

Agreement and its failures, PART THREE

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Basque morphology once more

(1) 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

(Basque)

‘(My) parents have bought me beautiful earrings.’

[Laka 2005]

- the Basque auxiliary carries agreement-morphemes corresponding to each *Case-marked* noun-phrase in the clause
 - absolutive (ABS)
 - ergative (ERG)
 - dative (DAT)

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- if the clause has noun-phrases with some, but not all, of these Case-markings, the auxiliary might bear **fewer** agreement-morphemes:

(2) Gu amama-ri joan
 we(ABS) grandmother-DAT gone

ga- tzai- zki- o.
 1.ABS- be- pl.ABS- 3sg.DAT

‘We have gone to (our) grandmother.’

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Omer Preminger, MIT**Basque morphology once more**

Recall:

- Bobaljik (2008): you shouldn’t be able to target **only ERGATIVE** noun-phrases, or **only DATIVE** ones
 - now, strictly speaking, this is not the state of affairs in Basque
 - ABSOLUTIVE noun-phrases are also targeted
 - **BUT NOTICE:** the ERGATIVE and/or DATIVE agreement morphemes are separate agreement-morphemes from the ABSOLUTIVE ones
 - i.e., it’s not that there is a single agreement-morpheme that can target **either** ABSOLUTIVE, ERGATIVE, or DATIVE noun-phrases
 - rather, there are separate agreement-morphemes, each of which targets only one kind of noun-phrase

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Basque morphology once more

⇒ focusing on each agreement-morpheme on its own:

- the ERGATIVE and DATIVE ones constitute violations of Bobaljik’s typological generalizations ...
- ... unless they are not the result of φ -agreement at all

Apparent Long-Distance Agreement in “substandard” Basque

Etxepare (2006):

(3) a. Uko egin d- i- ϕ - \boxed{e} - ϕ
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- $\boxed{3pl.DAT}$ - 3sg.ERG

[[$\boxed{agindu\ horiek}$]]_{DP_T} bete-tze-a-ri]_{DP_C}.
 $\boxed{order(s)\ those_{pl}(ABS)}$ obey-NMZ-ART-DAT

‘He or she has refused to obey those orders.’

(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG])

[Etxepare 2006:(99)]

b. Muzin egin d- i- ϕ - \boxed{e} - ϕ
frown(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- $\boxed{3pl.DAT}$ - 3sg.ERG

[[$\boxed{horrelako\ liburu-ak}$]]_{DP_T} argitara-tze-a-ri]_{DP_C}.
 $\boxed{such\ book(s)-ART_{pl}(ABS)}$ publish-NMZ-ART-DAT

‘He or she has frowned on publishing such books.’

(subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG])

[Etxepare 2006:(86b)]

(4) **STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION**

[[[[DP_T V⁰]-tze-a]_{DP_C} V⁰]_{VP} ... aux]_{auxP}

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

Apparent Long-Distance Agreement in “substandard” Basque

Labels:	DP _T	the noun-phrase whose plurality determines the plural morphology on the auxiliary
	DP _C	the entire nominalized embedded clause—incl. the article (/a/), plus appropriate Case-marking

- ▶ In (3a–b): the agreement-morpheme whose plurality is determined by DP_T is the DAT one
 - corresponding to the Case-marking on DP_C (which is DAT), not DP_T (which is ABS)
- These two Case-markings can be the same, of course:

(5) [[$\boxed{Nobela\ erromantiko-ak}$]]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-a]_{DP_C} gustatzen
 $\boxed{novel(s)\ romantic-ART_{pl}(ABS)}$ read-NMZ-ART(ABS) like(HAB)

ϕ - zai- \boxed{zki} - o.
3.ABS- be- $\boxed{pl.ABS}$ - 3sg.DAT

‘He or she likes to read romantic novels.’

(subject is [*pro*-3sg.DAT])

[Etxepare 2006:(1b)]

Apparent Long-Distance Agreement in “substandard” Basque

- φ -feature asymmetry (in the *Case-marked construction*):

number	✓
person	✗

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

► in case you were wondering — the ungrammaticality of (6) 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 (6)
- PCC effects in Basque are restricted to combinations involving DAT agreement-morphemes (Béjar and Rezac 2003, Laka 2005, Rezac 2004, 2008a,b, *a.o.*)

Apparent Long-Distance Agreement in “substandard” Basque

A second construction (Etxepare 2006):

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

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

(8) **STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION**
 [[[DP_T V⁰]-tze-n]_{pp} V⁰]_{VP} ... aux]_{auxP}

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

Apparent Long-Distance Agreement in “substandard” Basque

- asymmetry in possible Case of target DPs:

ABS	✓
DAT	✗

 (in the *adpositional construction*)

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

Analyzing the Two Constructions

Distinctive property of the *Case-marked construction*:

- the appearance of the article on the nominalized embedded clause

(10) MORPHOLOGY OF THE BASQUE ARTICLE

sg.	-a
pl.	-ak

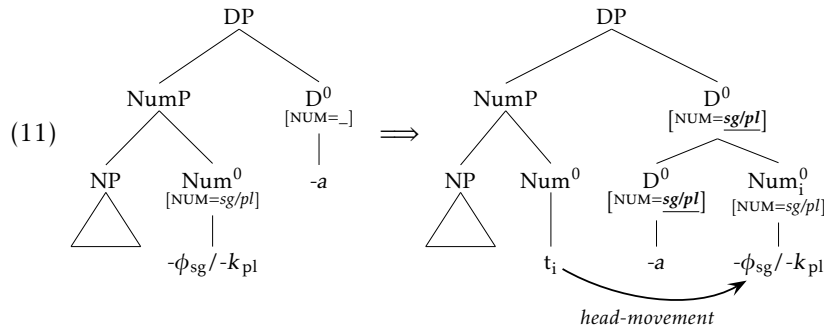
⇒ Trask (2003): two independent morphemes

I. invariant /-a/

II. number-dependent morphology: $\frac{\text{pl.}}{\text{sg.}} \mid \frac{/-k/}{\phi}$

Analyzing the Two Constructions

⇒ general structure of the Basque noun-phrase (Etxeberria 2005):

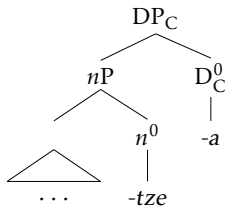


- D^0 enters the derivation with an unvalued number feature ($[NUM=_]$)
- it probes for a valued number feature, to establish φ -agreement and value itself
 - it finds one on Num^0
 - the two heads are in an immediate c-command relation
 - ⇒ Num^0 -to- D^0 head-movement is triggered

Analyzing the Two Constructions

- the Num⁰ morpheme fuses to the D⁰ morpheme, creating “the article”: /-a(k)/
 - ▶ In the *Case-marked construction*: there is never /-ak/ on those nominalized clauses that exhibit LDA-like effects (i.e., on DP_C)
 - only /-a/, plus whatever Case-morphology is appropriate
- ⇒ suggesting: D_C⁰ selects nP (the phrase headed by /-tze/) directly
- rather than selecting a NumP

(12) EMBEDDED STRUCTURE IN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION

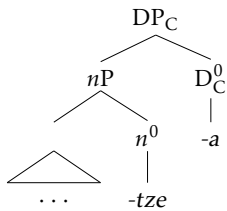


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Analyzing the Two Constructions

(13) EMBEDDED STRUCTURE IN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION



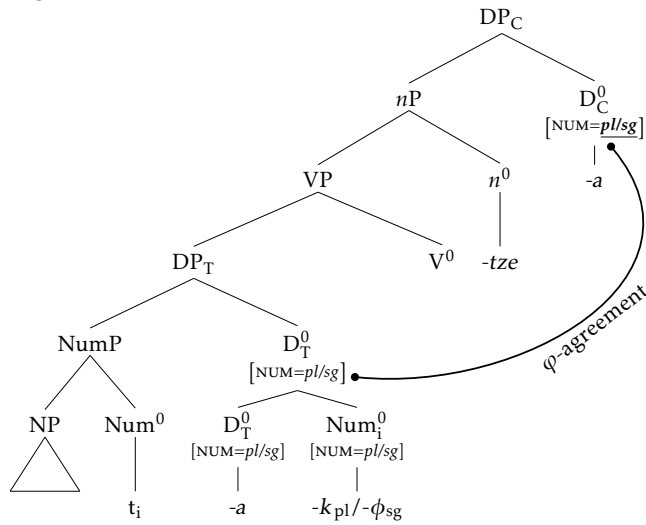
- By hypothesis, D_C⁰ carries an unvalued number feature, [NUM=_] (as any other D⁰ would)
- as usual, [NUM=_] looks for a valued counterpart with which to establish an φ -agreement relation
 - no valued number feature on the complement of D_C⁰
 - closest valued number feature: on DP_T (the argument of the embedded verb)

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Analyzing the Two Constructions

(14) D_C^0 PROBES (IN THE CASE-MARKED CONSTRUCTION)



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Analyzing the Two Constructions

- in (14): there are intervening heads between D_C^0 and D_T^0
 - ⇒ head-movement of the kind in (11) cannot arise here (it would violate the *Head-Movement Constraint*; Travis 1984)
- ▶ apparent LDA in the *Case-marked construction* is comprised of 2 separate relations, “stacked” on top of one another:
 - I. ϕ -agreement between D_C^0 and DP_T
 - II. the relation between the auxiliary and DP_C
- DP_C occupies a canonical argument position
 - ⇒ the agreement-morpheme corresponding to DP_C 's Case-marking will reflect the number feature that has been transmitted from DP_T to D_C^0
- no evidence of *person*-features on the Basque D^0 ⇒ no analogous mechanism for *person*
 - ⇒ the lack of comparable LDA-like effects in *person*-features follows

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Analyzing the Two Constructions

- In the *adpositional construction*, the nominalized clause (i.e., the *nP* headed by the nominalizer, [-tze]_{n⁰}) is not selected by the article
 - rather, it is selected by the adposition [-n]_{p⁰} directly (Laka 2006a,b)
- Recall (7a), repeated here:

- (7) a. [[[Harri horiek]_{DP_T} altxa-tze-n] probatu
 stone(s) those_{pl}(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt
 d- [it]- u- zte.
 3.ABS- [pl.ABS]- have- 3pl.ERG
 ‘They have attempted to lift those stones.’
 (subject is [pro-3pl.ERG])

[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]

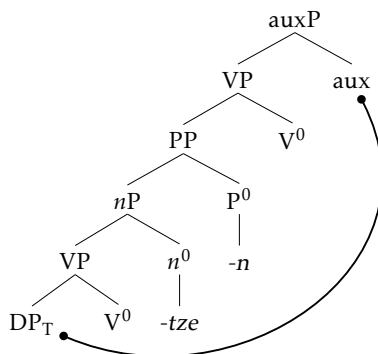
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Analyzing the Two Constructions

⇒ the *adpositional construction* can be handled in terms of a direct relation between the upstairs auxiliary and an argument of the embedded verb:

- (15) EMBEDDED STRUCTURE IN THE ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION



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Analyzing the Two Constructions

- in (15), 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, in terms of locality:

- (16) there were likely [to appear [to be arrested [_{DP} three men]]]



A further prediction:

- Recall: in the *Case-marked construction*, apparent LDA is comprised of 2 separate relations, “stacked” on top of one another:
 - φ-agreement between D_C⁰ and DP_T
 - the relation between the auxiliary and DP_C
 - [NUM=_] on D_C⁰ facilitates transmission of number features from DP_T to the auxiliary

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Analyzing the Two Constructions

- ▶ In the account of the *adpositional construction*, there is no comparable “intermediary”
 - the upstairs auxiliary agrees with DP_T directly
 - ⇒ the auxiliary should be able to reflect the *person*-features of DP_T , as well as its *number* features
 - this is borne out:
- (17) [[Ni] $_{DP_T}$ altxa-tze-n] probatu na- ϕ - u- te.
me(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt 1.ABS- sg.ABS- have- 3pl.ERG
 ‘They attempted to lift me.’
 (subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG])

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φ -agreement vs. Clitic-Doubling in the Adpositional Construction

PROPOSED DIAGNOSTIC

- (18) Given a scenario where the relation \mathcal{R} between an agreement-morpheme \mathcal{M} and target noun-phrase \mathcal{F} is broken, but the result is still a grammatical utterance:
- a. \mathcal{M} shows up with default φ -features (rather than the features of \mathcal{F}) $\implies \mathcal{R}$ is φ -agreement
 - b. \mathcal{M} disappears entirely $\implies \mathcal{R}$ is clitic-doubling

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φ -agreement vs. Clitic-Doubling in the Adpositional Construction

- We have already seen: the *adpositional construction* can target an ABS DP_T , but not a DAT one

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

[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]

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

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φ -agreement vs. Clitic-Doubling in the Adpositional Construction

- Using an auxiliary whose DAT agreement-morpheme reflects default features (i.e., 3rd-person singular)—rather than the features of the DAT DP_T—does not salvage (9):

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

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φ -agreement vs. Clitic-Doubling in the Adpositional Construction

- Crucially, however, using an auxiliary that lacks a DAT agreement-morpheme altogether (i.e., an auxiliary that carries only ABS agreement-morphemes) **renders the sentence grammatical**:

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

- In other words, according to the **proposed diagnostic**:

the relation between the DAT agreement-morpheme and the DAT noun-phrase behaves as a *clitic-doubling* relation

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φ -agreement vs. Clitic-Doubling in the Adpositional Construction

- Recall that clitic-doubling is expected to adhere to the *clause-mate* restriction
- looking again at the ungrammaticality of (9), it appears that something like the *clause-mate* restriction is indeed operative:

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

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φ -agreement vs. Clitic-Doubling in the Adpositional Construction

- **By the same logic:** unlike their DAT counterparts, ABS agreement-morphemes cannot be the result of clitic-doubling

- because ABS agreement-morphemes in the *adpositional construction* are able to reflect the φ -features of an ABS DP_T located in the embedded clause—as in (7a), repeated here:

- (7) a. [[[Harri horiek]_{DP_T} altxa-tze-n] probatu
 stone(s) those_{pl}(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempt
 d- [it]- u- zte.
 3.ABS- [pl.ABS]- have- 3pl.ERG
 ‘They have attempted to lift those stones.’
 (subject is [pro-3pl.ERG])

[Etxepare 2006:(85a)]

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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

- We’ve seen: ABS agreement-morphemes are the reflex of φ -agreement
- φ -agreement is subject to intervention effects

⇒ the relation between the auxiliary and the ABS noun-phrase should be subject to intervention

- Consider ditransitive constructions in Basque—for example, (1), repeated here:

- (1) 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]

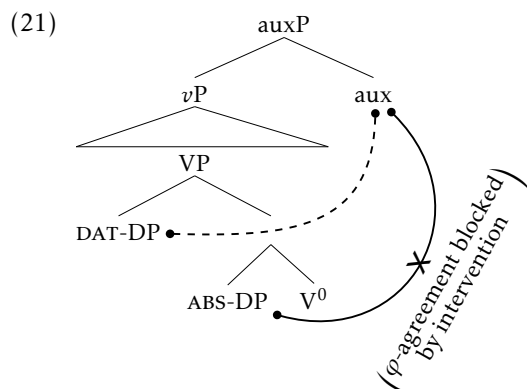
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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

- Elordieta (2001), *a.o.*: the DAT argument of Basque ditransitives is higher than the ABS one

⇒ one might expect the DAT argument to intervene (contrary to fact):



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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

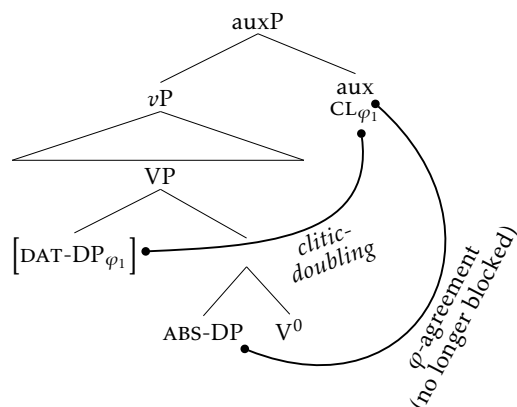
- As (1) clearly shows, such intervention does not arise, ...
 - ... but recall:
 - *clitic-doubling* of a DP has been cross-linguistically found to obviate subsequent intervention effects by that DP (Anagnostopoulou 2003)
 - and, the DAT agreement-morpheme—which the auxiliary in (1) does carry—comes about via *clitic-doubling*
- ⇒ in an example like (1), one would in fact predict that no intervention effects would arise
- because *clitic-doubling* has rendered the full DAT noun-phrase incapable of intervening

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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

(22)



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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

- **However:** we have already seen a situation that would be analyzed—given the current proposal—as an instance of failed clitic-doubling of the DAT noun-phrase
 - namely, when the DAT noun-phrase is contained within the embedded clause in the *adpositional construction*
- and one can, in fact, select a ditransitive predicate as the embedded verb in the *adpositional construction*:

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

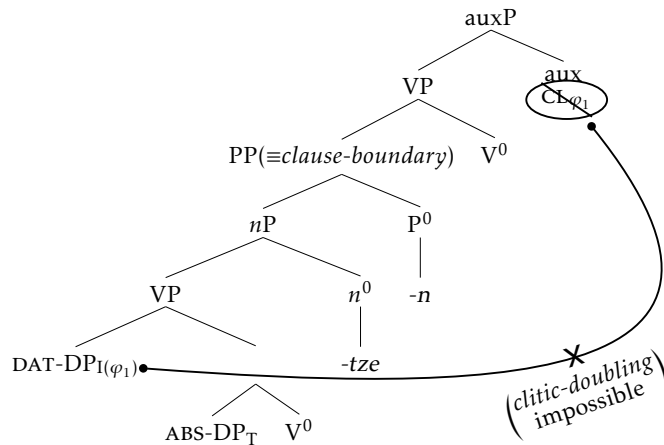
- in (23), there is no DAT agreement-morpheme on the matrix auxiliary
 - on the current proposal, this is expected — since the DAT DP_I and the matrix auxiliary are not clause-mates

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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

(24)



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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

- Crucially, as (23) demonstrates, this blocks the relation between the auxiliary and the ABS DP_T

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

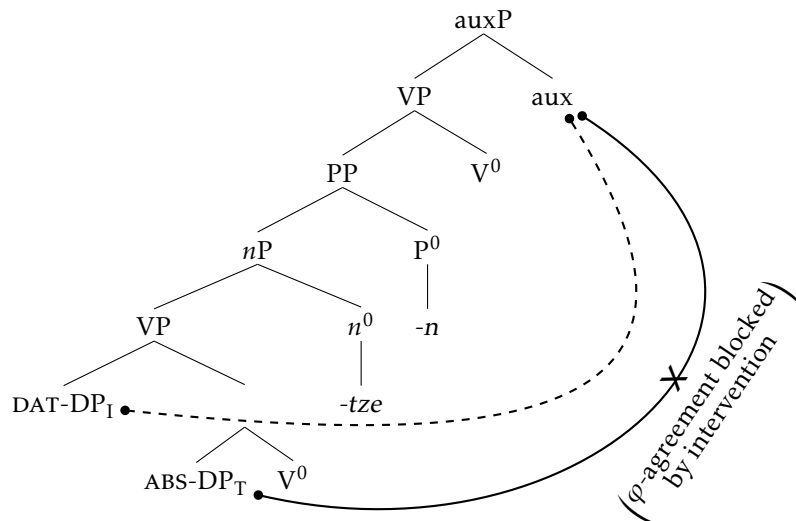
- the ABS agreement-morphemes on the matrix auxiliary in (23) can only reflect default features (i.e., 3rd-person singular), not the φ-features of DP_T

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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

(25)



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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

- While the ABS agreement-morphemes in (23) must reflect default φ -features (i.e., 3rd-person singular), they cannot be omitted
 - In other words, according to the **proposed diagnostic**:

the relation between the ABS agreement-morpheme and the ABS noun-phrase behaves as a φ -agreement relation

- Further support for viewing the effect in (23) as syntactic intervention per se:
 - not just any left-peripheral constituent disrupts the relation between the ABS agreement-morphemes and the ABS noun-phrase (Etxepare 2006)

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

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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

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

⇒ the support that (23) (repeated above) provides for the proposal is twofold:

- I. the operation that generates ABS agreement-morphology is subject to intervention
- II. DAT agreement-morphology behaves in a way typical of *clitic-doubling*
 - when it is absent (e.g., in (23)): the DAT-DP intervenes
 - when it is present (e.g., in the “simple” ditransitive in (1)): the DAT-DP doesn’t intervene

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Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

NOTES:

I. intervention by the DAT DP also rules out an account of DAT agreement-morphology in terms of the *Pronominal Argument Hypothesis* (Jelinek 1984)

II. the DAT DP behaves as a true *defective intervener*

- I have been referring to the probe as the “ABS agreement-morpheme(s)”
 - this presupposes that it can only target ABS DPs
- in (23), the DAT intervener is a plural DP (*lankide-e-i* ‘colleague(s)-ART_{pl}-DAT’)..

(23) [[*lankide-e-i*]_{DP_I} [[*liburu horiek*]]_{DP_T} irakur-tze-n] probatu
 colleague(s)-ART_{pl}-DAT book(s) those_{pl}(ABS) read-NMZ-LOC attempt

d- ϕ /**it*- u- (z)te.

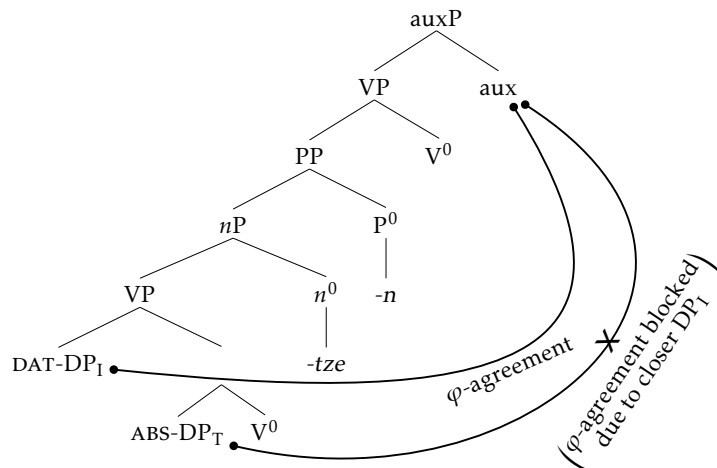
3.ABS- ϕ /sg.ABS/**pl.ABS*- have- 3pl.ERG

‘They have attempted to read those books to the colleagues.’

(subject is [*pro*-3pl.ERG])

Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

(27) SCHEMATIZATION: TRANSMISSION OF FEATURES FROM INTERVENER, INSTEAD OF FROM DP_T (unattested)



Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

- ... but the features on the DAT DP cannot value their counterparts on the probe
 - as (23), repeated here, demonstrates:

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

- ⇒ the term “ABS agreement-morpheme(s)” is therefore justified:
- the ϕ -agreement operation that gives rise to these morphemes can only value the features on the probe using ABS noun-phrases, not DAT ones
 - as will be shown shortly, this restriction is not specific to the ϕ -agreement operation that gives rise to ABS agreement-morphemes
 - rather, it’s a general property of ϕ -agreement in Basque

Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

Interim summary:

- We’ve seen converging evidence that...
 - the relation that generates the DAT agreement-morpheme \equiv *clitic-doubling*
 - the relation that generates the ABS agreement-morphemes \equiv ϕ -agreement
- sources of evidence:
 - I. the different locality restrictions that apply to the two relations
 - II. the susceptibility of the ABS-relation to intervention
 - III. the *defective* nature of these intervention effects
 - i.e., the failure of DAT interveners to transmit their own features to the probing head
 - IV. the expected distinction between intervening DP arguments and intervening PP adjuncts
 - V. the fact that the presence of DAT agreement-morphemes obviates intervention by the DAT DP (as one would expect of clitic-doubling)

Ditransitive Verb-Phrases and Defective Intervention

⇒ This, in turn, supports the reliability of the proposed diagnostic:

PROPOSED DIAGNOSTIC

- (18) Given a scenario where the relation \mathcal{R} between an agreement-morpheme \mathcal{M} and target noun-phrase \mathcal{F} is broken, but the result is still a grammatical utterance:
- \mathcal{M} shows up with default ϕ -features (rather than the features of \mathcal{F}) $\implies \mathcal{R}$ is ϕ -agreement
 - \mathcal{M} disappears entirely $\implies \mathcal{R}$ is clitic-doubling

- since its verdicts regarding ABS agreement-morphology and DAT agreement-morphology, respectively, line up with these results

φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

- Recall (3a), repeated here:

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

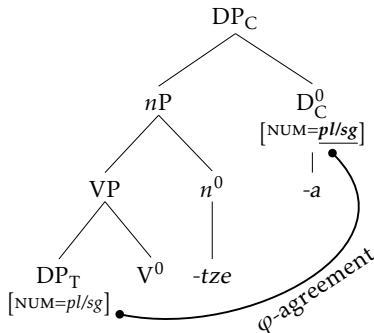
[Etxepare 2006:(99)]

- the plurality of the DAT agreement-morpheme in (3a) is determined by the plurality of the ABS DP_T, within the DAT DP_C
- RECALL: this comes about by virtue of two separate relations, “stacked” on top of one another
 - the relation between the auxiliary and DP_C
 - the precise nature of this relation depends, of course, on the Case of DP_C
 - the relation between D_C⁰ (the article heading the nominalized clause) and DP_T

φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

- the latter involves valuation of the number features on D_C⁰
 ⇒ it is necessarily an φ -agreement relation:

(28) SCHEMATIZATION: φ -AGREEMENT RELATION BETWEEN D_C⁰ AND DP_T

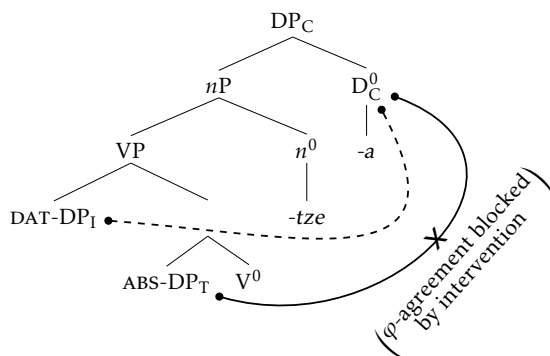


⇒ the relation in (28) should be susceptible to intervention effects

φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

- As mentioned earlier, the DAT argument in Basque ditransitives occupies a structurally higher position than the ABS argument (Elordieta 2001, *a.o.*)
 \Rightarrow given a ditransitive embedded within the *Case-marked construction*, one would expect the relation between D_C^0 and DP_T to be disrupted:

(29) SCHEMATIZATION: INTERVENING DATIVE DP DISRUPTING φ -AGREEMENT BETWEEN D_C^0 AND DP_T



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φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

- This prediction is borne out:

(30) Uko egin d- i- ϕ - o/*e- ϕ
 refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS- have- sg.ABS- 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 book(s) those_{pl}(ABS) read-NMZ-ART-DAT
 ‘He or she has refused to read those books to the colleague.’
 (subject is [*pro*-3sg.ERG])

- In (30), the DAT agreement-morpheme is present but singular
 - as opposed to being entirely absent, as in the examples discussed earlier
- This is entirely expected:
 - it is not the relation between the DAT agreement-morpheme and the DAT DP_C which breaks down in (30):
 - the auxiliary and DP_C are in a *clause-mate* relation

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φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

- The relation that breaks down in (30)—owing to intervention by the DAT DP_T—is the relation between D_C⁰ and DP_T
 - as argued above, this relation is φ -agreement
 - ⇒ D_C⁰ will retain 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, according to the **proposed diagnostic**:

instances of intervention of the kind exemplified in (30) will give rise to a DAT agreement-morpheme bearing default features—rather than the wholesale absence of a DAT agreement-morpheme

(and this is exactly what one observes in examples like (30))

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φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

- Just as before, with the *adpositional construction*, further support for viewing the effect in (30) as syntactic intervention per se:
 - not just any left-peripheral constituent disrupts the relation between D_C⁰ the ABS noun-phrase (Etxepare 2006)

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

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φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

- as with the *adpositional construction*, the DAT DP behaves as a true *defective intervener*
 - in (32), below, the DAT intervener is a plural DP (*lankide-e-i* ‘colleague(s)-ART_{pl}-DAT’)...
 - ... but its [NUM=*pl*] cannot be transmitted to the probe:

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

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φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

- We therefore have converging evidence that φ -agreement in Basque can only value the features on the probe using ABS noun-phrases, not DAT ones
 - I. from φ -agreement between the so-called “ABS agreement-morpheme(s)” on the auxiliary and the ABS noun-phrase, in the *adpositional construction*
 - where DAT noun-phrases can intervene, but not value the features on the probe
 - II. from φ -agreement between D_C^0 and DP_T , in the *Case-marked construction*
 - *idem*

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φ -agreement in the Case-Marked Construction

Interim summary:

- the relation between D_C^0 and DP_T is an φ -agreement relation
 - ▶ sources of evidence:
 - I. the susceptibility of this relation to intervention (as one would expect of φ -agreement)
 - II. the defective nature of these intervention effects
 - i.e., the failure of DAT interveners to transmit their own features to the probing head
 - III. the expected distinction between intervening DP arguments and intervening PP adjuncts
- ⇒ This, in turn, supports the reliability of the proposed diagnostic
- since the diagnostic correctly predicts the default φ -feature values on D_C^0 , in instances where intervention has occurred

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