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▶ **To cite this version:**

Ricardo Rikardo, R. Etxepare. Long Distance Agreement in substandard Basque. International Journal of Basque Language and Linguistics. In Honor of Larry Trask, 2005. artxibo-00000086

HAL Id: artxibo-00000086

https://artxiker.ccsd.cnrs.fr/artxibo-00000086

Submitted on 15 Mar 2006

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Number Long Distance Agreement in (Substandard) Basque[1]

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1. Introduction

This paper presents a syntactic analysis of some cases of Long Distance Agreement in Basque (LDA). LDA in Basque is illustrated in (1)-(3)[2]:

(1) a. [Nobela erromantikoak irakurtzea] gustatzen zaio
novel romantic-pl-A read-N-Det-A like-hab Aux(3singA-3singD)
"He/she likes to read romantic novels"
b. [Nobela erromantikoak irakurtzea] gustatzen zaizkio
novel romantic-pl-A read-N-Det-A like-hab Aux(3plA-3singD)
"He/she likes to read romantic novels"

(2) a. Uko egin dio [kalteordainak eskatzeari]
refusal do Aux(3singE-3singD-3singA) damage-pl-A ask-for-N-Det-D
"He/she refused to pay damages"
b. Uko egin die [kalteordainak eskatzeari]
refusal do Aux(3singE-3plD-3singA) damage-pl-A ask-for-N-Det-D

(3) a. Saiatuko gara [e zu jendartean aurkitzen]
try-fut Aux(1pA you-Abs among-the-people find-N-Loc
"We will try to find you in the multitude"
b. Saiatuko zaitugu [e (?zu) jendartean aurkitzen]
try-fut Aux(1pE-2sA) you-2s among-the-people find-N-Loc

In (1), the matrix auxiliary agrees in number with either the infinitival clause (1a), or with the object of the infinitival (1b). In (2b), the embedded absolutive object is cross-referenced by a plural dative marker in the ditransitive auxiliary, which agrees in Case with the infinitival complement, but in number with the embedded object[3]. In (3b), both the number and person

[1] The research conducing to this paper has benefitted from MCYT grant BFF2002-04238-C02-01 (project "Arquitectura de la oración", directed by Miriam Uribe-Etxebarria, University of the Basque Country), as well as from the project "Architecture de la Phrase: Axe VP" (from the Fèderation Typologie et Universaux at CNRS, directed by Brenda Laca).

[2] LDA is a substandard phenomenon, not shared by many speakers, and estigmatized in formal writing. The paper is based mainly on my own intuitions regarding this phenomenon, and may be seen as a first step in characterizing the limits of the phenomenon in a more systematic way. I will provide in footnotes examples drawn from the literature or from the internet as further illustrative cases. Although typically a substandard phenomenon, it is possible to find examples of long distance agreement in the litterature. Here is a case from the OEH (Basque General Dictionnary):

(i) Mendiko ibillaldiak bakarrik egitea gustatzen zaizkio (Villasante, apud Gandiaga's *Elorri*)
mountain-gen wandering-abs-pl alone do-nom-D like aux[3pA-3sD]
"He likes to do his mountain-walks alone"

LDA is also a extremely variable phenomenon in other languages, for instance Icelandic (as noted by Sigurdsson, 1996), which nevertheless has served as a testing ground for important theoretical discussions.

[3] The verb *uko egin* "refuse" is a complex predicate (formed by *uko* "refusal" and *egin* "do") which demands a ditransitive auxiliary. The dative marker cross references the infinitival clause, which also shows dative Case-

features of the embedded object are cross-referenced in the auxiliary. (3b) should be compared to (3a), where the intransitive auxiliary agrees only with its absolutive subject. Etxepare (2003) argues that the LDA phenomenon in (1)-(2) and the one in (3) obey very different conditions. The two phenomena are distinguished at least in terms of (i) the predicates that allow them, and (ii) the different locality conditions that hold of each of them. Basically, it would seem that whereas (3) belongs in the domain of restructuring and clitic climbing, (1)-(2) belong in the domain of (long distance) Agree, and operate under somewhat different conditions. The two types also seem to target different speaker populations: long distance agreement in number is optionally entertained by speakers who reject the kind of agreement represented by (3).

In the way of analysing the phenomenon of LDA, we will be forced to reconsider the structure of control configurations (section 3) and of nominalized dependents in Basque (section 4), as well as the external distribution of nominalized clauses in LDA cases (section 5). Section 6 discusses the notion of active Goal in the context of LDA. Section 7 discusses ditransitive nominalized clauses, and shows that the main clause auxiliary does not directly agree with the embedded DPs, but rather with an intermediate projection which itself values its features against the embedded DPs. I will show that, as Chomsky wants, Case performs a mediating function in the checking of uninterpretable phi-features of the Probe, but that the notion of active Goal in terms of unchecked Case features plays no role (as has been argued for Hindi by Bhatt (2005)). In both the analysis of nominalized clauses and the structural assumptions underlying agreement, I incorporate some of Trask's insights in the structure of finite and non-finite verbs.

2. Putting LDA in context: Case, Relativized Minimality and Cyclic Locality

The strong minimalist thesis takes language to be an optimal solution to legibility conditions (Chomsky, 1995, 2000). A preliminary view of optimal design, part of the research agenda, includes what has been called the *interpretability condition*: the idea that lexical items have "no features other than those interpreted at the interface, properties of sound and meaning" (Chomsky, 2000, p. 113). The claim is manifestly false: uninterpretable features of different sorts, introducing features which can not be interpreted at the interface, are pervasive in natural language. Thus, in the effort to determine to which extent the strong minimalist thesis holds, the nature and function of uninterpretable features acquire an exceptional interest, and come to the fore as a privileged domain of linguistic inquiry. Other tentative principles of optimal design apply to the workings of the computational system: they seek to determine the extent to which the computational system is constrained by simple and recursive relations which could be optimally mapped at the semantic interface. The property of "dislocation" (the fact that elements can be interpreted in positions different to those in which they surface) is, in this regard, another apparent imperfection. It introduces a variety of complications in the computational system, ranging from the linearization of copies (see e.g. Kayne, 1994; Nunes, 2001, 2004; Uriagereka, 1999a) to the interpretation of displaced elements in scope and binding relations (Hornstein, 1995, among many others).

2.1. Case and f-features

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marking. Infinitival dependents in Basque are either postpositional (cf. (3)), or nominal, in which case they show Case morphology.

Chomsky speculates with the possibility that the property of dislocation is actually externally imposed by the interfaces, and required for a variety of non-thematic, surface properties: processing, topic/comment, focus or specificity. These meaning effects would typically involve the "edge" of cyclic domains. If so, the dislocation property is not an imperfection, but is crucially involved in the "expressive power" allowed by the interfaces[4].

Chomsky (2000) proposes that uninterpretable features are used to yield the "dislocation" property. This way, the two imperfections may be reduced to one. Chomsky's approach to implement the dislocation property is that for convergence, uninterpretable features must be deleted in the course of computation. Consider the following sentence:

(4) An unpopular candidate was elected

(4) has three kinds of uninterpretable features: (i) the agreement features of T; (ii) the EPP-feature of T that requires the movement of the DP; and (iii) the Case feature of the DP. The agreement features of T identify T as a target of movement. Let us call this a Probe. The Case feature of DP marks the DP as a candidate for either checking the uninterpretable features of T (Agree), or in addition, for erasing the EPP-feature of T by merging to it (Move). Agree precedes Move, and erases the uninterpretable agreement features of the Probe and the Case feature of the DP. The EPP-feature of T can be checked by an expletive, or by raising of the DP. Case renders a DP "active" for Agree or Move. A DP with a checked Case can not enter into either Merge or Move if the Probe consists of f-features:

(5) *John$_i$ seems to t_i that [he is upset]

When the EPP-property of T is checked by an expletive, we see Long Distance Agreement. In (6) the finite verb *seem* agrees in number with the plural DP *children*, not with the expletive:

(6) There seem to be children in the garden

In (6), the expletive erases the EPP-feature of T. Since the expletive has a single f-feature [person], it cannot check the f-features of T, which require a full set of (interpretable) f-features. The T probe is forced to look down for a suitable Goal. It finds the embedded DP and checks its features and the Case-feature of the DP. Examples such as (6) illustrate another aspect of the Agree operation: uninterpretable f-features can only be checked by Goals possessing a full set of f-features. This dependency also goes in the opposite direction: only complete Probes (Probes with a whole set of person, number and gender features) can check the Case feature of a DP Goal. Consider in this regard the French sentence (7):

(7) Les enfants semblent [(les enfants) être [fatigués (les enfants)]]

The participle *fatigués* has gender and number features. However, its complement *les enfants* agrees with the finite matrix verb *sembler* "seem" and raises to check its EPP feature. It is an "active" element. The number and gender features of the participle do not check its Case feature, and the DP is free to enter into Agree or Move operations with a higher Probe.

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[4] Adjunction, which also introduces complications in the recursive system that constructs complex constituents (pair-merge as opposed to the simpler set-merge) is also accounted for in the same terms : it is an operation which semantically yields « predicate composition », and imposed by the «richness of expressive power » of the meaning interface (Chomsky, 2004).

In Chomsky's system, therefore, Case plays a licensing role: it marks a DP as being available for Agree or Move. If a DP has its Case checked, it becomes frozen for any further computational operation.

2.2. The Minimal Link Condition and Defective Intervention

Inactive DPs do not license Agree, but they can block such a relation with a more distant Goal ("defective intervention", Chomsky, 2000; McGinnis, 1998). Take for instance (8), a case of "defective intervention" in Icelandic (Holmberg and Hroarsdottir, 2003):

(8) a. Mer virdast t [hestarnir vera seinir]
me-D seem-pl the-horses-Nom be slow
"It seems to me that the horses are slow"

b. Dat virdist/*virdast einhverjum manni [hestarnir vera seinir]
Expl seems/seem some man-D the-horses-Nom be slow
"It seems to some man that the horses are slow"

Following a line of analysis initiated by Sigurdsson (1996), the oblique subject in (8a) raises to Spec of T to check the EPP-feature of T. As the oblique DP is inherently Case–marked, it does not qualify to value the unspecified f-features of T (see MacGinnis, 1998, for a discussion; Chomsky, 2001). T probes onto its domain until it finds the embedded subject, which values the features of T and checks its own Case with T. The overt morphological result of this process is Long Distance Agreement in number. In (8b), T probes for a goal in its domain, but the most local DP containing interpretable f-features is the oblique experiencer. Given that it is already Case-marked, it is inactive for Agree, so it can not value T's f-features. At the same time, it blocks further search in the domain of T. The analysis of (8) as an intervention effect entails that the Agree operation obeys Relativized Minimality/the Minimal Link Condition.

2.3. Cyclic locality

Consider the following paradigm, from Chomsky 1995:

(9) a. A man is likely to be in the garden
b. There is likely to be a man in the garden
c. *There is likely a man to be in the garden

(9a,b) are two ordinary instances of raising, involving an argument DP and an expletive, respectively. (9c) poses the problem of why *a man* can not perform partial raising into defective/raising T, checking its EPP feature, while the expletive is directly merged in Spec of matrix T, deleting its EPP feature too. Chomsky (1995) suggests that Move is a costly operation. Under the option of either moving *a man* to check an EPP feature or merging the expletive, the computational system opts for the latter. A simple analysis of (9c) along the lines just cited, however, faces non-trivial problems when we compare it to (10) and (11):

(10) There's a feeling [that people are tired (people)]
(11) a. It's fun [PRO to go (PRO) to the beach]
b. It was decided [PRO to be executed (PRO) at dawn]

In each of the bracketed structures the same option should arise between moving a DP or PRO or merging an expletive. In each case, however, it is the purportedly more costly option of moving that wins. Raising is possible in the "closed systems" marked by the brackets. Chomsky proposes that access to the lexicon is cyclically constrained. At each step of the derivation a subset of the lexical array selected from the lexicon is accessed. This subarray constitutes the domain in which economy principles are checked. The procedure allows the computational system to forget about the rest of the lexical array and thus it reduces computational load. If the expletive is not part of a given subarray, the option of either Merging or Moving does not arise, and Move is the only available operation to check an EPP feature.

In Chomsky's view, subarrays are mapped into syntactic objects which can be independently interpreted at the interface. These are taken to be traditional cyclic domains such as CP (the domain where Tense/Event structure is saturated) or vP (the domain where thematic relations are established), which according to Chomsky represent "propositional" entities. Each of those cyclic domains is sent to PF and LF along the derivation, when it exhausts the subarray. Derivations thus involve Multiple Spell Out and a single cycle (there are no independent LF and PF cycles). Cyclic domains also have a regulating function in determining the configurations in which the basic displacement operations (Agree and Move) are established. For instance, (long distance) Agree accessing Case/agreement features can not reach the embedded object of a finite clause in Basque:

(12) *Jonek uste ditu [bizilagunak kontra daudela]
Jon-E think Aux(3sE-3pA) neighbour-Det-p-A against are-Comp
"John thinks that the neighbours are against him"

In (12), Agree can not cross a finite CP boundary. Chomsky calls those cycles which impose locality conditions in syntactic operations (strong) Phases. Strong Phases establish opaque domains for displacement operations (as in 22). At the same time, the opacity induced by strong phases can not be absolute: all sorts of successive cyclic phenomena (wh-movement, raising) attest to the fact that opaque domains can be locally circumvented. Successive-cyclic movement invariably targets the edge of cyclic domains. Chomsky formulates the opacity condition induced by strong phases in the following terms (Chomsky, 2000, p. 108):

(13) *Phase Impenetrability Condition*
In a Phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

Operations cannot look into a phase α beyond its head H. In the case of (22), with CP a strong Phase, Agree can not access the complement domain of C.

The cyclic determination of strong phases and the Phase Impenetrability Condition have as a consequence that accessibility of the edge of a strong phase is only up to the next strong phase. In (14), elements of HP are accessible to operations within the smallest strong ZP phase, but not beyond (Chomsky, 2001):

(14) $[_{ZP}$ Z…$[_{HP}$ α [H YP]]]

Elements inside the strong phase ZP can target the edge α of HP. Once the derivation reaches ZP, the complement of Z is sent to Spell Out, and it becomes invisible for further

computation. Assuming that the Spell Out operation sends a syntactic object to both PF and LF, the relevant generalization can be formulated as follows (Chomsky (2001):

(15) Interpretation/evaluation for Phase 1 is at the next relevant (that is strong) Phase 2

Long Distance Agreement Phenomena are clear prima facie evidence for an Agree operation which does not involve movement into the Spec of an XP. Agree shifts the core of the agreement relation from the traditional Spec-Head relation to a Head-complement domain relation[5]. The choice of Agree as the relevant checking/valuing operation of non-interpretable features is virtually enforced by the strict one-cycle derivational approach of the Multiple Spell Out system, where covert movement is excluded, plus the hypothesis that feature-movement does not exist (Chomsky, 2000, 2001)[6]. To the extent that LDA in languages like Basque can be fruitfully analyzed without invoking movement operations, the hypothesis that the relevant configuration for agreement involves the relation head-complement domain gains additional support. If furthermore, we are able to show that LDA in Basque obeys locality conditions which can be analysed along the lines of the Phase Impenetrability Condition, the cyclic view of syntactic derivations minimally described above (see also Uriagereka, 1999) comes out reinforced.

3. Control Configurations and LDA in Basque

3.1. Lexical Subjects and LDA

LDA in Basque, as is the case in other languages (Hungarian, Den Dikken, 2004; Hindi, Bhat, 2003; Itelmen, Bobaljik and Wurmbrandt, 2003; Chamorro, Chung 2004) is a quite restricted phenomenon from a configurational point of view. It is only possible between a matrix auxiliary and the argument of an embedded non-finite clause. LDA cannot be established across finite dependents of any sort.[7] Compare in this regard (16a) and (16b):

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[5] There are well known counterexamples to such a view, starting from Kayne's (1989) analysis of participial agreement in French. In the domain of Basque, see Rezac (2003) for an analysis of split ergativity in the morphology of the Basque and Georgian auxiliary verbs which crucially employes both Spec-Head and H-complement domain search spaces for Agree. Typically, syntactic accounts of overt agreement in Basque and the relative position of arguments haved been taken to involve Spec-Head relations (see Laka, 1988; Fernandez, 1997 or Elordieta, 2001 among many others). None of those studies adress the possibility of LDA in Basque.

[6] Chomsky's rejection of the option of feature-movement is based on a conceptual argument: the idea that chains must be defined as occurrences of a given copy, where *occurrence* means the syntactic context of the copy (either the complement to which it is merged (Chomsky, 2000) or the projection in which it is contained (Chomsky 2001)), and the fact that defining an occurrence for a sublexical feature introduces problems which are better avoided. Feature movement has been forcefully argued for by among others Lasnik (1999), Ochi (2001), and Pesetsky (2000). It also plays a key role in Uriagereka's view, with particular reference to issues of Basque word order, of what triggers Spell Out (Uriagereka, 1999b).

[7] LDA phenomena in other languages show different locality restrictions. In algonquian languages such as Innu-Aimun (Branigan et al. 2002) and Passamaquody (Bruening, 2001), LDA is able to cross finite boundaries, as is the case in Tsez (a Nagh-Dhagestanian language, Polinsky and Potsdam, 1998). The Japanese « Raising to Object » case, with « long distance » Case checking, is a further instance of this latter type (Bruening, 2001). Crucially, it seems that in those cases features belonging to the left periphery and not to Case/Agreement are accessed, and the arguments involved in LDA occupy positions in the C-domain. Icelandic LDA (Sigurdsson, 1996; Boeckx, 2003; Holmberg and Hroarsdottir (2003)) is closer to the cases discussed here, but LDA there is possible (unlike in Basque) with the embedded subject of a raising construction. See Polinsky (2003) for a recent typology of LDA phenomena. Number long distance agreement parasitic on relativization of plural DP arguments is also possible in Basque, as studied by Oihartzabal (2002). It involves agreement between a plural relative operator and the highest finite auxiliary in the restrictive clause. Such cases present properties different from the LDA in non-finite configurations, and I will not attempt a unified analysis here. Lafitte (1948) is the only traditional grammar that I know of which mentions LDA phenomena in Basque (thanks to Milan Rezac for pointing this out to me). He calls them « morphological monsters » (p. 223):

(16) a. *Jonek erabaki ditu [bizilagunak kontra dituela]
Jon-E decided Aux(3sE-3pA) neighbour-Det-p-A against has-Comp
"John thinks that he has the neighbours against him"
b. Jonek [liburu horiek eros-te-a] erabaki ditu
Jon-erg book those buy-Nom-D decided Aux(3sE-3plA)
"John decided to buy those books"

LDA object agreement, furthermore, is blocked by the presence of a lexically realized subject in the embedded infinitival. Infinitival dependents in Basque allow their subjects to be lexically realized in contexts of so called "non-obligatory" control (Goenaga, 1984; Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Artiagoitia, 1994, 2003; San Martin, 2002, among others):

(17) Jonek$_i$ erabaki du [e$_{i/j}$/Aitorrek traste zaharrak botatzea]
Jon-Erg decided Aux(3sE-3sA) Aitor-E thing old-Det-pl throw offN-Det
"John decided (for Aitor) to throw off the old things"

A verb such as *erabaki* "decide" takes an infinitival complement whose subject can be overtly realized. The alternation between overt and non-overt subjects has been treated as a case of pro-drop. This strategy is fully available in Basque in both finite and non-finite clauses, and licenses the pro-drop of the three main arguments of the verb (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Artiagoitia, 1994; Elordieta, 2002). The presence of an overt or a tacit obviative subject in the infinitival complement of a verb such as *erabaki* "decide" or *pentsatu* "think/plan" has an immediate effect in the availability of Long Distance Agreement:

(18) a. Jonek$_i$ [e$_i$ traste zaharrak botatzea] erabaki du/d**it**u
Jon-E thing old-Det-pl throw off-N-Det decided Aux(3sE-3sA)/(3sE-3plA)
"John decided to throw off the old things"
b. Jonek$_i$ [e$_j$/Aitorrek traste zaharrak botatzea] erabaki du/*ditu
Jon-E Aitor-Erg thing old-Det-pl throw off decided Aux(3sE-3sA)/(3sE-3plA)
"John$_i$ decided for Aitor/him$_j$/her$_j$ to throw off the old things"

(19) a. [e$_i$/Mirenek etxerako liburu batzuk erostea] pentsatu dugu$_i$
Miren-Erg home-for book some-Abs buy-N-Det thought Aux[1pE-3sA)]
"We thought about buying some books for home/Miren buying some books for home"
b. [e$_i$ etxerako liburu batzuk erostea] pentsatu ditugu
home-for book some-Abs buy-N-Det thought Aux[1pE-3plA]
"We thought about buying some books for home"
c. *[e$_j$/Mirenek etxerako liburu batzuk erostea] pentsatu d**it**ugu
Miren-Erg home-for book some-Abs buy-N-Det thought Aux[1pE-3plA]

It is not immediately obvious how we should treat the blocking effect on LDA induced by overt and obviative subjects. Take a sentence such as (20), which does not allow LDA:

(20) Jonek$_i$ [e$_j$/Mikelek nobela erromantikoak irakurtzea] proposatu du
Jon-erg Mikel-E novel romantic-pl read-Nom-D-Abs propose-partc Aux(3sE-3sA)

(i) [Liburu hoik irakurtzerat] doatza
books those read-Nom-all go(3sA-3pA)
« He is going to read those books »

(20) involves a matrix vP, with an agentive argument (*Jon*) and an infinitival sentence itself containing an overt or pro-subject, the agent of the embedded vP. Assuming, with Chomsky, that overt subjects are licensed by complete Probes, in this case a T head furnished with Tense and f-features, and that the latter is only possible if T is selected by a complete C probe (see San Martin, 2002, for cross-linguistic evidence), a structural description of (20) contains at least the following configuration (with C=D)[8]:

(21) $[_{TP}\ldots \mathbf{T_{[uF]}}^{0}\ [_{vP}\ (DP)\ v\ [_{VP}\ V^{0}\ [_{DP}\ D^{0}\ [_{TP}\ DP\ T^{0}\ [_{vP}\ (DP)\ v^{0}\ [_{VP}\ V^{0}\ \mathbf{DP_{[F]}}\ ]]]]]$

There are at least two reasons why LDA could be blocked in that case. First, the probe (the matrix finite auxiliary, represented as T) and the embedded object are too far away. They are separated by three cyclic domains which are independently Spelled Out and removed from the working memory of the syntactic derivation. On the other hand, there is at least one A-chain intervening between the matrix auxiliary probe and the object DP goal: The overt/pro-dropped subject of the embedded infinitival, containing a full set of person and number features. That LDA is blocked by intervening DPs is shown by contrasts such as (22)[9]:

(22) a. Jonek$_i$ [e$_i$ liburu batzuk erostea] erabaki ditu
Jon-erg book some-abs-pl buy-Nom-D decided aux(3sE-3pA)
"Jon decided to buy some books"
b. *Jonek$_i$ [e$_i$ Mireni liburu batzuk erostea] erabaki ditu
Jon-erg Miren-dat book some-abs-pl buy-Nom-D decided aux(3sE-3pA)
"Jon decided to buy Miren some books"
c. Jonek$_i$ [e$_i$ liburu batzuk$_k$ Mireni t$_k$ erostea] erabaki ditu
Jon-erg book some-abs Miren-dat buy-Nom-D decided aux(3sE-3pA)
"Jon decided to buy Miren some books"

A dative DP intervening between the auxiliary and the embedded object blocks LDA in number with the latter. Scrambling the object to the left of the dative allows LDA again.

LDA must thus overcome two different locality conditions: (i) a cyclic one (Chomsky's Phase Impenetrability Condition, 2000, 2001), arising from a dynamic view of the syntactic derivation; and (ii) a relative one (the Minimal Link Condition), concerning potential goals in the minimal working derivational space.

3.2. Control and non-finite dependents in LDA

[8] The structural representation in (21) is head initial, instead of head final, as the received knowledge in basque syntax wants. I use head initial structures for convenience, on the grounds that they are easier to scan for the purposes of checking intervening configurations. The basic head-directionality status of Basque is being hotly debated these times. Later on I will adopt Haddican's thesis that Basque is, after all, head first, but nothing of what I will say hinges on this issue, as far as I can tell. Also, in many cases I will be freely using sentences where predicates are first and complements last. This has sometimes the aim of setting aside a topicalization analysis of the lefthand object. Both orders (predicate first and predicate last) are relatively unmarked in my speech, but this may not extend to other speakers.

[9] Not any intervening constituent blocks LDA. Only Case marked arguments do:

(i) a. Jonek [PRO Mirenentzat liburu batzuk erostea] pentsatu ditu
Jon-erg Miren-ben book some-pl buy-Nom-D planned aux(3sE-3pA)
« Jon planned to buy some books for Miren »
b. Jonek [PRO Mirenengan itxaropen guztiak jartzea] erabaki ditu
Jon-erg Miren-loc hope all-pl put-Nom-D planned aux(3sE-3pA)
« Jon decided to put all hopes on Miren »

We have already seen that LDA is impossible with anything but a tacit embedded subject, coreferential to a matrix controller. If the coindexed tacit subject can only be *pro*, then LDA is totally unexpected. *Pro* is a referential lexical item, furnished with a full set of interpretable f-features[10]. It is licensed in configurations involving a complete Probe (C-T) and it blocks LDA either as a matter of cyclic locality (since it involves C) or through the Minimal Link Condition (defective intervention). The fact that LDA is possible only with coreferential, tacit subjects, suggests that the relevant configuration for LDA in Basque is not the non-obligatory control configuration. In other words, that infinitival dependents which select for non-obligatory control complements can also select for more reduced dependents. Let us tentatively identify this structure with obligatory control:

(23) LDA in Basque can only occur across obligatory control dependents

As a point of departure, I will follow San Martin (2002), and take Obligatory Control dependents to be TPs (see also Stowell, 1982; Martin, 1996;Boskovic, 1997) with a partial set of f-features. More concretely, OC dependents lack the feature [person], which according to San Martin, is located in the C-domain. This approach holds that obligatory control dependents are relatively complex, including a complete event structure and a Tense feature. This temporal feature can be overtly modified, as in (24) for locative OC clauses[11], or in (25), for clausal DP dependents:

(24) a. ?Jon$_i$ [e$_i$ bi egun barru egiten] saiatu zen
Jon-abs two days within do-Nom-Loc tried aux(intr)
"Jon tried to do it within two days from then"
b. ?Jonek$_i$ [e$_i$ bi egun barru egiten] asmatu zuen
Jon-erg two days within do-Nom-Loc managed aux(tr)
"Jon managed to do it within two days from then"

(25) a. Guk$_i$ [e$_i$ bi egun barru/bihar liburu batzuk saltzea] erabaki genuen
We-erg two day within/tomorrow book some-abs sell-Nom-D decided aux
"We decided to sell some books within two days from now/tomorrow"
b. Guk [e$_i$ bi egun barru/bihar liburu batzuk saltzea] pentsatu genuen
two days within/tomorrow book some-abs sell-Nom-D think aux
"We planned to sell some books within two days from now/tomorrow"

Note that the relevant temporal features cannot be the same in locative OC dependents and in nominal dependents: whereas in the first the temporal modifier is anchored to the matrix event time (two days from then), in the latter they can be anchored to the speech time (two days from now), hence the possibility of deictic temporal adverbs like *bihar* "tomorrow". Lexical OC verbs differ in this regard from aspectual OC verbs, which do not allow temporal modification, even marginally:

(26) a. *Jon [bi egun barru PRO liburu batzuk saltzen] ibili da/zen
Jon two days within book some sell-Nom-Loc walked aux(Pres/Past)

[10] The problem subsists under other approaches to tacit arguments which do not imply the existence of pro, such as the ellipsis account of tacit arguments ellaborated by Duguine (2005) or agreement oriented analyses of the pro-drop phenomenon.

[11] The readings in this case correspond to Wurmbrandt's « temporal » readings of OC dependents (1998), a somewhat marginal interpretation that we could paraphrase as « He/she attempted something which would cause doing it within two days » or « he managed in such a way that he would do it within two days ».

"*Jon has been selling books within two days"
b. *Jonek [bi egun barru PRO liburu batzuk saltzen] bukatu zuen
Jon-erg two days within book some sell-Nom-Loc finished aux
"*Jon finished selling some books within two days"
c. *Jonek [bi egun barru PRO liburuak saltzeari] ekin zion
Jon-erg two days within books sell-Nom-D-dat went-into aux
"Jon went into book-selling within two days"

LDA has been claimed to depend on the presence of restructuring configurations in many languages (Bhatt, 2004; Den Dikken, 2004; Chung, 2004. Restructuring configurations, on the other hand, have been claimed to involve very reduced complements, such as VPs or Aspectual Phrases (Wurmbrandt, 1998, 2001, 2003, Cinque, 2003). In a radical approach to restructuring, Wurmbrandt defends the idea that complements of restructuring verbs are actually bare VPs, lacking even an external argument. We will see several reasons for why such a hypothesis can not be extended to Basque LDA. But LDA has a clear effect on the temporal properties of the nominal clauses. Consider in this regard the following pairs:

(27) a. [e bihar/bi egun barru liburu batzuk saltzea] pentsatu genuen
tomorrow/within two days book some-abs sell-Nom-D planned aux(1pE-3sA)
"We decided to buy some books within two days from now/tomorrow"
b. *[e bihar/bi egun barru PRO liburu batzuk saltzea] pentsatu genituen
tomorrow/two days within book some sell-Nom-D planned aux(1pE-3pA)
"We decided to buy some books tomorrow/within two days from now"

(27) shows that, whereas in the absence of LDA the temporal parameters of the embedded clause can be anchored to the speech time, when LDA occurs, this is not possible. Only structures where the embedded tense is a dependent tense accept LDA. Independent tenses are also the type of domain which license overt subjects (cf. the marginal tense feature of OC verbs, which is unable to license an overt subject). Let me conclude therefore that LDA is only possible in control configurations, and that the latter are characterized by a dependent Tense.

If clausal dependents in LDA are just the kind of dependent we find in OC we can substantially reduce the amount of structure in (21) to something like this:

(28) $[_{TP}\ldots \mathbf{T}^0\ [_{vP}$ (DP) v $[_{VP}\ V^0\ [_{DP}\ D^0\ [_{TP}$ PRO $T^0\ [_{vP}$ (PRO) $v^0\ [_{VP}\ V^0$ **DP**]]]]]]

Assuming that the embedded object moves into the edge of vP for Case/EPP reasons (see recently Vicente, 2005), the relevant structure is (29):

(29) $[_{TP}\ldots \mathbf{T}^0\ [_{vP}$ (DP) v $[_{VP}\ V^0\ [_{DP}\ D^0\ [_{TP}$ PRO $T^0\ [_{vP}$ **DP** $[_{vP}$ (PRO) $v^0\ [_{VP}\ V^0$ (DP)]]]]]]

Leaving aside for a minute the nominalizing suffixes and their associated structure, to which we turn in section 4, in (29) only one Phase separates the matrix T probe from the embedded DP Goal: the matrix vP. If Phases are sent to Spell Out after the higher Phase is reached (Chomsky, 2001), then at the time the derivation hits the matrix vP, only the complement of the embedded vP will be sent to Spell Out, leaving the moved object in its edge accessible for further operations. From the point of view of cyclic locality, therefore, the only remaining issue is the nominalization structure.

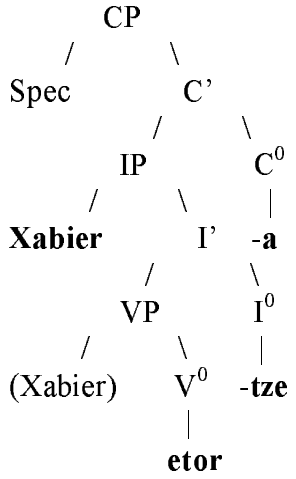
4. On the structure of nominalizations

4.1. The nominalizing suffix and its associated structure

For most basque syntacticians who have discussed nominalizations (Goenaga, 1984; Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Laka, 1990), *-tze* and its associated structure (postpositional or nominal) are part of the temporal or subordinating structure of the non-finite clause. For Goenaga and Ortiz de Urbina, *-tze* plays the role of a particular inflection, one which has no temporal features but just abstract phi-features (AGR). The hypothesis can be illustrated by means of the following sketchy syntactic structure, taken from Goenaga (1984):

(30) a. Xabier etxe-ra etor-tze-a
Xabier home-to come-Nom-D
"Xabier to come home"

b.



Goenaga (1984), Ortiz de Urbina (1989) and San Martin (2001) note that in several regards, basque nominalized clauses behave as clausal gerunds in English. As clausal gerunds, nominalized clauses support Case marking and occupy argument positions in the clause, and they may be selected by adpositions. Ortiz de Urbina explicitly proposes an account along the lines of Reuland's (1983) where the nominalizing suffix carries a feature AGR, responsible for the nominal character of the clause. Under certain conditions,[12] this feature licenses the overt subject of the nominalized clauses. AGR is realized by the suffix *–t(z)e* in I^0. Ortiz de Urbina (1989, 2005) shows that nominalized clauses present several properties of full CP clauses, among them the possibility of scrambling (31a), pied-piping (31b), or adverbial modification (31c).

(31) a.[(?ezeren errurik) Jonek (ez. err.) Mikeli (ez. err.) ez leporatzea] eskatu dute
any-gen fault-part Jon-erg any... Mikel-dat any... neg impute-N-D asked aux
"They asked from Jon not to blame Mikel of anything"
b. [Liburua nork (*liburua) erostea] nahi zuen?
Book-D-abs who-erg buy-Nom-D want aux?
"Who did he want to buy a book?"
c. [Jonek egunero etengabe bide hori egitea] tristea da
Jon-erg every day continuously that way do-Nom-D sad is

[12] In short, Agr is able to Case-license its specifier only if it receives Case from an independent Case assigner, such as an adposition or matrix T/v (also Raposo, 1987). Any such Case transmission mechanism is incompatible with minimalist assumptions, but see Pires (2002) for a minimalist reinterpretation of the Case properties of clausal gerunds.

"It is sad that Jon should do that way every morning continuously"

Sentence (31a) shows clause internal scrambling of a negative polarity item (an element which can not be topicalized out of its clause). (31b) is a case of clausal pied piping, standardly assumed to involve a CP (Ortiz de Urbina, 1991; but see Etxepare, 1997; Arregi, 2004). The internal configuration of the pied-piped clause requires the adjacency of the operator and the verb, as in focus or wh-movement. To the extent that such a configuration involves a non-L-related position (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Etxepare, 1999; Uriagereka, 1999; Elordieta, 2001), then those cases suggest the presence of a CP.

Goenaga (1984) also notes that nominalized case-marked dependents are selected by emotive predicates, predicates which in romance languages select subjunctive dependents:

(32) a. *Jonek uste du [Xabier joatea]
Jon-erg believe aux Xabier-abs leave-Nom-D
« Jon believes that Xabier is leaving »
b. Jonek nahi du [Xabier joatea]
Jon-erg want aux Xabier leave-Nom-D

Adopting Kempchinsky's view of subjunctive dependencies (1986), Ortiz de Urbina (2005) suggests that nominalized dependents such as (32b) must contain a modal operator licensed in Spec, CP. If correct, this is further evidence that clausal nominalizations possess a CP layer.

Although plausible in its general lines, Goenaga's/Ortiz de Urbina's thesis also raises some questions. First, it makes us wonder about the connection between clausal *–tze* (part of INFL) and "nominal" *-tze*, present in more DP-like nominalizations such as (55a), and in compounds (33b):

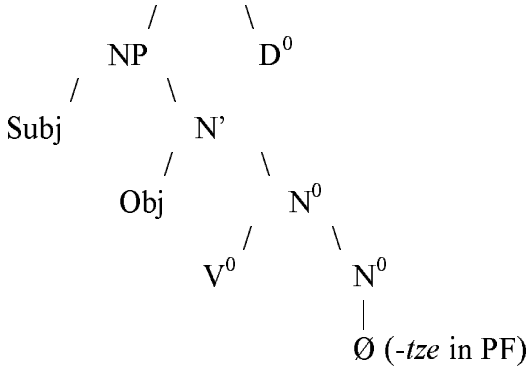
(33) a. Txirrindularien erortze etengabeak antolatzaileak kezkatzen ditu
Cyclists-gen fall-Nom-D continuous-D-Erg organizers-A worry-imp aux
"The continuous falling of the cyclists worries the organizers"
b. Arto zuritzeak aspertzen gaitu
Corn-shuck-Nom-D-E bore-imp aux
« Corn-shucking bores us »

Then, the analysis does not straightforwardly extend to postpositional OC cases. The equation C=D is plausible, and the status of postpositions as complementizers is well established (see a.o. Kayne, 1981, 1984, 1999). We will see however, that the purported complementizers play either a temporal or an aspectual role in nominalizations, suggesting a different analysis.

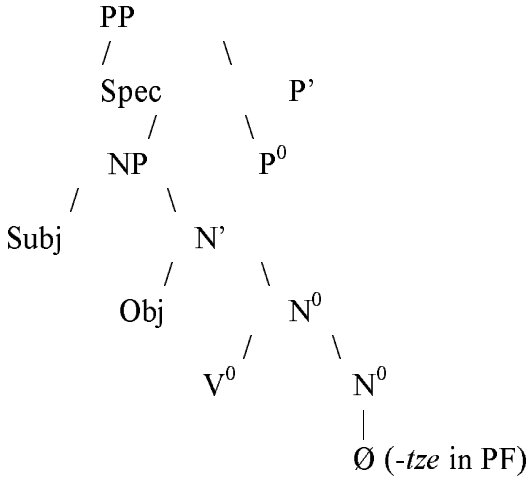
For Artiagoitia (1994), *-tze* is a nominalizing suffix, heading a NP. This NP is selected by D (Abney, 1987), the inflectional head that assigns Case to the subject of the nominalized clause in non-obligatory control cases. Artiagoitia's basic structure for nominalizations is (34a,b):

(34) a.

DP
/ \
Spec D'



b.



In order to explain the verbal/clausal character of the nominalized phrase, Artiagoitia invokes Emonds' analysis of gerundive *–ing* in English (1990). According to Emonds, affixes which have no semantic or lexical restrictions regarding the element they merge to are inserted at SS, whereas semantically choisy affixes (such as non-clausal *–ing*, which attaches to aspectual activities) are inserted at DS (the Double Lexical Insertion Hypothesis). Lexically empty nodes, such as N in its way to PF, do not govern and do not block government from another head (the Head Transparency Principle). This way, V can reach out the complex head and govern (and case-mark) the object of the nominalized clause.

Artiagoitia's analysis is unstatable under present minimalist assumptions. Besides, it provides little room for several semantic dimensions which nominalized clauses such as (32b) present: it is unclear for instance how it would deal with the fact that nominalizations are selected by emotive predicates, suggesting an underlying modal projection. It would not be able to account for the scrambling cases either, since DPs are extremely restricted in this regard in Basque. Still, Artiagoitia's analysis provides a very natural interpretation of the kind of affix sequence we find in nominalizations: after all, nouns are what determiners and postpositions select for. Unlike in Ortiz de Urbina's approach, we don't need to say anything special about the fact that those clauses are headed by postpositions (locative, allative, ablative, genitive suffixes) or determiners:

(35) a. [e hori eroste**ko**] eskatu digu
that-abs buy-gen asked aux
"He/she asked us to buy that"
b. [e hori egite-**ra/-n**] ausartu da
that-abs do-nom-all/loc dared aux

"He/she dared to do that"
c. [e hara joate-**tik**] libratu gara
there go-nom-abl free aux
"We are free from having to go there"
d. [e hara joate-**a**] nahi du
there go-Nom-D want aux
"He/she wants me to go there"

Somehow, Goenaga's/Ortiz de Urbina's analyses lack morphological naturalness, whereas Artiagoitia's analysis falls short of addressing the full array of clausal properties of nominalized dependents. In the next section I provide a view of nominalized clauses which reconciles the insights of each approach.

4.2. Obligatory control and its postpositions

It has been noted that many of the postpositional endings of nominalized clauses look very much like aspectual or temporal markers. For instance, locative *–tzen* is homonymous with the habitual/progressive *–tzen*:

(36) a. [e joa-**te-n**] saiatu da
leave-Nom-loc tried aux
"He/she tried to leave/leaving"
b. [Joa-**te-n**] da
leave-Nom-loc aux
"He/she usually leaves/goes"
c. [Joa-**te-n**] ari da
go-Nom-loc prog aux
"He is going/leaving"

Directive predicates such as *galdetu* "ask", *eskatu* "demand", *agindu* "order" or *esan* "tell" select for nominal clauses which have a future interpretation. It is probably not by chance that the postposition that heads the nominalized clause is the genitive *–ko*. The genitive marks the future in basque periphrastic forms:

(37) a. [Etor-tze-**ko**] eskatu/agindu/esan dit
come-Nom-loc asked/ordered/told aux
"He/she asked/ordered/told me to come"
b. Etorri-**ko** da
come-fut is
"He/she will come"

Observe that if, as it seems, *-ko* is a Tense head, then nominalized clauses cannot be characterized as [+AGR,-T], as Ortiz de Urbina's hypothesis wants. The postpositions which close off the nominalized clauses are aspectual and temporal heads.

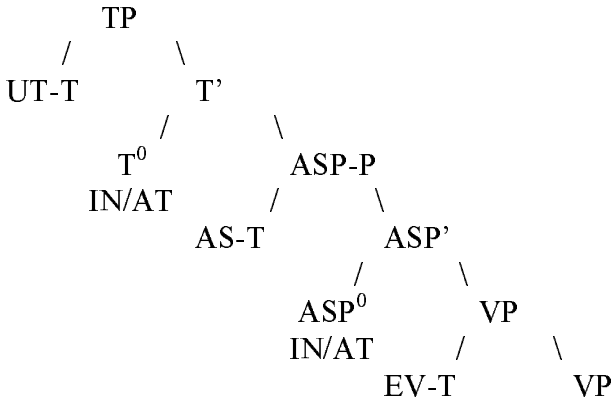
Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2004b) develop an analysis of aspectual and temporal relations in which tenses and aspects are spatiotemporal predicates (also Stowell, 1996; Zagona, 1995, 2003). Those predicates establish topological relations –of precedence, inclusion and subsequence- between two arguments that denote time intervals. The main ingredients of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria's

topological approach to temporal-aspectual systems are two: a set of given temporal intervals; and a set of relations between them. The temporal intervals are the Utterance Time (UT-T), the Time of the Assertion (AS-T) (Klein, 1994) and the Event Time (EV-T). Tenses and aspects order those intervals by means of a limited set of relations. Tense orders the temporal intervals denoted by the UT-T and the AS-T, whereas aspect orders the temporal intervals denoted by AS-T and EV-T. As an illustration of how their system works, consider their analysis of the present progressive in English (38):

(38) Aitor is reading *Rosettiren Obsesioa*

The temporal syntax of the present progressive in English consists of the following predicative structure:

(39)



The progressive is a spatiotemporal predicate meaning similar to "in/at". It establishes an inclusion relation between its two arguments: it orders the Assertion Time (the temporal portion of the event time which constitutes the object os assertion) inside the Event Time (the total reading time). It thus focalises a subinterval of the Event Time, as shown in the schema below:

(40) EV-T
...[.....[.....].....]...
AS-T

The progresive focalises a phase in the internal temporal structure of the eventuality. The interval so captured, does not include the borders of the eventuality (its inception and end). Finally (39) describes a present eventuality because the utterance time is *in* (not *after* or *before*) the assertion time (the time interval *about* which an assertion is made).

The intervals which are ordered by means of aspectual and temporal heads are semantically structured as the figure and the ground of the relation (Talmy, 1983). The specifier of the aspectual or temporal head is mapped as the figure of the topological relation, while the complement of that head is mapped as the ground. Hale (1984) argues that the spatiotemporal relations can be uniformly defined in terms of an opposition: the coincidence between the figure and the ground is either central, or non central. A predicate which expresses central coincidence specifies that the situation, the path, the positioning of the figure (F) centrally coincides with the ground (G). A predicate of non-central coincidence specifies that the localisation, path or positioning of F does not centrally coincide with G. The later predicates divide in (at least) two different types: the [-central;

+centripete] predicates place the figure before the ground, or indicates that the path F follows goes towards G. The [-central;+centrifugue] predicates indicate that the localisation of F is after G, or that the path followed by F departs or comes from G.
Adpositions are the typologically privileged means to express those topological notions, so it is not surprising to find them once and again across languages in the aspectual/temporal realm. Demirdache and Uribe-Etxeberria (2000) present a handful of cases among which the basque progressive, which includes a locative suffix to express central coincidence (p. 146):

(41) Urko eta Oihana kanpoan jolaste-**n** ari dira
Urko and Oihana outside play-Nom-Loc engaged are
"Urko and Oihana are engaged in playing outside/are playing outside"

It seems straightforward to extend Demirdache and Uribe-Etxeberria's analysis to non-finite dependents: the relation betwen the matrix event and the dependent event is mediated by the same adpositional predicates which mediate between say, *ari* and the nominalized non-finite dependent in (41). Consider in this regard the following contrast between the locative and the allative postpositions (which arises for speakers optionally selecting one or the other under certain control predicates):

(42) a. [PRO liburu debekatuak irakurtzen] ausartu,
book forbidden-pl read-Nom-Loc dare
#eta gero ez zituen irakurtzen
and then neg aux read-Nom-Loc
"He dared reading forbidden books, #and then he didn't read them"

b. [PRO liburu debekatuak irakurtzera] ausartu
book forbidden-pl read-Nom-Loc dare
eta gero ez zituen irakurtzen
and then neg aux read-Nom-Loc
"He dared to read forbidden books, and then he didn't read them"

Whereas the locative places the reading event inside the trying event in (42a), yielding the implication that the subject has engaged in reading, the allative postposition places the trying event *before* the reading event in (42b), leaving in the air whether the subject has engaged in reading or not. For this reason the *but*-clause, which makes explicit the non-realized status of the eventuality, is acceptable in (42b), but not in (42a).

Let me therefore conclude that *–n/-ra*, and *-ko* are part of the functional structure of the infinitival clause. They correspond to the two basic domains of the structure of embedded infinitivals as sketched in (43): *-n* and *-ra* lexicalize the aspectual domain, *-ko* (alternating with zero) the Tense domain:

(43) a. [$_{AspP}$ […] [$_{Asp}$ –n/-ra]]
b. [$_{TP}$ […] [$_{T}$ –ko/-Ø]]

4.4. –tze

Ortiz de Urbina (1989) and Goenaga (1984) place *–tze* in INFL. Under the present approach, since Tense and Aspect are expressed by other independent morphemes, the exact contribution and syntactic position of *–tze* remains to be precised. *–Tze* seems to

alternate with the participle in nominalized dependents. When the nominalized clause is perfective, the participle is required instead of *–tze*:

(44) a. Pena dut ez etorr-i-a
sorry I-have neg come-partc-Det
"I am sorry because I/someone else didn't come"
b. Damutuko zaio bertara joa-n-a
Regret-partc-fut aux there go-partc-Det
« He will regret having gone there »

These participial clauses may present obviative, phonetically realized subjects:

(45) a. Pena dut inor ere ez etorria
sorry I-have anyone even neg come-partc-Det
"I am sorry because noone showed up"
b. Damutuko zaio ni bertan agertua
regret-partc-fut aux I-abs there present-partc-Det
« He will regret my having been there »

Haddican (2005) argues that the participial suffix is not a true aspectual marker. The perfective head in Basque is null. This null head selects a non-finite form. This is either the participle in (44-45), or a dummy auxiliary (*izan* "to be"), generated in the aspectual head, also in the participial form:

(46) Pena dut inor ere ez etorr-i iza-n-a
sorry I-have anyone even neg come-partc be-partc-Det
"I am sorry because noone showed up"

In other words, a null perfective aspect head selects the participial clause. This gives us a way to account for the alternation between the participle and the *–tze* forms. Each of them is selected by a different aspectual head; a perfective one in the case of the participle, and a non-perfective one (*-n* or *–ra*) in the case of *–tze*:

(47) a. $[_{PerfAsp}$ **Ø** $[_{XP}$ $[_{VP}$ V^0] **–i/-tu/-n**]]
b. $[_{ImpAsp}$ **–n/-ra** $[_{XP}$ $[_{VP}$ V^0] **–tze**]]

The intermediate position that both *–tze* and the participle suffix occupy between the verb phrase and the outer aspectual projection suggests an analysis along the lines of Stowell's phrase structure for Tense (1996). Stowell (1996) shares with Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria the idea that T and Aspect are relational categories, predicates taking arguments which denote time intervals. For him, however, the argument status of the situation time and the reference time is mediated by a functional projection, akin to a determiner in the nominal domain, that he calls Zeit Phrase. This Zeit Phrase is located between T/Aspect and VP. *–Tze* and the participle suffixes would be the morphological exponents of the inner Zeit head in Basque[13]. In Basque, those exponents would be overtly nominal[14].

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[13] Two obvious problems are future forms (ia) and modals (ib), which are not perfective but select participial complements.

(i) a. Etorr-i-ko da
come-partc-fut aux
"He/she will come"

There is some dialectal evidence showing that *–tze* is a nominalizing suffix in non-finite dependents. Take on the one hand what in some varieties of Basque looks like (limited) noun incorporation (examples from Ataño's *Espetxeko negarrak*):

(48) a. ...ez al dituk gizon-iltzen ariko
neg prt aux man-kill-Nom-Loc prog-fut
"May they not be killing people (lit- man-killing)"
b. Ille moztera joan niñun
hair cut-Nom-all go aux
"I went to cut my hair (lit. to hair-cut)"
c. Arto aletzen ibiltzen giñun
corn shuck-Nom-Loc walk-hab aux
"We used to shuck corn (lit. to corn-shuck)"

But Basque has no noun incorporation: the following forms, in those same varieties, are unattested[15].

(49) a. *Gizon-hilko dute
man-kill-hab aux
"They kill people (lit. man-kill)"
b. *Gizon-hil dute
man-kill have
"They have killed people (lit. man-killed)"

The sentences in (48) are just N-N compounds like (50a) to which a locative postposition has been added (50b):

(50) a. Amaika gizon-iltzeren errudunak
many man-kill-Nom-Gen guilty-pl
"Guilty of many man-killing"
b. [[Gizon $_N$]-[hiltze $_N$] $_N$]-n ari/ibili

According to this evidence, *-tze* is a true nominalizing suffix in non-finite clauses. The locative postposition, on the other hand, has an independent aspectual value, which becomes manifest in light verb constructions. Consider for instance the following cases (see Artiagoitia, 1994 for a more detailed discussion):

(51) a. Musean egin
card-D-loc do
"Play cards (lit. 'do in the cards')"
b. Futbolean egin
soccer-D-loc do

---

b. Etorr-i nahi du
come-partc want aux
"He/she wants to come"

I take *–i/-tu/-n* to be the unmarked forms, inserted at PF when there is no selecting aspectual projection.

[14] Trask (1995) observes that *–tze/-te* are related to other suffixes « variously denoting 'abundance', 'duration', or 'activity', which were regularly added to nouns, and came to be added to verbal radicals » (Trask, 1995, p. 222). Cf. *–keta*.

[15] Suggesting a difference between *–t(z)e* and the participle. See footnote 13.

"Play soccer (lit. 'do in the soccer')"
c. Sukaldean egin
kitchen-D-loc do
"To cook (lit. 'do in the kitchen')"

In those cases the light verb selects an activity, which must be marked as such by the locative postposition[16]. It seems natural to conclude that this is the same locative postposition selected by the progressive and other aspectual auxiliaries in (48). Finally, the same variety of Basque which allows (48) also allows (52), with an (object) control verb (from Ataño's *Eltzaorra*, p. 159)

(52) Errurik geiena arek daukala… gizon iltzera zirikatuz
fault biggest he-erg has-Comp man kill-Nom-all tempt-instr
"That he has the biggest responsibility,…in tempting others to kill people"

Which suggests extending the analysis in (50b) to OC cases.

The nominalizing function of *-tze*, as well as its syntactic position between aspectual heads and the VP, also suggests a straightforward analysis of the fact that in eastern dialects, the object of non-finite clausal dependents is genitive, rather than absolutive (Heath, 1977; Ortiz de Urbina, 1989):

(53) a. Liburua irakurtzen saiatu dira (Western, Central dialects)
book-D-Abs read-Nom-Loc tried aux
"They tried to read the book"
b. Liburuaren irakurtzerat entseiatu dira (Eastern dialects)
book-D-gen read-Nom-all tried aux
"They tried to read the book"

If the nominalizer heads a nominal projection, an analysis of those cases in terms of canonical possessive structures suggests itself. Such an analysis has been proposed by Miyagawa (1993) and Ochi (2001) for *–ga/-no* conversion in Japanese, and by Aygen (2002) for the genitive/nominative alternation in Turkish non-finite dependents. Genitive subjects in Turkish and Japanese are the result of Case marking by a nominalizing head external to the TP. Raising of the subject to that TP-external projection results in genitive case-marking of the DP:

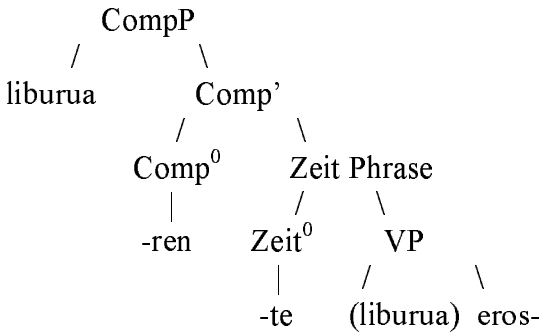
(54) [DP-subj$_{gen}$ D [N [(DP-subj) T…]]]

In Basque, since the nominalizing head would be merged lower than T, it would affect the object, not the subject. Abstracting away from many important issues discussed in detail in Etxepare (in progress), the nominalizing structure of eastern dialects would project a second nominal projection, the genitive (homonymous with the interrogative and the

[16] If egin « (dummy) do » lexicalizes v, then the locative is inserted at two different aspectual positions : one just below v, and another one in a higher (and imperfective) aspectual position. Both places can be occupied at the same time, witness (i):
(i) Jon futbolean egiten saiatu da
Jon-abs soccer-D-Loc do-Nom-Loc tried aux
« Jon tried to play soccer »

relative complementizers), which would check the Case of the object. Let me call this functional projection Comp:

(55)



Indirect evidence in favor of the structure in (55) is the fact that genitive objects (unlike absolutive objects) cannot be scrambled. This follows inmediately if scrambling of the genitive object targets a non-constituent (the sequence *liburuaren* above):

(56) *[Liburuaren Jonek erostea] ez zait ondo iruditzen
book-D-gen Jon-erg buy-Nom-D neg aux good look-imp
"I don't like that Jon buys the book"

The dialectal variation is not easy to treat under the view that *–tze* represents INFL[17].

4.5. The article -a

4.5.1. Some basic facts

In traditional grammatical descriptions of Basque (Lafitte, 1948; Azkue, 1925; EGLU, 1993), *-a* is called an "article" or a "determiner". The basis for that claim are equivalences of the following sort with bona fide articles in, say, Spanish:

(57) a. Un libro — b. El libro
a book — the book
c. Liburu bat — d. liburu-a
book a — book the

The alternation between indefinite *a/one* and definite *the* is expressed in Basque through the contrast between *bat* "a/one" and the bound morpheme *–a*. The equivalence, however, only goes so far. In the plural, the alleged definite status of *–a* becomes optional:

(58) Liburuak
book-D-pl
"books/the books"

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[17] The two cases of dialectal variation above speak against treating *–tzen* of non-finite dependents and *–tzen* of periphrastic tenses equally. *–Tzen* of periphrastic tenses does not license compounding (ia), nor genitive case-marking (ib) (Etxepare, in progress) :

(i) a. *Gizon-hiltzen dute
man-kill-hab aux
« They habitually kill people »
b. *Gizonen hiltzen dute
men-gen kill-hab aux
« They habitually kill people »

Even in the singular, there are contexts where the article is interpreted with existential import. The relevant contexts are normally stereotypical, and correspond to bare noun phrases in Spanish (Etxeberria, 2005):

(59) a. Juan ha comprado coche nuevo
Juan has bought car new
b. Jonek kotxe berria erosi du
Jon-erg car new-D bought has
"Jon has bought a new car"

Artiagoitia (2002, 2004) is a recent attempt to provide a more detailed analysis of *–a* in Basque. For Artiagoitia, *-a* can realize either a D projection or a number projection in Basque. For him, the non-definite readings of the article correspond to the cases where *–a* occupies a Number Head, and an empty determiner heads the nominal expression (Longobardi's analysis of bare noun objects, 1994). He notes that non-definite readings of *–a(k)* phrases in Basque are only possible in those contexts which allow bare nouns in romance languages like Spanish:

(60) a. Ha comprado libros
Have arrived books
"There arrived books"

b. *(Los) libros estan bien
the books are allright

(61) a. Liburuak erosi ditu
book-D-pl bought has
"He bought (the) books"
b. Liburuak ondo daude
book-D-pl allright are
"The books are allright"

As with Spanish bare nouns, the existential reading of the DP in Basque is only possible in object position. The article also occurs in existential constructions such as (62), where a definite interpretation is impossible:

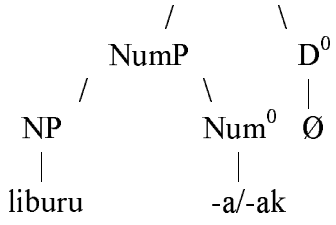
(62) Hemen badira liburuak
here there-are book-D-pl
"There are books here"

As Artiagoitia notes (also Ticio, 1996), the ambiguity hypothesis is necessary to account for participial agreement in Basque:

(63) a. Ni nekatu-a nago
I tired-D am
"I am tired"
b. Gu nekatuak gaude
we tired-D-pl are
"We are tired"

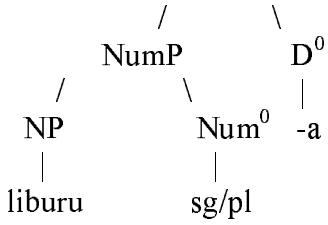
In (63) the first person subject agrees in number with the participle, but not in person.
In Artiagoitia's analysis, the article is filling in the number specification of DPs in the absence of an overt determiner. Otherwise, *-a/-ak* fill in the D-head (Artiagoitia, 2002, p. 84):

(64) a.



(existential)

b.



(definite)

One inmediate problem encountered by this approach is that the article can also merge to mass nouns:

(65) Ardoa edan dut
wine-Det drink-partc aux
"I drank (the) wine"

In (65), the article can not express (singular) number: the presence of number makes the noun a count noun, which is not the case above. Etxeberria (2005) and Eguren (2005) have recently argued that *–a* is always a determiner, and that number features and D are represented in two different heads in Basque. Whatever the right status for basque *–a*, whether it is a D without number features, or an optional relatization of them, its presence in the head of the clause raises some technical problems in the analysis of LDA. If it has substantive number, it will block LDA as it is closer to the matrix auxiliary. If it is D, heading a DP, we run the risk of converting the nominalized clause into a strong phase (Svenonius, 2004): DPs are opaque domains in Basque at least for extraction. The next section provides an alternative view of the article in the nominalized clause which follows Etxeberria's and Eguren's view yet circumvents its possible blocking role.

4.5.2. –a in nominalized clauses

I will show that the occurrence of *–a* in nominalized clauses depends on the presence of Tense (an observation due to Artiagoitia, 1994), and that its structural realization correlates with the anaphoric/obviative status of the subject. *–a* is generated as a complement of T in nominalized clauses, providing "disjoint reference" to the situation time in tense relations (in the sense of Zagona, 1995, 2003). In non-obligatory control cases, *-a* raises to adjoin to a null quantifier. Musan (1995) has argued that the distribution of temporally independent noun phrases correlates largely with the distinction between weak (or cardinal) and strong noun phrases: cardinal noun phrases can receive temporally dependent readings; strong ones receive temporally independent readings. Raising D to Q makes the latter a contextually restricted strong quantifier (as independently argued for noun phrases in Basque by Etxeberria, 2005). The structural representation of the clause contains in those cases an independent tense, and an overt subject. This subject is also obviative: if Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002) are right in claiming that obviation depends on D-agreement, then this too follows. D only has a [3rd person/individuation] feature, and no other phi-features. This explains the somewhat peculiar agreement properties of nominalized clauses. The next three

subsections present the relevant evidence concerning: (i) the relation between Tense and the article; (ii) the relation between *–a* and the subject; and (iii) the agreement pattern between the nominalized clause and the finite auxiliary. The last subsection provides an analysis of those facts, which combines Zagona's (1995, 2003) and Stowell's theory of temporal representations with Musan's (1995) ideas concerning the structural representation of temporally independent noun phrases.

4.5.2.1. Tense and the article

As observed by Artiagotia several years ago (1994), the presence of Tense in nominalized clauses is conditioned by the presence of the article. On the one hand, complements of aspectual verbs (66) such as *hasi* "start", *bukatu* "finish", or *ibili* "walk" (frequentative or iterative aspect), which do not license disjoint or shifted tense, do not take *–a*. Purely obligatory control verbs, such as *saiatu* "try", *jakin* "know" or *asmatu* "manage/figure out"[18], side with aspectual verbs in this regard, and they show no trace of the article either (67):

(66) a. *Jon [bi egun barru PRO liburu batzuk saltzen] ibili da/zen
Jon two days within book some sell-Nom-Loc walked aux(Pres/Past)
"*Jon has been selling books within two days"
b. *Jonek [bi egun barru PRO liburu batzuk saltzen] bukatu zuen
Jon-erg two days within book some sell-Nom-Loc finished aux
"*Jon finished selling some books within two days"
c. *Jonek [bi egun barru PRO liburuak saltzeari] ekin zion
Jon-erg two days within books sell-Nom-D-dat went-into aux
"*Jon went into book-selling within two days"

(67) a. *[Bihar egiten] saiatu zen
tomorrow do-Nom-Loc tried aux(intr)
"He/she tried to do it tomorrow"
b. *[Bihar egiten] asmatu zuen
tomorrow do-Nom-Loc managed aux(tr)
"He/she managed to do it tomorrow"

Artiagoitia also notes that substituting the article for a different determiner type, such as a demonstrative, specifically eliminates the possibility of temporal modification:

(68) a. [Bihar lan egiteak] amorratzen nau
tomorrow work do-Nom-Det-Erg pisses-me-off
"Working tomorrow pisses me off"
b. ??[Bihar lan egite horrek] amorratzen nau
tomorrow work do-Nom Demonstrative-Erg pisses-me-off
"That thing of working tomorrow pisses me off"

The presence of a demonstrative at the head of the clause also forces a null subject: otherwise, the nominalized clause is complete (69)[19].

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[18] We ignore here the marginal temporal interpretation identified by Wurmbrandt (1998).

[19] (69) raises an issue concerning the selectional properties of *–tze*. We have argued that it is selected by an imperfective aspectual projection, yet in (69) it seems directly selected by the demonstrative. It is interesting to note however that for me, the sentence is much better with the frequency adverb *etengabe* « continuously » than without. The issue merits a serious analysis that I am presently unable to provide.

(69) [(??Jonek) etengabe liburuak eroste honek] kezkatuta nauka
Jon-erg continuously books-abs buy-Nom-imp prog-Nom that-erg worried has-me
"This continuous book-buying of John has me worried"

The article also seems to alternate with tense in directives. Many speakers apparently freely alternate between *–tze* and *–a* in (70) (see Artiagoitia, 2003 for a more complex view):

(70) [alde egite-ko/-a] eskatu dit
distance do-Nom-Tense/Det asked aux
« She/he asked me to leave »

4.5.2.2. Overt subjects and the article

I follow San Martin (2001) in the idea that the occurrence of overt subjects is related to the presence of a person feature in CP, in this case, a 3rd person feature realized by the clause-final article. We may think of this feature as belonging to the domain of individuation, in the sense of Harley and Ritter (2002). As Artiagoitia's and Etxeberria's work shows, the article in Basque seems to target different entities in the feature geometry of individuation. The ambiguity in the interpretation of DPs in Basque in the complement domain of the verb, as noted by Artiagoitia, suggests different feature realizations in each case. Which of those feature realizations correspond to the article in clausal nominalizations is an important question. Let me call the two distinct feature realizations of ambiguous cases as the "wide scope/definite" one and the "narrow scope/existential" one. The different feature bundles are morphologically distinguished under polarity contexts. In polarity contexts, the narrow scope/existential DPs obligatorily take so called "partitive Case" (see Ortiz de Urbina, 1989). Consider in this regard the contrast between (71) and (72):

(71) Ikasleak etorri dira
student-D-pl come have
"(The) students have come"

(72) a. Ez da ikaslerik etorri
neg has student-part come
"No student came"
b. Ez dira ikasleak etorri
neg have student-D-pl come
"The students did not come"

Whereas in (71) the sequence *N-D-pl* can be interpreted as a definite or as an indefinite expression, under the scope of negation that same sequence can only be interpreted as definite. The indefinite reading is conveyed by a partitively marked object (72b). I will take *–rik* to a head a projection lower than D in the DP. For Ortiz de Urbina (1989), who follows Pesestsky's (1982) analysis of the Russian genitive of negation, XP is the complement of a null quantifier with existential import:

(73) $[_{QP}$ Ø $[_{XP}$ ikasle **-rik** $[_{NP}$ (ikasle)]]

We can see in this Q the null determiner proposed by Longobardi (1994) that takes on an existential value in bare noun objects. Unlike *-rik*, *-a* in polarity contexts morphologically realizes a D, which contextually restricts the null quantifier. Turning to non-finite constructions, our assumptions make the following prediction: if lexical subjects require a C-

T domain containing a full set of f-features, including person, and the latter is related to definite D, it should be impossible to have a lexical subject in an infinitival headed by *–rik*. In other words, lexical subjects in polarity contexts should be related to *–a*. This prediction is borne out in some varieties of Basque[20], where the presence of the partitive precludes lexical subjects under those predicates that optionally switch between obligatory and non-obligatory control:

(74) a. Jonek ez du [PRO deus eresterik/-a] lortu/erabaki/pentsatu
Jon-erg neg aux anything buy-Nom-part/D managed/decided/planned
"Jon did not manage/decide/plan to buy anything"
b. ??Jonek ez du [Aitorrek deus eresterik] lortu/erabaki/pentsatu
Jon-erg neg aux Aitor-erg anything buy-Nom-part managed/decided/planned
Jon did not manage/decide/plan for Aitor to buy anything"
c. Jonek ez du [Aitorrek deus erostea] lortu/erabaki/pentsatu
Jon-erg neg aux Aitor-erg anything buy-Nom-D managed/decided/planned
"Jon did not manage/decide/plan for Aitor to buy anything"

The definite determiner therefore licenses overt subjects, which furthermore, are obviative. The correlation is reminiscent of what one finds in the realm of switch-reference systems, as described by Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002). Dechaine and Wiltschko argue that different subject agreement is D-agreement, whereas same-subject agreement is what they call phi-agreement, agreement which encompasses features below D. Under D-agreement, which is an R-expression and therefore obviative, subjects inherit disjoint reference[21].

4.5.2.3. Agreement

If the article is akin to definite D in obviative cases, one possibility, following Artiagoitia, is that it only expresses number in anaphoric instances. Since the form of the article in either case is singular, it would express singular number. Artiagoitia (2003) adopts this view in a recent descriptive work on nominalizations. His claim is based on the seemingly regular agreement pattern of sentences like (75):

(75) Apezpikuak [elizatarian jolastea] eta [dantza lotuan aritzea] debekatu d**it**u
bishop-erg church-front play-Non-Det and dance-in progr-Nom-Det forbidden aux
"The bishop has forbidden playing and dancing in the front of the church"

In (75) the transitive auxiliary shows plural object agreement (-**it**-). This can only be agreement with the conjunct, and the conjunct can only be plural if it joins two singular

[20] The author speaks a highly standardized variety of the Bidasoa area. In the Goierri area, a query among several informants gave the following result (thanks to Urtzi Etxeberria for the data and discussion) : obligatory control infinitivals under negation obligatorily require partitive. That is, something like (i), possible for me, is impossible for those speakers :
(i) *Jonek ez du [PRO hori eros-te-a] lortu
Jon-erg neg aux that buy-Nom-D managed
However, if a lexical subject is added, then the article becomes possible :
(ii) Jonek ez du [Aitorrek hori eros-te-a] lortu
Jon-erg neg aux Aitor-erg that buy-Nom-D managed
Again, there seems to be a correlation between the presence of a lexical subject and the occurrence of the article, although the latter is not obligatory. A more detailed map of speaker and dialect variation is, obviously, beyond the scope of this paper (Etxepare, in progress).

[21] Dechaine and Wiltschko's proposal resumes the well established idea in the area of switch-reference systems that what distinguishes same-subject and different-subject configurations is the nature of inflection (Finer, 1985; Borer, 1989; Hale, 1992; Watanabe, 2002, among many others).

nominal structures, so the argument goes. One important fact here though, is that unlike with normal DPs (cf. 76), plural agreement in (75) is optional.

(76) a. Jon eta Miren ikusi d**it**u/*du
Jon and Miren seen has
"He/she has seen Jon and Mary"

Moreover, agreement is completely impossible in other cases:

(77) a. *Apezpikuak [elizatarian jolastea] eta [dantza lotuan aritzea] nahi d**it**u
bishop-erg church-front play-Non-Det and dance-in progr-Nom-Det want aux
"The bishop wants him/for someone/PRO to play and dance in the front of the church"
b. *Apezpikuak [elizatarian jolastea] eta [dantza lotuan aritzea] espero d**it**u
bishop-erg church-front play-Non-Det and dance-in progr-Nom-Det hope aux
"The bishop hopes him/for someone/PRO to play and dance in the front of the church"
c. *Apezpikuak [elizatarian jolastea] eta [dantza lotuan aritzea] erabaki d**it**u
bishop-erg church-front play-Non-Det and dance-in progr-Nom-Det decided aux
"The bishop has decided him/PRO to play and dance in the front of the church"
d. *Apezpikuak [elizatarian jolastea] eta [dantza lotuan aritzea] pentsatu d**it**u
bishop-erg church-front play-Non-Det and dance-in progr-Nom-Det plan aux
"The bishop planned for him/PRO to play and dance in the front of the church"

What seems to distinguish the possible from the impossible cases is that the predicates in (77) do not admit nominalized complements with an arbitrary subject. *Nahi* "want" and *espero* "hope" plus a nominalized clause require an obviative, and at the same time referential, subject. *Erabaki* "decide" and *pentsatu* "plan" require either a controlled subject, or an obviative and referential one. But no arbitrary subject. The case that Artiagoitia (2003, p. 660) presents in support of the regular agreement pattern of nominalized clauses also allows an arbitrary reading for the subject gap:

(78) Epaimahaikideek, hautagaia atzera botatzeko arrazoien artean,
committee-erg, candidate reject-Nom-gen reasons-gen among
[euskaraz ez jakitea] eta [prestakuntza urria izatea]
basque not know-Nom-Det and preparation scarce-Det have-Nom-Det
aipatu z**it**uzten
mentioned aux
"The members of the committee, among the reasons to turn down the candidate,
mentioned not knowing Basque and having poor qualifications"

That arbitrary reference is involved here is also suggested by the fact that "non-governed" nominalized clauses with a generic reading license (optional) plural agreement:

(79) [Tabakoa erretzeak] eta [alkohola edateak]
tobacco-Det smoke-Nom-D-erg and alcohol-Det drink-nom-Det-erg
kaltegarri baizik ezin du/du**te** izan
harmful but cannot aux[3sE-3sA]/[3plE/3sA]
"Smoking tobacco and drinking alcohol do not cause but harm"

Compare in this regard (79) to (80):

(80) *[Zuk erretzeak] eta [Mirenek edateak]
you-erg smoke-Nom-D-erg and Miren-erg drink-nom-Det-erg
kaltegarri baizik ezin du**te** izan zuentzat
harmful but cannot aux[3plE-3sA] for you
"That you smoke and that Miren drinks do not cause but harm"

Whereas (79) with an empty subject position and a generic interpretation licenses plural agreement in the auxiliary (-**te**), the same clauses with an overt referential subject do not license it. I will tentatively conclude then that plural agreement in those cases is not the norm, but is strictly associated to the presence of an arbitrary subject. I leave for further work the exact nature of that subject as well as its relation to the article. The article then would not inherently carry number features. This supports the view, put forth by Etxeberria (2005) and Eguren (2005), that the article and the number features occupy two different structural positions in the basque DP (a general assumption since Ritter, 1991 and much subsequent work). But then, if number is excluded as a feature of *–a* in nominalizations, and definiteness is a property of obviative clauses, what role does the article have in the rest of the cases, and how it relates to the obviative ones?

4.5.2.4. Disjoint reference for Situation Time

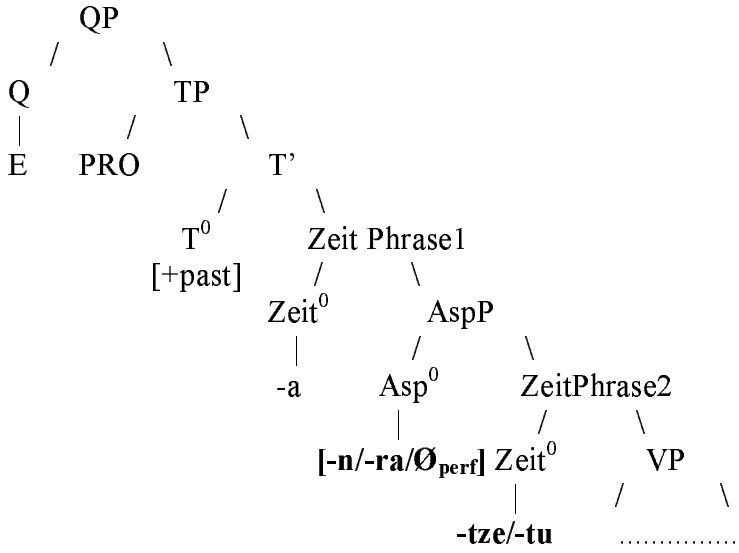
Zagona (1995, 2003) proposes that the two arguments of the temporal predicate, the external (evaluation time) and the internal one (the situation time) should be defined as carrying the formal features of mood [+indicative] and the feature [+/- past], respectively. The external time exhibits "alternations in interpretation comparable to the overt/PRO alternation of standard subjects" (Zagona, 2003, p. 152). In indicative clauses the external time will be dependent on speech time, whereas in non-indicative clauses, it will be analogous to controlled PRO, being dependent on the situation time of the higher event. The formal features [+/-past] are less transparent. Zagona claims that they correspond not exactly to past and present, but rather to present and not-present (past or future). As a way to clarify her approach, let us take a simple present indicative clause (p. 154):

(81) Mary likes carrots

In (81), the predicate TP (which she takes to be a composite of T -a light predicate-, and VP) denotes a set of times such that Mary likes carrots, and the evaluation time is a member of that set, by virtue of the predication relation that they establish. The present tense always denotes a relation of inclusion (of the time denoted by the external argument –the speech time- in the set of times denoted by the TP predicate). Note that liking carrots is a state which embraces the speech time interval, plus, plausibly, many other time intervals which go beyond the speech time. Past and future tenses are different in this regard. They don't give rise to inclusion relations between the evaluation time and the situation time. Rather, they locate the situation time in some ordered relation vis-à-vis the evaluation time: after that time for the future, before that time for the past. But for that, the situation time must be individuated. In other words, the relevant frame in which the ordering relations is established is binding. Both the future and the past have disjoined reference from the evaluation time. For Zagona, they are R-expressions. This property of past and future tenses is captured by the formal feature [+past], associated to T. [+Past], in the present scenario, is assigned or corresponds to an individuated entity, something that can be ordered after or later than a given reference point. Individuation is a semantic notion typically associated to nominals, and is at the basis of referencehood (see Baker, 2003). On the other hand we have already seen that Basque makes use of nominalizing suffixes in the aspectual realm: the complement of the outer aspectual

head is either *–tze* or a participle. The aspectual head is itself a two place predicate operating at the level of the event configuration. It seems thus as if Basque constructs the individuated entities entering into aspectual or temporal relations by means of nominal features. This intuition finds a concrete characterization in Zagona's system, and more generally, in all those systems which conceive of temporal and aspectual relations as binary predicates. *–a* is thus at the tense level, what *–tze* and the participle are at the aspectual level: nominal features which individualize the relevant aspectual/temporal entities[22]. Adopting again Stowell's concrete instantiation of the predicate-argument relation, the overall structure of nominalizations in Basque should approach the following one, for dependent tenses ([+past] is Zagona's formal feature, not a temporal notion):

(82)



(82) constitutes the basic structure on which a "roll up" syntactic derivation operates (see Haddican 2001, for Basque), yielding head last. I assume that the relevant aspectual heads cyclically attract their complement to their specifier. The article has no phi-features beyond [3rd person/individuation]. Aside from the rolling up procedure, the article raises to T to support the Tense affix. We could interpret "rolled up" structures in terms of a morphological condition which disfavors complex heads in an independent Morphological Module. At the point of Vocabulary Insertion, when a complex head such as D+T in Tense is created, morphological operations must opt between lexically realizing the article or lexically realizing the tense feature (if there is a vocabulary item for it). This yields the optionality of *–ko* versus *–a* in directives.

For nominalized clauses with an independent Tense, I will propose that D raises and merges to the existential quantifier. The semantic effect of this operation is to produce a strong quantifier. As Etxeberria has shown, strong quantifiers differ from weak ones in having an overt contextual restrictor. This contextual restrictor is invariably the determiner *–a* in Basque. Musan (1995) has argued, in the context of the temporal interpretation of noun

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[22] Nominalized complements of stative verbs such as *gustatu* « like » can also be past or future :

(i) Bertan erori izan-a ez zaio gustatu
there fallen be-part-Det neg aux like
« He/she didn't like having fallen there »

(ii) Anderenoari gustatu egin zaio [Jonek bihar poema hori errezitatzea]
teacher-dat like-ârt do-part aux Jon-erg tomorrow poem that-abs recite-Nom-D
« The teacher liked that Jon was going to recite a poem tomorrow »

phrases, that the distribution of temporally independent noun phrases largely corresponds to that of strong quantifiers. I will not follow her particular account of temporal independence, which relies on a neocarlsonian approach to the denotation of nouns. Lecarme (1999, 2004) provides a morphosyntactic analysis of the correlation between strong quantification and independent Tense that will do for this preliminary analysis. Freely borrowing from Lecarme's much more elaborated thesis, I will assume Strong quantifiers have a deictic feature which anchors the noun phrase in the speech time. Weak quantifiers have no such feature.

Finally, contextually restricted quantifiers are binding-theoretically akin to definite descriptions. Definite descriptions are R-expression, and force a Different Subject reading for the nominalized clause (Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002). Obviation and independent Tense therefore, go together in Basque nominalizations.

4.5. Summary

If postpositions are aspectual and temporal functional projections in the clause structure of the embedded infinitivals, and the determiner in OC cases belongs to the Tense domain, then the T probe in the matrix clause can reach an object in the embedded nominalized clause. There is no strong phase intervening between the two terms. (83) therefore constitutes the minimal restructuring configuration allowing LDA, with DP raising to a projection of ZeitP2 (cf. genitive objects) or to the outer specifier of vP for Case/EPP reasons.

(83) $[_{TP}\ \mathbf{T}^0\ [_{vP}\ v\ [_{VP}\ V^0\ [_{QP}\ \emptyset\ [_{TP}\ PRO\ T^0\ [_{ZeitP1}\ \textit{-a}\ [\ Asp^{\ 0}\ [_{ZeitP2}\ \mathbf{(DP)}\ [_{ZeitP2}\ \textit{-tze}\ [_{vP}\ \mathbf{(DP)}\ [_{vP}$ (PRO) v^0 $[_{VP}\ V^0$ (DP)]]]]]]]]]]]]

5. Agreement dependencies

In this section I will show that LDA in Basque is only possible across infinitival clauses that independently agree and check Case with the relevant matrix probes (see also Etxepare, 2003). I show that LDA in Basque fails to apply in those cases where Case/agreement can not be checked between the infinitival and the auxiliary[23]. This includes complex predicates, object control configurations, and unergative predicates.

5.1. Complex predicates

Consider the following contrasts:

(84) a. [PRO nere diruak itzultzeko] galdetu diot/(?)dizkiot
my riches return-Nom-gen asked Aux(1sE-3sA)/(1sE-3pA)
"I asked him/her to give me back my money"
b. [PRO nere diruak itzultzeko] galde egin diot/*dizkiot
my riches return-Nom-gen petition done Aux(1sE-3sA)/(1sE-3pA)
"I asked him/her to give me back my money"

(85) a. [PRO harri horiek altxatzen] probatu dute/dituzte
stone those lift-Nom-Loc attempt aux(3pE-3sA)/(3pE-3pA)
"They attempted to lift those stones"
b. [PRO harri horiek altxatzen] proba egin dute/*dituzte
stone those lift-Nom-Loc attempt done aux(3pE-3sA)/(3pE-3pA)

[23] Since nominalized clauses only have [3rd person] as a nominal feature, [person] must be the relevant feature for Case relations and transitivity. The latter is defended by Ormazabal (1998) and San Martin and Uriagereka (2002).

"They attempted to lift those stones"

In both (84) and (85) we contrast complex predicates composed by a noun plus the light verb *egin* "do" (the (b) cases) with their incorporated or synthetic versions (the (a) cases). Only in the latter case is LDA possible. At the same time, only in the latter could the infinitival clause occupy one of the agreement slots corresponding to the ditransitive/transitive auxiliary. In the complex predicate configuration the auxiliary agrees with the bare noun, the indirect object (in 84) and the subject. There is no room for more agreement relations, and the infinitival is left out of the Case/agreement domain. In that precise case, LDA is impossible (84b, 85b). That the relevant variable here is Case/agreement is shown by the following complex predicate structures, where the infinitival clause does overtly agree and check Case with the auxiliary:

(86) a. Uko egin dio/die [PRO horrelako liburuak argitaratzeari]
refusal done Aux(3sE-3sD-3sA)/(3sE-3pD-3sA) such books publish-Nom-D-Dat
"He/she refused to publish such books"
b. Muzin egin dio/die [PRO horrelako liburuak argitaratzeari]
frown done Aux(3sE-3sD-3sA)/(3sE-3pD-3sA) such books publish-Nom-D-Dat
"He/she frowned on publishing such books"

In (86a,b) the auxiliary agrees with the infinitival and checks Case with it. In that case, LDA becomes available. Observe that the only difference between (85b) and (86a,b) is the fact that in the latter, the infinitival shows dative Case, and agrees with the auxiliary.

5.2. Object Control

The dependency of LDA on independently existing Case/agreement configurations is shown also by object control structures. Object control verbs like *komentzitu* "convince", *behartu* "force", *animatu* "encourage" take a transitive auxiliary showing agreement with the subject and the object of the clause, but not with the infinitival itself (Goenaga, 1984),which takes a postpositional form (87a). LDA is impossible with those predicates (87b):

(87) a. Zuk ni [PRO lan horiek egitera] animatu nauzu
you me work those-abs do-Nom-All] encouraged aux[2sE-1sA]
"You encouraged me to do those works"
b. *Zuk ni [PRO lan horiek egitera] animatu gaituzu/nauzkitzu
you me work those-abs do-Nom-All] encouraged aux[2sE-1pA]

Under the same hypothesis, we can account for a distintion in the set of perception verbs. *Ikusi* "see" takes a transitive auxiliary which does not cross-reference the infinitival; *entzun* "hear/listen" takes a ditransitive auxiliary which does. The former does not allow LDA, the latter does:

(88) a. Jon [PRO kopla horiek kantatzen] ikusi dut/*ditut
Jon-abs song those sing-Nom-Loc seen aux(1sE-3sA)/(1sE-3pA)
"I saw Mikel singing those songs"
b. Joni [PRO kopla horiek kantatzen] entzun diot/dizkiot
Jon-dat song those-abs sing-Nom-Loc heard aux(1sE-3sD-3sA)/3sE-3sD-3pA)
"I heard/listen to Mikel singing those songs"

In (88a) the subject and the object exhaust all the possibilities for agreement with the auxiliary. In (88b) the ditransitive auxiliary offers room for one more agreeing element. In that case LDA (and local agreement too) become possible.

5.3. Unergative predicates

Unergative aspectual verbs which select for infinitival clauses do not allow LDA either. Consider the verb *jardun* "to be doing something". It takes a locative infinitival clause, but it doesn't take an object, despite the fact that it shows a transitive auxiliary:

(89) a. Jonek [PRO lan egiten] jardun du egun osoan
Jon-erg work do-Nom-Loc act aux(3sE-3sA) the whole day
"Jon has been working the whole day"
b. Jonek horretan jardun du
Jon-erg that-in act aux(3sE-3sA)
"Jon has worked/acted on that"
c. *Jonek hori jardun du
Jon-erg that-abs acted aux(tr)
"Jon worked/acted on that"

Verbs like *jardun* that never take an object do not allow LDA:

(90) Jonek [PRO apunteak kopiatzen] jardun du/*ditu

Unergative verbal periphrases like *ondo/gaizki egin* "to act correctly/incorrectly" do not license LDA either:

(91) a. Jonek ondo egin du [PRO diruak gordetzen]
Jon-erg well done aux(3sE-3sA) money-abs-pl keep-Nom-Loc
"John acted correctly by keeping (his) money"

b. *Jonek ondo egin ditu [PRO diruak gordetzen]
Jon-erg well done aux(3sE-3pA) money-abs-pl keep-Nom-Loc

The same restriction splits up the set of ditransitive directive predicates in two classes. Those which admit LDA in number are bona fide ditransitive predicates, able to agree with three nominal arguments. In this class are *eskatu* "ask for", *gomendatu* "recommend/suggest", *agindu* "order", *esan* "tell":

(92) a. Hiru liburu erosteko eskatu/esan/gomendatu/agindu diot/dizkiot
three book buy-Nom-fut asked/told/recommend/ordered aux[1sE-3sD-3s/plA]
"I told/asked/recommended/ordered him to buy three books"
b. Nik Joni hori eskatu/esan/gomendatu/agindu diot
I-erg Jon-dat that asked/told/recommend/ordered aux[1sE-3sD-3sA]

Other directive predicates, among which *erregutu* "to pray/supplicate", *erantzun* "reply", *ohartarazi* "make a remark/warn", *abisatu* "inform/notify", do not agree with three nominal arguments, and do not allow number LDA across their nominalized dependents:

(93) a. Hiru liburu erosteko erregutu/erantzun/ohartarazi/abisatu diot/*dizkiot
three book buy-Nom-fut prayed/replied/warned/informed aux[1sE-3sD-3s/plA]

"I prayed/replied/warned/notify (to) them that they should buy three books"
b. Hortaz/*Hori ohartarazi/abisatu diet
that-instr/that-abs warned/notified aux[1sE-3sD-3sA]
c. Erantzun/erregutu dit (esanez) bertara joateko
replied/supplicated aux[1sE-3sD-3sA] by-saying there go-Nom-fut
"He supplicated/replied by saying 'go there'"

(93b) shows that verbs like *warn* or *notify* in basque do not take absolutive arguments. (93c) shows that *reply* and *supplicate* have clear unergative uses. Although *erregutu* "pray" can marginally take an overt object, and *erantzun* "answer" does so easily, the objects in that case are probably cognate objects. *Erantzun* for instance does not easily accept overt agreement with an overt plural object:

(94) (*)Gauza batzuk erantzun dizkit
thing some-pl answered aux[1sE-3sD-3sA]
"He replied to me about some things"

(94) is good as "he gave me an answer concerning some things", not as "he gave some things/replies as an answer".

5.4. Two apparent exceptions: subject infinitivals and dislocated infinitivals
There is one configuration where the agreement dependency does not hold: it does not hold across (agreeing) subject infinitivals (95).

(95) [e liburu batzuk erosteak] ikasleak harritu ditu/*dituzte
book some buy-Nom-D-Erg students-abs-pl surprised aux[3sE-3pA]/*[3pE-3pA]
"Someone/he/she buying some books surprised the students"

This restriction does not come as a surprise if subject infinitival clauses belong to the realm of non obligatory control, and the latter, in Basque, implies either *pro*-subjects or lexically realized subjects (see also Martin, 1996; Hornstein, 2001, and San Martin, 2001). Note that postpositional infinitival clauses are banned from subject positions (Goenaga, 1984). As for why subject positions are confined to non-obligatory control, I refer the reader to Martin (1996) and San Martin's (2002) notion of chain collapse and their view on the feature composition of PRO. This analysis would extend to those cases where the nominalized clause is left dislocated. In (96b) the matrix verb is focalized (verb focalisation in Basque demands a dummy verb *egin* in the original verbal position, see Haddican (2005) for an analysis). All elements to the left of a focus are in topic position in Basque. Under those conditions, LDA becomes impossible.

(96) a. [PRO liburuak erostea] erabaki du/ditu
books-abs buy-Nom-D decided aux[3sE-3sA]/[3sE-3pA]
« He decided to buy books »
b. [PRO liburuak erostea] erabaki egin du/*ditu
books buy-Nom-D decided do aux[3sE-3sA]/[3sE-3pA]
"He decided to BUY books"

5.5. Interim conclusion
Unlike LDA configurations in other languages (such as Hindi –Bhat, 2005-; Itelmen – Bobaljik and Wurmbrandt, 2003-; Chamorro –Chung, 2004), basque LDA configurations

do not seem reducible to typical restructuring contexts. LDA involves ditransitive structures where the nominalized clause is an indirect object, and it occurs under transitive predicates which do not usually figure in normal restructuring verb lists, such as *onartu* "accept", *baztertu* "reject" or *aztertu* "consider". The set of verbs which allow LDA in number also includes psych verbs of the *like* class (such as *gustatu* "like") which are not restructuring verbs in any other language I know of. That the list includes such prominent restructuring verbs such as *want*, *forget* or *order*, only points to a wider generalization: *LDA is only possible across nominalized clauses which belong in the Case/agreement domain of the main clause*, and nominalized complements of restructuring verbs count among those clauses.

6. Case, Agreement and Active Goals

Basque LDA supports the idea that Case plays a mediating function in Agree. In fact, only nominalized clauses which independently agree and check Case with the auxiliary license LDA. On the other hand, it questions the notion of active Goal (Chomsky, 2000, 2001) as a relevant notion for Agree. It does so on two accounts: first, observe that LDA occurs across nominalized clauses which have their own aspectual and temporal structure. It is to be expected that nominalized clauses display a full argument structure, and accordingly the relevant functional structure to check absolutive Case. If this is so, then the matrix auxiliary is agreeing with a DP that already has its Case checked (an inactive Goal). But imagine for a moment that this is not the case. That is, that the inner structure of the nominalized clause is, as proposed for Wurmbrandt (1998), Boeckx (2003) and others for similar cross clausal agreement cases, a bare VP, unable to check the case of the inner object. In that case, absolutive Case would be checked by the matrix transitive auxiliary:

(97) [... **Aux**$_{\textbf{[uAgr]}}$ [$_{vP}$ v^0 [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{VP}$ **DP**$_{\textbf{[Case]}}$ V^0]]]]

Given that Basque is an ergative-absolutive language, the option represented in (97) makes a clear prediction: we should be able to find LDA (and long-distance case-checking) with absolutive subjects. But this is not the case. Consider the following contrast:

(98) a. [PRO liburuak irakurtzea] gustatzen zait/zaizkit
books-Abs-pl read-inf-D like-hab Aux(3sAbs-1sgDat)/(3plAbs-1sgDat)
"I like to read books"
b. [Haurrak geldi egotea] gustatzen zait/*zaizkit
children-Abs quiet be-inf-D like-hab Aux(3sAbs-1sgDat)/(3plAbs-1sgDat)
"I like that the children be quiet"

In (98a) LDA with the inner object is possible. Assume that this follows from the ability of the matrix auxiliary to reach into it. Then, it is not clear why the same thing is not possible in (98b), with another absolutive DP. The contrast follows straightforwardly if (98b) is a CP, with a person feature in Q which licenses an overt subject. Strong QPs being strong phases (see Butler, 2004), the matrix auxiliary would not be able to reach into the DP.

Then, that the embedded object has its own Case checked inside the infinitival is also shown by those Cases where the object of the nominalized clause and the nominalized clause check different Cases, and there is no possible source for the Case of the object in the matrix clause. Even in those cases, LDA is possible. Consider thus (99):

(99) Uko egin die [PRO agindu horiek betetzeari]
refusal-Abs done aux [3sE-3plD-3sA] order those obey-Nom-D-Dat
"He/she refused to obey those orders"

In (99), the matrix auxiliary agrees in Case (Dative) with the nominalized clause, but the dative affix in the auxiliary is plural, showing that it also agrees in number (but not in Case) with the absolutive object.

The facts lead us to reject Chomsky's formulation of Agree in terms of an *active* Goal. The conclusion is thus identical to the one reached by Bhat (2005) in view of the Hindi data. Rejection of the idea of an active Goal in Chomsky's terms, forces us to rethink those cases in which it is useful (Bhat, 2005, p.39):

(100) a. *John$_i$ is certain [t$_i$ will win]
b. * John$_i$ to seem [t$_i$ is intelligent]] would be surprising

Bhat suggests that the requirement that the Goal be active (that is, has an unchecked Case feature) is operative for pied-piping/move, but not for Agree. I tentatively accept the conclusion. There is however another aspect of the function of active Goals that does is not covered by Bhatt's reformulation: the intervention effect of other DPs. If Case checking is irrelevant to freeze a given syntactic domain for search, datives should be allowed to feely enter in LDA. In Basque, the intervention effect is illustrated by (22b), repeated here:

(22b) *Jonek$_i$ [e$_i$ Mireni liburu batzuk erostea] erabaki ditu
Jon-erg Miren-dat book some-abs-pl buy-Nom-D decided aux(3sE-3pA)
"Jon decided to buy Miren some books"

Solving this and other matching issues is the matter of section 7.

7. The Goal of Number LDA

7.1. The position of the object

In their analysis of LDA in Itelmen, Bobaljik and Wurmbrandt (2003, 2005) note that LDA correlates with wide scope of the agreed-with object. This wide scope is apparent in at least two things: the specific interpretation of the embedded object, and its relative scope with regard to semantic operators (intensional predicates and negation). Basque objects in LDA show neither of those properties. Consider (101):

(101) a. [PRO liburu zaharrak gordetzea] gustatzen zaizkio
book old-pl-abs keep-Nom-D like-hab aux[3sDat-3plA]
"He/she likes to keep (the) old books"
b. [PRO datorren urtean arbia eta patata ereitea] pentsatu ditu
next year-loc and potatoe plant-Nom-D thought aux[3sE-3plA]
"He/she has decided to plant X and potatoe"

In (101a) the interpretation of the object is the same as any other plural in object position: it can have a definite reading, or it can have an existential one, like bare nouns in romance (old books, in general). As for (101b), the object is there a conjunction of two kind denoting noun phrases, which have no specific interpretation. In any case the presence of plural LDA makes no difference at all.

With regard to intensional predicates and negation, the tests yield similar results. A sentence such as (102):

(102) a. [Leiho guziak ixtea] ahaztu zaizkio
window all-D-pl close-Nom-D forgot aux[3sDat-3plA]
"He forgot to close all the windows"
b. Jonek ez ditu [inoren aferak konpontzea] gogoko
Jon-erg neg aux[3sE-3plA] anyone's problems-abs solve-Nom-Det likeable
"Jon doesn't take pleasure in solving anyone's problems"

(102a) is compatible both with a scenario in which the subject forgot to close all windows (narrow scope), or one where all the windows remained open (wide scope). (102b) shows that the object, a negative polarity item, is c-commanded by negation (on this, see Laka, 1990). Also, the object does not seem to have moved when it is preceded by postpositional phrases modifying different aspects of the event:

(103) a. Jonek [PRO Mirenentzat liburu batzuk erostea] pentsatu ditu
Jon-erg Miren-ben book some-pl buy-Nom-D planned aux[3sE-3pA]
« Jon planned to buy some books for Miren »
b. [PRO baratzetik loreak hartzea] gustatzen zaizkio
garden-from flowers-abs take-Nom-Det like-hab aux[3sD-3plA]
"He/she likes to take flowers from the garden"
c. [PRO baratzean arrosak landatzea] gogoko ditu
garden-D-loc roses-abs plant-Nom-Det pleasurable aux[3sE-3plA]
"He finds pleasurable to plant roses in the garden"

In all cases, the order inside the clause reflects the unmarked word order. Any other ordering would require special stressing of the elements involved.

Objects in idioms and complex predicates also license LDA:

(104) a. Jonek [PRO Mirenengan itxaropen guztiak jartzea] erabaki ditu
Jon-erg Miren-loc hope all-pl put-Nom-D planned aux(3sE-3pA)
« Jon decided to put all hopes on Miren »
b. [PRO gorriak pasatzea] erabaki ditu, bere asmoak betetzeko
red-ones endure-Nom-D decided aux[3sE-3plA] his goals achieve-purpose
"He/she decided to endure anything in order to achieve his/her goals"
c. [PRO gordinak eta lirinak entzutea] tokatu zaizkio
crude-pl-abs and rotten-pl-abs hear-Nom-D aux[3sDat-3plA]
"He had to hear all sorts of bad things (lit. the crude and the rotten)"

We can conclude therefore that unlike in Itelmen, the embedded object in Basque remains in its Case/agreement position[24].

[24] There is one instance where the object seems to occupy a peripheral position. When the nominalized clause has negation, the object must precede it in order to license number LDA :
(i) a. [Liburuak ez eramatea] pentsatu ditu
books neg take-Nom-D thought aux[3sE-3plA]
« He/she planned not to take the books with him/her »
b. [Ez liburuak eramatea] pentsatu du/*ditu
neg books-abs take-Nom-Det thought aux[3sE-3sA/3sE-3plA]
« He/she planned not to take the books with him/her »

7.2. LDA into ditransitive clauses

All cases we have seen to this point involved LDA with an embedded absolutive argument. Dative arguments can also be targetted for number LDA under certain limits. They can be targetted for LDA if they are inside a dative Case marked nominalized clause. The result is not as natural as LDA with absolutive arguments:

(105) ?Uko egin die [buruzagiei obeditzeari]
refusal done aux[3sE-3plDat-3sA] chief-pl-dat obey-Nom-D-dat
« He refused to obey the chiefs »

(105) should be compared with (106), which is utterly impossible:

(106) *Erabaki ditu [buruzagiei obeditzea]
decided aux[3sE-3plA] chief-pl-dat obey-Nom-D-dat
« He decided to obey the chiefs »

The difference between the two cases is that the complex predicate *uko egin* "to refuse" is a ditransitive structure, assigning dative case to its nominalized dependent. Some sort of "case-harmony" is therefore required for LDA with dative arguments[25].

The presence of a dative argument in an LDA configuration helps to bring out a set of intriguing asymmetries between dative and absolutive arguments in LDA cases. Since LDA in number with dative arguments is possible, one would think that in ditransitive nominalized clauses LDA should be able to target just the dative argument. According to that expectation, a configuration such as (107) should be possible, with LDA targetting only the dative-DP:

(107) $Aux_{[uN]}$...[... $Dat_{[pl]}$... Abs]-Dat
_ _ _ _ _ _/

As (108) shows, (107) yields a deviant sentence:

Rather than thinking of an eventual blocking effect of negation, comparable to the one it exerts in clitic climbing, I suggest that negation in (ib) occupies a different position, high in the clause structure. To my ears, (ib) greatly favors an obviative reading of the subject. If so, the position of negation must be related to the presence of independent Tense, which induces opacity. Negation in finite clauses precedes Tense, as showed by Laka (1990). If this is correct, negation can occupy at least two different positions in the nominal clause. See Etxepare (2003b) for independent evidence in this regard. In both cases negation can license a negative polarity item :

(ii) b. Jonek [inoren aferak ez konpontzea] erabaki du/ditu
Jon-erg anyone's issues neg solve-Nom-D decided aux(3sA)/(3sE-3pA)
"Jon decided not to solve anyone's issues"

(ii) also shows that LDA in number can not be due to movement out of the non-finite clause. Long distance scrambling of NPIs in Basque yields poor results.

[25] Those cases should be distinguished fron cases such as (i). The latter cases are perfectly natural, show none of the case-harmony conditions operative in number LDA, require a change in the valency of the auxiliary (from transitive to ditransitive) (ia), and allow person LDA (ib), unlike the above cases:

(i) a. Erabaki diogu [Joni hori ematea]
decided aux[3plE-3sD-3sA] Jon-dat that-abs give-Nom-D
"We thought of giving that to Jon"
b. Erabaki dizute [hori ematea]
decided aux[3plE-2sDat-3sA] that-abs give-Nom-D
"They decided to give you that"

I said at the beginning that the above cases are better approached as instances of clitic climbing under restructuring. See Arregi et alia (2004).

(108) *Uko egin die [lankideei opari bat egiteari]
refuse done aux[3sE-3plD-3sA] colleagues present one do-Nom-D-dat
"He refused to give a present to the colleagues]

The set of configurations that yield legitimate LDA in number are the following:

(109) a. Aux $_{[uN]}$ ...[... Abs $_{[pl]}$...]$_{ABS}$
b. Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [...Dat $_{[pl]}$ ...]$_{DAT}$
c. Aux $_{[uN]}$ ...[... Abs $_{[pl]}$...]$_{DAT}$

The set of configurations which do not admit LDA are the following[26]:

(110) a. *Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [...Dat $_{[pl]}$ ...]$_{ABS}$
b. *Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [... Dat $_{[sing]}$ ... Abs $_{[pl]}$ ...]$_{ABS}$
c. *Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [... Dat $_{[pl]}$ ... Abs $_{[pl]}$ ...]$_{ABS}$
d. *Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [...Dat $_{[pl]}$ ...Abs $_{[sing]}$ ...]$_{DAT}$
e. *Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [...Dat $_{[sing]}$ ...Abs $_{[pl]}$ ...]$_{DAT}$
d. ?Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [...Dat $_{[pl]}$ ...Abs $_{[pl]}$ ...]$_{DAT}$

Note that (109) does not pattern with normal agreement in Basque. Each argument in Basque independently agrees in person and number with the auxiliary in main clauses. The impossibility of (107) leads us to conclude the following: long distance Agree is not a process that directly targets an embedded argument. If that were the case we would expect independent checking of f-features against each of the goals separately. It must be the case that LDA is mediated by some intermediate probe inside the nominal clause. Independent evidence that LDA in number is not established directly with the DP arguments but is mediated by some other clause internal projection, is provided by those cases where the DP finds itself at the edge of the clause, but nevertheless does not trigger LDA. Despite the fact that cyclic locality would allow for it, absolutive DPs in the edge of complement CPs do not trigger LDA:

(111) a. Badakigu zein(tzu) erosi
we-know [3sA] which(pl) to buy
"We know which ones to buy"
b. *Badakizkigu zein(tzu) erosi
we know[3plA] which to buy

(112) a. Ez digute galdetu [zein(tzu) etorriko diren]
neg aux[3plE-1plD-3sA] asked who-pl will come-Comp
"They didn't ask us who will come"
b. *Ez dizkigute galdetu [zein(tzu) etorriko diren]
neg aux[3plE-1plD-3plA] asked who-pl will come-Comp
"They didn't ask us who will come"

[26] I find (110d) better than the other cases. The structure is illustrated in (i):
(i) Uko egin die lankideei opariak egiteari haien urtebetzean
refuse do aux[3sE-3plD-3sA] colleagues-dat presents-abs do-Nom-Dat their birthday-loc
« He/she refused to make presents to his/her colleagues for their birthday »

Agreement in the plural with the wh-words *zein/zeintzu* "which/which-pl" is independently possible in Basque. We may wonder why LDA is impossible across CPs. Of course, the actual structure of those complements may turn out to be one where the wh-word is embedded under more structure than it seems. But this is not evident. Alternatively, we can take those cases to show that LDA is mediated by an L-related position X^0 internal to the clause. In other words, that an Agree relation is first established between the matrix probe and this L-related position, and that this mediating probe later on targets the embedded DPs. Obviously, if the mediating probe is lower than C, it will be too far away for the matrix probe to access it. (111) and (112) then follow as violations of Phase-related locality:

(113) *Probe...$[_{CP}$ C^0 $[_{TP...}$ X^0...DP...]]
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ /

Whatever X is, it is not D, as number agreement in the absence of D is perfectly possible:

(114) a. Joni [PRO kopla horiek kantatzen] entzun dizkiot
Jon-dat song those-abs sing-Nom-Loc heard aux[3sE-3sD-3pA]
"I heard/listened to Jon singing those songs"
b. [PRO liburuak itzultzeko] eskatu dizkidate
book-pl-abs give-back asked aux[3plE-1sD-3pA]
"They asked me to give back the books"

8. Indirect checking and Phase Agreement

Let us consider first the Case/LDA combinations which yield acceptable sentences. I repeat them here:

(115) a. Aux $_{[uN]}$ ...[... Abs $_{[pl]}$...]$_{ABS}$
b. Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [...Dat $_{[pl]}$ ...]$_{DAT}$
c. Aux $_{[uN]}$ ...[... Abs $_{[pl]}$...]$_{DAT}$

The wrong cases all involve LDA with datives inside absolutive nominalized clauses. I will adopt Pesetsky and Torrego's idea that absolutive Case[27] is checked by an inner temporal/aspectual head, which selects a DP with a non-interpretable Tense-feature [uT]. I will interpret the dependent Tense of control infinitives as possessing the formal feature [uT], as opposed to the T head of independent Tense, which would be characterized as having [iT]. The inner T of the matrix clause therefore checks absolutive Case, which in the present terms is just uT in the nominalized clause[28]. T is realized as one of the aspect-related projections in the structure of nominalizations. Genitive objects target a Zeit Phrase related position, I've claimed. Let us say that the head that checks absolutive Case is the aspectual phrase (Fernandez, 1997), the locus of inner T. Inner T has its own uninterpretable phi-features, just like outer T. With our assumptions laid out, let us address the first case (117a):

(116) ...$[_{AspP1}$ Asp^0 $[_{VP}$ ...V^0 $[_{TD}$ T^0+D^0 ...$[_{AspP2}$ Asp^0 $[_{ZeitP}$ DP-abs Zeit $[_{vP}$ PRO....]]]]]

[27] For absolutive=accusative, see Bobaljik (1993) and Laka, (1993)

[28] The obvious question that arises here is how independent Tense complements are ever possible if inner T requires a complement with a [uT] feature. The question arises well beyond this particular case, in fact it arises in all cases of finite complementation, as Torrego and Pesetsky concede. For them, C always has [uT] features, regardless of the nature of the T head in the embedded clause. This way the requirement that inner T select a complement with a [uT] feature is directly obeyed. That C should have such a feature follows from their analysis of several C-T phenomena, such as do-support or *that*-omission in English. For Basque, I will just assume that in obviative nominalizations, the structure is basically identical to finite dependents, except for person features.

[iT]	[uT]+[iP]	[iT]	[iP]
[uP]	[uN]	[uP]	[iN]
[uN]		[uN]	

The inner T that checks absolutive has interpretable T features and non-interpretable person and number features. It is therefore, a complete Probe. The dependent Tense of nominalized clauses has a non-interpretable T feature (Case) and an uninterpretable number feature valued by the closest DP (the absolutive object), but no person features. T+D however has interpretable person features, after D raises to T. Although Asp1, a complete Probe, can check the Case feature of T+D, T+D does not constitute a complete Goal. It has a person feature, but no interpretable number features. Therefore, it cannot value the phi-features of Asp (Chomsky, 2001, 2004). Asp1 must search further down to value its phi-features. Asp2 has no interpretable person or number features, so it cannot be a Goal. Asp2 is itself a complete Probe too. Let us say that both Asp1 and Asp2 reach into the DP in Spec of ZeitP, and value their features. There is at least one problem with this simple approach to feature valuation: there is no reason why we should not have LDA in person in all those cases where we can have LDA in number. By person, I mean first or second person long distance agreement. Consider in this regard the ungrammaticality of (117):

(117) a. *[zu bertan ikustea] gustatzen zatzaizkio
you there see-Nom-Det like-hab aux[3sD-2sA]
"He/she likes to see you there"
b. *[zu gonbidatzea] baztertu zaituzte
you-abs invite-Nom-Det refused aux[3plE-2sA]

The impossibility of person LDA in those contexts is surprising, in view of the simple Agree algorithm we have employed. There are two ways of accommodating this restriction in the Agree algorithm. The first one would take Agree to proceed bottom up, and allow valued uninterpretable features to cyclically value uninterpretable features hosted in higher heads. Under this possibility, the embedded object would value the number and person features of Asp2, and the latter would count as full Goals for T, which would just value its uninterpretable number feature. T (with its valued number feature) and D would then count as a complete Goal for matrix Asp1. This way, the value of person in matrix T will only be third. The other way to integrate the person restriction would follow Richards (2005) and Richards and Rackowski's (2005) idea that probing for an embedded argument proceeds in two steps: first, the matrix probe agrees with the clause; then it agrees with the embedded argument, which must have non-distinct features. In other words: the first instance of Agree sets the form of further agreement operations. This way, since the clause head has a third person feature (but remember, not an interpretable number feature), all further instances of Agree would have to be of the third person form. In either case, checking is indirect, in the sense that it is not directly established with a full Goal, but proceeds by partial valuation of features along a phase.

In any case, the two variants of the Agree operation sketched above do not rule out LDA across an absolutive clause with a dative argument. In other words, they don't make the right cut distinguishing (118a,b):

(118) a. Aux $_{[uN]}$ ...[... Abs $_{[pl]}$...]$_{DAT}$
b. *Aux $_{[uN]}$ ... [...Dat $_{[pl]}$ ...]$_{ABS}$

If Case is just uninterpretable T in the nominalized clause, then the two cases are undistinguishable. Observe that (118b) can not be ruled out by invoking a simple dependency between the Case and the phi-features involved: precisely, the two are split in (118a). On the other hand, completely divorcing the two will leave us without an account of (118b).

Trask (1995) has observed for Basque that indirect object marking in many cases is jointly made by two different kinds of morphemes in the auxiliary: on the one hand, a morpheme that marks the existence of an indirect object, such as *–ki-* or *–ts-*. On the other, person and number features related to the indirect object. This squares well with a number of recent proposals that datives are introduced in the VP structure by an independent applicative head (Romero, 1997; Ormazabal and Romero, 2001; Anagnastopoulou, 2003). This morpheme is responsible for checking or assigning the dative Case of the indirect object. Combining Trask's insight with those recent proposals, I suggest that we separate phi-features from the case assigning head in the presence of an indirect object. Assume that the independent dative marking head is a further instantiation of inner T, responsible for dative Case-checking. Inner T would therefore have two different instantiations, which would correlate with different aspectual roles and different cases. The aspectual contribution of dative has been noted among others by Etxepare (2003) (see also Arregi and Ormazabal, 2003). The structural representation of (118a) according to this is now (119):

(119) $\ldots[_{AspP}\ Asp_{dat}\ [_{AgrP}\ Agr\ [[_{VP}\ \ldots V^0\ [_{TD}\ T^0{+}D^0\ \ldots[_{AspP2}\ Asp^0\ [_{ZeitP}$ DP-abs$\ldots.]]]]]$

[iT]	[uN]		[uT]+[iP]		[iT]	[iP]
	[uP]		[uN]		[uP]	[iN]
					[uN]	

iT in Asp checks the Case of the clause. Following a similar suggestion by Bhatt (2005), I will claim that Agree successively marks for matching all heads containing uninterpretable features. A set of feature matrices is thus marked for matching containing Agr-dative, now separated from Asp, T+D, the embedded Asp- head and the DP-Goal. At the point of Transfer, all the heads marked for Matching in the phase must have their features valued, and the values must be non-distinct. It is because the matrix Probe has no T-features that the values entering into matching in (119) can be shared. The temporal feature of Asp, a concrete realization of inner T, is not present in the set of heads that enter into matching. After Agree has valued the uninterpretable features of all matching heads, Agr raises to adjoin to Asp. This is no ad hoc process: auxiliaries are complex heads, behaving as phonological clitics at the clausal level (see Ortiz de Urbina, 1994). Raising of Agr to Asp is then part of a more general rule. Let me lay out the basic assumptions of the Agree operation above:

(120) (i) Heads, as feature matrices, are the entities which enter into Agree
(ii) Agree involves matching and multiple feature valuation of uninterpretable features in a Phase
(iii) At PF/Morphological Structure, the feature matrices of the heads entering into Agree must be non-distinct (i.e. at least overlapping), and the values of the features they share must be identical,
(iv) Complex heads count as (simple) heads

Now consider the impossible (118b):

(121) $\ldots[_{AspP1}\ Asp^0\ \ [_{VP}\ \ldots V^0\ [_{TD}\ T^0{+}D^0\ \ldots[\ Agr{+}Asp\ [_{AspP2}$ DP-dat $(Asp^0)\ [\ldots.]]]]]$

[iT_{abs}]			[uT]+[iP]	[uP]	[iT_{dat}]	[iP]

[uP] [uN] [uN] [iN]
[uN]

Unlike in (118), by the time Agree applies, Agr and dative aspect have already merged, and constitute a complex head. If Agree crucially involves heads containing uninterpretable features, and requires identity in the values of all the features included in the relevant heads, then (121) is ruled out: the higher Asp head and the lower one ($Agr+Asp_{dat}$) will have conflicting T-values.

It is easy to see that this account will also extend to (115b), with a dative DP inside a dative clause, because all interpretable T-features involved will be the same. Finally, the algorithm will rule out any conflicting temporal matrices in the Phase. This accounts for all cases where the nominalized clause contains a dative inside an absolutive. This way we capture the so called "intervention" effect without assuming that Case-checked DPs are inert for probing.

There is one further case that merits attention: we observed in (22c) that scrambling of an object across an indirect object circumvents "intervention". How can this amelioration effect be formulated in our approach? We may just assume that in those cases T contains an EPP feature that triggers scrambling of the DP-object. This object will be the closest Goal for the matrix Probe, which does not have to search deeper. The configuration resulting from scrambling does not provide any chance for temporal conflict in Agree with lower heads, since it happens in a local domain which excludes clause-internal aspectual projections. If we assume that scrambled DPs contain a still visible uninterpretable temporal feature, scrambling of dative DPs will cause the same T-feature mismatch as in-situ dative DPs, since their uT feature will be distinct from inner absolutive iT in the matrix clause. This way, we may understand why scrambling to Spec of T does not free up the dative for LDA.

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