in (i)-(iv), and parallel to that of Basque applicative transitives (Rezac forthcoming, 2006b: chapter 3, building on Elordieta 2001, Fernández 2001). By step (iv), ν has Agreed with S for number, and Agree for person is impossible because of the intervening dative O'. This is the PCC.

- (i) The lexical structure is Merged: the theme is the complement of V, the VP is selected by Appl, and the dative O' is Merged in [Spec, ApplP]. (See McGinnis 2001, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Cuervo 2003 for overviews of current theories of applicative constructions.)
- (ii) ν Merges with ApplP.
- (iii) ν 's person probe is blocked by the dative O', as discussed in section 2. (Dative agreement morphology ensues as D^0 movement from the dative DP targeting ν , section 5).
- (iv) ν 's number probe Agrees with the closest DP with number, S, and assigns it absolutive.

The next step in the derivation is the movement of S to satisfy the EPP of T. The movement of S crosses O'; I return to the equidistance implied by this in section 5. Figure 2 intentionally leave open whether this is movement of the whole DP or of its D clitic / rich agreement head alone. Similarly, there is no need to decide whether movement of a D^0 to a clausal head results in

all other tests to satisfy the EPP in Icelandic. So again, satisfaction of the EPP of T by a ϕ -set might be what makes a binder for subject-oriented anaphora (possibly beside person Agree).

head-adjunction, specifier-head structure, or whether the difference does not exist in the syntax (Chomsky 1995: 249, Matushansky 2006).

There is no need to develop the derivation of ABS-DAT unaccusatives. It suffices that S c-commands the dative at every point. *v*-S person Agree is never blocked, so there is no PCC.¹⁹

The derivation in Figure 2 has similarities with proposals by Albizu (1997), Ormazabal and Romero (1998), and Béjar and Rezac (2003), for exceptions to the PCC in applicative unaccusatives in different languages. All share the same basic idea: there is a c-command configuration O' > S, but S by-passes O' to relate to T. However, Basque demonstrates that mere movement of S past O' is insufficient, for though S satisfies the EPP, the PCC remains. Indeed, obviation of the PCC requires not only movement of S to T, but also person Agree between the two (Béjar and Rezac 2003, cf. Baker 1996: 443-4). This hypothesis receives the empirical support in the Basque phenomenon discussed next, absolutive displacement.

4 Absolutive Displacement

4.1 The description

In the derivation of DAT-ABS verbs, *v*-ABS Agree occurs across the dative intervener, and PCC effects are predicted: person Agree with 1st/2nd person S should be, and is, impossible. In place of such combinations of arguments, speakers resort to paraphrase to express a similar meaning, as they do in place of combinations that involve purely morphological gaps in the paradigm (Fernández 2001: 156, Rezac 2006b). For example, the meaning of *gustatu* 'like' with 1st/2nd person S is typically expressed by a locution where S is predicated of the related adjective *gustuko* 'liked, pleasant, appealing', as in (23).

- (23) Ni-k_i / Mirari-k Kepa gustuko-a d-u-(t_i).
 1SG-ERG Mirari-ERG Kepa.ABS liked-ART X-√have-1
 I / Mirari like Kepa. (H)

This kind of paraphrase is unrelated to PCC contexts themselves. It is of the same type as *I like you* -- *You appeal to me*, or to pick an example with a morphological gap due to the absence of the past participle of *stride* in English, *He strode* / **had stridden across the desert* - *He walked / had walked across the desert*. Neither of the two alternatives refers to the syntax of the other.

For some speakers, the story stops here. For others, there exists *absolutive displacement*.²⁰

¹⁹ The proposals are compatible with other data. Oyharçabal (1992: 331-332) shows that tests like weak cross-over indicate absolutive > dative c-command for ABS-DAT verbs. Joppen and Wunderlich (1995: 132, 135) give as the unmarked order for fronted multiple *wh*-words dative > absolutive in DAT-ABS verbs and absolutive > dative in ABS-DAT verbs (however, multiple *wh* order and form depends on d-linking for at least some speakers; Aritz Irurtzun, p.c.). This follows if the *wh*-word itself does not pass through the EPP position, which is satisfied instead by heavy agreement, an expletive, etc. (cf. note 29).

²⁰ Only one variant of AD is mentioned in the literature, by Arregi (2004). Arregi treats AD as a morphological phenomenon, because in his data, case is not affected. The AD reported here focuses on three speakers (T1, T2, T3) from Tolosa (central Gipuzkoan), native speakers of Basque and Spanish, brought up from birth in a Basque-speaking community and with Basque as their primary language. I have confirmed AD with two speakers from other, non-contiguous dialects: a central Gipuzkoan one (L: Legazpi), and a dialect of the Gipuzkoa-Labourdian border (O: Erreterria). Arregi reports AD for the coastal Bizkaian town of Ondarroa. There seems to be a generational split, and my consultants have all been born after 1975. However, there are native speakers of the same generation who categorically refuse AD, whether from geographically very close dialects (I: Itxasondo, central

- (24) Abslutive Displacement (AD): In (all and) only PCC contexts, the banned 1st/2nd person S is encoded by agreement elsewhere only controlled by ergative DPs, and sometimes bears ergative case while other times it bears absolutive case morphology.

I will keep for now to speakers who fully ergativize S with respect to case as well as agreement, returning to others in section 4.3. The result of AD is agreement and (sometimes) case morphology that is identical to that used for applicative transitives with 3SG absolutive, for example *izua eman* 'X (ergative) gives (*eman*) the fright (*izua*) to Y (dative), X frightens Y', or applicative unergatives such as *maite izan* 'X (ergative) has (*izan*) love (*maite*) Y (dative), X loves Y'. Thus, AD resembles a paraphrase, whereby an unergative applicative structure is built on the same root that supports an applicative unaccusative structure.

However, AD has the striking property that paraphrase lacks: it occurs only in PCC contexts, that is in dative O' + 1st/2nd person S combinations of DAT-ABS verbs. It cannot occur when S is 3rd person; it cannot occur with ABS-DAT verbs; and it cannot occur with plain unaccusatives. AD also does not permit the O of applicative transitives to escape the PCC, because these already have an ergative A. There few DAT-ABS verbs in any particularly dialect that make sense with a 1st/2nd person S; but those that do, behave as a class in being subject to the PCC and in undergoing AD: e.g. *gustatu* 'like, appeal to', *erori* in the sense 'seem', *irudi* 'seem'.

AD is illustrated in the examples below, all from a single speaker, T1.²¹ (25) gives a DAT-ABS verb in non-PCC contexts; only absolutive case and corresponding canonically absolutive-type plural agreement (glossed PL) are legitimate. PCC blocks this when the theme is 1st/2nd person. Instead, in (26), the theme controls canonically ergative agreement on the verb (suffix), which is otherwise reserved to ergative A agreement controllers, and the choice of the verbal root (*i*) also indicates activation of the ergative CA locus T. Moreover, S appears with ergative case. (27) shows that AD is unavailable to ABS-DAT verbs.

- (25) Dative + 3rd person: AD impossible
- Itxaso-ri_i hura_j / *hark gustatzen zai-o_i / *d-i-o_i
 Itxaso-DAT 3SG.ABS 3SG.ERG liking √D-3 X-√ED-3
 Itxaso likes her.
 - Itxaso-ri_i lagun-ak / *lagun-ek_j gustatzen zai-zki_j-o_i
 Itxaso-DAT friends-ART.ABS friends-ART.ERG liking √D-PL-3
 Itxaso likes the friends. (T1)
- (26) DAT + 1st/2nd present of *gustatu* 'like': AD obligatory for case and agreement
- Itxaso-ri_i zu-k / *zu_j gustatzen d-i-o_i-zu_j
 Itxaso-DAT 2-ERG 2PL.ABS liking X-√ED-3-2
 Itxaso likes you. (NB: no agreement form at all available with *zu*)
 - Itxaso-ri_i gu-k / *gu_j gustatzen d-i-o_i-gu_j.

Gipuzkoan), or distant ones (H: Hazparne, Low Navarrese). Some speakers have AD related to the "dative displacement" phenomenon discussed in Fernández (2001), Rezac (forthcoming), and note 26; this is partly reported in Agirre (2004), who observes its impossibility with ABS-DAT verbs.

²¹ Keeping in mind dialectal variation in morphology. For the Gipuzkoan-Labourdin border area, one must be careful about an independent morphological collapse of certain auxiliary roots, for speakers with and without AD: see Fernández (2004), Rezac (2006b: chapter 4).

- Itxaso-DAT 1PL-ERG 1PL.ABS liking X-√ED-3-1'
 Itxaso likes us.
- c. Zu_i-k / *zu_i ne-ri_j gustatzen d-i-da_j-zu_i.
 2.ERG 2.ABS 1SG-DAT liking X-√ED-TM-1-2
 I like you. (T1)
- (27) *Zu_i / *zu-k_i Itxaso-ri_k etortzen d-i-o_k-zu_i
 2-ABS 2-ERG Itxaso-DAT coming X-√ED-3-2
 You are coming to Itxaso. (T1)

The resulting case and agreement is identical to the one found with applicative transitives (with 3SG O) and unergatives, under the mapping S = A, as in (28), to be compared to (26)a. This includes the various phenomena that can affect the vanilla ergative-type agreement realization as a suffix; see Rezac (2006b: chapter 5) for the details. An example is in (29). Here in the past tense form *zenidan*, it is the prefix *z* that tracks the ergative *zuk*, rather than the suffix *zu* as in the present tense. This switch from suffix to prefix is "ergative displacement" (Laka 1993b, Albizu and Fernández 2000, Rezac 2003), and it occurs likewise with regular transitives and unergatives, so *zenidan* also expresses 2SG ergative > 1SG dative > 3SG absolutive in a sentence like *Zuk niri liburua eman zenidan* "You gave the book to me". Some dialects lose ergative displacement. T1 has beside *zenidan* the form *ziazun* also given in (29), where the ergative S *zuk* is coded by the suffix *zu* as in the present tense; again, this form is equally found with transitives and unergatives.

- (28) Zu-k_i Itxaso-ri_j maite d-i-o_j-zu_i.
 1SG-ERG Itxaso-DAT love X-√ED-3-1
 I love Itxaso. (T1)
- (29) Zu-k_i ni-ri_j gustatzen z_i-en-i-da_j-n / z-i-da_j-zu_i-n
 2-ERG me-DAT liking 2-TM-√ED-1-PT X-√ED-1-2-PT
 I like you. (T1)

(30), to be added to (22), shows that in potential PCC contexts, S and not O' is still PRO.

- (30) Ni-k_i ez d-a-ki-t_i nor-i_j / *nor_j PRO_i gustatu.
 1SG-ERG not X-TM-√know-1 who-DAT *who.ABS liked
 I don't know who should like me / *I don't know who to like. (T1, O, H, I)

AD is remarkable. It looks like an alternation between applicative unaccusative and transitive constructions for the same verb. Yet the conditions of the alternation are determined by the PCC, that is the failure of Case licensing of S that occurs if the person probe of v_{ABS} is intercepted by an intervener. This seems to make reference to the derivation that results in the Case licensing failure, unlike paraphrase. Further evidence for this will be found in the next section.

4.2 The ergativity of S: T-S Agree

The properties of AD that must be accounted for are ergative type agreement by and ergative case on S in a PCC context and only there, in contrast to its absolutive behavior elsewhere. There are no other detectable differences from regular applicative unaccusatives: the case and agreement of the applied object remain the same, and S, not O', counts as PRO.²² I will depart from the assumption that save for Case/Agree, the structure and derivation of DAT-ABS verbs under AD is the same as that proposed in section 3, which AD speakers have overtly when S is 3rd person. The alternative would be that argument structure projection under AD is like that of applicative unergatives. This would require the decision to base-generate a theme as an internal or external argument to be sensitive to its person features: 1st/2nd person external in the presence of an applied object, and internal otherwise. It is usually assumed that base-generation (selection) is not sensitive to ϕ -features, and the person hierarchy phenomena should be handled in terms of Case/Agree or movement, not base-generation (e.g. Rice and Saxon 1996, Nichols 2001, Jelinek and Carnie 2005, Bianchi 2006, Béjar and Rezac 2005).

Moreover, even sensitivity of selection to person would be inadequate, for among the DAT-ABS verbs is the raising-to-absolutive verb *irudi* 'seem' (Artiagoitia 2001ab, Rezac 2006b: chapter 1). Its dative experiencer O' is selected by *irudi*, but S originates as the argument of its small clause complement. Yet AD occurs with *irudi* as with other DAT-ABS verbs: in PCC contexts, (31), and only there. Since the O' and S whose ϕ -features and c-command characterise the PCC context are not coarguments, the lexical properties of *irudi* cannot determine which one is to be projected higher. AD must therefore be implemented by the Case/Agree or movement system. In terms of movement, S always ends up as the argument that satisfies the EPP for DAT-ABS verbs, whether AD occurs or not and whether it is available or not to a speaker. Thus AD is to be localized in the Case/Agree mechanics.

- (31) *pro*_i [*pro*_j *nekatuta*] *iruditzen* *d-i-da_i-zu_j*
 1SG.DAT you tired seeming X-√ED-1-2
 You seem tired to me. (O)

The ergativity of S under AD reflects Case/Agree with T_{ERG}. The derivation of DAT-ABS verbs in Figure 2 brings S into the local neighbourhood of T to satisfy the EPP. Figure 3 encapsulates the relevant aspects of the resulting configuration, putting S into [Spec, TP] for concreteness. S has by-passed the dative O', and so the latter does not intervene between S and the ergative-assigning ϕ -probes of T. In order for a Case/Agree relation between T and S to occur, T must be able to Agree with an element that is not within the complement of T, but in its specifier or adjoined to it. Rezac (2003) argues that this is default hypothesis for the formulating the search-space of a probe, and provides an empirical argument from Basque and Georgian ϕ -agreement; Béjar (2003) and Béjar and Rezac (2005) add other languages, while N. Richards (2004, 2005) gives different arguments *wh*-movement/agreement.²³ Section 5 brings clear

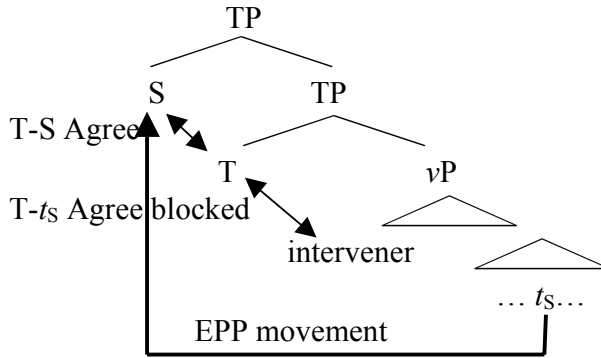
²² I know of no other diagnostics that could be applicable. Since S is 1st/2nd person, scope and variable binding are not useful. For consultants such as T1, the colloquial register of AD does not differentiate anaphora from pronouns.

²³ Rezac (2003) proposes that the search-space of a probe P on H is determined by the derivation with no further restrictions. The XP first Merged with H, its complement, is the first search-space for a probe on H; the second XP Merged, its specifier, falls into the search-space of H upon its Merge. Once H stops projecting, its probes are no longer accessible (Chomsky 2000: 132 et seq.).

Chomsky (2000: 122) defines the search-space of H as its sister. In bare phrase structure with labels, the specifier of H still falls into the search-space of P upon Merging with H, because it becomes sister to the projection H' of H, which is a copy of H, as in (i) (Epstein 1999: 341-2). The option that would prevent P from seeing the

independent evidence that there S-past-O' movement enables T-S ϕ -Agree.²⁴ An alternative would be to situate the EPP position below the ergative CA locus, e.g. T_{EPP} below Fin_{ERG}.

Figure 3: T_{ERG} - S Agree in AD



T-S Agree upon movement of S to T occurs automatically, provided that T has a ϕ -probe. It is this last assumption that is most unusual. In Basque as an ergative language, the sole CA locus in unaccusatives is normally v_{ABS} , and T_{ERG} is only activated in addition to v_{ABS} in transitives. The activation of T_{ERG} is clear from the ergative case, the ergative type agreement it controls, and root choice. These all occur in the PCC contexts where a 1st/2nd person S is c-commanded by a dative, and never for any other S.

Unusual as this is, it is simply the distribution of AD, and some portion of the grammar must bear the burden. The ϕ -probe of T is a better choice than selection or movement, as discussed above. Furthermore, despite its oddity, the activation of the T_{ERG} in AD does seem to enter naturally into the conception of the distribution of ϕ -probes that underlies the Bobaljik-Laka treatment of ergativity and accusativity outlined in section 3. The difference between the two types of languages resides in the Obligatory Case Parameter, which determines which of the two potential CA loci, T and v , must be activated. Call this the *primary CA locus*. In constructions where there is only one argument that needs Case, unaccusatives par excellence, the primary locus is the only one active, (32)a, (32)b. In transitives, there is an additional argument in need of Case, and the other CA locus is activated to assign "dependent" Case. The primary locus Agree by with the closest DP, v_{ABS} -O and T_{NOM}-A respectively, leaving A and O. The secondary CA locus, T_{ERG} and v_{ACC} respectively, is activated in transitives but not in accusatives "in order to" assign Case to the remaining argument that needs structural Case, (32)c, (32)d. This logic, set

specifier of H is a label-less bare phrase structure system where the search-space of H is still only the sister of H, as in (ii), unless the specifier and the complement are not differentiated by Merge itself, as in Yang (1999), (iii).

- (i) {H', {spec, {H, {... complement of H ...}}}}
- (ii) {spec {H {... complement of H ...}}}
- (iii) {spec, complement, H}

²⁴ In "ergative displacement" in Basque, it has been proposed that the person of v arguably Agrees with its external argument after it is added (Rezac 2003, cf. Fernández and Albizu 2000, Fernández 2001). Extending this to ergative displacement combined with AD as in (29), v Agrees with S after S moves past O' to satisfy the EPP of T. There are two basic scenarios under which this could occur (see further Rezac 2006b: chapter 5): (i) S moves through the minimal domain of v on its way to T; (ii) the search-space of v expands to the minimal domain of T, e.g. through v -to-T movement (see Béjar and Rezac 2005 for a somewhat different option for (ii)).

forth in Laka (1993a, 2000), derives Burzio's Generalisation in accusative languages (that v is active in and only in transitives), and it is the cornerstone of the proposal.

- (32) (primary locus superscripted ¹, secondary locus ²)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------|
| a. | T | v^1_{ABS} | S^1 | (ergative) | | |
| b. | T^1_{NOM} | v | S^1 | (accusative) | | |
| c. | T^2_{ERG} | A^2 | $v^1_{ABS/ACC}$ | O^1 | (ergative) | |
| d. | T^1_{NOM} | A^1 | $v^2_{ABS/ACC}$ | O^2 | (accusative) | |
| e. | T_{ERG} | v^1_{ABS} | O' | 1/2:S | (PCC) | |
| f. | 1/2:S ² | T^2_{ERG} | v^1_{ABS} | O' | t_S | (AD) |

This logic extends straightforwardly to AD. AD occurs in a PCC context, which is one where S does not undergo person Agree with v , and thus fails to be Case licensed, (32)e. The secondary CA locus T is activated, and T-S person Agree provides the person feature of S with Case, (32)f.

This reasoning for the activation of secondary CA loci is normally presented at the level of the metatheory, where it explains which Case/Agree relationships are legitimate. Its actual internalist implementation is typically a lexical stipulation: for example, in an accusative language, v has a ϕ -probe if and only if it is transitive. This does not help with AD, for as discussed, the conditions on AD are not to be encoded lexically. However, the intuition behind activating secondary loci can be imported into the internal mechanics of syntax, so that the secondary CA locus is activated when a derivation would fail (when an alternative derivation does fail) to Case license an argument. The kind of condition required is (33). It must be bolstered by (34) to differentiate between speakers who do and who do not allow AD by putting the T found in unaccusatives into the set of CA loci for the former group only.

- (33) A CA locus is activated if and only if its activation provides Case for a DP that would otherwise crash the derivation by the Case Filter.

- (34) The AD parameter: The T of unaccusatives (e.g., selecting unaccusative v) is / is not a CA locus.

Rezac (2006a) develops (33) for a range of contexts where a ϕ -probe seems to be added as needed to provide Case, within the framework of "reference set computation", (35), of Reinhart (1995, 1999) and Fox (1995, 2000), following the proposal of Chomsky (1995: 377, 294, 2000: 109-110) to formulate such optional operations in terms of an extra probe.²⁵

²⁵ An alternative that could be explored is to activate T in Basque always, and resort to conditions on Agree to assure that it only Agrees with S in the contexts where AD occurs. In plain and ABS-DAT unaccusatives, v -S Agree occurs for person and number, leaving no features of S available to Agree with T, if a condition is assumed that Agree can occur only once per feature (Rezac 2003), as a version of the proposal that Case assignment deactivates a DP for Agree (Chomsky 2000: 121-4, 127-130, 2001: 4, 6). In DAT-ABS unaccusatives, v -S occurs for number with 3rd person S, which by hypothesis is not a person, so T-S Agree is again unavailable. When T-S Agree is impossible because of full v -S Agree, either an expletive strategy or default morphology could be posited to satisfy T's ϕ -probe. However, the Basque auxiliary root allomorphy provides a way of detecting the activation of the ergative CA locus even if no argument relates to it. Particularly convincing are instances of the raising-to-ergative verbs studied by Artiagoitia (2001ab) when no raising occurs, and expressions like *balio izan* 'be worth CP' in Etxepare (2003: 203 note 1) and Albizu and Fernández (forthcoming). For both, root allomorphy indicates activation of the ergative CA locus, and an ergative expletive has been postulated. This activation occurs under AD, root gloss \sqrt{ED} , but not otherwise with DAT-ABS verbs, root gloss \sqrt{D} , or other unaccusatives.

- (35) *Reference set computation*: One of a designated class of operations O ("optional operations") can apply only if its application would yield a representation I that is distinct in some well-defined way from a representation I' that is in the same reference set R.

4.3 The absolutivity of S: ν -S Agree

T_{ERG}-S Agree yields the ergative case and agreement of S. Beside this ergativity, S under AD also lacks the absolutivity that S shows outside AD/PCC contexts: in particular, since the absolutive case marker and 3SG agreement is \emptyset , S fails to trigger absolutive plural agreement. This calls into question whether the syntax of AD and non-AD up to the ν P level is the same. In the derivation of DAT-ABS verbs in previous section 3, there is number Agree between ν and S. In the AD examples in (26) however, there is however no morpheme glossed PL as there is in (25), which would indicate ν -S number Agree. One may compare in this respect *zaizkio* of (25)b, containing PL *zki* controlled by the absolutive 3PL S, and *diogu* of (26)b, where the ergative S controls 1PL *gu*, and no PL indicating ν number Agree appears. The absence of PL does not have a trivial explanation: on the one hand 1PL absolutive S or O can control PL, and on the other the expected form *dizkiogu*, combining *diogu* with PL *zki*, does exist, with different controllers: for 1PL ergative (*gu*) > 3SG dative (*o*) > 3PL (*zki*), where *gu* and *zki* have different controllers.

Nevertheless, the absence of PL is not persuasive as evidence that there is no relationship between S and ν_{ABS} in the derivation of AD. It is frequently the case that when a 1st/2nd person pronoun cannot control person agreement, it cannot control number agreement either (for counter-examples, examples (52), (54)). In Icelandic, some 1st/2nd person pronouns can survive in a PCC context without person agreement, but they cannot then control number agreement either (example (39) below). This might indicate that number agreement is contingent on person agreement, although it might equally indicate that what allows a pronoun to fail to Agree is its presence in a syntactic domain that is fully opaque to external Agree (see Taraldsen 1995, Schütze 1997: 118-121, Anagnostopoulou 2003: 279-280). A converse effect showing the number-on-person dependency occurs in Fiorentino and Trentino (Brandi and Cordin 1989): post-verbal S cannot control any agreement when 3rd person, but when 1st/2nd person they control both person and number agreement. Taking 3rd person to be an absence of person, number agreement is contingent on the establishment of person agreement. AD fits into this phenomenon: ν_{ABS} -S person Agree is out by the PCC, so number Agree might be as well, while the subsequent T_{ERG}-S Agree meets no obstacles.

Intriguing evidence that there is ν -S Agree in AD derivations comes from case. So far I have kept to AD for a speaker for whom S has ergative case. Other speakers have AD that has the same distribution (PCC contexts with DAT-ABS verbs) and the same ergative-type agreement and ergative-dative auxiliary root selection, but S need not always bear ergative case. Some consistently have absolutive on S (cf. Arregi 2004). Others vacillate between ergative and absolutive, depending on other properties of the context. An example is (36), excerpted from a continuous brief text by a single teenage speaker on an internet discussion group. She alternates between ergative (in the present) and absolutive (past) for S under AD, both within a 3SG.DAT > 1SG.ABS context. Table 1 details the variation in case morphology of S among five speakers. Some require the ergative, some the absolutive, for some tense plays a role, for some ϕ -features

do. An interesting further phenomenon appears in the table: occasionally, AD is possible only if S does not surface overtly (cells with "-"), that is only if it is *pro*-dropped.²⁶

- (36) a. Bera-ri_i ere ni-k_j gustatzen d-i-o_i-t_j
 3SG-DAT also 1SG-ERG liking X-√ED-3-1
 He also likes me.
- b. ni_i pro_j gustatzen ni-i-o_j-la eta ni-k_i pro_j erran
 1SG.ABS 3SG.DAT liking 1-√ED-3-that and 1SG-ERG 3SG.DAT said
 ni-i-o_j-n bera_j pro_i gustatzen z-itzai-da_i-la.
 1-√ED-3-PT 3SG.ABS 1SG.DAT liking X-√D-1-that
 (...he told me) that he likes and I told him that I like he.
http://diariovasco.hator.com/kupidoren-txokoa.php?id_indice=134&erag=ikusi&id=1525

Table 1: Case of S in AD

O' dative > S	Tense	Form	T1	T2	T3	L	E
2SG _i >1SG _j	present	d-i-da _j -zu _i	(ERG)	(ERG)	*	ABS	?ERG/?ABS
2SG _i >3SG _j	present	d-i-o _j -zu _i	ERG	ERG	ABS	ERG	ERG
2SG _i >1SG _j	past	z _i -en-i-da _j -n	ERG	-	ABS	ABS	?ERG
2SG _i >3SG _j	past	z _i -en-i-o _j -n	-	ERG	ABS	ERG	?ERG

Note to table: For all speakers, AD is limited to the 1st/2nd person S of DAT-ABS verbs; T3, lacks AD in one of these contexts, notated *. The sentences tested for this table are those of (26). ERG = *zuk*; ABS = *zu*; absence of ERG or ABS means it is ungrammatical; - means only *pro*-dropped S is good; (ERG) means *pro*-dropped S is preferred but ERG is possible.

Ergative and absolutive case morphology is otherwise stable in Basque.²⁷ 1st/2nd person A cannot have absolutive case, and the 1st/2nd person S of ordinary unaccusatives and the 3rd person S of applicative unaccusatives, cannot have ergative case (cf. also cf. Fernández 2004: 96). The case variation of S is restricted to AD. It seems to show no coherent correlations with other properties of the context.

I suggest it is to be interpreted as the morphological resolution of *v*-assigned absolutive and T-assigned ergative Case, and thus to fall under the phenomenon of multiple case resolution studied by McCreight-Young (1988). (37) exemplifies this phenomenon for classical Greek relative clauses: *oida* 'I know' assigns accusative to its argument, a relative pronoun, which is

²⁶ O's grammar has two different treatments of dative agreement: one as in most Basque dialects, and one where some datives controls canonically absolutive agreement under "dative displacement" DD (Fernández 2001, 2004, Rezac forthcoming). AD occurs under either option. DD is most favoured for 1SG dative in the present tense. As both it and AD are colloquial characteristics, they favour each other, and the DD + AD form (*nauzu*) beats out *didazu*, which feels typical of Basque learners. This is not so for the other consultants, whose system lacks DD. (For another speaker with DD, AD forms in both systems seem absolutely equivalent (Julen Agirre, p.c.).) Interestingly, the case of S under DD + AD is different that under AD without DD: 2SG>1SG present is ABS/*ERG, past (where DD is less common) ?ABS/*ERG.

There are factors other than ϕ -features and tense that bear on the case of S. For L, the present 2SG > 1SG form has an ABS pronoun for *gustatu* 'like' but requires *pro*-drop for *erori* 'seem'. For O, different sessions for the 2SG>1SG past form, but with progressive *gustatzen* 'liking' for the perfective *gustatu* 'liked' of (26), have elicited the (consistent) judgment of ABS/*ERG.

²⁷ Save that, irrelevantly, 3rd person ergative A's may drop the ergative *-k* for many speakers.

also linked to the relative clause head that itself gets genitive from its selecting preposition *pro* 'instead of'. Here both cases are possible. McCreight-Young discusses the different options languages may take, allowing one or both of the cases to surface, or allowing only forms that are syncretic for both. The latter is found in the Norwegian topicalisation (38), which is of particular interest as it involves two structural Cases, like AD. Taraldsen (1981) argues that the topicalized NP is assigned nominative in the downstairs clause at t_i , and accusative by the upstairs verb in the intermediate position t'_i . The result is that only those DPs that are syncretic for nominative and accusative are allowed to surface: lexical nouns and *dere* 'you', but not *jeg/meg* 'I/me'. This parallels examples where AD is possible only if S is pro-dropped; in Basque 1st/2nd person pronouns are never syncretic for case.

(37) pro tōn kakōn ha / hōn oida
 instead the.GEN evils.GEN which.ACC / which.GEN know.1SG
 instead (+GEN) of the evils which I know (+ACC). (McCreight-Young 1988: 86)

(38) Per / dere / *jeg / *meg hadde de trod [CPT' [TP t_i ville
 Per / you.PL / *1SG.NOM / *1SG.ACC had they thought would
 komme forsent]]
 come too.late]]
 Peter / you / *me, they had thought would come too late. (McCreight-Young 1988: 30)

Multiple Case assignment by v and T allows an understanding the case oscillation of S under AD between ergative, absolutive, and zero. Which is spelled out depends on the properties of vocabulary items inserted to spell out such ergative-absolutive S, although the intricate sensitivity to context requires corresponding power in the morphology.

5 Agree, EPP-movement, and equidistance

Icelandic provides striking evidence for some of the details of the proposed AD derivation:

- (i) S can move past an intervener to satisfy the EPP.
- (ii) After EPP movement, an otherwise impossible T-S Agree can be established.
- (iii) Through this new Agree relation, S avoids the PCC.

The evidence comes from an Icelandic paradigm of "long raising", discussed by (Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003, Holmberg and Sigurðsson 2006).

PCC occurs in Icelandic applicative unaccusatives, as in Basque (Taraldsen 1995, Sigurðsson 1996, Boeckx 2000, 2003). The structure at base-generation is the same, the dative O' c-commanding the nominative S. There are two subsequent differences. First, Icelandic as an accusative language has T, not v , as the regular CA locus in unaccusatives, so S bears the T-related nominative case. Second, the dative O', not the nominative S, satisfies the EPP; this is the "quirky subject" property of Icelandic datives. In (39) and (40), the first constituent is in [Spec, CP], and the inflected verb has raised to C, so the [Spec, TP] EPP position is immediately post-verbal (I box it). The PCC blocks person Agree between T and nominative S (in bold) across a dative intervener (underlined), whether the intervener remains overtly between T and S, (39)a, or

undergoes \bar{A} -movement, (39)b. Number agreement across the dative with 3PL S is fine, as in (39)c, except that some speakers require the dative to be in [Spec, TP] for it.²⁸

- (39) a. Líklega mundi/*mundum_j henni_i þá t_i virðast **við_j** vera hæfir.
 probably would.3SG/*1PL her.DAT then seem.INF we.NOM be.INF competent
 We would then probably seem to her to be competent.
- b. Hverjum_i mundi/*mundum_j (t_i) þá t_i virðast **við_j** vera hæfir?
 who.DAT would.3SG/1PL then seem.INF we.NOM be.INF competent
 To whom would we then seem to be competent?
- c. Hvaða knapa_i mundi/%mundu_j (t_i) þá t_i finnast
 what jockey.DAT would.3SG/3PL then seemed.INF
þessir hestar_j vera fljótir?
 these horses.NOM be.INF fast
 To what jockey would these horses then have seemed to be fast. (Holmberg and Sigurðsson 2006)

Since it is the dative O' that satisfies the EPP in Icelandic, there would seem to be no room for an analogue of AD to repair the PCC: there is no T-related position to which S could move. However, such a position apparently becomes available when the dative O' \bar{A} -moves. The nominative S may then undergo "long raising" past the in-situ position of the dative, as in (40)a, (40)b. Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (2003) argue that this is Stylistic Fronting, which Holmberg (2000) in turn analyses as an interpretively neutral movement of phonological features to satisfy the EPP.²⁹ As these authors note however, movement of phonological features is not quite an adequate mechanism, because long raising has an effect on agreement. Some speakers do not allow T-S number agreement across a dative that is either in-situ or \bar{A} -extracted; however, these speakers do allow it when long raising occurs, (40)a. Further, Holmberg and Sigurðsson (2006) show that when (and only when) such "long raising" occurs, the person agreement between T and the nominative S takes place, and the PCC disappears, (40)b (contrast (39)b).

- (40) a. Hverjum_i hafa/hefur strákarnir_i t_i virst t_j vera gáfaðir.
 who.DAT have.3PL/3SG the.boys seemed be.INF intelligent
 To whom would the boys have seemed to be intelligent? (Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 671, citing H. Sigurðsson p.c.)
- b. Hverjum_i (?)mundum_j/*mundi við_i þá t_i virðast t_j vera hæfir?
 who.DAT would.1PL/3SG we.NOM then seem.INF be.INF competent
 Who would we then seem to be competent to?
 (Holmberg and Sigurðsson 2006, ex. 38, 39, 34b, 40)

²⁸ For Icelandic examples I supply traces and translations as needed. Brackets around the trace of the dative indicate uncertainty and/or optionality in whether the dative in \bar{A} -extraction passes through the EPP position (see note 29).

²⁹ If their proposal is correct, in a long raising derivation, the *wh*-moved dative does not satisfy the EPP (it must extract from a lower position), and its trace does not block long raising (see Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003, Anagnostopoulou 2003: 220-9, Boeckx 2003, Rezac 2004: 63-66, Chomsky 2001, 2004). Hrafnbjargarsson (2004) argues that Stylistic Fronting occurs for focus, not the EPP. Boeckx (2003) argues against assimilating long raising and Stylistic Fronting, since Stylistic Fronting of an accusative does not feed T-accusative agreement (otherwise he discusses a nominative fronting phenomenon whose interaction with agreement differs from the "long raising" here).

Thus, Icelandic long-raising shows properties (i)-(iii) above of AD: raising past an intervener (the dative's trace), a new T-S Agree relation, and PCC obviation.

Let us analyze more closely the elements (i)-(iii) in AD and long raising. The nature and mechanics of the movement to satisfy the EPP itself lie beyond my scope here: see Joutteau (2005) for a recent overview of the field. In Icelandic, long raising of S clearly targets a ν P-external position above the sentential adverb *þá* in (40)b, and thus certainly above the base-generation site of the dative. Equally clearly, this movement feeds person and number Agree of T, which is not possible without it. This bare description ultimately suffices for both AD and long raising. S in Basque does end up satisfying the EPP according to the PRO diagnostics, and this concurs with Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir's (2003) identification of the target of long raising as the EPP position. However, nothing essential in the present proposal that by-passing the O' intervener feeds T-S Agree would change, if the landing site of S were in fact c-commanded by the ergative/nominative CA locus T, but still above O'. From this site, S could later raise to satisfy the EPP, or the EPP position could be taken to be lower than that of the ergative CA locus in expansions of the left periphery (say ergative/nominative CA locus = Fin, EPP a property of T). What remains crucial is that S-past-O' raising feeds otherwise impossible T-S Agree.

Whatever the movement is, S crosses O'. This is a recurrent property of the analysis of a class of applicative unaccusatives, where O' is base-generated above S but S undergoes A-movement over it: see McGinnis (1998b) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) on Romance, Albanian, Georgian, Greek; Davison (2004) on Hindi-Urdu; Collins (1997: 23, 27) for related discussion. These authors account for such a crossing over in apparent violation of locality by elaborating on the proposal of Chomsky (1995: 177-186, 298-299, 356-358, 2000: 122) that the terms that are sufficiently close are equidistant from each other. Equidistance nullifies the distance relationship between two elements α and β , as measured by c-command, if: (i) they are sufficiently close to each other, or (ii) if one is sufficiently close to the target τ of Agree (which triggers movement).

- (41) a. *Equidistance*: γ and β are equidistant from α if γ and β are in the same minimal domain. (Chomsky 1995: 356, cf. 2000: 122)
 b. *Minimal domain of H*: The set of terms immediately contained in the projections of H. (Chomsky 2000: 123, cf. 1995: 299)
 c. *Feature-relativized locality* (modifies (2)c(ii)): A probe τ cannot Agree with a goal α across a matching feature β c-commanding α , unless τ , α or α , β are equidistant.

In the basic structure for applicative unaccusatives, equidistance offers two options for S to cross O'. O' could be sufficiently close to the target of S movement, for example if it were a clitic ultimately adjoined to T, as in (42)a (Anagnostopoulou 2003). Alternatively, S and O' could be sufficiently close at some point during the derivation: if S and O' were to move through the minimal domain of ν , as in (42)b (McGinnis 1998b, Anagnostopoulou 2003), or if S and O' originate in the same minimal domain (Davison 2004, Collins 1997).

- (42) a. $\boxed{[T+\nu+\text{Appl}+O']}$ $[\nu P \dots t_{O'} \dots S \dots]$
 b. T $\boxed{[\nu P \ S \ [\nu P \ \nu+\text{Appl}+O'] [\dots t_{O'} \dots t_S \dots]]}]$

The first equidistance scenario has been explored Anagnostopoulou (2003), and it fits Basque well. Anagnostopoulou investigates the role of cliticisation and clitic doubling of O' in Greek and Romance applicative unaccusatives. In these languages, S Agrees with T for person and number,

(43) a. ?*O Gianis_i fenete tis Marias [_{t_i} eskipnos]
 └──────────────────────────────────┘
 *
 b. O Gianis_i tis fenete (tis Marias) [_{t_i} eskipnos]
 └──┬──────────────────┘└──┬────────┘
 the Gianis.NOM her.GEN seem.3SG the Maria.GEN intelligent
 John seems to her / Mary to be intelligent. (Greek, Anagnostopoulou 2003: 27)

This works for Basque, considering that it has clitic-like dative agreement (section 3), and that this occurs in the same head complex as T, ergative, and absolutive agreement. The dative O' intervenes in ν -S (and ν -O) person Agree, creating the PCC. Extending Anagnostopoulou's proposal, this person Agree brings the dative's D^0 as agreement/clitic to ν (Rezac forthcoming, 2006b). ν -to-T raising brings it to T, forming the single head complex (Laka 1993b), so that the dative does not intervene for any T-S relations.

Equidistance leaves open questions, but it has strong support in the data.³⁰ It is tempting to see in it the reason for the difference between languages where S moves past O' and for all of which equidistance has been invoked, and Icelandic-type languages, where it is necessarily O' and not S that satisfies the EPP. In Icelandic there is no cliticisation of O'. S does cross the trace of O' in Icelandic long raising, but here a special story is required in any case (see note 29).

This concludes the discussion of AD and the technical issues surrounding it.³¹ There are uncertainties, but they do not affect the core proposal. In DAT-ABS constructions, S fails to Agree with v_{ABS} due to the intervention of O', giving the PCC; S always raises past O' to satisfy the EPP; for some speakers, S Agrees with T_{ERG} in its derived position above O'. Icelandic long raising confirms that S raising past O' can feed person Agree with T and obviate the PCC. Basque AD in turn strengthens conclusions that can be drawn from Icelandic long raising, since it does not face the unclarities of the latter, such as whether S really satisfies the EPP. Among these, one is particularly worth raising. In long raising, S ends up adjacent to the agreeing verb in T, and one might wonder about agreement attraction, either in terms of linear adjacency, or in

³⁰ One question is whether equidistance applies to Agree and movement alike, or only to movement. If the former, then S-past-O' need not be a pre-requisite to T-S person Agree: rather, equidistance establishes a configuration from which both are possible and could be envisaged to occur independently. This would be resolved by a language like Greek or Basque, but where S can be guaranteed to not raise past O' even as a clitic or rich agreement (so non-*pro*-drop and/or with an overt expletive, to see whether there is ϕ -Agree between T and in-situ S past a cliticized O'. French comes close, but its expletive triggers 3SG agreement, and the definiteness effect bars 1st/2nd person S.

³¹ The AD derivation has some other analogues than long raising in the literature. It is very close to what is proposed for *frighten*-type causative psych-verbs by Belletti and Rizzi (1988), as in (i), except for the restriction to PCC contexts, but Pesetsky (1995) argues persuasively against such an analysis. Albizu and Fernández (2002, forthcoming) derive Basque ergative theme + dative experiencer constructions also in just such a fashion, moving the theme to T to get ergative past an intervening experiencer. Mismatches between meaning and unaccusativity are common in Basque (cf. Oyharçabal 1992); the alternative is that they are syntactic unergatives.

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more abstract terms between subject of unaccusatives / nominative case and verbal agreement. These are not possibilities for AD: there need be no adjacency, the ergative case S bears is anomalous for its theta-role, and S oscillates between ergative and absolutive to create an anomalous pairing of ergative-type agreement and absolutive case not found elsewhere. Basque thus provides both an example of the PCC in applicative unaccusatives, and the mechanics that has been predicted to circumvent it in (14).

6 The PCC in accusative languages

The CA approach to the PCC does not differentiate between applicative unaccusatives and transitives, and it is expected that O' intervenes in T-S/O and ν -S/O relations alike. This is true in Basque. It is not alone. Baker (1996: 193-197, 207) finds and analyses the restriction in applicative transitives and unaccusatives in Mohawk, where it is identified as the PCC by Ormazabal and Romero (1998: 423-4); Adger and Harbour (2003) point out that the PCC occurs in both kinds of applicatives in Kiowa; and Bonet (1991: 198) had noted the related Kiowa-Tanoan language Southern Tiwa as her only example of where the PCC does not differentiate between applicative transitive and unaccusative. It seems in general that if a language is not accusative, then it has the PCC in applicative transitives and unaccusatives alike, provided its manifestation is comparable, e.g. a restriction on person agreement morphology.³²

Accusative languages have often seemed to be the exception to the homogeneous treatment of applicatives by the CA approach. French, Spanish, and Greek have the PCC in applicative transitives, banning 1st/2nd person O clitics, and one would expect at least person Agree between T and S to be impossible, yet it is not. However, AD in Basque provides an indication of why this might be so: if S raises past O' and can enter into subsequent person Agree, the PCC is voided. This is the essence of the proposal of Béjar and Rezac (2003), and related to that of Albizu (1997), Ormazabal and Romero (1998). The prediction of the CA approach is thus more precisely as in (14), repeated here as (44):

- (44) (14) In the configuration $H > X > Y$, where $>$ is c-command, H has a person probe, and X is an intervener for person Agree, either H-Y person Agree is impossible (PCC), or Y raises past X and then Agrees with H for person (no PCC)

AD brings S past O' to the domain of T. In ergative languages, the regular CA locus of S is ν_{ABS} , so the Agree between S and T_{ERG} that ensues upon AD is detectable from surface case and agreement, as anomalous A-like ergativity on the part of S. In accusative languages, however

³² What "non-accusative" means is not always clear, which can be illustrated by Georgian (Harris 1981). PCC occurs in applicative transitives but not unaccusatives. The case morphology is ergative in one set of tenses and accusative in another. However, the agreement morphology is thoroughly accusative. For person, A and S trigger the same agreement morphology, which differs from that of O (and O'). Just how S comes to systematically control A agreement morphology even in the ergative case subsystem is not clear (see Béjar 2003: 129-131). Both this and the absence of the PCC would be explained if S higher up prior to person Agree, including past O'. Yet it is not clear to where it raises, for S either passes the same subjecthood / EPP diagnostics (3.PL number agreement, reflexive binding) as the higher dative (in regular applicative unaccusatives), or the higher dative wins out (in the "inversion" construction, where the A of transitives in certain tense/mood contexts surfaces as dative and O as nominative/absolutive): see Harris (1981: chapters 8, 14, 15), McGinnis (1995, 1998a). Either S does move over O' to satisfy the EPP at least whenever the PCC does not occur (and "inversion" has a different structure), or S is raising over O' but lower, to the edge of the νP , prior to Case/Agree (how and why?).

(45) S T (v) [_{AppIP} O' Appl [_{VP} V *t*_S]]

person Agree
EPP movement

The consequences of (45) are that (i) O' is base-generated above S; (ii) S, not O', passes EPP-related subjecthood properties such as subject-oriented anaphora binding and being PRO; (iii) there is no PCC effect, since T automatically has the ϕ -probe as the regular CA locus of unaccusatives, and so T-S person Agree ensues. Among accusative languages with these properties are French, Spanish, and Greek. French, which is not *pro*-drop, transparently shows the movement of S past O', as in (46). Here O' is the dative clitic *lui*, S is the nominative weak pronoun *je* which raises past O' to satisfy the EPP, only S can bind subject-oriented anaphora like *me*, and S is not subject to the PCC.³³

- Similarly, Bickel (2004), reviewing oblique subjects in the Himalayan languages, shows that in Kashmiri and Nepali applicative unaccusatives (dative-nominative constructions), both the dative O' and the nominative S can bind anaphora, but only S can undergo raising or be PRO. Thus S satisfies the EPP, and no PCC is expected, correctly as (47) shows.

- Yet not all applicative unaccusatives in accusative languages are of this type. The best known counter-example is Icelandic, and it too fits the predictions in (14)/(44). In this language the PCC occurs in applicative unaccusatives, (48) (Taraldsen 1995, Sigurðsson 1996, Boeckx 2000).³⁴

³⁴ There is no PCC in applicative transitives, but there is no overt agreement, and object pronouns are weak and

Correspondingly, it is exclusively O', not S, that satisfies the EPP: it counts exclusively as PRO and the binder of subject-oriented anaphora (see the overview in Sigurðsson 2002, and for object properties of the nominative S, Jónsson 1996: 123). Therefore the derivation of Icelandic differs from that in (45) in that S never ends up being closer to T than O', as shown in (49).

- (48) a. Henni_j hafði / höfðu_i t_j fundist [þær_i vera duglegar]
her.DAT had.3SG/3PL found they.NOM to.INF industrious
They seemed to her to be industrious.
b. Henni_j hafði / *höfðuð_i t_j fundist [þið_i vera duglegar]
her.DAT had.3SG/*2PL found you.NOM be.INF industrious
You seemed to her to be industrious. (Icelandic, Sigurðsson 1996: 39)

- (49) O' T (v) [ApplP t_{O'} Appl [VP V S]]

person Agree
EPP movement

As discussed at the end of section 4, it is not well understood what differentiates the Icelandic dative O' from the Basque or Spanish dative O', both of which cause the PCC, or perhaps what differentiates the respective EPP requirements. As far as is presently known, nothing would prevent languages of the Spanish type from having derivations of the Icelandic type (49) elsewhere, presenting the Person Case Constraint in intransitives other than regular applicative unaccusatives. I will end this section with a few suggestive possibilities.

One construction that shows a person restriction and seems amenable to the analysis in (49) are middle-passive *se* (*si*) constructions from transitive verbs in Romance, such as Italian (50) (for a review of *se* in Romance, see Dobrovie-Sorin 2006). The external argument A, whose presence is detectable by syntactic diagnostics, receives an impersonal interpretation, and it has no overt realisation, unless it is the clitic *si*. The internal argument O bears nominative case and controls agreement on T, so it behaves like the S of unaccusatives, (50)a. However, there is a PCC like restriction on it: it cannot be 1st/2nd person, (50)b. D'Alessandro (2004) develops an analysis in terms of the PCC. The impersonal A Agrees with T for person, and thus blocks T-O person Agree, (51)a. The middle-passive *se* stands in Italian beside another impersonal formation, using "nominative" *se* as in (50)c, where O is accusative and does not control agreement; up to the vP, this is a simple transitive on D'Alessandro's analysis. Here there is no intervener for v-O Case/Agree relations, (51)b, and correspondingly no person restriction, (50)c.

- (50) a. I Rossi/?loro si inviterebbero volentieri
the Rossi's/they SE would.invite.3PL willingly
The Rossi's/they would be eagerly invited.
b. *Tu si invit-er-ai volentieri
2SG.NOM SE invite-FUT-2SG willingly
c. <Ti> si invit-er-à <anche te>
2SG.ACC SE invite-FUT-3SG also 2SG
You will be eagerly invited. (Italian, Burzio 1986: 49)

strong, not clitics (Jónsson 1996). These can escape the PCC through non-agreement, just as nominative S pronouns in applicative unaccusatives do when they need not agree (see section 2).

- (51) a. $\frac{A/si_i + T_{\text{NOM}}}{\text{person}} \left[\frac{[_{VP} t_i \quad [_V \quad [_{VP} V \quad O.\text{NOM}_j]]]}{\text{number / nominative}} \right]$
 b. $\frac{A/si_i + T_{\text{NOM}}}{\text{person}} \left[\frac{[_{VP} t_i \quad [_{V_{ACC}} \quad [_{VP} V \quad O.\text{ACC}_j]]]}{\text{accusative}} \right]$

The middle-passive *se* construction stand in contrast to applicative unaccusatives in Italian, which behave like those of Spanish and show no PCC (D'Alessandro 2004: 137-8). In turn Spanish has middle-passive (and nominative) *se* constructions with the same properties as Italian (Mendikoetxea 1999). D'Alessandro's account suggests a plausible reason why the PCC necessarily arises in impersonal constructions: the impersonal A *pro/si* has a person feature that irrevocably values the person probe of T, perhaps in order for its "impersonal" personal feature to be licensed. A dative O' does not prevent S from person Agree with T once S moves past it.³⁵

English list constructions like (52) are another possible candidate for the PCC. English does not differentiate 1PL and 3PL agreement, but the fact that the pronoun *us* is not nominative could be attributed to failure of person agreement, so (52) would show specifically (3)PL agreement (Rezac 2004: 302-5). Chomsky (2000: 149 note 90) relates the failure of the definiteness effect here to the failure of person Agree. The construction brings to fore a possibility inherent in the CA account of the PCC. It is not necessary that the element X of (44) that blocks H-Y (here T-S) Agree intervene between H and Y; it could be base-generated in [Spec, HP], provided it controls the person probe of H and renders it unavailable for Y (cf. Chomsky 2000: 128 on expletives).

- (52) There remain(PL) only us(PL).

Passive impersonals and list constructions are candidates for the PCC. They fit the pattern of Icelandic applicative unaccusatives, and the prediction in (44): T-S person Agree is blocked by something that gains irrevocable control of the person feature of T. Applicative unaccusatives of the French, Spanish, or Basque type differ in that the intervener for T-S person Agree simply blocks it, but the person probe of T remains available to Agree again, and this it does when S moves past O'. Although accusative languages unlike ergative languages do not reflect in case and agreement the fact that T-S Agree occurs after S-past-O' movement, the prediction (44) is still verifiable by showing that T-S person Agree depends on the ability of S to move past O', and the availability of T's person feature for Agree with S.

7 Conclusion

The CA approach to the PCC prevents person Agree between a CA locus H and a DP Y across interveners for person Agree X, (53)a, unless Y moves over X and the person probe of H can Agree with it, (53)b ($X > Y = X$ c-commands Y, $X >> Y = Y$ is in the search-space of X):

- (53) H-Y person Agree: a. $*H >> X > Y$ b. $\sqrt{H} >> Y > X > t_Y$

I have studied examples that demonstrate both propositions. They support the CA approach, because it predicts an interaction between H-Y person Agree and the occurrence of Y below or

³⁵ Rivero (2004) shows that PCC effects do turn up in applicative unaccusatives in languages like Spanish, if they have the inherent *se* clitic, and shows that the PCC depends on *se* being specified for person. The person of *se* may be supposed to block T-S person Agree in the same fashion as middle-passive *se* (cf. D'Alessandro 2004: 156).

above the intervener X, both through base-generation and movement. From the perspective of locality, situations (53)b, where Y moves into a sufficiently local configuration with H for person Agree, correspond to those like (12)b, where Y is base-generated above X.

There is a major unclarity in the CA approach: the nature of the intervention of X for person Agree. In the paradigms in this paper, X does not have structural Case, and it blocks H-Y Agree only for person, not for number (modulo the person-number bundling discussed in section 4.3). The most straightforward way of understanding this is that the intervener is specified for person and not for number, so it intercepts the person and number probe. This would subsume such "defective intervention" under feature-relativized minimality and fully assimilate them to examples where X has structural Case and fully blocks H's ϕ -probes (Ormazabal and Romero 1998 on Mohawk, Rezac forthcoming on Basque dialects). Some PCC effects lend themselves to such a description, as in the middle-passive *se* constructions in section 6 where the intervener is an arbitrary *pro*, arguably just specified with some kind of person value (D'Alessandro 2004). Yet in most cases, the ϕ -features of X, typically a dative DP, do not actually control the person probe of H; indeed, Ormazabal and Romero (forthcoming) point out that a dative DP need not have, overtly or interpretively, any ϕ -feature(s) for which it intervenes. There are various proposals for datives that attempt to derive their behaviour as person interveners from the nature of dative case, rather than just the ϕ -features of the DP: Taraldsen (1995), Chomsky (2000: 128, 130-1), Anagnostopoulou (2003: 267-271), Adger and Harbour (2003), Rezac (forthcoming, 2006b), M. Richards (2004: 156-171). Ormazabal and Romero (1998) have an inverse approach where it is the dative's person agreement that is being intervened with. The CA proposal is also compatible with alternatives that do not invoke feature-relativized minimality to account for person intervention, like Albizu (1997) who first develops a comprehensive version of the CA proposal, and Baker (forthcoming) (Javier Ormazabal, p.c.). Of importance here is simply that X block the person probe of H, and movement of Y past X obviate this blocking.

Despite this unclarity, it is in the role of the intervener that resides the distinguishing feature of the CA approach, including the predictions studied in this paper. A further demonstration is furnished by comparing the PCC with a restriction on person agreement that does not appeal to an intervener. It is found in French. Agreeing subjects occur in the canonical position, traditionally [Spec, TP], in which they are subject to no restrictions and they require full person and number agreement, as in (54)a. Contexts such as questions trigger inversion seen in (54)b, where the verb raises to C, a pronominal but not lexical subject may follow it, and full agreement is still required. Other constructions where the subject follows the verb fall into three types: unaccusative inversion, stylistic inversion (Marandin 2001, Bonami et al. 1999), and *ce* presentationals.³⁶ These three constructions share a remarkable agreement restriction: only number agreement, not person agreement is allowed, though they allow subjects that preverbally would require person agreement as well. (54)c exemplifies stylistic inversion, where the subject is allowed to be post-verbal when another element undergoes \bar{A} -movement. The subject has most of the canonical subject properties; for example, it controls into high adjuncts (impossible for object and for post-verbal subjects in expletive constructions), and it cannot be the source of *en* 'of DP' cliticisation (unlike objects, post-verbal subjects of expletive constructions and of unaccusative inversion). Yet it is restricted to 3PL agreement, though preverbally it would require 1PL as in (54)a. (54)d shows unaccusative inversion with a plain unaccusative in a subjunctive context; the same agreement restriction holds. Stylistic and unaccusative inversion

³⁶ I set aside expletive constructions, where the expletive *il* requires 3SG agreement.

do not allow pronominal subjects, as indicated in (54)c. *Ce* presentationals like (54)e do, and still only number agreement is possible.

- (54) a. [Reun et moi]_i / nous_i y vivions/*vivaient à l'époque
 Reun and 1SG 1PL.NOM there lived.1PL/*3PL at the time
 [Marie and I] / we stayed there at the time.
- b. Où vivions_i/*vivaient_i nous_i / *[Reun et moi]_i à l'époque?
 where stayed.1PL/*3PL 1PL.NOM Reun and 1SG at the time
 Where did we / *[Marie and I] stay at the time?
- c. là où vivaient_i/*vivions_i seulement [Reun et moi]_i / *nous_i / *ils_i
 there where lived.3PL/*1PL only Reun and 1SG 1PL.NOM 3PL.NOM
 the room where only [Marie and I] / *we / *they lived
- d. Je voudrais que viennent_i/*veniez_i au moins [Reun et toi]_i
 1SG.NOM would.like.1SG that come.SUBJ.3PL/*2PL at.the least Reun and 2SG
 I would like that at least Reun and you come.
- e. Ce sont / *sommes nous, les oubliées de l'histoire.
 it be.3PL be.1PL 1PL the forgotten.FEM.PL of the history
 It is us, the forgotten (women) of history.

A connection of this agreement restriction with the PCC would require gratuitous interveners to block person Agree, for example in (54)d. A better generalisation is that person agreement is only possible if a DP attains the canonical subject position and not if it remains lower (Marandin 2001). Under the assumption that the canonical subject position is [Spec, TP] and the ϕ -probe is on T, person agreement in French requires that the goal of Agree moves to the specifier of the probe, while number agreement does not. Such a requirement is known for number and gender / class agreement on past participles in French (Kayne 1989), on T in Fiorentino and Trentino (Brandi and Cordin 1989), and on verbal elements in Bantu generally (Baker 2003, Carstens 2005). A deeper understanding is lacking, but the French person restriction fits.³⁷

The restriction that French illustrates is as parochial for person as it is known to be for number and gender, and the PCC cannot be reduced to it. Agreement for number and gender is elsewhere common with goals to the right of, c-commanded by, and remote from the target of agreement; this has motivated the conceptual move to the Agree from the specifier-head approach. Agreement for person likewise occurs with such goals in the other languages discussed in this paper, outside PCC contexts. Thus one may contrast the French (54)e, where person agreement is impossible, with Icelandic (54), where as Holmberg and Sigurðsson (2006) point out full agreement is required (both are non-*pro*-drop languages; in English *It is/*are us/we*, *it* controls agreement).³⁸ Other examples that show distinctively person agreement with a rightward / c-commanded goal are in (56). In (56)a it is person agreement between a complementizer and a lower nominative subject in a (non-*pro*-drop) West Germanic dialect, extensively studied by van Koppen (2005). (56)b has person agreement with the post-verbal subject of an unaccusative in a (*pro*-drop) Romance dialect. Brandi and Cordin (1989) highlight the fact that in it, 1st/2nd person (+ number) agreement differs from 3rd person number agreement, which requires movement.

³⁷ Chomsky (2001: 46 note 39) suggests this might be a matter of spell-out of person Agree, not its occurrence.

³⁸ I specify which languages are non-*pro*-drop, since in them it is clear that overt pronouns, which are obligatory, are arguments, while in *pro*-drop languages they surface only if focussed and alternative analyses may be entertained.

- (55) a. Það/Þetta erum bara við.
 it/this be.1PL only we.NOM
 It/this is only us.
 b. Líklega höfum það þá bara verið við.
 probably have.1PL it then only been we.NOM
 Probably, it has then only been we. (Icelandic, Holmberg and Sigurðsson 2006)
- (56) a. de-s_i [doow_i en ich]_j ôs_j treff-e_j
 that-2SG 2SG and 1SG each.other.1PL meet-PL
 that you and I will meet. (Telegen Dutch, van Koppen 2005: 40)
 b. vegn-im noi
 come-1PL 1PL.NOM (Trentino, Brandi and Cordin 1989: 138 note 10)

The languages discussed in this paper for the PCC, like Basque, Icelandic, Spanish, lack do not have movement or positional requirements on person agreement, as French does. Person agreement restrictions depend instead on the presence of an intervener, differentiating for DAT-ABS unaccusative from plain and ABS-DAT unaccusatives in Basque (section 3), or dative > accusative from accusative > dative object clitic sequences in French (section 2). The CA approach to the PCC brings this intervention effect to the fore, and thus also highlights the contrast between the two types of agreement restrictions, positional and intervention-based.

I will end on another consequence of the role of the intervener in the CA approach: it can be used to understand languages (or constructions) where clitic or agreement morphology does not seem to be subject to the PCC at all. For example, Abaza codes A, S, O and O' by agreement morphology, but there is no PCC in applicative transitives or unaccusatives, as shown in (57):

- (57) a. b-ħə-cə-ŷ-ga-p'
 2SG.ABS.F-1PL.O'-COM-1PL.ERG-carry-FUT
 We_i will take you with us_i.
 b. s-a-k^w-č^wa-t'
 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.O'-LOC.on-sit-DYN
 I sat on it. (Abaza, O'Herin 2001: 490, 482 respectively)

O'Herin (2001, 2002) analyses Abaza applicatives and develops a theory of their properties that *inter alia* accounts for their immunity to the PCC (which he does not discuss). The core of his proposal is that the applied object originates in a PP *below* S or O, agrees with its P, and then the agreeing P itself incorporates into the verb complex (O'Herin 2001: 489-490). The treatment is suggested by the fact that the applicative construction alternates with a construction where the applied object is realized inside an independent PP, and the P head then actually agrees with it as in (58)a. Thus applied object then never c-commands S/O, and no PCC is expected. O'Herin presents impressive supporting evidence for his case, including binding facts and contrasts with more familiar applicatives of the type studied in Baker (1988), like multiple applicatives from multiple PPs, (58)b.

- (58) a. sara bilet wara_i wə_i-qaz y-ŷa-s-aw-d
 I ticket you 2SG.M-for 3SG.N-PV-1SG-find-DYN
 I found the ticket for you.

- b. y-[lə-cə]_A-[r-z]_B-[a-la]_C-h-č'pa-t'
 3SG.N-3SG.F-COM-3PL-BEN-3SG.N-INST-1PL-do-DYN
 We did it [with her]_A [for them]_B [with it]_C. (Abaza, O'Herin 2002: 219, 229 resp.)

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