

The syntax of phi = syntax.

Example: "omnivorous agreement"

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Here's something that we know syntax does:

a. $[C^0 [\text{who}]_{<+wh>} \text{gave} [\text{this dish}] \text{to} [\text{Bob}]]$

→ $[C^0 [\text{who}]_{<+wh>} \text{gave} [\text{this dish}] \text{to} [\text{Bob}]]$

→ Who gave this dish to Bob?

b. $[C^0 [\text{John}] \text{gave} [\text{what}]_{<+wh>} \text{to} [\text{Bob}]]$

→ $[C^0 [\text{John}] \text{gave} [\text{what}]_{<+wh>} \text{to} [\text{Bob}]]$

→ What did John give to Bob?

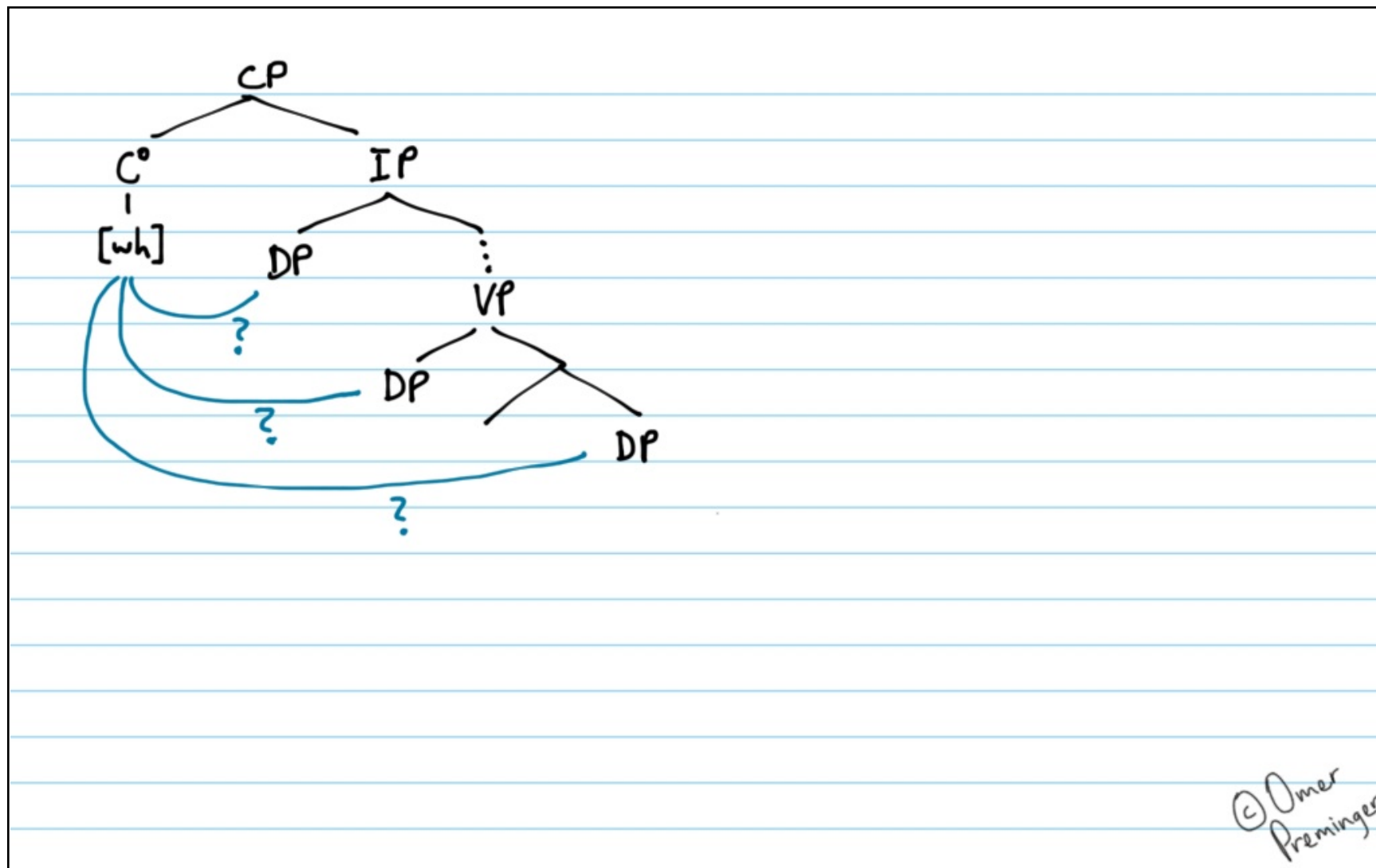
c. $[C^0 [\text{John}] \text{gave} [\text{this dish}] \text{to} [\text{who}]_{<+wh>}]$

→ $[C^0 [\text{John}] \text{gave} [\text{this dish}] \text{to} [\text{who}]_{<+wh>}]$

→ Who did John give this dish to?

In other words,
syntactic probes
can "skip" targets
that don't fit what
they're looking for,
on the way to
targets that do.

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Here's the same effect, with [PRTC] instead of [wh]:

a. ja rat x-at/* $\emptyset$ -ax-an ri achin (Kaqchikel)

FOC you(sg.) COM-2sg/*3sg.ABS-hear-AF the man

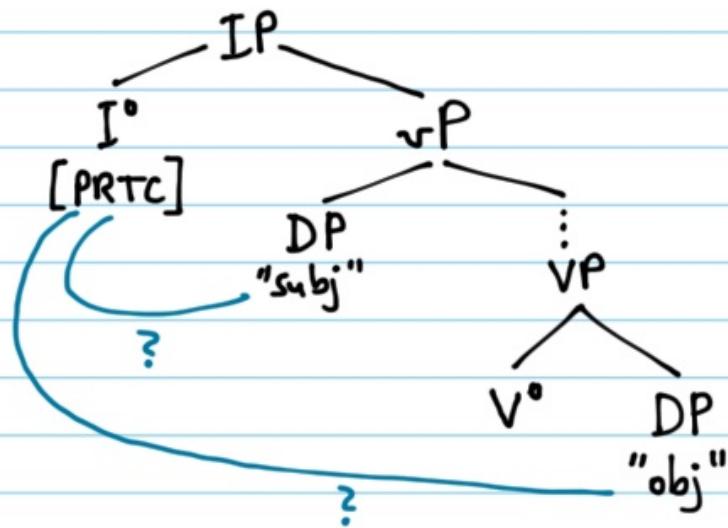
'It was you(sg.) that heard the man.'

b. ja ri achin x-at/* $\emptyset$ -ax-an rat

FOC the man COM-2sg/*3sg.ABS-hear-AF you(sg.)

'It was the man that heard you(sg.).'

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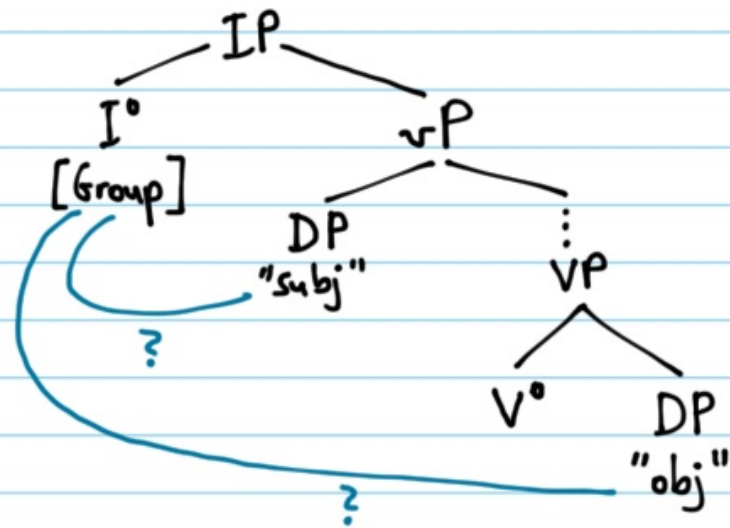
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And now with [Group]:

a. ja rje' x-e/*Ø-tz'et-ö rja'
 FOC them COM-3pl/*3sg.ABS-see-AF him
 'It was them who saw him.'

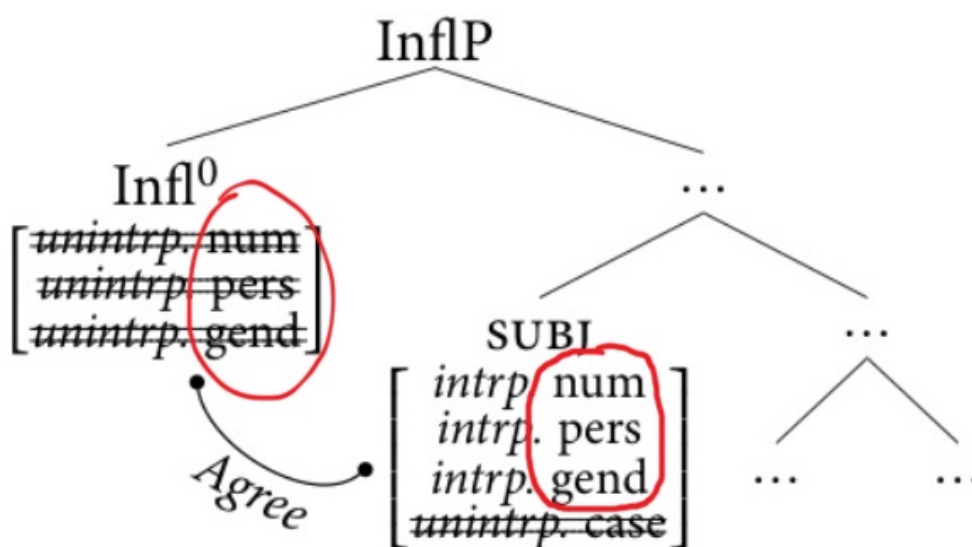
b. ja rja' x-e/*Ø-tz'et-ö rje'
 FOC him COM-3pl/*3sg.ABS-see-AF them
 'It was him who saw them.'

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Okay, you might say, but phi-features do something that other syntactic features don't — when phi-features agree, DPs get case.



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Let me try and show you that phi-features do not, in fact, do that.

STEP 1: I'll show you a DP that gets structural case but could not possibly have been agreed with in any meaningful way.

⇒ structural case is available sans agreement.

STEP 2: Go read Marantz 1991

⇒ there is already a fully functioning theory of case that does not appeal to case-by-agreement.

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So either...

there is both case-by-agreement and case-not-by-agreement

or...

there is just case-not-by-agreement

(WINNER) →

(Baker & Vinokurova 2010?)
(Levin & Preminger, to appear)

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Basque

Notice that this would be a rather strong illustration that "intervention" is about structure, not linearity.

Two demonstrations of this:

- PCC (Rezac/Albizu)
- LDA (Etzkopare/Preminger)

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Person Case Constraint (a.k.a. "*me-lui" constraint)

ROUGHLY: *[PRTC]-bearing DP in Compl, V if there's an indirect object.

However, Basque - which generally obeys the PCC - exhibits certain systematic violations of it.

applicative unaccusatives - predicates w/ two internal args but no external arg.

In Basque - 2 kinds of applic. unacc's:

DAT >> ABS

ABS >> DAT

(Albizu 1997, Rezac 2008)

How can we tell which kind a given verb is?

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① Causativization

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

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② Binding of 'bere-buru'

- a. Kepa-ri_i bere buru-a_j gustatzen zak-o_i.
 Kepa-DAT his head-the.ABS liking √D-3
- b. *Kepa_i bere buru-a-ri_j gustatzen zak-o_j.
 Kepa.ABS his head-the-DAT liking √D-3
 Kepa likes himself. (H)
- c. *Kepa-ri_i bere buru-a_j jiten zak-o_i ispilu-a-n.
 Kepa-DAT his head-the.ABS coming √D-3 mirror-the-in
 Kepa is approaching himself in the mirror. (H)
- d. Miren_i bere buru-a-ri_j mintzatu zai-o_j.
 Miren.ABS her head-the-DAT talked √D-3
 Miren talked to herself. (Elordieta 2001: 82, n.b.: *zai*o = *zako* of H)

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③ Controllability

- a. Kepa- k_i ez d-a- k_i nor- i PRO $_i$ gustatu / hurbildu. [Basque]
 Kepa-ERG not X-TM- $\sqrt{\text{know}}$ who-DAT liked / approached
 Kepa does not know who would/should like him. (T1, R, H)
 Kepa does not know whom to approach. (R, I)
- b. *Kepa- k_i ez d-a- k_i nor PRO $_i$ gustatu / hurbildu.
 Kepa-ERG not X-TM- $\sqrt{\text{know}}$ who.ABS liked approached
 intended: Kepa does not know who to like. (T1, R, H)
 intended: Kepa does not know who should approach him. (R, I)
- c. Ni- k_i ez d-a- k_i - t_i nor- i_j / *nor $_j$ PRO $_i$ gustatu.
 I-ERG not X-TM- $\sqrt{\text{know}}$ -I who-DAT/*who.ABS liked
 I don't know who should like me / *I don't know who to like. (T1, R, H, I)

↪ Looks like it's problematic / irrelevant

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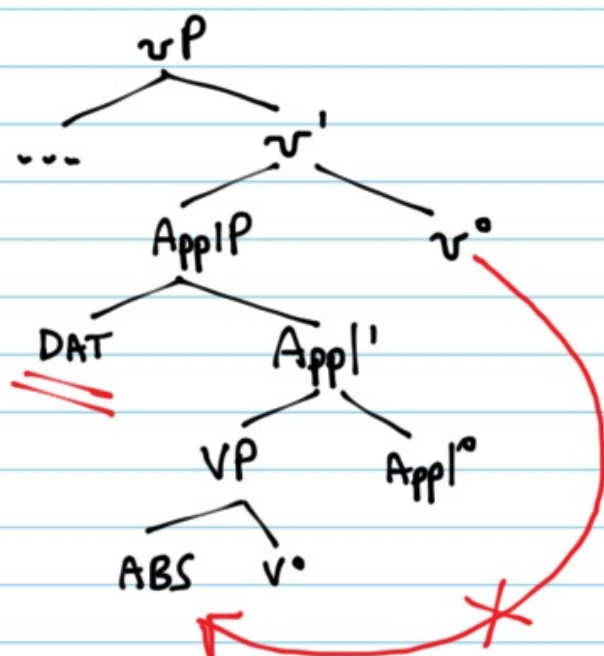
⇒ DAT >> ABS - obey PCC

ABS >> DAT - do not obey PCC

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---------------|
| a. | Ni _i | Peru-ri _j | <u>hurbildu</u> | ni-a-tzai-o _j . | [Basque] |
| | I.ABS | Peru-DAT | approached | 1-TM-√D-3 | |
| | I approached Peru. | | | | [1:ABS-3:DAT] |
| b. | Pello _i | Miren-i _j | baldarr-a | <u>iruditu</u> zai-o _j . | |
| | Pello.ABS | Miren-DAT | clumsy-ABS | seemed √D-3 | |
| | Pello looked clumsy to Miren. | | | | [3:DAT-3:ABS] |
| c. | Miren-i _j | gozoki-ak _i | <u>gustatzen</u> | zai-zki _i -o _j . | |
| | Miren-DAT | sweets-the.ABS | liking | √D-PL-3 | |
| | Miren likes candies. | | | | [3:DAT-3:ABS] |
| d. | */?Ni _i | Miren-i _j | baldarr-a | <u>iruditu</u> ni-a-tzai-o _j . | |
| | I.ABS | Miren-DAT | clumsy-ABS | seemed 1-TM-√D-3 | |
| | Intended: I seemed clumsily to Miren. | | | | [3:DAT-1:ABS] |
| e. | */?Ni _i | Miren-i _j | <u>gustatzen</u> | ni-a-tzai-o _j . | |
| | I.ABS | Miren-DAT | liking | 1-TM-√D-3 | |
| | Miren likes me. (Albizu 1997: 21) | | | | [3:DAT-1:ABS] |
| f. | Ni _i | Kepa-ri _j | <u>etortzen</u> / ?* <u>gustatzen</u> | <u>ni-a-k-o_j</u> !! | |
| | I.ABS | Kepa-DAT | coming / liking | 1-TM-√D-3 | |
| | I am coming to Kepa / *Kepa likes me. (H; n.b.: <i>natzai</i> = <i>nako</i>) | | | | [3:DAT-1:ABS] |

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ANALYSIS (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, Bejar + Rizac 2003, Rizac 2008, a.o.)



[PRTZ]-bearing args must be
licensed by agreement

("Person Licensing Condition"/PLC)

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LDA in "substandard" Basque (Étxepare 2006)

- (5) [[Miren-entzat]_{PP} [harri horiek]_(ABS) altxa-tze-n] probatu
 Miren-BEN stone(s) those_{pl}ABS lift-NMZ-LOC attempted
 [d-it-u-zte]_{aux}.
 3.ABS-pl.ABS-√-3pl.ERG

'They have attempted to lift those stones for Miren.'

(subject is *pro* <3pl.ERG>)

- (6) [[Lankide-e-i]_{DAT} [liburu horiek]_{ABS} irakur-tze-n]
 colleague(s)-ART_{pl}-DAT book(s) those_{pl}(ABS) read-NMZ-LOC
 probatu [d:Ø/*it-u-(z)te]_{aux}.
 attempted 3.ABS-sg/*pl.ABS-√-3pl.ERG

'They have attempted to read those books to the colleagues.'

(subject is *pro* <3pl.ERG>)

(Preminger 2009)

(recall also the bearing this has on structure-vs.-string)

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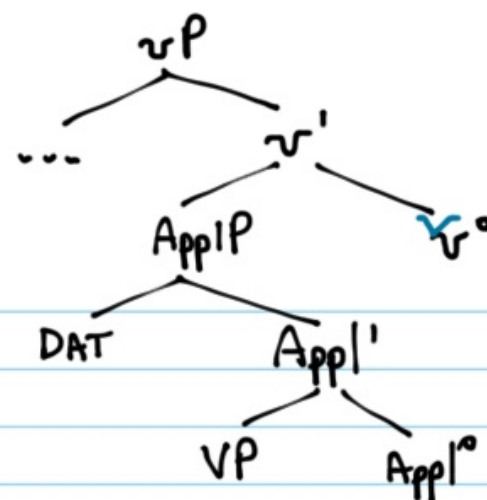
⇒ DAT intervenes in agreement w/ABS in Basque.

- c. Miren-_{i_j} gozoki-ak_i gustatzen zai-zki_i-o_j.
 Miren-DAT sweets-the.ABS liking √D-PL-3
 Miren likes candies.
- e. */??N_i Miren-_{i_j} gustatzen n_i-a-tzai-o_j.
 I.ABS Miren-DAT liking 1-TM-√D-3
 Miren likes me. (Albizu 1997: 21)

(see also the embedded ABS in LDA structures, which isn't even agreed with in number)

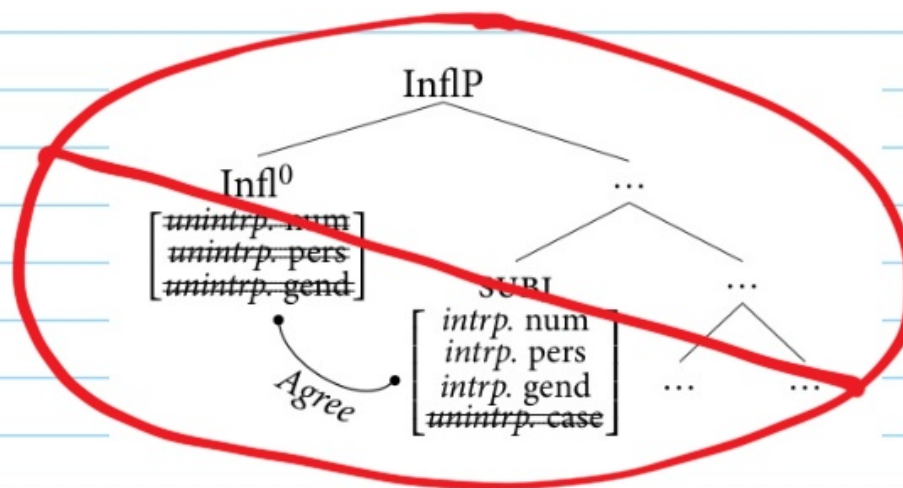
Crucially, ABS agr. morphology looks the same in the presence of a DAT as it does in the absence of one (and differs from DAT agr. morphology)

cf. Adger + Harbour 2007



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⇒ ABS in Basque (a structural case par excellence) is not assigned by agreement.



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