

Breaking Agreements: Distinguishing Agreement and Clitic Doubling by Their Failures

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

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

Keywords: agreement, clitic doubling, Basque, unergatives, long-distance agreement

1 Introduction

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

(1) host+ [*agreement morpheme*] $_{\phi_1}$. . . ⟨other material⟩ . . . [*full noun phrase*] $_{\phi_1}$

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

The linguistic literature of the past few decades has identified two kinds of operations that can give rise to this state of affairs. One is *agreement*, in which the host and the full noun phrase enter into some formal relation, as a result of which features of the full noun phrase (e.g., person, number, gender) are morphologically reflected on the host. The other operation is *clitic doubling*,

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which generally refers to a situation in which a phonologically small, pronoun-like morpheme is generated on the basis of the full noun phrase—with features (e.g., person, number, gender) that match the full noun phrase—and affixes to the host.

We might have prior reason to suspect that a given morpheme comes about via agreement or via cliticization; but obviously, these preconceptions might be wrong (as Zwicky and Pullum (1983) argue, regarding the English contracted negative formative *-n't*). The Basque auxiliary, which is the empirical domain of this article, is a prime example of this: at first glance, it appears that each agreement morpheme on the Basque auxiliary enters into an agreement relation, each with a different kind of noun phrase in the clause (absolutive, ergative, and dative). However, as I will argue, this appearance is somewhat misleading: while the absolutive agreement morphemes on the Basque auxiliary are indeed the result of *agreement*, the ergative and dative agreement morphemes are the result of *clitic doubling* (see also Arregi and Nevins 2008). It is therefore helpful to have diagnostics that determine whether the relation between an agreement morpheme and the corresponding full noun phrase in a given language/construction is *agreement* or *clitic doubling*.

In this article, I propose a novel way to distinguish between agreement and clitic doubling, based on examining what happens when the relation in question fails to obtain. The workings of the proposed diagnostic will be demonstrated using a family of constructions in “substandard” Basque (Etxepare 2006).¹ These constructions are a particularly useful testing ground for the proposed diagnostic, owing to the convergence of several factors: the full noun phrase and the host are sufficiently far away from each other in this construction (in structural terms) to allow manipulations that would otherwise be unavailable; certain aspects of Basque syntax (e.g., the structure of ditransitive verb phrases) are well understood and can therefore be used as a baseline; and the Basque auxiliary carries multiple kinds of agreement morphology, and thus, the results of applying the proposed diagnostic to one kind of morpheme can be contrasted with its results when applied to a different morpheme *within the same construction, in the same language*.

Besides supporting the proposed diagnostic, this analysis of Basque provides an interesting typological perspective on the Basque agreement system. As mentioned above, I will argue that only the absolutive agreement morphemes on the Basque auxiliary are the result of true agreement, while the ergative and dative agreement morphemes are the result of clitic doubling. Factoring out the morphology that arises via clitic doubling therefore places the Basque agreement system on a par with systems that are familiar from nominative-accusative languages, in which agreement targets noun phrases that bear a particular Case marking (e.g., Icelandic, where agreement targets nominative noun phrases, regardless of whether the subject is nominative or not; see Bobaljik 2008, Boeckx 2000, Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003, Schütze 1997).

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

In addition, I will show that these results cast doubt on the traditional approach to unergatives in Basque, which takes them to be underlyingly transitive, providing evidence that these unergatives are in fact underlyingly intransitive.

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

Agreement—henceforth, the Agree operation—can be characterized by the following properties (e.g., Chomsky 2000, 2001):

- (2) a. It is subject to *defective intervention*.
- A host cannot enter into an Agree relation with a given noun phrase if there is another noun phrase structurally closer to the host (e.g., Chomsky 2001, McGinnis 1998).
- b. It is subject to a locality condition that prevents it from operating across the boundaries of a tensed clause (e.g., Chomsky's (2000, 2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition).

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

- (3) a. It voids the status of its target as an intervener.²
- The “chain” formed by clitic doubling (i.e., the syntactic object consisting of the generated clitic and the full noun phrase that it doubles) behaves as an A-chain, whose head is the clitic (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997, Anagnostopoulou 1994, Sportiche 1996, 1998).
 - Only the heads of A-chains can intervene (Chomsky 1995, et seq.).
- b. It conforms to a locality condition that for current purposes can be approximated as the *clausemate* relation.
- See Iatridou 1990 and related literature for more precise accounts.

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

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

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

- (4) ?*Jean_i semble à Marie [t_i avoir du talent]. (French)
 Jean seems to Marie have.INF of talent
 ‘Jean seems to Marie to have talent.’
 (Anagnostopoulou 2003:(66b))
- (5) Jean_i lui_j-semble t_j [t_i avoir du talent].
 Jean her.DAT-seems have.INF of talent
 ‘Jean seems to her to have talent.’
 (Anagnostopoulou 2003:(72a))

In (4), the dative à Marie ‘to Marie’ intervenes, blocking Agree between *semble* ‘seem’—or more precisely, the T⁰ head to which *semble* attaches—and the target noun phrase *Jean*. However, if the dative intervener is moved out of the way (as in (5)), the aforementioned Agree relation can obtain (which, in French, also results in movement of the target noun phrase to Spec,TP). Crucially, the configuration in which Agree is blocked results in ungrammaticality.

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

- (6) Manninum virðast [hestarnir vera seinir]. (Icelandic)
 the.man.DAT seem.PL the.horses.NOM be slow
 ‘The man finds the horses slow.’
 (Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003:(11))
- (7) Það virðist/*virðast einhverjum manni [hestarnir vera seinir].
 EXPL seem.SG/*seem.PL some man.DAT the.horses.NOM be slow
 ‘A man finds the horses slow.’
 (Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003:(12))

In (6), the matrix verb *virðast* ‘seem.PL’ exhibits agreement in number (albeit optionally) with the plural nominative subject of the embedded clause (*hestarnir* ‘the.horses.NOM’). In (7), however, the structural position of the dative experiencer *einhverjum manni* ‘some man.DAT’ gives rise to intervention, blocking the aforementioned agreement relation.³ Crucially, this does not result in the ungrammaticality of (7); the matrix verb is restricted to its default (i.e., singular) form—*virðist*—but the sentence remains grammatical.

³ The reader may have noticed that between (6) and (7), the dative noun phrase has changed not only its position, but also its quantificational force. That is because in Icelandic expletive-associate constructions, it is the closest noun phrase (even if it is nonnominative) that exhibits the definiteness effect, familiar from the behavior of nominatives in the English expletive-associate construction, in addition to being the noun phrase that is eligible for A-movement if an expletive is not selected (McGinnis 1998).

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

The relevant contrast can therefore be stated as follows: while failed Agree should result in the appearance of a morpheme with default features (if the resulting utterance is grammatical at all), failed clitic doubling should result in the wholesale absence of the relevant morpheme. This contrast will be undetectable, of course, if the morphological realization of default features is itself phonologically null; fortunately, this is not always so. The goal is therefore to come up with configurations in which the relevant relation between the agreement morpheme and the host is broken, and investigate which of these two results emerges. This is formalized in (8).

- (8) Given a scenario where the relation \mathcal{R} between an agreement morpheme \mathcal{M} and the corresponding full noun phrase \mathcal{X} is broken—but the result is still a grammatical utterance—the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about \mathcal{R} as follows:
- a. \mathcal{M} shows up with default ϕ -features (rather than the features of \mathcal{X}) $\rightarrow \mathcal{R}$ is Agree
 - b. \mathcal{M} disappears entirely $\rightarrow \mathcal{R}$ is clitic doubling

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

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

In section 2, I introduce the relevant Basque constructions, as well as their analysis (largely inspired by Etxepare 2006). In section 3, I apply the proposed diagnostic to these constructions and show how its verdicts line up with the well-established properties of Agree and clitic doubling in (2) and (3), respectively. In section 4, I present one possible implementation of the proposal,

in specific technical terms, to examine its potential interaction with the Person-Case Constraint. In section 5, I offer conclusions.

2 Apparent Long-Distance Agreement in “Substandard” Basque

2.1 A First Glance at Basque Agreement Morphology

Consider the following Basque sentences:⁴

- (9) a. Gu amama-ri [bisit-a egite-ra] joan ga- tzai- zki-
 we(ABS) grandmother-DAT visit-ART(ABS) make-DIR gone 1.ABS- be- PL.ABS-
 o.
 3SG.DAT
 ‘We have gone to Grandmother to make a visit.’
 (Laka 2005:(43))
- b. Guraso-e-k niri belarritako ederr-ak erosi d- i-
 parent(s)-ART_{PL}-ERG me.DAT earring(s) beautiful-ART_{PL}(ABS) bought 3.ABS- have-
 zki- da- te.
 PL.ABS- 1SG.DAT- 3PL.ERG
 ‘(My) parents have bought me beautiful earrings.’
 (Laka 2005:(52))

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

2.2 The Data

Etxepare (2006) discusses a variety of Basque in which certain constructions exhibit apparent *long-distance agreement* (LDA). Consider (10a–b).⁵

- (10) a. Uko egin d- i- Ø- e- Ø [[agindu horiek]_{DP_T}
 refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- SG.ABS- 3PL.DAT- 3SG.ERG order(s) those_{PL}(ABS)
 bete-tze-a-ri]_{DP_C}.
 obey-NMZ-ART-DAT
 ‘He or she has refused to obey those orders.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(99))

⁴ Legend: ABS = absolutive; ADV = adverb; ART = article; AUX = auxiliary; BEN = benefactive; DAT = dative; ERG = ergative; GEN = genitive; HAB = habitual; LOC = locative; NOM = nominative; NMZ = nominalizer; PRT = participle.

⁵ The notation Ø represents a phonologically empty exponent.

- b. Muzin egin d- i- Ø- e- Ø
 frown(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- SG.ABS- 3PL.DAT - 3SG.ERG
 [[horrelako liburu-ak]_{DP_T} argitara-tze-a-ri]_{DP_C}.
 such book(s)-ART_{PL}(ABS) publish-NMZ-ART-DAT
 ‘He or she has frowned on publishing such books.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(86b))

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

- (11) [[[[DP_T V⁰]-tze-a]_{DP_C} V⁰]_{VP} . . . Aux]_{AuxP}

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

DP_T refers to the noun phrase whose plurality determines the plural morphology on the auxiliary, while *DP_C* refers to the entire nominalized embedded clause—including the article (-a), as well as whatever Case marking is appropriate (-ri, when the Case is dative). Interestingly, the agreement morpheme whose plurality is determined by *DP_T* is the dative agreement morpheme on the auxiliary. This corresponds to the Case marking on *DP_C* (which is dative), rather than the Case marking on *DP_T* (which is absolutive).

These two Case markings can be the same, of course.

- (12) [[Nobela erromantiko-ak]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-a]_{DP_C} gustatzen Ø- zai- zki-
 novel(s) romantic-ART_{PL}(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be- PL.ABS -
 o.
 3SG.DAT
 ‘He or she likes to read romantic novels.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(1b))

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

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

- (13) *[[Zu]_{DP_T} gonbida-tze-a]_{DP_C} baztertu za- it- u- zte.
 you(ABS) invite-NMZ-ART(ABS) refused 2.ABS - PL.ABS- have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have refused to invite you.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(117b))

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

Unlike the Case-marked construction, in which the nominalized clause is introduced by the article and its associated Case morphology (null, when the Case is absolutive), this variety of

Basque has a construction that exhibits similar LDA-like effects, but in which the nominalized clause is introduced by the adposition *-n*.⁶

- (14) a. [[Harri horiek]_{DP_T} altxa-tze-n] probatu d- [it]- u- zte.
 stone(s) those_{PL}(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 3.ABS- PL.ABS - have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have attempted to lift those stones.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(85a))
- b. Jon-i [[kopla horiek]_{DP_T} kanta-tze-n] entzun d- i- [zki]-
 Jon-DAT song(s) those_{PL}(ABS) sing-NMZ-LOC heard 3.ABS- have- PL.ABS -
 o- t.
 3SG.DAT- 1SG.ERG
 ‘I have heard/listened to Jon singing those songs.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(88a))

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

- (15) [[[[DP_T V⁰]-tze-n]_{PP} V⁰]_{VP} . . . Aux]_{AuxP}

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

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

- (16) *[[Agindu-e-i]_{DP_T} kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tzai- Ø- [e]-
 order(s)-ART_{PL}-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1.ABS- be- SG.ABS- 3PL.DAT -
 n.
 PAST
 ‘I tried to pay attention to the orders.’

In contrast to the Case-marked construction, the adpositional construction does allow for the person features of the agreement morphemes on the auxiliary to be determined by the person features of DP_T (on a par with its ability to reflect the number features of DP_T). There is a slight complication here, which is that the morphological paradigms for three-place auxiliaries (i.e., auxiliaries that simultaneously carry agreement morphemes corresponding to absolutive, dative, and ergative noun phrases) lack entries corresponding to 1st/2nd person absolutive (an instance of the PCC; see section 4); and as shown above, only absolutive noun phrases can be targeted in the adpositional construction. Therefore, if the configuration calls for a three-place auxiliary,

⁶ There is a similar construction involving the adposition *-ko*, rather than *-n*.

- (i) [[Liburu-ak]_{DP_T} itzul-tze-ko] eskatu d- i- [zki]- da- te.
 book(s)-ART_{PL}(ABS) return-NMZ-GEN.LOC asked 3.ABS- have- PL.ABS - 1SG.DAT- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have asked me to return the books.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(114b))

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

there is no way to realize the person features of DP_T on the auxiliary. PCC effects also arise in certain contexts involving two-place auxiliaries that encode only absolutive and dative agreement morphology (see Rezac 2008b for details). To avoid this confound, one must construct examples that call for an auxiliary that encodes only absolutive and ergative agreement morphology. Fortunately, this is possible, even within the confines of the adpositional construction.

- (17) [[\boxed{Ni}] $_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu \boxed{na} - \emptyset - u- te.
 $\boxed{me(ABS)}$ lift-NMZ-LOC attempted $\boxed{1.ABS}$ - SG.ABS- have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They attempted to lift me.’

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

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

2.3 *The Prospects for a Restructuring Account*

In this section, I address the possibility of providing a restructuring account for the LDA-like effects in the Case-marked construction and in the adpositional construction—in other words, for the presence of agreement morphemes on the matrix auxiliary that reflect the ϕ -features of an argument of the embedded predicate.⁷ If restructuring is indeed ‘‘clause union,’’ such an analysis predicts that arguments of the embedded verb would behave—for Case/agreement purposes—as if they were part of the matrix clause.

Recall that in simple, monoclausal constructions, the Basque auxiliary carries agreement morphemes that match both the number features and the person features of its clausemate arguments—be they absolutive, dative, or ergative (see section 2.1). In the Case-marked construction, however, only the number features of DP_T —the argument of the embedded verb—are reflected by the agreement morphemes of the matrix auxiliary (as in (12)), to the exclusion of its person features (as shown in (13)). Thus, arguments of the embedded verb do not behave—for Case/agreement purposes—as if they were part of the matrix clause. This is contrary to the expectation that a restructuring/‘‘clause union’’ account would generate.

One may seek to salvage a restructuring account for the Case-marked construction by assuming that it is an instance of partial restructuring—namely, that the embedded domain contains the functional layer relevant to person agreement, but lacks the functional layer relevant to number agreement. Thus, the number features of DP_T will be able to trigger agreement on the matrix number agreement layer, whereas the person features of DP_T will already have triggered agreement on the embedded person agreement layer, rendering the person features of DP_T inactive and invisible to

⁷ Here and throughout, the term *matrix* is used to refer to the higher of two structural domains (the other of which is referred to as *embedded*). While this often coincides with what is the *root clause*, this does not have to be the case; the constructions addressed in this article can themselves be embedded, in their entirety, in a larger syntactic structure (i.e., another subordinating clause).

the matrix person agreement layer. However, this requires separate ϕ -features of the same noun phrase to be activated and inactivated independently of each other—and in particular, it requires the person features of DP_T to become inactivated (and therefore invisible) at the same point in the derivation where the number features of the very same noun phrase are still active and visible. This conflicts with the established mechanics of defective intervention: it is the noun phrase as a whole (i.e., its complete set of ϕ -features) that is either active or inactive (see the discussion in Chomsky 2000:124, 2001:15).

In the adpositional construction, though both the number features and the person features of DP_T can be reflected by the agreement morphemes of the matrix auxiliary, both sets of features can be reflected only if DP_T is absolutive (as in (14a)), not if it is dative (as in (16)). Thus, in the adpositional construction, dative arguments of the embedded verb do not behave—for Case/agreement purposes—as if they were part of the matrix clause. Again, this is contrary to the expectation that a restructuring/“clause union” account would generate.

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

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

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

2.4 *Analyzing the Two Constructions*

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

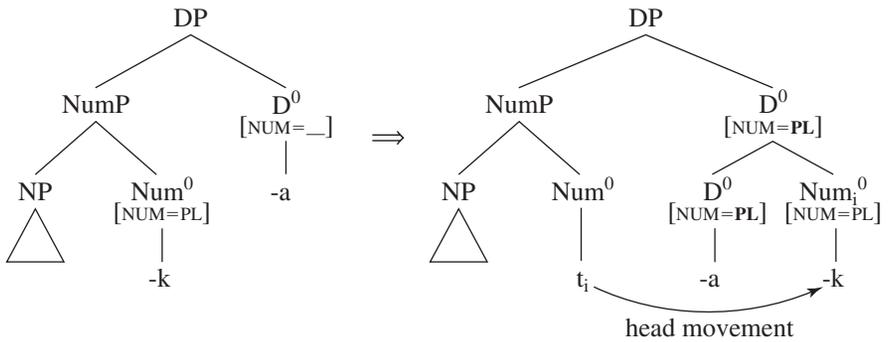
As discussed earlier, the distinctive feature of the Case-marked construction is the appearance of the article, along with its associated Case-marking morphology (which is null, when the Case is absolutive). Let us therefore take a closer look at the morphology of the Basque article.

- (18) *NUM Article*
 SG -a
 PL -ak

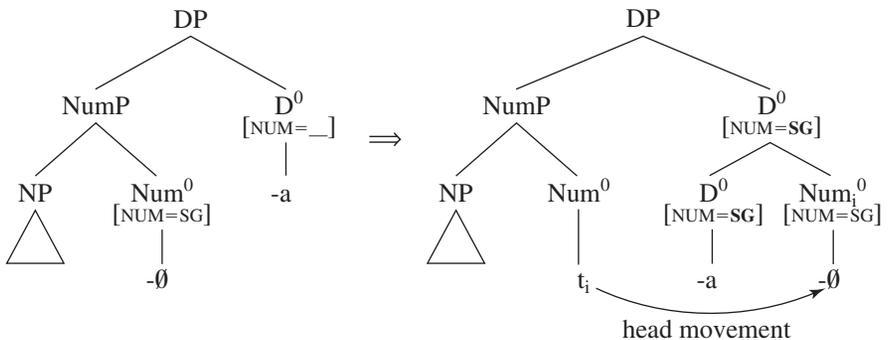
It seems plausible that the Basque article is in fact composed of two independent parts: an invariant *-a* morpheme, and a number morpheme, which is *-k* when [NUM=PL], and either null or missing when [NUM=SG] (see Trask 2003, where a similar analysis is adopted for Basque).

On the basis of this observation, I will adopt Etxeberria’s (2005) proposal for the general structure of noun phrases in Basque, which assumes a NumP projection between NP and DP (Ritter 1991, 1992). This structure is shown schematically in (19).

- (19) a. *Plural*



- b. *Singular*

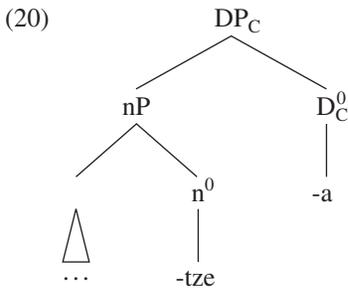


The Basque D⁰ enters the derivation bearing an unvalued number feature (marked [NUM= _] in (19a–b)). This feature probes for a valued counterpart with which it can establish an Agree relation, and finds one on Num⁰. Since D⁰ and Num⁰ are in an immediate c-command relation, Num⁰-to-D⁰ head movement is triggered (see Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, where it is argued that

this is a general property of such a configuration). This results in the fusing of the *-a* morpheme (associated with D^0) and the *-k* or $-\emptyset$ morpheme (associated with Num^0) into what we might call ‘‘the article’’ (i.e., *-a(k)*).

On this view, *-k* is not the phonological realization of $[\text{NUM}=\text{PL}]$ on D^0 ; rather, it is the phonological realization of $[\text{NUM}=\text{PL}]$ on Num^0 (which then undergoes head adjunction to D^0).

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



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

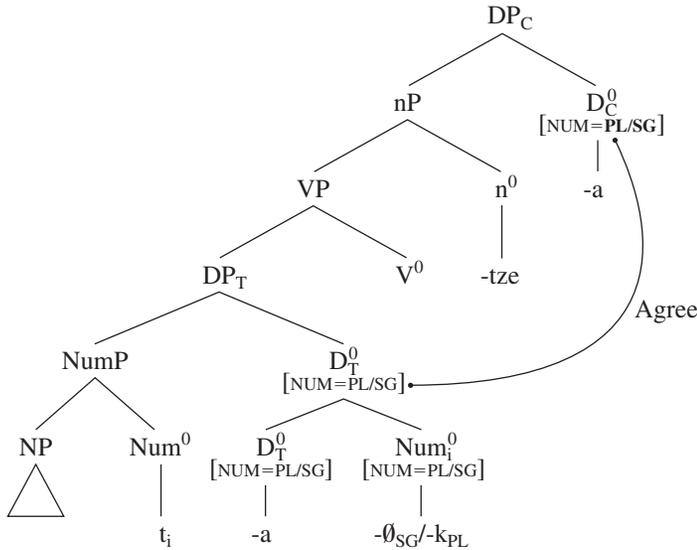
The nominalized embedded clauses in question (both in the Case-marked construction and in the adpositional construction) exhibit the characteristics of obligatory control (see Etxepare 2006 for the relevant diagnostics). Thus, following Wurmbrand’s (2001) analysis of obligatory control complements, I will assume that the complement of $[-tze]_{n^0}$ in these constructions is a bare VP.⁹ The unvalued number feature on D_C^0 is therefore able to probe into that VP and establish an Agree relation with an argument within it (i.e., with DP_T , an argument of the embedded V^0).

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

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

This is schematized in (21).

(21)



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

On this view, apparent LDA in the Case-marked construction in fact comprises two separate relations, ‘‘stacked’’ on top of one another, with D_C^0 serving as an intermediary. The first is Agree between D_C^0 and DP_T , as outlined above. The second is the relation between the auxiliary and DP_C . Let us refer to the Case marking on DP_C as \mathcal{M}_C . Since DP_C occupies a canonical argument position, whatever mechanism gives rise to agreement with \mathcal{M}_C -marked noun phrases in straight-forward monoclausal constructions in Basque (whether it is Agree or clitic doubling) will operate here as well. Thus, the agreement morpheme corresponding to \mathcal{M}_C -marked arguments will reflect the number feature that has been transmitted from DP_T to D_C^0 via Agree in (21).

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

- (12) [[Nobela erromantiko-ak]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-a]_{DP_C} gustatzen \emptyset - zai- zki-
 novel(s) romantic-ART_{PL}(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be- PL.ABS -
 o.
 3SG.DAT
 ‘He or she likes to read romantic novels.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(1b))

- (13) *[[Zu]_{DP_T} gonbida-tze-a]_{DP_C} baztertu za- it- u- zte.
 [you]_(ABS) invite-NMZ-ART_(ABS) refused 2.ABS- PL.ABS- have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have refused to invite you.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(117b))

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

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

Under the current account, in contrast, there are two probes—the auxiliary/agreement morpheme and D_C^0 —each of which probes exactly once. The role that D_C^0 plays in the current account—a probe that initiates its own Agree operations with DP_T —allows a straightforward account for the susceptibility of the LDA-like effects in the Case-marked construction to intervention, even when the relation between the matrix auxiliary/agreement morpheme and DP_C is a kind of relation that is clearly not susceptible to intervention (such as the relation that gives rise to dative agreement morphology; see section 3.3).

In the adpositional construction, the nominalized clause (i.e., the nP headed by the nominalizing morpheme, [-tze]_{n⁰}) is not selected by the article; rather, it is selected by the adposition [-n]_{p⁰} directly (see also Laka 2006a,b). Recall (14a), repeated here.

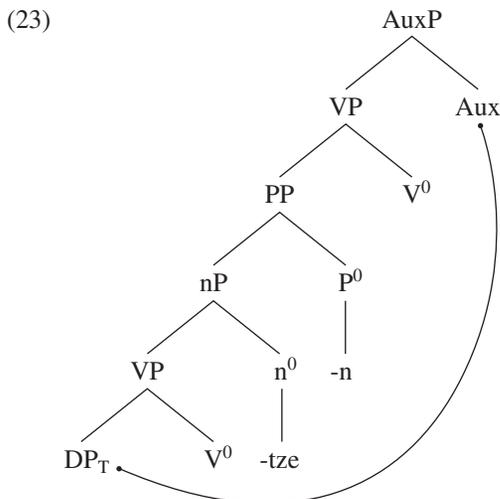
- (14) a. [[Harri horiek]_{DP_T} altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u- zte.
 [stone(s) those]_{PL(ABS)} lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 3.ABS- PL.ABS- have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have attempted to lift those stones.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(85a))

The fact that the article is indeed absent between the nominalizer (*-tze*) and the adposition (*-n*) can be seen in the behavior of the same adposition when it selects a lexical noun phrase directly.¹⁰

- (22) a. %etxe-n
 house-LOC
 ‘at home (lit.: in a house)’
 b. etxe-a-n
 house-ART-LOC
 ‘in the house’

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

Since there is no evidence of a DP layer between the adposition (*-n*) and the nominalizing morpheme (*-tze*), the adpositional construction can be handled in terms of a direct relation between the auxiliary and an argument of the embedded verb, as illustrated in (23).



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

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

¹⁰ An *LI* reviewer points out that the form in (22a) is a historical residue and is possible only in a handful of eastern varieties of Basque. The availability of (22a), however, is not crucial to the argument in the text, which relies on the discernibility of the article (*-a*) in (22b). Crucially, the form in (22b) is universally accepted by Basque speakers.

(24) There were likely [to appear [to be arrested [_{DP} three men]]].

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

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

In the proposed analysis of the adpositional construction, however, there is no comparable intermediary. Under the current proposal, the adpositional construction is an instance of the matrix auxiliary agreeing with DP_T directly; and in simple, monoclausal constructions, the Basque auxiliary carries agreement morphemes that match both the number features and the person features of its clausemate arguments. Thus, we predict that the auxiliary should reflect the person features of DP_T , as well as its number features. As shown in (17) (repeated here), this is indeed true.

(17) [[\overline{Ni}] _{DP_T} altxa-tze-n] probatu [na- \emptyset - u- te.
 $\overline{me(ABS)}$ lift-NMZ-LOC attempted [1.ABS- SG.ABS- have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They attempted to lift me.’

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

As mentioned earlier, the impossibility of determining person agreement morphology in the Case-marked construction (as opposed to the adpositional construction) supports the notion that it is indeed D_C^0 —which I have called the *intermediary*—whose features are responsible for transmitting feature values from DP_T to the agreement morphemes in the Case-marked construction. The fact that D_C^0 (like any other D^0) has number features but no person features accounts for the asymmetry between number and person in the Case-marked construction.¹¹

On this account, there is no difference in the syntax internal to the *-tze*-phrase (i.e., the nP) between instances where it is selected by the article (i.e., the Case-marked construction) and instances where it is selected by an adposition (i.e., the adpositional construction). In both construc-

¹¹ As pointed out by an *LI* reviewer, the analysis of the Case-marked construction as “stacked” agreement, with D_C^0 serving as the intermediary, is reminiscent of Rezac’s (2004) treatment of copy raising as an instance of “stacked” ϕ -agreement with C^0 serving as the intermediary, as well as Rezac’s (2008a) treatment of dative displacement in Basque dialects as an instance of “stacked” ϕ -agreement with (dative) P^0 serving as the intermediary. In the latter case, Rezac exploits the fact that P^0 can be specified for only a subset of the ϕ -features for which clausal ϕ -probes are specified, much the same way the lack of person features on Basque D^0 (and in particular, on D_C^0) is exploited here.

tions, $[-tze]_{n^0}$ selects a VP as its complement; the differences between the two constructions follow from the difference in the category that selects the *-tze*-phrase.

As mentioned at the outset (and discussed extensively in Etxepare 2006), the LDA-like effects under discussion are restricted to ‘‘substandard’’ Basque. Other varieties of Basque do not allow the features of agreement morphemes in the matrix clause to be determined by noun phrases in the embedded clause, in either the Case-marked construction or the adpositional construction. Within the current proposal, this variation can be captured in terms of categorical selection by $[-tze]_{n^0}$: if $[-tze]_{n^0}$ were to select a category larger than VP that included a phase (e.g., vP), both Agree and clitic doubling would not be able to target an element within the embedded domain—regardless of whether the probe was D_C^0 (as in the Case-marked construction) or the auxiliary (as in the adpositional construction).

3 Agree and Clitic Doubling in Basque

As outlined in section 1, the goal of this article is to demonstrate a novel diagnostic for distinguishing Agree from clitic doubling—summarized in (8), repeated here.

- (8) Given a scenario where the relation \mathcal{R} between an agreement morpheme \mathcal{M} and a target noun phrase \mathcal{X} is broken—but the result is still a grammatical utterance—the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about \mathcal{R} as follows:
- a. \mathcal{M} shows up with default ϕ -features (rather than the features of \mathcal{X}) $\rightarrow \mathcal{R}$ is Agree
 - b. \mathcal{M} disappears entirely $\rightarrow \mathcal{R}$ is clitic doubling

In sections 3.1–3.4, I apply this diagnostic to the various agreement morphemes found on the Basque auxiliary, using the constructions introduced in section 2 (and in particular, their limitations) to generate configurations in which the relation between the agreement morpheme and the full noun phrase whose ϕ -features it matches breaks down. I show that systematically, the verdict provided by the proposed diagnostic lines up with the characteristics of Agree and clitic doubling—as identified in (2) and (3), respectively, and repeated in part here.¹²

- (2) a. Agree is subject to *defective intervention* (e.g., Chomsky 2001, McGinnis 1998).
- b. Agree is subject to a locality condition that prevents it from operating across the boundaries of a tensed clause (e.g., Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition).
- (3) a. Clitic doubling voids the status of its target as an intervener (Anagnostopoulou 2003).
- b. Clitic doubling conforms to a locality condition that for current purposes can be approximated as the *clausemate* relation (see Iatridou 1990 and related literature).

¹² As noted in section 1, (3b) is meant to capture the locality conditions on clitic doubling, factoring out phenomena such as clitic climbing. Crucially, clitic climbing is widely assumed to be possible only under restructuring/‘‘clause union’’ (Burzio 1986, Rizzi 1982, Sportiche 1996)—and as shown in section 2.3, the data examined in this article cannot be accounted for in terms of restructuring. The formulation in (3b) is therefore sufficient for present purposes.

3.1 Agree versus Clitic Doubling in the Adpositional Construction

As shown in section 2.2, an absolutive DP_T can be targeted in the adpositional construction, but a dative one cannot. Recall the contrast between (14a) and (16), repeated here.

- (14) a. [[Harri horiek]_{DP_T} altxa-tze-n] probatu d- [it- u- zte.
 stone(s) those_{PL}(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 3.ABS- [PL.ABS]- have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have attempted to lift those stones.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(85a))

- (16) *[[Agindu-e-i]_{DP_T} kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tzai- Ø- [e-
 order(s)-ART_{PL}-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1.ABS- be- SG.ABS- 3PL.DAT]-
 n.
 PAST
 ‘I tried to pay attention to the orders.’

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

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

- (25) *[[Agindu-e-i]_{DP_T} kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tzai- Ø- [o-
 order(s)-ART_{PL}-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1.ABS- be- SG.ABS- 3SG.DAT]-
 n.
 PAST
 ‘I tried to pay attention to the orders.’

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

- (26) [[Agindu-e-i]_{DP_T} kasu egi-te-n] saiatu nin- tze- n.
 order(s)-ART_{PL}-DAT attention pay-NMZ-LOC try 1SG.ABS- be- PAST
 ‘I tried to pay attention to the orders.’

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

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

A second source of corroborating evidence has to do with locality restrictions. Recall that clitic doubling is expected to adhere to the clausemate restriction (since in these contexts, clitic climbing is ruled out; see the discussion in sections 1 and 2.3). Looking again at the ungrammaticality of (16), it appears that something like the clausemate restriction is indeed operative.¹³ In (16), the dative DP_T and the auxiliary are in separate clauses. If dative agreement morphemes are indeed the result of clitic doubling (and therefore, subject to the clausemate restriction), it is to be expected that generating a dative agreement morpheme based on the ϕ -features of a dative noun phrase in a separate clause would be impossible.¹⁴

An immediate consequence of the same approach is that unlike their dative counterparts, absolutive agreement morphemes cannot be the result of clitic doubling. That is because absolutive agreement morphemes in the adpositional construction are able to reflect the ϕ -features of an absolutive DP_T located in the embedded clause, as in (14a). Since the auxiliary and DP_T are not in a clausemate relation in (14a), and the relation responsible for generating absolutive agreement morphemes can still obtain, the relation must be Agree (rather than clitic doubling).

An *LI* reviewer asks if the absence of a dative agreement morpheme on the auxiliary in cases like (26) can be seen as a conclusive indicator of failed clitic doubling, given that there is a sense in which the matrix verb *saiatu* ‘try’ does not ‘need’ dative agreement morphology in the first place: it selects an absolutive subject—in this case, *pro*-1_{SG.ABS}—and an adpositionally headed clausal complement; it does not, however, select a dative argument. Notice, however, that these selectional properties are properties of the verb (*saiatu* ‘try’), not of the auxiliary. Relying on the absence of a selected dative argument to explain the absence of dative agreement morphology on the auxiliary implies the existence of some mechanism that transmits the selectional properties of the verb to the auxiliary. Under the current proposal, there is no need for such a mechanism; whether or not the auxiliary bears agreement morphology corresponding to a particular Case marking—absolutive, dative, or ergative—depends solely on whether there is a corresponding noun phrase that bears that Case and lies within the relevant locality domain with respect to the auxiliary (as shown here, these locality domains are not necessarily the same across different Cases). A detailed discussion of how this might work is taken up in section 4.

¹³ An *LI* reviewer suggests a slightly different approach to the facts in (16) and (25)–(26), whereby dative agreement morphemes on the auxiliary are licensed by an applicative projection—and it is this applicative projection, rather than the dative noun phrase itself, that must be in a clausemate relation with the auxiliary. Under this approach, what prevents dative agreement morphemes in a sentence like (16) is that an applicative projection in the embedded domain cannot license dative agreement morphemes on the matrix auxiliary; an applicative projection in the matrix domain, on the other hand, will not be licensed because the matrix verb (*saiatu* ‘try’) is not ditransitive. This is a particular example of a family of theories that tie the appearance of dative agreement morphology on the auxiliary to the argument structure of the verb with which it is associated. This family of theories is addressed at the end of this section.

¹⁴ Note that there cannot be a locality boundary (e.g., a phase) between the auxiliary and DP_T in (16) (and in the adpositional construction in general). If there were, no LDA-like effects would ever show up in the adpositional construction (since Agree would be blocked by the locality boundary, and clitic doubling would be blocked by the clausemate restriction), contrary to fact.

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

- (14) a. [[Harri horiek]_{DP_F} altxa-tze-n] probatu d- [it]- u- zte.
 stone(s) those_{PL}(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 3.ABS- PL.ABS - have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have attempted to lift those stones.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(85a))

In fact, absolutive agreement morphology is always present on the auxiliary in Basque, regardless of the argument structure of the main verb (see also section 3.5). Obviously, one could stipulate that dative agreement morphology is subject to the mechanism of selectional dependency outlined above, while absolutive agreement morphology is not; but this would merely be a restatement of the facts in (26) and (14a), respectively. The question is why this would be so. The current proposal provides an explanation for this asymmetry: absolutive agreement morphemes are the result of Agree; as such, even if their target is inaccessible (e.g., due to a locality violation), they will still appear (reflecting default ϕ -features, of course). Dative agreement morphemes, on the other hand, are the result of clitic doubling; as such, they will be absent when their target is inaccessible. As will be shown in sections 3.2 and 3.3, this is independently supported by the behavior of each type of agreement morphology with respect to defective intervention.

3.2 Ditransitive Verb Phrases and Defective Intervention

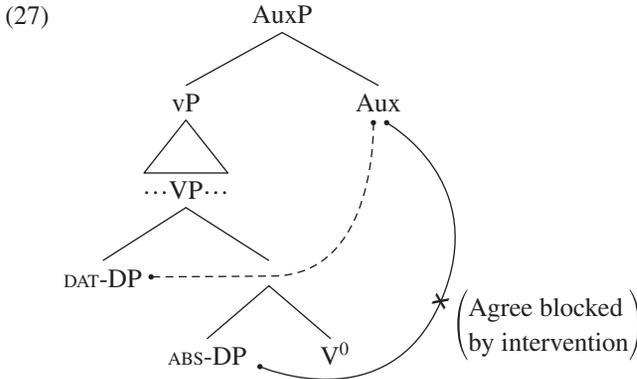
As discussed in section 1, the conclusion that absolutive agreement morphemes are the reflex of Agree leads to an expectation that the relation between these morphemes and the full absolutive noun phrase will be subject to intervention effects.

Consider ditransitive constructions in Basque—for example, (9b), repeated here.

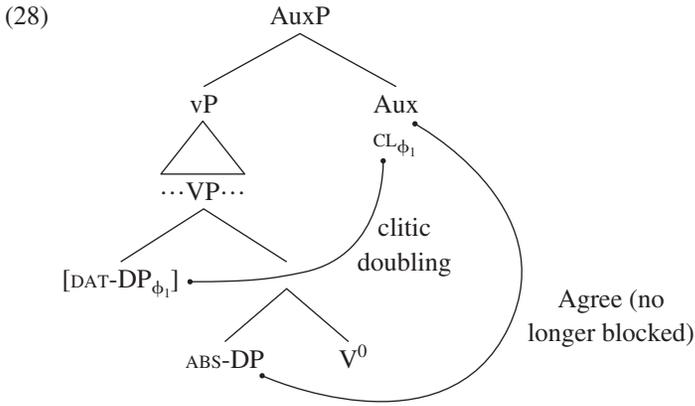
- (9) b. Guraso-e-k niri [belarritako ederr-ak] erosi
 parent(s)-ART_{PL}-ERG me.DAT [earring(s) beautiful-ART_{PL}(ABS)] bought
 d- i- [zki]- da- te.
 3.ABS- have- PL.ABS - 1SG.DAT- 3PL.ERG
 ‘(My) parents have bought me beautiful earrings.’
 (Laka 2005:(52))

As (9b) shows, the auxiliary is perfectly capable of bearing absolutive agreement morphemes that match the ϕ -features of the full absolutive noun phrase, even in ditransitive constructions. This may

seem surprising, since it is well established that in Basque, the dative argument of a ditransitive verb occupies a higher structural position than the absolutive argument (e.g., Elordieta 2001). Given such a configuration, one might expect the dative noun phrase to give rise to defective intervention—on a par with the Icelandic constructions mentioned in section 1—preventing Agree between the auxiliary and the absolutive DP from obtaining, as shown in (27). (Here and throughout, the label *VP* is used for ditransitive verb phrases. This is intended for simplicity and does not amount to the claim that these verb phrases lack more articulated internal structure; see section 4.)



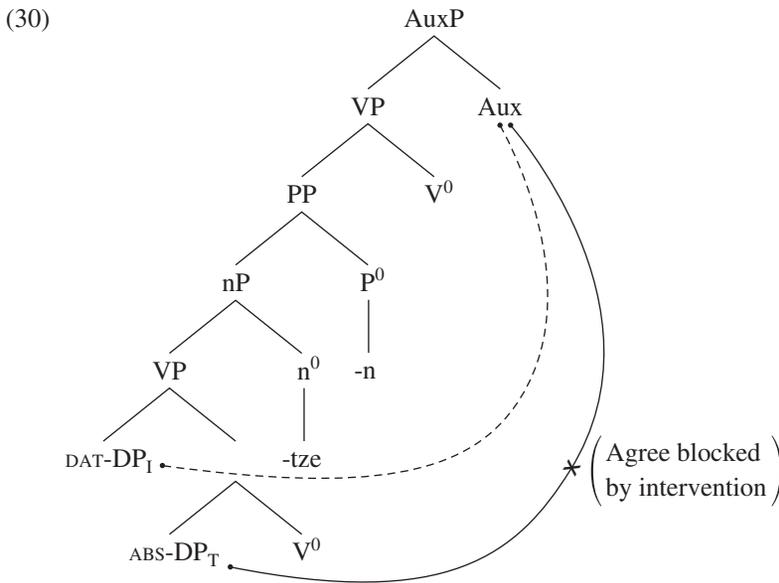
However, as (9b) clearly shows, such intervention does not arise; the absolutive agreement morphemes on the auxiliary are in fact able to reflect the ϕ -features of the absolutive noun phrase. As mentioned in section 1, clitic doubling of a noun phrase has been crosslinguistically found to obviate subsequent intervention effects by that noun phrase (Anagnostopoulou 2003); and as argued in section 3.1, the dative agreement morpheme—which the auxiliary in (9b) does carry—is the result of clitic doubling. Therefore, in (9b), one would in fact predict that no intervention effects would arise, because clitic doubling has rendered the full dative noun phrase incapable of intervening, as shown in (28).



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

- (29) [[Lankide-e-i]_{DP_I} [liburu horiek]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-n] probatu d-
 colleague(s)-ART_{PL}-DAT book(s) those_{PL}(ABS) read-NMZ-LOC attempted 3.ABS-
 Ø/*it₋ u- (z)te.
 SG.ABS/*PL.ABS have- 3PL.ERG
 'They have attempted to read those books to the colleagues.'

In (29), there is no dative agreement morpheme on the matrix auxiliary. On the current proposal, this is expected: the dative DP_I (*I* = *intervener*) and the matrix auxiliary are not clausemates; therefore, clitic doubling of DP_I onto the auxiliary is blocked (see the discussion in section 3.1). Crucially, as (29) demonstrates, this blocks the relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive DP_T; the absolutive agreement morphemes on the matrix auxiliary in (29) can only reflect default features (i.e., 3rd person singular), not the ϕ -features of DP_T, as shown in (30).



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

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

- (31) [Miren-entzat [harri horiek]_{DP_T} altxa-tze-n] probatu d- it- u-
 Miren-BEN stone(s) those_{PL}(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 3.ABS- PL.ABS - have-
 zte.
 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have attempted to lift those stones for Miren.’

While Case-marked noun phrases such as the dative *lankide-e-i* ‘colleague(s)-ART_{PL}-DAT’ in (29) can disrupt the aforementioned relation, adjuncts such as *Miren-entzat* ‘Miren-BEN’ in (31) cannot—precisely the behavior one would expect an Agree relation to exhibit.

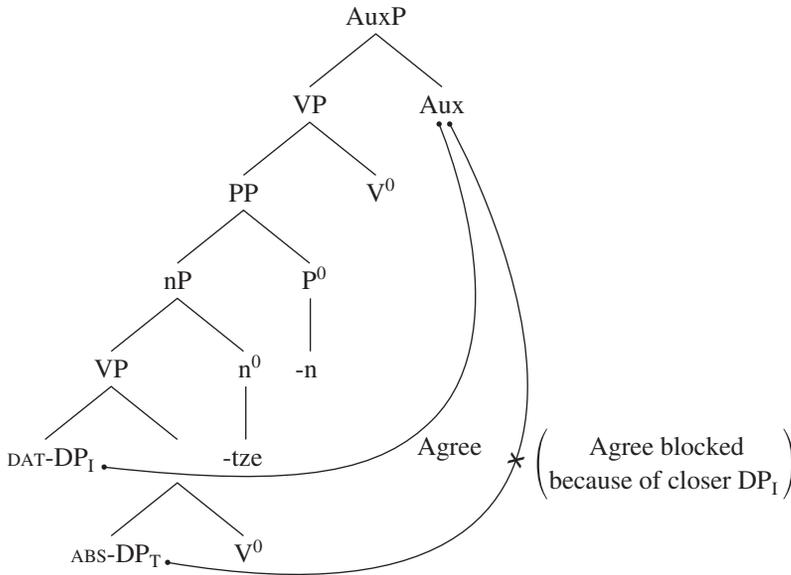
The support that (29) provides for the current proposal is thus twofold: first, it shows that the relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive noun phrase is indeed susceptible to intervention effects (as one would expect of an Agree relation); second, when juxtaposed with examples of monoclausal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

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

Finally, note that the dative noun phrase behaves as a true *defective intervener*: while it is capable of obstructing the Agree relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive noun phrase, the dative noun phrase itself cannot value the features on the probe. I have been referring to the head that probes in this Agree relation as the ‘absolutive agreement morpheme(s),’ a term that presupposes¹⁵ that it can only value its features using absolutive noun phrases. In (29), the dative intervener is itself a plural noun phrase (*lankide-e-i* ‘colleague(s)-ART_{PL}-DAT’); if the probing head were able to value its features using the dative noun phrase, one would expect the plural number features on the dative noun phrase to be transmitted to the probing head. This would give rise to plural features on the so-called absolutive agreement morpheme(s), as shown in (32).

¹⁵ Albeit correctly, as I will show.

(32)



This is not, however, the attested state of affairs. As (29) demonstrates, the ϕ -features of the dative DP_I do not matter; it intervenes, blocking the relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive DP_T, but it cannot value the features of the probe. The term *absolutive agreement-morpheme(s)* is therefore justified: the Agree operation that gives rise to these morphemes can only value the features on the probe using absolutive noun phrases, not using dative ones.¹⁶ As I will show in section 3.3, this restriction is not specific to the Agree operation that gives rise to absolutive agreement morphemes; rather, it is a general property of Agree in Basque.

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

¹⁶ This is not the case in all dialects of Basque. As discussed in detail by Rezac (2006, 2008a), there exist dialects in which the probe can, under certain conditions, value its features using the feature values found on the dative noun phrase—an effect known as *dative displacement*, which is arguably a separate phenomenon.

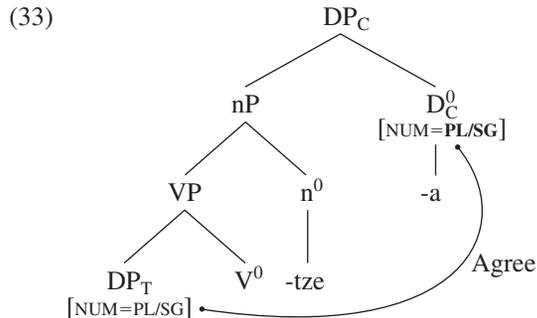
3.3 Agree in the Case-Marked Construction

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

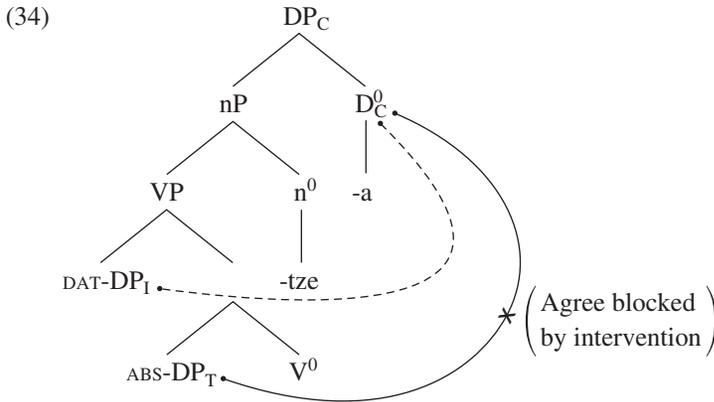
- (10) a. Uko egin d- i- Ø- e- Ø
 refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- SG.ABS- 3PL.DAT - 3SG.ERG
 [[agindu horiek]]_{DP_T} bete-tze-a-ri]_{DP_C}.
order(s) those_{PL}(ABS) obey-NMZ-ART-DAT
 ‘He or she has refused to obey those orders.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(99))

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

As argued in section 2.4, this comes about by virtue of two separate relations, “stacked” on top of one another. The higher of the two is the relation between the auxiliary and DP_C (the precise nature of this relation—whether it is Agree or clitic doubling—depends on the Case of DP_C; see section 3.1). The lower of the two is the relation between D_C⁰ (the article heading the nominalized clause) and DP_T. Since the latter involves valuation of the number features on D_C⁰, it is necessarily an Agree relation, as shown in (33).



As such, this relation should be susceptible to intervention effects (on a par with those discussed in section 3.2). As mentioned earlier, the dative argument in Basque ditransitive constructions occupies a structurally higher position than the absolutive argument (e.g., Elordieta 2001). Therefore, given a ditransitive embedded within the Case-marked construction, one would expect the relation between D_C⁰ and DP_T to be disrupted, as diagrammed in (34).



This prediction is borne out.

- (35) Uko egin d- i- \emptyset - $\boxed{o/*e}$ - \emptyset
 refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- SG.ABS- $\boxed{3SG.DAT/*3PL.DAT}$ - 3SG.ERG
 [[lankide-a-ri]_{DP_I} [liburu horiek]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-a-ri]_{DP_C}.
 colleague-ART_{SG-DAT} $\boxed{\text{book(s) those}_{PL(ABS)}}$ read-NMZ-ART-DAT
 ‘He or she has refused to read those books to the colleague.’

The fact that the dative agreement morpheme is present but singular (as opposed to being entirely absent, as in the examples discussed in section 3.1) is a result of the fact that it is not the relation between the dative agreement morpheme and the dative DP_C that breaks down; the auxiliary and DP_C are in a clausemate relation and thus obey the necessary locality conditions on clitic doubling, the mechanism responsible for generating the dative agreement morpheme (as argued in section 3.1).¹⁷

The relation that breaks down in (35), owing to intervention by the dative DP_I, is the relation between D_C⁰ and DP_T—which, as argued above, is an Agree relation. This should result in D_C⁰ retaining its default number features. The subsequent clitic doubling of DP_C goes through unhindered, resulting in the creation of a clitic reflecting those (default) ϕ -features found on D(P)_C.

Thus, the prediction generated by the current proposal is that instances of intervention of the kind exemplified in (35) will indeed give rise to a dative agreement morpheme bearing default features, rather than the wholesale absence of a dative agreement morpheme—and this is exactly what one observes in examples like (35).

Just as with the adpositional construction, above, further support for viewing the effect in (35) as syntactic intervention per se comes from the fact that not just any left-peripheral constituent will disrupt the relation between D_C⁰ and the absolutive DP_T, as shown by Etxepare (2006).

¹⁷ The auxiliary and DP_C also obey the locality restrictions on Agree. We know this from the fact that the Case-marked construction allows the ϕ -features of absolutive agreement morphemes to be determined by DP_C, if the latter is absolutive, and by the fact that in general, absolutive noun phrases in object position can determine absolutive agreement morphology. However, DP_C in (35) is dative, and therefore the relevant locality restriction is the clausemate relation.

- (36) Jon-ek [Miren-entzat [traste zahar-rak]_{DP_T} bota-tze-a]_{DP_C} pentsatu
 Jon-ERG Miren-BEN thing(s) old-ART_{PL}(ABS) discard-NMZ-ART(ABS) plan
 d- it - u- ∅.
 3.ABS- PL.ABS - have- 3SG.ERG
 ‘Jon has planned to discard the old things for Miren.’

While Case-marked noun phrases such as the dative *lankide-a-ri* ‘colleague-ART_{SG}-DAT’ in (35) can disrupt the aforementioned relation, adjuncts such as *Miren-entzat* ‘Miren-BEN’ in (36) cannot—precisely the behavior that one would expect an Agree relation to exhibit.

Finally, as in section 3.2, the behavior of the intervener is precisely what one would expect of defective intervention. The dative DP_I disrupts the Agree relation between D_C⁰ and the absolutive DP_T, but it cannot value the features of the probe, as evinced by (37).

- (37) [[Lankide-e-i]_{DP_I} [liburu horiek]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-a]_{DP_C} gustatzen
 colleague(s)-ART_{PL}-DAT book(s) those_{PL}(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB)
 ∅- zai- ∅/*zki - o.
 3.ABS- be- SG.ABS/*PL.ABS - 3SG.DAT
 ‘He or she likes to read those books to the colleagues.’

If Agree could value the number features of D_C⁰ using dative noun phrases, the number features of DP_I in (37) would themselves be transmitted to D_C⁰, and this would give rise to a plural absolutive agreement morpheme on the matrix auxiliary (corresponding to the Case marking on DP_C, which in (37) is absolutive), contrary to fact.¹⁸

We therefore have converging evidence that Agree in Basque can only value the features on the probe using absolutive noun phrases, not dative ones—both from Agree between the so-called absolutive agreement-morpheme(s) on the auxiliary and the absolutive noun phrase (where dative noun phrases can intervene, but not value the features on the probe; see section 3.2) and from Agree between D_C⁰ and DP_T in the Case-marked construction.

To summarize, this section has shown evidence that the relation between D_C⁰ and DP_T is an Agree relation. The evidence comes from the susceptibility of this relation to intervention (as one would expect of Agree), the defective nature of these intervention effects (i.e., the failure of dative interveners to transmit their own features to the probing head), and the expected distinction between intervening DP arguments and intervening PP adjuncts. This further supports the reliability of the proposed diagnostic—since the diagnostic correctly predicts the default ϕ -feature values on D_C⁰, in instances where intervention has occurred.

¹⁸ In instances of the Case-marked construction in which the nominalized clause appears in the dative Case, and both internal arguments of the embedded ditransitive verb are plural, using a plural agreement morpheme on the auxiliary is marginal—rather than outright ungrammatical—for some speakers. There is reason to believe that this is a processing effect. First, it is dependent on the plurality of *both* internal arguments in the nominalized embedded clause; changing either one to a singular DP renders plural agreement morphology on the matrix auxiliary completely ungrammatical. Second, there is evidence of a very similar effect, with the same sort of dependencies, in Icelandic (see Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003:fn. 6).

3.4 Ergative Noun Phrases and Ergative Agreement Morphemes

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

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

- (38) Jon-ek [[

lehio-ko	kristal-e-k
----------	-------------

]_{DP_T} distira-tze-a]_{DP_C} pentsatu d-
 Jon-ERG

window-GEN.LOC	glass(es)-ART _{PL} -ERG
----------------	----------------------------------

 shine-NMZ-ART(ABS) plan 3.ABS-

∅/*it	u	∅
-------	---	---

SG.ABS/*PL.ABS	- have-	3SG.ERG
----------------	---------	---------

 ‘Jon has planned for the glass in the window to shine.’

In the Case-marked construction, D_C^0 (the head of the nominalized embedded clause) probes for a noun phrase with which it can establish an Agree relation (as argued in section 2.4, and supported in section 3.3). In (38), there is no potential intervener in the embedded clause that could block Agree with the ergative noun phrase, yet the plural number features of the ergative DP_T (*lehio-ko kristal-e-k* ‘window-GEN.LOC glass(es)-ART_{PL}-ERG’) cannot be transmitted to the auxiliary. One possibility, suggested by an *LI* reviewer, is that this is the result of a locality boundary (e.g., a phase) blocking the relation between D_C^0 and the ergative DP_T ; on the other hand, this could indicate that Agree in Basque cannot value features on the probe using an ergative noun phrase (on a par with the behavior of dative noun phrases, and in contrast to the behavior of absolutive ones). As it turns out, while both approaches account equally well for data such as (38), there exist, for each of the two approaches, data that are accounted for only under that approach. I will therefore conclude that both accounts are essentially correct and that transmitting the plural number features of the ergative DP_T in (38) to DP_C (and subsequently, to the matrix auxiliary) happens to be ruled out on both accounts.¹⁹

Let us first consider the former approach: that a locality boundary, such as a phase, blocks the relation between D_C^0 and the ergative DP_T in (38). This locality boundary could not be part and parcel of the Case-marked construction, since that would prevent the features of a noun phrase within the nominalized embedded clause from ever being transmitted to the matrix auxiliary, contrary to fact (see section 2.2). Instead, this locality boundary—for example, a CP layer—would have to emerge whenever an ergative noun phrase is present in the nominalized embedded clause. This is not unreasonable: it might indicate that the assignment of ergative Case is dependent on the appearance of C^0 , much in the same way that the assignment of nominative Case (in nominative-accusative languages) has been argued to depend on C^0 . However, the reviewer suggests the following contrast as evidence for a locality-based account of examples such as (38):

¹⁹ I thank the reviewer for turning my attention to the locality-based approach to data such as (38), as presented in the text. In retrospect, this section would not have been complete without proper discussion of this approach.

- (39) a. [[Liburu-ak]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-a]_{DP_C} gustatzen Ø- zai- Ø/zki-
 book(s)-ART_{PL}(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be- SG.ABS/PL.ABS -
 t.
 1SG.DAT
 ‘I like to read books.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(98a))
- b. [[Haur-rak]_{DP_T} geldi ego-te-a]_{DP_C} gustatzen Ø- zai-
 child(ren)-ART_{PL}(ABS) relaxed be-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS- be-
 Ø/*zki- t.
 SG.ABS/*PL.ABS - 1SG.DAT
 ‘I like it when the children are relaxed.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(98b))

Even though (39b) does not contain an ergative noun phrase, plural absolutive agreement morphemes on the auxiliary (which would correspond to the plurality of the absolutive DP_T, *haur-rek* ‘child(ren)-ART_{PL}(ABS)’) are impossible. Etxepare (2006) argues that this has to do with the subjecthood of the absolutive noun phrase *haur-rek* ‘child(ren)-ART_{PL}(ABS)’. This suggests that the crucial factor in mandating a CP layer is not the assignment of ergative Case, but the licensing of a canonical subject.

The other approach, as mentioned above, is that ergative noun phrases are on a par with dative noun phrases in that Agree cannot value the features on a probe by targeting them—and therefore, the only way ergative agreement morphemes on the auxiliary can come about is by means of clitic doubling. As discussed in section 2.4, the relation between D_C⁰ and DP_T in the Case-marked construction involves valuation of the number features on D_C⁰ and is therefore necessarily an Agree relation. Since Agree cannot value the features on the probe using an ergative noun phrase, the number features of an ergative DP_T in the Case-marked construction cannot be transmitted to D_C⁰—and by extension, to the matrix auxiliary—correctly predicting the impossibility of plural ergative agreement morphemes in (38).

This proposed parallelism between ergative noun phrases and dative ones suggests that ergative noun phrases should not only be prevented from transmitting their own features to a probe, but also—like their dative counterparts—prevent the probe from targeting a structurally lower absolutive noun phrase. This is borne out.²⁰

- (40) [[Mikel-ek]_{DP_i} [nobela erromantiko-ak]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-a]_{DP_C} proposatu d-
 Mikel-ERG novel(s) romantic-ART_{PL}(ABS) read-NMZ-ART(ABS) propose 3.ABS-
 Ø/*it- u- t.
 SG.ABS/*PL.ABS - have- 1SG.ERG
 ‘I have proposed that Mikel read romantic novels.’

²⁰ Note that the ergative agreement morpheme on the matrix auxiliary in (40) coindexes the matrix subject (*pro*-1SG.ERG)—which in this example is ergative—rather than the embedded ergative DP.

As shown in (40), the presence of an ergative DP (*Mikel-ek* ‘Mikel-ERG’) in the nominalized embedded clause in the Case-marked construction precludes transmission of the plural number features of the absolutive DP_T (*nobela erromantiko-ak* ‘novel(s) romantic-ART_{PL}(ABS)’) to the matrix auxiliary. Note, however, that the subjecthood-based approach accounts equally well for data such as (40): under that approach, the impossibility of plural absolutive agreement morphology would be due to the fact that the nominalized embedded clause contains a canonical subject; this, in turn, mandates a CP layer in the embedded domain; and the latter constitutes a phase, preventing Agree from targeting DP_T, which is inside that phase.

On the other hand, it is not at all clear that the approach whereby ergative noun phrases are akin to dative ones—in that they cannot value the features on the probe—can account, by itself, for an example like (39b), which contains no overt ergative noun phrase (and in fact, no overt nonabsolutive noun phrase).

The advantage of the subjecthood-based approach is that it offers a unified account for examples like (38) and (39b). Under the clitic-doubling approach, (39b) remains unexplained.

The advantage of the other approach—which takes ergative agreement morphology, like its dative counterpart, to be the result of clitic doubling—is that it aligns very well with the morphological properties of the agreement morphemes in question (as analyzed in detail by Arregi and Nevins (2008)). First, note that dative agreement morphemes and ergative agreement morphemes in Basque bear a striking resemblance to each other (as well as to the series of strong pronouns in Basque). As an example, consider the subparadigm of the Basque present indicative auxiliary shown in table 1.²¹ Absolutive agreement morphology, on the other hand, has a decidedly different morphological shape. As a representative example, consider another subparadigm of the present

Table 1

ABS-DAT-ERG present indicative auxiliary paradigm

	ABS person	ROOT (have)	ABS number	DAT person, number, ‘number + ’	ERG person, number, ‘number + ’
1sg	✗	i	✗	t/___#, <i>else</i> da	t
2sg	✗	i	✗	{k,n}/___#, <i>else</i> {a,na}	{k,n}
3sg	d	i		o	
1pl	✗	i	✗	gu	gu
2pl	✗	i	✗	zu	zu
2pl +	✗	i	✗	zue	zue
3pl	d	i	zki	e	te

²¹ Some clarifications regarding table 1. (a) The person-number combination of 2pl, while formally plural, is used for polite addressing of 2sg individuals (cf. French *vous*). To differentiate actual 2nd person plurality from mere ‘polite’ uses of 2pl, Basque adds another pluralizing morpheme, which I have labeled *number +*; I refer to this person-number configuration as *2pl +*. (b) Dative and ergative 2sg forms alternate on the basis of gender. (c) This three-place auxiliary exhibits PCC effects, ruling out non-3rd person absolutive values.

Table 2

ABS-DAT present indicative auxiliary paradigm

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

indicative, shown in table 2.²² While absolutive person morphology bears some similarity to dative/ergative person morphology (namely, in the onset consonant of the plural forms), it is nonetheless quite different. Moreover, absolutive number morphology is not only morphologically distinct from dative/ergative number morphology, it actually appears (in both of these subparadigms) on the opposite side of the auxiliary root from absolutive person morphology. These morphological facts suggest that dative and ergative agreement morphemes are the result of the same operation, while absolutive agreement morphemes come about by means of a different operation. Given that absolutive agreement morphology has already been shown to behave in ways typical of Agree (sections 3.2–3.3) and that dative agreement morphology has already been shown to behave in ways typical of clitic doubling (sections 3.1–3.2), the conclusion would be that ergative agreement morphemes are the result of clitic doubling, as well.

Since each of these two approaches—the subjecthood-based approach and the clitic-doubling approach—has empirical advantages not shared by the other, it is important to note that the two are not mutually exclusive. The idea that ergative agreement morphemes come about via clitic doubling is fully compatible with the idea that canonical subjects require the projection of a CP layer, and vice versa; it is perfectly possible that both are correct.

Thus, the two approaches are not in direct competition; rather, each approach has a distinct domain of empirical coverage, and these two domains have a certain degree of overlap (e.g., examples such as (38) and (40)). Examples like (39b) (whose ungrammaticality is the result of the presence of a canonical subject, but which contains no ergative noun phrases) fall exclusively within the empirical domain of the subjecthood-based analysis. The morphological facts exemplified in tables 1 and 2—namely, the striking morphological similarity between dative agreement morphology and ergative agreement morphology—fall exclusively within the domain of the clitic-doubling analysis.

²² The reason a different subparadigm of the present indicative must be used is that the three-place auxiliary—exemplified in table 1—exhibits PCC effects, ruling out non-3rd person ABS values. The meaning of the “~>” symbol is that *-te*, corresponding to the number + feature of the ABS exponent, appears after the DAT morpheme (rather than before it).

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

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

Crucially, however, the distinction between structural Case and inherent Case does not map precisely onto the distinction between the two aforementioned approaches to an example like (38). The subjecthood-based approach, though *structural* in nature, relies on the structural nature of subjecthood, not of ergative Case. In fact, it is decidedly divorced from ergative Case, as demonstrated by (39b), which contains no ergative noun phrases.

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

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

3.5 *Unergatives in Basque: Not Underlying Transitives, After All?*

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

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

The current proposal predicts that in a derivation where there is simply no absolutive noun phrase to be found, the auxiliary will bear the hallmark of failed Agree: absolutive agreement morphemes reflecting default ϕ -features, which in Basque means 3rd person singular. Interestingly, this is precisely what one finds with simplex (i.e., nonanalytic) unergative predicates in Basque.

- (41) [Lehio-ko kristal-a-k] distiratu d- \emptyset - u- \emptyset .
 window-GEN.LOC glass-ART_{SG}-ERG shine 3.ABS- SG.ABS- have- 3SG.ERG
 ‘The glass in the window has shined.’
 (Etxepare 2003:(93b))

The very fact that the overt argument (*lehio-ko kristal-a-k* ‘window-GEN.LOC glass-ART_{SG}-ERG’) is marked with ergative Case might suggest the presence of an implicit absolutive argument—if one takes ergative Case to be unambiguously indicative of the presence of another noun phrase in the sentence (i.e., a Case competitor; Marantz 1991). However, it has been independently observed that some ergative-absolutive languages have true monovalent unergative verbs, which select a single ergative noun phrase and no absolutive argument; these are the split-S languages, including Laz (Blake 1994, via Legate 2008) and Central Pomo (Mithun 1991). Therefore, any theory of Case must allow for the possibility of ergative noun phrases that occur in the absence of any other noun phrase in the sentence.

Crucially, however, the auxiliary in (41) bears not only ergative agreement morphology—whose features correspond to the ergative *lehio-ko kristal-a-k* ‘window-GEN.LOC glass-ART_{SG}-ERG’—but also 3rd person singular absolutive agreement morphology, even though there is no 3rd person singular absolutive noun phrase to be found (and in fact no absolutive noun phrase at all).

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

Given that the conclusions in sections 3.1–3.2 were motivated independently of considerations having to do with argument structure or the underlying nature of unergatives, and that these conclusions provide an alternative account for the appearance of 3rd person singular absolutive

agreement morphemes in such environments, the appearance of these agreement morphemes can no longer be taken as an argument for the underlying transitivity of these verbs.

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

- (14) a. [[Harri horiek]_{DP_T} altxa-tze-n] probatu d- [it]- u- zte.
 [stone(s) those_{PL}(ABS)] lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 3.ABS- [PL.ABS]- have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They have attempted to lift those stones.’
 (Etxepare 2006:(85a))

The matrix verb *probatu* ‘attempted’ in (14a) is very similar to the simplex unergatives discussed earlier; but in addition to the ergative subject (*pro*-3_{PL.ERG}, in (14a)), it selects an adpositionally headed embedded clause. Crucially, it selects no overt absolutive argument. If unergatives were underlyingly transitive—that is, if selecting an ergative subject were contingent on the presence of a tacit absolutive object—it would be entirely surprising that the absolutive agreement morphemes on the auxiliary in (14a) are available to coindex the absolutive DP inside the adpositionally headed embedded clause (*harri horiek* ‘stone(s) those_{PL}(ABS)’)—as discussed extensively in section 2.4—as opposed to bearing 3rd person singular agreement with the aforementioned tacit object, like their counterparts in (41). These data therefore constitute an additional argument (besides the Laz and Central Pomo data mentioned above) against theories that do not, under any circumstances, allow ergative Case marking to arise in the absence of an absolutive Case competitor.

Under the current proposal, on the other hand, this behavior is entirely expected. In examples like (41), 3rd person singular absolutive agreement morphemes are the result of Agree failing to find an appropriate target; in (14a), such a target is available (in the form of an absolutive noun phrase in the adpositionally headed embedded clause), and therefore the Agree relation obtains.

Data like (14a), then, can only be accounted for by abandoning the assumption that the presence of an ergative subject is only possible if the verb also selects an absolutive argument (tacit or overt). In other words, they can only be accounted for if we accept that unergatives can be underlyingly *intransitive*.

An *LJ* reviewer points out an additional advantage of the current proposal over the approach that takes simplex unergatives, of the kind exemplified by (41), to be underlyingly transitive. Simplex unergatives typically alternate with a light verb construction, as shown in (42a–b).

- (42) a. Jon-ek dantzatu d- ∅- u- ∅.
 Jon-ERG dance-PRT 3.ABS- SG.ABS- have- 3SG.ERG
 ‘Jon danced.’
 b. Jon-ek dantza egin d- ∅- u- ∅.
 Jon-ERG dance do 3.ABS- SG.ABS- have- 3SG.ERG
 ‘Jon danced.’

In the light verb construction in (42b), the complement of the light verb *egin* ‘do’ is the bare nominal *dantza* ‘dance’. Again, it may appear that both in (42a) and in (42b), the auxiliary exhibits

absolutive agreement with this nominal element—and that the difference between the two has something to do with incorporation, head movement, and/or the phonological content of the light verb itself. However, this approach runs into problems. As Etxepare (2003) observes, many of these unergative predicates are able to appear in a construction where the complement of the light verb is not nominal, but locative or adverbial (resulting in an iterative reading).

- (43) a. Dantza(n) egin d- \emptyset - u- te.
 dance-LOC do 3.ABS- SG.ABS- have- 3PL.ERG
 ‘They danced (repeatedly).’
- b. Laster(ka) egin d- \emptyset -u-te.
 run-ADV do AUX
 ‘They ran (repeatedly).’
- c. Borroka(n) egin d- \emptyset -u-te.
 fight-LOC do AUX
 ‘They fought (repeatedly).’
- d. Oihu(ka) egin d- \emptyset -u-te.
 scream-ADV do AUX
 ‘They screamed/yelled (repeatedly).’
- e. Errieta(n) egin d- \emptyset -u-te.
 dispute-LOC do AUX
 ‘They disputed (repeatedly).’
 (Etxepare 2003:(117))

Crucially, absolutive agreement morphology on the auxiliary persists, whether the complement of the light verb is nominal or not. If the source of absolutive agreement morphology in (42a) were the nominal (*dantza* ‘dance’), the persistence of absolutive agreement morphology in examples such as (43a–e) would remain unexplained. Note that while it was shown in section 2.4 that the adposition *-n* does not constitute a locality boundary (e.g., a phase), its complement is not treated by the grammar as an absolutive noun phrase; this, in fact, is what sets the adpositional construction apart from instances of the Case-marked construction in which DP_C happens to bear absolutive Case (see section 2.4).

Under the current proposal, on the other hand, the persistence of absolutive agreement morphology in examples such as (43a–e) is predictable: both in (42a) and in the locative/adverbial versions of (43a–e), there is no absolutive nominal to be found. As a result, the auxiliaries in both constructions bear the hallmark of failed Agree—namely, default (i.e., 3rd person singular) absolutive agreement morphemes.

3.6 Summary and Typological Implications

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

(44) <i>Agreement morpheme</i>	<i>Underlying mechanism</i>
ABS	Agree
DAT, ERG	clitic doubling

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

- (8) Given a scenario where the relation \mathcal{R} between an agreement morpheme \mathcal{M} and a target noun phrase \mathcal{X} is broken—but the result is still a grammatical utterance—the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about \mathcal{R} as follows:
- \mathcal{M} shows up with default ϕ -features (rather than the features of \mathcal{X}) $\rightarrow \mathcal{R}$ is Agree
 - \mathcal{M} disappears entirely $\rightarrow \mathcal{R}$ is clitic doubling

Crucially, this diagnostic was shown to correlate reliably with the well-established properties of Agree and of clitic doubling, which were mentioned earlier. Also, as discussed in section 1, the alignment in (8) represents an intuitively plausible state of affairs, in the sense that Agree is none other than feature valuation, and therefore its failure should not result in the disappearance of the agreeing morpheme.

Furthermore, it was shown that being able to access the feature values on absolutive noun phrases, but not on other noun phrases, was a general property of Agree in Basque, rather than just a property of the so-called absolutive agreement morpheme(s) on the auxiliary. Evidence for this came from instances of Agree in the Case-marked construction between the article heading the nominalized clause (D_C^0) and a noun phrase within that clause (DP_T).

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

As Bobaljik (2008), Boeckx (2000), Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (2003), Schütze (1997), and others have shown, ϕ -feature agreement in Icelandic consistently targets only nominative noun phrases, even though Icelandic does have nonnominative subjects. Basque, on the current proposal, is precisely the mirror image of Icelandic through the ‘‘NOM-ACC/ERG-ABS looking glass’’: in both languages, Agree targets noun phrases in the unmarked Case (nominative for Icelandic, absolutive for Basque), and only those noun phrases, regardless of the inventory of Case-marked noun phrases that happen to be present in a given clause.²³ Interestingly, Basque may also exhibit the

²³ Note that this restriction is itself reminiscent of the Hindi-Urdu agreement rule (Bhatt 2005), which states that a probe will agree with the first noun phrase in its scope that does not bear an overt Case-marking adposition. See Bobaljik 2008 for related discussion.

mirror image of Icelandic predicates that take quirky subjects—namely, predicates that take an ergative argument but no absolutive one (see section 3.5).

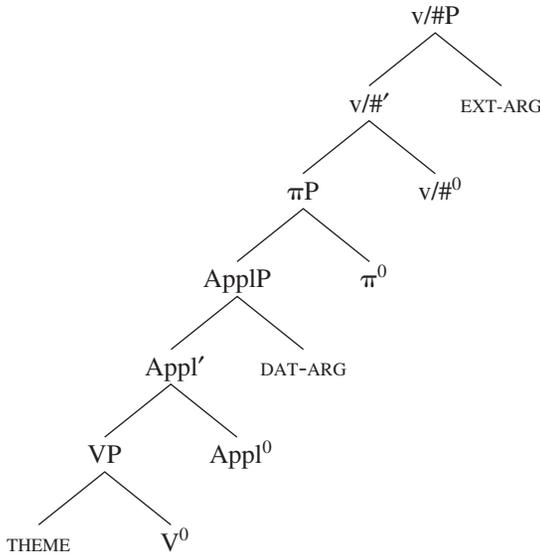
4 A Person-Case Constraint–Compatible Implementation

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

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

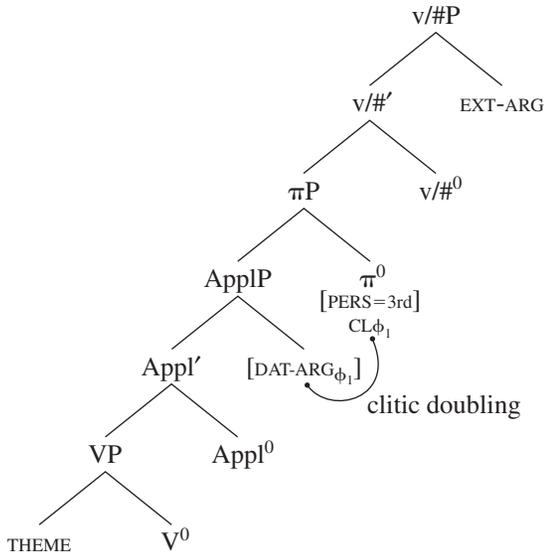
In addition to this account of the PCC, the implementation presented below draws on proposals by Arregi and Nevins (2008) and Rezac (2004, 2008a,b), though it differs in certain details, which are crucial for capturing the observations made in sections 2–3. For concreteness, let us assume that *person* (π) and *number* ($\#$) are separate probes (following Béjar and Rezac 2003; see also Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008, Taraldsen 1995) and that the dative argument is introduced by ApplP, in its specifier (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Marantz 1993, McGinnis 1998, Pylkkänen 2002, Ura 1996; and for Basque, see Elordieta 2001). I will assume the clause structure in (45), in terms of base-generation sites.

(45)



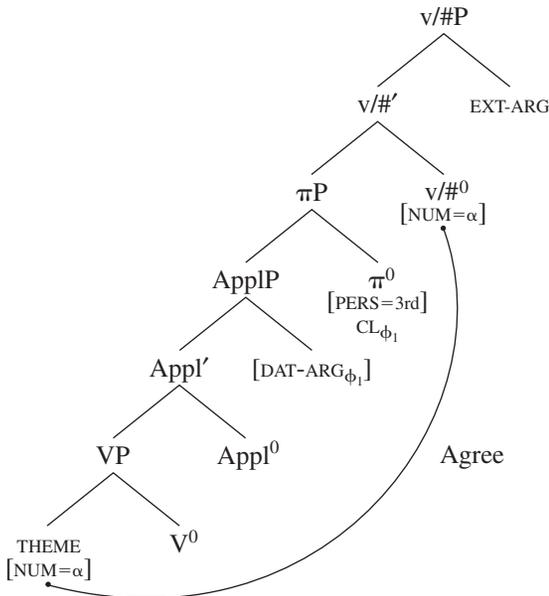
The derivational sequence would proceed as follows. First, π^0 probes for person features in its domain. Anagnostopoulou's (2003) and Béjar and Rezac's (2003) account of the PCC assumes that dative noun phrases, while preventing π^0 from probing further (and thus, from finding the absolutive direct object), cannot value the person feature on π^0 with their own person value. Interestingly, in sections 3.2–3.3, dative noun phrases were shown to behave in exactly the same way with respect to number probes (and independently of the PCC), suggesting that this is a property of datives with respect to Agree in general. The presence of DAT-ARG in Spec,ApplP thus results in default features on π^0 —namely, 3rd person—regardless of the person features of DAT-ARG. Given that π^0 and DAT-ARG are clausemates, DAT-ARG undergoes clitic doubling, affixing a pronominal clitic (whose features match those of DAT-ARG) to π^0 and rendering the full dative noun phrase invisible to further Agree operations, as shown in (46).

(46)



Next, v^0 —which is also the probe for number—searches its domain. At this point, DAT-ARG is invisible (as a result of having undergone clitic doubling), and thus the #-probe finds the THEME argument, valuing its own number feature with the value found on the THEME (marked α in (47)).

(47)



If so-called absolutive agreement morphemes are in fact the combination of the π^0 head and the $v/\#^0$ head, then in the derivation depicted in (45)–(47), absolutive person morphology will reflect

the value 3rd person, found on π^0 —regardless of the person features of the *THEME*—while absolutive number morphology will reflect whatever value was transmitted from the *THEME* to $v/\#^0$ (marked α in (47)). Moreover, if absolutive agreement indeed consists of these two heads (π^0 and $v/\#^0$), we can account for the existence of subparadigms in which the number and person morphemes corresponding to the ϕ -features of the absolutive noun phrase show up on opposite sides of the auxiliary root, a property found with absolutive agreement morphology but never with dative or ergative agreement morphology (for examples of such subparadigms, see section 3.4). Alongside the π^0 and $v/\#^0$ morphemes, (47) predicts that we will find a dative clitic (marked CL_{ϕ_1} in (47)), reflecting the full set of ϕ -features (both number and person) of the full dative noun phrase.

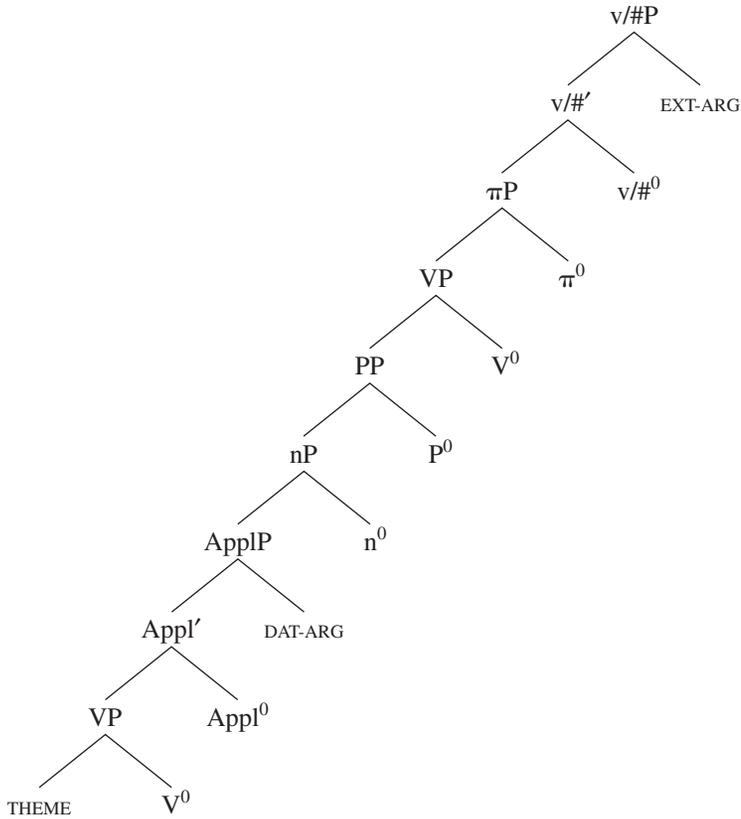
To summarize, the prediction is that we will find an agreement complex that includes a morpheme corresponding to 3rd person, a morpheme corresponding to the number feature of the *THEME*, and a clitic reflecting the full ϕ -feature set of the dative noun phrase—precisely the attested state of affairs in PCC contexts (following Béjar and Rezac 2003, a 1st/2nd person absolutive argument cannot appear unless licensed by a π^0 head bearing the same feature value; in particular, they cannot appear if π^0 bears a 3rd person value).²⁴

Under these assumptions, clitic doubling of the dative argument, and its resulting invisibility, is not only unproblematic (from the perspective of the PCC), but in fact crucial to the derivation. If the dative noun phrase were not rendered invisible, step (47) would not go through; the full dative noun phrase would intervene, preventing the number feature of the *THEME* from being probed by $v/\#^0$ (following Anagnostopoulou 2003, and Rezac's (2008a) adaptation thereof for Basque).

Next, consider a scenario in which the dative argument is too far away from π^0 to undergo clitic doubling, because the dative argument and π^0 are not clausemates—such as an instance of the adpositional construction in which the embedded verb phrase is ditransitive (as discussed in section 3.2). Consider the structure in (48).

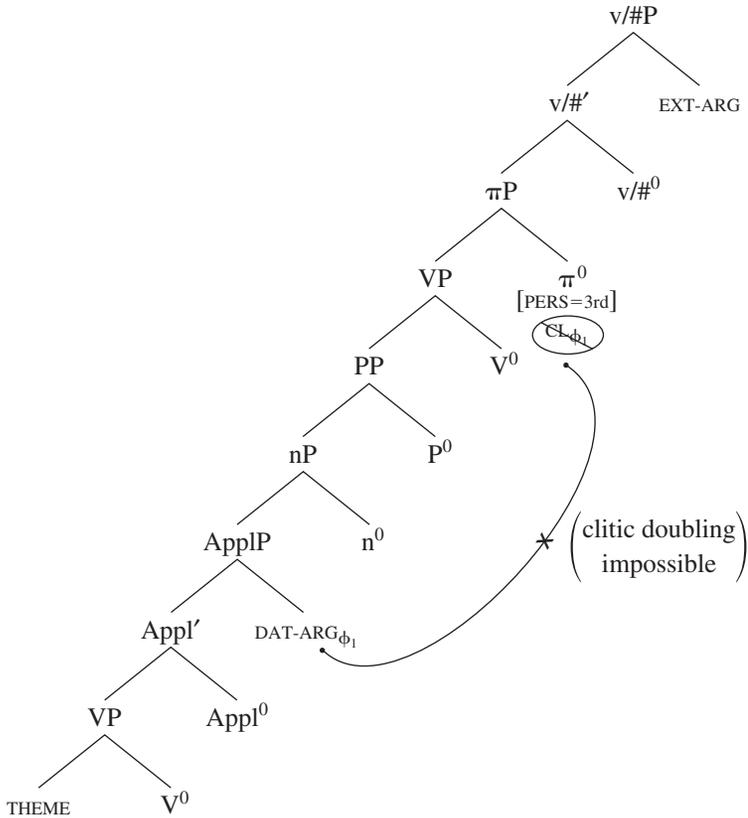
²⁴ In the interest of brevity, the derivation in (45)–(47), as well as the discussion of it, abstracts away from the ergative external argument and the corresponding agreement morphemes. The agreement complex will of course normally include these ergative agreement morphemes, as well; but the focus of this discussion is the interaction between the current proposal and the PCC.

(48)



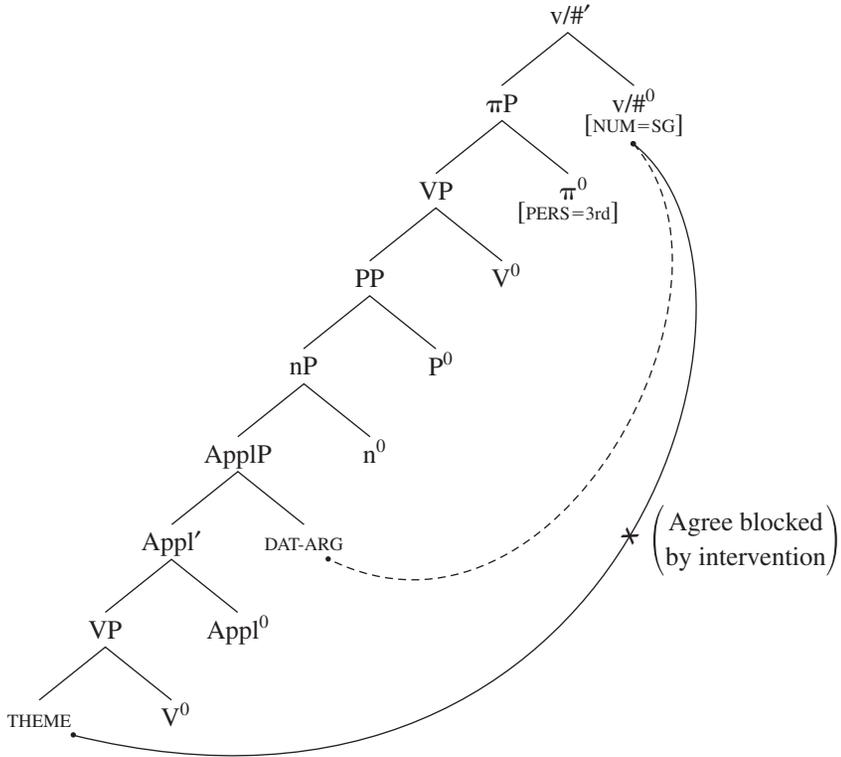
In this scenario, probing by π^0 will once again result in 3rd person on the π -probe, since the closest noun phrase is the dative argument, which prevents the probe from searching further, but cannot transfer its own ϕ -features to the probe. However, unlike in (45)–(47), the dative argument and π^0 do not stand in a clausemate relation, and therefore clitic doubling cannot occur, as shown in (49).

(49)



As a result, the full dative noun phrase is not rendered invisible (cf. (46)), and it intervenes in probing by $v/\#^0$, as well. Once again, the dative argument prevents the probe from searching further, but cannot transfer its own ϕ -features (in this case, number) to the probe, resulting in [NUM-SG] on the #-probe, as shown in (50).

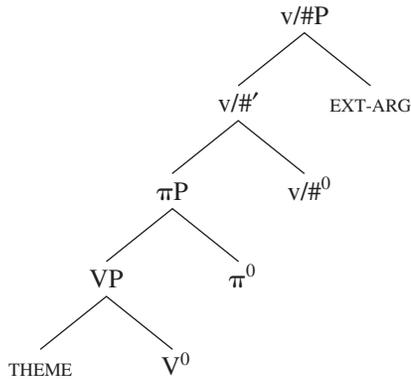
(50)



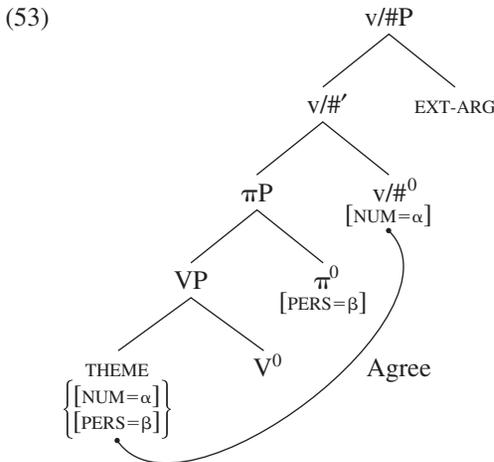
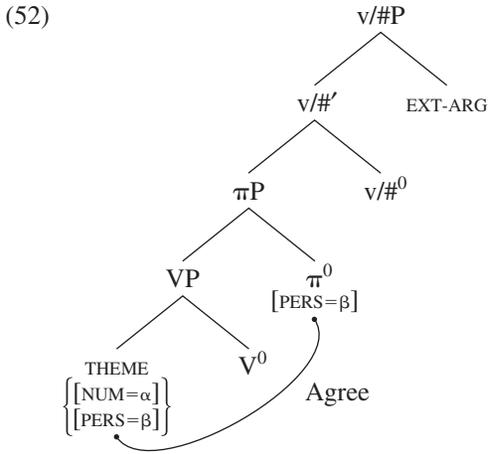
This matches the attested state of affairs precisely. As shown in section 3.2, a ditransitive verb phrase embedded within the adpositional construction prevents both the person and the number features of the embedded *THEME*, or of the intervening dative argument, from being transmitted to the matrix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

Finally, consider a simple, monotransitive verb phrase, as in (51).

(51)



In this case, π^0 and $v/\#^0$ can both probe the corresponding features on the THEME, without intervention by any other noun phrase. This results in both the person and number features of the THEME valuing their counterparts on π^0 and $v/\#^0$, respectively, as shown in (52) and (53).



This, of course, gives rise to the standard pattern of agreement for monotransitive clauses in Basque (again, given that so-called absolutive agreement morphemes are the combination of π^0 and $v/\#^0$). It is worth noting that the system set up in this section derives, without further assumptions, the fact that the morpheme that bears the PCC effect (i.e., the morpheme that is forced to reflect 3rd person features in ditransitives, as in (46)) is the same morpheme that reflects the person features of the direct object in monotransitives—namely, π^0 .

It is also of interest that, under these assumptions, there is no sense in which the auxiliary needs to ‘know’ the valence of the verb (in other words, whether it is transitive or ditransitive) in order to carry the correct number of agreement morphemes. In this system, the presence of a

dative clitic on the auxiliary is simply a result of the dative noun phrase being probed by π^0 and undergoing subsequent clitic doubling onto the π^0 head.²⁵

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

5 Conclusion

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

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

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

Finally, this analysis calls into question the traditional approach to unergatives in Basque, providing evidence that these verbs are in fact underlyingly intransitive (rather than transitive).

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²⁵ Instances in which the auxiliary root is phonologically different across different auxiliary valences can be handled in terms of contextual allomorphy, conditioned by the presence of the dative clitic. For a concrete proposal along these lines, see Arregi and Nevins 2008.

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