Data from Hupa (Pacific Coast Athabaskan) agreement prove difficult to analyze insightfully under current theories of morphology, due to complex blocking patterns and semantic ambiguities. Verbs inflect for agreement with subject, direct object, and indirect object. An augmentative morpheme *ya:-* distinguishes between dual and plural number in the first person (1) and between singular and duoplural number in the third person (2). The augmentative appears at most once in any verb word, in a fixed position, and can cross-reference any or all of the verb's arguments (3), with the exception of singular arguments and all second person arguments. To account for these facts I propose a "meaning-driven" model of grammar in which the syntax sets up meaning targets in the form of null pronominal arguments that are fully valued for agreement features. These pronominals are the true arguments of the verb (Baker 1996) and the agreement markers are inflectional morphemes that appear on the complex case-assigning heads v and T. I assume the non-lexicalist theory of Distributed Morphology, suggesting that morphological processes are compelled and constrained by principles of economy and expressiveness (Kiparsky 2005) with respect to the meaning target at each morphosyntactic node.

Under this analysis, given the schematized transitive clause in (5) and the vocabulary entries in (6), vocabulary insertion on the v cycle prefixes *xo-* [3, +anim, +def, ACC], leaving the features [SG, -aug] unexpressed. No vocabulary item in the language realizes these features alone, and so the morphology has come as close as it can to expressing the meaning target at this node. Into the higher T node is inserted *di-* [1, NSG, +anim, +def, NOM], leaving unexpressed only the [+aug] feature. In this case, the language does offer a vocabulary item that realizes just this feature: the augmentative *ya:-*. I assume that morphemes are inserted by fission (Noyer 1997) until as many of the features of the meaning target are expressed as possible, unless their insertion is blocked.

If the augmentative morpheme is inserted by an inner node its subsequent exponence is blocked. Multiple exponence would not bring a form closer to its target meaning because the augmentative *ya:-* means that one or more of the verb's arguments is augmented in number. Thus the augmented feature can be singly exponed in the morphology, even though it is multiply present in the syntax. Although this explanation shares with featural blocking (Embick & Noyer 2007: 317) the idea that the expression of a feature at a lower node compels the same feature at a higher node to go unexpressed, the difference is that under a meaning targets account blocking only applies when expression of a feature would not optimize the form with respect to the target meaning. This distinguishes the augmented feature from other agreement features such as person and animacy, for which exponence at both the lower and the higher argument nodes is the rule.

To account for the fact that the augmentative morpheme is licensed by nonsingularity, I assume a semantic filter that rejects any form in which [num: SG] and [+aug] are specified on the same node. To rule out the logically possible cooccurrence of the augmentative and the second person nonsingular agreement markers (7), I place a contextual insertion requirement on the vocabulary entry for the augmentative morpheme (6c) which stipulates that it may only be inserted in the context of a first or third person agreement marker. This method of deriving the person restrictions on the augmentative morpheme has the advantage of allowing the analysis to extend to other Athabaskan languages, most of which differ from Hupa in that they do not permit the co-occurrence of first person nonsingular person markers with the augmentative morpheme. In these languages, insertion of the augmentative would be limited to third person contexts only.

The meaning targets approach allows the generation of surface form to be deterministic. That is, for a particular underlying feature structure, one and only one surface form may be generated. The inverse is not true, however. I suggest that multiple interpretations arise precisely when different combinations of feature structures may map to the same surface form. For instance, each interpretation shown for (3) corresponds to one of the feature structures in (4). The interpretational ambiguity of the augmentative morpheme thus follows quite directly from the analysis I propose.

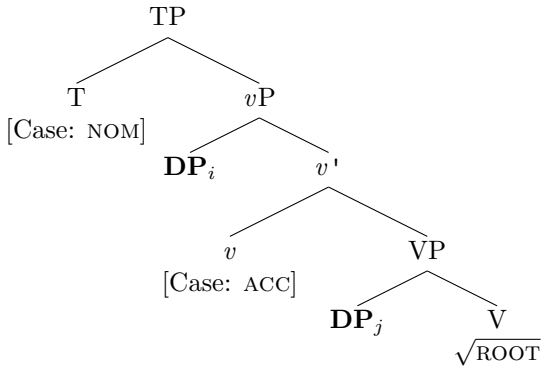
(1) naː-**yaː**-s-**di**-l-to'n
PVB-**AUG**-PFV-**1NSGS**-THM-jump
'we (>2) danced'

(2) hay tsamehstɬ'on k'eːya'aɬna' (< k'i-eː-**yaː**-'-'a-ɬ-na')
DEM woman 3IO-PVB-**AUG**-**3AS**-CUST-THM-cook
'the women (≥2) cook' (Sapir & Golla 2001: 40)

(3) aː= **yaː**-xo-ɬ-ch'i-deː-ne'
thus= **AUG**-3AO-COM-3AS-THM-tell
's/he said to them', 'they said to him/her', or 'they said to them'

(4) DP_i [aug: -] DP_j [aug: +]
DP_i [aug: +] DP_j [aug: -]
DP_i [aug: +] DP_j [aug: +]

(5) a.



b. **DP$_i$** [pers: 1, num: NSG, anim: +, def: +, aug: +, *u*Case: NOM]
DP$_j$ [pers: 3, num: SG, anim: +, def: +, aug: -, *u*Case: ACC]

(6) Hupa vocabulary entries (partial list; subscripts indicate prefix position)
a. di_2 ↔ [1, NSG, +anim, +def, NOM]
b. xo_7 ↔ [3, +anim, +def, ACC]
c. $ya:_9$ ↔ [+aug] / [pers: {1 ∧ 3}]

(7) naː-(*yaː)-s-oh-ɬ-to'n
THM-(*AUG)-PFV-2NSGS-CLS-dance
'you (≥2) danced'

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