

Dative displacement in Basque *

Milan Rezac & Beatriz Fernández

UMR 7023 CNRS/University of Paris 8 & University of the Basque Country

Abstract:

In some Basque varieties, all arguments with dative case control a dedicated series of dative agreement affixes, while in others, some or all 1st/2nd person datives take over agreement otherwise reserved for the absolutive. We explore this *dative agreement displacement* to understand its syntactic and morphological character, its parametrization across Basque dialects, and its relationship to cross-linguistic analogues. Our results favour a syntactic analysis, whereby datives come to participate in the syntax underlying absolutive agreement, despite their dative case. Consequently, one source of variation is syntactic parameters, such as the distribution of Agree/Move triggers, circumscribed by syntactic principles, such as locality. When the resulting syntactic configurations are submitted to spell-out, properties of the morphological component further microparametrize the outcome. Dative displacement thus permits an examination of the different sources of linguistic variation in syntax, morphology, and their interaction. It also sheds light on the nature of the absolutive: the take-over of absolutive agreement by the dative systematically leads to the emergence of new absolutive agreement morphology, suggesting absolutives require agreement for licensing.

Keywords: dative, absolutive, agreement, case, morphology, licensing, modularity

1 Introduction

In this paper, we discuss differences across Basque dialects in the accessibility of datives to absolutive-type agreement. In most varieties, including Standard Basque, datives control a dedicated series of dative suffixes. In some varieties however, their agreement 'displaces' to take over agreement otherwise reserved for the absolutive. To this phenomenon we refer as *dative displacement*. It is a rich domain to explore the properties and parameters of dialectal variation: the basic morphology of more than fifty dative displacement varieties has been documented, and four have been examined in more detail for this work. Recent research on comparable agreement displacements reveals that sometimes they affect not only morphology, but also syntax. This appears to be true of

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Basque dative displacement as well, although much remains to be understood. We first describe the phenomenon and its parametrization across Basque dialects in section 2, then outline syntactic and morphological approaches to it and their different predictions in section 3, to conclude with hints of its syntactic character in section 4.

Dative displacement lies at the crossroads of two ways to treat an argument added to plain transitive and unaccusative structures. The argument structure of plain transitives consists of the *external argument* EA and the *internal argument* O, *She_{EA} boils water_O*, and that of plain unaccusatives of the internal argument S, *Water_S boils*. To these may be added an argument that we will refer to as the *indirect object* IO, across a variety of structures and interpretations such as *send, bake, refuse, grudge someone_{IO} a cake*. We will need to differentiate O and S according to whether they stand in a plain transitive or unaccusative, where we notate them O1, S1 as in *send a cake_{O1}*, or combine with an IO, in which case we notate them O2, S2 as in *send someone_{IO} a cake_{O2}*.

The addition of an IO to a plain structure leads to two results cross-linguistically: *primary-IO* and *dative-IO* systems (Malchukov et al. 2010). In *primary-IO* systems, the IO behaves like the O1/S1 for case and agreement, while the remaining O2/S2 tends to behave differently.¹ In English (1), the IO is an accusative object in the active, but an agreeing nominative subject in the passive, like O1, while the remaining O2 is unaffected by passivization. In Inuit (2), the IO is an agreeing absolutive, like O1, and the remaining O2 is a nonagreeing instrumental. In Nahuatl (3), the IO controls the same agreement as O1, while the remaining O2 controls a special agreement restricted to 3SG/3PL.² In Mohawk, O2/S2 incorporates (Baker 1996), and in Southern Tiwa it both incorporates and contributes special 3SG/3PL agreement distinctions of the Nahuatl type (Allen et al. 1990). The IO of a primary IO system behaves like O1/S1 not only for case and agreement but also for A-movement, as seen in English passives (1), although it may differ from O1/S1 on other properties such as incorporability (Baker 1996: 7.3, Peterson 2007: 3.4, Ngonyani and Githinji 2006).³

- (1) a. She baked/sent **us_{IO}** two cakes.
 b. **We_{IO}** were baked/sent two cakes (them) by Kate
 c. *Two cakes were baked/sent **us_{IO}** by Kate.

(English)

- (2) Juuna-p **Kaali_{IO}** atuakka-nik nassip-p-a-a.
 Juuna-ERG_i Kaali[.ABS]_k books-PL.INS send-INDIC-[+tr]-3S_i.3S_k
 Juuna sent the books to Kaali.

¹ There are also *symmetric IO systems* where the IO and O2/S2 seem indistinguishable to Case/agreement system, sometimes participating in it simultaneously; see Baker (1988), Bresnan and Moshi (1990), MacKay and Trechsel (2008). A variant of primary-IO unaccusatives treats the IO as EA and the S2 as S1; see Baker (1996: 9.3.2), Rezac (2011: 5.6). For systems with multiple IOs, see McGinnis (2001).

² This type of number-only agreement for O2/S2 will be important to us; for its occurrence in primary-IO systems, see further Baker (1996: 5.2.1., 2008: 3.3.3), Peterson (2007: 3.4.3).

³ We keep the glosses of the sources, save for person 1/2/3 number s[ingular] / p[lural] as in 1P; the abbreviations are FUT(ure), IMPERS(onal), IND(icative), INS(trumental), LOC(ative), OBJ(ect), RED(uplicate), SU(bject).

(Inuit, Bittner and Hale 1996: 18)

- (3) Ni-**mitz**_{IO}-im-maca in huē-hue'xōlo-'.
1s.SU-2s.O-3P.O-give IN RED-turkey-PL
I give you the turkeys.

(Nahuatl, Baker 1996: 240 note 12)

In *dative-IO* systems, O2/S2 has the same behavior as O1/S1, and it is the added IO that acts otherwise. In French (4), the IO is a nonagreeing dative in the active and passive, whereas O2 changes from an accusative in the active to an agreeing nominative subject in the passive, like O1. Among other systems that follow this pattern are Standard Spanish, Greek, as well as Inuit (5) beside the primary IO option in (2).

- (4) a. Je les **lui**_{IO} ai cuits/envoyés.
I.NOM them.ACC him.DAT have.1S cooked/sent.PL
I have baked them for him.
b. Ils **lui**_{IO} ont été cuits/envoyés.
they.NOM him.DAT are.3P been cooked/sent.PL
They have been baked for him.

(French)

- (5) Juuna-p atuakka-t **Kaali-mut**_{IO} nassi-up-p-a-i.
Juuna-ERG_i book-PL[.ABS]_j Kaali-DAT send-APPL-IND-[+tr]-3S_i.3P_j
Juuna sent the books to Kaali.

(Inuit, Bittner and Hale 1996: 18)

Cross-linguistically, the different treatment of the IO in primary and dative systems is independent of the theta-role of the IO, such as goal or possessor, or the presence of applicative morphology, which signals the presence of (certain) IOs in some systems, although these properties may correlate with how an IO is treated within a given system, as in Inuit (2) with and (5) without applicative morphology (Baker 1988, 1996, Peterson 2007). The differences between primary and dative IO systems must lie either in other selectional properties or in higher functional architecture. We will return to these options in the analysis of Basque dative displacement.

2 Dative Displacement

Most Basque varieties are dative-IO systems, including Standard Basque. Basque is an ergative-absolutive language. S and O participate in one case-agreement pattern, the *absolutive*, and EA in another, the *ergative*. The pattern of case and agreement is illustrated in (6). The absolutive controls the *prefix*, fusionally signalling the person and number of 1st/2nd person controllers, and the *PL* marker, which signals the plurality of 1/2/3.PL controllers. The ergative controls the *ergative suffix*, fusionally signalling person and number. The agreement controllers are also often detectable through root allomorphy: in (6), the root *u* is chosen when there is an ergative agreement controller,

and hence we gloss it \sqrt{EA} for ergative-absolutive, while the root *iz* indicates that there is only an absolutive agreement controller, \sqrt{A} for absolutive.⁴

- (6) a. zu-k gu ekarri ga-it-u-zu
 you-ERG us.ABS brought 1P-PL- \sqrt{EA} -2SE
 You invited us.
 b. ni etorri na-iz
 me.ABS come 1S- \sqrt{A}
 I came.

(Standard Basque)

The addition of the IO in (7) adds a dative argument to the clause and a dative agreement suffix before the ergative suffix. It may also influence the form of the root, indicated as \sqrt{EDA} for an ergative-dative-absolutive root and \sqrt{DA} for a dative-absolutive one. The presence of an agreeing dative does not affect other arguments or their case and agreement, save in restricting the absolutive O2 and sometimes S2 to 3rd person (the *Person Case Constraint*, Laka 1993, Albizu 1997, Rezac 2008c).

- (7) a. zu-k **gu-ri** sagarr-ak ekarri d- **i-** zki-gu- zu
 you-ERG us-DAT apple-PL.ABS brought D- \sqrt{EDA} -PL-1SD-2SE
 You brought the apples to us.
 b. gu **zu-ri** etorri ga- tzai- zki-zu
 we.ABS you-DAT come 1P- \sqrt{DA} -PL-2SD
 We came to you.

(Standard Basque)

⁴ For a detailed and perspicuous presentations of Basque agreement, see Laka (1993) and Albizu (2002). On nouns, we gloss plural as PL and case as ERG, ABS, DAT. Agreement is borne by an auxiliary root for most verbs. We use PL for the O/S pluralizer, PL2 for the O2/S2 pluralizer of dative displacement dialects; person 1/2/3 s[ingular]/p[plural], e.g. 1P, and furthermore case E[ergative] / [D]ative, e.g. 1PE, if the controller always has a unique case (suffixes but not the prefix); \sqrt{EDA} , \sqrt{DA} , \sqrt{A} , \sqrt{EA} for roots according to whether their form indicates the presence of E(rgative), D(ative), A(absolute) agreement controllers; and D for the default prefix varying by tense and mood. The agreement morphemes of Standard Basque and largely shared across the dialects are given below for reference. 2SG *zu* is historically 2PL and thus controls the PL as well as 2s, while 2PL is formed from it by the addition of a second pluralizer (*te*).

Standard Basque agreement markers for the auxiliary (without dative and ergative displacement)

Phi	Case Position	ABS Prefix + PL	DAT DAT suffix	ERG ERG suffix
1SG		n-	-da-, -t	-da-/-t
1PL		g- + -it-	-gu-	-gu-
2SG		z- + -it-	-zu-	-zu-
2PL		z- + -it- (+ -te-)	-zue-	-zue-
3SG		-	-o-	-
3PL		+ -it-/-zki-	-e-	-te-

Some Basque dialects deviate from the foregoing system by *dative displacement DD* (Fernández 2001, 2002, 2004, Fernández and Ezeizabarrena 2003, Rezac 2006, 2008ab). The IO remains dative in case morphology, often continues to control dative suffixes, and often as well to trigger a form of the root indicating the presence of an agreeing dative. However, it usurps control of the prefix and PL morphology, otherwise reserved to O/S. This only occurs with 1st/2nd person IOs, and depends on other parameters that vary across dialects, such as the phi-features of the IO, tense, and transitivity.⁵ Thus within one and the same dialect, the prefix and PL morphology is controlled by O1/S1, and by O2/S2 if dative displacement does not occur, but by IO if it does. When the IO takes over PL morphology, O2/S2 cannot control it, as it does in standard Basque, and often a second plural morpheme appears that is not found otherwise, PL2 (as in Standard Basque, O2/S2 can only be 3SG/PL in the presence of an agreeing IO).

We exemplify dative displacement from three varieties that illustrate these properties and the range of parametric variation. In (8) is shown dative displacement in Sara Basque (Lapurdian-Navarrese, Lapurdi).⁶ Plain transitives are the same as in Standard Basque, (6). All 1st/2nd datives undergo dative displacement, in the present and past, but only in transitives. Under dative displacement, the dative IO gains control of prefix and PL. Sometimes it continues to control the dative suffix as well, as in (8)f, in a way that varies unpredictably across otherwise identical dialects.⁷ The plurality of O2 is reflected by PL2. The dialect does not distinguish roots according to whether an agreeing dative is present or not.

- (8) a. **ni-ri_i** sagarr-a_k eman **na_i-u**
 me-DAT apple-ABS given 1S-√E(D)A
 She gave the apple to me. (Same form *nau* as for 'She saw me', cf. (6))
- b. **ni-ri_i** sagarr-ak_k eman **na_i-u-zki_k**
 me-DAT apple-PL.ABS given 1S-√E(D)A-PL2
 She gave the apples to me.
- c. **gu-ri_i** sagarr-a_k eman **ga_i-it_i-u**
 us-DAT apple-ABS given 1P-PL-√E(D)A
 She gave the apple to us. (Same form *gaitu* as for 'She saw us', cf. (6))
- d. **gu-ri_i** sagarr-ak_k eman **ga_i-it_i-u-zki_k**
 us-DAT apple-PL.ABS given 1P-PL-√E(D)A-PL2
 She gave the apples to us.
- e. **zu-ri_i** sagarr-a_k eman **za_i-it_i-u**
 you-DAT apple-ABS given 2S-PL-√E(D)A
 She gave the apple to you. (Same for *zaitu* as for 'She saw you')
- f. **zu-ri_i** sagarr-ak_k eman **za_i-u-zki_k-tzu**

⁵ The datives that can participate in dative displacement are thus those that could control the prefix, since it is reserved to 1st/2nd person controllers, but by undergoing dative displacement they control PL as well, which canonically has (1/2)/3PL.ABS controllers. Cf. the Appendix.

⁶ We follow Zuazo's (2003) classification of Basque dialects.

⁷ For instance, in the Sara variety shown doubling only in ERG-2.IO.DAT-3PL.O2, but in the neighbouring Ahetze Sara it also occurs in ERG-1.IO.DAT-3PL.O2 (*gaituzkigu* for *gaituzki* in (8)d; Yrizar 1997: 121).

you-DAT apple-PL.ABS given 2s-√E(D)A-PL2-2SD
 She gave the apples to you.

(Dative displacement, Sara Basque, Fernández 2001)

Oñati Basque (Western Basque, Gipuzkoa) in (10) exhibits the same principles with different parameters. Plain transitives are again as in Standard Basque, save that 1st/2nd persons never control PL, so that for (6)a *gaitu* occurs *gau*. Dative displacement occurs only for 1st person datives, only in the past, and only in transitives. The dative gains control of the prefix, but retains control of the dative suffix, and the root continues to indicate the presence of an agreeing dative. In this dialect S2/O2 never agrees for PL when an agreeing dative is present, whether the dative undergoes dative displacement as 1st person or not in other persons.

- (9) a. **ne-ri_i** sagarr-a(k)_k emun **n_i-os-ta_i-n**
 me-DAT apple-(PL.)ABS given 1s-√EDA-1SD-PAST
 She gave the apple(s) to me.
 b. **gu-ri_i** sagarr-a(k)_k emun **g_i-os-ku_i-n**
 us-DAT apple-(PL.)ABS given 1P-√EDA-1PD-PAST
 She gave the apple(s) to me.

(Dative displacement, Oñati Basque, Yrizar 1992, Badihardugun 2005)

Oiartzun Basque (Central Basque, transitional variety, Gipuzkoa) completes the illustration of the range of variation. The system is shown in Table 1. For 1SG datives, dative displacement is obligatory. For the remaining 1st/2nd person datives, it is obligatory in transitives with a singular O2, but much more limited in transitives with a plural O2 or in unaccusatives with singular S2, and absent in unaccusatives with a plural S2. This pattern is characteristic of the area and reflects the diachronic spread of the phenomenon (Rezac 2008b).

Table 1: Dative displacement in Oiartzun present tense (cf. ex. (10))

	Transitive <i>eman</i> 'give'				Unaccusative <i>gustatzen</i> 'liking'			
	SG <i>sagarra</i> 'apple'		PL <i>sagarrak</i> 'apples'		SG <i>sagarra</i> 'apple'		PL <i>sagarrak</i> 'apples'	
	Non-DD	DD	Non-DD	DD	Non-DD	DD	Non-DD	DD
1SG <i>nei</i>	-	nazu	-	nazkizu	-	nau	-	nazki
1PL <i>guri</i>	-	gattuzu	dizkizugu	(gattuzu)	digu	(gattu ⁸)	dizkigu	-
2SG <i>zuri</i>	-	zattut	dizkizut	(zattut)	dizu	zattu	dizkizu	-
2PL <i>zuei</i>	-	zattuztet	dizkizuet	(zattuztet)	dizute	zattuzte	dizkizute	-

Legend: bold = form has PL2; brackets = speakers other than our consultant

In these three varieties, we have the following points of variation: the phi-features of the IO, the plurality of O2/S2, the transitivity of the construction, and tense.⁹ The nature

⁸ But *gattu* and *gattu* only for the motion verb *etorri* 'come' + dative; see Section 4.

⁹ At present, correlations between these parameters seem due to the diachronic origin and spread of DD (see Rezac 2008b). Thus, Oñati DD differs from the other two in the absence of number agreement with both O2 (necessarily 3rd person) and datives (necessarily 1st/2nd person) (Richard Kayne, p.c.). It originates

of the dative does not play a role in any of the five varieties in which we have examined it. The foregoing examples have illustrated dative displacement for the goal of the basic ditransitive *eman* 'give', but other datives behave identically, as shown for Oiartzun in (10). In Standard Basque they would also behave in the same way, controlling only the dative suffix (illustrated by the forms in brackets, the suffix in bold). Nevertheless, we will see hints in section 4 that the nature of the dative may condition dative displacement.

- (10) a. Zu-k ne-i sagarr-a man na-zu. [d-i-**da**-zu]
 you-ERG me-DAT apple-ABS given 1S-2SE
 You gave me an apple. (*goal of ditransitive*)
- b. Zu-k ne-i sagarr-a man arazi na-zu. [d-i-**da**-zu]
 you-ERG me-DAT apple-ABS given cause 1S-2SE
 You made me give an apple. (*causee of transitive*)
- c. Zu-k ne-i besu-a hautsi na-zu. [d-i-**da**-zu]
 you-ERG me-DAT arm-ABS broken 1S-2SE
 You broke my arm. (*possessor in transitive*)
- d. Ne-i txakurr-a hil na-u. [zai-**t**]
 me-DAT dog-ABS died 1S-√
 My dog died / The dog died on me. (*dative of interest*)
- e. Ne-i sagarr-ak gustatzen na-zki. [zai-zki-**t**]
 me-DAT apple-PL.ABS liking 1S-PL2
 I like apples. (*psych-verb experiencer*)
- f. Ne-i lagun-ak torri na-zki. [zai-zki-**t**]
 me-DAT friend-PL.ABS come 1S-PL2
 Friends came to me. (*goal of motion*)

(Oiartzun Basque)

Dative displacement modifies the agreement of dative IOs in a specific way that is more abstract than simple allomorphy, such as that of the English past participle suffix in *heav-ed*, *lef-t*, *though-t*, *clov-en*, *spat*, *cast*. It does not introduce its own exponents, such as a prefix *p-* for 1PL.DAT, or arbitrarily recruit existing exponents, such as the prefix *n-* controlled by 1SG.ABS for agreement with 1PL.DAT. Rather, it maps the phi-features of the dative to existing positions of exponence, the prefix and PL, where they are realized by exponents that realize the same phi-features when they come from the absolutive, for instance 1SG *n-*. The result is a syncretism between the exponents controlled by absolutive O1/S1 and by dative IO under dative displacement, illustrated in Table 2. However, Table 2 also shows that the syncretism does not extend to entire words, because the dative may retain control of its own dative suffix, trigger a dative-indicating

in a non-DD system where there already was no PL agreement (i) with 1/2 O1 and (ii) with 3 O2/S2. (i) and (ii) do not seem to correlate in Basque varieties and to have different causes (see the references in Rezac 2011: 294 note 16, 190 note 9 for parallels; the former is perhaps due to the associative nature of 1/2PL, the latter to dative intervention). Thanks to (ii), Oñati had no O2 PL agreement to appear under DD as PL2. In contrast, other DD systems recruit O2 PL as PL2: thus non-DD (*eman*) *d-i-zki-gu* D-√EDA-PL-1PD 'she has (given) **them** to us' + DD gives Sara DD *ga-it-u-zki* 1P-PL-√E(D)A-PL2.

root, and co-occur with PL2 controlled by O2/S2. If any of this occurs, the agreement complex used by dative displacement is unique to it.¹⁰

Table 2: Dative displacement (DD) morphology in Sara Basque¹¹

	3SG.EA-O1.ABS	3SG.EA-IO.DAT-3SG.O2	3SG.EA-IO.DAT-3PL.O2		
O1/IO		DD	non-DD	DD	non-DD
3SG	d-u _{√EA}	--	d-i _{√EDA-o}	--	d-i _{√EDA-o-zka}
1SG	na-u _{√EA}	na-u _{√EA}	da-u _{√E(D)A-t}	na-a _{√E(D)A-zki}	da-u _{√E(D)A-zki-t}
1PL	ga-it-u _{√EA}	ga-it-u _{√EA}	da-u _{√E(D)A-ku}	ga-it _{√E(D)A-zki}	da-u _{√E(D)A-zki-gu}
2SG	za-it-u _{√EA}	za-it-u _{√EA}	da-u _{√E(D)A-tzu}	za-i _{zki-tzu}	da-u _{√E(D)A-zki-tzu}

Legend: **person-number prefix** – **PL**, PL2, *dative suffix*.

Dative displacement is descriptively at the crossroads of primary and dative IO systems. As in dative-IO systems such as Standard Basque, the IO is dative and may control dative agreement and root morphology. As in primary-IO systems such as Nahuatl, the dative control the prefix and PL morphology otherwise dedicated to O1/S1, and O2/S2 controls a special plural morpheme not found otherwise.

Phenomena similar to dative displacement exist outside Basque, but they seem rare, if we set aside syncretisms due to paucity of morphological distinctions. A clear parallel is found in Itelmen, (11), analysed in Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2002) and related to Basque in Rezac (2008ab). Under certain conditions, which as in Basque include the phi-features of the IO and transitivity and show variation, the IO beats O2/S2 for regular O1/S1 agreement. Section 4 adds Faroese, and perhaps Middle English and *laísta* Spanish. Other examples may be Hyow in Haspelmath (2005), Amharic in Malchukov et al. (2010), and participle agreement in Romance (Rezac 2011: 191 note 10).

- (11) a. isx-enk n-zəl-ał-**in**_i kza_i **kəma-nk**?
 father-LOC IMPRS-give-FUT-2s.O you me-DAT
 Will father give you to me?
- b. isx-enk n-zəl-ał-**um**_k kza **kəma-nk**_k?
 father-LOC IMPRS-give-FUT-1s.O you me-DAT
 Will father give you to me?
- (Itelmen, Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2002: ex. 15, 14b)

3 Morphology and syntax

Two broad classes of approaches to dative displacement may be distinguished: syntactic and morphological. They differ in the type of information to which it may refer, including its parameters; in the properties of the operations or structures that distinguish it from a

¹⁰ Dative displacement may also affect allomorphy of elements not discussed here (Rezac 2006, 2008b).

¹¹ The speaker of Sara Basque has access to both its dative displacement system and a minimally different one without it, permitting a contrast of two dialects with otherwise identical morphology (Fernández 2001).

regular dative IO system: and in its potential to interact with syntax and interpretation (Rezac 2011). Our understanding of the phenomenon does not yet permit a sure choice among these alternatives, still less a concrete theory. However, a syntactic approach seems best fitted both to the parametric variation, to which it is applied in this section, and to the hints of syntactic correlates, discussed in the next. We outline the range of syntactic theories and compare them with morphological ones.

A syntactic approach to dative displacement expects it to exhibit the properties of syntactic computation: manipulate syntactic rather than purely morphophonological information, obey constraints on syntactic dependencies such as locality and cyclicity, and have the potential to affect syntax and interpretation as well as realization. Two types of syntactic approaches to agreement displacements have been explored for Basque (specifically for ergative displacement, discussed in the Appendix). One is through movement of syntactic constituents, (i) (cf. Laka 1993, but see below). The other is through feature transmission, (ii) (Fernández and Albizu 2000, Fernández 2001, 2004, Rezac 2003, 2006, 2008ac, Béjar and Rezac 2009). Both share the common core (iii).¹²

- (i) Positions of exponence, including the prefix and suffix, reflect constituents that double argument positions, for instance cliticized (clitic-doubling) D°s. Agreement displacement occurs when movement displaces such a constituent, say D_{DAT}°, to a position otherwise filled by another, say the v-adjoined position otherwise filled by D_{ABS}° (perhaps leaving a copy that may also be realized).
- (ii) Positions of exponence reflect phi-features on clausal functional heads valued by Agree from arguments. Agreement displacement occurs when a head, say v°, Agrees with a different argument than it typically does.
- (iii) The conditions under which displacement occurs are determined by syntactic properties of the configurations or derivations involved, such as absence of the usual agreement controller, its underspecification, or movement that brings the de-facto controller closer to the target of agreement than the usual controller.

To dative displacement, the second type of approach has been applied (Fernández 2001, 2004, Rezac 2006: chapter 3, 2008ab). Figures 1 and 2 sketch its essentials, keeping to transitives for simplicity. The point of departure is a theory of Basque-type ergativity where the absolutive locus v_{ABS} is below the ergative locus T_{ERG}, so that the closest goal of v_{ABS} is the O/S and that of T_{ERG} the EA (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Laka 2000). The dative IO is base-generated in Spec,ApplP between v and O for transitives, resulting in the c-command EA > IO > O, which remains stable through A-movement (Elordieta 2001). Person and number phi-probes on v_{ABS} are the locus of prefix and PL agreement; the nature of dative and ergative suffixes as agreement or clitics may be left open for our purposes. In Figures 1 and 2, the IO is structurally higher than the O2 and so should be the closer goal for v, giving it control of v's phi-probes and thus the prefix and PL. The result is dative displacement, Figure 2, where the IO controls them if it is present, and the O1 does otherwise. When dative displacement does not occur, some

¹² The following proposals have been originally developed for *ergative displacement*, see the Appendix.

factor renders the IO's phi-features inaccessible to v , indicated by the circle in Figure 1. The O2 is then the closest goal, behaving like O1 even in the presence of the IO. In dative displacement, v fails to Agree with the O2, which might be expected to lead to a Case licensing problem. Just in this situation, the special PL2 agreement for the O2 appears. We treat it as a number-only phi-probe on Appl° , the closest head above the O2, and so correctly limited to Agree with it (Rezac 2006: 3.7, 2008b: 722).

Figure 1: No dative displacement

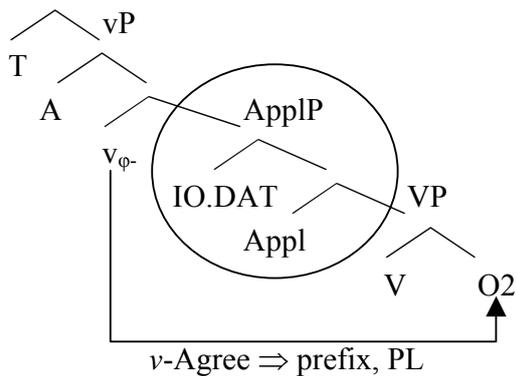
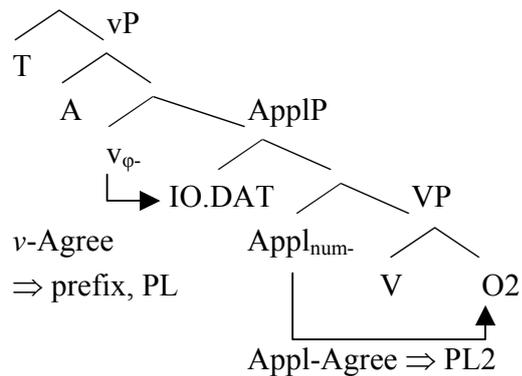


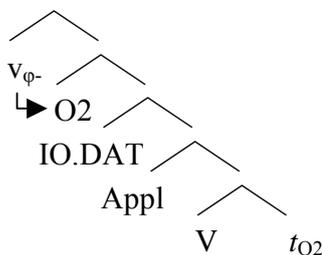
Figure 2: Dative displacement



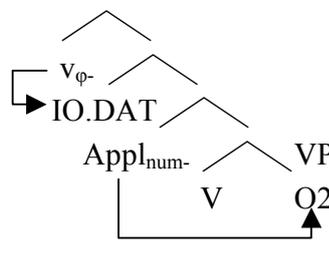
The nature of the parameter that differentiates between structures or derivations where dative displacement does or does not occur, between Figures 2 and 1, is unknown. Syntactic tests of the two structures currently reveal very little (section 4). The literature presents several options for why a dative IO might fail to control a phi-probe and let the O2 do so. One, in Figure 3, is that the O2 moves past the IO prior to Agree with v . If this occurs, the phi-Agree of v is with the O2, otherwise with the IO. McGinnis (1998) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) develop similar proposals to differentiate those primary IO systems in which the IO ends up highest from those where the O2 does.

Figure 3: O2 parametrically by-passes dative IO

Dative opaque to v -Agree



Dative transparent to v -Agree

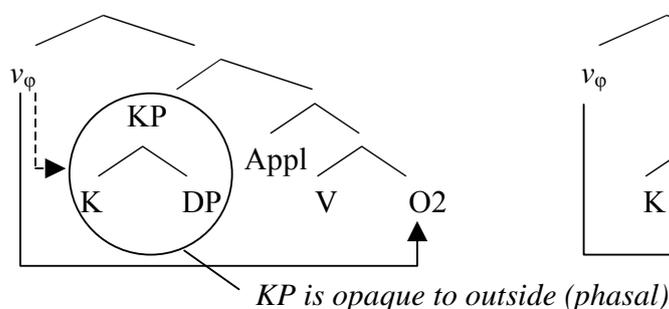


Another option, illustrated in Figure 4, is for datives to have a richer structure than bare DPs, an added KP or PP, which parametrically hides the phi-features of DP that it

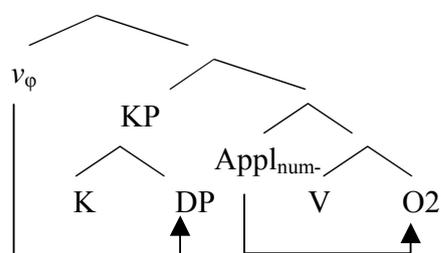
contains, for instance when it is a phase. If the dative is transparent to Agree, v Agrees with it as the closest goal, otherwise past it with the O2 (Rezac 2006: chapter 3, 2008a, cf. Taraldsen 1995, Anagnostopoulou 2003 on the opacity of datives to some Agree). The parametric opacity of the dative KP/PP shell must reside in its structure or derivation. If the KP/PP is present around the DP upon base-generation, its opacity derives from the content of its functional architecture (Rezac 2008a, 2011). If the KP/PP is introduced around the DP by movement of the DP through the functional architecture of the clause, as Kayne (2004) proposes for French dative causees, its opacity to phi-Agree with v may be due to its introduction before rather than after v engages in phi-Agree.¹³

Figure 4: Dative IO is parametrically transparent to phi-Agree

Dative opaque to v -Agree



Dative transparent to v -Agree



In either type of system, there is a difference between the syntactic structures or derivations with and without dative displacement, and it could be detectable through other syntactico-semantic phenomena. For instance, the different heights of the O2 in Figure 3 could be revealed through binding/obviation or accessibility to further A-movement, and the different functional architectures of the dative in Figure 4 through bare floating quantifiers that require bare DPs antecedents. At the moment, these tools are either unavailable or inconclusive, as will be seen in section 4. The simplest difference is whether the phi-features of v are valued by IO or O2; but it is also the most difficult to detect, for few or no clearly syntactico-semantic phenomena depend on the values of uninterpretable phi-features on clausal functional heads (Rezac 2010).

Simpler to examine are the predictions that syntactic approaches make about the parameters that modulate dative displacement. The differences between datives that do and do not undergo dative displacement resides in the region circled in Figure 1, which contains the dative, its selector Appl, and the material between them and v as the locus of phi-Agree for prefix and PL morphology. The information in this region includes the phi-features of the dative, the properties of Appl, and the properties of v . Outside information should not impinge on dative displacement. Specifically, the properties of C, T, or

¹³ Basque datives are less like PPs and more but not quite like ergatives and absolutes for such matters as anaphora licensing and adnominal marking (Albizu 2001, Fernández and Sarasola 2010). Crosslinguistically, these properties do not correlate with accessibility to agreement (Rezac 2008a).

Spec,vP should not affect what occurs between v and Spec,AppIP, because they do not reach this region by selection or other mechanisms.¹⁴

These predictions are partly but not wholly borne out in the survey of the parameters that enter into dative displacement in Rezac (2006, 2008ab). The database is the fifty varieties of Basque that have dative displacement in Pedro de Yrizar's exhaustive survey of agreement morphology of the Basque verb (e.g. Yrizar 1992, 1997), confirmed by our investigation of the phenomenon in Lekeitio (Western Basque, Bizkaia), Oiartzun, Hondarribia (both Central Basque, transitional variety, Gipuzkoa), and Ziburua (Coastal Basque, Lapurdi):

- (12) a. Factors that systematically influence dative displacement (see section 2):
- The phi-features of the dative IO (Sara vs. Oñati, Oiartzun).
 - The phi-features of O2/S2 (Oiartzun)
 - Transitivity: unaccusatives only if transitives, and rarely (Oiartzun, Oñati).
 - Tense: past tense only (Oñati), present only (Ainhoa), both (Sara).
- b. Factors that have no systematic effect on dative displacement:
- The phi-features of the ergative.
 - The phi-features of 'allocutive' agreement in C (q.v. Oyharçabal 1993).
 - The class of the dative such as goal vs. benefactive (see above).

By systematic factors, we mean properties that govern the availability of dative displacement, or of aspects of it such as doubling, independently of some other variable. For instance in Oñati, transitivity determines the availability of dative displacement independently of the phi-features of the dative, and the phi-features of the dative do so independently of those of the ergative. Distinct systematic factors are *arbitrary gaps* correspond to no syntactico-semantic natural class (Baerman et al. 2010) and are invisible to syntax (Embick and Marantz 2008, Rezac 2011). They are common in morphological systems and arise in the realization of syntactic structures; an English example is the lack of a past participle for *stride* beside *ride*, *glide*, *hide*. Such seems to be the absence of dative displacement for 1PL.IO.DAT-3SG.O2.ABS in Oiartzun, or the limitation of prefix-suffix doubling to ERG-2.IO.DAT-3PL.O2 in Sara. Arbitrary gaps are common in agreement paradigms across Basque varieties, and may draw upon any information in the agreement complex (Fernández 2001, Rezac 2006, to appear, Arregi and Nevins 2006).

The syntactic approaches sketched above properly distinguish between the factors that do and do not parametrize dative displacement, save for tense and dative class. Tense restrictions have plausible diachronic explanations and may be construed as arbitrary gaps (Rezac 2008b). However, tense also conditions another Basque agreement displacement, discussed in the Appendix, in which the ergative controls the prefix if there is no absolute controller. The role of tense in it has been construed through a T-v relationship, and this may be adapted to the foregoing analyses (see further Laka 1993, Fernández and Albizu 2000, Rezac 2003, 2006: 2.3.5). Dative class, such as goal versus

¹⁴ Thus in systems with clausal functional architecture comparable to Basque, we do not find the force or tense of a clause affecting object licensing or internal argument selection.

benefactive, is expected to have the potential to influence dative displacement to the extent that it reflects structural differences in the infra-v region, for instance different dative heights. Despite the symmetry observed above for all datives in participating in dative displacement, section 4 hints that dative class may matter to it after all.

Syntactic approaches to dative displacement define a hypothesis space of its potential parameters and correlates. With them in hand, we may more briefly contrast morphological approaches (developed for ergative displacement by Albizu 2002, Arregi and Nevins 2008).¹⁵ A morphological approach attributes dative displacement to an extra-syntactic realizational morphology component, such as that of Bonet (1991, 1995), Noyer (1992), Halle and Marantz (1993). Its operations cannot affect the syntactic mapping from lexicon to interpretation, and may differ in the information accessed and the mechanisms used. For instance, datives in Basque and Romance fall into different classes according to their syntactic and interpretive properties, including ditransitive goals, causees, and possessors. However, morphology neutralizes them for the form of case and clitics or agreement affixes, thus accessing an impoverishment of syntactic information. It manipulates this information in a way that differs from syntax, by selecting and placing allomorphs according to the morphophonological context within but not outside the extended word. The resulting allomorph choice and placement have no consequences for syntax and interpretation, even when syncretic with the realization of other syntactic structures such as locatives (Rezac 2011: 2.2, 4.1).

We have seen that dative displacement is not the contextual selection of allomorphs, but the mapping of the phi-features of dative agreement to the prefix and PL positions of exponence, otherwise controlled by O/S. The theories of morphology cited above provide the mechanisms necessary for such morphosyntactic feature transfer, for instance feature (de/re)-linking in Bonet (1991, 1995). Such an operation would take the phi-features of dative agreement linked by syntax to a terminal, say Appl° or v° -adjoined $\text{D}_{\text{DAT}}^\circ$, and move or copy them to the terminal that otherwise hosts the phi-features of O/S agreement, say v° . It is expected to obey the impoverishment of syntactic information reflected in morphology elsewhere, including that of differences between dative classes in Basque. It is likewise expected to obey the constraints on morphological mechanisms, including restriction to phrase-structurally local domains like the extended word. Finally, it is expected to have no consequences for syntax or interpretation. The properties of dative displacement in Basque seen so far match these predictions, but we shall see potential counterexamples in the next section.

Like syntactic approaches, morphological approaches make predictions about the factors that can parametrize dative displacement. In a simple view, any morphological information in the agreement complex could matter. Different syntactic classes of datives should therefore be indistinguishable while the phi-features of all agreeing arguments as well as tense should be equipollent conditioning factors. However, more articulated models of the interaction of different feature types with hierarchical and linear structure

¹⁵ In this work, we have not been able to take into account Arregi and Nevins (to appear), to which the reader is referred for a thoroughly worked-out morphological analysis of dative and ergative displacement.

in the syntax-to-realization mapping may nuance this prediction (Bonet and Harbour to appear: 3.5).

The categorical syntax-morphology dichotomy set out so far is only slightly weakened if the mapping of syntactic structures to realization makes use, wholly or in part, of the same computation as the mapping from lexicon to interpretation (Halle and Marantz 1993, Embick and Noyer 2007, Ackema and Neeleman 2007). Morphology so construed uses the same operations and principles as core syntax, such as movement, but their consequences are invisible to the lexicon-to-interpretation mapping because they occur outside it, and their outcome depends on the distinctive character of the information present in the syntax-to-realization mapping, such as morphophonological features. Laka's (1993) seminal analysis of ergative displacement develops precisely this proposal. Agreement displacement is Move- α , but it occurs in the mapping from S-structure to PF. In consequence, it cannot affect the mapping from D-structure to S-structure to LF and makes use of phonological features that are invisible to the latter (Laka 1993: 57-9).

4 The syntactic effects of dative displacement

Cross-linguistically, there are agreement displacements similar to Basque dative and ergative displacement that affect syntax and so are syntactic (Rhodes 1994, Rezac 2011, Patel 2010). For dative displacement, Jónsson (2009) finds a syntactic analogue in Faroese. Faroese and Icelandic both have 'quirky' dative subjects: external arguments with theta-related dative case but otherwise like nominative DPs for A-movement and subjecthood – save in agreement. In Icelandic, dative subjects cannot control verb agreement and agree in nominative case with dependents such as floating quantifiers. In contemporary Faroese, 3rd person dative subjects can, variably, control verb agreement and antecede nominative floating quantifiers, as shown in (13) (Jónsson 2009: 155f., 159). This difference between the two systems may correlate another: unaccusatives with dative subjects typically assign nominative to their object in Icelandic, but in Faroese accusative, as if the nominative were used. This has led Sigurðsson (2003: 250, 2004: 149) to suggest that in Faroese nominative is assigned to dative subjects in addition to their theta-related dative. The result is their partly nominative syntax.¹⁶

- (13) a. **Nógvum kvinnum** %dámar/%dáma mannfólk við eitt sindur av búki.
 many.DAT women.DAT like.3S/3P men.ACC with a bit of belly.
 Many women like men with a bit of belly.
- b. **Mér** [dámar]/*dámi hasa bókina.
 I.DAT like.3S/*1S this.ACC book.ACC
 I like this book.
- c. %Sjálvum/%sjálvur dámar **honum** ikki at lurta eftir tónleiki.

¹⁶ Agreement of datives with the verb, including non-adjacent ones, occurs in Middle English (Lightfoot 1977, Allen 1986). For an effect in Korean Case-stacking similar to Faroese, see Schütze (2001: 201, 207), and for an analysis in terms of structural on top of inherent Case, Yoon (1996). See also Romero (this volume), who investigates a variety of *laísta* Spanish where a subset of 3rd person IOs are doubled by clitics syncretic with accusative ones, and finds aspects of accusative/primary-IO syntax.

self.DAT/NOM like.3s him.DAT not to listen to music
 He himself does not like to listen to music

(Jónsson 2009: 157, 159)

Dative displacement in Basque resembles Faroese dative subjects in taking control of agreement that ordinarily falls to a controller with different, clearly structural case, the absolutive O/S. However, we have not yet found diagnostics that would let us see whether there are syntactic correlates, comparable to the licensing of nominative floating quantifiers in Faroese. As an example, consider *reflexive detransitization* (Etxepare 2003: 4.1.9.3, Artiagoitia 2003: 4.9.1.3, 4.9.2.3). In Basque, reflexives may be formed from plain transitives by eliminating the EA with its ergative case and agreement, resulting in a structure that is surface-identical to an unaccusative from the same stem, (14).

- (14) a. *Ikasle-ek ikasle-ak aurkeztu d-it-u-zte.*
 student-PL.ERG student-PL.ABS introduced D-PL- $\sqrt{\text{EA}}$ -3PE
 Students introduced (other) students.
 b. ***Ikasle-ak aurkeztu d-ira.***
 student-PL.ABS introduced D- $\sqrt{\text{A}}$ +PL
 The students introduced themselves/each other.

The dative IO is generally invisible to this process. The IO in transitive (15) cannot be interpreted as reflexive to the EA (or O), whether it continues to be dative, (15)b, or is changed to absolutive, (15)c.¹⁷ Some speakers do in fact allow some analogues of the latter, but independently of dative displacement (Albizu 2000, Etxepare 2003: 4.1.6.2). Thus the dative IO's control of O-type agreement in dative displacement does not confer on it O-like behavior for reflexive detransitivization. Yet in the absence of a better understanding of reflexive detransitivization, this negative fact tells us little.¹⁸

- (15) a. *Ikasle-ek neskei ikasle-ak aurkeztu d-i-zki-e-te.*
 student-PL.ERG girl-PL.DAT student-PL.ABS introduced D- $\sqrt{\text{EDA}}$ -PL-3PD-3PE
 Students introduced students to the girls.
 b. ***Ikasle-ak neskei aurkeztu zai-zki-e***
 students-PL.ABS girl-PL.DAT introduced $\sqrt{\text{DA}}$ -PL-3PD
 The students introduced themselves/each other to the girls.
 *The girls introduced the students to themselves/each other.
 c. ****Neskei ikasle-ak aurkeztu d-ira.***
 girl-PL.ABS student-PL.ABS introduced D- $\sqrt{\text{A}}$ +PL
 The girls introduced students to themselves/each other.

¹⁷ The same is true in unergatives where there is no O candidate for EA=O reflexivization; *The girls.ERG looked [at] the boys.DAT (Neskek mutilei begiratu diete)* cannot be detransitivized to *The girls.ABS looked* and mean 'The girls looked at each other, at themselves' (**Neskak begiratu dira*).

¹⁸ Cross-linguistically, dative IOs in actives can correspond to nominatives in various detransitivizations, although it is not agreed whether the process is lexical or not (see e.g. Feldman 1978 on Ancient Greek passives, Folli and Harley 2007 on Japanese causative passives, Svenonius 2010 on Icelandic middles, Medová 2009: 6.3.2 on French reflexives).

We have found two hints of syntactic effects of dative displacement that further research may explore. The first is an effect on causativization described by Trask (1981). The relevant causative construction is illustrated in (18) (Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 4.8). The causative suffix *arazi* attaches to the participle/infinitive of the causativized verb, the causer is introduced as the ergative EA, the O of a causativized (di)transitive remains absolutive and agrees with the auxiliary as in a simple clause, and the EA of the causativized verb is interpreted as the causee and becomes a dative that likewise agrees with the auxiliary. The resulting case-agreement profile is identical to a ditransitive.

- (16) Eliza-k **ni-ri_i** diru-a eman-arazi d-i-**t_i**
 church-ERG me-DAT money-ABS give-cause D-√EDA-1SD
 The church made me give money (to people).

When the causativized verb would itself take a dative IO, as is possible for *eman* in (18), its dative may remain present for some speakers, but it cannot itself agree with the matrix auxiliary, whose (unique) dative agreement suffix is obligatorily interpreted as the EA-causee (Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 4.8.2). This is the property that dative displacement seems to change. Trask reports this constraint in the dialect of Milafranga (Lapurdi-Navarrese, Lapurdi), so that (17)a only has the reading where the 1SG dative agreement suffix *-ta-* is interpreted as the causee. However, he also reports that under dative displacement (17)b, where the 1SG dative suffix *-ta-* is doubled by the person prefix *n-*, the 1SG agreement is interpreted as the IO of the causativized ditransitive, not the EA-causee.¹⁹

- (17) a. Eman-a(r)azi da-u-ta-k.
 given-cause D-√E(D)A-1SD-2ME
 You've made me give it away. (= Standard for Eastern varieties)
 b. Eman-a(r)azi **na-u-ta-k**.
 given-cause 1S-√E(D)A-1SD-2ME
 You've made him give it to **me**.

(Trask 1981: 294)

There are two striking aspects to this pattern. One is that different datives agree differently. It seems from Trask's description that dative causees can only control the dative suffix, while the datives of causativized ditransitives can only control the prefix + suffix (dative displacement). Since morphology otherwise never differentiates the two dative classes, dative displacement appeals to a syntactic distinction.

Second, dative displacement lets agree a dative that is otherwise inaccessible to agreement. How it does so would be easier to understand if Trask's data were interpreted somewhat differently than he does. He translates the non-agreeing argument of (17)b as *him*, but that seems foreign to Basque, where the causee in *arazi* causatives is either an

¹⁹ The gloss 2M is the masculine of the 2SG familiar, which we have not so far used in our presentation. Trask's other example is parallel to (17) with *jan-a(r)azi* 'feed', sc. 'make eat', for *eman-a(r)azi*.

agreeing dative, overt or pro-dropped, or a nonagreeing and overt oblique, or a nonagreeing and silent impersonal causee.²⁰ The silent nonagreeing causee of (17) is thus most naturally taken as an impersonal causee. Such causatives behave as described above, save that the causee does not agree, and unlike agreeing datives does not restrict absolutes to 1st/2nd person, (18) (Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 4.8.2, Albizu 2001).

- (18) a. **(Ni_i) etxe-ra eraman-arazi na_i-i-o (anaia-ri)*
 me.ABS home-to bring-cause 1s-√EDA-3SD brother-DAT
 She made him/brother bring **me** home.
- b. *Ni_i etxe-ra eraman-arazi na_i-u*
 me.ABS home-to bring-cause 1s-√EA
 She made *someone*/*him bring **me** home.
- (Albizu 2001)

For some but not all speakers, an impersonal causee renders impossible agreement with the dative IO of the causativized verb, just as an agreeing causee does, (19).²¹ The restriction appears to be syntactic rather than morphological, since impersonal causees are not reflected in and do not otherwise constrain agreement morphology, (18).

- (19) a. *Eliza-k ni-ri_i diru-a eman-arazi *d-i-t_i / d-u*
 church-ERG me-DAT money-ABS give-cause D-√EDA-1SD / D-√EA
 The church makes *pro_{arb}* (=someone, people) give **me.DAT** money.
 (*dit* ok. as: The church makes *me* give money (to *pro_{arb}*))
 (Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 4.8.2, cf. Albizu 2001)
- b. *Eman-arazi da-u-ta-k (da-u-t).*
 give-cause D-√E(D)A-1SD-2MD (D-√E(D)A-1SD)
 You made **me** give it. (He made me give it.)
 You made *someone* give it to **me**. (He made some give it to me.)
 (Beñat Oyharçabal, p.c.)

If the causee in (17) is an impersonal causee, it blocks agreement with the IO of the causativized verb when it controls regular dative agreement, (17)a, but not when it also controls the prefix under dative displacement, (17)b. This can be related to the invisibility

²⁰ The situation seems parallel to French, corresponding respectively to *à*-causees of direct causation (*J'ai fait manger le gâteau au chien* 'I made the dog eat the cake'), *par*-causees of indirect causation (*J'ai fait manger le gâteau par le chien* 'I had the dog eat the cake'), and silent impersonal causees (*J'ai fait manger le gâteau* 'I had the cake eaten'). We are grateful to Beñat Oyharçabal (p.c.) for discussion of Trask's data and for pointing out the oblique causatives of Basque.

²¹ This variation recurs in French (i). It resembles restrictions on the movement of a DP past another with the same case, for instance *wh*-movement of a dative banned past a dative but not an accusative object controller discussed for French by Milner (1979); similar phenomena vary in strength from parsing difficulty to ungrammaticality (Rivas 1977, Milner 1979, Solà 2002, Dotlačil 2004, Rezac 2005).

- (i) L'église *m'a* fait donner de l'argent.
 (a) The church has made *me* give money.
 (b) [%]The church has made *someone* give *me* money.
 ((b) ok for M. Joutteau, p.c., B. Oyharçabal, p.c., * for A. Dagnac, p.c.)

of the impersonal causee to person agreement of the absolutive O, (18)b, in contrast to dative-agreeing causees that restrict it to 3rd person, (18)a (cf. Rezac 2008a: 102). Dative displacement attributes to the dative IO control of the prefix, a morphological property of the absolutive O; in Trask's (17) it would also attribute to it a syntactic property, the ability to agree past an impersonal causee. Needless to say, we are far from understanding Trask's pattern, including its spread in other dative displacement dialects.

The second syntactic correlate of dative displacement also licenses an otherwise impossible agreeing dative. Basque unaccusatives combine with two syntactically different classes of datives: high, applicative datives introduced above S, including psych-experiencers, possessors, and datives of interest, and low, prepositional datives introduced below S, including animate goals of motion verbs (Rezac 2008c, 2011, to appear, Fernández and Ortiz de Urbina 2010). In Standard Basque, both classes must agree, but in eastern dialects, only high datives control agreement, and low ones appear as nonagreeing datives (Etxepare and Oyharçabal to appear, this volume, Etxepare to appear, Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina and Landa 2010, Fernández and Landa to appear, Fernández to appear). In many western dialects, low datives not only fail to agree, but are replaced by alternatives such as allative PPs (nonagreeing, as all PPs). Among them is Hondarribia Basque (Central Basque, transitional variety, Gipuzkoa) in (20), where datives in unaccusatives may be psych-experiencers but not goals of motion. However, dative displacement permits both classes of datives, (21), re-establishing their symmetric behavior in Standard Basque. Since the morphology of Basque agreement does not otherwise differentiate dative classes, the effect seems syntactic.

- (20) a. Gu-ri sagarr-a gusta-tzen d-i-gu.²²
 us-DAT apple-ABS like-ing D-√(E)D(A)-1PD
 We like apples.
 b. Gu-ri Jon etorri --
 us-DAT Jon-ABS come
 Jon came to us.

(Hondarribia Basque, 1PL.DAT has no dative displacement)

- (21) a. Ni-ri sagarr-a gusta-tzen na-u.
 me-DAT apple-ABS like-ing 1S-√
 I like apples.
 b. Ni-ri Jon etorri **na-u**
 me-DAT us-ABS come
 Jon came to me.

(Hondarribia Basque, 1SG.DAT with dative displacement)

A similar effect is found in Oiartzun Basque (see Table 1). In unaccusatives with a singular absolutive, our consultant has the option of using dative displacement for all psych-experiencer datives save 1PL (other speakers may have it here as well), but for dative goals of motion, she requires dative displacement for even for 1PL.

²² In Hondarribia and Oiartzun, the √EDA *i* root has replaced √DA (*t*)*zai*, giving *digu*, *dit* for Standard *zai**gu*, *zait*, for which in turn dative displacement uses √EA *u*: *gattu*, *nau* (Fernández 2004, Rezac 2008b).

- (22) a. Guri sagarra gustatzen d-i-gu / (ga-tt-u)
 us.D apple.A liking DFLT-√D-1PD 1P-PL-√
 We like the apple.
- b. Guri Jon etorri --- / ga-tt-u
 us.D Jon.A come 1P-PL-√
 Jon came to us.

(Oiartzun Basque, no dative displacement / dative displacement)

It is not yet well understood how to properly differentiate high and low datives, apparently applicative versus prepositional, yet force both to agree in Standard Basque, unlike in eastern dialects where only high, applicative datives agree. Therefore, it is not clear how to construe the effect of dative displacement that permits low yet agreeing datives. One possibility is that agreeing datives always involve a high configuration, and that Standard Basque but not the eastern and western varieties in question have a way for low datives to participate in it, perhaps by movement from their low position (Rezac to appear, Rezac, Albizu and Etxepare 2011). Dative displacement would enable this movement when not otherwise available, but the mechanics remain unclear.

5 Conclusion

The study of dative displacement is at its beginnings. The foregoing hints of the syntactic correlates do not bring us to a concrete theory of it. They do suggest that the mechanism is syntactic and section 3 outlines the hypothesis space of syntactic analyses that lie within current approaches to IOs, datives, agreement, and agreement displacement. These analyses also predict reasonably what properties should and should not parameterize dative displacement, namely the phi-features of the dative and the properties of Appl and v. A syntactic approach does not eliminate a role for morphology. The output of syntax must be realized, and morphological effects surface in arbitrary gaps in the realization of dative displacement as for other agreement. The two components of syntax and morphology are distinguishable sources of dialectal variation, each identifiable by its formal properties such as information accessed, nature of operations, and effects on syntax and interpretation.

6 Appendix: Ergative displacement

Standard Basque and most Basque varieties have the phenomenon of *ergative displacement*, (23). In some varieties, the ergative EA only controls the ergative suffixes under all circumstances (Bermeo, Hualde 2002). In most, it controls the prefix but not the PL morphology if there is no absolutive O controller for it, that is when O is absent or 3rd person, in certain moods and tenses, sometimes also retaining control of the ergative suffix (Laka 1993, Fernández and Albizu 2000, Rezac 2003). In between these two extremes, there is a range of variation that depends on factors similar to dative displacement, for instance the phi-features of the ergative (Rezac 2006: chapter 2). However, there are two important differences: ergative displacement does not take

control of prefix morphology away from O, because it only occurs when O as 3rd person cannot agree, and that it never affects PL morphology, which remains controlled by O.

- (23) **Zu-k_i** ne-ri_j sagarr-a_k/ak_n eman **zen_i-i-** Ø_k/zki_n-da_j- (**zu_i-**) n.
 you-ERG me-DAT apple-SG.ABS given 2S-√EDA-Ø/PL- 1SD-(2SE-)PAST
 (*ergative displacement*)

Competition arises in systems that have both ergative and dative displacement whenever both could control the prefix. The winner seems unpredictable, although there is preference for the dative to decide the tendency of a given system (Rezac 2006: chapter 3). Thus both the options in (24) occur in dative displacement systems, and the choice of one or the other depends on apparently arbitrary factors.²³

- (24) **Gu-k_i** **zu-ri_k** sagarr-a eman **gen_i-i-zu_k-n** / **za_k-it_k-u-gu_i-n**
 we-ERG you-DAT apple-ABS given 1P-√EDA-2SD-PAST 2P-PL-√EA-1SE-PST
 (*ergative vs. dative displacement*)

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²³ Current descriptions give a single winner for combinations where the paradigm suggests both EL and DL should be available, but more investigation is needed to ascertain that this is indeed so. Conflicts between controllers in Italian participle agreement are sometimes resolved categorically, sometimes give rise to vacillation (Burzio 1986: 60-2, 363, 405-6, drawn to our attention by Richard Kayne, p.c.).

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