A New Approach to Clitic Doubling in Basque

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1. Introduction

Although there is a vast amount of research on clitic doubling, there is little consensus on questions of approach and implementation.
- What is the initial position for doubled clitics?
- What is the motivation for clitic movement?

This paper offers support for a novel analysis of clitic doubling (Harizanov, to appear; Kramer, to appear) using M-Merger (Matushansky, 2006), by application to a new empirical domain: Basque.
- Clitic doubling in Basque has received less attention than in other languages (e.g., Spanish)
- Verification of the approach in three highly diverse languages (Basque, Amharic, Bulgarian)

The M-merger analysis also allows for new insights into Basque clitic doubling.
- Certain recalcitrant distributional facts can be accounted for by appealing to the nature of the v^0 Probe (cf. Béjar 2008)…
- …without needing to posit extra functional architecture above DP

Roadmap
- Basic facts of clitic doubling in Basque (Section 2)
- Previous analyses (Section 3)
- M-merger analysis (Section 4)
- Potential advantages of the M-merger analysis (Section 5)
- Conclusion (Section 6)

2. Clitic Doubling in Basque

Basque (isolate, non-Indo-European; standard Batua dialect data is used unless otherwise indicated)
- Spoken in the Pyrenees Mountains (Spain, France)
- Approximately 665,000 native speakers (Eusko Juarlaritza, 2006)
- **Ergative-absolutive** (ERG-ABS) case system and agreement

All finite clauses in Basque are required to have an auxiliary verb (AUX), which is quite morphologically complex.
- AUX is best analyzed as a complex T^0 head (Arregi & Nevins, 2012), and depending on argument structure also includes:
  - v^0

- o Asp^0
- o Appl^0
- The "root" (*be, have*) of AUX changes in form depending on:
  - o Tense
  - o Aspect
  - o The Phi features of the ABS argument (= agreement with the absolutive)

- AUX is also the host for bound morphemes that seem to agree with ERG and ABS[1] arguments

(1)   **(Relevant) Structure of AUX**
        [ABS morpheme – v^0 + T^0 – ERG morpheme]

                                                        (Modified from Arregi & Nevins, 2012)

Table 1. Intransitive AUX Paradigm (de Rijk, 2008; 122)
                    Morpheme Order: ABS (subject) – Root

	SG	PL
1	n-aiz 'I have X'	g-ara 'We have X'
2	z-ara 'You have X'	z-arate 'Y'all have X'
3	d-a 'S/he has X'	d-ira 'They have X'

Table 2. Transitive AUX Paradigm (de Rijk, 2008; 195-6)
                    Morpheme order: ABS (direct object) – Root – ERG (subject)

		ABSOLUTIVE (Direct Object)					
		1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	1.PL	2.PL	3.PL
ERGATIVE (Subject)	1.SG		z-aitu-t 'I have X you'	d-u-t 'I have X it'		z-aituzte-t 'I have X y'all'	d-itu-t 'I have X them'
	2.SG	n-au-zu 'You have X me'		d-u-zu 'You have X it'	g-aitu-zu 'You have X us'		d-itu-zu 'You have X them'
	3.SG	n-au-ø 'S/he has X me'	z-aitu-ø 'S/he has X you'	d-u-ø 'S/he has X it'	g-aitu-ø 'S/he has X us'	z-aituzte-ø 'S/he has X y'all'	d-itu-ø 'S/he has X them'
	1.PL		z-aitu-gu 'We have X you'	d-u-gu 'We have X it'		z-aituzte-gu 'We have X y'all'	d-itu-gu 'We have X them'
	2.PL	n-au-zue 'Y'all have X me'		d-u-zue 'Y'all have X it'	g-aitu-zue 'Y'all have X us'		d-itu-zue 'Y'all have X them'
	3.PL	n-au-te 'They have X me'	z-aituz-te 'They have X you'	d-u-te 'They have X it'	g-aituz-te 'They have X us'	z-aituzte-te 'They have X y'all'	d-itu-zte 'They have X them'

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[1] In ditransitives, AUX also carries a morpheme representing the DAT argument; we leave ditransitive constructions aside in this work.

ERG and ABS affixes on the AUX root are doubled clitics, not agreement markers (cf. Arregi & Nevins, 2012) (henceforth, A&N), for the following reasons:

- ERG argument and clitic host must be clausemates (Anagnostopoulou, 2003; Preminger, 2009), i.e., a doubled clitic cannot surface across a clause boundary

(2)   a.   [Zu -k   pareta pintatze-a] -k   harritu   n   -au   **-ø**
            [You-ERG wall   painting-DET]-ERG surprised 1.SG.ABS-1.SG.have-**3.SG.ERG**
            'You painting the wall surprised me'[2]

                                                        (Rezac, Albizu, & Etxepare, 2011; (#18))

       b.   *[Zu -k   pareta pintatze-a   ]-k   harritu   n   -au   **-zu**
            [You-ERG wall   painting-DET]-ERG surprised 1.SG.ABS-1.SG. have -**2.SG.ERG**
            (≠ You painting the wall surprised me)

    o   In (2a), the embedded nonfinite clause [[*zuk pareta pintatzea*]-*k*] is marked ERG as the subject of the main clause. The ERG doubled clitic –*ø* (3.SG) refers to this argument.
    o   In (2b), the ERG doubled clitic on AUX in the main clause is –*zu* (2.SG), referring to the ERG subject of the embedded clause, and the result is ungrammatical.

- Presence of a doubled ERG clitic on AUX renders ERG argument invisible as a potential intervener in an Agree relation (Anagnostopoulou, 2003; Preminger, 2009)

(3)   [[Mikel-ek]$_{DP_1}$ [nobela   erromantiko-ak]$_{DP_T}$ irakur-tze -a]$_{DPC}$
       [[Mikel-ERG] [novel(s) romantic   -ART$_{PL}$(ABS)] read -NMZ-ART(ABS)]

       propostau d-**ø**   **/*it** -u -t
       propose   d-**SG.ABS/PL.ABS**-have-1.SG.ERG
       'I have proposed that Mikel read romantic novels'

                                                        Substandard Basque
                                                        (Preminger 2009:646)

    o   In (3), there is no doubled clitic representing the ERG subject of the embedded clause, *Mikel-ek*
    o   Thus, this argument can intervene in the Agree relation between AUX and the structurally lower embedded ABS argument
    o   The result is default agreement features (ø, singular ABS, vs. *-it, plural ABS) arising on AUX[3]

- Doubled clitics are not always obligatory (Kramer, to appear; Preminger, 2009); ABS morphemes do not arise in all possible contexts (Arregi & Nevins, 2012; see Section 3.2)

Based on these diagnostics, this paper analyzes ERG and ABS morphemes on AUX as doubled clitics.

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[2]Gloss abbreviations are the following: ABS = absolutive; ART = article; d = /*d-*/; DET = determiner; ERG = ergative; NMZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; PL = plural; SG = singular; 1 = 1st Person; 2 = 2nd Person. Any examples without a citation are from fieldwork.

[3] However, the doubled clitic cannot arise due to the clausemate restriction. If it could, agreement would not be blocked.

NB: we assume that ABS doubled clitics attach to *v* and ERG clitics to T by virtue of the fact that these are their Case-assigning heads (respectively)
• See Siebecker, (2014) (presented in the other poster session) for further details and argumentation

3. PREVIOUS APPROACHES

3.1 The Big DP Hypothesis (Uriagereka, 1995)
• There is functional architecture above the DP = where doubled clitics are merged

(4)
```
        FP
       /  \
     DCL   FP
          /  \
         F    DP
              △
              ...
```
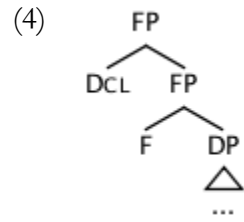
     o Clitic can access the features (Phi and Case) of the DP it doubles
     o Then Moves to a higher structural position

3.2 Big DP Analysis of Basque Doubled Clitics (Arregi & Nevins, 2012)
A&N (2012): Big DP structure in their analysis of Basque doubled clitics
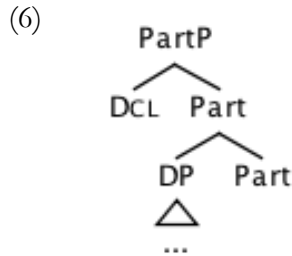
Ergative clitics
• KP above the DP
• 1st/2nd Person only: a PartP projection intervenes between the KP and DP

(5)
```
           KP
          /  \
       PartP   K
       /  \
     DCL   Part
          /  \
         DP   Part
         △
         ...
```
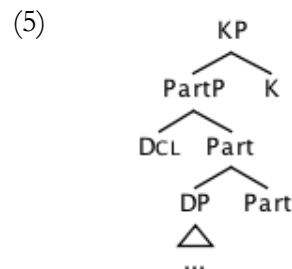
     o 1st/2nd Person clitics: merged in Spec, PartP and raise to Spec, KP
     o 3rd Person clitics: merged in Spec, KP
     o All clitics: move out of the Big DP structure to AUX

Absolutive clitics
• No KP, because ABS is a morphological default inserted when Case is *not* assigned
• All clitics are merged in Spec, PartP

(6)

Consequence: there are no 3rd Person absolutive clitics in Basque
- A&N (2012): the morpheme /d-/ that appears in 3rd Person absolutive contexts is not a doubled clitic but rather a placeholder morpheme

(7)   Ni-k   Jon   ikusi **d**-u   -ø
        I   -ERG Jon.ABS seen   **d**-3.SG.ABS.have-1.SG.ERG
        'I have seen Jon'

- The form of this morpheme is sensitive to Tense (Trask, 1981), unlike doubled clitics cross-linguistically (Nevins, 2011)
- Inserted post-syntactically at Linearization to satisfy an independently-needed morphological requirement:

(8)   Terminal T (= AUX [LS/RK]) must not be leftmost within T^{0max}

                                                         (Arregi and Nevins, 2012:284)

Taken together, the structures in (4) – (6) offer the following distribution for ERG and ABS clitics:
- ERG arguments
    - 1st/2nd Person: [$_{KP}$ D$_{CLi}$ K [$_{PartP}$ t$_i$ Part [$_{DP}$ …]]]
    - 3rd Person: [$_{KP}$ D$_{CL}$ K [$_{DP}$ …]]
- ABS arguments
    - 1st/2nd Person: [$_{PartP}$ D$_{CL}$ Part [$_{DP}$ …]]
    - 3rd Person: [DP]

Overall: captures the facts well

3.3 Drawbacks of Big DP Approach
However, the analysis has a number of conceptual issues with the extra projections necessary.

PartP Problems
A&N (2012) motivate the use of PartP by appealing to the PhiP proposed by Déchaine & Wiltschko, (2002), who envision it as a functional projection that can immediately dominate NP.
- No independent motivation in Basque
    - Original motivation: capture a three-way contrast in pronouns
    - A cursory investigation suggests that the diagnostics proposed to indicate the presence of a PartP may not be applicable to doubled clitics
- Why above the DP, as opposed to the intermediary position originally suggested?
- How is PartP generated? How exactly does it relate to/house/depend on the Person feature in the DP?

KP Problems
- The use of KP in the assignment of ERG Case is at best unclear.
  - From A&N's discussion, it does not seem that ERG is assigned via Agree, although they claim it is assigned structurally
  - The presence of a KP for Case seems inherent, though a projection for inherent Case is not usually required (in the analyses of, e.g., Legate, 2008; Woolford, 2006)
- Second, it is not clear how the Case feature on an ABS argument is valued (i.e., how the argument is licensed) if it does not receive Case syntactically

Given these concerns, the present analysis offers an approach to clitic doubling that does not rely on additional functional projections above the DP.

## 4. M-MERGER ANALYSIS OF BASQUE DOUBLED CLITICS

4.1 Basics of M-Merger
- Proposed by Matushansky (2006); modified for Bulgarian by Harizanov (to appear); extended to Amharic by Kramer (to appear)
- NB: trees here are head-final because Basque is head-final

Step 1: DP Moves to Specifier of functional head with which it Agrees
- Higher copy will Spell Out as doubled clitic (D), lower copy will Spell Out as full DP

(9)   **Agree and Movement for Clitic Doubling**
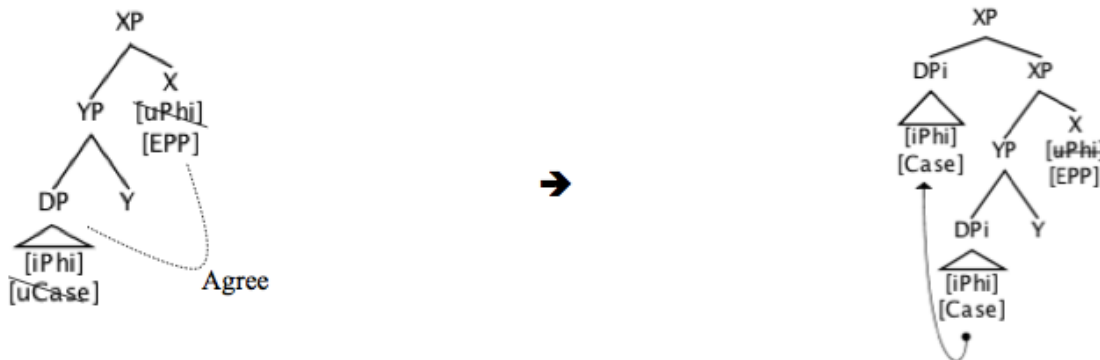
Step 2: Moved DP undergoes M-merger: forms a complex head with the functional head whose specifier it moved to; this has the effect of the DP reducing to D
- In Matushansky (2006), applies only to non-branching maximal projections in Specifier positions; Harizanov (to appear) extends to branching maximal projections

(10)   **M-merger** (modified cf. Harizanov (to appear))

Input   Output
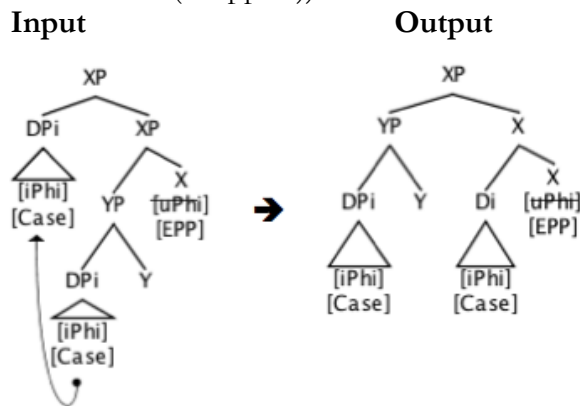
From this position, the doubled clitic and the functional head with which it Agrees can Move together as a complex head to other positions.

Step 3: Both 'copies' of the DP are pronounced at PF—the full DP, which is sister to Y, and the 'reduced' D, which is adjoined to X.

- This is expected since the two copies will be distinct; cf. Kandybowicz, (2007) and earlier work on the copy theory of movement (Bošković & Nunes, 2007; Landau, 2006; Nunes, 2004)[4]

4.2 Application to Basque

Step 1: DP Agrees with functional head; Moves to Specifier of that head

(11)   a.   **Agree+Move:** ABS argument & v^0

Agree   Move

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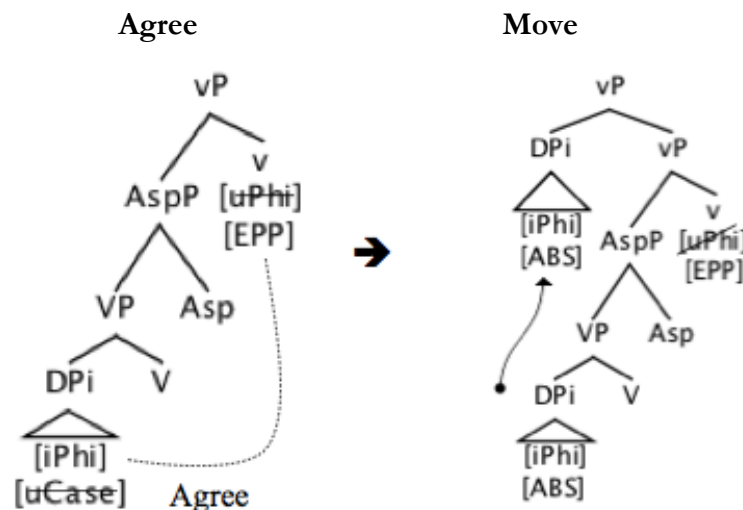
[4] In Kandybowicz, (2007), a pair of expressions A and B are non-distinct if they (i) form a chain and (ii) are morphosyntactically isomorphic (Kandybowicz 2007:141,(31)). The full DP sister to V and the 'reduced' D adjoined to v form a chain, but they are not morphosyntactically isomorphic in that the top copy is a head and the bottom copy is a phrase. Therefore, the two copies are distinct and they are both pronounced at PF (more technically, they are not subject to the operation Chain Reduction that deletes non-distinct copies before linearization).
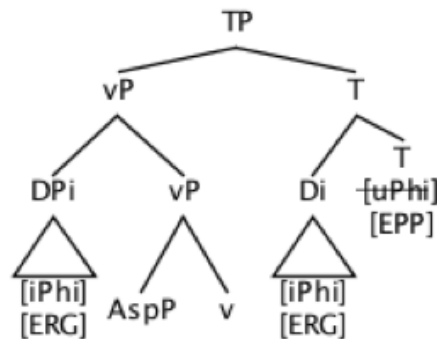
b.   **Agree+Move:** ERG argument & T^0

Agree   **Move**
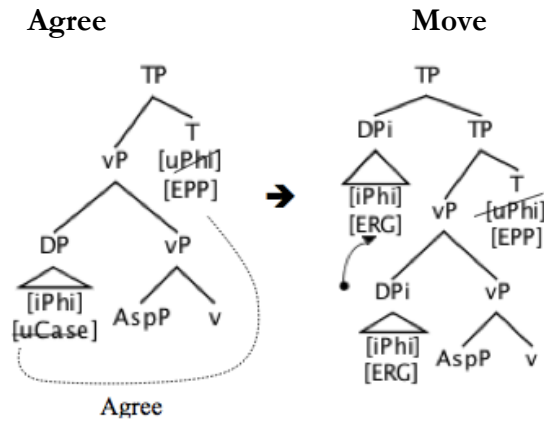
Step 2: M-Merger; DP reduces to D and forms complex head with agreeing functional head

(12)   a.   **M-Merger:** ABS doubled clitic & v^0
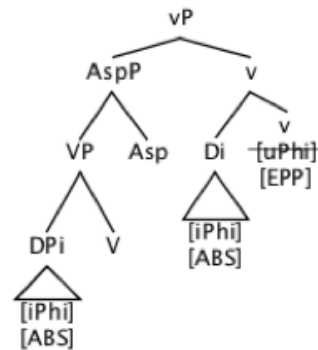
b.   **M-Merger:** ERG doubled clitic & T^0

After M-merger, complex $D+v^0$ Moves to complex $D+T^0$ to form AUX.

Step 3: The lower copy is given phonological content as a full DP, and the topmost copy is given phonological content as a clitic.

5. ADVANTAGES OF THE M-MERGER ANALYSIS

5.1 Explaining the absence of 3rd Person ABS doubled clitics

Recall that 1st and 2nd Person ABS arguments are doubled by clitics on AUX, but 3rd Person ABS arguments are not.

- This suggests a sensitivity to the feature [Person]: a doubled clitic is only generated when the ABS argument contains a [+Participant] feature

For A&N (2012): the Person-sensitivity of this restriction is not captured directly.

- 3rd Person absolute nominals don't trigger clitic doubling because they lack a KP within which to merge the clitic

The M-merger analysis, however, has the potential to encode the sensitivity to Person directly and in a cross-linguistically motivated way.

- Generation of doubled clitic requires Move, which requires Agree between DP and v^0
- <u>Key Claim:</u> No Agree between v^0 and DPs which lack a Participant feature in Basque
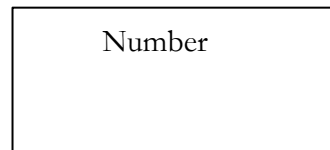- It is not uncommon for languages to only agree with 1st and 2nd Person arguments (Baker, 2008; Béjar, 2008)

<u>Tentative Formalization</u>
v^0 consists of multiple Phi-Probes: Number and Person are separate Probes on the same head

(13)   a. Person Probe   b. Number Probe
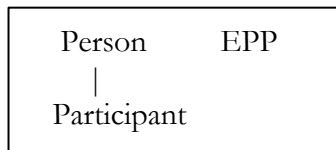
Person EPP		Number
|	
Participant	

- o   Person probe: Participant feature (in an entailment relation with Person; Harley & Ritter, 2002), EPP
- o   Number probe: very simple

<u>v^0 and Agree: Person</u>
- 3rd Person absolutive DP lacks participant feature $\rightarrow$ no Agree with the Person Probe on v^0 [5]
- Since the Person probe has the EPP feature, the DP will not Move to Spec, vP
- Therefore, the DP cannot undergo M-Merger with v, and <u>no doubled clitic is generated</u>
- Default Person agreement (a null exponent) surfaces morphologically (cf. Béjar, 2008:148)
- <u>Independent support:</u> cf. Béjar & Rezac, 2003; Preminger, 2011 where Agree with just the Person probe facilitates clitic doubling

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[5] In other approaches to partial agreement, when Agree cannot be entered into with the first goal that the probe finds, the probe can continue to look for a second goal. In Rezac, (2003), Béjar and Rezac, (2003), a v^0 can even probe its specifier, which would predict that the AUX would agree with the ergative argument in Person. This does not occur for Basque absolutive agreement, and we preliminarily suggest that the ability of the probe to continue probing (however that is formalized) may be a source of variation across probes and/or across languages.

<u>*v*⁰ and Agree: Number</u>
- The 3ʳᵈ Person absolutive DP has Number features, so it Agrees with the Number Probe
- This predicts that the AUX will vary formally depending on the Number of the 3ʳᵈ Person ABS DP, and this is correct

(14)   a.   Ni-k   liburu-a   irakurri d-**u**   -t
                I -ERG book -DET read   d-**have.3.SG**-1.SG.ERG
                'I have read the book'   (Cheng & Demirdache, 1993:72,(#1))

        b.   Ni-k   liburu-a   -**k** irakurri d-**itu**   -t
                I -ERG book -DET-**PL** read   d-**have.3.PL**-1.SG.ERG
                'I have read the books'   (Laka, 1996:(#59))

- However, clitic doubling is not possible since the DP does not move to Spec, *v*P

(Digression: Person agreement seems to be overtly present: the AUX has a different form for 3ʳᵈ Person vs. other Persons)

- However, it is clear that *–it* is the realization of plural agreement with the absolutive argument regardless of Person
- This leaves only *–u*, which appears as a component in **every transitive Aux**
- Suggestion: *–u* is the realization of T (the "root" of Aux), cf. Arregi & Nevins, 2012:141, (#53)

(15)   T ↔ u

5.2 Explaining the agreement on AUX
In the M-merger analysis, a head must Agree with a DP in order for that DP to be clitic doubled.
- This results in valued Phi features on the head as well as a doubled clitic
- Valued Phi features and a doubled clitic are attested on the same head…
    - …in e.g., West Flemish complementizer agreement

(16)   da-**n**   -**k**   ik   komm-en   **West Flemish**
        that-1SG –I(clitic) I.NOM come-1SG
        'that I come'
                                                                     (Rezac, 2008,91:(#8))

For Basque, this means we predict that the AUX (which contains *v*) will agree with ABS since it hosts an ABS clitic.
- This prediction is borne out

(17)   a.   Ni-k **Jon**   ikusi d-**u**   -t
                I-ERG **Jon.ABS** seen d-**3.SG.have**-1.SG.ERG
                'I have seen Jon'

        b.   Ni-k   **zu**   ikusi z   -**aitu**   -t
                I   -ERG **you.ABS** seen 2.SG.ABS-**2.SG.have**-1.SG.ERG
                'I have seen you'

- Advantage of the M-merger Analysis: agreement with ABS on AUX 'falls out,' no need to stipulate Phi features on AUX

However, the M-merger analysis also (incorrectly) predicts that the AUX will agree with ERG.

Explanation 1: morphological economy
- It is more common cross-linguistically that **only** the doubled clitic surfaces, and not both agreement and the clitic (cf. Kramer, to appear; Preminger, 2011)
- This has been explained in terms of morphological economy constraints along the lines of: do not realize multiple sets of Phi features on the same complex head (Kinyalolo, 1991)
- For Basque, the morphological economy constraint would be structured in such a way that the Phi features on v are retained, but the Phi features on T are not

Explanation 2: no morphological agreement with ergatives
- It may be that ERG can enter into a syntactic Agree relation with T, but cannot morphologically copy its features onto T (in the spirit of Preminger 2009's analysis of Basque ergatives))
- Thus, only ABS agreement would surface morphologically

Overall, then, the M-merger analysis predicts the presence of agreement on AUX, and has the flexibility to account for the lack of ERG agreement.

## 5.3 A loose end: the internal structure of AUX

Recall that the doubled clitics appear on the obligatory AUX verb, which is best analyzed as an M-Word composed of the following morphemes (modified cf. Arregi & Nevins, 2012):

(18)   **AUX M-Word**
       [ABS clitic *or* /d/] – Root (v^0 + T^0) – [DAT clitic][6] – [ERG clitic]

- ABS doubled clitic appears for 1st and 2nd Person arguments; otherwise, the placeholder morpheme /*d-*/ is inserted post-syntactically
- The root shows Phi features agreeing with the ABS argument, but is sensitive to Tense

The present analysis of clitic doubling initially produces the following structure:

(19)   **AUX M-Word** (Stage I: Pre-Morphology)

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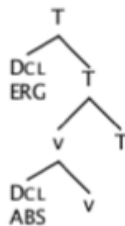
[6] Dative objects also generate doubled clitics; we assume a similar M-Merger analysis for these elements but leave the discussion of ditransitive constructions aside here. Also note that the presence of a DAT clitic prohibits that of an ABS clitic, per a Person-Case Constraint (PCC) effect. See e.g., Arregi & Nevins, (2012); Rezac, (2006); (2008) for discussion.

We appeal to the Distributed Morphology operation of Local Dislocation (Embick, 2007) to obtain the correct morpheme order:

(20)   a.   **Intransitive (unaccusative) sentences**

                  [CL.ABS – v – T]

        b.   **Transitive sentences**

                  i.   [CL. ERG – CL.ABS – v – T]   →   [CL.ABS – CL.ERG – v – T]

                  ii.   [CL.ABS – CL.ERG – v – T]   →   [CL.ABS – v – CL.ERG – T]

                  iii.   [CL.ABS – v – CL.ERG – T]   →   [CL.ABS – v – T – CL.ERG]

To account for the ERG-ABS Case system of Basque, the choice of TP is dependent on argument structure.[7]

6. CONCLUSION
- M-Merger approach to clitic doubling is cross-linguistically applicable to numerous languages, now including Basque
- Distributional facts (e.g., the lack of 3rd Person ABS clitics) can be accounted for by appealing to the nature of the v^0 Probe, without the need to posit additional functional architecture above DP

Acknowledgements

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[7] Recall that AUX varies in form based on Tense and transitivity. We assume that AUX centers on a (complex) T^0 (cf. Arregi & Nevins, (2012)), which naturally accounts for the Tense-based variation in surface form. To account for the relationship between T^0 and transitivity, we assume contextual allomorphy of T^0 triggered by the features of v^0 (= transitivity).

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