WHAT LIES BEHIND DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING: A SURVEY IN BASQUE DIALECTS

Master Thesis

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NOTE OF CAUTION

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After carrying out a syntactic questioner to more speakers, some data in this Master's Thesis have been proved not to be correct. As a consequence, I would kindly ask the reader to take into account the following points:

- Section 4.1.3. (pages 24-25): in contrast to what is illustrated in the examples (43), (44) and (46), those speakers that can have the differential marking with 3rd person objects can also have it in these contexts.

- Section 4.2.1. (pages 28-29): in ditransitive constructions with 3rd person direct and indirect objects DOM speakers mark the direct object absolutive, and Double Dative Constructions (DDC) with 3rd person direct and indirect objects are not grammatical. The examples in (62), (63), (139), (141), (144), (145a), (146a), (147) and (151) should then appear as ungrammatical –which affects the viability of the analysis presented in section 8.1.4. (pages 72-74) and 8.2. (pages 74-83). It is however important to note that, even if ungrammatical, the consulted speakers prefer DDCs with both 3rd person objects if the auxiliary agrees with the direct and not the indirect object –the latter is not understandable for them. See Odria (2014) for further details.

- Section 4.2.2. (page 31): the contrast in the examples (71), (72) and (73) is not so clear for the consulted speakers.

- Section 5 (page 41): the contrast between inflected and non-inflected contexts seems to be more subtle. Moreover, although a consulted speaker took the example in (96) as grammatical, the same speaker has afterwards admitted that it is ungrammatical to her. It seems that (96) can only be grammatical without having an overt dative pronoun and taking the dative argument to be somehow affected.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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1. <u>Introduction</u>[1]

Certain Basque varieties have a non-canonical way of assigning case/agreement to the object of transitive verbs. In those varieties, instead of the canonical absolutive, animate objects bear dative case and trigger dative agreement in the auxiliary verb. This phenomenon, known as *Differential Object Marking* –henceforth, DOM– in Linguistic Tipology (cf. Bossong 1991, Lazard 2001, Aissen 2003), has been analyzed by authors like Fernández (2008), Mounole (2008) and Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012). Following the track of the mentioned authors and sheding some light on certain previously uncovered issues, this thesis aims to provide further understanding of the DOM attested in Basque varieties.

This study will be structured as follows. In **section 2**, I will give a brief description of the phenomenon. I will first present the main characteristics of the Basque case and agreement system (**§2.1**), then, I will describe the type of DOM construction I am going to analyze in this thesis (**§2.2**), and finally, I will deal with the dialectal distribution of the phenomenon (**§2.3**).

In **section 3**, I will show that, as has been previously argued by Fernández (2008), Mounole (2008) and Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012), only animate objects can bear dative case and trigger dative agreement (**§3.1**). In addition, based on cross-linguistic data, I will explain that this animacy restriction is a common pattern found among the languages of the world (**§3.2**).

In **section 4**, I will show that, despite their apparent similarity with indirect objects (which receive dative case and trigger dative agreement), DOM objects are in fact direct objects. In order to do so, I will first corroborate this claim by providing new data to support the criteria proposed by Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012) (**§4.1**), and then present novel criteria in favour of the direct object nature of DOM objects (**§4.2**). More precisely, I will provide evidence showing that DOM objects trigger agreement in double dative construction

(**§4.2.1**), can be easily relativized (**§4.2.2**), do not accept the anti-distributive *bakoitza* 'each/every' (**§4.2.3**), mark the anaphors *elkar* 'each other' and *bere burua* 'X's head' with absolutive case (**§4.2.4**), and can only be animate (**§4.2.5**). We will see that, using these pieces of evidence, the direct objecthood of DOM objects proves to be rather clear.

In **section 5**, I will highlight that, at least in the Elgoibar variety, DOM objects cannot appear in non-inflected constructions, and thus, that the differential case marking depends in a great extent on the inflexion of the verb.

Having described the three main characteristics of DOM objects, namely, (i) the animacy restriction, (ii) the direct object nature, and (iii) the tight relation with the inflexion, in **sections 6, 7 and 8**, I will analyze the phenomenon from a more theoretical point of view.

In **section 6**, I will propose that, given the impossibility of having DOM objects in non-inflected clauses and the ungrammaticality of the presence of two dative agreement markers in the verbal auxiliary –one of the DOM object and the other one of the indirect object–, dative case must be structurally assigned (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) (**§6.1**). More precisely, I will suggest that, both in transitive and ditransitve constructions, this structural case/agreement checking holds by means of an Agree relation between a single object –only one– and the light verb *v* (**§6.2**). As I will argue, the only objects that can enter in this Agree relation are animate direct objects and all kinds of indirect objects (**§6.3**). Accordingly, since DOM objects –due to their direct object nature– cannot be related to any kind of applicative head, I will propose that neither a derivational (cf. Albizu 1997, 1998, 2001, Ormazabal 2000, Arregi 2003, Arregi & Ormazabal 2003, Albizu & Fernández 2006a) (**§6.4**) nor a polysemic analysis (cf. Oyharçabal 2007, 2009) (**§6.5**) can account for the dative case/agreement of DOM objects. Therefore, I will assume that only a standard analysis (cf. Elordieta 2001) can explain the differential case/agreement in DOM constructions (**§6.6**).

In **section 7**, following Baker (2010) and Baker & Vinokurova (2010), I will assume that both the functional (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) (for dative and ergative case) and the configurational (cf. Marantz 1991) (for absolutive case) approaches of case assignment are present in Basque (**§7.1**). As for absolutive case (**§7.2**), I will propose that it is assigned by

default (cf. Marantz 1991) and that there is no absolutive agreement marker in the auxiliary verb.

In **section 8**, I will address the mentioned ungrammatical construction which consists of two dative agreement markers in the auxiliary verb. I will present four repair strategies used by speakers with DOM in order to avoid this ungrammatical construction (**§8.1**). I will show that, among others, one of these strategies is to have two dative cases but one dative agreement in the auxiliary verb (**§8.1.4**). In order to account for this repair strategy, I will argue that Basque has at least two different kinds of dative phrases: a structural one triggering agreement in the auxiliary verb –and thus forming a Double Object Construction– and a postpositional one triggering no agreement in the auxiliary verb –hence, forming a Postpositional Construction (cf. Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, Etxepare 2010ab) (**§8.2**). In order to support the different nature of these two dative phrases, I will provide a series of asymmetries related to agreement, word order, syntactic category, PCC effects, theta roles and syntactic functions that lie behind them (**§8.2.1**). To conclude, in **§8.2.2** I will pay special attention to the locational postpositional dative attested in northeastern varieties (cf. Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, 2012, Etxepare 2010ab) and compare it to the postpositional dative we found in DOM varieties. As I will show, despite the fact that both share a postpositional nature, there are important differences that distinguish their syntactic behaviour.

Finally, in **section 9**, I will summarize the main theoretical contributions that the proposed analysis provides and point out some of the issues that should be analysed in further research.

2. <u>A brief description of the phenomenon</u>

In this section, I will describe certain properties of the DOM attested in Basque varieties. In §2.1, I will present the main characteristics of the Basque case and agreement system. In §2.2, I will describe the DOM construction I am going to analyze in this study, and finally, in §2.3, I will deal with the dialectal distribution of the phenomenon.

2.1. Basque case and agreement system

In this subsection, I will mention the main aspects concerning case and agreement markers in Basque intransitive (§2.1.1.), transitive (§2.1.2.) and ditransitive (§2.1.3.) predicates.

2.1.1. Intransitives

In intransitive predicates, Basque shows two different alignment patterns: (i) the unaccusative construction, where the subject bears absolutive case ($-\emptyset$) and the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be' is selected (cf. (1)), and (ii) the unergative construction, where the subject is assigned ergative case ($-(e)k$) and the transitive auxiliary **edun* 'have' is used (cf. (2))[2]:

(1) Miren-Ø   etorri d-a
    Miren-$_{ABS}$ come expl-root
    'Miren has come'

(2) Miren-ek   oso   ondo   dantzatzen   d-u-(Ø)
    Miren-$_{ERG}$ very   well   dance   expl-root-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
    'Miren dances very well'

In (1) the subject *Miren* bears absolutive case ($-\emptyset$) and does not trigger any kind of agreement in the auxiliary, and in (2) the subject *Miren* bears ergative case ($-(e)k$) and triggers ergative morphology ($-\emptyset$) in the auxiliary.

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[2] The following abbreviations will be used in the text: ERG: ergative, DAT: dative, ABS: absolutive, ALL: allative, INE: inesive, GEN: genitive, INS: instrumental, DF: dative flag, neg: negation, comp: complementizer, expl: expletive, epen: epentetic vowel, cl: clitic, sg: singular and pl: plural.

It is noteworthy that, as in the case of the ergative, third person absolutive agreement has always been thought to be –Ø. Nonetheless, in section 7, I will propose that (i) the alleged first and second absolutive prefixes (*n-* for first person singular, *g-* for first person plural, *h-* for familiar second person singular and *z-* for non-familiar second person singular and plural) are not agreement markers but clitics attached to the verb, and that (ii) third person absolutive agreement is not –Ø, but totally absent. I will assume that no Agree relation holds between objects bearing absolutive case and any functional head. For this reason, in what follows, I will treat absolutive case as being assigned by default (cf. Marantz 1991) and not triggering agreement on the verb.

2.1.2. Transitives

Being an ergative language, the subject of a transitive predicate is assigned ergative case (*–(e)k*) and the object takes absolutive case (*–Ø*). As illustrated in (3), the subject *Miren* bears ergative case (*–(e)k*) and triggers ergative morphology in the auxiliary verb (*–Ø*), while the direct object *Jon* receives absolutive case marker (*–Ø*) and triggers no absolutive morphology in the auxiliary verb. Moreover, as it is a transitive construction, the auxiliary selected is the transitive auxiliary **edun* 'have' (cf. (3)):

(3) Miren-ek   Jon-Ø   ikusi   d-u-(Ø)
     Miren-$_{ERG}$ Jon-$_{ABS}$ see   expl-root-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
     'Miren has seen John'

Furthermore, apart from the transitive construction in (3), where the subject bears ergative case (*–(e)k*) and the object absolutive case (*–Ø*), Basque has another construction known as bivalent unergative (cf. Etxepare 2003a, Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010, 2011, 2012, Odria & Berro 2011). In this bivalent unergative construction, the subject takes ergative case (*–(e)k*) and triggers ergative agreement in the auxiliary verb (*–Ø*), and the object bears dative case (*–(r)i*) triggering dative agreement in the auxiliary verb (*–o*). The transitive auxiliary **edun* is also selected (cf. (4)):

(4) Miren-ek   trena-ri   itxoin d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
     Miren-$_{ERG}$ train-$_{DAT}$ wait   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{ERG}$
     'Miren has waited for the train'

As we will see in §2.1.2, DOM constructions behave like bivalent unergatives in that they both assign ergative case to the subject and dative case to the object. Nevertheless, in sections 3 and 4 we will see that there are significant differences between DOM constructions and bivalent unergative constructions. On the one hand, unlike DOM objects, the objects of bivalent unergative constructions do not have any kind of animacy restriction; inanimate objects like the one in (4) can also be assigned dative case/agreement. On the other hand, while DOM objects behave like direct objects, the objects of bivalent unergatives behave more akin to indirect objects.

2.1.3. Ditransitives

In ditransitive predicates, apart from the ergative subject (–(e)k), the direct object is marked absolutive (–Ø) and the indirect object is assigned dative case (–ri). As shown in (5), in this case the transitive auxiliary *edun 'have' is selected, agreeing at the same time with both the ergative (–Ø) and the dative argument (–o):

(5) Miren-ek   Pello-ri   liburua-Ø   erosi
    Miren-$_{ERG}$ Pello-$_{DAT}$ liburua-$_{ABS}$ buy
 d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
 expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
    'Miren has bought the book for Pello'

It is worth noting that in (5) the dative agreement of the auxiliary always appears preceding the morpheme –i–, a morpheme that appears when dative agreement is present in the auxiliary verb (Trask 1995). This particular affix can be both –i– or –ki– (cf. Trask 1995, Elordieta 2001) and some authors call it a *dative flag* (cf. Rezac 2006), while others refer to it as a *dative pre-suffix* (cf. Hualde 2003).

For the purpose of this discussion, it is important to observe that the very same auxiliary is selected in the bivalent unergative construction in (4) and in the ditransitive construction in (5): *dio*[3]. Interestingly, the same pattern holds between the unergative construction in (2) and the transitive construction in (3); the auxiliary selected in both of them

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[3] In §2.2, I will show that the same auxiliary is also used in DOM constructions.

turns out to be the same, namely *du*. As I will argue in section 7, the use of the same auxiliary in the mentioned constructions demonstrates that there is no absolutive marker in the verb.

2.2.   DOM constructions

In certain non-standard Basque dialects, animate objects of transitive verbs can be assigned dative case instead of the canonical absolutive (cf. Fernández 2008, Mounole 2008, Etxebarria, Gabriel & Odria 2009, Fernández & Rezac 2010, 2011, 2012, Odria & Berro 2011). In (6), for instance, even though the verb *ikusi* 'see' is a transitive predicate, the object *Jon* takes dative case –the case which is canonically assigned to indirect objects– and this assignment is reflected in the verbal morphology by means of dative agreement (*–o–*), which follows the dative flag (*–i–*):

(6) Ni-k   Jon-i   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
    I-$_{ERG}$ Jon-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
    'I have seen Jon'

As illustrated in example (3), repeated here as (7), contrary to DOM dialects, standard Basque always marks the object of transitive predicates with absolutive case, even if it is animate and human:

(7) Miren-ek   Jon-Ø   ikusi   d-u-(Ø)
    Miren-$_{ERG}$ Jon-$_{ABS}$ see   expl-root-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
    'Miren has seen John'

Together with the verb *ikusi* 'see' (cf. (6)), the same DOM construction can also appear with other verbs like *eraman/eroan* 'carry' (cf. (8)) or *ekarri* 'bring' (cf. (9)):

(8) Ni-k   umia-ri   eruango   d-(Ø)-i-o-t   ikastola-ra
    I-$_{ERG}$ child-$_{DAT}$ carry   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$ school-$_{ALL}$
    'I will carry the child to school'

(9) Ama-k   ekarriko   d-(Ø)-i-tx-(Ø)   kotxe-z
    mother-$_{ERG}$ bring   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-1sg$_{DAT}$-(3sg$_{ERG}$)   car-$_{INST}$
    'The mother will bring me by car'

Constructions like the ones in (6), (8) and (9) seem to be related to *Differential Object Marking* constructions (henceforth *DOM constructions*) in linguistic typology, since, as I have outlined, the object is differentially marked by a case that is not assigned in canonical constructions (cf. Bossong 1991, Lazard 2001, Aissen 2003). In the case of Basque, this non-canonical object is marked by dative case. Nonetheless, it is important to bear in mind that other languages have different ways of marking this object non-canonically.

2.3. Dialectal distribution

As for the dialectal distribution of the phenomenon, both Mounole (2008) and Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012) mention that DOM is only attested in southwestern varieties (varieties which are in the Spanish area of the Basque Country), whereas in northeastern dialects (some of which are in the French area of the Basque Country) only canonical absolutives are attested (cf. Epelde 2004).[4] The following examples have been gathered from the *Norantz* project –an audible database which studies grammatical variation in the northeastern varieties of Basque (cf. Epelde, Oyharçabal, & Salaberria 2011)– and show that DOM is never found in northeastern varieties[5]:

(10) Peio-k   ikusi   g-a-it-u-(Ø)
       Peio-ERG   see   1plcl-epen-1plABS-root-(3sgERG)
       'Peio has seen us'

(11) Peio-k   eta   Xabi-k   uste
       Peio-ERG   conj. Xabi-ERG   think
  d-u-te-(Ø)   Maddi-k   jo   d-it-u-(Ø)-ela
  expl-root-3plERG-(3sgERG) Maddi-ERG   hit   expl-3plABS-root-(3sgERG)-comp
       'Peio and Xabi think that Maddi has hit them'

(12) Zu-Ø   ere   ikusi   z-a-it-u-t
       you-ABS   also see   2sgcl-epen-2plABS-root-1sgERG
  goiz   untan bide-an
  morning   this   way-INE
       'I have also seen you on the way this morning'
                                            (Epelde, Oyharçabal, & Salaberria 2011)

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[4] Although Yrizar (1981) mentions that an example of DOM was also found in the northeastern variety from Baigorri, Mounole's (2008) examination of the issue questions this claim.

[5] With absence of negative data from northeastern varieties, I only provide examples showing the canonical absolutive case marking. I leave for further research the collection of negative data in those dialects.

The lack of DOM in northeastern Basque varieties is an important fact concerning the alleged relation with Spanish *leísmo* (cf. Landa 1995, Fernández-Ordoñez 1999: 1449-1455, Ormazabal & Romero 1998, 2001, 2007, 2010ab, 2012), which consists of the use of the dative clitics *le(s)* substituting the accusative *lo(s)/la(s)* when referring to animate direct objects, and Spanish DOM (cf. Melis 1995, Pensado 1995, Garcia 1995, Garcia & van Putte 1995, Torrego 1998, Laca 2002, 2006, Leonetti 2004, Heusinger & Kaiser 2010, Roberts 2010: 128-139), which consists in the use of the preposition *a* preceding animate direct objects: we only have DOM in varieties which are in contact with Spanish.[6]

Following the dialectal classification in Zuazo (2008), Fernández & Rezac (2012) say that in Basque varieties DOM can be found in three main areas: Navarrese, western Basque and central Basque. In Navarrese, DOM is attested, among others, in Ultzama (cf. Ibarra 1995), Esteribar and Erroibar (cf. Ibarra 2000), Aezkoa (cf. Camino 1997) and Baztan (cf. Salaburu & Lakar 2008).[7] In western Basque, DOM is attested, at least in Basauri (cf. Arretxe 1994), Igorre (cf. Iglesias 2005), Getxo (cf. Hualde & Bilbao 1992), Forua (cf. Gaminde 1992), Lekeitio (cf. Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994) and in the western-central transitional Elgoibar variety (cf. Makazaga 2007, 2010). Finally, in central Basque, DOM can be found, among others, in varieties like the ones from Ordizia (cf. Garmendia & Etxabe 2004), Lasarte-Oria (cf. Lakaba, Azurza & Bereziartu 1996), Imotz, Basaburua Nagusia, Larraun (cf. Apalauza 2008) and in transitional central-eastern varieties like those from Pasaia (cf. Agirretxe, Lersundi & Olaetxea 1998), Oiartzun (cf. Fraile & Fraile 1996), Hondarribia and Irun (cf. Sagarzazu 2005).

Fernández & Rezac (2011: 9, fn.: 6) also point out that there is no evidence of DOM in modern descriptions of several Basque varieties such as the western varieties from Arrasate, Bergara, Bermeo, Eibar, Ermua, Leioa, Otxandio and Sopela, and the central varieties from

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[6] This fact will be very relevant when analyzing these phenomena from a theoretical point of view. As I will explain in section 8, Spanish *leísmo*/DOM and Basque DOM have many things in common, not only when forming the DOM construction, but also when avoiding it (cf. Brugè & Brugger 1996, Ormazabal & Romero 2001a, 2012, Rodriguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Zdrojewski 2008, and Saab & Zdrojewski 2011).

[7] Zuazo (1998: 18) points out that DOM is spread throughout nearly all Navarrese varieties and that only occidental Navarrese varieties maintain the canonical absolutive marking of the object. This author points out that the lack of DOM is attested in Bortzerriak, Sunbila, Bertizarana, Malerreka, Basaburua Ttikia and Araitz.

Orio and Zegama. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that, being a non-canonical and sociolinguistically stigmatized phenomenon, DOM is sometimes hidden (or at least, not vaunted) and this, of course, makes the examination of the phenomenon more difficult. For this reason, in order to obtain more precise data of the phenomenon, I have carried out field-work with three speakers from the central-western transitional Elgoibar variety.[8]

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[8] See appendix for further details about the syntactic questionnaire.

3. <u>Animacy affecting DOM</u>

The impact that animacy can have on syntax is something common throughout the languages of the world (Baker 1996). In Basque, for example, there are different inflexional noun morphemes for animate and inanimate objects, and in Spanish, the interpretation of the pronouns in argument positions can vary depending on its animacy.[9] Therefore, the fact that in Basque DOM varieties animate and inanimate objects are subject to different syntactic operations –only animate objects can be marked differently[10]– is not an exception in this regard. As highlighted in Baker (1996), animate objects differ in their case theoretic properties from inanimate objects in many languages.

3.1. The animacy restriction in Basque

In this section, I will briefly summarize the main conclusions extracted from previous studies dealing with the animacy restriction in DOM objects (cf. Fernández 2008, Mounole 2008[11] and Fernández & Rezac 2010, 2011, 2012).

Animacy makes a clear distinction between those objects that can be assigned dative case and those that cannot; nonetheless, it should be kept in mind that different varieties seem to cut the Animacy Hierarchy –a hierarchy which classifies objects according to their degree of animacy– at different points (cf. (13)) (cf. Silverstein 1976, Fernández & Rezac 2010, 2011, 2012): [12]

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[9] I am very grateful to Juan Romero for his explanation about how animacy can affect syntax.

[10] As I will explain in section 6, only animate direct objects can enter into an Agree relation with the functional head that checks dative case and agreement –namely, with the light verb *v*.

[11] Mounole (2008) points out that specificity/referentiality can also play a role in Basque DOM, since only specific/referential objects can be differently marked. Nevertheless, I will leave the influence of specificity/referentiality for further research.

[12] There is diachronic evidence supporting the claim that DOM developed through the Animacy Hierarchy (cf. Silverstain 1976). In Basque, for instance, dative marked objects became more widespread in Yrizar (1981) than in Bonaparte (1869) (cf. Mounole 2008). Spanish shows a similar pattern, since at first DOM was only used with first and second person objects and nowadays it is used with all kinds of animate objects, even with non-human objects (cf. García & Van Putte 1995).

(13)   First person > Second person > Third person pronouns > Proper nouns > Human > Non-human animate > Inanimate

❖ **First, second and third person objects**

Some varieties like the one from Dima (western variety, cf. Fernández & Rezac 2012) only mark first (cf. (14a)) and second person objects differently (cf. (14b)), but not third person objects (cf. (15)):

(14)   a. (ni-ri)   ikusi   d-o-s-te-su
          I-DAT   see   expl-root-DF-1sgDAT-2sgERG
          'You have seen me'

         b. (zu-ri)   ikusi   d-o-t-zu-t
          (you-DAT)   see   expl-root-DF-2sgDAT-1sgERG
          'I have seen you'

(15)   Jon-Ø   ikusi   d-o-t
          Jon-ABS   see   expl-root-1sgERG
          'I have seen Jon'

                                                            (Fernández & Rezac 2012)

Other varieties like that from Etxarri-Aranatz (Navarrese variety, cf. Mounole 2008) can also mark animate third person objects with dative (cf. (16)), while others like the Elgoibar variety (western-central transitional variety) have it only optionally (cf. (17)) or do not have it (cf. (18)):

(16)   Alsasu-e   yaman d-(Ø)-o-o-gu   Fermiñ-i
          Altsasu-ALL   carry expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1plERG   Fermin-DAT
          'We have carried Fermin to Altsasu'
                                              (Mounole 2008: 8, from Erdozia 2001)

(17)   a. Zein-ek   eruango   d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
             who-ERG   carry   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-(3sgERG)
          Lara-ri   baserri-ra?
          Lara-DAT   farm-ALL
             'Who is going to carry Lara to the farm?

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b. Zein-ek   eruango   d-au-(Ø)
  who-ERG   carry   expl-root-(3sgERG)
Lara-Ø   baserri-ra?
Lara-ABS   farm-ALL
    'Who is going to carry Lara to the farm?

(18)   a. Neskia-Ø   ikusi   d-o-t
      girl-ABS   see   expl-root-1sgERG
      'I have seen the girl'

      b. *Neskia-ri   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
        girl-DAT   see   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1gERG
        'I have seen the girl'

The syntactic questionnaires show that for the three speakers from the Elgoibar variety, it is more difficult to have dative case and agreement when the object is third person animate, and therefore, they optionally use either the absolutive or the dative case for this third person. This is an issue which should be analyzed in depth, since, even though the main factor determining the dative marking is animacy, it could be the case that there is another distinction of a different nature between first/second and third person objects. One of the speakers, for instance, points out that she finds third person DOM objects quite odd with the verb *ikusi* 'see',[13] in contrast to other verbs like *ekarri* 'bring', *eraman* 'carry' and *jo* 'hit', where the dative marking in third person objects seems to be more acceptable for her. Another speaker explains that when the third person object is a specific person and known by the speaker (cf. (19)), she finds easier to mark it differently than when it is a non-specific and unknown person (cf. (20)) –the same thing is reported in the data collected in Arraztio (2011) (cf. (21)):

(19)   a. Aitor-ri   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
      Aitor-DAT   see   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
      'I have seen Aitor'

      b. Aitor-Ø   ikusi   d-o-t
      Aitor-ABS   see   expl-root-1sgERG
      'I have seen Aitor'

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[13] The verbal preference of this speaker may reflect the fact that DOM on the verb *ikusi* 'see' has always been the most corrected at school. This may lead the speaker to mark the object of *ikusi* 'see' with the canonical absolutive.

(20)

      a. Neskia-Ø   ikusi   d-o-t
          girl-ABS   see   expl-root-1sgERG
          'I have seen the girl'

      b. *Neskia-ri   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
          girl-DAT   see   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
          'I have seen the girl'

(21)

      a. Ni-k   neska bat-Ø   ikusi   d-u-t
          I-ERG girl   one-ABS   see   expl-root-1sgERG
          'I have seen one girl'

      b. *Ni-k neska bat-i   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
          I-ERG girl   one-DAT   see   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
          'I have seen one girl'

                                                (Arraztio 2011)

❖ Animate non-human objects

As for animate and non-human objects, it is normal for speakers with DOM to mark them canonically with absolute case (cf. (22)) –a speaker from Elgoibar is an exception (cf. (23)), together with a speaker from Araitz-Betelu (cf. (24)) (cf. Arraztio 2011):

(22)   Ikusi d-o-zu   Amaia-n   baserri-ko   txakurra-Ø?
            see   expl-root-2sgERG   Amaia-GEN   farm-GEN   dog-ABS?
            'Have you seen the dog from the farm of Amaia?

(23)   Zein-ek   eruango   d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
            who-ERG   carry   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-(3sgERG)
    txakurra-ri   albaitarixa-ngana?
    dog-DAT   veterinarian-ALL
            'Who is going to carry the dog to the veterinarian?'

(24)   Ni-k   zakur bat-i   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
            I-ERG dog   one-DAT   see   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
            'I have seen a dog'

                                                  (Arraztio 2011)

Thus, taking into account the lack of DOM in animate non-human objects, from now on, the term 'animate' will be used to refer both to animate and human, and inanimate to refer to all other kinds of objects.

❖ **Inanimate objects**

Until now we have seen that animate objects tend to be assigned dative case, and that, depending on the variety –and alternatively on the idiolect– this dative marking can be optional or obligatorily. In examples (25) thorough (28), we will see that dative marking on the objects is impossible for non-animate objects: there are no dative marked inanimate objects (cf. Fernández 2008, Mounole 2008, Fernández & Rezac 2010, 2011, 2012), not even with the speaker that shows obligatory DOM in the varitety of Araitz-Betelu (cf. Arraztio 2011) (cf. (25)):

(25)   a. Telebista-Ø   ikusi   d-o-t
           television-$_{ABS}$ see   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$
           'I have seen the television'

        b. **Telebista-ri   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
           television-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
           'I have seen the television'

                                                                (Arraztio 2011)

(26)   a. Ordenagailua-Ø   ikusi   d-o-t
           computer-$_{ABS}$ see   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$
           'I have seen the computer'

        b. **Ordenagailua-ri ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
           computer-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
           'I have seen the computer'

(27)   a. Mahaixa-Ø ikusi   d-o-t
           table-$_{ABS}$ see   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$
           'I have seen the table'

        b. **Mahaixa-ri   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
           table-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
           'I have seen the table'

(28)   a. Itsasua-Ø ikusi   d-o-t   hondartza-n
           sea-$_{ABS}$ see   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$ beach-$_{INE}$
           'I have seen the sea at the beach'

        b. **Itsasua-ri ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t   hondartza-n
           sea-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$ beach-$_{INE}$
           'I have seen the sea at the beach'

Setting aside the alleged difference between first/second and third person objects,[14] I will assume that the main restriction on objects being marked differently is animacy, since this is the only aspect in which all DOM varieties behave alike: DOM with inanimate objects is completely out in all Basque varieties.

Aside from the DOM constructions I am analyzing in the study, in section (§2.1) I have explained that Basque has other verbal constructions which can also show the same case marking, namely ergative for the subject and dative for the object (cf. Etxepare 2003a, Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010, 2011, 2012, Odria & Berro 2011). Among the verbs appearing in this construction, we have verbs like *barkatu* 'forgive', *itxaron* 'wait' and *jarraitu* 'follow'.[15] It is worthy of note that, in these constructions, in contrast to what happens with DOM constructions, the case contrast is not so closely related to the specific nature of the object (cf. Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2012): there are neither animacy (cf. (29)) nor person restrictions (cf. (30)):

(29)   Jon-ek   egunkaria-ri   begiratu
        Jon-ERG   newspaper-DAT   look at
    d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
    expl-(root)-DF-3sg$_{DAT}$-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
        'Jon have looked at the newspaper'

(30)   a. Jon-ek   ni-ri   begiratu   d-(Ø)-i-t-(Ø)
        Jon-ERG   I-DAT   look at   expl-(root)-DF-1sg$_{DAT}$-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
        'Jon has looked at me'

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[14] Ormazabal & Romero (2007) note that these differences show that not only languages, but also dialects or even, speakers differ in the grammaticalization of animacy according to the Animacy Hierarchy: "while only first and second person pronouns are subject to the animacy restrictions in languages like standard Spanish or English, Haitian Creole also considers third person animate pronouns and proper names, and Mohawk goes all the way down the hierarchy to human in the consideration of grammatically active animate objects."

[15] Other verbs showing the bivalent unergative construction are: *abisatu* 'notify', *barkatu* 'forgive', *begiratu* 'look at', *bultzatu* 'push', *deitu* 'call', *entzun* 'hear'. *eraso* 'attack', *erregutu* 'pray', *erreparatu* 'be aware of', 'pay attention', *esetsi* 'attack', *eskertu* 'thank', *iguriki* 'wait', *itxaron* 'wait', *jarraitu* 'follow', *jazarri* 'persecutte', *kontseilatu* 'give advice', *laga* 'let, leave', *lagundu* 'accompany, help', *manatu* 'order', *obeditu* 'obey', *oratu* 'hold', *segitu* 'follow', *ukitu* 'touch', *utzi* 'let, leave'/ 'allow' (cf. Etxepare 2003a: 418, Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010, 2011, 2012).

b. Jon-ek   zu-ri   begiratu   d-(Ø)-i-zu-(Ø)
Jon-$_{ERG}$ you-$_{DAT}$ look at   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-2sg$_{DAT}$-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
'Jon has looked at you'

c. Jon-ek   Ane-ri   begiratu   d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
Jon-$_{ERG}$ Ane-$_{DAT}$ loot at   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
'Jon has looked at Ane'

Hence, in spite of having the same frame, DOM constructions and bivalent unergative constructions should be analyzed separately.

3.2. The animacy restriction cross-linguistically

Among the languages of the world, several languages mark objects differently according to their degree of animacy, thus, Basque is not an exception in this regard. Like Basque, the following languages also mark animate objects differently –usually with the same case assigned to indirect objects– and use canonical case with inanimates:

- Galician (cf. Álvarez, Reguerira & Monteagudo 1986: 480, López Martínez 1993: 169, 258, 1999: 553-556, Cidrás Escáneo 1998: 573, Freixeiro Mato 2000: 635, Rivas 2005: 206-207)
- Portuguese (cf. Cidrás Escáneo 1998: 573)
- Neapolitan (cf. Fiorentino 2003, Roberts 2010)
- Spanish (cf. Landa 1995, Garcia 1995, Garcia & van Putte 1995, Melis 1995, Fernández Ordóñez 1999: 1449-1455, Laca 2006, Heusinger & Kaiser 2010, Roberts 2010: 128-139)
- Hindi (cf. Comrie 1981: 133, Lazard 1984: 367, Montaut 2004: 170, Bhatt 2006, Keine 2006)
- Hungarian (cf. Lazard 1984: 361, Moravcsik 1984: 56-59)
- Romanian (cf. Pensado 1995, Roberts 2010: 128-139)
- Hebrew (cf. Glinert 1989: 148)
- Tsakhur (cf. Lazard 1984: 272)
- Gumbainggir (cf. Comrie 1981: 189)
- Ritharngu (cf. Comrie 1981: 131)

In Hindi, for example, the morpheme –*ko* (which is the indirect object marker) is attached to highly individuated objects, namely to animate/human and definite direct objects (cf. (31)) (cf. Comrie 1981: 133, Lazard 1984: 36, Montaut 2004: 170, Bhatt 2006, Keine 2006):[16]

(31) a. Ilaa-ne   ek   baccee-ko /   *baccaa   ut^{h}aayaa
         Ila-ERG   one   child-ACC   child.NOM   lift/carry.PRF
      '*Ila lifted a child*'

      b. Ila-ne   ek   haar /   *haar-ko   ut^{h}aayaa
         Ila-ERG   one   necklace.NOM necklace-ACC   lift.PRF
      '*Ila lifted a necklace*'

(Keine 2006)

According to authors like Hopper & Thompson (1980), Tsunoda (1981, 1985, 1994), Dowty (1991), Malchukov (2008) and Malchukov & de Hoop (2011), DOM objects tend to be marked differently because of the lack of prototypical properties that are typically assigned to direct objects; these authors assume that DOM objects are direct objects.[17] Regarding animacy, Hopper & Thompson (1980), Tsunoda (1981, 1985, 1994), Dowty (1991), Malchucov (2008) and Malchucov & De Hoop (2011) claim that while direct objects are prototypically inanimate, indirect objects are prototypically animate. They explain the differential marking of DOM objects by saying that it is the lack of a certain prototypical property (in our case, animacy) which makes them behave differently, namely in a way similar to indirect objects. In Basque, for instance, the case that is assigned to differently marked direct objects is the same assigned to indirect objects, namely dative case (–*(r)i*), and the same pattern emerges in languages like Hindi/Urdu, Guaranian and Tigre (Xasa) (cf. Fernández & Rezac 2011). In the typological literature, this relation between DOM objects and indirect objects has been explained by the "Characterizing Theory", a theory which claims that DOM objects behave like indirect objects when some of their prototypical characteristics are lost (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980, Lazard 2001, 2002).[18]

[16] In section 8, we will see that Hindi behaves like Basque not only in the realization of the DOM object, but also in the repair strategies invoked to avoid it in contexts with two dative objects–one the DOM object and the other the indirect object.

[17] In section 4 I will provide evidence showing that DOM objects are indeed direct objects.

[18] Odria & Berro (2011) mention that other factors such as the affectedness of the object –which in the case of the direct object is prototypicaly partial and in the case of the indirect object total– can also affect the DOM

In section 6, we will see that this apparent similarity between DOM objects and indirect objects can be accounted for by proposing that both of them check case/agreement with one and the same functional head –namely, the light verb *v*. Notwithstanding, as I will explain in section 4, this similarity between DOM objects and indirect objects is somewhat superficial, since DOM objects behave like direct objects syntactically.

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attested in Basque varieties, since partially affected objects seem to be more likely to be marked differently. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, I will leave the influence of affectedness –whose impact is undoubtedly less than that of animacy– and look fundamentally at the influence of animacy. Kliffer (1995) mentions that the same thing happens in Spanish: non-affected objects are more likely to be marked with dative case, but only in the cases where they are individuated (animate and definite).

4. DOM objects are direct obejcts

Since the first studies addressing DOM objects in Basque dialects, there has been a debate in reference to its syntactic nature. Given that indirect objects in Basque are marked with dative case, one could think that the dative marked object in DOM constructions is also an indirect object. Nonetheless, in this section I will explain that DOM objects, despite the fact that they are assigned dative case, are indeed direct objects. To support the direct object nature of DOM objects, in §4.1, I will first add new data to the evidence presented in previous studies (cf. Fernández & Rezac 2010, 2011, 2012). Then, in §4.2, I will propose new criteria to corroborate that the direct object analysis of DOM objects is on the right track.

4.1.   Previous studies have shown that DOM objects are direct objects

Assuming that the dative marking –(r)i hides the real nature of the object bearing it, Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012) give some pieces of evidence supporting the idea that, despite their apparent similarity with indirect objects, DOM objects are direct objects.[19] In the following subsections I will deal with the main evidence presented by these authors in favour of the direct object analysis of DOM objects: the acceptance of secondary predication (§4.1.1), the case shift from dative to absolutive when avoiding double dative constructions (§4.1.2) and the absolutive marking of DOM objects in modal constructions with *behar* 'need, must, have to' and *nahi* 'want, wish', in causatives and in the progressive *ari* 'to be engaged in' (§4.1.3).

4.1.1. DOM objects license secondary predication

On the one hand, based on the fact that only direct objects –not indirect objects– can accept secondary predication, Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012) shed light on the syntactic nature of DOM objects by demonstrating that they can be modified by secondary predication. They show that the dative marked DOM objects (cf. (32)) pattern with canonical

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[19] As we have seen in §3.2, this assumption has also been made in the typological literature.

absolutive marked direct objects (cf. (33)) in that both can licence secondary predication – indirect objects cannot license secondary predication (cf. (34))[20]:

(32)   (Ni-k)$_i$ umia-ri$_j$ [txankleta gabe]$_{i/j}$ ekarri
          (I$_{ERG}$) child-$_{DAT}$ [flip-flop without]   bring
    d-(Ø)-i-o-t
    expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3s$_{gDAT}$-1s$_{gERG}$
          'I have carried the child without flip-flops'

(33)   (Ni-k)$_i$ umia-Ø$_j$ [txankleta gabe]$_{i/j}$ ekarri d-o-t
          (I$_{ERG}$) child-$_{ABS}$ [flip-flop without]   bring   expl-(root)-1s$_{gERG}$
          'I have carried the child without flip-flops'

(34)   (Nik$_i$) amari$_k$ umia-Ø$_j$ [txankleta gabe]$_{i/j/*k}$ eraman
          (I$_{ERG}$) mother-$_{DAT}$ child-$_{ABS}$ [flip-flop without]   bring
    d-(Ø)-i-o-t
    expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3s$_{gDAT}$-1s$_{gERG}$
          'I have carried the child to the mother without flip-flops'

    Saab & Zdrojewski (2011) (and previously Demonte 1995 and Torrego 1998) show that the same pattern holds in Spanish DOM constructions: a-marked objects can be subjects of secondary predicates (cf. (35)) whereas indirect objects cannot (cf. (36)):

(35)   Juan$_i$ (la)   encontró   a   María$_j$ borracha$_{i/j}$
          Juan (cl.$_{ACC}$)   find   prep. Maria   drunk
          'Juan found Maria drunk'

(36)   *Juan$_i$ le   habló a   María$_j$ borracha$_{i/*j}$
          Juan cl.$_{DAT}$ talk prep. Maria   drunk
          'Juan talked to Maria drunk'

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[20] Apart from Basque (cf. Zabala 1993, Arregi & Molina-Azaola 2004, Oyharçabal 2007, 2009), the lisencing of secondary predication on direct objects and not on indirect objects can be found in many languages cross-linguistically (cf. Williams 1980: 204, Baker 1997: 90, McFadden 2003, 2004), including French and Spanish (cf. Demonte 1995, Ormazabal & Romero 2010a).

The same construction in a *leísta* dialect would show the dative clitic *le(s)* instead of the accusative *lo(s)*, and like in the case of Basque DOM, this construction would also accept secondary predication (cf. (37)):

(37)   Juan$_i$ le$_j$ encontró   borracha$_{i/j}$
        Juan   cl.$_{DAT}$ find   drunk
        'Juan found her drunk'

Contrary to what we have seen concerning DOM objects, Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina (2010, 2011, 2012) explain that dative complements in bivalent unergative constructions behave more akin to indirect objects. In support of this assumption, I can mention that, as happens with indirect objects, the object of these bivalent unergative predicates cannot license secondary predication. In constructions like (38) *pozik* 'happy' can only modify the subject, never the object. Likewise, in (39) *oinutsik* 'barefoot' can only modify the subject, and not the object:

(38)   Ni-k$_i$ Miren-i$_j$ pozik$_{i/*j}$ begiratu   n-(Ø)-i-o-n
        I-$_{ERG}$ Miren-$_{DAT}$ happy   look at   1sgcl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-past
        'I looked at Miren happy'

(39)   Ni-k$_i$ Miren-i$_j$ oinutsik$_{i/*j}$ jarraitxu   n-(Ø)-i-o-n
        I-$_{ERG}$ Miren-$_{DAT}$ barefoot   follow   1sgcl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-past
        'I followed Miren barefoot'

Thus, it can be said that the licensing of secondary predication gives us a clue as to whether a dative marked object is a direct (as is the case of DOM objects) or an indirect object (as with objects of bivalent unergative constructions).

4.1.2. Absolutive marked DOM objects avoiding double dative constructions

Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012) show that in double dative constructions, where, apart from the dative marked DOM object there is also an indirect object, many speakers with DOM tend to mark the DOM object with absolutive case.[21] Indeed, the data

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[21] As I will show in section 8.1, this is one of the repair strategies used by speakers with DOM to avoid double dative constructions.

gathered with the syntactic questionnaire show that, even though the same speaker marks the very same object with dative case in a transitive configuration (cf. (40)), having an additional dative argument –the indirect object– forces the speaker to switch cases, assigning absolutive case –rather than dative– to the DOM object (41)[22]:

(40)   Umia-ri   eruan d-(Ø)-i-o-t
                child-$_{DAT}$ carry expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
                'I have carried the child'

(41)   a. Amamari-$_{DAT}$ umia-Ø   eruan d-(Ø)-i-o-t
                 grandmother-$_{DAT}$ child-$_{ABS}$ carry expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
                 'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

                 b. Amama-ri   Nahia-Ø   eruan   n-(Ø)-i-o-n
                 grandmother-$_{DAT}$ Nahia-$_{ABS}$ carry   1sgcl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-past
                 'I carried Nahia to the grandmother'

Consequently, it can be said that the switch from dative to absolutive case in the direct object demonstrates that, once again, DOM objects behave like direct objects. Ormazabal & Romero (2001) show that the same pattern holds in the *leísta* Spanish spoken in the Basque Country (cf. Landa 1995, Fernández-Ordoñez 1999). In this variety the accusative clitic *lo(s)* is used instead of the dative *le(s)* to make reference to an animate object only when another dative argument –the indirect object– appears in the same construction (cf. (42)) (cf. Romero 1997):

(42)   a. Le   llevé
                 3cl.$_{DAT}$ carry
                'I carried her/him'

                 b. Te   lo/*le   llevé
                 2cl.$_{DAT}$ 3cl.$_{ACC}$/*3cl.$_{DAT}$ carry
                'I carried her/him to you'

Therefore, it seems that the similar behaviour of Basque DOM objects and Spanish *leísmo* is also visible when avoiding constructions with two dative phrases.

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[22] As we will see in section 7, one of the main proposals of this study is to claim that this switch is not just a switch of case marking, but a switch from an agreement-based system to a clitic-based system.

4.1.3. The modals *behar* 'need, must, have to' and *nahi* 'want, wish', causatives, the progressive *ari* 'to be engaged in'

Finally, I will address the behaviour of DOM objects within modal constructions with *behar* 'need, must, have to' and *nahi* 'want, wish', the causative construction and the progressive *ari* 'to be engaged in' (cf. Laka 2006). Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012) show that, in all of these constructions, the DOM object that in a simpler construction would bear dative case tends to receive absolutive case. The following examples gathered in the syntactic questionnaire show that in modal constructions with *behar* 'need, must, have to' (cf. (43)) and *nahi* 'want, wish' (cf. (44)), and similarly in causative constructions (cf. (45)) and progressive constructions with *ari* 'to be engaged in' (cf. (46)) the objects are marked with absolutive case in the Elgoibar variety. The same speaker would otherwise mark these objects with dative case:

(43) Umia-Ø   ikastola-ra   eruan   bihar   d-o-t
      child-ABS   school-ALL   carry   have to   expl-root-1sgERG
      'I have to carry the child to the school'

(44) Umia-Ø   ikastola-ra   eruan   nahi   d-o-t
      child-ABS   school-ALL   carry   want   expl-root-1sgERG
      'I want to carry the child to the school'

(45) Ama-k   umia-Ø   ekarr-arazi   d-au-(Ø)
      mother-ERG   child-ABS   bring-caus.   expl-root-(3sgERG)
      'The mother has made bring the child'

(46) Ama-Ø   umia-Ø   ikusten   ai   d-a
      mother-ABS   child-ABS   see   prog. expl-root
      'The mother is seeing the child'

Therefore, I assume that, once again, the switch from dative to absolutive case in this kind of constructions gives us another piece of evidence to analyse DOM objects as direct objects, since if these objects were indirect objects, they would bear dative case, and no case switch would be take place. The following examples illustrate that the indirect object *umiari* 'to the child' in (47) and (48) is assigned dative case in modal constructions with *behar* 'need, must, have to' and *nahi* 'want, wish'. Likewise, the indirect objects *aitxari* 'to the father' in the causative construction (cf. (49)) and *umiari* 'to the child' in the progressive construction with 'ari' (cf. (50)) receive dative case:

(47)   Umia-ri   liburua-Ø   eruan bihar
         child-DAT   book-ABS   carry have to
    d-(Ø)-i-o-t
    expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I have to carry the book to the child'

(48)   Umia-ri   liburua-Ø   eruan nahi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         child-DAT   book-ABS   carry want   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I want to carry the book to the child'

(49)   Ama-k   aitxa-ri   umia-Ø   ekarr-arazi
         mother-ERG   father-DAT   child-ABS   bring-caus
    d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
    expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-(3sgERG)
         'The mother has made the father bring the child'

(50)   Ama-Ø   umia-ri   jaten ematen ai
         mother-ABS   child-DAT   eat   give   prog
    j-a-k-o
    expl-root-DF-3sgDAT
         'The mother is feeding the child'

Interestingly, the objects of bivalent unergative verbs behave once again unlike DOM objects and like current indirect objects in that they can be marked dative case even in the mentioned *behar* 'need, must, have to' (cf. (51)) and *nahi* 'want, wish' (cf. (52)) modal, causative (cf. (53)) and progressive constructions (cf. (54)):

(51)   Lara-ri   jarraitxu   bihar   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         Lara-DAT   follow   have to   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I have to follow to Lara'

(52)   Lara-ri   jarraitxu   nahi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         Lara-DAT   follow   want   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I want to follow to Lara'

(53)   Maddi-ri   Peru-ri   lagundu-arazi d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         Maddi-DAT   Peru-DAT   help-caus   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I have made Maddi help Peru'

(54)   Maddi-Ø   Peru-ri   laguntzen   ai
         Maddi-ABS   Peru-DAT   help   prog
    j-a-k-o
    expl-root-DF-3sgDAT
         'Maddi is helping to Peru'

As a conclusion it can be highlighted that the data presented in this section supports the claim made in Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012): DOM objects behave akin to direct objects, and the only thing that unifies them with indirect objects is their dative marking. In the following section (§4.2), I will provide novel criteria and more evidence that support the analysis of DOM objects as direct objects.

4.2. New criteria supporting the direct object nature of DOM objects

In this section, I will present novel criteria in favour of the direct object nature of DOM objects. More precisely, I will provide evidence showing that DOM objects trigger agreement in double dative construction (§4.2.1), can be easily relativized (§4.2.2), do not accept the anti-distributive *bakoitza* 'each/every' (§4.2.3), mark the anaphors *elkar* 'each other' and *bere burua* 'X's head' with absolutive case (§4.2.4), and can only be animate (§4.2.5). We will see that the direct objecthood of DOM objects turns out to be rather clear.

4.2.1. DOM objects trigger agreement in double dative constructions

In this subsection, I will argue that the DOM object is the object that triggers agreement in double dative constructions. Taking into account that (i) direct objects, contrary to indirect objects, must agree (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1995, Albizu 2001, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, 2012, Etxepare 2010ab, Fernández & Landa 2009, Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009), and that (ii) direct objects commonly trigger agreement before indirect objects (cf. Moravcsik 1974), the fact that DOM objects trigger agreement in double dative constructions seems to be more evidence in favour of a direct object analysis.

The syntactic restriction known as the Person Case Constraint (PPC) (cf. Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, 1994, 2007, Laka 1993, Albizu 1997, 1998, 2001, Romero 1997, Ormazabal & Romero 1998, 2000, 2003, 2007, Boeckx 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2000, 2001, 2003, 2007, Rezac 2003, 2009ab, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2006, Nevins 2007, Béjar & Rezac 2009, Baker 2011) claims that the presence of a dative agreement/clitic blocks all accusative/absolutive agreement/clitic other than third person. Bonet (1991, 1994), for instance, makes the following descriptive generalization to account for the PCC:

(55)   If dative, then accusative/absolutive=third person[23]

Hence, as a result of the PCC, only third person absolutive markers can co-occur with dative agreement. As for Basque, Albizu (1997), following Laka (1993), shows that when the direct object is first person, PCC effects arise and the construction proves to be ungrammatical as in (56). The same thing happens with second person objects. In contrast, when the direct object is third person, the construction becomes grammatical (cf. (57)):

(56)   Azpisapo-ek   etsaia-ri   ni-Ø   saldu
            traitor-ERG   enemy-DAT   I-ABS   sell
       *n-a-i-o-te-(Ø)
       1sgcl-root-DF-3sgDAT-3plERG-(3sgERG)
            'The traitors have sold me to the enemy'

(57)   Azpisapo-ek   etsaia-ri   misila-Ø   saldu
            traitor-ERG   enemy-DAT   missile-ABS   sell
       d-(Ø)-i-o-te-(Ø)
       expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-3plERG-(3sgERG)
            'The traitors have sold me to the enemy'
                                                    Laka (1993), adapted by Albizu (1997)

Basque varieties with DOM show the same behaviour with regard to the PCC: the DOM object cannot be first (cf. (58)) or second person (cf. (59)) when another dative phrase – the one of the indirect object– is present in the same construction:

(58)   Zu-k   ne-ri   amama-ri   eruan
            you-ERG   I-DAT   grandmother-DAT   carry
       *d-(Ø)-i-da-o-zu
       expl-(root)-DF-1sgDAT-3sgDAT-2sgERG
            'You have carried me to the grandmother'

(59)   Ni-k   amama-ri   zu-ri   eruan
            I-ERG   grandmother-DAT   you-DAT   carry
       *d-(Ø)-i-zu-o-t
       expl-DF-2sgDAT-3sgDAT-1sgERG
            'I have carried you to the grandmother'

---

[23] The so-called Me-Lui constraint (cf. Bonet 1991, 1994) is a subpart of the PCC, since it only deals with clitics, rather than both clitics and agreement. In this study, I will mainly refer to this constraint as PCC.

Nonetheless, it is very important to note that in Basque varieties showing DOM, contrary to what happens in standard Basque (cf. (57)), PCC effects can also appear when the DOM object is third person animate (cf. (60)) –marked, in this context, with dative case:

(60)   Amama-ri   umia-ri   eruan
        grandmother-$_{DAT}$ child-$_{DAT}$ carry
    *d-(Ø)-i-o-o-t
    expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
        'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

The DOM object *umia* 'child', being marked with dative case, causes a double dative construction, which, at the same tame, causes PCC effects. As I will argue in section 8, in constructions with two dative objects –constructions with a DOM dative object and an indirect object– it is not possible to have two dative agreement morphemes in the auxiliary verb: only one of the two dative arguments can trigger verbal agreement.

As explained in Romero (1997) and Ormazabal & Romero (1998), the same pattern holds in Spanish *leísmo*, where the dative clitic *le(s)* substitutes the accusative *lo(s)/la(s)* when the direct object is animate. As it can be observed in (61), the dative clitic *le* for third person animate direct object together with the dative clitic *te* for the second person indirect object make the construction ungrammatical and PCC effects arise (cf. Romero 1997):

(61)   *Te   le   llevé
        Cl.2$_{DAT}$ cl.3$_{DAT}$ carry
        'I carried him/her to you'

As we will see in section 8, speakers with DOM make use of four different repair strategies in order to avoid the PCC effect in (60), however, in this section we will only make reference to the one where, even when the two arguments are marked with dative case –both the DOM object and the indirect object– only one dative agreement marker appears in the auxiliary verb[24]:

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[24] Although Albizu & Fernández (2006a) treat the example in (62) as ungrammatical, some Basque varieties showing DOM can accept it. It is true that the constructions with two dative arguments but one dative agreement like the ones in (62) and (63) tend to be rejected by many speakers with DOM. Nonetheless, all the speakers I have interviewed say that if they accepted these constructions with two dative arguments they would only accept the ones showing agreement with the DOM object –not with the indirect object as in (64). Thus, we can conclude

(62) Umia-ri   amama-ri   eruan d-(Ø)-i-o-t
      child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{DAT}$ carry expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
      'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

In (62) both the DOM object and the indirect object are singular, and it is not very clear whether the object that bears dative agreement is the former or the latter.[25] For this reason, so as to see which of the objects triggers dative agreement, we will refer to the example in (63), where only the DOM object is plural:

(63) Umie-ri   amama-ri   eruan d-(Ø)-i-e-t
      child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{DAT}$ carry expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3pl$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
      'I have carried the children to the grandmother'

Interestingly, regarding the dative plural agreement in the auxiliary verb (-*e*-) in (63), we can conclude that the dative argument that triggers agreement in the auxiliary is the DOM object, and not the indirect object. Otherwise, the construction in (64) would be grammatical:

(64) *Umie-ri   amama-ri   eruan d-(Ø)-i-o-t
      child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{DAT}$ carry expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3pl$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
      'I have carried the children to the grandmother'

All in all, the fact that the DOM object triggers agreement over the indirect object demonstrates that it is in fact a direct object, since as is commonly assumed in typology, direct objects trigger agreement before the indirect object (cf. Moravcsik 1974). Moreover, given that in Basque –like in other languages– the argument that can lose verbal agreement is the indirect object (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1995, Albizu 2001, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, 2012, Etxepare 2010ab, Fernández & Landa 2009, Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009), we can conclude that the DOM object –the one which triggers agreement– is not an indirect object, but a direct object. Otherwise, I see no reason for the DOM object to trigger verbal agreement over the indirect object.

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that there is a tight relation between case and agreement in DOM objects, a relation that will be explained with further details in sections 5 and 6.

[25] Apart from the data gathered with the syntactic questionnaire, Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012) also show that the speaker from Araitz-Betelu showing obligatory DOM also has double dative constructions that agree with the DOM object (cf. Arraztio 2011).

Conversely, once again, the objects of bivalent unergative verbs behave unlike direct objects and like other indirect objects in that they can have their agreement morphemes dropped from the auxiliary verb (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1995, Albizu 2001, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, 2012, Etxepare 2010ab, Fernández & Landa 2009, Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009):

(65)   Gu-k   behatzen   d-u-gu   xoilki oraiko atsekabea-ri
         we-$_{ERG}$ look at   expl-root-1pl$_{ERG}$ only   today's suffering-$_{DAT}$
         'We only look at today's suffering'

                                                                                   (Arb Bok 222)

(66)   Behatzen   d-u-(Ø)   lehenik   aitoren semea-ri
         look at   expl-root-(3sg$_{ERG}$)   firstly   nobleman-$_{DAT}$
         'He/she firstly looks at the nobleman'

                                                                                   (Arb Bok 366)

                                                              (Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2009)

As a conclusion, we could emphasize that the fact that DOM objects are the ones that trigger agreement in double dative constructions demonstrates that their syntactic nature is similar to that of direct objects.

4.2.2. DOM objects can be relativized

Oyharçabal (2003), following Keenan & Comrie (1977, 1979), explains that relativization of direct objects is more accessible than relativization of indirect objects, and that, regarding the case system, absolutive case is easier to relativize than dative case. This author argues that absolutive phrases have no restriction when relativizing, but that dative phrases, although being quite easy to relativize, make relativization of indirect objects less accessible than that of subjects and direct objects. Oyharçabal (2003) proposes the following hierarchy to explain the differences with regard to accessibility with relative clauses ((cf. 67)):

(67)   Absolutive & ergative > dative > subcategorized adverbial > adjunct adverbial

In the following subsection, I will show that, even though absolutive case is easier to relativize than dative case, DOM objects bearing a dative case are also easier to relativize than

dative marked indirect objects. For this reason, I would modify Oyharçabal's (2003) hierarchy as follows in (68):

(68)   Absolutive & ergative > dative of a DOM object > dative of an indirect object > subcategorized adverbial > adjunct adverbial

Like in many other languages (cf. Chung 1976, 1983, Dryer 1983), in Basque relativization of the arguments is more easily accepted with subjects and direct objects (cf. (69)) than with indirect objects (cf. (70)):

(69)   Ikusi   d-o-t-en   gizona-Ø
        see   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$-comp   man-$_{ABS}$
        'The man that I have seen'

(70)   (¿?)Liburua-Ø erakutsi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t-en
        book-$_{ABS}$ show   expl-(root)-DF-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$-conp
    gizona-Ø
    man-$_{ABS}$
        'The man to whom I have showed the book'

Once again, we find evidence to support that DOM objects behave similar to direct objects, given that dative marked DOM objects (cf. (71)) are easier to relativize than dative marked indirect objects (cf. (73)):

(71)   Zu-Ø,   zu-Ø   bai   zu-Ø,   lehen kriston
        you-$_{ABS}$ you-$_{ABS}$ yes   you-$_{ABS}$,   before great
    mozkorra-kin   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-zu-t-en   hori!
    drunkenness-$_{INS}$ see   expl-(root)-DF-2sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$-comp that
        'You, you yes you, the one I have seen drunk before!'

(72)   Zu-Ø,   zu-Ø   bai   zu-Ø,   lehen
        you-$_{ABS}$ you-$_{ABS}$ yes   you-$_{ABS}$,   before
    kriston   mozkorra-kin   soinekua-Ø   zikindu
    great   drunkenness-$_{INS}$ dress-$_{ABS}$ get dirty
d-(Ø)-i-zu-t-en   hori!
expl-(root)-DF-2sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$-comp   that
        'You, you yes you, the one I have dirtied the dress drunk!'

Comparing DOM objects with the dative objects in bivalent unergative verbs, once again it proves to be quite clear that, unlike DOM objects, the objects of bivalent unergative

predicates behave like indirect objects, since they hardly accept relativization of the dative marked object (cf. (72)) (cf. Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010, 2011, 2012):

(73)   ¿?Jarraitxu   d-(Ø)-i-o-t-en   neskia-Ø
               follow   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$-comp girl-$_{ABS}$
               'The girl I have followed'

The relativization of the arguments is thus another important piece of evidence supporting the direct object nature of DOM objects and the indirect object nature of the objects in bivalent unergative constructions.

4.2.3. DOM objects do not accept the anti-quantifier *bakoitza* 'each/every'

The next piece of evidence supporting the direct object nature of DOM objects comes from the anti-quantifier *bakoitza* 'each/every'.

Oyharçabal (2007, 2009) shows that the distributive anti-quantifier *bakoitza* 'each/every', which requires an object lower in the derivation, can only be used with indirect objects (cf. (74)), and never with direct objects (cf. (75)).[26] Interestingly, the data gathered in the syntactic questionnaire shows that DOM objects can never appear with the anti-quantifier *bakoitza* 'each/every', thus yielding one more argument against an indirect object analysis of DOM objects (cf. (76)):

(74)   Ume   bakoitza-ri   bere liburua-Ø   eman
               child   each/every-$_{DAT}$ his/her book-$_{ABS}$ give
          d-(Ø)-i-o-t
          expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
             'I have given each/every child his/her book'

(75)   *Umee-ri   liburu bakoitza-Ø   eman
               child-$_{DAT}$ book each/every-$_{ABS}$ give
        d-(Ø)-i-e-t
         expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3pl$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
             'I have given the children each/every book'

---

[26] Oyharçabal (2009) makes use of this evidence to support the claim that indirect objects are higher in the structure than direct objects.

(76)   *Ume bakoitza-ri   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-gu
                   child   each/every-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1pl$_{ERG}$
                   'We have seen each/every child'

Patterning with the previous criteria, dative objects of bivalent unergative predicates can bear the particle *bakoitza* 'each/every' (cf. (77)), which relates them once again to the behaviour of indirect objects:

(77)   Ume   bakoitza-ri   deitxu d-(Ø)-i-o-gu
                  child   each/every-$_{DAT}$ call   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1pl$_{ERG}$
                   'We have called each child'

Overall, the possibility of licensing the anti-quantifier *bakoitza* 'each/every' is another piece of evidence in favour of an indirect object analysis of dative objects in bivalent unergatives and a direct object analis of DOM objects.

4.2.4. The anaphors *elkar* 'each other' and *bere burua* 'X's head' with absolutive

According to the syntactic questionnaire, none of the speakers from Elgoibar can have DOM objects with the reciprocal and reflexive anaphors *elkar* 'each other' (cf. Mounole 2008) and *bere burua* 'X's head' (cf. Berro & Odria 2012). As illustrated in (78) and (79), the same objects that are marked with dative case in non-reflexive and non-reciprocal contexts are in this case marked with absolutive, showing once again an unavoidable similarity with normal direct objects:

(78)   a. Alkar-$_{ABS}$ ikusi d-a-be
               each other-$_{ABS}$ see   expl-root-3pl$_{ABS}$
              'They have seen each other'

        b. *Alkarr-i   ikusi d-(Ø)-i-o-te-(Ø)
              each other-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3pl$_{ERG}$-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
              'They have seen each other'

(79)   a. Ne-re   burua-Ø   ikusi d-o-t   espilua-n
               I-$_{GEN}$ head   see   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$ mirror-$_{INE}$
              'I have seen myself in the mirror'

      b. *Ne-re   burua-ri   ikusi d-(Ø)-i-o-t

        I-$_{GEN}$ head-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$

espilua-n

mirror-$_{INE}$

        'I have seen myself in the mirror'

Contrary to what happens with DOM objects, the dative objects of bivalent unergative verbs can appear both with the reciprocal anaphor *elkar* 'each other' (cf. (80)) and the reflexive anaphor *bere burua* 'X's head' (cf. (81)) (cf. Berro & Odria 2012). For this reason, I conclude that the objects of these unergative verbs are more akin to indirect objects than to direct objects:

(80)   Alkarr-i   jarraitxu   d-(Ø)-i-o-gu

            each other-$_{DAT}$ follow   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1pl$_{ERG}$

            'We have followed each other'

(81)   Ez   d-(Ø)-i-o-t   sekula barkatuko

            neg   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$ never forgive

     ne-re burua-ri   hori-Ø   ein   izana

     I-$_{GEN}$ head-$_{DAT}$ this-$_{ABS}$ do   have

            'I will never forgive myself for having done that'

In conclusion, the requirement of having absolutive marked objects when the anaphors *elkar* 'each other' and *bere burua* 'X's head' appear in DOM constructions demonstrates once again that DOM objects are indeed direct objects.

4.2.5. DOM only with animate objects

As it is pointed out in Pensado (1995), Kliffer (1995), Ormazabal & Romero (2007) and Saab & Zdrojewski (2011), DOM objects cannot be analyzed like indirect objects, since if they were canonical indirect objects both animate and inanimate objects would be marked with dative case. Nevertheless, it is well known that Basque DOM objects are only marked dative case in very specific contexts, namely, when the argument is animate. The following examples show that indirect objects can be animate (cf. (82)) or inanimate (cf. (83)), whereas DOM objects can only be animate (cf. (84)):

(82)   Aita-ri   liburua-Ø   erosi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t

            father-$_{DAT}$ book-$_{ABS}$ buy   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$

            'I have bought my father a book'

(83)   Autoa-ri   gurpilak-Ø   aldatu
         car-DAT   wheels-ABS   change
    d-(Ø)-i-zki-o-t
    expl-(root)-DF-3plABS-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I have changed the wheels on the car'

(84)   **Liburua-ri   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         book-DAT   see   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I have seen the book'

In contrast, as explained in 2.1, the bivalent unergative verbs whose objects bear dative case do not have any kind of restriction related to the nature of the object –they do not necessarily have to be animate (cf. (85)):

(85)   Trena-ri   itxoin d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         train-DAT   wait   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I have waited for the train'

Hence, the animacy restriction is another reason to assume that the objects of bivalent unergative constructions are closer to indirect objects than to direct objects, and that, likewise, DOM objects are more similar to direct objects.

4.3.   Interim conlusion

In this section I presented evidence in favour of the direct object nature of DOM objects, namely, the necessary triggering of agreement in double dative constructions (§4.2.1), the ease with which they are relativized (§4.2.3), the imposibility of bearing the distributive anti-quantifier *bakoitza* 'each/every' (§4.2.4), the absolutive marking with the anaphors *elkar* 'each other' and *bere burua* 'X's head' (§4.2.5) and the impossibility of having inanimate dative marked objects (§4.2.6). In addition, the same evidence has been useful to support that, as claimed in previous studies (cf. Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010, 2011, 2012), the dative objects of bivalent unergative verbs behave like indirect objects.

4.3.1. A possible counter-example

Fernández & Rezac (2012) argue that an argument against a direct object analysis of DOM objects could be the impossibility of having dative case/agreement in simple transitive

predication. As it can be observed in (86a) and (87a), in Basque, a transitive clause with the auxiliary verb *edun 'have' as a copula can express predication (cf. De Rijk 2008: 675-677). This structure would be equivalent to the predicate structure with the intransitive copula izan 'be' illustrated in (86b) and (87b):

(86)   a. Andrea-Ø   leitzarra   d-u-(Ø)
           wife-$_{ABS}$ from Leitza   expl-root(*edun)-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
           'His/her wife is from Leitza'

                                            (Uztapide, LEG II, 15)

      b. Haren   andrea-Ø   leitzarra   d-a
           his/her   wife-$_{ABS}$ from Leitza   expl-root(izan)
           'His/her wife is from Leitza'

(87)   a. Salome-Ø alaba   d-u-t
           Salome-$_{ABS}$ daughter   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$
           'My daughter is Salome'

      b. Salome-Ø d-a   ni-re   alaba
           Salome-$_{ABS}$ expl-root   I-$_{GEN}$ daughter
           'My daughter is Salome'

                                              (De Rijk 2008: 676)

Assuming structures consisting of simple transitive predication, Fernández & Rezac (2012) argue that DOM objects are not attested in these transitive predication structures (cf. (88)), and that as a result, DOM objects differ from direct objects:

(88)   a. *Andrea-ri leitzarra   d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
           wife-$_{DAT}$ from Leitza   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-(3sg$_{ERG}$)
           'His wife is from Leitza'

      b. Salome-ri alaba   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
           Salome-$_{DAT}$ daughter   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
           'My daughter is Salome'

Hence, following Fernández & Rezac (2012), one could think that the fact that the object in the simple transitive predication cannot appear with dative case shows that a deeper difference lies behind the distinction between DOM objects and canonical direct objects and that, in this aspect, they do not behave alike. Nevertheless, I would like to point out that this is not a normal construction for a direct object –the object is not in its base position– and that there are also other constructions with simple transitive predication (i.e., with the verb *eduki*

'have') in which the dative marking of the object is also ruled out (Pablo Albizu, p.c.) (cf. (89)):

(89)   a. Miren-Ø   zain   d-a-uka-t
            Miren-$_{ABS}$ wait   expl-epen-root-1sg$_{ERG}$
            'Miren is waiting to me'

        b. Miren-i   zain   *d-a-uka-i-o-t
            Miren-$_{DAT}$ wait   expl-epen-root-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
            'Miren is waiting to me'

Given that in this construction the object is not in its normal position, and consequently, does not behave as a simple direct object, I would conclude that the impossibility of having a dative marked object is not enough evidence against a direct object analysis of DOM objects.[27]

4.3.2. Additional possible criteria

Baker (1997) indicates that other arguments could also be used to test the indirect or direct nature of the objects, for instance, the genitivization in nominalizations (only direct objects can receive genitive case in nominalizations, cf. Kayne 1984, Marantz 1991, McFadden 2003, 2004, Elordieta 2001, Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2011) and the possibility of forming a synthetic compound (only direct objects can be modifiers in synthetic compounds, cf. Ormazabal & Romero 2007).[28] Nonetheless, in our case, these tests would not be as reliable as those presented in §4.2 as the dative marking of the DOM object would be hidden in some sense. In other words, all the pieces of evidence supporting the direct object nature of DOM objects in §4.2 show the dative or absolutive case marking in the example. Take, for instance, the examples that I have given to demonstrate that DOM objects can be modified by secondary predication. As we have seen in (29), repeated as (90), the construction with secondary predication shows dative case and agreement overtly; the DOM object bears dative case (*-(r)i*) and triggers dative agreement in the auxiliary verb (*–o–*):

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[27] I am indebted to Ane Berro for the interesting explanation she gave me related to this topic.

[28] There are also other properties that distinguish direct objects from oblique objects. Direct objects, but not oblique objects, are potential targets for passive, stativization, object-subject reversal, pronoun incorporation, reflexivization, clefting, pseudo-clefting, exclusive insertion and existential insertion (cf. Chung 1983, Dryer 1983).

(90)   (Ni-k)$_i$ umia-**ri**$_j$ [txankleta gabe]$_{i/j}$ ekarri   d-(Ø)-i-**o**-t
        (I$_{ERG}$) child$_{DAT}$ [flip-flop without]   bring   expl-(root)$_{-DF}$-3s$_{gDAT}$-1s$_{gERG}$
        '*I have carried the child without flip-flops*'

Thus, with this example we could confirm that, given the overt dative case/agreement, the object that bears secondary predication is in fact a DOM object. This would be impossible in the case of the genitivization and synthetic compound. In the former the only case marker would be the genitive and in the latter there would be no case/agreement marker. Thus, the absence of the dative case/agreement on the object in these constructions prevents us from seeing whether what lies behind them is indeed a dative marked DOM object. This, of course, would make the proof less reliable.[29]

Additionally, it is worth noting that Maling (2001) criticizes the tests given in Baker (1997) (some of them used in §4.2) by saying that the restriction in constructions with secondary predication and relativization is not determined by the indirect or direct nature of the object, but by the goal or theme theta-role it carries. Using the objects of the verbs like 'help', 'invite', 'reach', 'telephone', 'thank' and 'visit', Maling (2001) points out that, even being direct objects, these objects cannot form a synthetic compound due to the goal nature of their theta-role. This way, according to Maling (2001), the restriction that prohibits these objects from being modifiers in synthetic compounds would not be related to the grammatical function, but to the theta-role of the object.

Notwithtstanding, contrary to what is claimed in Maling (2001), it is important to remember that the mentioned verbs can have a ditransitive variant in Basque[30] (e.g. *laguntza eman* 'give help', *gonbita egin* 'give/offer invitation', *dei egin* 'make a call', *eskerrak eman* 'give thanks', *bisita egin* 'make a visit'), a construction in which the object of the predicate would always be an indirect object. Hence, the object would not be a direct object as is assumed in Maling (2001), but an indirect object. Therefore, at least in Basque, the restriction would depend, as it is pointed out in Baker (1997) on the syntactic category, and not on the theta-role as claimed in Maling (2001).[31]

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[29] I am indebted to Beatriz Fernández and Jon Ortiz de Urbina for their help in explaining the unreliability of these tests to me.

[30] These objects can also have a bivalent unergative variant.

[31] I am indebted to Beatriz Fernández for the insightful explanation she gave me in relation to this issue.

5. **DOM and inflexion**

Having argued that DOM objects are always animate direct objects, in this section (which is the last descriptive section), I point out that the dative marking of the DOM objects depends heavily on the inflexion, and that, as a consequence, there is no DOM in non-inflected constructions.[32]

The syntactic questionnaire carried out on the Elgoibar variety shows that whenever a dative marked object appears in a construction, there is a dative agreement morpheme in the auxiliary verb (cf. (91)). Likewise, there will be no dative marked DOM object without dative agreement in the auxiliary verb (cf. (91c)):

(91)   a. Ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-a-zu   lehen plaza-n?
              see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-1sg$_{DAT}$-2sg$_{ERG}$ before square-$_{INE}$?
            'Have you seen me in the square?'

       b. Zu-Ø   ikustera   etorri n-aiz
          you-$_{ABS}$ see   come 1sgcl-root
         'I have come to see you'

       c. *Zu-ri   ikustera   etorri n-aiz
          you-DAT see   come 1sgcl-root
         'I have come to see you'

It is very important to notice that in (91c) there is no dative agreement morpheme in the auxiliary verb and that, in contrast to what happens with absolutive case (cf. (91a)), the dative marking of the object is not admitted.

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[32] Fernández & Rezac (2012) also find the same result in the data gathered in the Dima variety (western Basque). Urtzi Etxeberria, Ricardo Etxepare, Irantzu Epelde and Aritz Irurtzun from central varieties have told me that they could accept the dative marking of the direct object even without the dative agreement marker in the auxiliary verb (thanks to the listeners of the seminar of IKER (Baiona, France) for giving me this piece of information). Nonetheless, in this study I will mainly focus on the western-central Elgoibar variety, where, parallel to the case of Dima (western variety), the dative marker of the object depends on the dative marker of the auxiliary verb.

Crucially, the lack of DOM in non-inflected forms in periphrastic constructions like *zerbaitetan egon* 'to be doing something' (cf. (92)), *zerbaitetara etorri* 'to come to do something' (cf. (93)) or *zerbaitetara joan* 'to go to do something' (cf. (94)) is something widespread among all speakers that have answered the questionnaire:

(92)   a. Jon-Ø   zu-Ø/*zu-ri   ikusten   egon d-a

             Jon-$_{ABS}$ you-$_{ABS}$/*you-$_{DAT}$ see   stay expl-root

ospitalia-n

hospital-$_{INE}$

            'Jon has been seeing you in the hospital'

        a. Jon-Ø   Mikel-Ø/*Mikel-i   ikusten   egon d-a

             Jon-$_{ABS}$ Mikel-$_{ABS}$/*Mikel-$_{DAT}$ see   stay expl-root

ospitalia-n

hospital-$_{INE}$

            'Jon has been seeing Mikel in the hospital'

(93)   a. Zu-Ø/*zu-ri   ikustera   etorri n-aiz

             You-$_{ABS}$/*you-$_{DAT}$ see   come 1sgcl-root

             'I have come to see you'

        b. Ni-Ø/*ne-ri   ikustera   z-atoz?

             I-$_{ABS}$/*I-$_{DAT}$ see   2plcl-root

             'Are you coming to see me?'

        c. Maite-Ø/*Maite-ri   ikustera   z-atoz?

             Maite-$_{ABS}$/*Maite-$_{DAT}$ see   2plcl-root

             'Are you coming to see Maite?'

(94)   Zu-Ø/*zu-ri   ikustera   n-ixe

           You-$_{ABS}$/*you-$_{DAT}$ see   1sgcl-root

           'I am going to see you'

The examples above are a very valuable demonstration of the fact that DOM objects cannot appear in non-inflected constructions, and thus, that the dative marking of the arguments depends to a great extent on the dative agreement of the verb.

Additional support of this fact can be found in the following examples, where the ungrammatical construction in (92), repeated here as (95), can be repaired by adding a dative agreement marker in the auxiliary verb (cf. (96)):

(95)   *Jon-Ø   zu-ri   ikusten   egon   d-a
         Jon-ABS   you-DAT   see   stay   expl-root
    ospitalia-n
    hospital-INE
         'Jon has been seeing you in the hospital'

(96)   Jon-Ø   zu-ri   ikusten   egon   j-a-t-zu
         Jon-ABS   you-DAT   see   stay   expl-root-DF-2sgDAT
         'Jon has been seeing you'

The contrast in (95) and (96) shows that the auxiliary verb in (95) does not have any kind of dative agreement and that the dative marking of the object is ruled out. In contrast, in (96), the auxiliary verb shows the second person singular dative agreement morpheme *-zu-* and the dative marked object is in fact admitted.

This invariable matching between dative case and agreement proves that the dative case of DOM objects has to be assigned structurally. Therefore, the data given in this section will be relevant for the structural dative case that will be proposed for DOM objects in the following section (§6).

Before presenting the theoretical analysis of the phenomenon, it is worth recalling that in the descriptive sections 3, 4 and 5, I have highlighted three main characteristics of DOM objects, namely, that DOM objects are animate objects with a direct object nature that depend on inflexion. These three properties will be especially important for the following sections, where I will propose distinct forms of case assignment for dative phrases in section 6 and absolutive phrases in section 7.

6. <u>The light verb *v* assigns structural case</u>

In the following section we will see that, in constructions with DOM objects case and agreement are completely linked, and hence, that dative case must be assigned structurally. We have at least two principle reasons to propose that DOM objects enter into an Agree relation with a functional head to receive structural case: (i) DOM objects are the objects that trigger agreement in double dative constructions (§4.2.1), and (ii) there is no DOM in non-inflected constructions (§5) (cf. Fernández & Rezac 2012). Hence, it seems clear that the dative case assigned to DOM objects has to be structural, i.e. realized by means of an Agree relation with a functional head, since apart from case marking, it also requires dative agreement in the verbal auxiliary. In this section I propose that the functional head that checks dative case/agreement with DOM objects is the light verb *v*. In the same way, given that in this case it is the direct object –not the indirect object– which bears the dative marking, I argue that neither a derivational analysis (cf. Albizu 1997, 1998, 2001, Ormazabal 2000, Arregi 2003, Arregi & Ormazabal 2003 and Albizu & Fernández 2006a) nor an applicative-based analysis (cf. Oyharçabal 2007, 2009) are feasible explanations for DOM objects.

6.1. Dative case is structural

The fact that DOM objects are the ones that trigger agreement when two dative arguments are present in the same construction (§4.2.1) and the absence of DOM objects in non-inflected constructions (§5) demonstrate that DOM objects enter in an Agree relation with a functional head to receive/check structural case.

As I propose in this study, Ormazabal & Romero (2010b) explain that dative case is structural (cf. Hualde 1988, Cheng & Demirdache 1993, López & Austin 1995, Fernández 1997, Elordieta 2001) because, (i) many languages encode dative as an agreement relation, in the same way other structural cases do, (ii) in contrast to inherent case, dative case is not related to any theta role[33] (i.e. it is not semantically bound) (cf. Arregi & Ormazabal 2003),

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[33] As we will see in section 8.2, it is important to note that DOM objects are commonly themes, while indirect objects are mainly –but not necessarily– goals, thus, dative case cannot be associated to one and the same specific theta role.

and (iii) dative case/agreement is assigned in many languages to the embedded subject in ECM and causative constructions.[34]

6.2.   The light verb *v* can only agree with one object

In this section I will propose that the functional head that checks dative case/agreement with DOM objects is the light verb *v*.[35] I will show that although animate direct and indirect objects are generated in different positions, they both Agree with the same functional head in order to check case/agreement. This is to be the reason why in so many DOM languages (among others, Hindi (cf. Bhatt 2006)) the direct object bears the same case assigned to indirect objects[36] –usually dative case (cf. Aissen 2003, Givon 1984: 139, 154, Rivas 2005: 215, Hopper & Thompson 1980: 260).

It is important to bear in mind that, since *v* checks structural case, there is only one position for object agreement. This will be essential for constructions with two objects, given that it is impossible for both the animate DOM object and the indirect object to maintain agreement with *v* at the same time.

This claim can be summarized with the "Object Agreement Constraint" proposed in Ormazabal & Romero (2007), which states that "if the verbal complex encodes object agreement, no other argument can be licensed through verbal agreement." Indeed, in Basque, even though some speakers can have two dative arguments, only one dative agreement marker is available for them.

As we will see in section 8, in those constructions with both animate direct and indirect objects there will be competition between the two objects, since both of them need to

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[34] As we saw in §4.1.3, in Basque the subject of a causative construction receives dative case (cf. Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia 1989, Ortiz de Urbina 2003).

[35] Recall that the functional head *v* merges with T, thus stregthening the relation between dative case and inflexion. I am indebted to Aritz Irurtzun for his valuable comment on this issue.

[36] Apart from Hindi/Urdu, this is the case for Guaranian and Tigre (Xasa). Notwithstanding, Fernández & Rezac (2012) point out that other languages such as Hebrew (cf. Aissen 2003), Persian (cf. Lambton 1993) and Turkish (cf. Enç 1991, Kornfilt 1997) do not mark the differential object with dative case.

be assigned dative case/agreement, but there is only one head to satisfy this requirement. Therefore, in those cases where there is more than one visible object (upon the assumption that animate direct objects are visible for *v* and inanimate direct objects are not (§6.3)), the one that will enter into an Agree relation with *v* to check dative case/agreement will be the closest one (cf. Minimal Link Condition (MLC)): when two elements compete to be attracted, the closest one moves. In other words, *v*, being a structural case assigner, cannot assign case/agreement to more than one object and, as a result, in cases where more than one object compete to receive this case/agreement, the highest one will "win" the competition (cf. Ormazabal & Romero 1998, 2007).

6.3. Only animate direct objects can enter into an Agree relation: asymmetry between object and subject Agree

As explained in section 3, among direct objects, only the animate ones can check dative case/agreement, hence, I propose that only animate direct objects are visible in the syntax for the light verb *v* and that it is animacy that makes these objects visible for the light verb *v*. I then assume that, the only objects that are not visible for *v* (and thus, cannot receive structural dative case) are inanimate direct objects –corroborating, once again, the proposal in Ormazabal & Romero (1998, 2001, 2007).

In relation to the case/agreement checking, I propose that objects are not required to move in order to enter an Agree relation with v[37] (Chomsky 2000, 2001), and that the only requirement for the objects to compete for the structural dative case/agreement is that they be "visible." For this reason, I propose the following condition/generalization,[38] which gives animacy an important role, triggering certain certain syntactic operations like Agree:

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[37] Ormazabal (2000) makes the claim that animate objects move, while inanimate objects do not move. Nevertheless, unlike in Chomsky (1981), where the main requirement to hold an Agree relation was to be in the specifier position of the case/agreement assigning head–and thus, movement was related to case –I will treat case assignment as an independent operation to movement, and hence, case will also be assigned at a distance (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001).

[38] This generalization should be developed in order to propose a mechanism that implements it in the derivation. I leave this issue for further research.

(97)   Inanimate direct objects are not visible for *v*. The only NPs that are visible for *v* are animate direct objects and all indirect objects.

As a consequence, it seems that there is an asymmetry between the "visibility" of T (the case assigner of the subject) and *v* (the case assigner of the object). While T can assign case to all kind of noun phrases –that is the reason behind the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) feature, and so, to have expletives like *it* or *there* in English– *v* can only assign case to those noun phrases that are animate direct objects and indirect objects. Thus, since the requirement is on the head, which as a consequence triggers the Agree relation, in the case of T the operation "attract" prevails over "move" and the operation takes place due to a failure of the probe. In contrast, in the case of *v*, the operation "move" prevails over "attract", since the Agree relation between the objects and the head does not depend on the head itself, but on the properties of the objects. In this case the operation holds as a consequence of a failure of the goal, since it is possible for *v* to continue the derivation without assigning dative case to any object (cf. Romero 1999). In the case of objects, only NPs that bear specific properties can enter an Agree relation: animate direct objects and all kind of indirect objects. Thus, since the animacy restriction is only present in direct objects, we cannot say that [animacy] is a feature required by *v*. This is the main reason to assume that there is an asymmetry between the Agree relation of subjects and objects, and thus, to conclude that we have a mixed system (Ormazabal & Romero 2012). The table in (98) summarizes the main differences that lie behind subject and object Agree:

(98)

	Probe	Goal	Attract/Move
Subject Case/Agreement	T	Any noun phrase (animacy is not a restriction)	Attract (case checking depends on the requirements of the head)
Object Case/Agreement	V	Animate direct objects and indirect objects (animacy is a relevant restriction)	Move (case checking depending on the requirements of the noun phrases)

Summing up, the fact that agreement is determined by the features of the head in the case of the subject, but not in the case of the object, can be accounted for by means of the following generalization proposed by Ormazabal & Romero (2007):

(99)   Object Animacy Generalization (cf. Ormazabal & Romero 2007): object relations, in contrast to subject and applied objects relations are sensitive to animacy.

Leaving aside the mentioned asymmetry, and going through the possible derivations, we can observe that as for transitive predicates, i.e. predicates with only one object, the object will enter an Agree relation with *v* only if it is animate (cf. (101)). Otherwise, if it is inanimate, as in (103), it will receive absolutive case by default (cf. section 7 for further details about absolutive case assignment):

❖ Transitive construction with an animate direct object

(100)   Umia-ri   ikusi   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
           child-$_{DAT}$ see   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
   *'I have seen the child'*

(101)
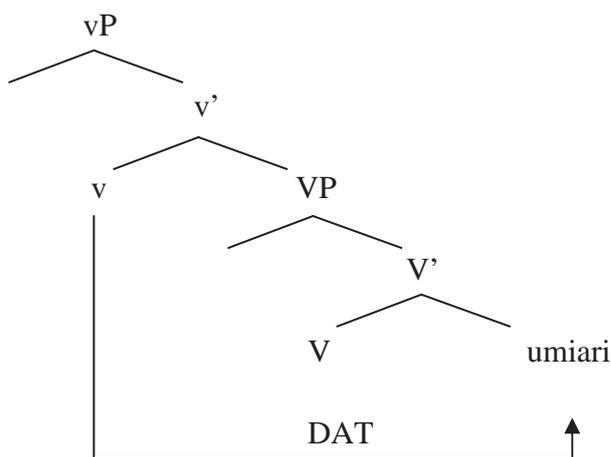
In (101), the unique direct object that appears in the derivation is animate, and thus, enters in an Agree relation with the light verb *v* to check dative case. Likewise, this animate direct object checks dative agreement on the light verb *v*.

❖ Transitive construction with an inanimate direct object

(102)   Telebista-Ø   ikusi   d-o-t
                    television-$_{ABS}$ see   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$
                    'I have seen the television'

(103)

```
        vP
       /  \
           v'
          /  \
         v    VP
             /  \
                 V'
                /  \
               V    telebista
```
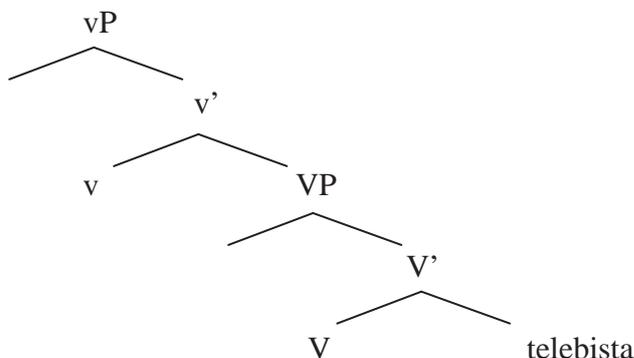
In (103), we can observe that, since the unique direct object in the derivation is inanimate, no Agree relation takes place between it and the light verb *v*. As I will explain in section 7, this inanimate direct object receives absolute case by default.

Having explained the derivation of DOM objects in transitive constructions, we will now focus our attention on ditransitive constructions where, apart from the DOM object, there is an indirect object which requires dative case/agreement checking with the light verb *v*. In reference to ditransitive constructions, I point out that those analyses that require the use of an applicative head[39] –both in the derivational (cf. Albizu 1997, 1998, 2001, Ormazabal 2000, Arregi 2003, Arregi & Ormazabal 2003, Albizu & Fernández 2006a) and polysemic approaches (cf. Oyharçabal 2007, 2009)– are not appropriate for ditransitive constructions with DOM objects. The main reason is that this applicative head introduces dative marked indirect objects in the derivation, but not dative marked direct objects, and as we saw in section 4, dative marked DOM objects are direct objects, rather than indirect objects. Consequently, I will claim that a standard analysis, one without any kind of applicative head (cf. Elordieta 2001) must be used to account for our data.

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[39]See Peterson (2007) and Alsina & Mchombo (1993) for an exhaustive description of the different kinds of applicatives.

Before going through each of the approaches, it is important to remember that the difference between the derivational and the polysemic approach lies in the syntactic relation attributed to Direct Object Constructions (DOC) and Pre/Postpositional Constructions (P-constructions). Whereas the derivational approach (cf. Larson 1988, 1990, Harada & Larson 2009, Baker 1988ab, 1996, Emonds 1993 and Den Dikken 1995) claims that the DOC is derived from the P-construction, the polysemic approach (cf. Oerlhle 1976, Kayne 1984, Aoun & Li 1993, Jackendoff 1990, Speas 1990, Dowty 1991, Collins and Thráinsson 1993 and Pesetsky 1995 among others) states that there is no relation between the DOC and the P-construction and that each of them constitutes an original construction.[40]
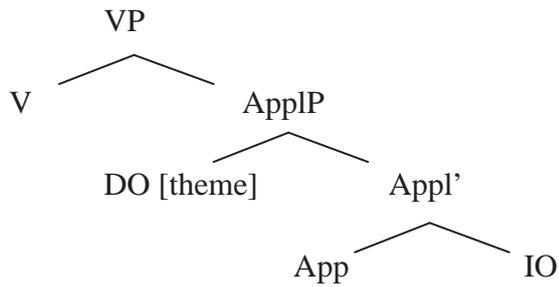
6.4.   Neither a derivational analysis...

Building on the asymmetries between direct and indirect objects presented in Barss & Lasnik (1986),[41] Larson (1988) points out that although the domain relations in DOC are the reverse of P-constructions, their thematic relations are the same. In this way, this author (and following his approach, others like Baker 1988ab, 1996, Emonds 1993, Den Dikken 1995 and Harada & Larson 2009) explains that the mentioned asymmetry can be accounted for by assuming that the DOC is derived from the P-construction. In order to do so, Larson (1988) proposes that the verb takes as its complement an applicative phrase with an applicative head which can be incorporated to the verb. As illustrated in (104), the indirect object of the ditransitive construction generates in the complement position of the applicative head and the direct object in the specifier position of the same head:

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[40] Besides, Dryer (1987) argues that different languages make different choices in this respect (cf. Baker 1997).
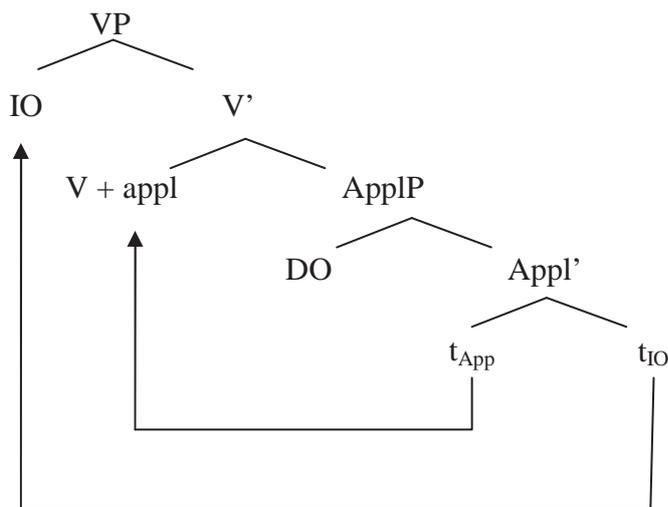
[41] Barss & Lasnik (1986) showed that the relation between direct and indirect objects in DOCs and P-constructions was asymmetric in relation to reflexive anaphor binding, quantifier anaphor binding, scope relations, weak crossover, superiority effects, principle C effects and reciprocal interpretation *of each... the other*. As we will see in §6.6, Elordieta (2001) used the same tests to prove that ditransitive constructions in Basque are Double Object Constructions and that the dative phrase is always a DP.

(104)

```
                    VP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
              V           ApplP
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                 DO [theme]       Appl'
                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                          App            IO
```
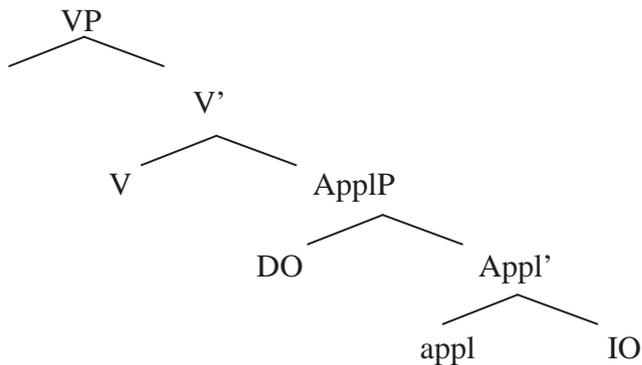
Larson (1988) states that, depending on whether or not incorporation of this applicative head takes place, the result will be a DOC or a P-construction. When the applicative incorporates with the verb it makes the indirect object move to a position higher than the direct object (namely, to [Spec, VP]) and the DOC arises. In contrast, when the applicative remains in its base position without incorporating with the verb, the P-construction arises. Therefore, the incorporation of the applicative head would lead to an "indirect object>direct object" neutral word order and a DP indirect object (cf. (105)), and the absence of incorporation to a "direct object>indirect object" neutral word order and a pre/postpositional indirect object –the pre/postposition would be the applicative head (cf. (106)):

(105)

```
                    VP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
              IO           V'
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                 V + appl        ApplP
                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                          DO             Appl'
                                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                 t_App          t_IO
```

(106)

```
            VP
           /  \
              V'
            /    \
           V      ApplP
                 /    \
                DO     Appl'
                      /    \
                    appl    IO
```

Thus, Larson's (1988) main claims would be that DOCs are the reverse of P-constructions and having the same thematic relations, they share the same underlying structure.

One of the main highlights of this proposal is that it accounts for The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) proposed by Baker (1988ab), which states that identical thematic relationships between items are presented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure (cf. Baker 1997).

As for Basque, Albizu (1997, 1998, 2001), Ormazabal (2000)[42], Arregi (2003), Arregi & Ormazabal (2003) and Albizu & Fernández (2006a) are some of the authors that follow the trend led by Larson (1988). These authors claim that, in Basque, the basic word order is "indirect object>direct object" and that the "direct object>indirect object" order is constructed through the incorporation of the applicative head –which, otherwise, would be materialized as a postpositional phrase together with the indirect object. In the case of Basque, apart from explaining the UTAH (cf. Baker 1988ab), this analysis can also justify the dative flag (–*i*–) that precedes the dative agreement marker in the auxiliary verb (§1) (cf. Rezac 2006). This morpheme would be the overt realization of the applicative head incorporated to the verb when dative agreement is present in the auxiliary (cf. Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2012). Additionally, following the derivational analysis, the fact that dative agreement can be dropped in certain northeastern varieties could be explained by saying that the applicative

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[42] Ormazabal also follows the derivational approach for Spanish in other papers co-authored with Romero (1998, 2001, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2012).

head has not been incorporated to the verb and that, as a consequence, the indirect objects is realized as a postpositional phrase.

The derivational analysis, although having numerous advantages, presents an important problem for DOM objects. Following the derivational approach, the P or applicative incorporates with the verb so as to justify the presence of the dative flag (cf. Rezac 2006) in the verbal auxiliary and assign dative case/agreement to the indirect object that moves to [Spec, VP]. Therefore, the derivational analysis can only account for the dative case and agreement of the indirect object. Nonetheless, as I have shown in section 4, dative case and agreement in DOM objects is not assigned to the indirect object, but to the direct object, and this is a problem for the explanation of the case/agreement checking of those objects. Thus, within this theory, the dative case and agreement –together with the dative flag– would be unexplained and unexpected in transitive predicates; since there is no indirect object, no P-incorporation would take place. Likewise, in ditransitive constructions with more than one object, where the indirect object may remain lower than the direct object due to the absence of P-incorporation (i.e. the P/applicative remains in its base position), having dative/agreement on the direct object would not be expected, contrary to fact (cf. section 7).

Ormazabal & Romero (1998, 2001, 2007, 2010ab, 2012), for instance, follow the derivational approach to explain that animate direct objects and all kinds of indirect objects behave uniformingly as far as case/agreement checking is concerned. Nevertheless, the mentioned drawback of the derivational analysis makes their proposal inadequate for Basque, since the sole presence of the applicative head makes direct and indirect objects behave differently.

There is another suspicious fact concerning the apparent similarity of the dative flag and the dative case marker: both of them have the same shape (*–i–*) and both of them can appear in the same construction; it is only when the applicative incorporates that dative case is assigned. In other languages with applicatives (cf. Baker 1997), when the applicative head incorporates with the verb, this applicative head disappears from the noun phrase, and this is not what we see in Basque. In Basque, the postpositional or applicative phrase ends with the marker *–(r)i* –which the derivational approach takes to be an applicative head, and it is hard to

understand why this postposition or applicative remains in the same position when we assume that it has incorporated with the verb.[43]

Overall, the dative case and agreement of DOM objects would be unexplained for both transitive and ditransitive predicates. For this reason, having concluded that our analysis cannot be based on the derivational analysis, we will now turn our focus to a non-derivational analysis proposed by Pylkkännen (2002, 2008) and adapted for Basque by Oyhaçabal (2007, 2009) to see whether it can account for our data.
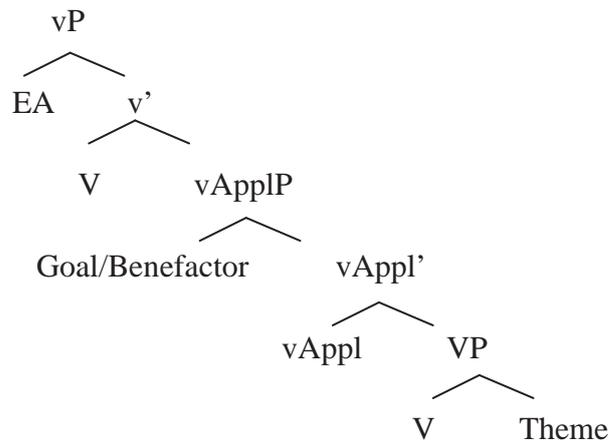
6.5.   ...Nor a polysemic analysis

Contrary to what is claimed by the derivational analysis, other authors like Oerhle (1975), Kayne (1984), Aoun & Li (1993), Jackendoff (1990), Marantz (1993), Pesetsky (1995), Harley (2003), Pylkkännen (2002, 2008), Anagnostoupolou (2003), Cuervo (2003), Miyagawa & Tsújidka (2004) and Jeong (2006) propose that there is no derivational relation between DOCs and P-constructions and that a separate analysis –with different base configurations– should be proposed for those constructions. Even though the polysemic approach has produced many different analyses to account for the DOCs and P-constructions, in this section I will only deal with the one proposed by Pylkkännen (2002, 2008), which is based to a great extent on Marantz's (1993) proposal.

Marantz (1993), proposed the structure in (107), a structure which consists on an applicative head taking an event as its semantic argument and introducing an individual which is thematically related to that event.
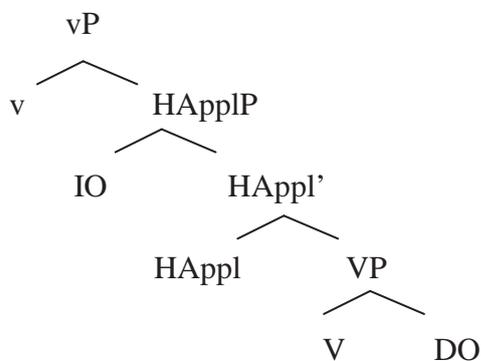
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[43] I am indebted to Beatriz Fernández for an insightful discussion on this issue.

(107)

```
                    vP
                   /  \
                  EA   v'
                      /  \
                     V    vApplP
                         /    \
              Goal/Benefactor  vAppl'
                              /    \
                          vAppl    VP
                                  /  \
                                 V    Theme
```
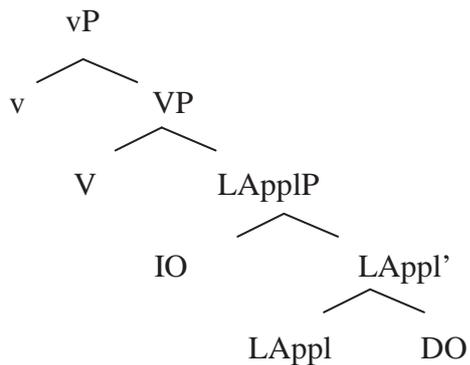
A decade later, Pylkkännen (2002) shows that Marantz's (1993) proposal can only be adequate for certain applicative constructions, as not all applicatives relate an individual to an event. Pylkkännen (2002) demonstrates that there are two types of applicative arguments, which she calls *high applicatives* and *low applicatives*. On the one hand, high applicative constructions consist of a high applicative head, which introduces the applied argument and expresses a relation between an event (i.e. the semantic content of the VP) and an individual (i.e. the applied argument) (cf. (108)). Thus, the high applicative relates new event participants, such as benefactives, malefactives, instruments, among others, to the event described by the verb. An example of this kind of construction could be something like "he is eating food for his wife".

(108)

```
              vP
             /  \
            v    HApplP
                /    \
               IO     HAppl'
                     /    \
                 HAppl    VP
                         /  \
                        V    DO
```

On the other hand, low applicative constructions consist of a low applicative head, which includes the applied argument, and expresses a relation between two individuals, the direct object and the applied object (cf. (109)). By relating individuals to the direct object, the low applicative head shows that the direct object is from the possession of this additional individual. "I bake him a cake" would be a construction involving a low applicative phrase.

(109)

```
        vP
       /  \
      v    VP
          /  \
         V   LApplP
             /   \
           IO    LAppl'
                 /   \
              LAppl   DO
```

Pylkkännen (2002) points out that the low applicative can be a "low recipient applicative" when the direct object is TO the possession of the indirect object (i.e. this would be a DOC) and a "low source applicative" when the direct object is FROM the possession of the indirect object (e.g. Hebrew possessor datives and Japanese adversity causatives). Therefore, while in the former the low applicative represents a recipient relation, the relation established in the latter is a source relation.[44]

[44] McGinnis (2001) related Pylkkännen's proposal to another distinction made in the area of applicatives, namely that between symmetric and asymmetric constructions (cf. Bresnan & Moshi 1993). Low applicatives are like asymmetric applicatives in showing an asymmetric behavior between the direct object and the applied object and only the applied object has true object properties. High applicatives, in contrast, are symmetric applicatives, since both the applied object and direct object behave as true objects. As illustrated in Bresnan & Moshi (1993), in an asymmetrical-type language only one of the objects exhibits "primary object" syntactic properties such as passivizability, object agreement, adjacency to the verb, and the like –this is the case for Chaga– whereas in a symmetrical-type language both objects can display "primary object" syntactic properties –as happens in Chichewa.

Assuming Pylkkännen (2002, 2008), Oyharçabal (2007, 2009) outlines three main considerations for Basque ditransitive constructions. On the one hand, this author states that Basque has a non-derived hierarchic order "indirect object>direct object" and that the ditransitive construction corresponds to one syntactic structure.[45] Oyharçabal (2007, 2009) proposes that the position of the indirect object is not derived, adhering in this way to the affirmation made by other authors like de Rijk (1969), Hualde (1988), Laka (1988, 1993), Ortiz de Urbina (1989), Lafitte (1962), Fernández (1997), Alberdi (1996), Montoya (1998) and Artiagoitia (2000), Elordieta (2001).

On the other hand, Oyharçabal (2007, 2009) –following Montoya (1998) and Elordieta (2001)– looks at verb agreement, –*ko* adnominalization and the exclusion of co-referent weak genitives and concludes that dative phrases are DPs and not PPs, in effect agreeing with what other authors like Euskaltzaindia (1985), Hualde (1988), Ortiz de Urbina (1989), Laka (1993, 1995), Fernández (1997) and Elordieta (2001) have found.

Finally, Oyharçabal (2007, 2009) suggests that VP includes a low applicative head (*à la* Pylkännen) relating the direct object and the indirect object –which from his point of view, is an applicative object (cf. (110)). Thus, Oyharçabal explains the so called dative flag (cf. Rezac 2006) by taking it to be an applicative head (Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2012).[46]

(110)
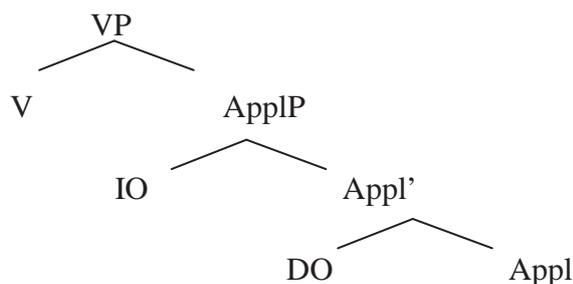
As was the case in the derivational approach, the presence of the applicative head is the main problem for DOM objects in this polysemic approach. Within this theory, it is

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[45] As we will see in section 5.2.6, Elordieta (2001) shares the same view.

[46] As we will see in §6.6, the presence of the applicative head is what distinguishes Oyharçabal's proposal (2007, 2009) from Elordieta's standard analysis, and this would be the main reason to opt for an standard analysis.

argued that the head that assigns dative case is the low applicative head. However, as in the derivational analysis, the applicative head only turns up in ditransitive constructions, and DOM objects can be found not only in ditransitive constructions, but also in transitive ones. Moreover, even in a ditransitive construction, the low applicative head would only be able to assign dative case/agreement to the indirect object, never to the direct object. But, as we saw in section 4, DOM objects are direct objects. Thus, the dative marking of the direct object would be unexplained within the polysemic approach, as would be the dative agreement and dative flag (cf. Rezac 2006) in the auxiliary verb.

As a conclusion, we could say that DOM objects need an analysis which does not make use of any kind of applicative.[47] The presence of an applicative makes the direct and indirect object behave differently with regard to case/agreement, and this is exactly the contrary to what happens in DOM constructions, where the direct and indirect object behave in the same way in relation to case/agreement. As we will see in the following section, this is only possible assuming a standard analysis without applicative heads (cf. Elordieta 2001).

6.6. The standard analysis

Elordieta (2001) makes three main proposals in her dissertation. On the one hand, she author claims that the neutral word order for Basque is "indirect object>direct object", agreeing this way with de Rijk (1969), Laka (1988, 1993), Ortiz de Urbina (1989), Lafitte (1962), Fernández (1997) and Montoya (1998). Using the Barss & Lasnik (1986)[48] tests, Elordieta (2001) concludes that Basque ditransitive constructions must be analyzed as DOC and that the indirect object always c-commands the direct object. On the other hand, Elordieta (2001) argues that Basque does not have any kind of P-construction –there is no pre/postpositional dative– and thus, that there is no asymmetry between the "indirect object>direct object" (which would be the DOC) and "direct object>indirect object" word

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[47] Arregi (2001) also points out that an applicative-based analysis, like the one proposed by Marantz (1993) could not account for dative marked direct objects, which are common in the dialect of Ondarroa (Western Basque) when the direct object is first or second person.

[48] The tests used in Elordieta (2001) consist of the previously mentioned evidence (cf. Barss & Lasnik 1986): Reflexive Anaphor Binding, Variable Binding by Quantifier, Scope Relations, Weak Crossover Effects, Supperiority Effects, Principle C Effects, and Reciprocal Interpretation *of each... the other*, the Distributive particle *–na* (cf. Montoya 1998).

order (i.e. the P-construction). Thus, claiming that all indirect objects correspond to DOCs, it follows that the "indirect object>direct object" structure is not derived. Finally, using the previously mentioned reflexive genitive *bere*, agreement, the relational suffix –ko, parasitic gaps, derived nominalizations and A' extraction, Elordieta (2001) claims that all indirect objects are DPs –there is no P-construction.

Concerning DOM objects, it seems that, setting aside the derivational analysis, Elordieta's proposal (2001), which does not include of any kind of applicative, fits better with our data that than the applicative-based analysis proposed in Oyharçabal (2007, 2009). Apart from the lack of applicative heads, this analysis supports the "indirect object>direct object" neutral word order, explaining without any problems the fact that in ditransitive constructions where there are two inanimate objects, it is the indirect object that checks dative case and agreement with the light verb *v*.

(111)   Autoa-ri   gurlpilak-Ø   aldatu   d-(Ø)-i-zki-o-t
        car-$_{DAT}$ wheels-$_{ABS}$ change   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3pl$_{ABS}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
        'I have changed the wheels on the car'

(112)
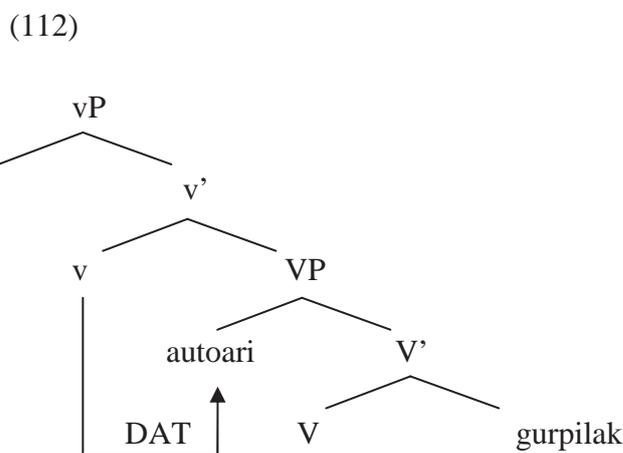
Assuming that the basic word-order is "indirect object>direct object", contrary to the derivational analysis, no other mechanism is needed to account for this type of data.

6.7.   Interim conclusion

In this section I have explained that the most appropriate candidate to assign dative case/agreement is the light verb *v*; given that it is structural, it can only agree with one object. I claim that *v* assigns dative case to all the objects (either direct or indirect) that are visible to it in the derivation: among direct objects, only the animate ones are visible. It is worth noting that with the presented proposal we would unify the structural object case marking of all animate direct objects and indirect objects in both transitive and ditransitive constructions: having the same probe for all structural object Agree relations makes the system more coherent. We have seen that this would be impossible following derivational and non-derivational approaches with applicative heads, since this applicative head would only explain the dative case/agreement on the indirect object and not on the direct object as happens with DOM objects.

7. Two ways of case/agreement assignment

In the preceding section 6 I proposed that dative case/agreement is assigned by means of an Agree relation between the object and the light verb *v*. In this section we will see that the other case related to objects, the absolutive case, is not structural in Basque –in the sense that it does not require any kind of Agree relation– and it is assigned by default (*à la* Marantz 1991).

Before going through the model of case assignment proposed by Marantz (1991), it is worth having an overall view of the whole case system I am proposing. To do so, in section 7.1, I will make reference to certain studies (cf. Baker & Vinokurova 2010 and Baker 2010, 2011), where two different ways of assigning case are combined. Baker & Vinokurova (2010) explain that there are two main ways of case/agreement checking: the one which is shaped by the functional category view (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001),[49] and the one shaped by the configurational view.

7.1. Functional and configurational case/agreement assignments

On the one hand, the functional category view espoused by Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes that nominative case is assigned by finite T to the nearest noun phrase that T c-commands; that accusative case is assigned by (possessive) D to the nearest noun phrase; and that dative case is assigned by applicative heads or by (certain) postpositions.

On the other hand, the configurational view put forward by Marantz (1991) posits that case is assigned to noun phrases on a configurational basis, and that the case a noun phrase can bear depends on whether there are other nonimals (case competitors) within the same local domain or not. In order to account for the different case assigning models, Marantz (1991: 24) proposes the "Case Realization Disjunctive Hierarchy," a hierarchy whereby four different ways of assigning case are distinguished:

(i)   Lexically governed case → case determined by the lexical properties of a particular item

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[49] Legate (2008) has recently defended Chomsky's (2000, 2001) approach.

(ii)   Dependent case → accusative and ergative

(iii)   Unmarked case → nominative assigned to any noun phrase in the clause, genitive assigned to any noun phrase inside a noun phrase/determiner phase.

(iv)   Default case → assigned to any NP not otherwise marked for case

One of the most relevant differences between the functional category view and the configurational view is that whereas Marantz (1991) assumes that case assignment takes place in the PF branch of the grammar, Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes that case assignment holds in narrow syntax.

As for Basque, I will propose that both functional and configurational case assignments are found in Basque, and hence, that the two conceptually different ways of assigning case are in fact complementary (cf. Baker & Vinokurova 2010). I present a functional category view for ergative and dative case/agreement assignment (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) and a configurational view for absolutive case assignment (cf. Marantz 1991). More concretely, I propose that dative case is assigned following the functional approach, by means of the Agree relation with the light verb *v*. As for absolutive case, I argue that it is assigned following the configurational approach, namely, by default. As I will explain in §7.2, in Basque there is no absolutive agreement marker in the auxiliary verb and the only agreement markers linked to absolutive are number agreement markers. In addition, following Baker & Vinokurova (2010) and contrary to what is claimed in both Marantz (1991) and Bobaljik (2008),[50] I will assume that case assignment happens in narrow syntax as proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001). As such, I propose that both the functional category and the configurational view interact with each other (cf. Legate 2008). Likewise, I also follow Chomsky (2000, 2001) in assuming that noun phrases do require case assignment by either a functional or configurational view (cf. Baker & Vinokurova 2010).

In what follows, I will provide some evidence to show that there is no absolutive agreement marker on the auxiliary verb and that the only markers linked to absolutive case are

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[50] Bobaljik (2008) –together with McFadden (2004)– adopts Marantz's (1991) approach and explains that, for instance, the presence of absolutive case in ergative languages is obligatory and is assigned in PF –not in narrow syntax– by default. This author points out that morphological-case –independent of abstract-case, which is relevantfor syntax– makes reference to the syntactic structure, but that it does not affect the syntactic representation.

number agreement markers –which will be proposed to be different than number agreement– or absolutive clitics.

7.2. Absolutive case is assigned by default Basque

In order to support a configurational case assignment, in the following subsection I will argue that there is no absolutive agreement marker in the auxiliary verb.

7.2.1. The prefixes *n-*, *h-*, *g-* and *z-* for first and second person are clitic markers

First of all, I argue that the alleged absolutive prefixes of the auxiliary verb, namely, *n-* for first person singular (cf. (112)), *g-* for first person plural (cf. (113)), *h-* for familiar second person singular (cf. (114)) and *z-* for familiar second person plural (cf. (115)), are not agreement markers as has been assumed in the literature (cf. Euskaltzaindia 1987, Laka 1988, Gómez & Sainz 1995, Trask 1997) –like ergative and dative agreement markers are– but clitics that have not been attached to the verb, that is, clitics somehow stuck to the verb. Following the hierarchy proposed by Ormazabal & Romero (2012) (cf. (117)), *n-*, *g-*, *h-* and *z-* would be in the second stage, that is to say, they would be pronominal determiner clitics, instead of agreement clitic markers:

(113)   N-a-u-zu
         1sgcl-epen-root-2sg$_{ERG}$

(114)   G-a-it-u
         1plcl-epen-1pl$_{ABS}$-root

(115)   H-a-u-t
         2sgcl-epen-root-1sg$_{ERG}$

(116)   Z-a-it-u-t
         2sgcl-epen-2pl$_{ABS}$-root-1sg$_{ERG}$

(117)   Strong pronoun > pronominal determiner clitic > agreement clitic marker

It is worth noting that there is diachronic evidence supporting this claim. Authors like Trask (1977), Gómez (1994) and Gómez & Sainz (1995) explain that the alleged absolutive prefixes come directly from pronouns.

7.2.2. There is no agreement with third person absolutive objects

There is no auxiliary verb agreeing with three arguments at the same time[51] and the auxiliary used when absolutive case is third person (cf. (118)) is also used when there is no third person absolutive argument (cf. (119)):

(118)   Liburua-Ø   irakurri   d-u-t
         book-ABS   read   expl-root-1sgERG
         'I have read the book'

(119)   Iraun   d-u-t
         endure   expl-root-1sgERG
         'I have endured'

Interestingly, as I highlighted in section 1, the same auxiliary is also used in bivalent unergative verbs (cf. (120)) (cf. Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010, 2011, 2012) and transitive verbs with third person objects (cf. (121)):

(120)   Barkatu   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         forgive   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I have forgiven him/her'

(121)   Liburua-Ø   eman   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         liburua-ABS   give   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
         'I have given him/her the book'

Ormazabal & Romero (2007) state that third person object agreement is null, and there are strong reasons to assume that in fact third person objects do not trigger agreement with the verbal complex in a great number of languages. Baker (1997) also explains that absolutive case is often morphologically unmarked and that absolutive agreement is generally the farthest from the verb stem. What is more, interestingly, this author claims that in many

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[51] Gómez & Sainz (1995) and Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2004) show that in Early Lapurdian (16th century) there were some counterexamples to the PCC, nonetheless, nowadays PCC effects arise in all Basque varieties.

langugaes third person inanimate agreement is zero, and that animate arguments, in contrast to inanimate ones, trigger overt agreement morphology.

There is, thus, evidence to conclude that absolutive case does not trigger any kind of agreement on the verb.

7.2.3. Absolutive clitics differ from dative and ergative agreement markers

Ergative (cf. (122)) and dative (cf. (123)) agreement markers have the same shape for first and second person, in contrast to absolutive ciltic markers (cf. (124)):

(122)   Liburua-Ø   erosi   d-u-**t**
          book-$_{ABS}$ buy   expl-root-1sg$_{ERG}$
          'I have bought the book'

(123)   Liburua-Ø   jausi   z-a-(Ø)-i-**t**
          book-$_{ABS}$ fall   expl-epen-(root)-$_{DF}$-1sg$_{DAT}$
          'The book has fallen to me'

(124)   Jausi   egin   **n**-aiz
          fall   have   1sgcl-root
          'I have fallen'

The same examples show that ergative and dative agreement markers are suffixes, while absolutive clitic markers are prefixes.

7.2.4. Absolutive case is assigned by default

Consequently, I propose that there is no structural absolutive agreement. That is to say, that there is no absolutive agreement in the Agree relation that takes place between any kind of functional head and inanimate direct objects, i.e. the only objects that do not agree with *v* in DOM varieties. Indeed, I argue that absolutive case is an unmarked (–Ø) case assigned by default[52] (cf. Marantz 1991). As a result, I claim that what we see in the agreement paradigm

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[52] Bobaljik (2008) does not make reference to the fourth model of case assignment proposed in Marantz (1991) and suggests that in ergative languages absolutive case is the unmarked case. For the purpose of this study, I will follow Marantz (1991) and say that absolutive case is assigned by default.

of third person absolutive arguments is not in fact a gap in the paradigm, but a more general lack of agreement.

Together with the assumption that absolutive case/agreement does not enter in any kind of Agree relation and that the alleged absolutive agreement prefixes are not agreement markers but clitics, I propose to distinguish number and person φ-features. I assume that the only φ-features in the noun phrases are person features and that number agreement, due to its different nature, should be analysed in a different way.[53] Besides, this is not the only case in which number and person features behave alike in Basque: the same thing happens in Long Distance Agreement (cf. Etxepare 2003b, 2006, Preminger 2009, 2011), Dative Displacement (cf. Fernández 2001, Fernández 2002, Fernández & Ezeizabarrena 2001, Fernández 2004, Rezac & Fernández in press), Ergative Displacement (cf. Laka 1993, Albizu & Eguren 2000, Fernández 2001, Fernández 2002, Albizu & Fernández 2006a) and modal constructions with *behar* 'need, must, have to' and *nahi* 'want, wish' (cf. Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2011).

All in all, having assumed (i) that the first and second person prefixes *n-*, *g-*, *h-* and *z-* are not person agreement morphemes, (ii) that there is no absolutive person marker for third person objects, (iii) that ergative and dative person markers are the same (both are suffixes) in contrast to absolutive person markers (in this case they are prefixes), and (iv) that number agreement is of a different nature than person agreement, it can be said that there is no absolutive person agreement in Basque.

As a conclusion, it seems that the only cases that trigger person agreement on the verb are ergative for the subject (as a consequence of an Agree relation with the structural case/agreement assigner T) and dative for the object (as a result of an Agree relation with the structural case/agreement assigner *v*). In addition, postulating that *n-*, *g-*, *h-* and *z-* are clitic markers rather than agreement markers, I am proposing that Basque has two different systems to relate arguments with predicates: clitics and agreement morphemes. In relation to animate direct objects, varieties with DOM, being sensitive to animacy and following the functional case assignment approach, opt for having agreement morphemes instead of clitics. In contrast, varieties without DOM, which are not sensitive to animacy and follow the configurational case assignment approach, prefer to have clitics instead of agreement morphemes. Hence, the

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[53] I leave the analysis of the behavior of number agreement for further research.

difference that prevails between those varieties with DOM and those without DOM is based on the type of argument-predicate relation system that each variety choses.

(125)

	CLITICS	AGREEMENT MARKERS
First person singular	n-	-da- / -t#
First person plural	g-	-gu-
Familiar second person singular	h-	-a- / -k# -na- / -n#
Non-familiar second person singular	z-	-zu-
Second person plural	z-	-zu-
Third person singular		-o- / -a (dative)
Third person plural		

8. Avoiding two structural datives

Having explained how arguments check case/agreement in Basque, I turn now to a phenomenon which affects the case/agreement assignment proposed in sections 6 and 7: the Person Case Constraint. In §8.1, I will give four structures that can be used to substitute a clause showing PCC effects. In §8.2, focusing on the fourth structure –which consists of two dative arguments, but one dative agreement marker– I propose that Basque can have at least two dative cases: the structural one –assigned by means of an Agree relation between the argument and the light verb v– and the postpositional one –having the marker $–(r)i$ as a postposition (cf. Albizu 2001).

8.1. Different strategies to avoid two structural datives

In section 4.2.1, I explained that, in Basque varieties showing DOM, PCC effects can also appear (setting aside first and second person objects) when the direct object is third person (cf. (126)). In this case, two dative agreement markers appear in the auxiliary verb:[54]

(126)   Amama-ri   umia-ri   eruan
         grandmother-$_{DAT}$ child-$_{DAT}$ carry
    *d-(Ø)-i-o-o-t
    expl-(root)-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
         ' I have carried the child to the grandmother'

In the following subsections I will show the four possible strategies used in DOM varieties so as to avoid PCC effects like the one in (126):

(i)   Absolutive direct object and dative indirect object (section 8.1.1)

(ii)   Absolutive direct object and allative indirect object (section 8.1.2)

(iii)   Dative direct object and allative indirect object (section 8.1.3)

(iv)   Dative direct object and dative indirect object (section 8.1.4)

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[54]Note that in this case we are dealing with two dative agreement markers that belong to two different arguments, not like in the doubling we find in North-Eastern varieties with forms like *zitadazut>zitadazut*, where the dative agreement doubling refers to the same argument (cf. Oyharçabal 1993: 96, Fernández 2002, Albizu & Fernández 2006b).

As in Albizu (1997), Albizu & Fernández (2006a), Rezac (2009b) and Fernández & Rezac (2010, 2011, 2012), I will refer to these strategies as repair strategies

8.1.1. Absolutive direct object and dative indirect object

The first repair strategy I am going to present consists of an absolutive marked direct object and a dative marked indirect object (cf. (127)):[55]

(127) Amama-ri   umia-Ø   eruan d-(Ø)-i-o-t
       grandmother-$_{DAT}$ child-$_{ABS}$ carry expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
       'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

(128)
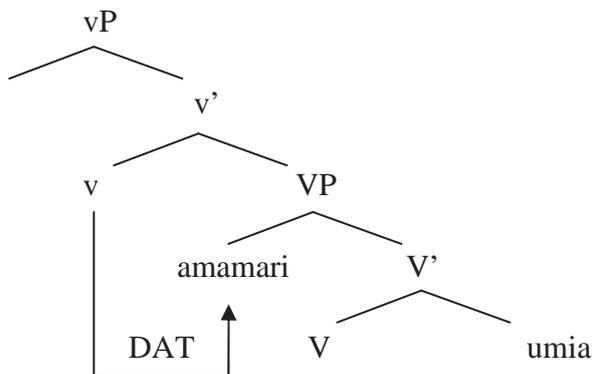
As illustrated in (128), the indirect object *amama* 'grandmother' is higher in the derivation –and thus, closer to the light verb *v*– than the direct object *umia* 'child'. As a consequence, following the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) it is the indirect object *amama* 'grandmother' that receives dative case/agreement by means of an Agree relation with *v*, and not the direct object *umia* 'child'. Thus, as proposed in section 7, the direct object receives absolutive unmarked case by default.

Comparing the original construction with the PCC effect "amamari umiari eruan *d-i-o-o-t" (cf. (126)) with the repaired construction in (127), I propose to treat the change in the case/agreement marking of the direct object as a switch from an agreement-based system – dative case triggers agreement– to a clitic-based system –absolutive case only has clitics.

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[55] Remember that we dealt with this example in section 4.1.2.

Interestingly, the same pattern is attested in Spanish DOM constructions, namely, in the use of the preposition *a* in direct objects. Brugè & Brugger (1996), Rodriguez-Mondoñedo (2007), Zdrojewski (2008) and Saab & Zdrojewski (2011) explain that the preposition *a* of the animate direct object is droppable when appearing together with a canonically *a*-marked indirect object in the same clause:

(129)   a. Juan   le   presentó   a   la   enfermera
               Juan   3cl.DAT   introduce   prep.   art.   nurse
          'Juan introduced to the nurse'

          b. Juan   le   presentó   (*a)   la   enfermera
               Juan   3cl.DAT   introduce   (*prep.)   art.   nurse
     al   doctor
     art.+pre.   doctor
          'Juan introduced the nurse to the doctor'

Ormazabal & Romero (2001, 2012) show that in the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country the repair strategy of constructions with two dative clitics –one of the differentially marked direct object and the other of the indirect object– seems to be the same. These authors explain that in those constructions with PCC effects (more precisely, Me-Lui effects (cf. Bonet 1991, 1994) Basque *leísta* speakers use the accusative clitic *lo* instead of the dative clitic *le*, even when the direct object is animate (cf. (130)):

(130)   a. Le   di
               3cl.DAT   give
          'I give him/her'

          b. Te   *le/lo   di
               2cl.DAT   3cl.DAT/3cl.ACC   give
          'I give him/her to you'

Ormazabal & Romero (2001, 2012) explain this fact arguing that there is a shift from a syntactic device consisting of an agreement-based system to a morphological one involving cliticization of a determiner head.

There is, thus, a tight relation between Basque and Spanish *leísmo*/DOM, not only when realizing the DOM object, but also when avoiding it.

Apart from the Basque area, it is worth mentioning that Hindi (Keine 2006) also presents the very same strategy in ditransitive constructions. In this language, the animate DOM objects that in transitive constructions tend to be marked with the postposition –ko, appear without it when having a canonically –ko marked indirect object in the same construction. As a result, in ditransitive constructions, only indirect objects can be marked with the postposition –ko, even if the direct object is specific and human:

8.1.2. Absolutive direct object and allative indirect object

The second repair strategy I will discuss in this section includes an absolutive marked direct object and an allative marked indirect object[56]. Thus, in comparison with the previous strategy with an absolutive marked direct object and a dative marked indirect object (cf. (127)), repeated here as (131), we can see that in this case a change in the nature of the indirect object is added (cf. (132)) to the agreement-system>clitic-system switch in the direct object. For this reason, I conclude that there is no object agreement in this construction:
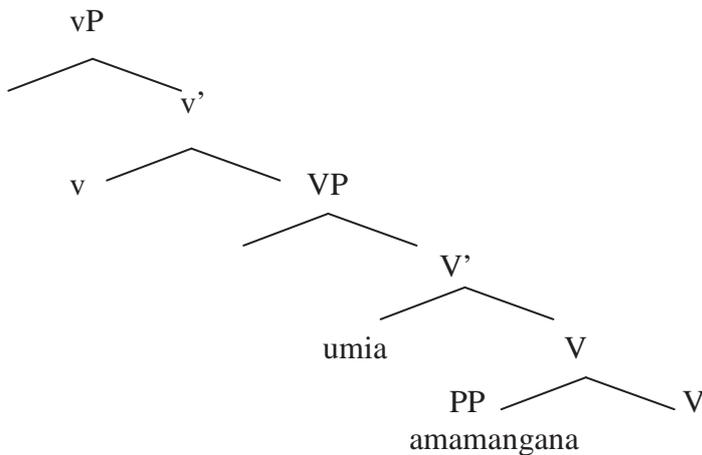
(131)   Amama-ri   umia-Ø   eruan   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         grandmother-$_{DAT}$ child-$_{ABS}$ carry   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
         'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

(132)   Umia-Ø   amama-ngana   eruango
             child-$_{ABS}$ grandmother-$_{ALL}$ carry
     d-o-t
     expl-(root)-1sg$_{ERG}$
             'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

---

[56] It is well-known that with directional verbs, dative and allative may be almost equivalent (cf. Arregi 2003, Hualde 2003).

(133)

```
                  vP
              ╱        ╲
                        v'
                    ╱       ╲
                  v           VP
                          ╱       ╲
                                    V'
                                ╱       ╲
                            umia          V
                                      ╱       ╲
                                    PP          V
                                amamangana
```

As it can be seen in (133), the indirect object *amama* 'grandmother' is inside a postpositional phrase –it is thus opaque– and as a result, it cannot compete for the Agree relation with the light verb *v* to receive dative case/agreement.[57] In addition, it is important to note that, unexpectedly, the direct object *umia* 'child' does not receive dative case, even if it is animate. It seems that, in this case, the point of departure of the speaker is the repair strategy in §8.1.1 –dative marked indirect object and absolutive marked direct object– and not the original clause with PCC effects –two dative marked arguments with two dative agreement markers in the verb. This is the reason that the animate direct object is marked with absolutive case.

8.1.3. Dative direct object and allative indirect object

The following repair strategy I am going to look into includes a dative marked direct object and an allative indirect object (cf. (134)):

(134)   Umia-ri   amama-ngana   eruan   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
         child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{ALL}$ carry   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
   *'I have carried the child to the grandmother'*

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[57] As I have already said, postpositions do not trigger agreement in Basque.

In comparison with the original construction with PCC effects in (127), repeated below as (135), we can observe that in this case it is the indirect object –not the direct object– which makes a change to repair the ungrammatical clause:

(135) Amama-ri umia-ri eruan
       grandmother-$_{DAT}$ child-$_{DAT}$ carry
   *d-(Ø)-i-o-o-t
   expl-(root)-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
       ' I have carried the child to the grandmother'

Therefore, we could say that the animate direct object maintains the agreement-based strategy and that the indirect object, showing some kind of semantic similarity with the allative postpositional phrase, changes from dative to allative –realized, in this case, as a postpositional phrase. As a consequence, given the Agree relation with the light verb *v*, the only object agreement marker in the auxiliary verb would be that of the direct object *umia* 'child'.

(136)
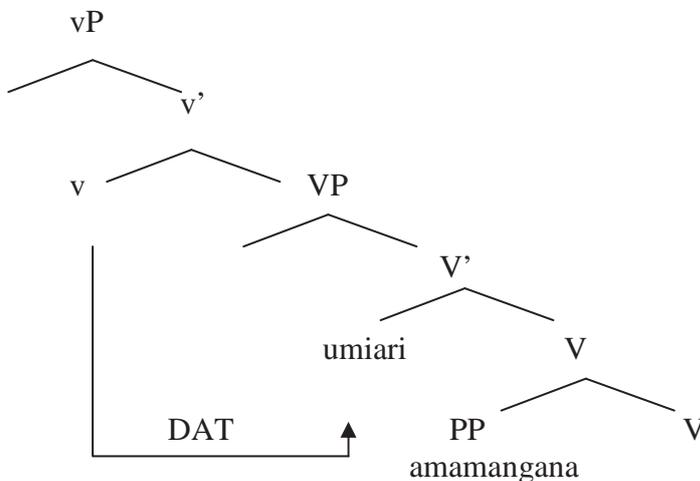
Arregi (2003) explains that the allative postposition –*ngana* is commonly used to refer to animate goal indirect objects. This author says that when the direct object is animate, the indirect object of verbs like *eraman* 'carry' or *ekarri* 'bring' can be either a dative phrase or an allative postpositional phrase. In contrast, when the direct object is inanimate, the indirect object tends to be dative marked. Hence, it seems that this alternation in the case marking of the indirect object is related to the animacy of the direct object. In fact, this is what we see in

the examples below: it is when the direct object is animate that the indirect object can change its case marking. Otherwise, if the direct object was inanimate, as in (137), the same speaker would only mark the indirect object with dative case:

(137)   a. Liburua-Ø   amama-ri   eruan   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
            book-ABS   grandmother-DAT carry   expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
            'I have carried the grandmother the book'

        b. *Liburua-Ø amama-ngana   eruan   d-o-t
            book-ABS   grandmother-ALL carry   expl-root-1sgERG
   *'I have carried the book to the grandmother'*

As a whole, it seems that this alternation in the case marking of the indirect object is related to the animacy of the direct objects, and thus, that the DOM phenomenon has something to do with the alternation in indirect objects.

8.1.4. Dative direct object + dative indirect object

The last strategy to repair the ungrammatical construction in (127), repeated as (138), is to have two dative marked objects –both the direct and the indirect object– but, crucially, only one dative agreement marker in the auxiliary verb (cf. (139)):

(138)   Amama-ri   umia-ri   eruan
           grandmother-DAT   child-DAT   carry
      *d-(Ø)-i-o-o-t
      expl-(root)-3sgDAT-3sgDAT-1sgERG
           ' *I have carried the child to the grandmother'*

(139)   Umia-ri   amama-ri   eruan d-(Ø)-i-o-t
           child-DAT   grandmother-DAT   carry expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-1sgERG
           'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

(140)
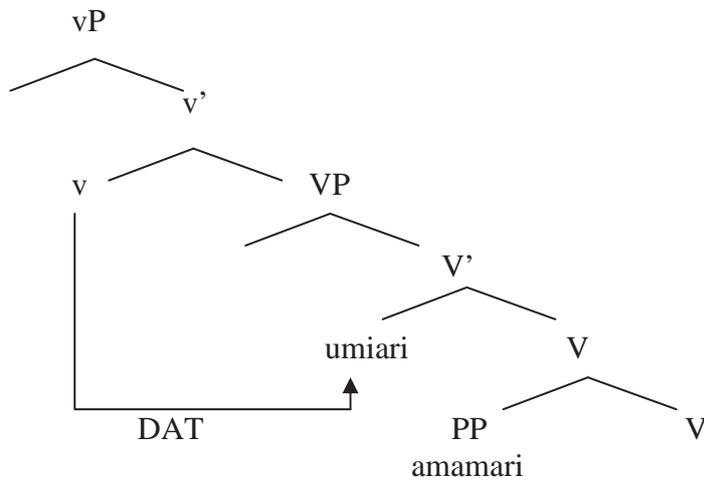
As depicted in (140), the indirect object *amama* 'grandmother' is inside a postpositional phrase, and as a consequence, the noun phrase that receives dative case/agreement turns out to be the direct object *umia* 'child'. This direct object, being animate, becomes visible to the light verb *v*, and having no other candidate to compete with, it "wins" the case/agreement competition. As I will explain in §8.2 in further detail, I propose that the P of the indirect object *amamari* 'to the grandmother' is indeed the dative marker – *(r)i*, but that instead of being a case marker like in canonical indirect objects, in this case it appears realized as a postposition.[58] For this reason, the lack of agreement on this indirect object would be accounted for with the postpositional dative analysis; the absence of agreement would directly correspond to a postpositional phrase.[59]

One could think that, as both the direct and indirect objects are third person singular arguments, there is no reason to think that in (139) the only object in the Agree relation is the direct object *umia* 'child' and that the dative agreement marker could also be of the indirect object *amama* 'grandmother'. However, the plural agreement morphology in the following examples demonstrate that, when the direct object is plural and the indirect object singular, it

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[58] Albizu (2001) and Arregi (2003) also suggest that *–(r)i* can be an instance of P.

[59] Rezac (2009) explains that the possibility of having indirect objects without agreement is not only used in northeastern dialects (as I will explain in section 7.2.2), but as is the case in our data, in southwestern ones, as well (cf. Albizu 1997: 38, 2001: 50, Artiagoitia 2000: 405).

is the direct object that triggers agreement, and not the indirect object (cf. (141)).[60] Otherwise, the clause becomes ungrammatical (cf. (142)):[61]

(141)   Umi-ei   medikua-ri   eraman   d-(Ø)-i-e-t
            child-$_{DAT}$ doctor-$_{DAT}$ carry   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3pl$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
            'I have carried the child to the doctor'

Umiei (DATpl) medikuari (DATsg) eraman diet (DATpl).
DAT

(142)   *Umi-ei   medikua-ri   eraman   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
            child-$_{DAT}$ doctor-$_{DAT}$ carry   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
            'I have carried the child to the doctor'

*Umiei (DATpl) medikuari (DATsg) eraman diot (DATsg).
DAT
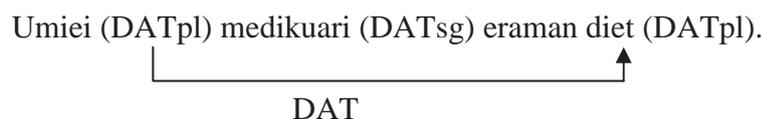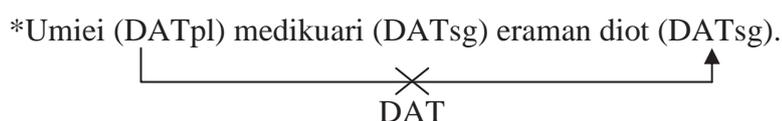
Thus, as argued in Romero (1997), the PCC can be used as a test to check for the presence of Agree relations that take place in syntax. The examples in (141) and (142) show that no Agree relation lies behind the indirect object "amamari", given that, if this was the case, we would have a PCC effect parallel to the one in the original construction.

8.2.   Two different dative cases: the structural and the postpositional

In section 8.1.4, I dealt with a construction with two dative marked objects, but with a sole dative agreement marker in the auxiliary verb. In this section, I will focus more on this structure and propose that two types of datives lie behind it: a structural dative case which triggers agreement and a postpositional dative, which, due to its postpositional nature, does

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[60] In linguistic typology it is commonly assumed that the direct object triggers agreement before the indirect object (cf. Moravcsik 1974).

[61] It seems that when the indirect object is not third person singular as in (139), the argument that triggers agreement is not the direct object, but the indirect object. Thus, it seems that Person also plays an important role in this issue. Nonetheless, as the original construction showing PCC effects consists of two third person arguments, I will not give any more attention to constructions with first or second person indirect objects and I will leave the analysis of these clauses for further research.

not trigger agreement in the auxiliary verb (cf. Albizu 2001). Therefore, it could be said that Basque has –at least– two distinct dative cases.

As a result, I propose that PCC effects arise only with two structural dative cases in the same construction (cf. (143)), and thus, that, as we saw in §8.1.4, the existence of two dative cases in the same clause would not be a problem for the derivation of (144):

(143)   Umia-ri   amama-ri   eruan
        child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{DAT}$ carry
     *d-(Ø)-i-o-o-t
     expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
        'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

(144)   Umia-ri   amama-ri   eruan   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
        child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{DAT}$ carry   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{ERG}$
        'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

All in all, it seems that the two types of dative phrases attested in the repair strategy of the PCC in §7.1.4 corroborate and strengthen the idea that Basque dative phrases can be both determiner phrases –structural dative– and postpositional phrases (cf. Albizu 2001). In what follows, I will show that each of them has its own characteristics and, that, interestingly, these characteristics match up against each other and as such, form a set of syntactic asymmetries.

8.2.1. Asymmetries between structural and postpositional datives

Before going through the asymmetries between the two datives (i.e. the structural and the postpositional) it is worth noting that I am dealing with, following Pylkkännen's classification (2002, 2008), low datives. As explained in Fernández (cf. 2011, 2012), dative agreement can only be dropped in low datives (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1995, Albizu 2001, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, 2012, Etxepare 2010ab, Fernández & Landa 2009, Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009) –sometimes obligatorily and others, optionally– and so, this author points out that within these low datives, some of them have a postpositional nature, while others have a determiner nature. Additionally, it is important to consider that, within these low datives, the basic structure of the neutral word order for direct and indirect objects seems to be "direct object>indirect object" (cf. Fernández 2011). As I will

claim in this section, the postpositional dative we see in the repair strategy of the PCC evidences two characteristics related to low datives: dative agreement drop and the neutral word order "direct object>indirect object".

The first asymmetry that prevails between the structural and the postpositional datives has to do with agreement. As a result of being a postpositional phrase and not having an Agree relation with the light verb *v*, postpositional datives do not trigger agreement on the auxiliary verb (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1995, Albizu 2001, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, 2012, Etxepare 2010ab, Fernández & Landa 2009, Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009, Rezac 2009ab).[62]

The second asymmetry between structural and postpositional datives is their determiner or postpositional nature. Following the fact that, the structural dative triggers agreement, we conclude that it is a determiner phrase. Likewise, the presence of another dative phrase without agreement tells us that it is a postpositional phrase, rather than a determiner phrase. The semantic correspondence between these dative phrases and other kinds of postpositions supports their postpositional nature:

(145)   Umiari amamari eraman/ekarri diot → umiari amamangana eraman/ekarri diot

    a. Umia-ri   amama-ri   eraman/ekarri
        child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{DAT}$ carry/bring
d-(Ø)-i-o-t
expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
        'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

    b. Umia-ri   amama-ngana   eraman/ekarri
        child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{ALL}$ carry/bring
d-(Ø)-i-o-t
expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
        'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

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[62] Rezac (2009b) points out that indirect objects like the goal of *eraman* 'carry' can be either postpositional or applicative –for us, structural– which leads to the apparent optionality of agreement.

(146)   Aitorri Aneri aurkeztu diot → Aitorri Anen aurrian aurkeztu diot

    a. Aitor-ri   Ane-ri   aurkeztu   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
        Aitor-$_{DAT}$ Ane-$_{DAT}$ introduce   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{ERG}$
        'I have introduced Aitor to Ane'

    b. Aitor-ri   Anen aurria-n   aurkeztu
        Aitor-$_{DAT}$ front of Ane-$_{INE}$ introduce
d-(Ø)-i-o-t
expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{ERG}$
        'I have introduced Aitor in front of Ane'

Thirdly, postpositional datives do not appear in the same position as structural datives, that is to say, the word order in this case is not "indirect object>direct object", but "direct object>indirect object" (cf. (147)):

(147)   Umia-ri   amama-ri   eruan d-(Ø)-i-o-t
       child-$_{DAT}$ grandmother-$_{DAT}$ carry expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{ERG}$
       'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

Ormazabal & Arregi (2003) support this claim by pointing out that the neutral word order of postpositional datives is "absolutive>postposition", and not, as is the case with structural datives, "dative>absolutive". Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2008abc, 2009ab), Etxepare (2010ab) and Rezac (2009b) also explain that the nonagreeing locational dative from northeastern varieties appears after the direct object, that is, in the "indirect object>direct object" word order. Examples (148)-(149) illustrate that, in northeastern varieties, when there is dative agreement in the verb, the "indirect object>direct object" word order prevails, whereas, when there is no dative agreement, the "direct object>indirect object" word order prevails (cf. Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, Etxepare 2010ab):

(148)   Amak semeari opari bat igorri dio (agreement) → Amak opari bat igorri du semeari (no agreement)

    a. Ama-k   semea-ri   opari bat-Ø   igorri
        mother-$_{ERG}$ son-$_{DAT}$ present one-$_{ABS}$ send
d-(Ø)-i-o-(Ø)
expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-3sg$_{ERG}$
       'The mother has sent a present to the son'

b.   Ama-k   opari   bat   igorri d-u   semea-ri
        mother-$_{ERG}$ present   one   send expl-root   son-$_{DAT}$
        'The mother has sent a present to the son'

(149)   Letra   bat-Ø   igorri d-u   Miren-i
        letter   one-$_{ABS}$ send expl-root Miren-$_{DAT}$
        'He/she has sent a letter to Miren'

What is more, Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2008abc, 2009ab) point out that this postpositional dative could also follow the verb (cf. (150)):

(150)   Jon-ek   igorri d-u   letra bat-Ø   Miren-i
          Jon-$_{ERG}$ send expl-root   letter one-$_{ABS}$ Miren-$_{DAT}$
          'Jon has sent a letter to Miren'

Interestingly, the syntactic questionnaire carried out in Elgoibar shows the same pattern and the indirect object can appear after the verb (cf. (151)):

(151)   Umia-ri   eruan d-(Ø)-i-o-t   amama-ri
          child-$_{DAT}$ carry expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3sg$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$ grandmother-$_{DAT}$
          'I have carried the child to the grandmother'

Another author postulating a different canonical word order for nonagreeing datives is Albizu (2001). This author shows that, apart from inacussative constructions (cf. Zabala & Odriozola 1996, Artiagoitia 2000, ALbizu 2009, 2011), ditransitive predicates can also appear in the "direct object>indirect object" word order with verbs like *aurkeztu* 'introduce' (cf. (152)), *salatu* 'report' or *gomendatu* 'recommend' (cf. (153)):

(152)   Zer egingo duzu gaur gauean? → What are you doing tonight?

     a. Ane gurasoei aurkeztuko diet → I am introducing Ane to my parents

        Ane-Ø   guraso-ei   aurkeztuko d-(Ø)-i-e-t
        Ane-$_{ABS}$ parents-$_{DAT}$ introduce   expl-(root)-$_{DF}$-3pl$_{DAT}$-1sg$_{ERG}$
        'I am introducing Ane to my parents'

b. #Gurasoei Ane aurkeztuko diet → I am introducing Ane to my parents

Guraso-ei	Ane-Ø	aurkeztuko	d-(Ø)-i-e-t
parents-DAT	Ane-ABS	introduce	expl-(root)-DF-3plDAT-1sgERG

'*I am introducing Ane to my parents*'

(153)   Zure enpresako lanpostu berria dela eta, zer egin duzu? → In relation to the new job in your company, what have you done?

a. Peru nagusiei gomendatu diet → I have recommended Peru to the boss

Peru-Ø	nagusi-ei	gomendatu	d-(Ø)-i-e-t
Peru-ABS	boss-DAT	recommend	expl-(root)-DF-3plDAT-1sgERG

'*I have recommended Peru to the boss*'

b. #Nagusiei Peru gomendatu diet → I have recommended Peru to the boss

Nagusi-ei	Peru-Ø	gomendatu	d-(Ø)-i-e-t
boss-DAT	Peru-ABS	recommend	expl-(root)-DF-3plERG-1sgERG

'*I have recommended Peru to the boss*'

Elordieta (2001: 98-107) also says that western varieties, apart from the "indirect object>direct object" order, also have the "direct object>indirect object" word order, but that this lower indirect object is a determiner phrase rather than a postpositional phrase:

(154) | Jon-ek | mutila-ri | liburu bat-Ø | eman |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jon-ERG | boy-DAT | book one-ABS | give |

z-(Ø)-i-o-n
exp-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-past
        '*Jon gave a book to the boy*'

(155) | Jon-ek | liburu bat-Ø | eman | z-(Ø)-i-o-n |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jon-ERG | book one-ABS | give | expl-(root)-DF-3sgDAT-past |

mutila-ri
boy-DAT
        '*Jon gave a book to the boy*'

Elordieta (2001) accounts for this data by proposing that the "direct object>indirect object" word order is somehow derived from the "direct object>indirect object" order and that in both cases it is the indirect object that c-commands the direct object. More precisely, Elordieta (2001) proposes that the difference in word order depends on whether the indirect object is generated in [Spec, VP] to the left or right of the verb. It seems that, in contrast to

Elordieta's explanation, in the repair strategy with two dative phrases –one structural and the other postpositional– the direct object indeed c-commands the indirect object when this is a nonagreeing postpositional phrase. Nonetheless, given that the speakers from Elgoibar are not very keen on having two dative phrases in the same clause, I have not had the opportunity to test whether in fact the postpositional indirect object c-commands the direct object or not. In order to do so, I would have to look into the tests proposed by Barss & Lasnik (1986), such as, reflexive anaphor binding, quatifier variable binding, scope relations, weak crossover, principle C effects, reciprocal interpretation of *each... the other* and negative polarity items – in addition to the distributive particles *–na* (cf. Montoya 1998, Elordieta 2001) and *bakoitza* (cf. Oyharçabal 2007, 2009) which are Basque specific tests.

The fourth asymmetry between structural and postpositional datives is that, as I explained in section 7, postpositional datives that do not trigger agreement are not subject to the PCC (cf. Rezac 2009b). In contrast, structural datives that trigger agreement are subject to the PCC, seeing that it is impossible to have two structural dative cases in the same construction.

The fifth asymmetry between the two distinct types of dative phrases lies in their theta-role. That is to say, when the dative case is structural the theta-role of the argument may be a theme or a goal, whereas when it is postpositional, it can only be a goal.

Finally, the sixth and the last asymmetry between structural and postpositional datives is that when the dative phrase is structural, it can be either a direct or an indirect object. In contrast, when it is postpositional, it can only be an indirect object.

In the following table (cf. (156)) we summarize all the asymmetries mentioned in this section.

(156)

	Structural dative	Postpositional dative
Agreement	Yes	No
DP/PP	DP	PP
Neutral word order	Indirect Object > Direct Object	Indirect Object > Direct Object
Subject to the PCC	Yes	No
Theta role	Theme / Goal	Goal
Syntactic category/function	Direct object / Indirect object	Indirect object

As a conclusion, and in relation to the discussion on ditransitive structures in section 5, the structural datives triggering agreement form a Double Object Construction and the postpositional datives that do not trigger agreement form a P-construction (cf. Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, Etxepare 2010ab). Therefore, I agree with Ormazabal & Romero (1998, 2001, 2007, 2010ab, 2012) in saying that Basque has a P-construction. Nevertheless, contrary to what is claimed in their studies (Ormazabal & Romero 1998, 2001, 2007, 2010ab, 2012), I do not propose any kind of P-incorporation,[63] and thus, I do not agree with any theoretical approach that supports the derivational analysis that relate P-constructions with Double Object Constructions (cf. Elordieta 2001, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, Etxepare 2010ab). Having said that, I assume that Basque has both DOC and P-constructions, and that, the possibility of having both of them in the same construction as in (157) or (158), tells us that no derivation lies behind them and that they are merged in different positions in the structure (cf. Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2009ab, Etxepare 2010ab).

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[63] Ormazabal & Romero (2012) explain that the incorporation of the applicative head can be optional or obligatory depending on the language.

Otherwise, we could only have either the DOC or the P-construction in each clause, but not both:[64]

(157)   Hurbildu   n-(Ø)-i-o-n   urrikalmendu-zko
        bring   1sgcl-(root)-DF-3sg_DAT-past   compassion-GEN
      seinalea-Ø   ezpain-eri
      sign-ABS   lips-DAT
          I brought him a sign of compassion to the lips

(158)   Umia-ri   amama-ri   eruan   d-(Ø)-i-o-t
        child-DAT   grandmother-DAT   carry   expl-(root)-DF-3sg_DAT-3sg_ERG
          I have carried the child to the grandmother

Consequently, within our proposal the dative agreement drop would not be treated as 'drop'. In other words, the dative agreement drop would not be a problem for the theory, since the real optionality would not lie in the agreement itself, but in the construction: some dative phrases are DOCs and others P-constructions. Thus, the alleged optionality in agreement is now treated as optionality in having a P-construction or a DOC structure.

8.2.2.   Relation with northeastern locational datives

Various studies (cf. Hualde 1988, Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 1987, Ortiz de Urbina 1995, Fernández 1997, Albizu 2001, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, 2012, Etxepare 2010ab, Fernández & Landa 2009, Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009, Rezac 2009ab) have shown that northeastern varieties can have a dative phrase without agreement. Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2008abc, 2009ab, 2012) and Etxepare (2010ab) provide an exhaustive description of the phenomenon and highlight that the postpositional dative represents a spatial goal, and hence, that it could be taken as a locational dative phrase.

Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2008abc, 2009ab, 2012) and Etxepare (2010ab) explain that, as is the case with the postpositional phrase in DOM varieties, the northeastern locational

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[64] Etxepare (2010ab) explains that, in Basque, both the DOC and the P-construction could appear in the same clause, as also happens in Japanese (cf. Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004).

datives do not trigger agreement on the verb. Notwithstanding, there are certain characteristics that are specific to northeastern locational datives that do not appear in the postpositional dative of the repair strategy. Along the following lines, I will present the main differences that emerge between both of them.

First of all, Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2008abc, 2009ab, 2012) and Etxepare (2010ab) take the dative case to be an elsewhere case. They explain that the dative and allative do not freely alternate; allatives invariably select inanimate grounds, while datives do not have any selectional restriction and can select either animate or inanimate ones. Therefore, these authors conclude that when it is possible for allative case to appear, it does, and that dative case only appears when the allative is not possible. Comparing the northeastern varieties with the postpositional dative that appears when avoiding the PCC, we could say that, in the postpositional dative we have in our data the elsewhere case is the allative case, not the dative. As we saw in section 8.1, the allative phrase can be either an animate or an inaminate object, while the dative phrase can only be animate.

Secondly, Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2008abc, 2009ab, 2012) explain that agreement in northeastern locational dative phrases is related to animacy and that whenever the dative phrase is an animate object, it agrees with the auxiliary verb. As showed in section 8.1, this is not the case in the postpositional phrase with the repair strategy, since dative postpositions do not agree with the verb, even when they are animate.

Thirdly, Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2008abc, 2009ab) and Etxepare (2010ab) argue that the northeastern dative is inherent case, while in the postpositional dative of DOM varieties it seems that there is no inherent case and the dative marker –(r)i –which is not related to any thea role– is in fact a postposition (cf. Albizu 2001).

Lastly, the northeastern postpositional dative does not denote transfer –it appears in verbs of directed motion, verbs of oriented change of state, verbs of comparison, verbs of physical joining and stative verbs– and it implies an unbounded path (cf. Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008abc, 2009ab, Etxepare 2010). In contrast, the postpositional dative of DOM varieties implies both transfer and a bounded path.

9. <u>Conclusions and further research</u>

This study has analyzed Basque DOM objects both from a descriptive and theoretical point of view. Concerning the descriptive aspects, in section 3, we saw that DOM objects have to be animate, in section 4, that they are direct objects, and finally, in section 5, I argued the tight relation that holds between the dative case and dative agreement in DOM objects.

Regarding the theoretical analysis of DOM objects, in sections 6 and 7, I proposed that both the functional and configurational case assignments are found in Basque (cf. Baker 2010). On the one hand, dative case is assigned following the functional approach, by means of an Agree relation with the light verb *v*. Likewise, given that in this case it is the direct object, not the indirect object, which bears dative marking, I argued that neither a derivational analysis (cf. Albizu 1997, 1998, 2001, Ormazabal 2000, Arregi 2003, Arregi & Ormazabal 2003, Albizu & Fernández 2006a) nor a polysemic analysis (cf. Oyharçabal 2007, 2009) is feasible as a explanation of DOM objects. On the other hand, absolutive case is assigned configurationally, namely, by default. Thus, I have argued that there is no absolutive agreement marker in the auxiliary verb and that the only markers linked to absolutive case are number agreement markers and absolutive clitic markers. As for the different structures that DOM speakers have to substitute a clause showing PCC effects with two structural datives, I argued that one of them consists of having two dative arguments, but one dative agreement marker. In order to account for it, I proposed that Basque can have at least two dative cases: the structural and the postpositional, with the marker –(r)i as a postposition.

This study aimed to open the analysis of Basque DOM objects to a wider range of phenomena, such as case/agreement checking and the nature of dative case/agreement in Basque. For this reason, I believe that the analysis of the phenomenon is now wider than before, but at the same time, with more problems and uncovered issues. For instance, the choice to follow a standard analysis (cf. Elordieta 2001), while setting aside applicative-based analyses for ditransitive predicates makes it more difficult to justify or explain the dative flag in the auxiliary verb (cf. Rezac 2006). Likewise, the proposal of two distinct dative phrases also presents more theoretical questions, since the reason for having different positions for the same arguments, and as a consequence, of having structural and postpositional datives,

remains something to be explained. I hope that future research will answer these and other uncovered issues mentioned throughout this study.

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11. Appendix: syntactic questionnaire

I. Animacy of the object[65]

(1) First, second and third person objects

a. (Nik) zu ikusi zaitut

b. (Nik) zuri ikusi dizut

c. (Zuk) ni ikusi nauzu

d. (Zuk) niri ikusi didazu

e. (Nik) Jon ikusi dut

f. (Nik) Joni ikusi diot

g. (Nik) neska (bat) ikusi dot

h. (Nik) neskari (bati) ikusi diot

(2) Animate non-human objects

a. (Nik) txakurra ikusi dut

b. (Nik) txakurrari ikusi diot

(3) Inanimate objects

a. (Nik) telebista ikusi dut

b. (Nik) telebistari ikusi diot

(4) Inanimate objects of bivalent unergative predicates

a. Trenari itxoin diot

b. Seinaleari jarraitu diot

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[65] This syntactic questionnaire is mainly based on the syntactic questionnaire proposed in Fernández & Rezac (2010).

II. DOM: direct or indirect object

(5) Secondary predication modifying DOM objects

a. Nik zuri mozkortuta ikusi dizut

b. Nik umeari oinutsik/txankleta gabe ekarri diot (igerilekuan, hondartzan…)

c. Zuk mozkortuta ikusi didazu

d. Zuk biluzik ikusi didazu

e. Urduri ikusi diot Maleni

(6) Secondary predication modifying objects of bivalent unergative

a. Nik Mikeli biluzik/mozkortuta begiratu nion hondartzan

b. Nik Mikeli biluzik/mozkortuta jarraitu nion hondartzan

c. Nik Mikeli mozkortuta entzun nion

(7) DOM objects in double dative constructions

a. Amamari umeari eraman dioot

b. Amamari umea eraman diot

c. Amamari Nahiari eraman dioot

d. Amamari Nahia eraman diot

(8) The modals *behar* 'need, must, have to' and *nahi* 'want, wish', causatives, the progressive *ari* 'to be engaged in'

a. Nik Joni liburuak eraman behar/nahi dizkiot (indirect object)

b. Nik umeak igerilekura eraman behar/nahi ditut (direct object)

c. Nik Joni jarraitu/begiratu behar/nahi diot (object of bivalent unergative)

d. Nik Aneri ikastolara eraman behar/nahi diot (DOM object)

e. Nik Ane ikastolara eraman behar/nahi dut (DOM object)

f. Nik zuri ikastolara eraman behar/nahi dizut (DOM object)

g. Nik zu ikastolara eraman behar/nahi zaitut (DOM object)

(9) DOM objects in double dative constructions

a. Zuk amamari niri eraman didaiozu (first person DOM object, PCC)

b. Nik amamari zuri eraman dizuot (second person DOM object, PCC)

c. Nik amamari umeari eraman dioot (third person DOM object, PCC)

d. Nik umeari amamari eraman diot

e. Nik umeei amamari eraman diet

f. Nik umeei amamari eraman diot

(10)   Relativization of DOM objects

a. Zu, zu bai zu, lehen kristoren mozkorrarekin ikusi zaitudan hori! (direct object)

b. Zu, zu bai zu, lehen kristoren mozkorrarekin ikusi dizudan hori! (DOM object)

c. Zu, zu bai zu, lehen kristoren mozkorrarekin soinekoa zikindu dizudan hori! (indirect object)

d. Jarraitu diodan neska (object of bivalent unergative)

(11)   The anti-quantifier *bakoitza* 'each/every'

a. Ume bakoitzari bere liburua eman diot (indirect object bearing *bakoitza*)

b. Umeei liburu bakoitza eman diet (direct object bearing *bakoitza*)

c. Ume bakoitzari ikusi diogu (DOM object bearing *bakoitza*)

d. Ume bakoitzari deitu diogu (object of bivalent unergative bearing *bakoitza*)

(12)   The anaphors *elkar* 'each other' and *bere burua* 'X's head'

a. Elkar ikusi dute (reciprocal direct object)

b. Elkarri ikusi diote (reciprocal DOM object)

c. Nire burua ikusi dut ispilua (reflexive direct object)

d. Nire buruari ikusi diot ispiluan (reflexive DOM object)

e. Elkarri jarraitu diogu (reciprocal object of bivalent unergative)

f. Ez diot sekula barkatuko nire buruari hori egin izana (reflexive object of bivalent unergative)

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III. DOM objects in non-inflected periphrastic constructions

(13)   *Zerbaitetan egon* **'to be doing something'**

a. Jon zu ikusten egon da

b. Jon zuri ikusten egon da

c. Jon zuri ikusten egon zaizu

d. Jon Mikel ikusten egon da

e. Jon Mikeli ikusten egon da

f. Jon Mikeli ikusten egon zaio

(14)   *Zerbaitetara joan* **'to go to do something'**

a. Zu ikustera etorri naiz

b. Zuri ikustera etorri naiz

c. Ni ikustera zatoz?

d. Niri ikustera zatoz?

e. Maite ikustera zatoz?

f. Maiteri ikustera zatoz?

(15)   *Zerbaitetara etorri* **'to come to do something'**

a. Zu ikustera noa

b. Zuri ikustera noa

IV. Avoiding two structural dative constructions

a. Amamari (indirect object) umeari (direct object) eraman dioot

b. Amamari (indirect object) umea (direct object) diot

c. Umea (direct object) amamarengana (indirect object) eramango dut

d. Umeari (direct object) amamarengana (indirect object) eraman diot

e. Umeari (direct object) amamari (indirect object) eraman diot

f. Umeei (direct object) medikuari (indirect object) eraman diet

g. Umeei (direct object) medikuari (indirect object) eraman diot