Φ-Agree and theta-related Case[*]

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1   Agree and theta-related Case

The hypothesis examined in this paper is that DPs with theta-related Case cannot value a φ-probe under Agree, or alternatively though not equivalently, that only DPs with structural Case can:

(1) *Case Opacity*: A DP with theta-related Case may not value a φ-probe.

Case and Agree are technical terms meant here in the framework of Chomsky (2000) et seq., and the investigation is pursued in that framework, but the issue is by no means internal to it. I use the term theta-related Case for all morphological case marking whose identity depends on the local relationship of a DP to its selector, whether canonical for a theta-role or idiosyncratic (Wooford's 2006 lexical and inherent Case). It stands in contrast to structural Case, which is assigned to a DP by a functional head that does not select it, often at a potentially unbounded distance. The hall-mark of theta-related Case is that it does not alternate with the embedding of an argument selector under different functional architectures such as raising and ECM, and that it cannot be borne by non-thematic elements such as *there*-type expletives, unlike structural Case.

This is fairly perspicuous and agreed-on, though not uncontroversial. The terms Agree, or valuation of a φ-probe, are more resistant to a simple definition in relationship to morphological agreement, a nebulous phenomenon that has many syntactic and post-syntactic sources. So Agree is more theory-internal, which is not to say less real. I take section 2 to lay out the distinction between Agree and agreement. Agree gives rise to one type of agreement morphology. Case opacity claims that this type of agreement cannot be controlled by a DP with theta-related Case.

To see what is at stake, consider the English and Icelandic sentences in (2), of the types around which much of the discussion has turned. In English, the experiencer of *seem*, like all

other PPs, cannot control subject agreement on the verb. If there is no further potential agreement controller, sentences like (2)a fail, and Lasnik (1999: 134) argues that this is because the φ-probe of T encounters no matching φ-set in its domain. Adding one rescues the construction, as in (2)b. The invisibility of the PP to φ-Agree is an instance of Case Opacity; I return to P as equivalent to case morphology at the end of this section. The experiencer of *seem* in Icelandic presents a well-known minimal contrast with that of English (McGinnis 1998ab). It also bears theta-related Case, a dative typical of experiencers; but unlike the English *to* PP, it is capable of undergoing A-movement and this ability lets sentences like (2)a survive in Icelandic, satisfying the "associate requirement" of the φ-probe of T, for example in (2)c with the experiencer moved to satisfy the EPP. However, regardless of whether it moves or stays in-situ, whether there is another goal or not, it still cannot control subject agreement on the verb; only a sufficiently local nominative can, as in English (see Schütze 1997, Boeckx 1999, Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003, among others).[1]

(2)
a. *There seem$_i$/seems to them$_i$ that someone left.
b. There seem$_i$ to them to be some books$_i$ on the shelf.
c. Mér$_i$ virðist/*virðast t_i [að   þeir   lesi   bókina].
   me.DAT   seem.SG/*PL   that   they.NOM read   the.book.ACC
   It seems to me that they read the book. (Boeckx 2004: 28)

These two kinds of experiencers of *seem* are both bearers of theta-related case morphology, and neither can control the kind of agreement that a bearer of structural Case can. Phenomena like this are at the core of Case Opacity, under a suitably sharp understanding of what kind of agreement is meant. A clearly articulated and detailed exploration of Case Opacity is found in Schütze (1997: 40ff., chapter 4), particularly valuable for including theta-related Case visible to A-movement of the Icelandic type.[2] In recent minimalism (Chomsky 2000 et seq.), Case Opacity is part of a larger investigation into what the Case conditions are on a DP to control φ-Agree, for example whether it can bear previously assigned structural Case. Yet the relationship of theta-related Case to φ-Agree seems to carve out a rather independent domain of inquiry.

The unavailability of DPs with theta-related Case to control the Agree-type of agreement is a striking property of many natural language systems. Spanish (3) is an example of theta-related Case in [Spec, ApplP] obeying Case Opacity (Ormazabal and Romero 2001). The case morphology of the applied object *le* does not vary with the active/passive context and it does not value the φ-probe of T in the passive, which is valued instead by the next lower DP with structural Case. Hindi-Urdu (4) shows a similar pattern for [Spec, *v*P] in the perfective, on one line of analysis (Comrie 1984, Mahajan 1989, Mohanan 1994, Davison 2004, Woolford 2006, Anand and Nevins, forthcoming). The external argument is theta-related ergative incapable of

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[1] Glosses are: NOM nominative, DAT dative, ACC accusative, ABS absolutive, ERG ergative, SG singular, PL plural, FEM feminine, MASC masculine, 1, 2… person, I, II… classes, OBJ object, LOC locative, REFL reflexive, IMPRS impersonal, PT past, POT potential, FUT future, NMLZ nominalization, PRT participle. Others are explained as they come up.
[2] Schütze calls this the *Accord Constraint* (p. 41): "A nominal projection and a predicated-related head cannot check each other's case- or phi-features except via Accord. That is, both sets of features, case and phi, must be checked at once." Here *Accord* corresponds to *Agree*. I do not put things quite this way because strong evidence has accumulated since that Agree with a Case-bearing DP that has already Agreed for the same features is possible, at least sometimes (Potsdam and Polinsky 2001, Branigan and MacKenzie 2001, Carstens 2001, 2003, Bhatt 2006).

controlling agreement, which is instead controlled by the highest DP without overt case morphology. As for the Icelandic experiencer dative, diagnostics converge on the ergative being visible to A-movement (esp. Davison 2004); cf. Legate 2002, forthcoming for the Warlpiri ergative. An analogue invisible to A-movement is the English passive *by*-phrase if in [Spec, *v*P] (Watanabe 1996: 125ff.), which also cannot control clausal agreement.[3]

(3)
a. Los niños$_j$ le$_i$ entregaron$_j$ los libros.
   the children her.DAT gave.PL the book to Elodi
   The children gave her the book.
b. Los libros$_j$ le$_i$ fueron$_j$ entregado.
   the book her.DAT were.PL given to Elodi
   She was given the books. (Spanish)

(4)
a. laRkiyãã$_i$ rooTii$_j$ khaatĩ̃$_i$ hãi$_i$.
   girls bread eating-FEM be-3-PL
   The girls eat bread. (*Imperfective: agent agreeing DP + object non-agreeing DP*)
b. laRkiyõõ nee$_i$ rooTii$_j$ khaaii$_j$.
   girls ERG bread ate-FEM-SG
   The girls ate bread. (*Perfective: agent non-agreeing ERG PP + object agreeing DP*)
   (Hindi; Comrie 1984: 858; my indexing)

There have been systems reported in the literature where DPs with apparently theta-related Case do control the same agreement morphology as a DP with structural Case, such as ergatives in Nez Perce (Woolford 1997). These are preliminary indications that Case Opacity may not be absolute. I will argue that in the final analysis Case Opacity is indeed incorrect, although its violations are rare. From their investigation will arise a theory of theta-related Case that accounts for its typical opacity, for its potential transparency, and moreover, for the modulation of the degree to which it can be transparent -- deriving eventually a distinction between the English and Icelandic kind of theta-related Case. The gist of the theoretical proposal is as follows: (i) theta-related Case is a PP, and so normally an opaque domain (*phase*) for the DP within it; (ii) but φ-features of the DP can be transported to the outside world by Agree between the P head of the PP and the DP, making the PP seem transparent. The evidence is drawn principally from the contrasting behavior of datives and dative agreement in dialects of Basque. Here is a roadmap:

- Section 2: Agree and agreement.
- Section 3: The structural Case system of Basque.

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[3] There are many caveats. Sometimes what looks like theta-related Case seems to be the contextual realization of structural Case; Ormazabal and Romero (2002) make this argument for the "dative" of [human] transitive direct objects in *leista* Spanish, impossible in passives (cf. Mohanan 1994: chapter 4 for dialects of Hindi-Urdu, varying in this respect). This can then be extended to more canonical configurations by defining the context of the realization in such a way that it always occurs, such as a local relationship to Appl (Adger and Harbour 2003 for the Spanish dative), or the presence of a lower DP with structural Case (Bobaljik and Branigan, forthcoming, for Chukchi ergative and French causee dative). Going in the other direction, convergence requirements like the need for T's φ-probe to have a goal can contextually delimit certain lexical alternants, another way of looking at the ban on Spanish *leismo* in passives on an analysis of it as a theta-related dative in the applicative construction.

- Section 4: Theta-related datives in Basque dialects that observe Case Opacity.
- Section 5: Theta-related datives in other Basque dialects that do not.
- Section 6: Theta-related Case as PP, PP opacity, and P-DP Agree for transparency.
- Section 7: What can make a P have a φ-probe (make a PP transparent) in Basque.
- Section 8: Quirky Case as a minimally transparent PP.

The heart of the paper is Basque dialectal (and diachronic) variation of the type in (5) (for glosses, see section 3). In most dialects the dative indirect object *geuri* 'to us' controls a dedicated dative clitic in the agreement complex, *ku* in *deusku*, and it cannot affect the person and number agreement morphology that is reserved for structural Case arguments. In some dialects, it does do exactly that, controlling the person *g* and plural *it* of *gaitu*, a form that with a transitive verb would require an absolutive direct object *g(e)u* 'us'. In doing so, it retains dative case and other properties of an indirect object, though there are syntactic consequences to its control of absolutive-type agreement. The former type of dialects respect Case Opacity; the latter do not.

(5) $\underline{geuri}_i$ emon   d-e-u-s-$\underline{ku}_i$ / g_i-a-$\underline{it}_i$-u.
     us.DAT   given   X-TM-√3V-PL-1'   /   1'-TM-PL-√2V
     He has given it to us. (Azkue 1923-5b: 539/§770)

Theta-related Case of the kind borne by English experiencer of *seem*, which is fully invisible to the φ-Agree and A-movement system, is clearly somehow different from the theta-related Case borne by the Icelandic experiencer of *seem*, which is visible to A-movement and as discussed in section 8 even to φ-Agree, though not able to value a φ-probe as has been seen. The Icelandic kind is called *quirky* (theta-related) Case. I will assume that all theta-related Case is involves syntactically a PP shell around a DP. This is an important point, for a distinction is sometimes made between quirky and non-quirky theta-related Case in that the former has the P or case morphology adjoined to the DP and remains a DP, while the latter is a genuine PP (e.g. Stowell 1989). Such proposals are meant to entail that a DP with an adjoined case particle behaves as a DP for binding, scope, etc., while a DP within a PP cannot c-command outside. However, the desired distinction simply does not exist empirically. Genuine, semantically heavy P's such as English *about* are invisible to c-command for all these purposes, whatever may be the explanation: see Pesetsky (1995: 172ff., 228ff.), Phillips (1996: 44ff.) for overviews, and specifically for the *to* experiencer of *seem*, see Chomsky (1986: 183, 1995: 304), Kitahara (1997: 63ff.), and especially McGinnis (1998a: 201ff.). The same holds true of visibility to A-movement. Table 1 summarizes the behavior of the experiencer of raising *seem* in different languages. The experiencer is throughout a DP with selectionally-determined case morphology or adposition. The degree of fusion varies from full word-like independence of P to full attachment. However, this does not correlate in any way with the experiencer's visibility to A-movement.

Table 1: Lack of correlation between morphophonology and syntax for *seem* experiencers

	"PP"		In between		"Case-marked DP"	
	English	Greek	Basque	French	Czech	Icelandic
	seem	*fenete*	*iruditu*	*sembler*	*zdát se*	*virðast*
Properties of experiencer	+ *to* DP	+ *se* DP	+ DAT	+ *à* DP	+ DAT	+ DAT
Visible to φ-Agree	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
Must attach to each conjunct	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes
Most attach to each modifier	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
Portmanteau with stem	no	no	no	no	yes	yes

Sources: French: Chomsky (1995: 305), McGinnis (1998a: 89ff.), Anagnostopoulou (2003: 220f., 181ff.); Greek: Anagnostopoulou (2003: 164ff., 171ff., 181ff.); Icelandic: see references opposite ex. (2); Czech: Rezac (2004: 339); Basque: see section 4, and Trask (2003).

In general, the morphophonological status of the expression of theta-related Case is irrelevant to its syntactic behavior. Case opacity, in particular, correlates simply with the presence of such theta-related marking, not with its expression; in none of these languages can the *seem* verb agree with its experiencer in the way it does with a nominative.

2 Agree and agreement

The term agreement covers a vast range of phenomena, overviewed in Moravcsik (1978), Corbett (1998, 2003). The last begins his discussion with a working definition:

> The term agreement commonly refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another. (Steele 1978: 610).

We call the element which determines the agreement the **controller**. The element whose form is determined by agreement is the **target**. When we indicate in what respect there is agreement, we are referring to agreement **features**. The syntactic environment in which agreement occurs is the **domain**. If we need any further 'provisos', then we are dealing with **conditions**. (Corbett 2003: 159; bold in original)

In internalist approaches like the one here, agreement phenomena have received a number of analyses, and it is clear that different ones are appropriate for different phenomena, even if discussion is limited to the configurations germane here: the controller is a clausal argument, the target a clausal predicate or its extended functional projections within the clause up to the CP, and the features are the person, number, class/gender-type φ-features interpretable on the controller (potentially null). In this domain, some agreement seems to arise through post-syntactic prosodic merger between the target and the controller itself (see Jouitteau and Rezac, in press, for an overview of relevant work on Celtic). Other agreement also spells out the controller itself on the target, but the two attach in the syntax with different properties than if post-syntactically; the controller may originate within a larger constituent with which it shares features, so it appears to constitute agreement with (Jelinek's 1984 pronominal argument hypothesis and the X^0-movement of clitics and cliticization alike, discussed below).

Finally, some agreement turns out not to involve movement of phrase-structural elements at all, but rather the pure copying of φ-features from the controller to the target, visible at spell-out but not at LF: "pure" agreement. The demonstration of its existence is recent. Its empirical core are paradigms like (6), due to Lasnik (1999: chapter 6), since extended for example to cross-clausal agreement in Tsez (Potsdam and Polinsky 2001). These show that long-distance agreement alone is not a legitimate antecedent for Condition A anaphora that are below the agreement target but above the agreement controller. Similar paradigms show that such agreement is not visible for any other syntactic or semantic condition either.

(6)
a. Some linguists$_i$ seem.PL$_i$ to <u>each other$_i$</u> [t_i to have been given good job offers].
b. *There seem.PL$_i$ seem to <u>each other$_i$</u> [to have been some linguists given good job offers].
    (Lasnik 1999: 138)

It is properties of such pure agreement that have proved the model in understanding syntactic dependencies in recent minimalist theorizing, and given it the operation Agree in Chomsky (2000). The reasoning goes as follows. To a good first approximation, the conditions on the target-controller relationships have turned out to be the same as the conditions on the target-XP relationship in XP-movement, such as feature-relativized locality. Given that this is so, it has proved natural to reduce movement to such agreement, viewed as feature-based dependency formation between a target and a goal, from which movement may be built up through adding a copy of the goal at the target. More natural than the alternative: to view pure agreement as movement minus something, for example as movement that does not occur by spell-out.

On this hypothesis, the operation *Agree (F)* implements syntactic dependencies by taking an uninterpretable feature F, called the *probe*, on a *target*, and finding a matching feature F' on a *goal*, subject to the conditions on syntactic dependencies. The matching feature *values* the probe. The valued feature on the target is visible for spell-out but, being uninterpretable on it, deletes by LF. Extending the less processual terminology of agreement, one may speak also of the goal as the *controller*, *controlling* (= valuing) the probe. The issue of what features match (all φ-features; or just person/person and not person/number; etc.) is at the forefront of questions about Agree (see Béjar and Rezac 2004 and literature therein for one view).

The Agree relation between a probe and a goal may but need not be followed by *movement* of the goal or a larger category containing it. This is important in the present context because if the moved goal is an X^0, its movement to the target, also an X^0, will put two X^0s in a phrase-structurally local relation: a clitic or an agreement affix attached to say the verb in T(ense). As movement, this brings the interpretable feature of the goal to the target, and they are visible there at LF. The moved X^0, containing a φ-feature bundle, is naturally pronoun-like: clitics count as pronouns for the Binding Theory (Zubizarretta 1998: 107ff.), for weak cross-over (Suñer 1988, Anagnostopoulou 2003: 207ff.), and so on.[4] This kind of pronoun-like agreement is in minimalism a consequence of Agree + X^0 movement.

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[4] Specificity is not a necessary concomittant of such "pronominal" agreement, though it is sometimes made out to be so, and it is not expected to be: pronouns are capable of being variables bound by weak quantifiers. Accordingly, it is not surprising that for dative clitic doubling in Greek and Spanish, diagnostics such as weak cross-over suspension indicate pronominal content for the clitic, yet no semantic restrictions are imposed on its controller (see works by Suñer and Anagnostopoulou cited in the text, as well as Gutierrez-Rexach 1999, Bleam 1999, Anagnostopoulou 1999).Hence agreement that realizes moved X^0's does not logically restrict the semantics of the controller.

The X^0 that moves may be part of a larger structure within which φ-features are shared. For example, it may be the D head of a DP or a "big DP". This is the proposal developed by Uriagereka (1995), Anagnostopoulou (2003: chapter 4), among others, for the most clear type of pronoun-like agreement: the clitic doubling of DP arguments in Romance and Greek. The result of these mechanics is a valued φ-probe + a moved D (clitic) + a stranded DP. If there are morphological resources to spell out all the pieces separately, the result looks like subject clitic doubling in colloquial French and Northern Italian dialects, or complementizer agreement plus subject clitic doubling in West Germanic dialects (cf. sections 5, 6), as in (7). Such transparency need not be expected though -- spell-out of the φ-probe or clitic may be null, or their shared φ-features be spelled out using one piece (see Carstens 2003: 252ff., 2005: 252ff., reviewing the proposal of Kinyalolo 1991).

(7) da-n_i-k_i ik_i komm-en
    that-1.SG-I(clitic) I.NOM   come-1.SG (West Flemish; Zwart 1997: 138)

Finally, it is an important conclusion about movement dependencies created by φ-Agree, X^0 dependencies among them, that they do not that the moving element actually values the φ-probe of the target, though it is its goal. All kinds of things may prevent valuation once a matching relation between two features is established. Case Opacity has been viewed as one such condition: DPs that are visible to φ-probe but whose theta-related Case prevents them from valuing it are those with *quirky* theta-related Case. In this case the DP or its D head may still move. If it is an X^0 that moves, there arises pronominal agreement in the absence of a φ-probe valuation.

The theory makes this prediction, provided that there are conditions such as Case Opacity that block valuation upon matching. Anagnostopoulou (2003: chapter 4) empirically demonstrates its correctness through a paradigm that is important generally, and in section 4 specifically; I will call it *quirky displacement.* From section 1, a DP with quirky theta-related Case is visible to φ-Agree, and to the A-movement that occurs as a consequence of it, but it cannot value a φ-probe because of Case Opacity. An example of such a DP is the experiencer *à Marie / lui* of the matrix verb *sembler* 'seem' in (8), diagrammed in Figure 1. Because *à Marie* is visible to the φ-probe of T, it cannot be crossed for locality reasons, and the first occurrence of Agree stops at it. No Agree with the lower DP *Jean*, and its subsequent A-movement, is possible, as (8)a shows. If the experiencer is a simple D (+ P spelled out as dative case morphology), it may as an X^0 move to adjoin to the (verb in) T as a clitic through this first Agree operation. This gets it "out of the way", and a second Agree operation across its vacated position with *Jean* is now possible, here followed by A-movement of *Jean* to create (8)b.

(8)
a. ?*$Jean_i$ semble   à Marie [t_i avoir   du talent]
    |_____| *locality*
    Jean   seems   to Marie to.have   talent
    Gianni seems to Piero to do his duty.
b. $Jean_i$ lui_j + semble t_j [t_i avoir   du talent]
    |____|_____| √*quirky displacement*
    Jean   her.DAT seems   to.have   talent
    Gianni doesn't seem to him to do his duty. (French, Anagnostopoulou 2003: 38, 40)

Figure 1: Quirky displacement
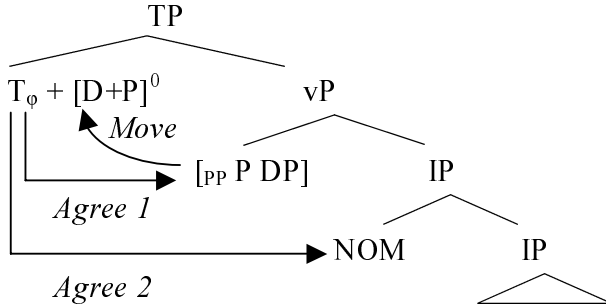
This is a resume. The full range of quirky displacement phenomena subsumes cases where the quirky Case intervener moves out of the way as a full DP to [Spec, TP]; as the D head of a full DP "clitic doubling" the DP; or likewise, but forming an affixal attachment to the verb, giving rise to agreement, though not Agree: see Anagnostopoulou (2003: chapter 4), Chomsky (2000: 130f.), Rezac (2004: chapter 2) and section 4 here. It is the effect of the opening up of search-space for a φ-probe through evacuation of an intervener that suggests the intervener is in fact moved by the φ-probe, not independently; yet it does not value it. The quirky displacement phenomenon depends on the existence of quirky theta-related Case, unable to value by Case Opacity but visible to φ-Agree. One would like to understand the nature of so strange yet evidently real a beast. I will return to it when Case Opacity has become more tractable.

I will seek an inroad on this in the following three sections on Basque. To start with, I will argue that the ergative and absolutive are structural, and that, in most dialects, the dative is quirky and the special dative agreement morphology it controls comes about through quirky displacement. This provides sufficient resolution on the Basque system to present the minimally differing dialectal systems where the dative does indeed control the same morphology as arguments with structural Case.

3   Structural Case in Basque

Basque is morphologically an ergative-absolutive language: the subjects of unaccusatives verbs and objects of transitives bear the same Case, the absolutive, and control the same agreement morphology. Nouns distinguish morphologically absolutive (unmarked), dative, and ergative cases, which are all potential agreement controllers, and about a dozen non-agreeing argumental and adnominal cases. Absolutive, dative, and ergative arguments control person and number morphology within the *agreement complex*, a single morphosyntactic word also containing tense, mood, and complementizer morphology. Agreement is typically obligatory when an argument in one of these cases occurs. In (9), the 2nd person plural ergative *zuek* controls the prefix *z* and the final suffix *te*, the 1st person plural dative *guri* controls *gu*, the 3rd person absolutive plural *ardiak* controls *zki*, the conditional mood is expressed by *ke*, the root choice *i* indicates there is an ergative and a dative controlling agreement morphology, and the realization of the morpheme *en* is potentially sensitive to most other factors in the agreement complex (see below for glosses).

(9) Zuek_i guri_j ardiak_k emango $z_i\text{-en-i-zki}_k\text{-gu}_j\text{-ke-te}_i\text{-n}$
     you(PL).ERG   us.DAT   sheep.ABS.PL   give.FUT   2-TM-√3V-PL-1'-POT-PL2-PT

You(PL) would have given the sheep to us.

Little needs to be set out here of the details of Basque agreement morphology. Lucid overviews for the literary dialects can be found in Lafon (1954, 1955, 1961), Laka (1993), Gómez and Sainz (1995), Albizu (2002), and more extensive syntheses for example in Azkue (1923-5), Lafon (1944), Lafitte (1979), Yrizar (1981). In each example, I use coindexing to show the relationship between agreement controllers (indicated by *pro* if necessary) and their corresponding agreement morphology.

The property of the complex important here is that the agreement which is canonically controlled by the absolutive argument is very clearly distinguished from that controlled by ergative and dative. It is possible to speak of canonical control because outside of well-defined "agreement displacements", there are consistent controller - morpheme type correlations. A partial resume is given in Table 2, where for a selection of the positions found in (9), their various potential controllers are indicated. The discussion here will revolve mostly around *prefix* and *plural* (PL, not PL2 in Table 2) agreement, canonically controlled by the absolutive, and *suffix* agreement, canonically controlled by the person of the dative and ergative (their number is indicated separately by the special PL2 morpheme with other functions as well).

Table 2: Basque agreement complex

z	*en*	*i*	*zki*	*gu*	*ke*	*te*	*n*
Prefix	**TM**	**√root**	**PL**	**Suffix***	**Mood**	**PL2***	**Tense**
1.SG.ABS		√1V: ABS	1.PL.ABS	1.SG.ERG/DAT		3.PL.ERG/DAT	
1.PL.ABS		√1V': ABS, DAT	2.PL.ABS	1.PL.ERG/DAT			
2.PL.ABS		√2V: ERG, ABS	3.PL ABS	2.PL.ERG/DAT			
		√3V: ERG, DAT, ABS		3.SG/PL.DAT			

The canonically absolutive agreement consists of the prefix and plural fields. The prefix, *z* in these examples, is controlled by $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person arguments, never 3rd, and filled by a tense/mood-conditioned default otherwise, glossed X. The plural field, glossed PL, exemplified by *zki*, is controlled by (morphological) plurals. Ergative and dative person control the suffix field, e.g. *gu*, one suffix each. 3rd person ergative and absolutive lack person morphology, and it seems, any person feature as well; the dative has both, and it is this that is indicated by the gloss '3'. Most often, the agreement complex is built around an auxiliary root. The choice of the auxiliary partially indicates the Case agreement controllers, from one perspective, or valued φ-probes, from another, even if not otherwise expressed (Rebuschi 1982, Albizu 2002). Thus a form such as *d-u*, glossed X-√2V, though it has nought but a default prefix and the root, nevertheless indicates the presence of a 3rd person ergative through the choice of the ergative-indicating root glossed √2V.

This indicates the value of the glosses √1V, √1V' √2V, √3V; a root that does not indicate more information or where it is irrelevant is glossed simply √. The only gloss for mood is POT for potential, and for tense PT for past. TM, "theme marker", is not relevant here. The φ-features indicated in the glosses are the following: for person: 1 1st person singular, 1' 1st person plural, 2 2nd person; PL, PL2 plural (according to morpheme).[5]

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[5] The glosses indicate morphological features. The plurality of $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person pronouns is morphological, like 3.SG *on* 'we' and 2.PL *vous* 'you (singular, respectuous)' in French. In Basque, 2.PL is 2nd person singular respectuous,

Syntactically, Basque is thoroughly nominative-accusative, grouping S and A against O for such diagnostics as scope, binding, and control (Ortiz de Urbina 1989). I follow the analyses of Basque-like morphological ergativity proposed in Bobaljik (1993), Laka (1993, 2000), Fernández (2001), Fernández and Albizu (2000), Rezac (2003). The Case/Agree locus of the absolutive is *v*, that of ergative, T. The highest argument obtains subjecthood through moving to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP. The Obligatory Case Parameter setting for Basque ensures that *v* is the primary locus of Case/Agree, and T the secondary one; the limited form adopted here accommodates raising-to-ergative discussed below.
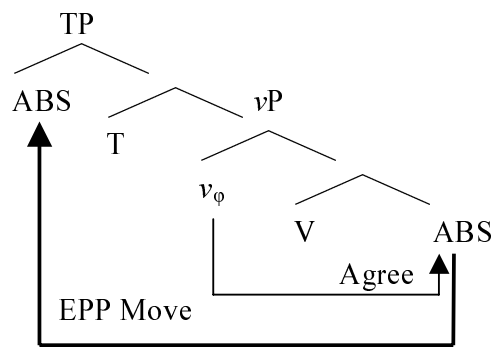
(10)   Basque syntax
(i) T: has a φ-probe which assigns ergative to its goal.
(ii) *v*: has a φ-probe which assigns absolutive to its goal.
(iii) *Obligatory Case Parameter*: *v* must have a φ-probe if its V selects an argument that requires structural Case licensing.

Figure 2: Agree and EPP in Basque simple transitives and intransitives
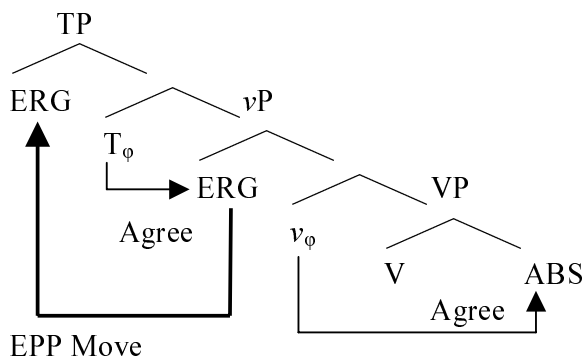
Transitive: Intransitive:

The *v*-setting of the Obligatory Case Parameter makes unavailable an absolutive/ergative alternation such as the T-setting in accusative languages allows for nominative/accusative across the active-passive divide, for *v* will always be the internal argument Case/Agree locus whether it has an external argument or not. Nevertheless, it can be demonstrated that that ergative and absolutive pattern together as structural Case while the dative is set apart as theta-related.

The strongest evidence for the structural status of ergative and absolutive are raising constructions, as demonstrated by Artiagoitia (2001ab). A full exposition is out of place here; yet the consequences can be reviewed by walking through examples of the different structures available. (11)a shows raising to absolutive. The matrix *seem* verb selects a small clause

and the interpretively plural version is "sur-plural", made from it by adding an extra morpheme (PL2, otherwise used for 3.PL). The person distinctions among 1st person are also morphological, as in French 3.SG *on* 'we' vs. 1.PL *nous* 'we': 1 is 1st person singular, 1' is first person plural, and while these are often distinguished by morphological plurality as well, they need not be, as in the dialect of Oñate that will come up below. -- In this article I set completely aside all forms containing 2nd person familiar, which along with forms containing "allocutive agreement" belong to a different register (often enough lost), with somewhat different morphological patterns, e.g. affix ordering, greater/lesser presence of agreement displacement phenomena, etc.; cf. Gómez and Sainz (1995: 247). See Rezac (2006) for details on these matters.

complement and a dative experiencer; the subject of the small clause raises to get absolutive case and trigger absolutive-type agreement in the matrix clause. In the remaining examples, the matrix *seem* verb agrees using ergative-type agreement, that is agreement controlled outside raising contexts only by DPs with ergative case, and if actual raising occurs, the raised DP bears ergative case morphology. (11)b is a close variant of (11)a with these properties.

(11)

a. Niri   Jon   [t_i ergela]   iruditzen zai-t_j.
   me.DAT   Jon.ABS   fool   seeming   √1v'-1
   Jon seems skillful to me. (Artiagoitia 2001a: ex. 35a)

b. Zuk$_i$ [t_i zintzoa]   d-irudi-zu$_i$
   you.ERG   honest   X-√seem-2
   You seem honest. (Artiagoitia 2001a, example 7, partial)

c. *pro*$_i$ [zu$_j$ nekatuta z$_j$-a-u-de$_j$-la]   ematen   d-u
   3.SG.ERG   you.ABS   tired   2-TM-√rest-PL2-that   seeming   X-√2v
   It seems that you are tired. (Artiagoitia 2001a, example 48a)

d. … dantzariek$_i$ [*pro*$_j$ prozesio   batean d-a-bil-tza$_j$-la]   d-irudi-te$_i$.
   dancers.ERG   3.PL.ABS   procession one.in X-TM-√walk-PL-that   X-√seem-PL2
   The dancers seem like they go in a procession. (Artiagoitia 2001b, example 60, partial)

e. [Hizkuntzalari honi$_i$ liburu-a-k$_j$ gustatzen zai-zki$_j$-o$_i$-la] ematen   d-u-te$_i$.
   linguist.DAT   that.DAT   books.ABS   liking   √1v'-PL-3-that seeming   X-√2v-PL2
   It seems like that a linguist likes books. (Aritz Irurtzun, p.c.)
   (more literally: There seem(PL) like there are(PL) some books(PL) pleasing to that linguist.)

The next three examples use finite, agreeing complements. In (11)c no raising or long distance agreement occurs; however, the matrix choice of auxiliary root, √2v *u*, clearly indicates that beside the clausal complement, there must be a 3.SG ergative argument, an expletive corresponding to English pro-CP *it*. (11)d is a copy-raising construction. The matrix non-thematic position is filled by an ergative argument that triggers ergative-type agreement in the matrix clause, and is interpreted as the subject of the clausal complement. Numerous diagnostics demonstrate that copy-raising of this type is not a thematic use of *seem* verbs, but rather the linking of a matrix non-thematic position to the embedded subject by a process with the locality properties of φ-Agree; beside Artiagoitia's work on Basque, see Potsdam and Runner (2001) and Rezac (2004: chapter 3) for overviews. (11)e, from Rezac (2006), is a minimal variant of (11)d. Here there is no actual copy-raising, but there remains ergative-type agreement of the matrix 'seem' verb with the absolutive subject of the embedded clause; the latter stays in-situ and absolutive, and within it clause it controls absolutive-type agreement.

These constructions show the existence of ergative expletives, ergative and absolutive assigned to non-thematic positions, and ergative-type agreement with remote absolutives. By contrast, dative and dative-type agreement are never the target of these processes, so there is no raising to dative, and no dative-type agreement with non-thematic DPs. So the dative, but not the ergative or absolutive, is tied to theta-assignment. It is theta-related; they are structural.

An independent verification of the grouping ergative + absolutive vs. dative is to be found in a phenomenon known as *ergative displacement* (Laka 1993, Gómez and Sainz 1995, Albizu and Eguren 2000, Fernández and Albizu 2000, Fernández 2001, Rezac 2003, 2006). In the non-present tense, a $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person ergative controls absolutive-type rather than or in addition to

ergative-type person agreement morphology, provided that the absolutive is 3rd person (1/2>3 combinations). Most accounts turn on Laka's (1993) proposal that 3rd person is underspecified for the property that allows $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person to control person agreement, such as being [participant], suggested by the lack of 3rd person agreement morphology for ergatives and absolutives. Remarkably, the dative is completely invisible to this process, although in terms of c-command the dative argument is between the ergative and absolutive (see section 4), and linearly its agreement morphology is closer to the prefix to which displacement occurs than the position of the canonical ergative morphology. Yet the ergative must displace over it, (12)b, and if there is no $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person ergative or absolutive, the dative itself cannot control the prefix agreement, (12)c.

(12) *Ergative displacement in ditransitives ignores dative*

a. Guk_i $zuri_j$ $sagarrak_k$ erosi $\underline{d}$-i-zki_k-zu_j-gu_i
     we.ERG   you.DAT   apples.ABS   bought   X-$\sqrt{3}$V-PL-2-1'
     We bought you the apples. (*present; no ergative displacement*)

b. Guk_i $zuri_j$ $sagarrak_k$ erosi $\underline{g}_i$-en-i-zki_k-zu_j-(gu_i)-n
     we.ERG   you.DAT   apples.ABS   bought   1'-TM-$\sqrt{3}$V-PL-2-(1')-PT
     We had bought you the apples. (*past; ergative displacement*)

c. $Elodik_i$ $zuri_j$ $sagarrak_k$ erosi $\underline{z}$-i-zki_k-zu_j-n
     Elodi.ERG   you.DAT   apples.ABS   bought   X-$\sqrt{3}$V-PL-2-PT
     Elodi had bought you the apples. (*past; no goal for ergative displacement*)

Ergative displacement has been argued to involve valuation of the person φ-probe of *v* from the ergative when there is no absolutive with person features, and it is this φ-probe that is spelled out by the prefix morphology of the agreement complex (Laka 1993 (arguably, modulo framework change), Fernández 2001, Fernández and Albizu 2000, Rezac 2003, 2006). The dative is not visible to this φ-probe. It behaves in the manner of theta-related Case, cloaked to φ-probe valuation by Case Opacity, while ergative and absolutive are visible to it, in the manner of structural Case.

4   Standard Basque dative agreement: Quirky Case clitization

The Basque agreement complex includes dative agreement morphology in the suffix field (Lafon 1961). Such agreeing datives are always in the applicative construction, studied by Elordieta (2001). The most relevant property is that the c-command among A-positions in transitive applicatives is *ergative > dative > absolutive*. The results may be extended to dative-absolutive psych-verbs, though in these absolutive eventually attains an EPP-related A-position above the dative (Rezac 2005). The preceding section has shown that the dative is theta-related Case, hence a PP, and one that cannot value a φ-probe, unlike absolutive and ergative, in accordance with Case Opacity. The resulting structure has the dative PP in [Spec, ApplP] between *v* and VP, as in Figure 3.

This leaves the question of what dative agreement is in Basque. A preliminary indication is that Basque datives show a typical "quirky" Case interference for person φ-Agree known as the Person Case Constraint and discussed in section 8 (Albizu 1997). This suggests an analysis of dative agreement morphology in terms of quirky displacement, as that of Anagnostopoulou for

Greek and Romance dative clitics reviewed in section 2. The proposal receives strong support from the following generalization (Rezac 2004: 84ff.):

(13)   *Dative dependency generalization*: Dative agreement morphology controlled by dative DP is contingent on φ-Agree with an absolutive DP in the same clause.

The correct interpretation of (13), I suggest, is that dative agreement morphology comes about through quirky displacement of a dative X^0 between v and the absolutive goal of v's φ-probe, as in Figure 3. The φ-probe of v enters into a non-valuing relation with the quirky Case dative, displaces a D-like head (alone or part of a larger DP), and then continues to Agree with the next lower DP to which it assigns absolutive. If there is no φ-probe on v, nothing will bring dative agreement morphology to v. If there is a φ-probe on v, there must ordinarily be an absolutive argument to serve as its associate, giving (13). As with quirky displacement, it is the contingency of one type of agreement on another that suggests the same φ-probe is responsible for both, though it is only valued from the DP without theta-related Case.

Figure 3: Standard Basque dative agreement
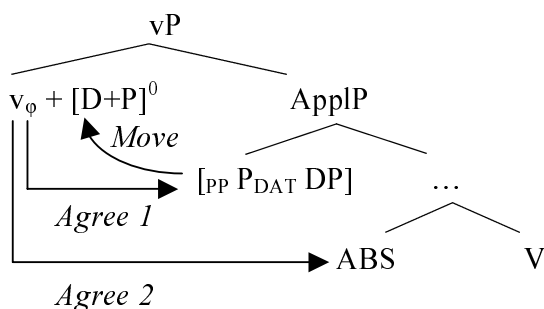
The dative dependency generalization cannot be investigated on the basis of simple predicates. Basque as many other languages has unergatives with only a dative object, like *jardun* 'continue', but these have a (typically) covert theme argument corresponding to the absolutive (cf. Hale and Keyser 1993, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998). However, complex predicate and raising constructions can be so constructed that no potential goal for v's probe is present. From them, the generalization can be established, on the basis of observation due to Artiagoitia (2001ab) and Albizu and Fernández (2002). For reasons of space, I must refer the reader to Rezac (2004: 84ff., 2006) for restructuring constructions, and keep here to the swifter, more pertinent argument from raising.

The constructions in question are those involving the (copy-)raising-to-ergative verbs meaning 'seem', already used to illustrate the structural nature of ergative and absolutive (section 3). Here there is no absolutive goal for the *seem* verb, and no φ-probe on v; there is only an ergative-assigning T φ-probe that Agrees either with a 3.sg.ergative expletive, or with the highest DP in the lower CP. The dative dependency generalization surfaces when a dative experiencer argument is added to the *seem* verb, something that Artiagoitia (2001ab) demonstrates should be possible thematically, yet it is not, (14)a. The only way to have a dative experiencer with a *seem* verb is to use the related but distinct raising verb, a dative-absolutive psych-verb *iruditu* 'seem to (think, consider)' (q.v. Rezac 2005, 2006), as in (14)b, which does have an absolutive DP goal valuing a φ-probe on v.

(14)

a. *Jon(ek)   nekatuta   z-e-go-ela   iruditu   z-i-da$_i$-n   *pro$_i$*.
   John(.ERG)   tired   X-TM-√rest-that   seemed   X-√1v'-1-PT   1.SG.DAT
   John / it seemed to me that he was tired. (Artiagoitia 2001a, Albizu and Fernández 2002)

b. … neguak$_i$ uda …   iduritzen bait-zai-zki$_i$-gu$_j$ *pro$_j$*
      winters.ABS   summer.ABS   seeming   that-√1v'-PL-1'   1.PL.DAT
      … winters seem to us summer, nights day, … (Pedro de Axular, *Gero*, §319)

This pattern is predicted by the dative dependency generalization (13). The dative experiencer of *seem* can control dative agreement just in case the matrix verb also has a φ-probe on *v* and there is a goal for it (a DP that raises, copy-raises, etc.). A φ-probe cannot be gratuitously present on *v* with no goal to value it (cf. Lasnik 1999: chapters 4, 6, Bošković 1997: 134, Chomsky 2000: 125-7). If there is no such goal, there is no φ-probe on *v*, and dative agreement cannot appear either.[6]

The occurrence of the dative dependency generalization in raising construction is particularly telling, for it cannot have its source in any direct, local dependence of the dative on the lower object, as in Pylkkänen's (2003) approach to low applicatives where the applied object is the theme's specifier. It is explained by applying Anagnostopoulou's (2003) approach to dative clitics to Basque dative agreement. A dative cannot itself value a φ-probe, so it does not license a φ-probe on *v*. Only if another DP is around to do so, and *v* thus has a φ-probe, can dative morphology arise, through quirky displacement of an X^0 from the dative between *v* and its goal. It remains to be explored whether the idea can prove useful for restrictions on applicatives and causatives as well, where the same dependence of a dative on a lower DP is found.

So far, Basque datives fit Case Opacity: the Case is not structural but always theta-related, and it cannot value a φ-probe. Yet Basque is not always simply "Basque", and there turn out to be dialects where datives do value φ-Agree.

5   Agreeing datives in Basque: Dative displacement

The preceding section has discussed datives as they are in most dialects, including the Unified Basque standard and the literary varieties. However, in some dialects $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person datives behave very differently. They agree in the fashion of the absolutive, as illustrated in (15), controlling the prefix (underlined) and plural (small caps) agreement, which spell out the φ-probe of *v*. Remarkably, such datives retain their theta-related dative case. The phenomenon is called *dative displacement* (I abbreviate DL), and it shows the possibility of φ-Agree with a DP that bears theta-related Case morphology.[7] Outside DL contexts, the behavior of absolutives and

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[6] Since there is φ-Agree between the T of the *seem* verb and a lower DP within its CP argument, one might expect this φ-Agree to license the dative experiencer agreement morphology that lies in between by quirky displacement, incorrectly. For independent reasons, I propose in Rezac (2006) that the CP argument of *seem* verbs is in fact base-generated in [Spec, *v*P], so the dative experiencer is below it, and not on the T-CP φ-Agree path. Alternatives explored there (and perhaps more palatable) would be a difference in the ability of the φ-probes of T and *v* to effectuate quirky displacement, or to provide a landing site for the displaced D^0. In fact both turn out to be independently plausible for Basque: e.g. the φ-probe of *v* but not T shows evidence of separate person and number components (Laka 1993, Fernández 2001, Fernández and Albizu 2000, Rezac 2003).

[7] The name *dative displacement* (*datiboaren lekualdatzea*) is due to Fernández (2001: 147). DL is well known to traditional descriptions since the first comparative work on Basque dialects in the early eighteenth century

ergatives, for agreement, ergative displacement, raising, and so on, is the same in these dialects as in those described up to now, e.g. absolutives control prefix and plural morphology.

(15) *v*-agreement with datives

a. Zuk$_i$ niri$_j$ sagarra$_k$ eman $\underline{n}_j$-a-u-zu$_i$ [*standard*: $\underline{d}$-i-da$_j$-zu$_i$]
    you.ERG   me.DAT   apple.ABS   given 1-TM-√-2   X-√-1-2
    You gave me the apple. (ditransitive, Hondarribia dialect; Fernández 2004: 97)

b. Zuk$_i$ guri$_j$ sagarra$_k$ eman $\underline{g}_j$-a-TT$_j$-u-zu$_i$ [*standard*: $\underline{d}$-i-$\underline{gu}_j$-zu$_i$]
    you.ERG   us.DAT   apple.ABS   given 1'-TM-PL-√-2   X-√-1'-2
    You gave us the apples. (ditransitive, Hondarribia dialect, Fernández 2004: 97)

c. Ni-ri$_i$ sagarr-a$_j$ gustatzen $\underline{n}_i$-a-u   [*standard*: $\varnothing$-zai-$\underline{t}_i$]
    me-DAT   apple-ABS   pleasing   1-TM-√   X-√-1
    I like apples. (psych-verb, Hondarribia dialect, Fernández 2004: 99)

Dative displacement seems to change φ-probe -- controller pairings for *v*, without concomitant change in case morphology (Fernández 2001), applicative structure, or hierarchical relations (see below). However, there is a syntactic effect, and it is one predicted by the dative dependency generalization (13) in section 4. The generalization states that a canonical agreeing dative is contingent on a φ-Agree relationship between *v* and a lower goal, which brings the dative's D(+P)^0 into the agreement complex through quirky displacement. An example was the impossibility of adding a dative experiencer to a raising-to-ergative *seem* verb in (16)a, since its *v*'s φ-probe has no goal; the closest lower DP capable of valuing it, *haiek*, Agrees with the matrix T's φ-probe, controlling the PL2 morpheme *te*. Adding a dative experiencer is only possible with another *seem* verb (in this dialect, homophonous) in (16)b, a raising-to-absolutive one, where *haiek* Agrees with *v*'s φ-probe, controlling the plural morpheme *zki*. However, the generalization also predicts that the dative in dative displacement, which actually values *v*'s φ-probe like a regular absolutive, has no such dependency on a separate *v*-absolutive relationship, for it is itself the valuing goal of *v*'s φ-probe. This is correct, as (16)c indicates.

(16)
a. ?*Haiek$_i$ nekatuta   z-e-u-d$_i$-ela   iruditu   z-i-da$_j$-te$_i$-n   (neri$_j$).
    they.ERG   tired   X-TM-√be-PL-that   seemed   X-√-1-PL2-PT   me.DAT

(Sagarzazu 1994 gives an extensive overview), a staple of brief remarks or interdictions in general and comparative grammars (e.g. Azkue 1923-5b: 539/§770, 576/§810, Lafitte 1944: 296/§577), discussed in recent grammars of particular dialects (e.g. Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta 1994: 125ff., Fraile and Fraile 1996: 111ff., Agirretxe, Lersundi and Olaetxea 1998: 122f.), and the subject of Yrizar's (1981: 359ff., 1997: 17ff.) lucid overviews. Finally, it has recently been explored in the generative framework by Fernández (2001, 2002, 2004), Fernández and Ezeizabarrena (2001). The theory presented in these works is very different from what will be explored below, for it begins with a view of agreeing datives in DL and non-DL dialects alike as akin to agreeing absolutives and ergatives, so the issue of Case Opacity does not arise. Yet these works are at the same time the source of many of the core generalizations and guidelines for a generative analysis of dative displacement; among which the most salient here is the very fact that the dative controls the φ-probe of *v*, same as the absolutive canonically, and as ergative under "ergative displacement". My discussion here is derived from Rezac (2006), which is based empirically on a study of the dialects (about fifty) with some DL, most compiled by Pedro de Yrizar (e.g. in Yrizar 1997). Issues of dative displacement that do not bear directly on Case Opacity are discussed there.

b. ?Haiek$_i$ nekatuta   z-e-u-d$_i$-ela   iruditu   z-itzai-zki$_i$-da$_j$-n   (neri$_j$).
   they.ERG   tired   X-TM-√be-PL-that   seemed   X-√-PL-1-PT   me.DAT

c. ?Haiek$_i$ nekatuta   z-e-u-d$_i$-ela   iruditu   n$_j$-a-u-te$_i$-n   (neri$_j$).
   they.ERG   tired   X-TM-√be-PL-that   seemed   1-TM-√-PL2-PT   me.DAT

They seemed to me like they were tired. (Aritz Irurtzun, p.c.)

The syntax proposed to underlie DL is constrained by the need to resemble non-DL enough so that the DP controlling absolutive-like agreement be interpreted as the applied object and bear dative case. Indeed, there does not seem to be any difference in the clausal architecture for DL and non-DL datives, only in the transparency of the dative to φ-Agree. This is the assumption of Fernández (2001). Positive evidence can be had from the morphology.

In (15), the dative goal controls both prefix and plural agreement morphology, reflecting the φ-probe of *v*, just like an absolutive goal does. Indeed, the agreement complex in say (15)b is the same as the one that would be used in that dialect if the dative were replaced by an absolutive with corresponding φ-features (*gu*), *sagarra* 'apple' were removed, and a simple transitive verb (participle) like *ikusi* 'seen' replaced *eman*, giving *Zuk gu ikusi gattuzu* "you saw us". This ambiguity of the agreement complex is not a necessary concomitant of DL. It is found in dialects like Lekeitio or Sara. The Sara forms given in Table 3 are (virtually) the same for simple transitive α ergative > β absolutive combinations, and for α ergative > β dative > 3.sg ditransitive combinations. Keeping to the relevant essentials, the structure of the forms is prefix (underlined), controlled by the absolutive canonically and by dative under DL, the theme marker *in(d)* which is not relevant here, plural (small caps) controlled by the same controller as the prefix, after which follow elements again not relevant: the root *u*, the ergative-controlled suffix, and the past tense marker *-n*. Table 4 indicates the form of the paradigm in a closely related dialect without DL: the prefix is the past tense default *z*, and the dative controls only suffixal morphology (italicized) as 1.sg *ta*, 1.pl *ku*, 2.pl *tzu*.[8]

Table 3: Past ERG > DAT > 3.SG = ERG > ABS paradigm in Sara

Labourdin group, variety Sara: Yrizar (1997: 45ff., s.v. Artola)

DAT	3.SG.ERG	3.PL.ERG	1.SG.ERG	1.PL.ERG	2.PL.ERG
1.SG	n̲-ind-u-en	n̲-ind-u-te-n	-	-	n̲-ind-u-zu-n
1.PL	g̲-in-T-u-en	g̲-in-T-u-zte-n	-	-	g̲-in-T-u-tzu-n
2.PL	z̲-in-T-u-en	z̲-in-T-u-zte-n	z̲-in-T-u-ta-n	z̲-in-T-u-u-n	-

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[8] Zeros justified by the rest of the paradigm are indicated by ∅. Forms not given are so for practical reasons only, not because they show a different pattern: they would require a digression into "ergative displacement".

Table 4: Past ERG > DAT > 3.SG paradigm in Urdax

Labourdin group, variety Sara: Yrizar (1997: 169ff., s.v. Taberna)

DAT	3.SG.ERG	3.PL.ERG
1.SG	z̲-a-u-*ta*-n	z̲-a-∅-*ta*-te-n
1.PL	z̲-a-(u)-*ku*-n	z̲-a-(u)-*ku*-te-n
2.PL	z̲-a-∅-*tzu*-n	z̲-a-∅-*tzu*-te-n

Quite different are is the relationship of transitive and DL ditransitive paradigms in dialects like Oñate, which has DL for 1st person datives, not for 2nd person ones (see further section 6). In the transitive paradigm, Table 5, a 1st/2nd person absolutive controls the prefix morphology; in this dialect 1st/2nd person are never morphologically [plural], but otherwise the paradigm corresponds closely to that of Sara. The ditransitive paradigm is very different. Ignoring for the moment the underlined prefix, the rest of the structure consists of the root *o*, reserved for ditransitives, followed by the "dative flag" *s/∅* (**tz*), which is a sign of applicatives in Basque (perhaps the very head Appl^0, Elordieta 2001: 62), followed by the canonical suffixal agreement (italicized) controlled by the dative, followed by irrelevant ergative-controlled and past morphology. Still ignoring the prefix, these forms are simply the expected forms without DL, with the hallmark morphology of applicative constructions, including suffixal morphology that comes from the dative due to quirky displacement. For 2nd person datives, the story stops here; the prefix is the past default, ∅ in this dialect. For first person datives however, the prefixal morphology is controlled by the dative *in addition to* the canonical suffixal morphology: thence the prefixes *n-* and *g-*, realizing the φ-probe of *v*. For these datives, dative displacement occurs.

Table 5: Past ERG > ABS paradigm in Oñate

Bizkaian group, variety Vergara: Yrizar (1992: 455ff., s.v. Otarola)

ABS	3.SG.ERG	3.PL.ERG	1.SG.ERG	1.PL.ERG	2.PL.ERG
1.SG	n̲-iñd-u-n	n̲-iñd-u-e-n	-	-	n̲-iñd-u-su-n
1.PL	g̲-iñd-u-an	g̲-iñd-u-e-n	-	-	g̲-iñd-u-su-n
2.PL	s̲-iñd-u-n	s̲-iñd-u-ai-ñ	s̲-iñd-u-a-n	s̲-iñd-u-gu-n	-

Table 6: Past ERG > DAT > 3.SG/PL paradigm in Oñate

Bizkaian group, variety Vergara: Yrizar (1992: 455ff., s.v. Otarola)

DAT	3.SG.ERG	3.PL.ERG	1.SG.ERG	1.PL.ERG	2.PL.ERG
1.SG	n̲-o-s-*ta*-n	n-o-s-*ta*-i-ñ	-	-	n̲-o-s-*ta*-tzu-n
1.PL	g̲-o-s-*ku*-n	g-o-s-*ku*-e-n/iñ*	-	-	g̲-o-s-*ku*-tzu-n
2.PL	∅-o-∅-*tzu*-n	∅-o-∅-*tzu*-e-n	n̲-o-*tzu*-n†	g̲-o-*tzu*-n†	-

* non-DL variant *oskue-n/iñ?*
† Ergative displacement has taken place, so the ergative controls the underlined prefix.

The Oñate paradigm reflects rather straightforwardly the underlying applicative syntax of dative displacement. This yields the distinctive applicative characteristics such as the dative flag and ditransitive root. Labourdin dialects like Sara/Urdax differ in that even when there is no DL, the transitive and ditransitive paradigms are not strongly differentiated in their formation, the root for example being the same u.[9]

Oñate also shows the suffixal morphology canonical for the dative, doubling the dative-controlled prefix. Sara-type dialects also can have such morphology (cf. Fernández 2002). The possibility of this doubling is predicted. When DL occurs, the dative non-canonically values the φ-probe of v under Agree; however, nothing should prevent it from undergoing at the same time X^0-movement to yield suffixal morphology. This is to be compared to other cases where φ-Agree and X^0 (clitic) doubling of a DP combine, such as complementizer φ-agreement + subject clitic doubling in (17) (see section 6).

(17)   da-n$_i$-k$_i$ ik$_i$ komm-en
        that-1.SG-I(clitic) I.NOM come-1.SG (West Flemish; Zwart 1997: 138)

To the evidence of morphology may be added that there are datives that require the applicative construction in Basque, even for speakers who can realize datives alternatively using a non-applicative, non-agreeing dative that corresponds to the prepositional *to* construction in English (cf. Joppen and Wunderlich 1995). Among such datives are experiencers of psych-verbs like *iruditu*, which may undergo dative displacement as already shown in (16)c, and agent causees, shown with dative displacement (doubled by dative flag and suffixal morphology) in (18) (for this one example, I use the gloss 2F for 2nd person familiar, cf. note 5).

(18)   Eman   arazi   n-a-u-ta-k
        given   cause   1-TM-√-DF+1-2F
        You made me give it to him. (Trask 1981: 294)

Dative displacement clearly shows datives that control absolutive φ-Agree using the same system and producing the same result as absolutives, and yet remain datives. This contrasts directly with quirky datives that are only visible to the φ-Agree system as non-valuing DPs, though through quirky displacement they control a different kind of agreement morphology. The two sometimes coexist for different datives in the same dialect (cf. section 7), and sometimes they co-occur in the same form, as in Oñate. Case Opacity is incorrect. The pieces are in place now for a theory of theta-related Case, its normal opacity and its marked transparency to φ-Agree, and some of the expected loci of parametric variation.

6   Structural and theta-related Case

In this section I will develop a theory of theta-related Case and its interaction with φ-Agree. The foundation lies in understanding theta-related Case as a PP shell around a DP, or more generally, as some XP that contains the DP. PPs are the natural choice adopted in section 1, and they have an independently justified property that is crucial here: they are known to be opaque domains to narrow-syntactic dependencies, such as *wh*-movement. In current parlance, PPs are phases. It

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[9] These have arguably spread both DL and the specific mode of formation to neighbouring dialects that do differentiate the transitive and ditransitive root, like Pasaia Donibane in the next section.

follows that a DP within a PP is not visible to φ-Agree outside the PP. Normally, theta-related Case is a barrier to φ-Agree, deriving Case Opacity from the general opacity of PPs.

However, the opacity of an XP depends on its head X, and properties of X can modulate it, for example by permitting successive-cyclic movement. I will take advantage of this to modulate the opacity of PPs to external φ-Agree. Specifically, exploiting the PP - CP parallelism hypothesis, I suggest P may itself have a φ-probe that Agrees with the DP within it, in the same way that C is known to allow a φ-probe that Agrees with a nominative DP in its complement. The result of this P-DP φ-Agree is visible to φ-Agree from the outside; effectively, a φ-probe on P transmits the φ-features of its DP complement to the outside of the opaque PP domain. The presence of a φ-probe on P thus makes the PP seem transparent. However, the transparency is derived, and it is the probe on P and its content that determine what P Agrees for with the DP, and thus how the DP's φ-features are transmitted to the outside world.

The following are the core theoretical elements more explicitly:

(19)
a. DPs with structural Case are just DPs, with their interpretable φ-features on D(P).
b. DPs with theta-related Case are contained within PPs, where P is a phase-head.
c. The P-head of a PP is susceptible to variation in the presence and content of a φ-probe.

The φ-features of bare DPs are visible to φ-Agree from the outside; if they are the arguments of a clause, then to clausal φ-Agree. However, a DP within a PP is in an opaque domain, one that is typically a barrier to the Case/Agree, A-movement, and Ā-movement. Abels (2003), building on Riemsdijk (1978), proposes that PPs are phases in the sense of Chomsky (2000, 2001):[10]

(20)   Phase: ... [$_{XP}$ ... X $\boxed{[_{YP} ...]}$] (*boxed: domain that is opaque outside XP*)

A *phase* is an XP, for some X, that constitutes a barrier for narrow-syntactic dependencies between the complement YP of X and the larger context containing X. X and [Spec, XP] are not contained within this barrier; they are said to be at the *edge* of the phase. Consequently, properties of X, such as a trigger for movement to [Spec, XP] from within the complement of X, can circumvent the barrierhood of XP for YP. If PP is a phase, a DP that is (within) the complement of P is invisible outside the PP. Since theta-related Case is a PP, a DP within it just like a DP within any PP is invisible to an external φ-probe.

Making a PP a phase is a stipulation, since it cannot be said that there is a widely accepted explanatory theory of which domains are phases and why. However, the fact that PPs are opaque domains, though ones that that may be selectively unlocked, is solidly grounded (see the references above). The eventual minimalist goal is to understand why this should be so, for example along the lines of Uriagereka (1999ab), who argues that certain domains are opaque because they are subject to spell-out motivated by the requirements of the interface, and after spell-out syntax sees them as unstructured terminals. Whatever the explanation will be, opaque domains PPs are, and I mean no more than this when I call them phases.

The "escape hatch" for DP's φ-features is a φ-probe on P. The possibility of a φ-probe on P is expected if PP for nominal predicates parallels the CP for verbal predicates, P corresponding to

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[10] Abels establishes a generalization that the extraction of the object of a P is only possible if movement through the edge of the PP phase is possible. That in turn depends on whether there is an extra category between P and the extractee, because the movement of the complement of H to the specifier of H is impossible.

an element high in the CP system C, as proposed for example by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 183ff.), Kayne (2000: chapters 14, 15). It is a familiar and parametrically-varying property of C that it can agree with the clausal subject, which may independently agree with (T +) the verb. One example is complementizer agreement in West Germanic dialects (recent overviews: Zwart 1997: 136ff., 256ff., Hoekstra and Smits 1998, de Vogelaer, Neuckermans, and Vanden Wyngaerd 2002, Carstens 2003, van Koppen 2005), such as *n* on *da* in (21).

(21) Kpeinzen   [da-n̲ᵢ-kᵢ   ikᵢ   morgen   goa-nⱼ].
       think.1.SG   that-1.SG-I(clitic) I.NOM tomorrow   go-1.SG
       I think that I will go tomorrow. (Lapscheure (West Flanders), de Vogelaer, Neuckermans, Vanden Wyngaerd 2002)

It has been proposed that the complementizer agreement morphology, in (21) *n* distinct from the subject doubling clitic *k*, is the result of φ-Agree by C (Carstens 2003). This is effectively demonstrated by van Koppen (2005). She shows that nominative subjects which do not uniquely determine the value of a φ-probe, such as conjoined DPs, may control different agreement values on T and C. In (22), C agreement is with the left conjunct, while T agreement must be with the whole conjunct; the dichotomy is an instance of the commonplace left-conjunct agreement option for following conjuncts vs. full-conjunct agreement requirement for preceding conjuncts. Two independent φ-probes Agreeing with the nominative, one on C and one on T, correctly predict this, while a single φ-probe and feature-sharing between T and C (Zwart 1997, 2001) does not.

(22)   … daβ-sdᵢ/dsⱼ   [duᵢ   und   d'Maria]ⱼ an Hauptpreis gwunna   hab-dsⱼ.
        that-2.SG/PL   you(SG)   and   the Maria the first.prize won   have-2.PL
   That Maria and you have won the first prize. (Bavarian; van Koppen 2005: 43)

Extending a φ-probe to the P head of PPs is expected under PP-CP parallelism (cf. agreeing P's in section 9). Together with the phase-hood of PPs, it designs the picture in (23). PP and CP are opaque domains, and the complement of P and C can only be rendered visible to external processes through P/C φ-Agree, or through movement to [Spec, PP/CP]. I discuss C-Agree as a mechanism to render visible the φ-features of the nominative subject to φ-Agree in a higher clause in Rezac (2004: chapter 3, forthcoming); from now on I will keep to PPs.

(23)
a. [$_{PP}$ ____ [P$_{(φ=i)}$ $\boxed{(…) DP_i}$$_{phase}$]]
b. [$_{CP}$ ____ [C$_{(φ=i)}$ $\boxed{(…) [_{TP} DP_i T_{(φ=i)} … t_i…]}$$_{phase}$]]

Case Opacity of theta-related Case arises in the unmarked situation, when P lacks a φ-probe. If P has a φ-probe, it is valued from the DP through Agree. This is the option that leads to agreeing datives in Basque dative displacement. If there is a φ-probe, P Agrees with DP, and *v* can Agree with P. In order for this to follow, a higher clausal φ-probe, in Basque that of *v*, must be able to Agree with the Agree-valued φ-probe of the phase-head P. This is expected. Within phase theory, P belongs to the next higher phase, that of *v*, and deletion of its Agree-valued φ-probe has not yet taken place (see further Rezac 2004: 199ff., Legate 2003; cf. Sigurðson 1993).

This is the basic mechanism that implements both the normal invisibility of the φ-features of a DP with theta-related Case to external φ-Agree (the opacity of the PP shell), and their manifestly possible but rarer visibility (a φ-probe on the P head). The latter is resumed in Figure 4. Agree occurs between *v* and P, and between P and DP. Direct Agree between *v* and the DP is impossible, for by the time *v* would attempt to Agree, the DP is within the (circled) portion of the PP phase that is spelled-out upon the completion of the PP.

Figure 4: φ-Agree with a dative PP

v-DP Agree blocked when DP spelled-out at PP
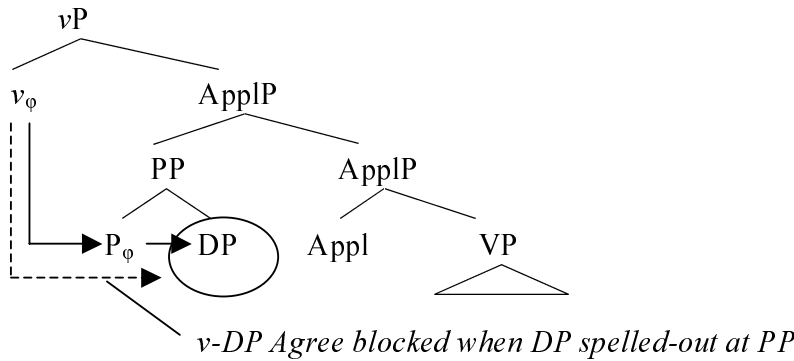
This derivative status of *v*-DP Agree going through P has as consequence that properties of P should be able to modulate the transparency of the PP. One possibility, parametrization of the "richness" of the φ-probe of P, I will consider in the next section. Here I will end with another: variation among different P's in a language in the presence vs. absence of a φ-probe. Nepali may be an example. Ergative subjects control the same verbal agreement as nominative subjects, but dative subjects do not (Bickel and Yādava 2000, Deo and Sharma 2002):[11,12]

(24)
a. ma   yas   pasal-mā   patrikā   kin-ch-u
    1sNOM   DEM:OBL   store-LOC   newspaper:NOM   buy-NPT-1s
    I buy the newspaper at this story.
b. maile   yas   pasal-mā   patrikā   kin-ẽ   /   *kin-yo
    1sERG   DEM:OBL   store-LOC   newspaper:NOM   buy-PT1s   buy-PT3sM
    I bought the newspaper at this story.
c. malāī   timī   man   par-ch-au/*par-ch-u
    1sDAT   2mhNOM   liking   occur-NPT-2mh/*occur-NPT-1s
    I like you. (Nepali; Bickel and Yādava 2000: 348)

Under the assumption that both ergative and dative subjects, unlike nominative subjects, bear theta-related Case in Nepali, two different P's are involved, P_{erg} and P_{dat}, selected by *v* and Appl

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[11] Brought to my attention by Bobaljik (this volume). See Bickel and Yādava (2000) for identification of the dative and ergative here as analogous to dative and ergative subjects of Hindi-Urdu (Mohanan 1994), that is subjects with theta-related Case. They argue that in both languages ergative and nominative external arguments pass subjecthood diagnostics that the dative experiencer does not, such as being PRO; see Davison (2004) for one explanation.

[12] The glosses are from the original: *s* singular, NOM nominative, DEM demonstrative, OBL oblique (case), NPT non-past, ERG ergative, PT past, M masculine, DAT dative, *h* honorific (*m* is explained).

respectively. P_{erg} is transparent to φ-Agree, for it is the ergative external argument, not the nominative (unmarked) internal argument, that in (24)b controls the same verbal agreement as the nominative in (24)a. The dative subject in (24)c fails to do so, so P_{dat} creates a PP opaque to external φ-Agree; here it is the nominative internal argument that controls verbal agreement.

7   The φ-probe of P

The visibility of the φ-features of a DP within a PP occurs through φ-Agree by the intervening P. One way in which properties of P may modulate the transparency of a PP is through the quality or richness of P's φ-probe. The content of a φ-probe is an independently known point of parametric variation. A typical example is the limitations of agreement on participles in many languages to number and gender, lacking person, in systems where person is available to clausal agreement. Translated to properties of P's φ-probe, it leads to a selective or partial transparency of a PP to external φ-Agree: an external φ-probe will be able to Agree only for what the P has itself Agreed for with the DP. In this manner, one may account for variation in PP transparency based on φ-features, something that does occur in Basque dative displacement.

Section 5 has discussed two dialects, that of Sara and Oñate. For neither were 3rd person datives mentioned: indeed, in no Basque dialect do 3rd person datives obviously undergo DL (perhaps non-obviously they do; see below). The two dialects also differ in the extent of DL among the remaining datives: all 1st/2nd person datives undergo it in Sara, but only 1st person datives do in Oñate. 1st persons are particularly favoured by DL, with the Oñate pattern recurring in distant dialects whose DL is very different in mode of formation, such as Lekeitio (Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta 1994: 125-7). Subsets of 1st person datives also may undergo DL alone: 1.SG only in Pasaia Donibane, Table 7, and 1.PL only in Bacáicoa-Iturmendi, Table 8. Table 9 illustrates a more heterogeneous situation, where all 1.SG and some 2.PL datives undergo DL, in the dialect of Arcangues. I do not analyze the agreement complexes in these tables, for the point relevant here is only whether DL occurs or not. This can be read off directly by looking at the initial consonant, the prefix. Either it is the present tense default *d* (sometimes elided), in which case there is no 1st/2nd person controller, or it is one of 1.sg *n*, 1.pl *g*, 2.pl *z/s*, in which case the prefix has a dative controller under DL. Such forms are in bold.[13] There are no dialects where a 2nd person dative undergoes DL without a 1st person dative also doing so.

Table 7: DL of 1.SG dative -- ERG > DAT > 3.SG.ABS present in Pasaia Donibane

Gipuzkoan group, variety Hernáni: Agirretxe, Lersundi and Olaetxea (1998: 116f.)

DAT	3.SG.ERG	3.PL.ERG	1.SG.ERG	1.PL.ERG	2.PL.ERG
3.SG	(di)yo	diote/yote	yot	(di)yo(g)u	(di)yosu
3.PL	(di)yote	(di)yote	(di)yotet/di(ot)et	(di)yogu	(di)yosu
1.SG	dit, **nau**	**naute**	-	-	diasu, **nasu**
1.PL	digu	digute	-	-	digusu
2.PL	disu	disute	disut	disugu	-

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[13] I keep here to the present of transitives with 3rd person singular rather than plural absolute object. In none of these dialects do other datives than those given undergo DL, though tense and transitivity play a systematic role in whether they undergo DL in other paradigms in the same dialect (Rezac 2006).

Table 8: DL of 1.PL dative -- ERG > DAT > 3.SG.ABS present in Bacáicoa-Iturmendi

Gipuzkoan group, variety Burunda: Yrizar (1991: 347ff., s.v. Inza)

DAT	3.SG.ERG	3.PL.ERG	1.SG.ERG	1.PL.ERG	2.PL.ERG
3.SG	da	dai	dat	dau	dazu
3.PL	daube	daubei	daubet	daubegu	daubezu
1.SG	da	dai	-	-	dazu
1.PL	**geru**	**gerubai**	-	-	**geruzu**
2.PL	dezu	dezai	dezut	dezû	-

Table 9: DL of 1.SG + 2.SG dative -- ERG > DAT > 3.SG.ABS present in Arcangues

Labourdin group, variety Arcangues: Yrizar (1997: 453ff., s.v. Bonaparte)

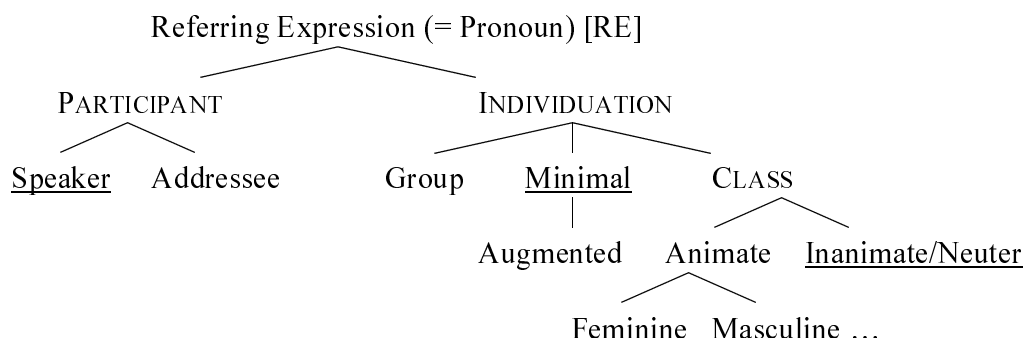| DAT	3.SG.ERG	3.PL.ERG	1.SG.ERG	1.PL.ERG	2.PL.ERG
3.SG	dio	diote	diot	diou	diozu
3.PL	diote	diote	diotet	dioteu	diozute
1.SG	daut, **nau**	**naute**	--	--	**nauzu**
1.PL	dauku	daukute	--	--	daukuzu
2.PL	datzu, **zaitu**	datzute	dautzut, **zaitut**	datzuu	--

Some of these tables show a common phenomenon in Basque agreement, not restricted to dative displacement: the existence of gaps to a particular mode of formation, such as DL or non-DL, for a feature combination that is to all appearances fully arbitrary. More familiar analogues are the missing past participle of *stride* in English or the plural of the present indicative of *frire* 'fry' in French. In the ensemble of DL dialects in Rezac (2006), it turns out that the occurrence of DL depends systematically on the φ-features of the dative, such as 1st person in Oñate. On the other hand, the φ-features of other arguments, such as the ergative, never give rise to DL patterns as do those of datives, for example DL (of 1st/2nd person datives) for all and only 1st person ergative. In other words, the φ-features of the dative are unique in conditioning dative displacement *systematically*.

This calls for a mechanism that parametrically modulates a dative's ability to undergo DL, namely its transparency to φ-Agree, based locally on its φ-features, and distinct from the arbitrary gap mechanism which may take into account any properties of the agreement complex. In the remainder of this section, I will suggest that the parametrization mechanism is the portion of the φ-feature geometry of a language that the φ-probe of P looks for. The mechanics depend on specific assumptions about the structure of φ-features and their interaction with the Agree. This should not obscure the more basic conclusions: the transparency of a PP to φ-Agree is systematically decided on the basis of the φ-features of the DP it contains, thus locally to the PP, and if transparency is modelled through the φ-probe of P, then variation of this kind resides most likely in interaction between this φ-probe and the φ-features of the DP that value it.

Béjar (2003) presents a persuasive cross-linguistic argument that not all φ-probes are equal. They vary in their specification, which leads to different sensitivities to potential goals, and thus to differences among φ-probes as to what counts as a valuing goal and/or an intervener. She argues further that constraints on possible φ-probes are partially determined by φ-feature

geometry: a φ-probe must be a subtree of the φ-geometry of a language, which is constructed from the universal feature geometry, such as proposed by Harley and Ritter (2002) in Figure 5, through choice of active φ-features and default interpretation of underspecified nodes.

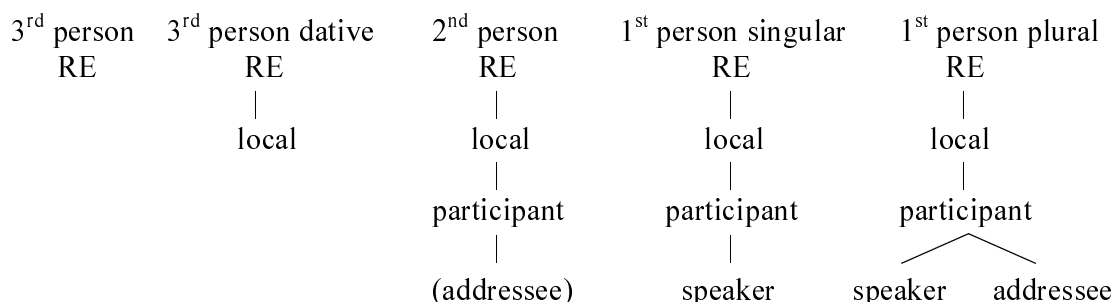Figure 5: Universal feature-geometry of Harley and Ritter (2002: 486)

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                  Referring Expression (= Pronoun) [RE]
             _____|_____
     Participant                 Individuation
        /\                     ____|____
   Speaker  Addressee      Group  Minimal  Class
                                     |        /\
                                 Augmented Animate  Inanimate/Neuter
                                             /\
                                      Feminine  Masculine …
```

Underlining indicates defaults.

One type of φ-probes that Béjar explores using the geometric conceptualization of φ-features are those where the nodes logically dominating a probe in the geometry seem to be truly irrelevant. She proposes (p. 53) that probe sub-trees of the geometry need not be rooted at RE; there are probes such as P = [participant] or P' = [addressee] that do not contain their dominating nodes. This allows for a probe that looks for [individuation] alone, as participles typically do, or even just for [addressee], and does not see at all DPs that do not have the corresponding node, despite having nodes dominating it like [RE].

Turning concretely to Basque dative displacement, I will assume the φ-specifications in Figure 6, giving just the "person" side of things; all 3rd person DPs are further differentiated for number under [individuation], and in most dialects 1st/2nd person DPs as well. The 1st/2nd-3rd person split is given by the presence of the [participant] node, and it is particularly clear in Basque, since only [participants] are capable of valuing the prefixal morphology of the agreement complex, and only [participants] undergo "ergative displacement" (see references in section 3). [participant] does not include 3rd person datives, yet 3rd person datives must be distinguished as "persons" from 3rd person non-datives. In Basque datives are unique in controlling overt 3rd person morphology, while absolutive and ergative arguments never do, and the same kind of split occurs in Itelmen (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001; see ex. (26) here) and Georgian (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 271). I encode this three-way split by introducing the feature [local], one of the options considered by Anagnostopoulou (2003: 271); it corresponds to the [point-of-view] of Boeckx (1999: 366) and [participant] of Adger and Harbour (2003), contrasting for all these authors with a feature grouping 1st/2nd person alone, here [participant].

Figure 6: Basque person specifications

3rd person	3rd person dative	2nd person	1st person singular	1st person plural
RE	RE	RE	RE	RE
	local	local	local	local
	participant	participant	participant	
	(addressee)	speaker	speaker	addressee

Operating on these feature structures, probes can isolate individual persons by the root node of their feature-geometric sub-tree. A probe rooted at [speaker] alone will see only 1st person singular and plural, for example. Under Agree, the copied value of the matched [speaker] is the entire φ-geometry. Thus as in Béjar (2003: 55ff.), Béjar and Rezac (2004), the specification of a probe performs a sorting among goals into those that match / satisfy it and those that do not, but for those that do, the full φ-value rooted at [RE] is copied in the valuation of the probe. A [speaker] probe will keep the distinction between 1st person singular and plural in Figure 6, and also copy the [individuation] node that is not shown. The underlying reason for this is that on the goal, [speaker] is indeed contained in larger geometry, rooted at [RE]; this geometry is a part of the interpretation of [speaker], each node contribute its own meaning. This point is not relevant to uninterpretable probes, which can accordingly be [speaker] alone.

Probes that pick out other datives can be read off Figure 6. Picking out a 1.SG dative alone would mean that a probe can be a conjunction such as ([speaker], [minimal]), requiring as match a DP that has both members of the conjunction, rather than either. I find this conceptually suspect; nor does the data inspire confidence in its necessity. Among the DL systems present in Basque, those that pick out all 1st person datives are common, but picking out 1.SG datives alone seems to be a transitory stage towards picking out all 1st persons and it may be due rather to an incomplete grammaticalization of DL, implemented by whatever mechanism implements arbitrary gaps anyway.

On the other hand, the absence of DL for 2nd person without DL of 1st person seems robust. It would follow if 2nd persons are not in fact specified for [addressee] but the default interpretation of [participant], a possibility made available by the feature geometry (cf. Harley and Ritter 2002: 502, Béjar 2003: 45). In that case there can be no [addressee] probe; the minimal probe that includes 2nd persons is a [participant] probe, for which 1st person is a match as well. Finally, picking out 1.PL alone may also have internal reality, in that there are dialect groups that do so without a tendency to generalize to 1.SG; an [addressee] probe would do the job.

A probe rooted at [local] would pick out 3rd person datives as well. This seems to be absent in Basque (Fernández 2001), though I will suggest below that this absence might be a mirage. I have already mentioned that Itelmen appears to have a close analogue of Basque dative displacement: 1st/2nd person datives optionally control the suffixal morphology canonically reserved to 1st/2nd person objects. This is illustrated in (25), where the first example has DL and the dative controls the suffix morphology (underlined), while the second has the direct object control the suffix, not the dative (the dative either does not undergo DL, and/or it is not in the applicative construction at all but below the theme). If this is correct, then Itelmen has dative displacement of 3rd person datives as well, indicating a φ-probe on P rooted at [local], for these

3rd person datives control the suffixal morphology in the same way as 1st/2nd persons do, but unlike 3rd person direct objects (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001). This is shown in (26): in the first example the person features of the direct object do not play a role in conditioning the suffix, indicated by the gloss 1>3.PL to show that it is the person features of the agent that do instead. Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2001) establish a generalization that the agent's person features condition the suffix realization only if the object has no person features (as in Basque ergative displacement). In the second example the dative, despite being 3rd person, does behave as if it had a person feature that conditioned the suffix, and there is no sensitivity to the agent.

(25) a. isx-enk   n-zəl-ał-<u>um</u>   kza   kəma-nk?
          father-LOC   IMPRS-give-FUT-1.SG.OBJ   you   me-DAT
          Will father give you <u>to me</u>? (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001: ex. 14b)
      b. isx-enk   n-zəl-ał-<u>in</u>   kza   kəma-nk?
          father-LOC   IMPRS-give-FUT-2.SG.OBJ   you   me-DAT
          Will father give <u>you</u> to me? (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001: ex. 15)

(26) a. kma   tχe-ank   t-łintłi-<u>čeʔn</u>   pexal-eʔn
          I   them-DAT   1.SG-put-1>3.PL   hat-PL
          I put <u>hats</u> on them. (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001: ex. 16a)
      b. kma   tχe-ank   t-łintłi-<u>peʔnen</u>   pexal-eʔn
          I   them-DAT   1.SG-put-3.PL.OBL   hat-PL
          I put hats on <u>them</u>. (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001: ex. 16b)

In Basque, the morphology (the prefix) and the syntax (ergative displacement) of *v* is sensitive only to the [participant]-bearers on the "person" side of the feature geometry. Consequently, dative displacement of 3rd person, [RE → local], would not be visible if it took place. Nevertheless, it can be affirmed that their [individuation] node does not undergo DL, unlike those of 1st/2nd person plural; for it is clear that the [plural] feature of 1/2.PL but not 3.PL datives controls plural agreement morphology under DL. The dialect of Arcangues whose ditransitive paradigm has been given in Table 9, illustrates this: the DL 3.SG.ERG > 2.PL.DAT > 3.SG.ABS = 3.SG.ERG > 2.PL.ABS form is *z-a-it-u*, where *it* is plural morphology controlled by the dative under DL, and this *it* is controlled by 3.PL absolute in 3.SG.ERG > 3.PL.ABS *d-it-u*; however, *ditu* this is not a possible form for 3.SG.ERG > 3.PL.DAT > 3.SG.ABS (*diote*).

In other words, if 3rd person datives in Basque did undergo DL, they would have to do so in such a way that the probe on P that permits this, [local], does not copy the [invidiuation] node upon valuation from a 3rd person, though it does so upon valuation from a 1st/2nd person. This is not an isolated instance of such an asymmetry. There are systems that have plural agreement contingent on 1st/2nd person agreement, for example Fiorentino and Trentino agreement with post-verbal subjects (Brandi and Cordin 1989: 138 note 10) modern Georgian object agreement (Harris 1981: 214), and number agreement in Person Case Constraint contexts (section 8, for example Sigurðsson 1996 on Icelandic). The mechanism needed to do this would limit not only what a φ-probe can be, but also what portion of the φ-feature geometry of a DP it can copy when valued. This seems to be independently required by partial probes in participial agreement for example, for it is not only that a participle (in the relevant languages) is insensitive to person values, it also does not copy them along with gender/class and number, as far as can be seen. It seems that a probe can not only specify what sub-tree of the feature geometry it is, but also how

much of the feature-geometry it can copy upon valuation. If Basque 3^{rd} person datives do not copy the [individuation] node, their DL will never be detectable.

I have not raised this merely to indicate the theoretical possibility of dative displacement of 3^{rd} person DPs in Basque. Rather, this mechanism provides a further means to parametrize the φ-probe of P, one that proves useful in encoding the properties of DPs with theta-related Case that is quirky. Research on these DPs has converged on the conclusion that they behave as if they had just a minimal person feature, and nothing more. From a Basque-centric perspective, quirky theta-related Case seems to be a PP that is transparent for just the feature [local], and this is the basic idea I will take up in the following penultimate section. 3^{rd} person datives in Basque, always quirky, would in fact always undergo a minimal dative displacement.

8   Quirky Case

Section 1 has alluded to a familiar distinction among DPs with theta-related Case, quirkiness. Some DPs with theta-related Case are completely invisible to the Case/Agree and A-movement system, like the oblique experiencer of *seem* in English and Czech; others, quirky, like the oblique experiencer of *seem* in Icelandic, do pass all the diagnostics of being visible for A-movement (see Sigurðsson 2002 for an overview), though the DP still cannot value a φ-probe. The distinction produces minimal contrasts such as that in (27) between English and Icelandic for the experiencer of *seem*, where in Icelandic the experiencer *mér* intervenes for A-movement of *Harald*, but the starred translation with *to me* is in fact fine in English.

(27)   Jón telur   [Harald$_i$ virðast   (*<u>mér</u>)   [t_i hafa   gert   þetta   vel]].
        Jon believes Harald.ACC to.seem   (*me.DAT)   to.have done this.ACC well
        John believes Harald to seem (*to me) to have done this well. (McGinnis 1998a: 82)

Following Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Chomsky (2000: 127) proposes that quirky Case is theta-related Case with additional structural Case. The theory of theta-related Case developed here provides a straightforward means of implementing quirky Case with the correct properties, which likewise situates it between structural an theta-related Case. Quirky Case is theta-related, so it is a PP whose DP complement is inside a phase. However, it is visible to a clausal φ-probe, as its visibility to A-movement indicates, and perhaps more specifically such properties as the binding subject-oriented anaphora (cf. Reuland 2001 for relationship to φ-Agree), the ability to be PRO (cf. Landau 2000), and the definiteness effect (cf. Chomsky 2000: 149 notes 90, 93; for quirky dative in Icelandic and the definiteness effect, see McGinnis 1998a: 51). In terms of the analysis developed here, the PP is in some way transparent for the φ-features of the DP. Evidently, it is not fully transparent, for quirky theta-related Case does not allow the φ-features of the DP to value external φ-probes.

It seems that quirky DPs Agree as if they were pure 3rd person, with no value for number. Evidence for this featural composition comes from the *Person Case Constraint* PCC (Bonet 1991, Boeckx 1999, Taraldsen 1995, Sigurðsson 1996, Adger and Harbour 2003, Anagnostopoulou 2003: chapter 5, Béjar and Rezac 2003). In PCC a quirky DP, like *okkur* in (28) (in its original position, t_i), intervening between a φ-probe and a DP with structural Case, blocks person agreement, (28)b, but not number agreement, (28)a, with the latter.

(28)   PCC in Icelandic dative-nominative and accusative-nominative constructions

a. Henni$_j$ hafði / höfðu$_i$ t_j fundist   [þær$_i$ vera   duglegar]
   her.DAT   had.3.SG/3.PL   found   they(PL).NOM   to.be   industrious
b. Henni$_j$ hafði / *höfðuð$_i$ t_j fundist   [þið$_i$ vera   duglegar]
   her.DAT   had.3.SG/*2.PL   found   you(PL).NOM   to.be   industrious
   (Sigurðsson 1996: 39; my annotations)

In section 1 I have noted the existence of quirky ergatives, and it is expected that these would behave in the same way. The relevant pattern is observed by Maggier (1983) for Gujarati, who has a very lucid discussion of related facts in neighbouring languages (cf. also Comrie 1984, Bhatt 2006: 801). In Gujarati, the participle and auxiliary follow a regular absolutive pattern of agreement with the unaccusative subject and transitive object; however, 1st/2nd person transitive objects cannot agree. The phenomenon has not yet been brought into connection with the Person Case Constraint, and the reduction to it is tentative.[14]

(29)   PCC with ergative subjects and nominative objects in Guajarati
a. tEhme$_i$ aw-ā$_i$ cho$_i$ (*Intransitive subject controls agreement*)
   you.Pl   come-Pfv.MPl   be.Prs.2Pl
   You have come. (Bhatt 2006: 801)
b. mEN   tehmari   behEn-one$_i$ bolawi$_i$ (*Transitive 3rd object controls agreement*)
   I-ERG   your   sisters-ACC   invited.F
   I invited your sisters. (Bhatt 2006: 774, citing Cardona 1965: 75)
c. mãĩ$_i$ tam-ne$_j$ mār-yā   che   (*Transitive 1st/2nd object does not agree*)
   I   you(pl)-ACC   struck(Mpl)   be(3rd)
   I have struck you. (Magier 1983: 251)

This behavior raises the following question: (i) why does quirky Case intervene for person-Agree but does not control the person probe; (ii) why does it not control number-Agree while a DP with structural Case that matched a person probe would; (iii) why is it person Agree rather than number Agree with a farther DP that is blocked.

Many recent approaches to the PCC begin with the ideas (i) that a φ-probe can be decomposed into a [person] and a [number] probe, capable of Agree separately, and (ii) that while as with other theta-related Case something renders the φ-features of the quirky DP inaccessible to external φ-Agree, the invisibility is not complete (e.g. Taraldsen 1995, Boeckx 1999, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Béjar and Rezac 2003). Taraldsen (1995: 310ff.) and Anagnostopoulou (2003: 269) propose that the dative DP's [person] features are actually visible and its [number] features are not, and since the latter do not make interpretive sense without the former for 1st/2nd person, valuation of an incoming [person] probe to 3rd person ensues. The [number] probe sees nothing on the dative, and passes by it. The invisibility of the [number] features of the dative remains a mysterious property, a *defectiveness* on its part.

The notion of defectiveness is an obscure addition to the theory that needs to be derived. The dative displacement phenomenon seems to provide precisely the right empirical and theoretical

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[14] In the examples, I add coindexing of agreement and agreement controllers for clarity, but I do not otherwise change the glosses: M masculine, Pl/pl plural, Prs present, Pfv perfective, ACC accusative, F feminine, ERG ergative. *mãĩ* in (29)c should almost certainly be glossed ERG = *mEN* (*meñ*) in (29)b (cf. Deo and Sharma 2002; the absolutive is *hũ*); but regardless of its overt case morphology, the agreement alignment is absolutive and ignores transitive subjects.

guide. Empirically, dative displacement clearly renders the φ-features of a DP with theta-related Case visible to external φ-Agree, and the visibility can be modulated according to the φ-features of the DP: 1^{st} person datives, $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person datives, etc. To deal with this theoretically, I have proposed that the normal opacity of a PP to external Agree is obviated by putting a φ-probe on P, and modulating the content of its φ-probe allows it to select (match) only certain DPs for Agree.

The extension that is required to deal with quirky theta-related Case is for the φ-probe on P to selectively transmit the φ-features of DPs in such a way that they all end up looking as a particular type of 3^{rd} person DP. The necessary type may be seen from empirical considerations. Quirky Case DPs do not seem to interfere with remote number agreement across them; they block person agreement across them; but they do not themselves behave as if they were [participant] in languages like Basque, where they fail to provide a value to the [participant] (prefix) morphology, and do not interfere with its valuation from the external argument under "ergative displacement" (section 3). These properties follow if the P of their PP shell has a probe that cannot be valued for more than [RE → local]. If a probe can be parametrized for the φ-features that it can copy under valuation, as suggested at the end of the last section, than such a probe will copy only the [RE → local] portion of the feature geometry of a DP, omitting for example [individuation] and [participant]. This will give to the PP containing the DP the properties of a person-bearing but non-participant DP that has no number specification, that is, of quirky theta-related Case:

(30)   Quirky theta-related Case: a PP that has [3 → local] φ-specification on its P head, from restricted φ-Agree of P with its DP complement.

The necessity of deriving defectiveness in understanding the Person Case Constraint is emphasized by Richards (2004: 156ff.). He comes to the conclusion that quirky theta-related Case is theta-related Case + 3^{rd} person expletive, which is what makes it visible to clausal φ-Agree and makes it behave like 3^{rd} person. It seems to me that Basque dative displacement, and its variation according to the φ-features of the dative DP, provide exactly the right empirical analogue to draw upon in eliminating defectiveness. This difference should not obscure the shared conceptual agreement, already implicit in the Taraldsen - Anagnostopoulou proposal. For their proposal is that a quirky dative does enter into regular φ-Agree, just in a reduced way; the natural development is to effectuate the reduction through tools that the theory needs independently. There is no special primitive of defective Agree invoked.

9   Conclusion

Taking stock of the proposals made here, the most important are:

(i) Case Opacity holds because theta-related Case is a PP, normally an opaque domain.
(ii) Case Opacity is not absolute, and this can be modelled in the familiar terms of selective "unlocking" of an opaque domain through properties of its head.
(iii)The specific mechanism can be thought of a φ-Agree between a P-head and a DP in its c-command domain.
(iv)Properties of P and their interaction with properties of DP can parametrize what Ps are transparent for what DPs.

(v) Quirky Case is just one of the varieties of such partially transparent PPs, one that is transparent for the minimal person specification only.

Through this, certain special properties are brought into the fold of more familiar ones with broader scope. Neither Case Opacity, nor quirkiness, nor defectiveness, are primitives. Case Opacity comes down to opacity, to phasehood, of a domain independently known to be opaque. Quirkiness and defectiveness come down to one point on a scale of variation in selective transparency of such opaque domains that must be captured in some way, given dative displacement. The specific mechanisms that establish selective transparency are more internal to a group of less widely shared proposals about the interaction of Agree and φ-feature structures. Here dark creatures still lurk in odd corners, but the approach shows promise.

More ought to be said about PP-CP parallelism, and the difference between DPs "with" structural Case, that is bare DPs, and those with theta-related Case, that is a PP shell. The guiding intuition is that the defining property of DPs with structural Case is the absence of potential functional architecture above a certain point; pushing the PP-CP parallelism, they are like ECM TPs. This makes them transparent because they are incomplete, to φ-Agree for example, while CPs/PPs are opaque and complete. Another way of capitalizing on the difference is to derive the Case Filter from the structural deficiency of bare DPs. This is the proposal of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), and with a different mechanism, Rezac (2003).

PPs are complete and their DPs need no external licensing. I have dealt with PPs in [Spec, ApplP] mainly and somewhat with those in [Spec, vP], but their canonical distribution also includes the arguments of simply V, typically below a theme/patient DP with structural Case if there is one. Such PPs would not be reachable by clausal φ-Agree at all, but their P also might have a φ-probe. For them, and for PPs in general, one would expect to find P's that overtly manifest their φ-Agree with their DP complement: agreeing adpositions, like agreeing complementizers. These occur, but caution is in order (see Jouitteau and Rezac, in press). Arguments comparable to van Koppen's argument that West Germanic complementizer agreement is φ-Agree have not been presented for adpositional agreement.

I will end on an example of agreeing adpositions of general interest for the study of the relationship among adpositions, agreement, and DPs: Abaza (O'Herin 2002). Abaza has agreeing postpositions, like *wara wəqaz* 'for you' in (31)a. O'Herin argues that the agreeing postposition in (31)a is the source of verbal agreement with an applicative object, as *r-z* in (31)b. Specifically, the independent agreeing postposition can incorporate into the agreement complex, where it is spelled out as an applicative morpheme (z) + agreement with its DP complement (r). There are a number of advantages to his analysis; it explains why in Abaza diagnostics indicate that even in applicative constructions the c-command relations are *theme > applied object*, a traditional stumbling block for reducing applicatives to adpositional constructions elsewhere, and why multiple applicatives as in (31)b are possible.[15]

(31)
a. sara   bilet   wara$_i$ wə$_i$-qaz   y-ʕa-s-aw-d
   I   ticket   you   2sm-for   3si-PV-1s-find-DYN
   I found the ticket for you. (Abaza, O'Herin 2002: 219)
b. y-[lə-cə]$_A$-[r-z]$_B$-[a-la]$_C$-ħ-č'^{j}pa-t'

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[15] Glosses from original: *s* singular, *m* masculine, *i* irrational/inanimate, *p* plural, PV preverb, DYN dynamic, COM comitative, BEN benefactive, INST instrumental. The annotations are mine.

3si-3sf-COM-3p-BEN-3si-INST-1p-do-DYN
We did it [with her]ₐ [for them]_B [with it]_C. (Abaza, O'Herin 2002: 229; my annotations)

Abaza, on this analysis, has clausal agreement that is perhaps the result of φ-Agree, but that at any rate has nothing to do with any agreement or Case-licensing relation between the main predicate's functional architecture and the agreement controllers. It is salubrious to see. It is also well within the range of the analysis proposed here. It makes one wonder whether somewhere there might not be a transparent spell-out of an agreeing dative of the Basque dative displacement type, as agreeing adposition + clausal φ-Agree with it: an anonymous reviewer and me alike. I have not found one yet.

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