

Kasu eta Komunztaduraren gainean
On Case and Agreement

B. Fernández & P. Albizu
(arg.)



Servicio Editorial
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Atarikoa

Lan eskerga egin da urteotan Kasu eta Komunztaduraren inguruan, Kasu Teoria bihurtu delarik hainbatetan hizkuntzalarien mintzagai nagusietako bat. Gure artean ere, Euskal Herrian, berebiziko sona izan dute kasu eta komunztadurari buruzko eztabaidagaiek, eta *Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia* izan da, honez gero tradizioz ohi den bezala, eztabaida horietarako foro nagusia. Horrela, *Kasu eta Komunztaduraz* izenburuko mintegian, hitzaldi sorta bat eman zen 1997-1998 ikasturtean zehar, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatean eta Deustuko Unibertsitatean, Myriam Uribe-Etxebarriaren (UPV-EHU/LEHIA) koordinaziopean.

Mintegi hartatik, orduko hitzaldiak bildu eta argitaratzeko asmoa sortu zen hizkuntzalarien artean ondoko bi xedeei begira, alegia, Kasuaz eta Komunztaduraz hausnartzea eta geroko lanaren euskarri izan zitezkeen artikuluak ezagutzera ematea. Lan hori, egun argitaratzaileak garenoi egokitu zitzaigun azkenean, eta denborak bide berrietatik eraman zuen arren, euskalaritzan eta, oro har, gramatikagintzan ongi etorria izango delakoan gaude.

Horregatik, mintegi hartako lau lan argitaratzen dugu hemen —Arantzazu Elordieta, Andrés Enrique-Arias, Ricardo Gómez eta Martin Haidenenak— baina baita harrez gero idatzitako lan berriak ere —Kenneth Hale, Karlos Arregi, Javier Ormazabal & Juan Romero, Pablo Albizu eta Beatriz Fernándezenak.

Liburu honetan, Kenneth Hale hizkuntzalari eta maisu handiaren artikulu bat plazaratzeko ohorea dugu *Eccentric Agreement* izenburupean. Artikuluan, Kenneth Hale berresten du perpaus iragankorretako argumentu biek esplizituki komunztadura egiten duten hizkuntzetan, komunztadura morfologikoa V kategoriaren gaineko egituran dauden bi buruen araberakoa dela, alegia, goiko burua, KONP izan daitekeena, eta beheko burua, INFL. Halek dioenez, badira hainbat adibide non argumentuen ohiko komunztadura urratu egiten den zenbait prozesu gramatikal dela medio. Prozesu horietan guztietan, buruetarik baten komunztadura morfologia desagertu egiten da eta ondorioz, perpausetako bi argumentuak lehiatu egiten dira beste komunztadura eskuratzearren. Horrela, *komunztadura bitxia* sortzen da beheko buruaren komunztadura eraman ohi duen argumentua goiko buruari lotzen zaionean.

Halere komunztadura bitxiari loturiko fenomenoak darabiltzate aztergai batetik, Javier Ormazabal (UPV-EHU/LEHIA) eta Juan Romerok (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid/Universidad de Alcalá de Henares) eta, bestetik, Beatriz Fernándezek (UPV-EHU/LEHIA). *A brief description of some agreement restrictions* izenburuko artikuluan, Ormazabal eta Romerok komunztadurak egitura ditransitiboetan jasaten dituen zenbait murriztapen aztertzen dituzte, *Me-lui Baldintza* besteren artean. Komunztadura murriztapen hauek Biziduntasun Komunztaduraren Baldintza (AAC) unibertsalari zor zaizkio, eta, autoreek erakusten dutenez, morfologiaren eremutik at dauden alderdi enpiriko berriak besarkatzen ditu. Bestalde, Objektu Biko Egiturak eta Datibodun Egitura Ditrantsitiboak

AACri dagokionean erakusten dituzten banaketa antzekotasunak nabarmentzen dituzte idazleek eta baita azterbide bakar baten beharra azpimarratu ere.

Beatriz Fernándezek, bere aldetik, *Absolutibo komunztaduradun ergatiboak, absolutibo komunztaduradun datiboak: Ergatiboaren Lekualdatzetik Datiboaren Lekualdatzera* artikuluan, bi fenomeno itxuraz lokabeak alderatzen ditu, alegia, Ergatiboaren Lekualdatze ezaguna eta Datiboaren Lekualdatzea deritzana, datibo argumentuak euskararen zenbait mintzairatan erakusten duen ezohiko absolutibo-komunztaduradun egituretan, alegia, *zuk niri liburua emon nazu* bezalakoetan aurki daitezkeena. Bi fenomenoei komunztadura bitxikoak deritze eta pertsona komunztadura murriztukoak ere, eta biak baliapide teoriko berberetz azal daitezkeela erakusten du lanean.

Liburu honetan aztertutako beste gai bat Komunztadurak sintaxian betetzen duen errolarena dugu. Arantzazu Elordietak (Leiden University/UPV-EHU) *The role of verbal agreement in licensing null arguments* izenburuko artikuluan, Komunztadurari zenbait fenomeno sintaktikotan, hala nola, Kasuaren erkaketan, argumentu isilen zilegiztapenean zein hitz-ordena askean egotzi izan zaion errola zein den aztertzen du. Elordietak darabiltzan datu nagusiak euskararen perpaus jokatugabeak dira, ageriko komunztadurarik erakusten ez duten arren, izenordainki isilak nahiz hitz-ordena askea zilegi baitira perpausotan.

Gai bera darabil zeharka Pablo Albizuk (UPV-EHU/LEHIA) *Datibo kasudun sintagmen izaera sintaktikoaren inguruan: eztabaidarako oinarrizko zenbait datu* izenburuko artikuluan. Albizuk agerian uzten duenez, datibo sintagmen jokaera sintaktikoa hertsiki lotzen zaio aditzeko datibo komunztaduraren agerpenari, komunztaduradunek eta komunztaduragabeek oso sintaxi ezberdina erakusten baitute, batik bat mugida sintaktikoari dagokionez. Albizuren ustez, ezberdintasun sintaktiko horiek datibo sintagmen izaera sintaktiko bikoitzaren ondorio dira —Determinatzaile Sintagmak vs. Postposizio Sintagmak— eta Ormazabal & Romeroren (1998) *Aplikatioaren Hipotesiaz* baliatuta azal daitezke ondoen.

Komunztaduraren ikuspuntu morfologiko hertsia Karlos Arregiren (MIT) eskutik datorkigu *Person and Number Inflection in Basque* izenburupean. Bere artikuluan, Morfologia Banatuaren eremua baliatuko du Arregik euskararen aditz komunztadura sistema aztertzeko. Hain zuzen, ikerlari honek pertsona/numero tasunak kategorietan zehar —izen-izenordainak eta aditz komunztadura— gauzatzen direnean erakusten dituzten antzekotasunei erreparatzen die. Arregik dioenez, eransten zaizkion kategoriarako zehaztu gabe dauden atzizkien bitartez burutzen dira tasun hauek. Sistema honetan, Morfologia Banatuaren eremuko bi baliabide darabil idazleak, hau da, tasunak gauzatzen dituzten Hiztegi Aleen Azpizehaztapena eta Fizio mekanismoa.

Gramatika Sortzailearen eremuko azken lanean, *The German Present Participle* deritzanean, Martin Haidenek (Aston University/University of Vienna) alemanieraren orainaldiko partizipioen argumentu egitura eta banaketa ezaugarriak aztertzen ditu. Haidenek dioenez, orainaldiko partizipioek perpaus txikiak islatzen dituzte, determinatzaile mugatuaren erroa buru dutelarik, eta beraien ageriko marka morfologikoetatik dator argumentu-egitura.

Komunztaduraren gaia beste eremu teoriko batean jorratzen du Andrés Enrique-Ariasek (Colgate University). *On the position of verbal agreement markers* artikuluan, komunztadura markatzaileek aditz erroarekiko izan dezaketen kokalekua zein mekanismok baldintzatzen duen aztertzea du xede. Horretarako, orotariko ikuspuntua darabil idazleak: azterbide diakronikoak erakusten duenez, komunztadura markak izenordain azentugabeetatik eratorzen dira eta morfema askotako oinarrietan azalerazten da; bestalde, morfema sail konplexuetan atzizkibidea eragozten duelako hatsarre psikolinguistikoaz, hizkuntzen artean gailentzen diren komunztadura markatzaileak nagusiki aurrizkiak direla berresten da lanean zehar.

Gure liburuko azken lana Ricardo Gómezen (UPV-EHU/LEHIA) *Objektu-komunztadura XIX eta XX. mendeetako euskal gramatiketan* izenburuko artikulua da. Bertan idazleak hiru azterbide darabil bi mendeotan objektu-komunztadurari buruz egon diren ikuspuntuak islatzeko: lehena, gramatika orokor eta filosofikoarena, eta, zeharka, teoria pasibistarena; bigarrena, tradiziozko teoria deritzanarena eta hirugarrena, aspektu-denborazko teoriarena.

Atariko honi amaiera emateko, eskerrik beroenak eman nahi dizkiegu liburu hau argitaratzeko bidean nola edo hala lagundu duten guztiei. Lehenik eta behin, Myriam Uribe-Etxebarriari *Kasu eta Komunztaduraz* mintegia arduraz antolatu eta ekinean ekinez koordinatzeagatik; bigarrenik, Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegiko lagunei, gure ardurapean utzi zutelako argitalpena eta horretarako askatasun eta konfidantza osoa eman zigutelako; hirugarrenik, ikuskatzaile izengabeei, artikulua iruzkindu eta zuzentzeko eginbehar zaila ezin hobeki bete zutelako; laugarrenik, idazleei beraiei, beraien lan onak gure esku utzi eta argitara bidean galdegindako guztietan pazientziaz erantzun zigutelako; bosgarrenik, LEHIAri lan honi babesa eman ziolako hasieratik; eta seigarrenik eta azkenik, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateari eta Eusko Jaurlaritzari, hiru ikerkuntza-proiektuen bitartez (UPV 027.130-HA039/98, PI-1998-127 eta PI-1999-19) diruz laguntzeagatik. Eskerrak, hortaz, guztiei, zuok gabe liburu hau ez baitzatekeen argitara emango.

Preface

Ever since Case Theory became a hot theme in current syntactic theory two decades ago, a substantial body of work has been devoted to the topic of Case and Agreement. For obvious reasons, Basque linguistics could be no exception, and the discussions on case and agreement have strongly caught on us in the Basque Country, therefore presiding over a good portion of our recent linguistic literature. In the last thirteen years or so, the main forum for much of that linguistic discussion has been the *Linguistics Seminar*—an established meeting place already—, which is nowadays hosted by the University of the Basque Country and the University of Deusto.

In the academic year 1997-1998, the *Linguistics Seminar*, under the coordination of Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria (UPV-EHU/LEHIA), organized a workshop entitled *On Case*

and Agreement that included a series of conferences on the topic. In this workshop, there immediately arose among participants a resolute intention to compile and publish all those conferences, aimed to offer a niche where one can reflect on case and agreement and to make this bunch of valuable articles accessible to future researchers. That task was eventually delegated to us. Although time has taken the project through unplanned routes, we are confident that our contribution will still be well received in the area of Basque linguistics and in the area of linguistics in general.

Now that the book is in its final shape, we can gladly offer you reader four (revised versions) of the papers initially presented in the seminar —those by Arantzazu Elordieta, Andrés Enrique-Arias, Ricardo Gómez and Martin Haiden—, along with five additional contributions by Kenneth Hale, Karlos Arregi, Javier Ormazabal & Juan Romero, Pablo Albizu and Beatriz Fernández.

It is a great honor for us to have professor Kenneth Hale opening this book with an article of his entitled *Eccentric Agreement*. In this article, Hale studies a number of crosslinguistic examples in which the ‘normal’ association of two arguments to agreement is disturbed as a result of specific grammatical processes that, in the majority of cases, involve the extinction of agreement morphology in one of the heads and result ‘in a competition’ between the two for the single agreement remaining. After a close scrutiny of the crosslinguistic data, Hale takes position in favor of linguistic frameworks that take case and agreement to be determined by structural relations projected in syntax, and not necessarily in terms of case or agreement features.

Phenomena somewhat related to Hale’s instances of *eccentric agreement* are also considered in two different articles, on the one hand, by Javier Ormazabal (UPV-EHU/LEHIA) and Juan Romero (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid/Universidad de Alcalá de Henares), and by Beatriz Fernández (UPV-EHU/LEHIA) on the other hand. Ormazabal & Romero consider some agreement restrictions —in particular, the *Me-lui Constraint*—, suggest that they obey a universal Animacy Agreement Constraint and, based on this conclusion, extend the empirical domain of the phenomenon to new areas. Likewise, the authors draw a neat correlation between these and the syntactic properties displayed by Double Object Constructions/Ditransitive Dative Constructions in the very same syntactic objects, thus calling for a unified syntactic account of these two sets of apparently independent facts.

Beatriz Fernández’ article entitled *Absolutibo komuntaduradun ergatiboak, absolutibo komuntaduradun datiboak: Ergatiboaren Lekualdatzetik Datiboaren Lekualdatzera* [Ergatives with absolutive agreement, datives with absolutive agreement: from Ergative Displacement to Dative Displacement] considers two seemingly unrelated morphosyntactic phenomena of Basque, namely the well-known phenomenon of *Ergative Displacement* and the so-called *Dative Displacement* —an unexpected instance of absolutive agreement triggered by dative arguments that is observed in certain varieties of Basque. Here, the author notes the descriptive similarities that exist between these two Basque phenomena and Hale’s cases of *eccentric agreement*, and claims that the former are particular instantiations of an unusual split in the syntactic operation that checks a head’s case and agreement features.

Another fundamental aspect of agreement addressed in this volume is that of its role in syntax. In her article entitled *The role of verbal agreement in licensing null arguments*, Arantzazu Elordieta (Leiden University/UPV-EHU) tackles the problem by appraising two main functions —licenser of *pro* and theta-licenser— ascribed to Agr in recent linguistic literature. Drawing from the data observed in non-finite constructions in Basque, the author finally rejects the two of them and concludes that *pro* in non-finite constructions functions as a pronominal variable bound to a D-linked topic.

This same issue is also indirectly present in Pablo Albizu's (UPV-EHU/LEHIA) article entitled *Datibo kasudun sintagmen izaera sintaktikoaren inguruan: eztabaidarako oinarritzko zenbait datu* [On the syntactic nature of Dative phrases: some basic data for the discussion]. In this article, Albizu argues for the existence of a strong correlation in Basque between the presence or absence of overt verbal Dative agreement morphology and the syntactic behavior —mainly, movement or lack thereof— of Dative phrases, concluding that the observed asymmetries are best explained in terms of Dative phrases' mixed categorial nature —in particular DP and PP respectively. According to the author, such mixed nature lends support to Ormazabal & Romero's (1998) view of Dative phrases as Applicative Phrases in Basque.

This volume also makes room for a strictly morphological approach to agreement authored by Karlos Arregi (MIT) and entitled *Person and Number Inflection in Basque*, which addresses specific aspects of the verbal agreement system of Basque within the framework of Distributed Morphology. In this article, Arregi concentrates on the similarities in realization that Basque person/number features have across categories — nominal environments and verbal agreement—, arguing that these features are realized by using affixes which are not specified for the category they are inserted in. In this system, the author makes crucial use of two devices provided by the Distributed Morphology framework, namely, underspecification in the Vocabulary Items realizing the features and the mechanism of Fission.

Still within the generative framework, Martin Haiden's (Aston University/University of Vienna) article entitled *The German Present Participle* extends the range of phenomena and languages covered by this volume, as the author seeks for an explanation of the argument structural and distributional properties of present participle constructions of German. Here, Haiden claims that present participles project reduced relative clauses headed by the root of the definite determiner, and that their argument taking behavior follows from properties of the overt morphological markers involved in the construction.

The topic of agreement is addressed from a more eclectic theoretical viewpoint by Andrés Enrique-Arias (Colgate University) in his article entitled *On the position of verbal agreement markers*. This study aims to identify the causal mechanisms responsible for the position of agreement markers relative to verb stems. On the basis of abundant supporting crosslinguistic statistical evidence, Enrique-Arias argues that the crosslinguistic observation whereby agreement markers are prefixes much more frequently than any other verbal inflections can be explained on diachronic grounds in combination with a psycholinguistic principle that resists affixation to complex sequences of morphemes.

Our list of contributions is completed by Ricardo Gómez's (UPV-EHU/LEHIA) article entitled *Objektu-komunztadura XIX eta XX. mendeetako euskal gramatikan*. In this article, Gómez reviews the various linguistic analyses on object agreement set forth in the Basque Grammars of the XIXth and XXth centuries, and points out the existence of three main positions on the subject: first, that of the general or philosophical grammar and, indirectly, also of the passivist theory; second, the so-called traditional theory; and third, that of the aspectual-temporal theory.

We do not want to draw this preface to a close without thanking all those who have helped us one way or another in our long journey towards publishing this book. First of all, thanks to Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria, for her dedication, perseverance and care in the organization and coordination of the *Workshop on Case and Agreement*; second, to all our friends involved in the Linguistics Seminar, for they took us into their confidence and delegated every responsibility of the publication on us, giving us full latitude; third, to all our anonymous reviewers, for the excellent job they did correcting and commenting on the articles received; fourth, to the contributors themselves, for trusting their fine research works to us and for answering to all our requirements with great patience and grace; fifth, to the Basque Center for Language Research (LEHIA), for looking after this project since its very inception; and finally, to the University of the Basque Country and to the Basque Government, for funding it through their support to three different research projects (UPV 027.130-HA039/98, PI-1998-127 and PI-1999-19). Thanks, therefore, to all of you, because it is you guys who made this publication possible.

Eccentric Agreement*

Ken Hale

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Abstract

In languages that show explicit agreement for both arguments of a transitive clause, the morphology expressing this agreement system is typically located in distinct nuclear elements (heads) in the configurational superstructure defining the extended projection of the lexical category V (cf. Grimshaw 1991). Of these two heads, one is relatively high in the functional structure—in certain actual cases C, the complementizer—, while the other is relatively low—the nuclear element traditionally identified as I(nfl).

In this paper, a number of examples are cited in which the ‘normal’ association of arguments to agreement is disturbed, as a result of specific grammatical processes. In the majority of such cases, the processes at issue involve the extinction of agreement morphology in one of the heads, resulting in the circumstance in which the two arguments of a transitive clause, subject and object, are ‘in competition’ for the single agreement remaining.

An example of what I have termed ‘eccentric agreement’ is the situation in which an argument normally associated with the lower agreement-bearing head comes to be associated with the higher head, beating out a competing argument, so to speak. The point of the paper is very simple: eccentric agreement is perfectly natural, and regular, within any linguistic framework that takes case and agreement to be determined by structural relations projected in syntax, and not necessarily in terms of case or agreement features. In the present discussion, I will assume the Case Binding theory of Bitner (1994).

0. Introduction

In languages that show explicit agreement for both arguments of a transitive clause, the morphology expressing this agreement system is typically located in distinct nuclear elements (heads) in the configurational superstructure defining the extended projection of the lexical category V (cf. Grimshaw 1991). Of these two heads, one is relatively high in the functional structure, while the other is relatively low.

The precise identification of the agreement-bearing heads depends to some extent upon certain typological properties of individual languages. This is the empirical side of the

* I am grateful to Luciana Storto for working with me on the *spurious antipassive* (Hale & Storto 1997); to Beatriz Fernández for sharing a colloquium on eccentric agreement with me in the Spring of 1999 at MIT; to Pablo Albizu for inviting me to present some of this material at Vitoria-Gasteiz; and to Pablo Albizu, Beatriz Fernández, and Itziar Laka for

question. There is also a theoretical side, of course, according to which the answer is framed in terms of particular linguistic models. For present purposes, I will refer to the heads in question as U for *upper* and L for *lower*. The upper head, in certain actual cases is C, the complementizer—and in some frameworks, the upper head is *necessarily* identified with C. Empirically, however, U is not always associated with morphological material normally associated with the complementizer, as that is normally understood. In K'ichee', for example, U is associated with aspectual elements, observationally, at least. In the majority of instances, the lower head L corresponds to the nuclear element traditionally identified as I(nfl), representing various inflectional elements, including tense, commonly labeled T and, in some languages, L reflects voice or transitivity. In languages with overt agreement, U and L may also be the loci of agreement morphology, as in the languages examined here.

In this brief paper, a number of examples are cited in which the 'normal' association of arguments to agreement is disturbed, as a result of specific grammatical processes. In the majority of such cases, the processes at issue involve the extinction of agreement morphology in one of the heads, resulting in the circumstance in which the two arguments of a transitive clause, subject and object, are 'in competition' for the single agreement remaining.

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1. K'ichee' (Mayan family)¹

I begin with the example of the Mayan language K'ichee', a language which exhibits overtly and clearly the ergative pattern of agreement, exemplified in the sentences of (1):

their inspiring work on Basque *ergative displacement*, a phenomenon closely related to *eccentric agreement*.

¹ This material appears also in Hale & Storto (1997). I am grateful to Nora England and Florentino Ajpacaja Tum for making it possible for me to work on K'ichee'.

- (1) a. x-at-u-kuna-j lee achi
 ASP-2SG-3SG-heal-TR the man
 ‘*The man healed you.*’
- b. x-at-chaku-nik
 ASP-2SG-work-INTR
 ‘*You worked.*’

K’ichee’ does not employ overt case morphology for the direct arguments of a clause (subject and object). I assume, however, that direct arguments are licensed within the Case Binding system (see below). The ergativity of the language is reflected overtly in the agreement morphology, in two ways: (i) ergative agreement (controlled by the subject of a transitive verb) is distinguished from the nominative (associated with the subject of an intransitive and the object of a transitive); and (ii) the ergative agreement morphology is relatively close to the verb, while the nominative is relatively far from it —this is a common ergative phenomenon, visible where ergative and nominative cooccur and appear on the same side of the verb, as in (1a), where *-u-* is ergative, and *-at-* is nominative.²

Like many other ergative languages, K’ichee’ possesses an antipassive construction:

- (2) x-∅-kuna-n lee achi ch-aaw-ee
 ASP-3SG-cure-AP the man to-2SG-RN
 ‘*The man cured you.*’

Here, the verb carries the the intransitive suffixal morphology *-n(ik)* associated with the antipassive (and glossed AP accordingly). In addition it has lost its ability to assign ergative case to its subject. This is ultimately a consequence of the antipassive morphology which forces the object to appear in an oblique case (represented in (2) by *ch-aaw-ee*),³ rather than in the nominative characteristic of the basic ergative construction (see, e.g., Bittner 1994).

² Transitive and intransitive verbs are further distinguished by their suffixal inflections glossed -INTR, -TR, represented here by the endings *-j* and *-n* respectively. These have corresponding pausal forms *-Vj* and *-nik*, the latter exemplified in (1b) where the subject is *pro*, as is usual for (unmoved) pronominal direct arguments, placing the verb in clause-final position.

³ The oblique case construction in (2) consists of the preposition *ch(i)-* ‘to’ and its complement, the *genitive* relational noun *-ee*, whose complement in turn corresponds to the logical object of the verb —appearing here as the possessive agreement prefix *-aw-* 2SG, identical in form to the ergative (cf. Davies & Sam-Colop 1990:525, and elsewhere in the relevant literature). The nominative, if overt, would have been *at*.

Crucially, for our purposes, the verbal agreement morphology is regularly altered in the antipassive, in the following manner: (i) the logical object is no longer represented there, being an oblique expression; (ii) the ergative agreement morphology is suppressed; (iii) and the nominative agreement is now construed with the subject, itself nominative, in accordance with the principles of Case Binding. In (2) above, the zero element $-\emptyset$ is the normal realization of 3SG nominative agreement (in contrast to $-u$ in the ergative of (1a)).

The K'ichee' antipassive represented by (2) is a true antipassive in every sense of the word. It involves the complete *detransitivization* of the transitive clause —the subject is nominative, not ergative; the object is in an oblique form; and the consequences (i-iii) for agreement follow straightforwardly.

There is, however, another K'ichee' construction to which the term *antipassive* has been applied (cf. Mondloch 1981, Davies & Sam-Colop 1990, Larsen 1987 1988, Pye 1988, Trechsel 1993):

- (3) a. laa aree lee achi x-at-kuna-nik
 Q FOC the man ASP-2SG-cure-AF
 ‘Was it the man who cured you?’
- b. laa at x-at-kuna-n lee achi
 Q you.SG ASP-2SG-cure-AF the man
 ‘Was it you who cured the man?’

It is not surprising that this construction has been called an *antipassive*. It employs a formally intransitive morphology, and it suppresses ergative agreement.⁴ But this is where the similarity ends. First, as has been pointed out by a number of scholars (e.g., those cited above), the two kinds of *antipassive* differ in relation to transitivity. The *true antipassive* of (2) is clearly a derived intransitive. All are in agreement on that score. But the *focus antipassive* of (3) quite evidently does not ‘demote’ the direct object. Moreover, the construction implicates a particular grammatical process —its use is possible only when the agent (transitive subject) is extracted (fronted) in the derivation of one or another of the following constructions: (i) the relative clause; (ii) the content question; (iii) the focus construction (hence the name). It is not properly speaking a *voice*, despite its morphology. For

⁴ The formally intransitive verbal morphology in (3) is identical to that in (2). There is, however, another class of verbs in which the two so-called *antipassives* differ in their suffixal morphology (see below); the difference is not relevant here.

these reasons we will refer to it henceforth as the Agent Focus Construction (AFC), the corresponding suffixal morphology will accordingly be glossed AF (despite its near homomorphy with the antipassive).⁵

There is a further distinguishing characteristic of the K'ichee' Agent Focus Construction, and it is this which is of primary interest to us here. In contrast to the single association possible in the true antipassive, where agreement morphology must necessarily be construed with the subject (the only remaining argument bearing a direct structural case), in the Agent Focus Construction, the nominative agreement can (under appropriate conditions) be construed either with the subject or with the object. This is, in a sense, not altogether surprising, since these two arguments share the property of bearing a direct structural case (ergative and nominative respectively). In a sense, however, it 'is' surprising, since the two arguments are not equidistant from the structural locus of agreement, certainly not at d-structure and arguably not at s-structure. And, given accepted assumptions, the two arguments are associated with different case categories —while case is not 'overt' in the nominal system of K'ichee', we must assume that, abstractly, the transitive subject is in the ergative, while the object is in the nominative (cf. Bittner & Hale 1996a,b). Thus, for one of the two arguments, at least, agreement is 'eccentric' in the Agent Focus Construction of K'ichee'.

The sentences of (3) are sufficient to show this. In (3a), the extracted agent (i.e., the extracted transitive subject) is the third person expression *lee achi* 'the man', and the argument left behind, i.e., the object, is the second person expression *at* 'you (singular)', normally omitted from postverbal position, as here. It is the object that shows overt agreement, being represented in the verb word by *-at-*, the 2SG nominative agreement morphology. *Ceteris paribus*, this is what is expected, since it is normal for an object to be construed with the nominative (also called *absolutive*) agreement morphology. But now consider (3b). Again, it is the subject which is extracted (as usual in the Agent Focus Construction). But in this case, the extracted argument is the second person *at*. And it is this latter which agrees, being represented again by the nominative agreement morphology *-at-*. Thus, in (3a), agreement is with the object, while in (3b), it is with the subject.

In general, the second person 'wins' over the third person —in showing agreement, that is— regardless of the grammatical function involved. The first person also wins over the third person in this respect:

⁵ The *true antipassive* construction is sometimes called the *Absolutive Antipassive* (cf. Larsen 1987), in honor of the fact that its sole direct argument is in the absolutive (i.e., nominative in our terminology).

- (4) a. aree lee achi x-in-kuna-nik
 FOC the man ASP-1SG-cure-AF
 'It was the man who cured me.'
- b. in x-in-kuna-n lee achi
 I ASP-1SG-cure-AF the man
 'It was I who cured the man.'

Of course, to say that the first and second persons 'win' over the third, is to say simply that an argument which necessarily shows 'overt' nominative agreement wins over an argument that permits 'non-overt' nominative agreement (whether this latter involves a zero morpheme or no morpheme at all). This seems to be a correct generalization, making certain predictions.⁶

If both the subject and the object require 'overt' agreement (e.g., if both are non-third person, that is to say 'local' person), then the AFC is not possible, since it suppresses the ergative agreement morphology, leaving one of the arguments unassociated. Thus, with first singular subject and object, while extraction for focus is indeed possible, it must employ the ordinary transitive (active) form, with both nominative (object) and ergative (subject) agreement, as in (5):

- (5) in x-at-in-kunaaj
 I ASP-2SG-1SG-cure
 'It is I who cured you.'

But neither of the following forms, using the AFC and hence only one overt agreement, is permitted:

- (6) a. *in x-in-kuna-n at
 b. *in x-at-kuna-n at

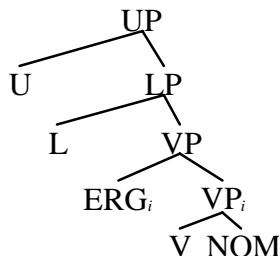
There is more to be said about these matters, to be sure, but this is sufficient for our purposes. Further relevant details of these aspects of K'ichee' grammar are to be found in the

⁶ The formal (or polite) second person (both singular and plural), like the third person singular, shows non-overt (or zero) agreement. Consequently, when formal second person appears in the Agent Focus Construction with a first person subject or object as co-argument, it is the latter which will show overt agreement in the AFC.

recent, and quite excellent, literature on the language (a portion of which is listed in the references). I will attempt now to provide a partially formal account of the observations which have been made, using the Case Binding Theory (see Bittner 1994, for details).

The pre-verbal string in the surface verb word of K'ichee' is clearly divided into two parts, the division being between the nominative (absolutive) and the ergative agreement. Although the division is not obvious in the forms cited here, apart from the generally quite *visible* morpheme boundary, we know that it is structurally real because non-agreement morphology can intervene there (namely, the historically *verbal incorporated movement markers*, cf. Kaufman 1990). We will assume that this substring corresponds to the projections of two functional heads, U and L, the first selecting the second, and the second selecting the syntactic projection headed by V (the verb), as depicted in (7), the d-structure of a transitive clause:

(7)



To some extent, this underrepresents K'ichee' clause structure. Among other things, the implied linear order of the ergative subject in relation to the nominative object is not the preferred one, though it is both possible and frequent; and the full system of suprabal functional categories is highly abbreviated in (7). Nevertheless, that diagram embodies the elements which are essential to an account of Case and Agreement in accordance with the framework assumed.

The upper functional head, U, is the locus of nominative agreement (as well as the elements glossed ASP, e.g., the perfective *x-* seen in the examples cited). The identification of this upper head with the category C is possibly controversial, especially given the fact that there is an even higher head, the preposition *chi* (not shown in (7)), which sometimes fulfills

the traditional *complementizer* function. I will assume that U includes the category C and that if U governs a phrase π , then C governs π .⁷

What is important for present purposes is that C, a part of U, is a genuine component in the extended projection of V (in the sense of Grimshaw 1991) and that it plays a particular role in the grammar of Case and Agreement. Its role in the latter, as already mentioned, is to function as the locus of nominative agreement morphology. Its role in Case theory derives from the fact that it belongs to a category which is ‘Case-like’ and therefore capable of licensing a nominative argument, in the manner to be described below. The Case-like character of complementizers is well known and amply reflected in case-complementizer syncretism in many languages of the world.

The lower functional head, L, is the site of ergative agreement, reflected in part by the fact, quite general for ergative languages, that subject (ergative) agreement is closer to the verb than is object (nominative) agreement (cf. Bittner & Hale 1996b). In an ordinary ergative clause, L is also responsible for ‘assigning Case’ to the subject. The latter is an adjunct to VP, a ‘distinguished adjunct’, as indicated by coindexation, the notation employed to represent the predication relation holding between the subject and the verb phrase (cf. Williams 1980, Bittner & Hale 1996a). Case assignment, in the framework assumed here, is a binding relation, to be defined presently. And it is the Case-Binding relation between L and the subject that is responsible for the fact that the latter bears ergative Case (non-overt in K’ichee’ nominals, but ergative nonetheless, by hypothesis).

The basic ingredients of the Case theory assumed here are given in (8), and the theory of Agreement is given informally in (9):

- (8) a. *Case Filter*
A DP must be governed by a Case-like head.
- b. *Case-Binding*
Structural K (Case, and the phrasal projection KP which it heads) must be antecedent governed by an appropriate head.
- (9) Agreement is a relation between an argument A and a head which governs A.

⁷ The exact nature of this arrangement is a matter for research. For K’ichee’, the claim is that C and ASP jointly govern the same elements, and they jointly define the upper boundary, U, of the Phase (cf. Chomsky 1999) comprising the extended projection of V.

Case (overt or tacit) is a functional head, *K*, projecting the phrasal type *KP* in the usual manner. The ‘structural *K*’ of (8b) corresponds in part to the traditional notion *structural Case*, as opposed to *inherent* and *semantic Case*. The argument represented as ERG_i in (7) is in reality a *KP* realized at s-structure by the ergative Case. As a structural Case, i.e., structural *K(P)*, it must be Case-bound by an appropriate head—in this case, *L*.⁸

KP is the maximal extended projection of a nominal expression, just as *CP* (*UP*) is the extended projection of a verb. A *DP* appearing within *KP* is, of course, governed by *K* and therefore satisfies the Case Filter (8a) trivially. By contrast, *NOM* in (7), like nominatives in general, is a bare *DP*, not a *KP*. It is therefore not Case-bound and must be licensed in another way. It is licensed through government from *C*, a Case-like head. This is how a nominative satisfies the Case Filter.

We can make use of (1a) and its structural description (7) to illustrate more precisely the manner in which these arguments are Case-licensed. The Case-binding relation must first be defined. Case-binding holds between a head *H* (the binder) and an argument *A* (the bindee) only if the following conditions are met:

- (10) a. *H* either projects or governs a ‘small-clause’ containing *A*.
 b. *H* locally c-commands *A*.
 c. *H* governs a Case Competitor of *A*.

Looking at (7), we ask whether there are any heads which either project or govern a small clause. A small clause is a phrase to which a distinguished adjunct (a subject) is attached—thus, *VP* is a small clause in (7). There are two heads which stand in the relevant relation to this small clause, namely, *V* (which projects the small clause) and *L* (which governs it). This takes care of (10a). Now let us consider (10b). Does *V* locally c-command an argument *A*? The answer is yes; clearly *V* c-commands its object (*NOM*), and the relation is *local*, inasmuch as no other argument or head *X* ‘intervenes’ (structurally) between *V* and *NOM* in such a way that *X* c-commands *NOM* and not *V* (see Bittner & Hale 1996a for a more precise characterization of local c-command). So *V* satisfies both (10a) and (10b). What about *I(nfl)*, i.e., *L*? Here again, local c-command evidently holds, in this instance between *L* and ERG_i . The higher head, *U*, fails in this regard, because *L* intervenes between *U* and ERG_i .

⁸ Strictly speaking (b) is an instance of the Empty Category Principle (ECP), which structural Case must satisfy, being

In summary, we have two candidates for the office of Case-binder. But we know that in (1a), only one of the two arguments is Case-bound. This follows from the third requirement, that there be an appropriately situated Case Competitor. A Case Competitor is first of all a Case-less nominal element —i.e., a NP, a N, a DP, or a D, bereft of K. The nominative fits perfectly within this characterization, of course, given the *bare DP* hypothesis of that Case category. But there are two additional requirements, the Case Competitor must be distinct from *A*, the Case-bindee, and it must be governed (m-commanded) by the Case-binder (*H* of (10)).

It cannot be, therefore, that both *V* and *L* function as Case-binders. The verb, to be sure, stands in the proper structural relation to the object, but it cannot Case-bind that argument because it does not also govern a Case Competitor —the subject is the closest argument, but as an adjunct of *VP*, it is beyond the reach of the *V*, which is of course included in *VP*, being its head.

This leaves *L* as the remaining candidate for Case-binder. And that head does in fact Case-bind an argument —namely, the subject, identified by the label *ERG* in (7), in recognition of the general fact that the Case realized on *L*-bound subjects is that which has been termed *ergative* in the traditional terminology of Case nomenclature.⁹ We have not shown yet how the Case-binding relation comes about, however.

The linguistic literature on ergativity recognizes two major classes within the ergative type, traditionally termed the syntactic and the morphological. Bittner's account of this distinction (cf. Bittner 1994, Bittner & Hale 1996b) maintains that syntactically ergative languages involve raising of the nominative argument, the object, to Spec of *IP* (Spec of *L*). This syntactic process accounts, of course, for the renowned property of *syntactic ergativity* that the nominative is 'high' in the syntactic structure and therefore has the characteristic of subject-like prominence in the clause. Raising the nominative achieves two aims: (i) it situates the nominative (a bare *DP*) in the governing domain of *U* (and *C*, by hypothesis), thereby satisfying the Case Filter; and (ii) it also places the nominative in the governing domain of *L*, since the latter m-commands the nominative in its raised position. This second circumstance supplies the needed Case Competitor, permitting, in fact requiring, that *L* Case-bind the subject.

'empty' at d-structure (see Bittner 1994, and Bittner & Hale 1996a,b for details).

⁹ This Case is also called *relative*, particularly in the rich tradition of Eskimo-Ateut linguistics.

But this is not the only way in which the subject can be Case-bound by L. The relation is effected in another way in so-called *morphologically ergative* languages. In these, the nominative is licensed *in situ*, through ‘transparency’, i.e., elimination of the barrier status of intervening phrasal categories. This latter can be achieved in at least two ways (see Bittner & Hale 1996b). One of these is rather well-known in the linguistic literature. If V raises to L in the syntax, then the VP dominating the verb and its object ceases to be a barrier to government. Under transparency effected by V-to-L movement, the object is, in the relevant sense, ‘visible’ to L. And if, as is true in canonically ergative languages, the object is a nominative (i.e., bare DP), it will function as a Case Competitor permitting L to Case-bind the subject.

Is K’ichee’ syntactically ergative or morphologically ergative? As a V-initial language, it is clearly transparent to an extent, assuming its verb raising is a syntactic (as opposed to phonological) process —and it gives all appearances of being syntactic. At least, it is transparent with respect to the VP boundary. But a fully transparent language must also remove the barrierhood of L itself, permitting the bare DP object to satisfy the Case Filter (through government from U (specifically, from its Case-like component C).

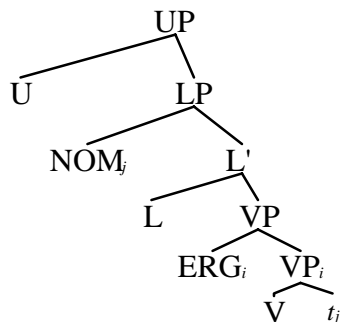
Although L, with raised V attached, combines with U to form a single word in K’ichee’, it is in this instance not so obvious that L actually raises to U in syntax. As noted, directionals (Kaufman’s *incorporated movement markers*) can appear between those two heads. While this does not preclude syntactic raising of raising of L to U, more evidence one way or another would be desirable.

There is a slight preference for the linear order VOS, in K’ichee’, and this is the order normally attributed to the language and to the proto-language. However, England (1989) points out that VSO is preferred in K’ichee’ when both the subject and object are definite. While the relevance of surface word order is not altogether clear, it is worth considering the implications of the VOS theory of K’ichee’, and of its ancestor.

There are at least two possibilities. If the basic structure of the K’ichee’ clause is the relatively standard one given in (7), then some displacement is involved in defining the surface ordering of elements. We have already suggested that the verb moves to L, and the surface position of V indicates that. One possibility is that the object also moves —leftward, to some position preceding the subject. And this might be expected if L is ‘opaque’ —object movement to Spec of L would place it within the government domain of U, assuming, as is

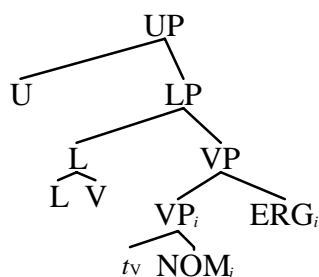
usually done, that a head governs Spec of XP if it governs XP itself. This first possibility is represented diagrammatically in (11), abstracting away from V-movement (V-to-L):

(11)



The second possibility takes seriously the idea that VOS is the *d-structure* order, or an alternative d-structure order. Departing minimally from (7), this would position the subject (ERG_i) after, rather than before, the VP (conforming, essentially, with Aissen's ordering principle for Tzotzil; see Aissen 1996).¹⁰ This is an attractive possibility, as it would permit an account of the variation noted by England (1989) as a somewhat trivial linearization alternative, positioning the subject (ERG) before VP, as in (7), or after, as in (12), with V-raising indicated as well:

(12)



¹⁰ Aissen's principle (Aissen 1996:451) has to do with the position of Spec (to the left if Spec of a functional category, to the right if of a lexical category). If this can be understood to include the distinguished adjunct (subject) of a small clause, as well as specifiers, then Aissen's principle applies rather well to K'ichee', and possibly other VOS languages of the family. This implies, however, that the subject follows the VP in its entirety, not just the object but all VP-internal constituents. This is a matter which has not been thoroughly investigated, so far as I know, though the literature includes examples of the implied ordering in transitive clauses, as in (i), for example (from Nik'te' & Saqijix 1993:131):

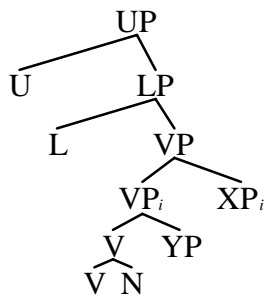
(i) X-u-jux ri tzimaa chi u-wach ri ab'aj ri achi.
 ASP-3SG-scrape the gourd to 3SG-surface the stone the man
 'The man scraped the gourd bowl against the stone.'

This effects VOS ordering through V-raising alone, without object raising. The structure depicted in (12), and that in (7) as well, is possible only if LP, like VP, is transparent, permitting U to govern NOM, a bare DP which must satisfy the Case Filter (i.e., be governed by a Case-like head).

Although L-to-U movement is suggested by the morphophonological inclusion of C in the verb word, we have as yet no direct evidence that this fusion takes place in syntax, i.e., that it is not an entirely superficial matter of phonological form. The surface facts do, however, cast some doubt on the object raising hypothesis. If the object raises in order to satisfy the Case Filter, the LP must be opaque. And the expectation would be, then, that the object would appear between L and U. Instead, it appears beneath (to the right of) the U-L-V complex, suggesting that *both* head raising operations have taken place in syntax (assuming adjacency to be necessary for the *phonological* merger of heads). If L-to-U indeed takes place in syntax, then object raising is not motivated by the need to satisfy the Case Filter, and, within the framework we are assuming, it is not otherwise motivated either. While this favors the L-to-U raising alternative, further evidence for LP-transparency would strengthen the case. Arguably, the eccentric agreement associated with the Agent Focus Construction (AFC), as in (3b), provides further evidence.

Historically, the AFC is quite possibly the result of grammaticalization of the *true antipassive*, which, we assume, can be understood (following Baker 1988; cf. also Bittner 1994) as involving the presence of a nominal element (N) incorporated in the verb. The presence of this element has consequences for Case-binding and Agreement. The d-structure of the antipassive, under these assumptions, is approximately as follows:

(13)



The incorporated N is realized as the antipassive morphology $-(V)n$. Theoretically, however, it is an incorporated noun. Being a ‘bare nominal’, it can qualify as a case competitor, under

appropriate conditions. And it is this that determines the Case-binding properties of the structure. XP and YP are nominal projections —their status as KP or DP depends on Case-binding, of course. Since V projects a small clause, locally c-commands YP, and governs a Case Competitor (i.e., the incorporated N), it necessarily Case-binds YP, which is therefore a KP. The principles of Case Realization determine quite generally (across languages) that an argument Case-bound by a head of the form [\sqrt{V}^N], i.e., with lexical as opposed to functional-level adjunct, surface in an ‘oblique’ Case, as in (2) above (see Bittner & Hale 1996a,b for discussion).

Since the object is in an oblique Case, it cannot itself serve as a Case Competitor in relation to L. The subject, XP, must therefore be a bare DP, since it has no Case-binder. It is nominative and is construed with nominative agreement. In the antipassive, L is not ‘active’ in relation to Case-binding; it also fails to function as a governor for Agreement, losing its (ergative) agreement morphology.¹¹ Thus, the antipassive is an intransitive construction, as has been noted generally.

The true antipassive of K’ichee’ is heavily restricted in its occurrence, many transitive verbs cannot appear in the antipassive, and for those that can, it is quite generally limited to clauses with a ‘volitional’ agentive subject (cf. discussion in Mondloch 1981). By contrast, the Agent Focus Construction involves, no such constraint. It is associated with a productive syntactic process (extraction) and is, accordingly, not itself sensitive to semantic types. Constraints on the AFC are purely morphosyntactic; any transitive verb at all may appear in the AFC. While it involves a certain morphology in the verb word, it is used only in association with the syntactic process of extraction, in particular, extraction of the subject of a transitive clause (to Spec of UP, an A-bar position). There are, thus, two components, extraction and the morphology. Let us refer to the morphological component as AFC-formation; for present purposes, the use of the latter can be formulated informally as follows:

¹¹ There may be a problem here for the way in which we think of agreement, i.e., as primarily a relation between an argument and a head which governs it. While ‘detransitivization’ quite generally eliminates one set of agreement (subject or object), why is it generally the lower agreement (i.e., that closest to the verb, object in nominative-accusative languages, subject in ergative-nominative languages)? There is a clear connection with Case-binding. If a head ‘loses’ its ability to Case-bind an

(14) *The Agent Focus Construction*

If the subject (ergative) argument of a transitive clause is moved to an A-bar position (e.g., Spec of UP), then AFC-formation applies (optionally).¹²

The morphology implicated by the AFC, in the examples cited, is cognate with that of the antipassive, inviting the suspicion that the two are the same in origin. There is some reason to question this, however, because the two large verb classes of K'ichee' do not agree entirely in the distribution of this morphology. The verb class termed *derived transitive* show $-(V)n$ for both uses, while the class called *root transitive* show this ending for the antipassive and another, i.e., $-(V)w$, for the AFC (see, e.g., Larsen 1987, fn. 8, as well as Mondloch 1981, and many other sources). This observation reinforces the notion that the two constructions are to be distinguished, of course, but while the morphology is synchronically distinct, we need more information to rule out the possibility that the historical source of the two is utterly distinct, particularly given the fact that there is both partial overlap in form and partial overlap in the morphosyntactic effect of suppressing ergative agreement. We will assume here that there is some *historical* connection between the morphologies of the two constructions and that the AFC results, in part, at least, from reanalysis of the morphology.

Grammaticalization, in the original sense of Meillet (1912), is the process according to which a lexical element loses its lexical character and assumes that of a 'grammatical' element—an auxiliary, article, tense marker, case marker, i.e., a functional category. And assuming that the antipassive and the AFC are indeed historically related, the evolution of the latter must have involved at least the grammaticalization of the incorporated N, say to D (an undifferentiated pronominal, appropriate since it is an element from the class of functional categories associated with the nominal extended projection). This is not enough, however, since grammaticalization to this point alone results, by hypothesis and demonstrably, in a nominative-accusative language (as in the case of the Wellesley Island languages of North Queensland; cf. McConvell 1981). This follows, since grammaticalization resulting in $[V^D]$ does not affect the *Case-binding* capability of V, only the *realization* of the Case it

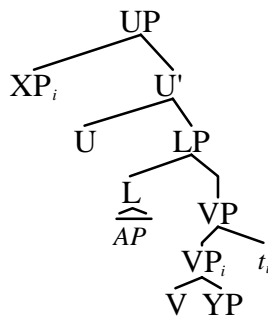
argument in a particular construction, it also fails to agree with an argument. The problem makes some sense if Case is *linked* with agreement, as has often been suggested, but as we shall see in eccentric agreement, the issue is not straightforward.

¹² If the process *can* apply, it generally *does* apply, giving the impression that the rule is obligatory, not optional. My own notes have a number of instances of non-application in root clauses and somewhat more instances of non-application in association with extraction from embedded clauses (cf. Mondloch 1981, for discussion of this matter).

‘assigns’ —this is accusative (a direct Case) in this instance, the V-adjoined D being the defining property of nominative-accusative languages (in the framework assumed here).

Something additional must have happened in the history of K’ichee’. We suspect that the primary change was structural. The surface form of the verb in K’ichee’ leaves utterly ambiguous the basic structural association of the Agent Focus morphology. It could be in the verb, as it must be in the antipassive, by hypothesis. Or it could be in L; and this is what we propose —the original antipassive morphology, no longer lexical, is located in L at d-structure, not in V as before.¹³ And, moreover, the Agent Focus morphology *replaces* the agreement morphology, so that while L continues to be a Case-binder, it is not a locus of agreement. The syntactic structure of an AF construction is as follows (abstracting away from head-movement, which does not change the basic configuration, only the barrierhood of LP, and VP):

(15)



Since focus extraction is A-bar movement, it has no effect on Case. That is to say, the Case-binding relations in (15) are the same as in (7), the canonical transitive clause. As in (7), the verb cannot Case-bind its object (YP), because it fails to govern a Case Competitor. L does Case-bind the trace of XP_i , however. The chain headed by XP_i is therefore assigned ergative Case, by the standard Case realization principles. The object, YP, must be a bare DP, i.e., nominative. Assuming that K’ichee’ is transparent (i.e., that LP and VP are not barriers, as a result of V-to-L-to-U movement, not shown in (15)), the object is Case-licensed *in situ*, through government from U (and thus by C, a component of U).

¹³ Another outcome would be that in which the antipassive morphology stays in place, giving an AFC in which focus extraction is simply identical to the antipassive in terms of agreement and Case. This seems to be true of the focus construction exemplified in Nik’te’ & Saqijix (1993:136-138), in which the object is regularly in the oblique Case.

The essential grammar of the Agent Focus Construction is identical to that of an ordinary transitive, in so far as Case and government relations are concerned. However, only one agreement-bearing functional head is present, namely U. A transitive clause has two direct arguments, and some arguments *must* agree—as mentioned earlier, these are the arguments whose corresponding agreement is phonologically overt (i.e., first person, second person informal, and third person plural).¹⁴ Consequently, the actual use of the Agent Focus structure portrayed in (15) is limited, for essentially morphological reasons of no relevance to basic grammatical processes.

If XP_i is first person singular, and YP is, say, second person plural informal, the ‘option’ of using the AFC is unavailable. This is because both arguments must agree—i.e., must be construed with overt agreement morphology. Subject-extraction can occur, but the AFC cannot, because only one overt agreement morpheme is available, that associated with the highest functional head, U, the other being replaced by AF morphology. But if one or the other (or both) of the two direct arguments is, say, third person singular, and therefore capable of occurring in the absence of overt agreement, then the AFC is not only possible but preferred, to an extent which has led many to say it is obligatory.

Consider first the situation in which XP_i of (15) is third person singular and YP is first person singular, as in (4a). In this situation, YP, must agree and evidently does agree with U, in the normal manner. Of course, we do not know definitively that YP is *in situ* or raised. That is what we are attempting to determine. If YP is raised, then it is ‘close’ to U and governed in that way; if YP is not raised, then the structure must be transparent.

Now consider the situation in which the person categories are reversed, as in (4b), so that the extracted subject, XP_i , is first singular and the object, YP, is third singular. In this case, the subject must agree, which it does—this is *eccentric* agreement, inasmuch as the subject is construed with agreement morphology which is normally associated with the object in a fully transitive clause, which the AFC construction surely is. And since agreement is in U, LP must be transparent. The subject must ‘skip’ the closer head, L, since it lacks agreement morphology and is therefore irrelevant. It cannot skip that head in the ordinary transitive, of

¹⁴ The details of third person plural agreement require some adjustment of the simple statement just given (cf. Davies & Sam-Colop 1990, Trechsel 1993, Mondloch 1981). Third plural agreement may be suppressed in combination with first or second, a hierarchical arrangement which may be related to well-known person hierarchies elsewhere. Alternatively, this apparent hierarchy may simply reflect the fact that third person plural nominative agreement is sometimes optional in transitives, depending on the nature of the object.

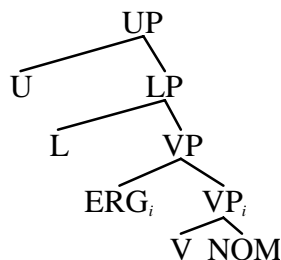
course, since that would violate (relativized) minimality (cf. Rizzi, 1990), L being the closest relevant head in relation to the subject.

We conclude that K'ichee' is a language in which Case and Agreement relations are satisfied through transparency. It is not a *raising ergative* language in the typology of Case systems (cf. Bittner & Hale 1996b) and it belongs therefore to the observationally predominant morphologically ergative type. Its *eccentric* agreement follows straightforwardly from general principles and just two assumptions about K'ichee' itself: (i) that AF morphology replaces agreement morphology in L; and (ii) an argument associated with overt agreement cannot occur without actually being construed with overt morphology.

2. An abstract characterization of eccentric agreement

Consider again the essential structure of a transitive clause, as depicted in (7), repeated here as (16):

(16)



In ergative languages of the type represented by K'ichee', each of the two functional heads (U and L) in a standard transitive clause bears agreement morphology. The manner in which the arguments of the clause enter into the required agreement relations is straightforward. The basic engine is the *principle of proximity* as determined by Merge (Chomsky 1995), the operation which defines the fundamental binary structural relations in syntax:

(17) *The Principle of Proximity*

An argument *A* agrees with the nearest relevant c-commanding head *H* which governs *A*.

Let us look first at the pair {V, NOM}, the structural and proximity relations are right for agreement; however, the verb is not an agreement-bearing head in this ergative language — thus V is not a relevant c-commanding head and, accordingly, agreement cannot be effected here.¹⁵ At the next application of Merge, we have the adjunction {ERG_i, VP_i}, and no agreement configuration appears. At the next, however, we have {L, VP}; L is a relevant head, since it bears agreement, and it governs the subject (adjoined to VP). The subject therefor enters into the agreement relation with L, fixing that relation and taking it out of play.¹⁶

It is only at the uppermost Merge, {U, LP}, that the object (NOM) can enter into an agreement relation; it is permitted to do so, and indeed must do so, if U, the only relevant agreement-bearing head, governs NOM. This circumstance obtains in K'ichee' by virtue of its transparency —consequently, the object agrees with U. This explains the observation, often made, that ergative agreement morphology is closer to V than nominative agreement is, an automatic consequence of the Principle of Proximity and the cyclical organization of syntactic structure, the latter a consequence of the Merge relation.

Eccentric agreement arises in the Agent Focus Construction, as we have seen. The precipitating factor is the AF morphology, which extinguishes the agreement morphology normally associated with L. The Principle of Proximity forces the subject, not the object, to enter into the agreement relation with U, since the subject is the argument closest to U at the point where the latter is, so to speak, in view as a result of the Merge operation.

This is the situation represented in (3b), repeated here as (18):

- (18) laa at x-at-kuna-n lee achi
 Q you.SG ASP-2SG-cure-AF the man
 'Was it you who cured the man?'

This is eccentric agreement, in the terminology of this essay. By contrast, in the standard transitive clause, the second person subject would agree with L and, accordingly, would be realized as *-aa-*, not *-at-*, as in (19), which represents the standard case:

¹⁵ This is in contrast to the situation of an accusative language, where object agreement is in fact effected at this early Merge.

¹⁶ I take Bittner's Case Binding Theory to belong conceptually to the *minimalist program*. While it differs in obvious ways from the program developed in Chomsky (1995 and subsequent work), it is nonetheless constrained by the same theoretical principles and underpinnings. In the variant represented here, it assumes bare phrase structure (and Merge), and the locution

- (19) x-Ø-aa-kuna-j lee achi.
 ASP-3SG-2SG-cure-TR the man
 ‘*You cured the man.*’

K’ichee’ illustrates another principle which must be brought into the discussion of agreement. The object cannot enter into an agreement relation in (18) above, because the subject wins, so to speak, in the competition for the only agreement morphology present in the Agent Focus Construction. This is permitted, apparently, because a third person argument need not agree, and a second person argument must. If the object were second person, however, it would have to agree, as in (3a), repeated here as (20):

- (20) laa aree lee achi x-at-kuna-nik
 Q FOC the man ASP-2SG-cure-AF
 ‘*Was it the man who cured you?*’

This is standard object agreement, which triumphs here over subject agreement, even though the subject is closer to the relevant agreement-bearing head. In K’ichee’, the object can enter into an agreement relation in defiance of the Principle of Proximity, because of a principle which is evidently of greater strength:

(21) *The Principle of Necessity*

A direct argument *A* (e.g., subject, object) must enter into an agreement relation with a head *H*.

This principle is parametric, with *A* and *H*, being identified in specific languages and for specific categories—in K’ichee’, *A* will agree with *H* if it belongs to a category for which agreement morphology in *H* is overt, as in the examples cited. In (20), the second person object must agree, while the third person subject need not (and cannot, in this instance).

The principles (17) and (20) are, of course, familiar in the study of grammar. The first is an instance of standard locality requirements defining permissible dependency relations between distinct points in syntactic structure. And the second is an instance of standard *visibility* and

enter into an agreement relation with X (or, more simply, *agree with X*) is assumed to correspond to the erasure of uninterpretable features, as required at LF, taking certain elements ‘out of play’ for the purposes of Full Interpretation.

checking relations holding between a head and a phrase within its domain. They are not autonomous principles. They are correlates of more fundamental principles of grammar and are accorded informal definition here for expository reasons only. They will figure again in what follows.

3. Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan family)

Ordinary transitive sentences in Chukchi exhibit a straightforwardly ergative pattern of case marking, as exemplified in (22), from Skorik (1977:44):¹⁷

- (22) a. gvm-nan gvt tv-l'u-gvt.
 I-ERG you.SG 1SG-see-2SG
 'I saw you (singular).'
- b. gvm-nan turi tv-l'u-tvk
 I-ERG you.PL 1SG-see-2PL
 'I saw you (plural).'
- c. v-nan gvt ne-l'u-gvt
 he-ERG you.SG 3-see-2SG
 'He saw you (singular).'
- d. v-nan turi ne-l'u-tvk
 he-ERG you.PL 3-see-2PL
 'He saw you (plural).'
- e. v-nan muri ne-l'u-mvk
 he-ERG us 3-see-1PL
 'He saw us.'

While the subject is overtly marked for ergative case, the object is in the nominative —and it is, in theory, a *bare DP*. The nominative case is that which is also found in association with the subject of an intransitive verb, as expected in an ergative language. This use of the nominative is exemplified in the following (from Skorik, 1977:20):

¹⁷ For typographic purposes, Chukchi schwa is represented here as {v}; the velar nasal is represented as {ñ}; and the glottal stop is represented by an apostrophe.

- (23) a. gvm tv-kvtgvntat-g'ek
 I SG-run-1SG
'I ran.'
- b. gvt Ø-kvtgvntat-g'e
 you.SG 2-run-2SG
'You (singular) ran.'
- c. muri mvt-kvtgvntat-mvk
 we PL-run-1PL
'We ran.'
- d. turi Ø-kvtgvntat-tvk
 you.PL 2-run-2PL
'You (plural) ran.'

In standard transitive clauses, the ergative subject is construed with prefixal agreement, while the object is construed with suffixal agreement. Chukchi has the interesting property (shared in part by Algonquian, as we shall see), that the subject of a standard intransitive clause is construed discontinuously with both prefixal and suffixal morphology (cf. Bobaljik 1999, for discussion of the Chukchi agreement morphology).

Like K'ichee' and many other ergative languages, Chukchi possesses an antipassive, exemplified in (24), from Skorik (477:115, 118-9):

- (24) a. gvm t-ine-wiriñ-g'ek
 I 1SG-AP-defend-1SG
'I defended (someone).'
- b. gvt Ø-ine-wiriñ-g'i
 you.SG 2SG-AP-defend-2SG
'You defended (someone).'
- c. gvm tv-wiriñ-vtku-g'ek
 I 1SG-defend-AP-1SG
'I defended (in relation to someone).'
- d. gvt Ø-wiriñ-vtku-g'i
 you.SG 2SG-defend-AP-2SG
'You defended (in relation to someone).'

The Chukchi antipassive, consistent with its type, is an intransitive construction and, like Chukchi intransitives generally, it shows discontinuous prefixal and suffixal agreement in the first person.

The ‘defining morphology’ of the antipassive is prefixal (*ine-*, glossed AP) in what, for a better term, we will call the *straight antipassive*, and it is suffixal (*-tku*) in what we will call the *circuitous antipassive* (the terms being chosen in an attempt to reflect Skorik’s glosses). Where the object is overtly expressed in the antipassive, it appears in an oblique case, in conformity with the usual pattern, as in (25b) from Skorik (477:283):

- (25) a. gvm-nan tumg-vt tv-pelya-nat
 I-ERG comrade-PL 1SG-abandon-3PL
 ‘I abandoned the comrades.’
- b. gvm t-ena-pelya-k tumg-e
 I 1SG-AP-abandon-1SG comrade-INST
 ‘I abandoned the comrade.’

The subject in (25b) is nominative, as expected, and the object is in the instrumental. The verb shows agreement for the subject only —discontinuous prefixal and suffixal here, as expected. And the antipassive morphology (AP) also appears, as expected (with lowered vowels, by harmony). In respect to these features, the antipassive of (25b) contrasts with the transitive clause (25a), whose verb shows prefixal agreement for (ergative) subject and suffixal agreement for (nominative) object.

Chukchi also uses noun incorporation. Like the antipassive, the incorporation construction is intransitive (Skorik 1977:284):

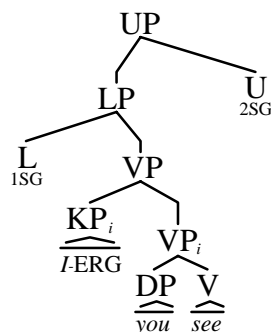
- (26) gvm tv-tomg-v-pelya-k
 I 1SG-comrade-V-abandon-1SG
 ‘I abandoned comrade(s).’

This is not surprising, of course, in light of the incorporation analysis of the antipassive itself.¹⁸ The morphosyntax of (26) is in effect that of the antipassive.

I propose that the abstract syntactic representation of a Chukchi transitive clause is the same as in K'ichee', the differing linear order of the elements being a matter of the PF representation. In Chukchi, U is suffixal, while L is prefixal; and the lexical head V is presumably final. These ordering arrangements are reflected in (28) for expository reasons only; what is relevant, of course, is not ordering but rather the system of c-command and government relations:

- (27) gvm-nan gvt tv-l'u-gvt
 I-ERG you.SG 1SG-see-2SG
 'I saw you (singular).'

(28)



As in K'ichee' transitive clauses, so also here, the upper functional head, U, is the locus of nominative agreement (as well as the complementizer itself, when that is overt). And the lower head L is the locus of ergative agreement. The agreement relations in Chukchi standard transitive clauses are established exactly as in K'ichee'. Since, at this level of abstraction, the lexical head V does not bear agreement morphology in Chukchi, it is only at Merge {L, VP} that an agreement relation is defined, between the agreement-bearing head L and the ergative subject. At the uppermost Merge, {U, LP}, the object enters into the agreement relation with U, this being permitted by the transparency condition resulting from head movement (V-to-L-to-U).

¹⁸ Like Chukchi, a number of Mayan languages also associate the use of AP morphology with object incorporation. This is said to be true in K'ichee' as well, but it is not clear there (i) that the construction (associated with the focusing of adverbials) is truly 'incorporation', in the sense that it clearly *is* in Chukchi, or (ii) that it is a true antipassive, given the fact that the object (bereft of its determiner) can, as in the Agent Focus Construction, be construed with agreement (cf. Mondloch 1981:248-255).

Let us return now to the (telic past tense) paradigm partially represented in (22) above. All of the entries cited there are in what can be properly termed the *direct* agreement form, with prefixal subject and suffixal object, as represented in (27), where the transitivity of the clause is fully reflected in agreement. But now consider the corresponding clauses with second person subject and first person object (Skorik 1977:44-45):

- (29) a. gv-nan gvm ine-l'u-g'i
 you.SG-ERG me INV-see-2SG
 'You saw me.'
- b. gv-nan muri l'u-tku-g'i
 you.SG-ERG us see-INV-2SG
 'You (plural) saw us.'
- c. torgv-nan gvm ine-l'u-tvk
 you.PL-ERG me INV-see-2PL
 'You (plural) saw me.'
- d. torgv-nan muri l'u-tku-t'k
 you.PL-ERG us see-INV-2PL
 'You (plural) saw us.'

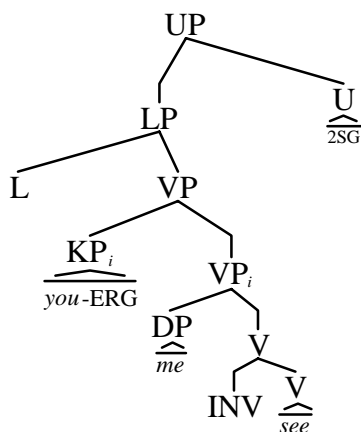
Two things are evident here: (i) the forms involve the adjunct elements (*ine-* ~ *-tku*) otherwise associated with the antipassive construction in Chukchi; (ii) subject agreement is by suffix primarily. However, despite appearances, these cannot be antipassives, since the essential property of that construction is lacking, i.e., detransitivization in the syntax. Case-binding here is just as it is in the ordinary Chukchi transitive —ergative subject and nominative object. Thus, while there is a special morphological quirk in the telic past paradigm (which is not alone among Chukchi paradigms in this respect, in fact), there is no anomaly in the syntax it represents. It is transitive throughout. Notice that the agreement pattern seen in (29) is eccentric.

In parallel with what we find in K'ichee', it is possible that the pattern seen in (29) has arisen as the result of grammaticalization of the *true antipassive*, which, by hypothesis, involves the presence of a nominal element (N) incorporated in the verb. If so, in (26) the ancestral antipassive morphology is seen in its modern grammaticalized form, where it no longer functions as a Case Competitor, as it does in the true antipassive of (24). The

construction exemplified in (26) has been termed *inverse* (Spencer 1996), rather than *antipassive*, and I will follow that usage.

The essential effect of this putative historical development in Chukchi is the observable change in the agreement relations —i.e., the development of an eccentric agreement pattern. The agreement normally associated with the L node is suppressed in this inverse construction, permitting only suffixal agreement. The structure of (26a), representing some of these features, is given in (30):¹⁹

(30)



It is not known why the inverse morphology suppresses ergative agreement in L. I will assume that inverse morphology (glossed INV) simply replaces, or absorbs, in some manner, the agreement morphology normally appearing in L. Whatever the details of the matter, the essential fact is that the prevailing effect of the presence of INV is to suppress the normal transitive agreement pattern, with ergative agreement in L, nominative in U. The eccentric agreement patterns follows straightforwardly. At Merge {L, VP} no agreement relation is established; at {LP, U} the subject, being closest to an agreement bearing head, enters into the agreement relation with U. The object is left out of this, being *licensed* solely by government from U, a relation which is permitted by virtue of structural transparency.

In Chukchi, the Principle of Proximity determines that the subject, not the object, agrees with U. In the standard transitive clause, the same principle has the subject agreeing with L and the object agreeing with U. The Principle of Necessity does not figure in the Chukchi

¹⁹ Jonathan Bobaljik (p.c.) points out that the agreement morphology of the inverse is that of an intransitive and, hence, should probably be seen as discontinuous, being expressed in both L and U—if so, it would not be true (strictly speaking) to say that inverse morphology extinguishes agreement morphology in L; rather its effect, like that of the cognate antipassive

inverse construction. So, for example, the first person objects are utterly unrepresented in the agreement morphology of (29). In the following section, necessity is the primary factor.

4. Navajo (Athabaskan)

The Navajo verb word has a structure which can be seen as being derived by head movement, raising and right adjoining V to L, and raising and right adjoining the complex thus formed to U. Object agreement is prefixed to U, and subject agreement is suffixed to L. This results in the standard ‘template’ abbreviated in (31):

(31) OBJ-U-L-SUBJ-V

Fundamentally, the syntactic relations underlying this are identical to those of K’ichee’ and Chukchi. As in K’ichee’, subject agreement is observably closer to the verb than object agreement. Navajo agreement is only partially *ergative*, however, since intransitive subject agreement is in L, not U. This is not unusual for so-called *morphologically ergative* languages. As pointed out by Jelinek (1984), for example, Warlpiri has an ergative case system, but it has accusative agreement morphology (see also, Woolford 1999). The Navajo verb words presented in (32) illustrate the relevant aspects of the agreement system of the language:²⁰

- (32) a. nideeshhosh
 n-d-gh-sh-[lh-ghosh]
 2SG-U-L-1SG-[CL-tickle]
 ‘I will tickle you.’
- b. ’adeeshháámlh
 ’-d-gh-sh-[lh-gháámlh]
 3I-U-L-1SG-[CL-snore]
 ‘I will snore.’

morphology, is to reduce the agreement morphology of the transitive clause to that of an intransitive.

²⁰ The verb itself is a composite consisting of a voice marker and a stem, set off in square brackets in the examples. The voice marker (e.g., -lh- in (32a,b)) is traditionally called the *classifier* (CL) in the Athabaskanist literature.

For typographical reasons, I depart from the conventional writing system of Navajo. Vowel nasalization is represented by {m} following the vowel concerned, and {lh} is used to represent the voiceless lateral fricative.

- c. deeshdlóólh
 d-gh-sh-[d-dlóólh]
 U-L-1SG-[CL-freeze]
 ‘I will freeze to death.’

The first of these examples represents the standard transitive agreement pattern; the subject enters into the agreement relation with L, and the object enters into that relation with U, as expected under the Principle of Proximity. The verb does not function as an agreement bearing head in Navajo; the object therefore agrees with U at Merge {U, LP}, as in an ergative language. The second example, (32b), exemplifies the Navajo unergative construction. This is essentially a transitive, with subject agreement in L, as expected. The object is represented by the prefix ’-, an impersonal, glossed 3I by the Navajo language scholars Young & Morgan (1987); this element functions essentially as a *filler* or *proxy* for object agreement, and it is never construed with an overt nominal argument. Finally, (32c) represents the unaccusative type. Unlike the previous two constructions, the unaccusative structure is monadic. The single argument of the unaccusative is its subject, and it is construed with subject agreement morphology in L.

It is reasonable to ask why Navajo and K’ichee’ differ in this last feature. Why does the intransitive subject agree with U in K’ichee’ and with L in Navajo? The answer lies in the morphology of the intransitive in K’ichee’. In that language, but not in Navajo, the intransitive L is characterized by morphology which supplants agreement, as in the antipassive and in the AFC. With this parametric contrast, the difference in agreement patterns follows. The intransitive subject can only agree with U in K’ichee’; in Navajo, the subject can agree with L, the closer head —and perhaps it must, under some version of the Principle of Proximity. None of this has to do with eccentric agreement; it is rather a matter of standard agreement relations.

Navajo does, however, exemplify the phenomenon of eccentric agreement. The relevant construction in this case is the inceptive aspectual form called *inchoative* in the literature on the language (examples from Young & Morgan, 1987):

- (33) a. ni'niishhóósh
 n-'nii-Ø-sh-[lh-hóósh]
 2SG-U-L-1SG-[CL-tickle]
'I start to tickle you.'
- b. 'i'niishháámh
 '-nii-Ø-sh-[lh-háámh]
 3I-U-Ø-1SG-[CL-snore]
'I start to snore.'
- c. shi'niidlóóh
 sh-'nii-Ø-[d-dlóóh]
 1SG-U-L-[CL-freeze]
'I start to freeze to death.'

In the Navajo inchoative, the upper functional head position (U) is occupied by the aspectual element -'nii-, which has the property that it obligatorily hosts object agreement morphology. It is this feature which gives rise to eccentric agreement in this language.

In the transitive and unergative inchoatives, agreement is unsurprising. The subject agrees with the closest head, L, and the object agrees with the more distant head U. In the monadic unaccusative, however, the subject is linked with U, eccentrically in this language. This is forced by the Principle of Necessity—the object agreement morphology in U is obligatory and must enter into an agreement relation, a requirement which is satisfied through construal with the subject. By contrast, the closer head L does not invoke the necessity principle; L can be empty of agreement morphology, and it is regularly empty, throughout the verbal system, where the subject is non-local (i.e., other than first or second person). In the Navajo inchoative, L can and must be bypassed, permitting the subject to satisfy the agreement requirement associated with the more distant inchoative head -'nii-.

5. Wampanoag (Algonquian)

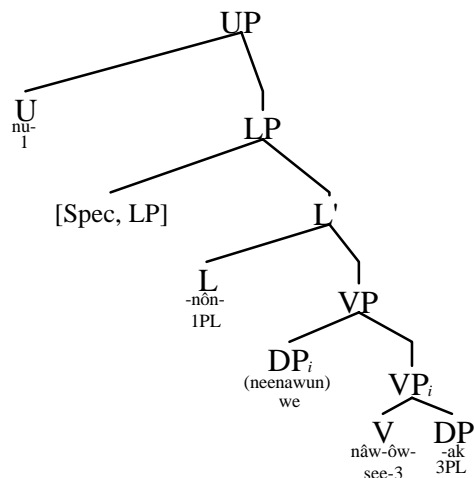
It seems clear that eccentric agreement is not really eccentric; it is rather the natural expression of agreement relations in the presence of certain morphosyntactic factors, like extinction of agreement morphology in L, obligatory agreement in U, and so on. It is these factors which are eccentric, or parametric; agreement itself is quite ordinary. My final

example, from the Eastern Algonquian language Wampanoag, represents a well known grammatical system in which, as in the languages cited above, agreement morphology is stable in its association with nuclear elements (U, L, and V, in this instance) while being variable in its construal with the direct arguments of a transitive clause. The following verb words exemplify the *direct* form of a TA (transitive animate) clause; the direct form is appropriate here, since the subject is *local* (1, 2) and the object is *non-local* (3) object —the arguments are plural, to maximize phonologically overt morphology:

- (34) a. nu-nâw-ôw-nôn-ak
 1-see-3-1PL-3PL
 ‘We (*excl*) see them.’
- b. ku-nâw-ôw-wôw-ak
 2-see-3-2PL-3PL
 ‘You (*pl*) see them.’

To understand the basic organization of the Wampanoag verb word, it is helpful to set out the full assumed structure of the clause, as in (35), corresponding to (34a):

(35)



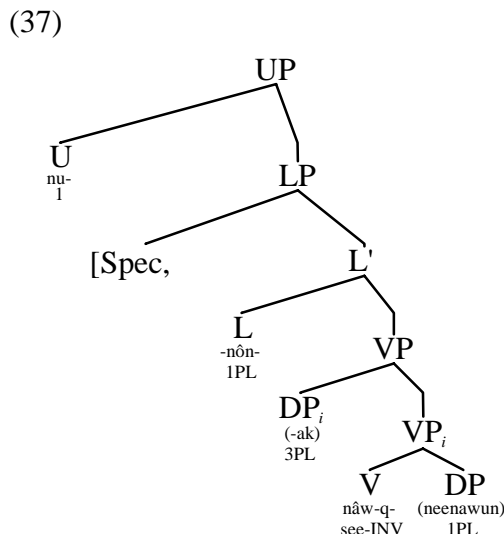
The basic elements are the same as in the other languages considered here. The parametric features of the Wampanoag direct transitive clause include (i) the discontinuous realization of subject agreement in U and L, with person alone in U and both person and number in L (cf. Chukchi intransitive agreement); and (ii) the accusative case system. The latter is reflected

overtly in the verb, which bears object agreement, in the form of the so-called *direct theme sign -ô-* (DIR).²¹ This element is presumably nominal in character and is therefore capable of functioning as a case competitor for the object, which is consequently case bound by the verb. The subject agrees with L, the head closest to it, and with U as well, by virtue of the discontinuous distribution of agreement over U and L. We can assume also that the subject raises to Spec of LP to satisfy the EPP.²²

The subjects in (34) are local persons (1, 2), and the objects are non-local (3). Consider now the reverse of this, with non-local subject and local object, as in (36):

- (36) a. nu-nâ-q-nôn-ak
 1-see-INV-1PL-3PL
 ‘They see us.’
 b. ku-nâ-q-wôw-ak
 2-see-INV-2PL-3PL
 ‘They see you (pl).’

This is the inverse construction, required when the object outranks the subject in relation to the person hierarchy (local > non-local). The abstract structure of (36a) is given in (37):



²¹ In the verb words of (34), the direct theme sign is accompanied by an additional morpheme -w-, identified as an animate specificity marker by Bruening and Rackowski (in preparation).

The key element here is the inverse (INV) theme sign *-q-*, which is evidently completely inert in syntax; effectively, the inverse theme sign extinguishes object agreement and, in addition, it fails to function as a case competitor for the object, forcing the latter to raise to Spec of LP where it is appropriately situated in relation to U (C), thereby satisfying the Case Filter and entering into the agreement relation with U and L, as required.²³

6. On the nature of eccentric agreement

The Algonquian agreement system exemplified by Wampanoag epitomizes rather dramatically the fundamental nature of what I have called *eccentric agreement* —namely, the fact that agreement itself is stable, in terms of its association with nuclear elements in syntactic structure. It is not agreement morphology that is responsible for the appearance of exceptional agreement relations. Rather, these relations are entirely regular and ordinary within a framework which does not tie agreement to Case or grammatical function, but rather sees agreement as being defined in purely structural terms, as relations between arguments and nuclear elements (heads) standing in specific structural relations to them.

In Wampanoag, the agreement morphology associated with the nuclear elements U and L is stable across the direct and reverse themes. The difference in argument construal, which might be seen as lending the inverse the appearance of eccentricity, is the effect not of agreement itself but rather of the inverse morphology, whose syntactic inertness triggers a response not unfamiliar in syntactic theory —namely, the movement (of a DP) to satisfy the Case Filter and agreement requirements.

The situation in K'ichee' and Chukchi is fundamentally the same as this. Agent Focus morphology in the former and Inverse morphology in the latter block ordinary agreement between the subject and L. Under this condition, the subject naturally agrees with U.

²² It is possible that this raised position is where the subject enters into the agreement relation, though its base position is equally appropriate.

²³ My understanding of Wampanoag transitive clauses owes much to discussions with Benjamin Bruening, Jessie Fermino, Cornelia Krause, Andrea Rackowski, and Norvin Richards. Although I have bent them to my own purposes and to the Case Binding framework, the basic ideas come from these people and from Ives Goddard's excellent Grammatical Sketch (in Goddard & Bragdon 1988:473-594).

I have not yet mentioned the 3PL suffix *-ak*, which would appear to be a kind of object agreement in (31) and a kind of subject agreement in (33). In the view adopted here, this (like other 'peripheral' suffixes; cf. Goddard & Bragdon 1988) is not agreement morphology but rather an enclitic representing the arguments themselves. This idea is supported to some extent by the observation that the enclitic does not appear when the corresponding argument is represented by a full DP expression, as in *nunâw waskeetôpâak* 'I see the men', the so-called *absolute* construction (compare the objective *nunâwôwak* 'I see them', in which the 3PL clitic alone represents the object argument).

In Navajo, the situation is a little different, though in that language as well, agreement itself is entirely regular. It is the inchoative morphology, not agreement, which introduces an exceptional feature —namely, obligatory ‘object’ agreement, which can straightforwardly and naturally be satisfied by the single argument of an unaccusative.

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Datibo sintagmen izaera sintaktikoaren inguruan: eztabaidarako oinarritzko zenbait datu*

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Abstract

Artikulu honen helburu nagusia komunztaduradun eta komunztadura gabeko euskal DAT sintagmek oso bestelako sintaxia dutela erakustea da. Xede horrekin, bost datu mota baliatuko ditut artikuluan: bere genitibo bihurkaria, perpaus arazle inpersonalak, behar-nahi aditz modalak eta irudi aditzak, eta azkenik DAT izenlagunak. Orobat, argudiatuko dut diferentzia hori DAT sintagmen izaera sintaktiko bikoitzaren ondorio direla: komunztaduradunak DetS argiak diren bitartean, komunztaduragabek PoS-en jokaera sintaktikoa erakusten dute. Jokaera bikoitz hori azaltzeko orduan, Ormazabal & Romeroren (1998) Aplikatiboaren Hipotesia-ren ildotiko azterbide baten alde agertuko naiz artikuluan.

0. Atarikoa

Datiboaren inguruko euskal gramatika-lanetan ia aho bateko adostasuna dago DAT sintagmak DS-ak direla.¹ Iritzi honek komunztaduran izan du bere euskarri nagusia, euskaraz argi baitago bakarrik DS-ek —hau da, ABS, ERG eta DAT argumentuek—, ez PoS-ek, eragin dezaketela aditz komunztadura. Hala erakusten dute (1)eko eta (2)ko perpausak:²

- (1) (Zuk) (zure emazteari) Zotz ziztrin batzuk ekarri zenizkion Japoniako bidaiatik.
- (2) a. Jonek ez dit (niri) hitz egin nahi.
b. Jonek ez du nirekin hitz egin nahi. [Elordieta 2001:59]

* Eskerrak eman nahi dizkiot Beatriz Fernandezi lan honen lehen idaztaldi bat irakurri ondoren egin zizkidan iruzkin aberasgarriengatik. Nire eskerrak, orobat, Beatrizi berari eta bai Javi Ormazabali ere azken urteotan datiboaren inguruko nire interesa bizitu egin dutelako era batera edo bestera. Esan gabe doa kanak leuzkakeen okerren edota mugen erantzukizuna nirea baino ez dela. Bukatzeko, lan hau ondoko ikerketa proiektuon babesean egin ahal izan dut: Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatearen UPV 00027.130-HA039/98 eta 1/UPV/EHU 00027.130-HA-8093/2000, Eusko Jaurlaritzaren PI-1998-127, eta Catalunya-ko Generalitat-en Xarxa Temàtica 2000XT-00032.

¹ Beste askoren artean, Albizu (1990a), Elordieta (2001b), Euskaltzaindia (1985 [1991]), Fernández (1997), Hualde (1988), Laka (1993 1995), Ortiz de Urbina (1989). Urriak izan arren, badira, dena dela, bestelako proposamenak ere, esaterako, Artiagoitia (1992) eta Ormazabal & Romero (1998).

² Honako laburdura hauek erabiliko ditut testuan zehar: ABS=absolutiboa, ERG=ergatiboa, DAT=datiboa, GEN=genitiboa, INST=instrumentala, KMZ=komunztadura, D=determinatzailea, Po=postposizioa, T=tempusa, A=aditza, a=aditz txikia, K=kasua, φ=izen-tasunak, HELB=helburua.

Alabaina, ezaguna denez, badira gure hizkuntzan hiru erabilera edota testuinguru sintaktiko DAT komunztadura, kasuan kasu, ezinezko edo hautazko bihurtzen dutenak. Lehendabizi, perpaus arazleetan —ikusitako besteak beste Albizu (1997 1998c), Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia (1989), Hualde (1988), Ortiz de Urbina (2000a) eta Rodet (1992)— menpeko aditzaren DAT barne-argumentuak ezin du komunztadurarik eragin aditz laguntzailean, batzuetan arrazoi morfologikoengatik (3),³ bestetan arrazoi sintaktikoengatik (4) —ik. §2. Hauen bina adibide dakart (3)an eta (4)ean:

- (3) a. ?Aitari liburua emanarazi diote Joxeri. [O de U 2000a:450 (Euskaltz. 1987:62)]
 b. Anaiari itxaronarazi didate. [Ortiz de Urbina 2000a:450]
- (4) a. Elizak pobreei dirua emanarazten du.
 b. Epaileak droga saltzaileari jarraiarazi zuen. [Ortiz de Urbina 2000a:451]

Perpaus arazleez bestalde, DAT sintagmekiko komunztaduraz ezinbestekoa da euskal hizkera guztietan **Me/lui* edo *Pertsona-Kasuaren Baldintza* delakoaren efektuak saihestekotan —ikusitako Albizu (1997 1998b), Bonet (1991), Ormazabal (2000) eta Ormazabal & Romero (1998 2001). *Pertsona-Kasuaren Baldintza* dela medio, euskaraz edozein aditz jokatu [+ERG]-k ezin du 1. eta 2. pertsonako ABS markarik hartu DAT komunztadura argumentalrik badarama.⁴ Ikusi, esaterako, (5)eko adibideak, non nahiz *ikasketaburuari* nahiz *Martari* DAT sintagmek aditzean markatzeke egon behar duten:

- (5) a. Nahiz eta ez merezi, ikasketaburuari gomendatuko **zaizkiot/zaitut/dizut*
 b. Ez da Afganistan osoan amerikarrei salatuko **naienik/nauenik/didanik*

Azkenik, ipar-ekialdeko euskalkietako hiztunek, oraindik ondo ezagutzen ez ditugun baldintza sintaktiko pean, DAT komunztadura aditzean markatzeke uzteko askatasun handiagoa dute mendebaldekoek baino —ik. Artiagoitia (2001a), Agirre (1991) eta batez ere Ortiz de Urbina

³ Azalpen morfologikoak euskal aditz jokatuak morfologikoki DAT komunztadura marka bakarrari euts diezaiokeelako hipotesia du oinarri. Azterbide honek azalduko luke DAT barne-argumentuak dituzten perpaus arazle pertsonaletan —(3)ko adibideak, orain (i)ean berriz emandakoak— bi DAT argumentuetariko batek erakusten duen komunztaduraz.

(i) a. ?Aitari liburua emanarazi diote Joxeri
 b. Anaiari itxaronarazi didate [Ortiz de Urbina 2000a:450]

Araziaren eta barne-argumentuaren arteko hautuan, jakina, egitura sintaktikoan garaien dagoena nagusituko da, alegia, arazia.

⁴ Euskararen zenbait euskalkitan —e.g., bizkaieraz—, baldintza, aditz jokatu [+ERG]-ei ez ezik, [-ERG]-ei ere aplikatzen zaie:

(i) a. **Jantau nitzaken*
 b. *Jantau nitzan beraiengana*

Honetaz, ikusi testuan aipatutako erreferentziak.

(1994). (6)an jasotzen ditut Ortiz de Urbinak (1994:586-587) Duvoisinin *Laborantzako Liburu*-n (1858) bildu dituen hiru adibide:

- (6) a. Gauza horri ohartu direnak [Ortiz de Urbina 1994:586 (Duvoisin, 73)]
 b. Ni ez naiz ausartzen lan horri [Ortiz de Urbina 1994:586 (Duvoisin, 176)]
 c. Guziak begiratzen gare geroxagokoari [Ortiz de Urbina 1994:587 (Duvoisin, 165)]

Komunztadurarik gabeko DAT sintagmen izaera sintaktikoaren auzia baztertuxe egon da gure artean, eta salbuespeneko lanek, oro har, zeharka ukitu dute gaia. Hauen artean, Hualdek (1988) eta Fernándezek (1997), ipar-ekialdeko komunztadurazaren aipamena egitean, iradoki zuten —labur-labur eta arrazoitu gabe— halako esapideetan DAT sintagmak PoS-ak liriatekeela. Arazo honi buruzko eztabaida zabalagoa sortu da *Pertsona-Kasuaren Baldintzaren* inguruko lanetan, eta iritzi nagusi bien aldeko lanak aurki daitezke: batetik, Ormazabalek eta Romerok *Aplikatiboaren Hipotesia* (§2-3) ekarri dute euskararako, komunztadurarik gabeko DAT sintagmak PoS-ekin parekatuz —ik. Ormazabal (2000) eta batez ere Ormazabal & Romero (1998); bestetik, nik neuk (Albizu 1997 1998b) DS-tzat hartu ditut neure zenbait lanetan bai eta komunztadurarik gabeko kasuetan ere.

Artikulu honetan komunztadurarik gabeko DAT sintagmen sintaxia aztertzeraz nator. Honetan, agerian utzi nahi dut komunztaduradun eta komunztadura gabeko DAT sintagmek oso bestelako sintaxia dutela euskaraz eta, honenbestez, DAT sintagmek sarritan onartu baino jokaera *bikoitzago* dutela. Jokaera bikoitz hori erakustekotan, bost datu mota baliatuko ditut: *bere* genitibo bihurkaria (§1), *perpaus* arazle inpersonalak (§2), *behar-nahi* aditz modalak eta *irudi* aditzak (§3), eta azkenik DAT izenlagunak (§4). Halaber, proposatu nahi dut ezberdintasun hori, DAT sintagmaren izaera sintaktiko bikoitzak eragiten duela: komunztaduradunak DS argiak diren bitartean, komunztaduragabeak PoS-tzat jo genitzake. Dena den, aurretiaz adierazi behar dut bigarren adierazpen honetarako ebidentzia ez dela erabatekoa, badaudelako litezkeen bestelako azterbideak aurkeztuko ditudan argudioetan. Azkenik, DAT sintagmen izaera sintaktiko bikoitzari erantzun erakargarria eman diezaiokeelakoan, oro har artikulu honetan Ormazabal & Romeroren (1998) *Aplikatiboaren Hipotesia*-ren alde agertuko naiz.⁵

⁵ Betiere aintzat hartuta proposamenak konpondu beharreko arazoak edo mugak dituela. Ikusi, esaterako, 13. oin-oharra. Era berean, aipatu behar da Elordietak (2001b) postposizio-inkorporazioaren aurkako bi argudio dakartzala —hutsune bizkarroiak eta zehar objektuen A'-mugida.

1. *Bere* genitibo bihurkaria

Komunztaduratik kanpo, nafar-lapurtera klasikoko *bere* genitibo bihurkariaren banaketa sintaktikoa da ziurrenik DAT kasua gainerako ERG eta ABS kasu gramatikalekin batu eta zehar kasuetatik argien bereizten duen fenomenoa —ik. Artiagoitia (2000 2001a), Ortiz de Urbina (1989) eta batez ere Rebuschiren (1985 1986 1991 1992 1993 1997) lan ugariak. Horrela, *Linschmann* legea dela medio, ezaguna da *bere* genitibo bihurkaria erabili ahal dela baldin eta bakarrik perpaus bereko ERG, ABS edo DAT argumentuek uztartzen badute. (7)-(8)ko adibideek agerian uzten dute aurkakotasuna: (Besterik esan ezean, atal honetako adibideak Rebuschiren (1997)-ko artikulu bildumatik ateratakoak dira.)

- (7) a. Peiok_i bere_i amari erakutsi dio txakurra. (ERG)
 b. Bere_i txakurrak Peio_i ausiki du. (ABS)
 c. Bere_i ama Peiori_i mintzatu zaio. (DAT)
- (8) Bere_{*i} ama Peioz_i mintzatu da. (INST)

Sistema klasikoak iparraldean eduki duen bilakaera dela eta, bi aldaera bereizten ditu Rebuschik (1986): batetik, *aldaera hertsia* edo *variété restreinte*, egungo behe-nafarrerari legokiokeena, eta, bestetik, *aldaera zabaldua* edo *variété élargie*, lapurterari legokiokeena. Lehenak, hau da behe-nafarrerak, sistema klasikoari eusten dio, berrikuntza txiki batzuk alde batera utzita behintzat; bigarrenean, aldiz, *bere*-ren erabilera zabaldu egin da, *haren* izenordainarenaren kaltetan, betiere (7) eta (8)ren arteko asimetria gordez.

Egungo iparraldeko bi sistema hauek bereziki adierazgarriak dira DAT sintagmen izaera sintaktikoaren auzi honetan. Errepara diezaiegun (9)ko adibideei:

- (9) a. Peiori_i bere_i dirua eman diot.
 b. (*)Peiori_i bere_i dirua eman dut. [Rebuschi 1997:226]

Nafar-lapurterak sarritan DAT komunztadura markatzeke uzten du aditzean. Rebuschik (1986) ohartarazi duenez, egungo behe-nafarrerak, (7) eta (8)ren arteko bereizkuntzaz gain, DAT sintagmen bi jokaera bereizten ditu DAT komunztaduraren presentziaren arabera. Zehazki, komunztadura derrigorrezko bilakatzen da DAT sintagmak *bere* genitibo bihurkaria uztartuko badu. Hau da, (9)an ikus daitekeen bezala, DAT argumentuak ezin du *bere* uztartu komunztadura

egin ezean. Lapurteraz, berriz, DAT komunztaduraren agerpenak ez dakar ondoriorik, perpaus bie gramatikal irizten zaie eta.

Egun arte, Linschmann legea azaltzeko bi azterbide jorratu dira gure gramatikagintzan. Lehenengoa, Ortiz de Urbinak (1989) plazaratutakoa dugu. Ikerlari honen ustez, *bere* bihurkariaren erabilera komunztaduraren presentziari lotzen zaio, aditz komunztadurak zilegiztatu behar baitu. Ikuspegi honetatik, (8)ko perpausa ezgramatikaltasuna da INST sintagmek ezin dutelako aditzean komunztadurarik eragin.

Ortiz de Urbinaren azterbideak bide ematen digu *bere* bihurkariaren banaketa edozein sintagmaren kategoria sintaktikoaren adierazle modura erabiltzeko: komunztadura eragiten duten sintagmak DS-ak baldin badira beti, ez PoS-ak, eta genitibo bihurkariaren zilegiztatzaileek komunztaduradunak izan behar baldin badute, orduan DS-ak ditugu izenordain hauen aitzindariak. Alabaina, ikerlari honen azalpenak dituen konponezineko arazo enpirikoek kolokan jartzen dute kategoria sintaktikoaren irizpide hau.⁶

Ortiz de Urbinaren arazo nagusia perpaus jokatu gabeen eskutik dator. Azterbidearen arabera espero zitekeenaren aurka, *bere*-ren uztardura zilegi da perpausotan, nahiz eta aditzek ez duten ez ageriko, ez ezkutuko komunztadurarik erakusten.⁷ (Adibide guztiak Rebuschiren (1997:208) artikulu-bildumatik hartuak dira.)

- (10) a. Halatan [Iainkoak_i bere_i graziaren emaitea] eta gure grazia haren errebizitzeko eta harekin batean bekhatuaren kentzeko prestatzea ere egin ditezke. (Ax. 133/273-3)
- b. Norbera arduratuko da [gauzak_i bere_i lekuan jartzeaz] (Euskaltz. 1984:73)
- c. Peiori debekatu diot [haurrei_i beren_i jostagailluak itzultzea]

Halaber, komunztadurarekiko loturaeza berresten du lapurterako *Peiori bere dirua eman dut* perpausak (9b). Perpaus honetan erakusten denez, DAT sintagmak *bere* uztartzen du aditzean komunztadurarik gabe ageri bada ere.

⁶ Rebuschik (1997:295), arazo enpiriko hau ez ezik, zenbait arazo teoriko ere aipatzen ditu.

⁷ Zabala & Odriozola (1996) aditz jokatu gabeek komunztadura tasunak dituztelako hipotesiaren alde agertu dira, aditzok *pro* izenordain isilak identifikatzeko eta zilegiztatzeko duten ahalmenean oinarrituta. Dena dela, azken urteotan zenbait ikerlarik —Albizu 1997 1998b, Elordietak 2001ab, Ormazabal 2000, eta Ormazabal & Romero 1998—, era ezberdinetako arrazoiak erabiliz, Zabala & Odriozolaren (1996) aurka argudiatu eta ezezko hipotesia aldarrikatu dugu. Batetik, Albizuk (1997 1998b), Ormazabalek (2000) eta Ormazabal & Romerok (1998) *Pertsona-Kasuaren Baldintza* —§0—. erabili dugu argudio gisa, hain zuzen, (i)eko asimetria:

(i) a. *Zuk ni Aneri aurkeztu naiozu
b. Gustatuko litzaidake [zuk ni Aneri aurkeztea]

Bestetik, Elordietak (2001ab) Zabala & Odriozolaren analisiaren ahulgune teorikoak azpimarratu ditu, KMZ-z baliatuko ez den beste azterbide bat plazaratuz.

Are gehiago, oso adierazgarria da ERG, ABS eta DAT sintagmez bestalde, inoiz komunztadurarik eragiten ez duten GEN sintagmak ere bilaka daitezkeela *bere*-ren uztartzaile. Ondorengo adibidean (11), menpeko nominalizazioan *Euskal herriaren* GEN sintagma dugu izenordainaren aitzindaria:⁸

- (11) Gure xedea zen orduan [Euskal herriaren_i...laguntzea bere_i zuzen ala behar-ordu guzietan]
[Rebuschi 1997:209 (J. Hiriart-Urruty:79)]

Ortiz de Urbinaren azterbidearen alternatiba gisa, Rebuschik (1997) *Uztarduraren Teorian* sustraitzen den azalpena dakar. Bere proposamenean, Uztarduraren Teoriaren doitu behar dela adierazten du Rebuschik eta, horretarako, Uztarduraren Eremu bi dagoela aldarrikatuko du: batetik, *Uztarduraren Eremu Hurbil Hertsia (UEHH)* eta, bestetik, *Uztarduraren Eremu Hurbil Zabala (UEHZ)*. Hona hemen eremu bietarako ematen dituen definizioak —ikus Rebuschi (1997:292):

- (12) *Uztarduraren Eremu Hurbil Hertsia (UEHH)*:

E, α izenordainarentzako eremu hurbil hertsia da, baldin eta E, α izenordaina, beronen L-gobernatzailearen ageriko argumentuak eta subjektu bat biltzen dituen gutxieneko islapen sintaktikoa bada.

- (13) *Uztarduraren Eremu Hurbil Zabala (UEHZ)*:

E, α izenordainarentzako eremu hurbil zabala da, baldin eta E, α izenordaina, beronen L-gobernatzailearen ageriko argumentuak eta α ez den β subjektu bat biltzen dituen gutxieneko islapen sintaktikoa bada.

Gauzak horrela, Rebuschik proposatzen du *bere* genitibo bihurkariak oso izaera berezia duela Uztarduraren Teoriari dagokionez, uztartua egon behar duelako bere *Uztarduraren Eremu Hurbil Zabalean* —ik. (14a)ko adibidea—, baina, era berean, aske bere *Uztarduraren Eremu Hurbil Hertsian* —ik. (14b)ekoa:

⁸ Bide batez, esaldi honek erakusten du *-ren* GEN sintagmak DS-ak edota buruztat lotura hutseko Postposizio betegarriak dituzten PoS-ak direla, lehenago esan baitugu iparraldeko euskalkietan benetako PoS-ak sekula ez direla *bere* bihurkariaren aitzindariak —ik. (8). Eguzkitza (1993) eta de Rijk-en (1993) ildotik, nik neuk DS-tzat hartuko nituzke.

- (14) a. Peio_i erran du <_{UEHZ} [_{UEHH} *bere_i laguna] joan dela>
 b. <_{UEHZ, UEHH} Iñaki_i [*bere_i etsaia] da> [Rebuschi 1997:282 eta 291]

Orain, (7) eta (8)ko adibideekin hasita, bietan, izenordaina daukan DS dugu *bere*-ren EHH eta perpausa, *bere*-ren EHZ. Azalpen honen arabera, (7) eta (8)ko adibideen arteko aldea *bere* izenordainak EHZeant subjektu egokiren bat aurkitzean ala ez aurkitzean datza: (8)an, *Peio*, -z postposizioaren osagarria izanda PoS batean murgilduta egonik, izenordainaren EHZtik kanpo geratuko da. Beraz, esaldiak Uztarduraren teoria urratuko du, *bere* aske baitago eremu horretan. Aldiz, (7)ko perpausetan aditzaren ERG, DAT zein ABS argumentuak, DS-ak izanik, litezkeen subjektuak edo aitzindariak ditugu.

Hel diezaiegun orain Iparraldeko (9)ko datuei, (15)ean berriro dakartzadanak. Gogoratu behe-nafarreraz, lapurteraz ez bezala, DAT komunztadura ezinbestean agertu behar dela aditzean DAT komunztadura, DAT argumentuak genitibo bihurkaria uztar dezan:

- (15) a. Peiori_i bere_i dirua eman diot.
 b. (*)Peiori_i bere_i dirua eman dut. [Rebuschi 1997:226]

Orain arte esandakotik behe-nafarrerarako atera daitezkeen ondorioak erabatekoak dira. Behe-nafarreraren asimetria erraz azaltzen da baldin eta onartzen badugu DAT sintagmen kategoria sintaktikoa aditzeko DAT komunztaduraren agerpenaren arabera aldatzen dela, hau da, komunztaduradun DAT sintagmak DS-ak direla, eta komunztaduragabeak, berriz, PoS-ak.

Lapurterari dagokionez, eta ildo bereko azalpenari jarraituz, pentsa liteke euskalki honetan DAT sintagmak DS kategoriakoak liratekeela beti, aditzak DAT komunztadura erakutsi ala ez erakutsi. Orduan, euskalkien arteko diferentzia parametrikoa komunztadura gabeko esaldietan DAT sintagmak edukiko lukeen kategoria sintaktikoarena besterik ez litzateke, hurrengo eskemak jasotzen duen bezala:⁹

⁹ Jasota utzi nahi dut, nahasterik sor ez dadin, DS-tzat dauzkadala esaldi jokatu gabeetako DAT sintagmak, nahiz eta aditzari komunztadurarik ez egotzi. Horretarako arrazoi nahikoa iruditzen zait (10)eko adibide jokatu gabeetan kasu gramatikaleko beste bi sintagmek —alegia, ezin ukatuzko DS izaera sintaktikoa duten ERG eta ABS sintagmek— erakusten duten jokaera berdintsua izatea. Ikus 7. oin-oharra.

(16) *A hipotesia:*

- a. KMZdun DAT sintagma: DS (Batuan eta euskalki guztietan)
- b. KMZ gabeko DAT sintagma: PoS (Behe-nafarrera)
- c. “ “ “ “ : DS (Lapurtera)

Dena dela, geroari begira interesgarriago deritzot hemen aurkeztu nahi dudan aldearen bigarren azterbide bati, (17)an eskematikoki dakarkizuedana:

(17) *B hipotesia:*

- a. KMZdun DAT sintagma: DS (Batuan eta euskalki guztietan)
- b. KMZ gabeko DAT sintagma: PoS (arg-egit) (Behe-nafarrera)
- c. “ “ “ “ : PoS (betegarri) (Lapurtera)

Rebuschik (1992) iradokitzen du postposizioak beren izaera argumentalaren arabera bereiz litezkeela: postposizioak, batetik argumentu-egituradunak eta bestetik argumentu-egituragabeak litzateke. Ikerlari honen iritziz, ezaugarri honek erabat baldintzatu lezake PoS-en jokaera Uztarduraren Teoriari dagokionez, postposizio betegarri bat buru daukaten PoS-ak azken buruan DS-en pareko liritekeelako uztarduraren eremuak zedarriztatzean.

Euskarri honi helduz, hemen proposatu nahi nuke komunztadura ageri ezean DAT sintagmak PoS-ak direla, nahiz behe-nafarreraz, nahiz lapurteraz. Orduan, (15)eko aurkakotasuna azaltzerakoan DAT sintagmen Po buruak euskalki bakoitzean duen izaera argumentala baliatuko litzaiguke: behe-nafarreran DAT sintagmen postposizioak argumentu-egituradunak liriteke; lapurteran, berriz, argumentu-egituragabeak edo betegarriak.

2. Perpaus arazle inbertsonalak

Genitibo bihurkariak alde batera utzita, sarreran esan dudan bezala, perpaus arazle inbertsonaletan —hain zuzen, erreferentzia arbitrarioko araziak dituzten perpaus arazleetan— menpeko aditzaren DAT kasudun barne-argumentuak ezin du komunztadurarik eragin aditz laguntzailean. Ikusi berriro (4)ko adibideak, orain (18)ra dakartzadanak:

- (18) a. Elizak pobreei dirua emanarazten du / #die.
 b. Epaileak droga saltzaileari jarraiarazi zuen / #zion. [Ortiz de Urbina 2000a:451]

Inolako arrazoirik eman gabe izan bada ere, arestian esan dut adibideotan DAT argumentuaren komunztadurazak morfologikoa gabe, sintaktikoa duela azalpena. Jakina, (18)ko perpaus arazle inperzonaletan murriztapena ez da morfologikoa izango, erreferentzia arbitrarioko argumentu arazia komunztazina izanik, DAT kasudun barne-argumentuak erabil lezakeelako aditzaren DAT komunztadura marka. Eta perpausotako litezkeen adizki horiek, hizkuntzan berez existitzen direnetakoak izanik, bat etorri beharko dute ezinbestean hizkuntzan indarrean den zeinahi murriztapen morfologikorekin.

Gatozen, orduan, (18)ko kontrastearen azalpen sintaktikoa aztertzeraz. Lehenengo eta behin, gogora ekarri nahi dut egungo sintaxi-analisiak oso lotura hertsia ezartzen dutela —zenbait hizkuntzatan (esaterako, Demonte 1994ab 1995, Romero 1997), behinik behin— DAT komunztaduraren gauzatzearen eta DAT sintagmen lekualdatze sintaktikoaren artean, batetik, komunztadura mugimenduaren ondorio delako eta, bestetik, mugimenduezak komunztadurazak dakarrelako.¹⁰

Bigarrenik, perpaus arazleei buruzko analisisetan esan ohi da —esaterako, Franco & Landa (1995)— menpeko aditzaren barne-argumentuek perpaus nagusian erkatzen dituztela beren ϕ -zein Kasu-tasunak. Jo dezagun baietz eta demagun aditz arazlea bera dela perpausotan erakarlea edo, nahi bada, mugidaren eragilea. Ideia biak elkartuz, honako bi irudikapenak dagozkie hurrenez hurren (18b)ko aukera biei:

- (19) a. #Epaileak droga saltzaileari jarraiarazi zion.
 b. $[_{TS} \dots [_{AS} \text{droga saltzaileari}_j \text{arazi } [_{aS} \text{pro}_{arb} a [_{AS} \text{jarrai } t_j]]]]$
 $\underbrace{\hspace{15em}}_{+\phi, +K}$

¹⁰ Euskaraz, korrelazioak salbuespenak dauzka. Predikatu ezakusatiboekin ez ezik (ik. Artiagoitia 2001a, Ortiz de Urbina & Etxepare 2000, Zabala & Odriozola 1997) hiru argumentudun aditzekin ere, hurrenkera ezmarkatua euskaraz ez da zenbaitetan DAT-ABS, alderantzizkoa baizik. Honen adibide ditugu *aurkeztu*, *salatu* eta *gomendatu* bezalako aditzak:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| (i) Zer egingo duzu gaur gauean? | (ii) Zure enpresako lanpostu berria dela eta, zer egin duzu? |
| a. Ane gurasoei aurkeztuko diet | a. Peru nagusiei gomendatu diet |
| b. #Gurasoei Ane aurkeztuko diet | b. #Nagusiei Peru gomendatu diet |

Egitasmo Minimalistaren azken formulazioetan (Chomsky 1998 1999), argumentuen mugida eta komunztadura fenomeno beregainak bilakatu dira, komunztadura-tasunen erkatzea urrutitik eta inolako mugimendurik gabe gerta daitekeelako. Hau dela eta, DAT-ABS hurrenkera kanonikoen eta (i)-(ii)ko adibideen arteko aldea aditza DAT sintagmari legokiokoen EPP tasun batez, hau da, DAT argumentu osoaren *pied-piping* delako fenomenoaren eragingo duen tasun batez hornitua egotean ala ez egotean datza.

- (20) a. Epaileak droga saltzaileari jarraiarazi zuen.
 b. [TS ... [AS arazi [as pro_{arb} a [AS jarrai droga saltzaileari]]]]

Irudikapenetatik erraz atera daiteke (19)-(20)ko aurkakotasuna Hurkotasunaren Hatsarrearen (Chomsky 1995) ondorio zuzena dela. Hurkotasunaren Hatsarrearen arabera, edozein buruk berarekin bateragarri den gertueneko objektu sintaktikoarekin erkatu behar ditu bere tasunak.¹¹ Ezgramatikala den DAT komunztaduradun adibidean (19), *droga saltzaileari*-k, AS nagusiaren espezifikatzaileira igotzean, Hurkotasunaren Hatsarrea urratzen du: *pro_{arb}* arazia, ϕ - eta Kasu-tasun defektiboak eduki arren (ik. Albizu 1998c 2000), litekeen erakargaia da, eta aditz arazlearen eta DAT argumentuaren bitartean dagoenez, azkenaren mugida eragotziko du.^{12,13}

Komunztadura gabeko adibide gramatikalean (20), aldiz, hatsarreak ez du inolako garrantzirik: DAT sintagma ezin mugi daiteke bere sorgunetik, aditz arazleak mugida eragingo duten tasunak falta dituelako. DAT sintagmak duen kasuaren etorburuari dagokionez —gure eztabaidagaiarekiko erantzuna baldintzatuko duen galdera, hain zuzen—, bi bidetatik abia gaitzke: batetik, pentsa liteke argumentuak, DS kategoriakoa izanda, berezko DAT kasua jaso lezakeela aditzetik; bestetik, Ormazabal & Romeroren (1998) proposamenaren ildotik, DAT sintagmak sintaktikoki PoS-tzat jo daitezke, hau da, ikerlarion Aplikatibo Sintagmatzat. (21)ean irudikatzen dudana bezala, Ormazabal & Romeroren sisteman, bi barne-argumentu dituzten predikatuek Aplikatibo Sintagma bat islatzen dute non Gai-argumentuak espezifikatzaile-gunea beteko duen eta Helburu-argumentuak osagarri-gunea. DAT komunztaduradun egituretan, islapenaren buru den Aplikatiboaren inkorporazioak DAT argumentuaren igoera zilegiztatu eta eskatuko du, beronek aditzaren eta aplikatiboaren ϕ - zein Kasu-tasunak erkatu beharko baititu (21b); komunztadurarik ezean, Aplikatiboa ez da inkorporatuko eta Helburu-argumentua bere sorguneari geratuko da beren kasua Aplikatibotik jasoz (21a):

¹¹ Hatsarrearen beste aplikazio baterako, ikusi §3.

¹² Bide batez, datu honek agerian uzten du, Ortiz de Urbina (1989) aurka eta Albizuren (1998ac 2000) alde, komunztadura gabeko perpaus inpersonaletako *pro_{arb}* indarrean dela sintaxian.

¹³ Azterbidea zertxobait gehiago garatu behar da esamoldeok Gai- eta Helburu-argumentuen artean erakusten duten asimetriari erantzun ahal izateko. Hau da, azaldu gabe gelditzen da zergatik, (18)ko Helburu-argumentuek ez bezala, ondoko (i) adibidean komunztaduradun Gai-argumentuek ez dakarren Hurkotasun efekturik:

(i) Herrira zerorrek eramanarazi beharko nauzu [Ortiz de Urbina 2000a:451]

Konponbide bat liteke proposatzea ABS argumentuek ϕ - eta kasu-tasunak egitura sintaktikoko beheko gune batean erkatzen dituztela, non *pro_{arb}* ren gunea zeharkatuko ez duten.

Bide batez, (i) eta (ii)ren arteko kontrasteak arazo konpongaitzak dakartzio, lehenengo, Ormazabalek (2000) eta, gero, Ormazabal & Romerok (1998) Pertsona-Kasuaren Baldintza (§0) azaltzeko plazaratu duten azterbideari.

(ii) *Amak (ni) etxera ekarrarazi naio anaiari

- (21) a. $[_{AS} A [_{ApS} DS_{Gai} Ap DS_{Helb}]]$
 b. $[_{AS} DS_{Helb} A+Ap_h [_{ApS} DS_{Gai} t_h t_j]]$

Jarraian, (19a)ko perpausak Ormazabal & Romeroren hipotesia aplikatuz gero edukiko lukeen egitura aurkezten dut, bestearekiko aldea azpimarratzeko xedez:

- (22) a. Epaileak droga saltzaileari jarraiarazi zuen.
 b. $[_{TS} \dots [_{AS} arazi [_{aS} pro_{arb} a [_{AS} jarrai [_{ApS} Ap droga saltzaileari]]]]]]$

Halaber, ondora dakart (20a)ko adibideari legokiokeen egituraren irudikapena:

- (23) a. #Epaileak droga saltzaileari jarraiarazi zion.
 b. $[_{TS} \dots [_{AS} droga saltzaileari_j arazi [_{aS} pro_{arb} a [_{AS} jarrai+Ap_h [_{ApS} t_h t_j]]]]]]$

Hauek guztiak horrela, atal honetan aurkeztutako datu-sorta ez da berez erabakigarria DAT sintagmen kategoriaren auzian, ez behintzat ikerketaren oraingo fasean. Alabaina, datuok berretsi egiten dute argi eta garbi DAT sintagmek jokaera sintaktiko bikoitza dutelako hipotesia eta, artikuluko gainerako argudioekin batera hartuta, indarra ematen diote komunztadura gabeko DAT sintagmak PoS-ak direlako hipotesiari.

3. DAT sintagmen oztopo-ahalmena

DAT sintagmek lekuz aldatzeko gaitasunaz bestalde, gainerako argumentuen mugidak eragozteko ahalmena ere hartu behar dugu aintzakotzat. Horregatik, mahai gainera ekarri nahi ditut *behar-nahi* aditz modalak —ik. besteak beste Albizu (1990b), Euskaltzaindia (1989), Hualde (1988), Ormazabal (1991) eta Ortiz de Urbina (1989)— eta *irudi* aditzak —ik. Salaburu (1987) eta batez ere Artiagoitia (2001b).

Lehenengoekin hasita, ondo dakigunez, *behar-nahi* aditz modalak, menpean aditz ezakusatibo bat hartzen dutenean, **edun* zein *izan*, alegia, aditz laguntzaile [+ERG] zein [-ERG] batek lagunduta ager daitezke euskalkiaren arabera (24a). Alderatu orain (24a)ko adibidea (24b-c)en emandakoekin. Adibideotan ikus daitekeen bezala, DAT sintagmaren txertatzeak, DAT

komunztadura eraginez gero, ezinezko bihurtzen du aditz laguntzailearen txandaketa (24b) eta, honenbestez, ABS-DAT jokadurako adizkia agerrarazten du (24c):

- (24) a. Etxera hurbildu behar dut / naiz.
 b. Berari hurbildu behar dut / *diot.
 c. Berari hurbildu behar natzaio /??naiz. [Ortiz de Urbina 2000b:238]

Hau da, DAT komunztadurak [+ERG] aditz laguntzailearen erabilezintasuna dakar aditzokin.

Gertakari honen pareko dirudi, itxuraz behintzat, *irudi* aditzen ERG-jokadurak datibo komunztadurarekin erakusten duen bateraezintasunak. Artiagoitiak (2001b:26) osatutako ondorengo adibide-sortak agerian uzten duen bezala, DAT komunztadura onartzekotan *irudi* aditzak ABS-DAT sailean jokatuko dira ezinbestean, *izan* laguntzaileaz, alegia:

- (25) a. Jonek zintzoa ematen du.
 b. *Jonek zintzoa ematen dit.
 (26) a. Jonek zintzoa dirudi.
 b. *Jonek zintzoa dirudi[z]t.
 c. Jone zintzoa iruditzen zait. [Artiagoitia 2001b:26]

Lan hipotesi soil bat besterik ez bada ere eta oraindik xehetasun teknikoak zehazkizun badaude ere, hemen proposatu nahi nuke bai aditz modalek, bai *irudi* aditzek DATarekiko dituzten pareko murriztapenak, aurreko atalean bezala, Hurkotasunaren Hatsarrearen ondorio direla. Hau erakusteko, jarri dezagun gure arreta aditz modaletan.¹⁴

Demagun, (27)an irudikatu bezala, aztergai ditugun perpaus modalak igoera-egiturak direla eta perapusaren *pro* subjektu isila menpeko gune batean sortu —(27)ren kasuan, behe-AS-an— eta TS-aren Espez-era igotzen dela T buruaren ϕ -tasunak erkatzera.^{15,16} Orobat, demagun, Lakaren (1993 1995) *Kasuaren Parametroa* ontzat joz, bi buru ezberdinek erkatzen dituztela ERG eta ABS kasuak: Tempusak ERG kasua, eta Aditzak (edo Aspektuak) ABS kasua. Perpaus

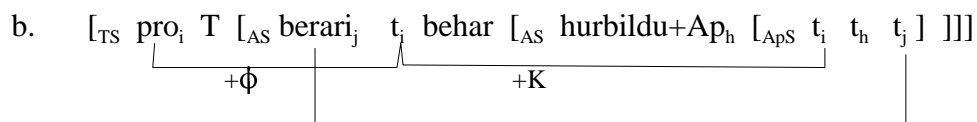
¹⁴ Analisi berau aplikatuko litzaieke, beharrezko egokitzapenekin, *irudi* aditzei. (25)-(26) adibideak azaltzeko gogoan duan azterbidea Artiagoitiaren sisteman errotuko litzateke.

¹⁵ Kontrola mugimendutzat jotzen duen Hornstein-en (1999) Kontrol Teoriari heltzen diot, beraz.

¹⁶ Albizuk (1990b), Hualdek (1988), Ormazabalek (1991) eta Ortiz de Urbinak (1989) perpauson bestelako azterketa formalak proposatzen dituzte.

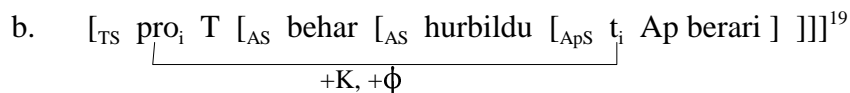
Aldiz, Hurkotasunaren Hatsarrearen eragina saihestu egiten dute (29)ko eta (30)eko perpausek. Lehenak, —hau da, aditz laguntzaile [-ERG]-dun perpausak— *pro* subjektua aldizka mugituz lortuko du. (29)an, subjektua TS-aren Espez-erako bidean goiko AS-ra igoko da ABS kasua erkatzera bitarteko mugida baten bidez. (28)ko egituran *berari*, DAT argumentuak osatutako katearen burua, eta *pro* subjektua *gutxienezko eremu* ezberdinetan zeuden, hau da, *behar* eta *hurbildu* aditzen gutxienezko eremuetan hurrenez hurren.¹⁸ (29)an, aldiz, bitarteko mugimendu horri esker ABS subjektua eta DAT argumentua distantziakide geratuko dira goiko AS-an eta, hortaz, T buruak ABS subjektua erakarri ahalko du:

(29) a. Berari hurbildu behar natzaio.



Euskarak esamolde honetan Hurkotasunaren Hatsarrearen ondorioei ihes egiteko eskaintzen duen beste bide bat DAT komunztaduraren ezabatzea da. (30)ean ikus daitekeen bezala, DAT komunztadurazak (ABS)-ERG jokadura agertzeko aukera emango dio aditz jokatuari:

(30) a. Berari hurbildu behar dut.



DAT komunztaduradunen eta DAT komunztaduragabeen arteko aldea —hau da, (28) eta (30)eko adibideen artekoa— erraz azaldu dezakegu, Ormazabal & Romerori (1998) jarraituz, DAT komunztaduraren agerpena DAT sintagmaren mugimenduarekin parekatuz gero.²⁰ (30)ean, *berari* izenordaina, aplikatiboa inkorporatu ezean, aditz modalaren islapen nagusira igo beharrean ApS-n geratuko da, eta, ondorioz, ez du eragotziko *gutxienezko eremu* berean dagoen

¹⁸ Bai *Distantziakidetan* nozioaren definiziorako, bai honen inguruko eztabaidarako, ikusi Chomsky (1993 1995). Ez dut isilean gorde nahi Egitasmo Minimalistak baztertu egin duela nozioa bere egungo formulaziotik (Chomsky 1998 1999). Litekeena da, beraz, (28) eta (29)ren arteko asimetriaren azalpen teorikoak egokitu beharra izatea. Hala eta guztiz, iruditzen zait, egokitzapenak zeinahi ere diren, ez dela aldatuko argudioaren funtsezko ideia, alegia, esamoldeotan DAT sintagmaren presentziak Hurkotasunaren Hatsarrearen urratzea dakarrela eta, honenbestez, DAT sintagmak DS-ak direla frogatzeko erabil ditzakegula datuok.

¹⁹ Azterkizun geratzen da (24c) adibideko ??*Berari hurbildu behar naiz*, gramatikaltasun maila eskaseko esaldia, ez baitut oraindik horretarako azalpenik. Nolanahi ere, iruditzen zait nire hipotesi orokorra zapuztuko ez duen azterbidea duela.

²⁰ Ikusi 10. oin-oharra.

subjektuaren mugida. Esan gabe doa, (30)eko egitura honetan aplikatiboa ez denez inkorporatzen, DAT sintagmek PoS-en gisara jokatzen dute sintaktikoki.

Laburbilduz, atal honetan erakutsi dut hizpide dugun auzian kontuan hartu behar dugula DAT argumentuek gainerako osagaien lekualdaketan eduki dezaketen oztopo-ahalmena. Bai *behar-nahi* aditz modalek, bai *irudi* aditzek argi erakusten dute DAT sintagmek komuztaduraren araberako sintaxia dutela eta horren azpian berauen kategoria sintaktikoa egon daitekeela. Aditzok komuztaduradun DAT sintagmak DS-tzat jotzeko arrazoi argia dira; komuztadura egin ezean, hipotesi biak bideragarri gerta badaitezke ere, gainerako argudioetako datuak aintzat hartuta nik neuk interesgarriago deritzot PoS-arenari.

4. DATko izenlagunak

DS-aren esparrura aldatuz, hel diezaiogun orain DATko izenlagunen fenomenoari —ik. besteak beste, Alberdi (2001), Euskaltzaindia (1985 [1991]), Makazaga (1999) eta batez ere Zabala (1999). Gertakari honek euskal gramatikan duen bazterreko izaera dela medio, oro har gramatika lanek —batik bat euskara teknikoko alorretik kanpokoek— ez diote behar lukeen garrantzia eman hona ekarri nahi dudana datu-sorta honi.

(31)ko adibideek erakusten duten bezala, euskaraz izenlagunek genitibo marka hartu behar dute beti:

- (31) a. Atzo*(ko) pelikula gomendatu didate.
b. Etxea*(ren) salmenta gaizki atera zaigu.

Nolanahi ere, arauak badu salbuespen esanguratsu bat, hasiera batean DS soiletara bakarrik mugatuko dena, esaterako izenburuetara.²¹ Ezaguna denez, DS soiletan izenlaguna lotura markarik gabe gauzatu ahalko da baldin eta izenaren eskuinean badoa eta —hemen gehien interesatzen zaiguna— baldin eta sintaktikoki PoS kategoriakoa bada.²²

²¹ Urriak diren arren, perpausetan txertatutako salbuespenak ere ez dira falta euskal testuetan. Ikus, esaterako, testuko (36)ko adibideak.

²² Zabalak (1999:114-118) erakusten duenez, murriztapena kategoriala ez ezik, semantikoa ere bada. Zehatzago, izenaren eskuinean lotura markarik gabe ager daitezkeen izenlagun bakarrak balio adberbialeko izenlagun tematikoak dira, gainerakoak —hots, tasunezkoak— ezgramatikalak ditugularik. Aldera (32)ko adibideak honako hauekin:

(i)	a.	Lehorreko espezieak	a'.	#Espezieak lehorrean	
	b.	Karbonatozko plataformak	b'.	*Plataformak karbonatoz	
	c.	Benetako banaketa	c'.	*Banaketa benetan	[Zabala 1999:118]

- (32) a. Uhinen hedapena hutsean zehar / *Hutsean zehar uhinen hedapena
 b. Teoremaren frogapena zenbaki errealetarako / *Teoremaren zenbaki errealetarako frogapena
 c. C bitamina dosi altuetan / *Dosi altuetan C bitamina
 d. Heriotz bat gadosiagatik / *Gadosiagatik heriotz bat
 [lehen biak, Zabalarenak (1999:114-118); gainerakoak, Makazagarenak (1999:46)]

ERG eta ABS sintagmen kasuan, DS-ak diren neurrian, lotura markaren isiltzeak esamoldearen ezgramatikaltasuna ekarriko du:

- (33) a. *Sindikatuaren aldarrikapena 35 orduak / *35 orduen aldarrikapena sindikatuek
 b. *Etxeberriaren ospaketa gola / *Golaren ospaketa Etxeberriak

Ondoko adibideetan —lehen biak Makazagaren (1999:46, 17. oin-oharra) lanetik hartuak— ikus daitekeen bezala, DAT sintagmek zehar kasuen pare jokutzen dute, zilegi baitira izenaren eskuinean:

- (34) a. Erresistentzia penizilinari / *Penizilinari erresistentzia
 b. Alergia salizitatoi / *Salizitatoi alergia
 c. Aznarren deia Zapaterori / *Aznarren Zapaterori deia

Eta eskuinetara ez ezik, izenaren ezkerretara ere agertzen dira inoiz:

- (35) a. Descartesi sarrera [Euskaltzaindia 1985 (1991:233)]
 b. Luis Villasanteri omenaldia

Are gehiago, ez dira falta literaturan DATko izenlagunak perpausetan azalduta ere (36a-d) darabiltzaten adibideak. Esaterako, Agirrek (1991:57 eta 56) eta Euskaltzaindiak (1985 [1991:233]) honako adibide hauek batu dituzte, hurrenez hurren:

- (36) a. Galde-eskari salla agortu da, *Yaunari eskerrak*. [Itz-lauz 24]
 b. Gaur denak ziren *bibak eta gorak kapitainari, Caballeriari eta haiez erditu zen amari*. [Manu, 416]
 c. Ez zen baitezpadako kontua: baina zen (...) *haren azken agurra bere lagunari*. [M.Treku, 133]

DAT sintagmen erabilera honetaz, Euskaltzaindiak (1985 [1991:233]) dio DATko izenlagunak “tituluetan eta izenburuetan onargarriagoak dir[ela], elipsiaren bidez emanda baitaude.” Euskaltzaindiak ez du zehazten zer isiltzen den, baina pentsa liteke aditzaren ezabatzeaz diharduela. Honela, bada, (34)ko eta (35)eko adibideak aditz isildun perpausak lirarteke eta, beraz, DAT sintagmak aditzaren argumentu soilak lirarteke, ez izenlagunak. Hala balitz, azterbide honek, ABS sintagmak, DAT sintagmak eta Postposizio Sintagmak aditz isilaren modifikatzailetzat jotzen dituen neurrian, guztiak berdinduko lituzke eta ondorioz zeharo indargabetuko luke hemen ekarri nahi dudana argudioa.

Elipsiaren hipotesia, alabaina, eutsiezina da, erraz erakuts baitaiteke (34) eta (35) bezalako izenburuak DS soilak direla: (35)eko DS-ei egilerik gehituz gero, beronek ERG kasua gabe, GEN lotura kasua hartzen du —ikus baita (36c) ere:

- (37) a. Ferrater Moraren/*Ferrater Morak sarrera Descartesi
 b. Euskaltzaindiaren/*Euskaltzaindiak omenaldia Luis Villasanteri²³

Honetatik guztitik ondorioztatuko dugu, beraz, DATko izenlagunen existentzia euskal gramatikan ezin ukatuzkoa dela. Eta datuok DAT kasua, kasu gramatikalekin gabe, zehar kasuekin biltzen dute argi eta garbi, deskripzioaren mailan behinik behin.

Azterketa teorikoari dagokionez, datuok Kasu Teoriaren bitartez erraz azaltzen dira, baldin eta izenaren eskuineko posizioa, ezkerrekoa ez bezala, kasugabea bada. Azalpenik sinpleenean —baina ez derrigorrez egokienean— soilik berezko kasu-ekarleren bat buru duten izenlagunak,

²³ Ondo ulertzen ez ditudan arrazoiengatik, Egile-argumentua agertuz gero, askoz gaitzesgarriagoa da DAT sintagmaren ezkerreko kokalekua:

- (i) a. */??Ferrater Moraren Descartesi sarrera
 b. */??Euskaltzaindiaren Luis Villasanteri omenaldia

hau da PoS-ak, ager litezke izenaren eskuinean.^{24,25} Ondorioz, DATko izenlagunak Determinatzaile Sintagmatzat gabe Postposizio Sintagmatzat joko genituzke emandako azalpenaren arabera. Hala eta guztiz, esan behar dut, Kasu Teoriatik abiatuta ere, badela xehetasun teknikoak lantzeko azterbide asko eta, hortaz, datuoi ez deritzedala erabakigarri hizpide dugun auzirako, ez behintzat egituraren analisi sakon eta oso bat asmatzen ez dugun bitartean.

5. Laburbilpena

Laburbiltzeko, hemen aurkeztutako datuek argi erakutsi dute nire ustez komunztaduradun eta komunztadura gabeko DAT sintagmek oso bestelako jokaera sintaktikoa dutela euskaraz: komunztaduradunek DS-en jokabide petoa erakusten duten bitartean —e.b., *bere* uztartzeko ahalmena, perpaus arazle inbertsonaletan *pro_{arb}* zeharkatzeko ezintasuna, beste argumentuen mugidak oztopatzeko ahalmena—, komunztaduragabeek, berriz, PoS-ekin bateragarri bihurtzen dituzten ezaugarriak agertzen dituzte —e.b., *bere* uztartu ezina, mugimendueza perpaus arazle inbertsonaletan eta *behar-nahi* eta *irudi* perpausetan, eta DATko izenlagunen existentzia—, egia bada ere azken hauen kasuan azterlanaren fase honetan argudioak oraindik erabatekoak ez diren. Azkenik, artikulua honetan nire egin dut, neurri batean behintzat, Ormazabal & Romeroren (1998) *Aplikatioboaren Hipotesia*, era interesgarrian eta batez ere bateratuan azaltzen baitute DAT sintagmen jokaera bikoitza. Hipotesi honen arabera, DAT sintagmek, aplikatibo baten osagarriak izanda, beronen inkorporazioaren arabera jokabidea izango dute sintaxian. Nire aurreko zenbait lanetan (Albizu 1997 1998b) ikerlari hauen azterbiderako arazo diratekeen zenbait datu plazaratu ditut. Azken konponbidea hango eta hemengo ekarriak bateratzearekin etor daiteke, baina egitasmo hori hurrengo baterako geratzen da.

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²⁴ Jakina, kasurik gabeko osagaiez —hau da, aditzondoez— gainera.

²⁵ Esan beharrik ez dago analisisa ez litzatekeela osoa izango eta azaltzeke utziko lituzkeela esamoldearen beste hiru ezaugarri nagusi: lehenik, postposizioek izenaren ezkerretara duten *-ko* markaren beharra (31a-b); bigarrenik, DAT sintagmen eta *-ko* lotura markaren arteko bateraezintasuna; eta azkenik, DS isolatuen eta esaldien bestelako jokaera. Ikusi baita 22. eta 23. oinoharrak ere.

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Person and Number Inflection in Basque*

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Abstract

In this paper, I concentrate on the similarities in realization that Basque person/number features have across categories (nominal environments and verbal agreement), arguing that these features are realized by using affixes which are not specified for the category they are inserted in. Within the framework of Distributed Morphology, I develop an analysis which makes crucial use of two devices provided by this framework: underspecification in the Vocabulary Items realizing the features, and the mechanism of Fission.

0. Introduction

In this paper I provide a unified account of the realization of person and number morphology in Basque within the framework of Distributed Morphology (henceforth, DM). I will concentrate on the dialect of the western coastal town of Ondarroa, although most of the properties of person and number morphology discussed here are shared by all dialects of Basque.

The main objective of the present work will be a unified account of the spellout of person/number morphology in Basque across categories. The similarities in form between pronouns and verbal agreement affixes have led many Basque scholars to hypothesize that agreement affixes are historically derived from pronouns.¹ In order to account for these similarities, I will show in §§2-3 that person/number features in Basque are realized by a set of affixes, most of which are not specified to be inserted in a particular type of node. This underspecification in their vocabulary entries will account for their uniform distribution across categories. Furthermore, I will also show that the similarities in the realization of person/number features go beyond the segmental content of the affixes involved. Thus, if a

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¹ See Gómez and Sainz (1995) for a brief overview of the literature on this topic, and for the history of tensed verbal forms in general. The paper also highlights several problems with that hypothesis.

specific affix is a prefix in a given environment, it is also a prefix in all other environments. Furthermore, if a certain combination of person/number features is realized with a prefix and a suffix at the same time, this will be the case in all environments in which these features appear. Thus, the similarities do not only surface in the segmental content of the affixes involved, but also in how many of them are needed for a particular combination of person/number features, and in the relative linear order in which they surface.

Section 4 concentrates on the realization of these person/number affixes. There, I propose a fission account of the different cross-categorial generalizations that emerge from the realization of these affixes. Finally, §5 is devoted to the stems that these affixes attach to. The main purpose of this section will be to account for the linear order of morpheme exponents within the Basque inflected verb. A very interesting fact about Basque verbs is the appearance of certain pronominal stems in only some agreement morphemes. The distribution of these pronominal stems within the inflected verb will be shown to follow from certain natural assumptions about the mapping between syntactic structures and the linear order of morpheme exponents realizing the structure.

1. Theoretical Background

The framework assumed in this work is that of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993 1994, Halle 1997).² DM posits an autonomous, post-syntactic level of morphology, Morphological Structure (henceforth, MS). The syntactic component of the grammar manipulates terminal nodes containing bundles of syntactic and semantic features, called *morphemes*. At MS, certain operations apply to these morphemes, including Vocabulary Insertion, which provides the terminal nodes with phonological exponents. Thus, in this framework, the building of words is distributed among different components of the grammar. Words are built from abstract terminal nodes in the syntax via head movement, and they are provided with phonological features at MS. Thus, DM assumes Late Insertion, i.e. morphemes acquire phonological content late in the derivation, after syntactic operations apply to them.

Furthermore, some operations may apply at MS before Vocabulary Insertion which alter the structure of words further. These operations include Morphological Merger and Fusion.

² See also Harley & Noyer (1998) and Noyer (1999) for an introduction to DM.

Morphological Merger combines terminal nodes under certain locality conditions (see Marantz 1988, Embick & Noyer 1999).³ Under Fusion, two terminal nodes are combined (fused) into a single terminal node (see Halle & Marantz 1993, Halle 1997). Descriptively, this happens when two syntactic nodes correspond to a single exponent.

An important part of the analysis given in §4 will be the manner in which Vocabulary Insertion applies. As was mentioned above, this is the operation by which abstract morphemes are provided with phonological exponents. This is done via vocabulary items, which are pairings of phonological exponents and abstract features. A given vocabulary item may be inserted into a given terminal node only if it is specified for a subset of the features contained in that node. However, there are cases in which more than one vocabulary item meets this condition. Under these circumstances, these vocabulary items compete for insertion in a single terminal node. Which candidate wins this competition is decided by applying the Subset Principle, as defined in (1) (Halle's 1997 example (7)).

(1) *The Subset Principle*

The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary item is inserted into a morpheme in the terminal string if the item matches all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen.

Finally, another mechanism, called Fission, will also be used in the analysis presented in §4. Fission is posited in DM when more than one vocabulary item corresponds to a single syntactic terminal node. Fission will be explained in more detail and exemplified in §4, where an analysis of Basque person/number morphology in terms of Fission is developed.

2. Nominal Inflection

In this section, I show that person and number features in Basque nominal environments are always realized as affixes. §§2.1-2.2 deal with third person inflection, showing that it has

³ §3.1 below contains an example of Morphological Merger in Basque. However, since it is not a crucial part of the analysis,

- (4) a. *gixon-a sarr-a b. *gixon-a sarr
 man-ABS.SG old-ABS.SG man-ABS.SG old
 ‘the old man’ (Absolutive) ‘the old man’ (Absolutive)

The table in (5) shows the whole inflectional paradigm for nominal environments, exemplified with *gixon* ‘man’ and the third person pronoun *ber/eur-*.

(5) *Third Person Nominal Inflection*

	<i>GIXON</i> ‘man’		<i>PRONOUN</i>	
	<i>SINGULAR</i>	<i>PLURAL</i>	<i>SINGULAR</i>	<i>PLURAL</i>
<i>ABS</i>	gixon-a	gixón-a-k	ber-a	éur-a-k
<i>ERG</i>	gixon-a-k	gixón-a-k	ber-a-k	éur-a-k
<i>DAT</i>	gixon-a-i	gixón-a-i	ber-a-I	éur-a-i
<i>GEN</i>	gixon-a-n	gixón-a-n	ber-a-n	éur-a-n
<i>BEN</i>	gixon-a-ntzako	gixon-a-ntzáko	ber-a-ntzako	eur-a-ntzáko
<i>COM</i>	gixón-a-s	gixon-á-kin	bér-a-s	eur-á-kin

As shown in (5), in the third person, nominal inflection always involves this *-a* suffix, even in pronouns. Traditionally, this *-a* suffix has been considered to be a determiner (see Laka 1993b 1996). Following the standard analysis of this suffix, I will assume that, in all DPs, *-a* is the realization of third person on the D head. This is illustrated with the structure in (6).

- (6) $[_{DP} [NP] [_D a]]$

This suffix is always attached to the last word in NP, i.e. the one which is immediately to its left. I will assume that this is achieved by the process of *Morphological Merger* (see Marantz 1988, Embick & Noyer 1999), i.e. in the morphology, the suffix realizing third person is merged with the last word of the constituent to its left. In third person pronouns, the structure is much simpler: I will assume, following Abney (1987), that pronouns are Ds with no complement. It is in this D node that *-a* is inserted. The main difference between the third person pronouns and other nominal environments is that in the former, the inflectional suffix

appears in most third person DPs, including pronouns.

has nothing to attach to. However, as can be seen in (5) above, third person pronouns do have a stem: *ber* in the singular and *eur* in the plural. For the moment, I will leave aside any other syntactic and morphological properties these pronominal stems may have, and will simply assume that they are epenthetic stems inserted to fulfill the affixal requirements of the determiner *-a*.¹⁰ One obvious analysis of Basque third person pronouns would take these stems to be the realization of an NP complement of D, contrary to what I have assumed above. A fuller analysis of these stems will be given in §5, where I justify the assumption that they are best seen as epenthetic stems. Thus, although this pronominal stem is different depending on number (*ber* in the singular, and *eur* in the plural), it does not directly encode number. Rather, in the present analysis, number is a property of D, although in the third person D is always realized as *-a*, and does not show number contrasts.¹¹ The two forms of the pronominal stem are allomorphs whose distribution depends on the number specification on the D suffix. The similarity between full DPs and pronouns suggests that this is the right analysis for third person pronouns. Thus, nominal inflection in third person pronouns is identical to the one appearing in other nominal contexts.

Finally, there is another affix appearing in third person inflection that has not been mentioned so far. This is the so-called *proximity plural* suffix *-o*. For reasons of space, I will not include a full paradigm for the proximity plural. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, it is enough to know that words inflected for the proximity plural are the same as the non-proximity plural cases in (5), except that the proximity plural suffix *-o* appears instead of the non-proximity plural suffix *-a*. The conditions under which the proximity plural are used are quite complex (see Laka 1996), having to do with the spatio-temporal location of the entity referred to by the DP with respect to the speaker. For the purposes of this paper, what is important is the fact that the proximity plural suffix alternates with the third person suffix *-a* in nominal inflection. I will simply assume that, in the relevant contexts, D is specified for a feature [+Prox], in addition to person and number.

¹⁰ A possible objection to the assumption that *ber* and *eur* are epenthetic stems might be the standard assumption in the Basque linguistics literature that these morphemes are *emphatic*, and that, accordingly, what I am calling *third person pronouns* are in fact emphatic pronouns. However, as I show in §2.2, this assumption is in fact wrong, i.e. the pronouns *bera* and *aura* are not emphatic forms; they are simply third person pronouns. Thus, it is fairly natural to assume, as I have in the text, that the suffix *-a* is the realization of the features in D, and that *ber* and *eur* are simply epenthetic stems.

¹¹ A very common assumption in the Basque literature is that, contrary to what I am assuming here, plural number in DPs is realized by the suffix *-k* that appears in the absolutive. However, as shown in (5), this suffix only appears in the absolutive plural (and in both the ergative singular and plural). This strongly suggests that, in this case, it is in fact a suffix realizing absolutive case in the context of plural number, not the realization of plurality itself. As we will see in §2.3, in the second person plural, the affix *-e* realizes plural number (cf. singular *su* vs. plural *sue*); even in this case, the suffix *-k* appears in the absolutive plural (and, as expected, in the ergative singular and plural), which strengthens the conclusion that this suffix is

2.2. On third person pronouns

In the previous section, I have discussed the morphological properties of Basque third person pronouns *bera* and *aura*. As pointed out to me by one of the reviewers, a usual claim in the literature on Basque is that, in fact, there are no third person pronouns in this language, and that demonstrative pronouns are used instead (see, for instance, Laka 1996; Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994). This claim is in clear conflict with my assumption that *bera* and *aura* are third person pronouns. In fact, these words are usually described as *emphatic* forms of demonstratives, rather than personal pronouns. As I show immediately below, this assumption is not warranted by the data: *bera* and *aura*, in the uses that are described for them in the literature, are neither demonstratives nor necessarily *emphatic*.

The idea that *bera* and *aura* are emphatic demonstratives is based on the fact that they seem to be etymologically derived from demonstratives containing an emphatic morpheme. Thus, the distal demonstrative in Ondarroa Basque is *a*, and the stems *ber* and *eu(r)* are used elsewhere to introduce some kind of emphasis (see below). Thus, *bera* and *aura* are standardly analyzed into *ber-/eur-*, an emphatic marker, and *-a*, a distal demonstrative. In order to see whether this analysis is correct, we have to see (i) whether these pronouns are emphatic, and (ii) whether they are demonstratives.

First, we need to spell out in some detail what *emphatic* means. In first and second person pronouns, the emphatic marker *eu* (etymologically related to *eur*)¹² is used when the pronoun is in the preverbal focus position (see Laka 1996). This is illustrated in (7).¹³

- (7) a. Jon-ek neu / *ni ikusi n-au-Ø.
 Jon-ERG me.EMPH.ABS / me.ABS seen 1SG.ABS-Aux-1SG.ERG
 ‘Jon has seen ME.’
- b. Ni /*Neu Jon-ek ikusi n-au-Ø.
 me.ABS / me.EMPH.ABS Jon-ERG seen 1SG.ABS-Aux-1SG.ERG
 ‘JON has seen me.’

As shown in (7), the emphatic version of the personal pronoun is grammatical only when focused, and the non-emphatic version is grammatical only when it is not focused. However,

not the realization of plural number, but an allomorph of absolutive case in the context of plural number.

¹² The morphology of first and second person emphatic pronouns is discussed in §2.3.

¹³ The distribution of emphatic pronouns is more complex than illustrated here. See Laka 1996. This fact is irrelevant to the

bera and *aura* clearly do not behave this way. They can be used both in focus positions and in non-focused positions, as illustrated in (8)-(9).

- (8) a. Jon bera-k ikusi rau-Ø. b. Jon aura-k ikusi rab-e.
 Jon.ABS he-ERG seen Aux-3ERG.SG Jon.ABS they-ERG seen Aux-3ERG.PL
 ‘HE has seen Jon.’ ‘THEY have seen Jon.’
- (9) a. Bera-k Jon ikusi rau-Ø. b. Aura-k Jon ikusi rab-e.
 he-ERG Jon.ABS seen Aux-3ERG.SG they-ERG Jon.ABS seen Aux-3ERG.PL
 ‘He has seen JON.’ ‘They have seen JON.’

Thus, even though the stems *ber* and *aur* are etymologically related to emphatic markers in other words, they clearly do not have emphatic meaning.

Furthermore, *bera* and *aura* do not seem to be demonstratives either. First, the similarity between the suffix *-a* and the distal demonstrative *a* is only apparent in the absolutive singular. In other cases, they are clearly different. In non-absolutive cases, an [r] is added to the stem of the demonstrative (e.g. ergative singular *a-r-ek*, comitative singular *a-r-eas*), but this is not the case with the suffix *-a*, as we saw in the previous section (cf. ergative singular *ber-a-k*, comitative singular *ber-a-s*). Thus, it is not at all clear that the *-a* suffix in *bera* and *aura* is a distal demonstrative. Perhaps more convincing is the fact that the pronouns *bera* and *aura* cannot be used as demonstratives. The distribution of these pronouns can be described as follows: they can be used whenever the individual referred to has been previously mentioned in the discourse. If the individual referred to has not been mentioned, but is sufficiently salient (e.g. by physically pointing to them), a demonstrative (such as the distal *a*) is used. In other words, the pronouns *bera* and *aura* can be used anaphorically, but not deictically. Even though this is a clear difference between these pronouns and pronouns in other languages like English (where third person pronouns can be used deictically), it hardly seems like a good reason not to call them *pronouns*. On the other hand, it does seem like a good reason not to call them *demonstratives*.

What I have shown in the previous paragraphs is that *bera* and *aura* behave semantically like English pronouns (with minor differences), and not like emphatic pronouns like *neu* or

point.

like demonstratives. Thus, I conclude that, as was assumed in the previous section, *bera* and *era* are third person pronouns, i.e. Ds without a complement.

2.3. First and second person pronouns

The table in (10) contains first and second person pronouns in all cases.

(10) *First and Second Person Pronouns*

	<i>1SG</i>	<i>1PL</i>	<i>2SG</i>	<i>2PL</i>
<i>ABS</i>	ni	gu	su	súe-k
<i>ERG</i>	ni-k	gu-k	su-k	súe-k
<i>DAT</i>	ni-ri	gu-ri	su-ri	súe-i
<i>GEN</i>	ni-re	gu-re	su-re	súe-n
<i>BEN</i>	ni-tzat	gu-tzat	su-tzat	sué-ntzat
<i>COM</i>	ní-as	gú-as	sú-as	sué-kin

These pronouns are in fact very similar to absolutive agreement in verbal inflection, as can be seen in (11), where *V* stands for the verbal stem.¹⁴

(11) *First and Second Person Absolutive Agreement*

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>SG</i>	n-V	s-V
<i>PL</i>	g-V	s-V-e

The Agr_{Abs} affixes shown in (11) attach to the verbal stem, as exemplified in (12). These examples also illustrate the similarities between pronouns and Agr_{Abs} .

- (12) a. **Gu** kale-a **g**-us.
 we(ABS) street-ALL **1PL.ABS**-go
 ‘We are going outside.’

¹⁴ For third person absolutive agreement, see §3.1.

- b. Ni-k sue-k atrapa s-atxu-e-t.
 I-ERG you.PL-PL.ABS caught 2ABS-Aux-PL.ABS -1SG.ERG
 ‘I caught y'all.’

The similarities between pronouns and Agr_{Abs} suggest that they should have a similar analysis. Specifically, I propose that first and second person in both pronouns and Agr_{Abs} are realized with the same set of affixes, i.e. the ones in (11). Furthermore, these affixes attach to the verbal stem in the case of absolutive agreement, and to the pronominal stems *i* (in the first singular) or *u* (elsewhere) in pronouns.¹⁵ Thus, I argue that first and second person pronouns should be analyzed as in (13).

(13) *First and Second Person Pronouns*

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>SG</i>	n-i	s-u
<i>PL</i>	g-u	s-u-e

Under this view, there are three prefixes available for the realization of person and number features in nominal environments and in Agr_{Abs} : *n-* for first person singular, *g-* for first person plural, *s-* for second person. Furthermore, there is a plural suffix, *-e*, which, as can be seen by the contrast between the second singular and second plural forms, realizes plural number. As we will see in the next section, *-e* is a common realization for plural number in Basque.¹⁶ Accounting for its complex distribution, including the fact that it never appears in the first person plural, is one of the objectives of the analysis given in §4. As we will see there, this fact is intimately related to the fact that, while in the second person, the prefix does not encode number distinctions (i.e. it is always *s-*), in the first person, it does (i.e. it is *n-* in the singular and *g-* in the plural).

¹⁵ For a full analysis of these stems, see §5.

¹⁶ As was noted in footnote 11, the fact that I am not analyzing the suffix *-k* that appears in the second absolutive plural as the realization of plural number goes against standard assumptions in the Basque literature. For reasons that I explained in there, it is clear that this suffix in this context is not realizing plural number, but absolutive case in the context of plural number. The only reason to think that *-k* realizes plural number is that it appears in the absolutive plural. However, this argument is in effect nullified by the fact that it does not appear in the context of any other grammatical case, and the fact that, in the second person *su-e*, the suffix *-e*, not *-k*, is clearly the exponent of plural number (i.e. unlike *-k*, it appears in all second person plural forms).

There are some interesting alternations in the pronominal paradigm which justify this analysis of pronouns as divided into stems and affixes. First, in so-called *emphatic* pronouns (see §2.2), what I have identified as the stem (*i* and *u*) changes, while what I claim are the affixes realizing person and number remain the same: *n-eu* for 1SG, *g-eu* for 1PL, *s-eu* for 2SG, and *s-eu-e* for 2PL.

Second, the suffix *-e* in the second person plural pronoun *sue* alternates with the proximity plural suffix *-o* (see §2.1), i.e. in the relevant contexts, the second person plural pronoun is *suo*, not *sue*. This alternation is similar to the one found in the third plural, where the suffix *-a* alternates with the proximity plural *-o*. This strongly suggests that *-e* in the second person plural pronoun is an independent suffix specified for plural number. If *sue* were analyzed as a single piece, the obvious generalization would be lost. Similarly, an analysis in which *s...e* in the second person plural were a circumfix would not be able to account for this generalization. As mentioned before, we still need to account for the fact that this plural suffix *-e* does not appear in all plural contexts (especially in the first plural). As we show in §4, this follows from the analysis proposed there without any specific stipulation.

In the previous section, I proposed that all cases of third person nominal inflection share the same realization: a stem, which in full DPs is the last word contained in them, and in pronouns, *ber-* or *eur-*; and the suffix *-a*, which realizes the person/number features on D. In this section, I have shown that first and second person features in both pronouns and Agr_{Abs} also have the same kind of realization: as affixes which attach to some stem (the verbal stem in the case of absolutive agreement, and *i/u* in pronouns). In sum, I have shown that person/number inflection in Basque contains the pieces shown in (14).¹⁷

(14) *The Pieces of Basque Inflection*

<i>PREFIX</i> (<i>PERSON/NUMBER</i>)	<i>STEM</i>	<i>SUFFIX</i> (<i>PERSON/NUMBER</i>)
g- (1 ST PL)	i, u, eu, eur,	-a (3 RD)
n- (1 ST SG)	ber, V, X	-e (PL)
s- (2 ND)		-o (PROX.PL)

¹⁷ The X in (14) stands for the relevant stem in full DPs.

3. Agreement Morphology

The main objective of this section is to show that all agreement morphemes follow the same pattern as DPs in terms of the realization of person/number features. For most verbs in Basque, all finite tenses are analytic, i.e. they consist of the main verb with some aspect/future suffix (the *participle*), and a light verb inflected for tense and agreement. There are three different agreement morphemes in the tensed verb: absolutive, ergative, and dative.¹⁸ (15) is an example of an analytic tense, in this case the perfective past.

- (15) Su-k Boston-ea ju-n s -iñ -an.
 you(ABS.SG) Boston-ALL go-PRF 2SG.ABS-Aux-PST
 ‘*You went to Boston.*’

There are, however, a few verbs which can also appear in synthetic tenses. In this case, there is no auxiliary and it is the main verb which is inflected for tense and agreement.¹⁹ (16) illustrates synthetic tenses with the present of *erun* ‘carry’.

- (16) Ni-k liburo bat d-aru-t-Ø.
 I-ERG book one.ABS 3ABS-carry-1SG.ERG-PR
 ‘*I am carrying a book.*’

3.1. Absolutive agreement

As we already saw in §2.3, the affixes used to realize first and second person Agr_{Abs} are the same ones that are used in pronouns, i.e. those in (11), repeated below as (17). As shown in §2.3, the only difference between Agr_{Abs} and pronouns is in the stem these affixes attach to: the verbal stem in Agr_{Abs} , and a pronominal stem in pronouns.

¹⁸ There are certain mismatches between case and agreement in Basque morphology. A well-studied case is Ergative Displacement, where the morpheme which usually agrees with the absolutive argument agrees with the ergative argument. Ergative Displacement is discussed briefly in §3.1 (see also Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Laka 1993a, Fernández 1999 and Albizu & Eguren 2000 for different analyses of this phenomenon). Another case in Ondarroat Basque occurs in clauses with an absolutive argument, a dative argument and no ergative argument. In this case, if the absolutive argument is first or second person, it triggers agreement with what is usually ergative agreement on the tensed verb. Since the nature of these mismatches does not seem to be crucial for the realization of agreement, I will not take them into account, and use the labels *absolutive*, *dative* and *ergative* for the agreement nodes, even though in some cases the DP they agree with does not have the corresponding case.

¹⁹ For analyses of the difference between synthetic and analytic tenses, see Laka (1990) and Arregi (2000).

(17) *First and Second Person Absolutive Agreement*

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>SG</i>	n-V	s-V
<i>PL</i>	g-V	s-V-e

However, third person absolutive agreement is more problematic. There seem to be certain pieces in the tensed verb which could be good candidates for third person absolutive agreement markers. There are two kinds of inflectional pieces that need to be discussed: (i) certain prefixes which appear whenever third person Agr_{Abs} is expected, and (ii) certain affixes which appear to be plural Agr_{Abs} . For both types, I argue below that they are really not agreement morphemes, and thus fall outside the scope of the analysis defended here.

There is a set of affixes which seem to realize third person Agr_{Abs} , since they appear only in finite verbs with third person absolutive agreement, and their position is the same as the first and second person Agr_{Abs} prefixes in (17). These prefixes are *d-*, \emptyset -, *s-*, *g-*, and *l-*. Which specific prefix is used depends on tense and the presence or absence of other types of agreement within the tensed verb.²⁰ Despite the fact that they are in complementary distribution with Agr_{Abs} , several authors since Laka (1993a) (see, for instance, Albizu & Eguren 2000, Fernández 1999) have assumed that they are not the realization of third person Agr_{Abs} . The main argument for this position is that it allows these authors to account in a principled manner for the phenomenon of Ergative Displacement. Under certain specific circumstances, including the presence of a third person absolutive argument, what is usually Agr_{Abs} actually agrees with the ergative argument, and these apparent Agr_{Abs} prefixes are not present. In order to account for the complementary distribution between these prefixes and Ergative Displacement, and in order to explain the fact that Ergative Displacement does not occur with first or second person absolutive agreement, these authors assume that third person Agr_{Abs} is *absent* in some sense in the structure of the verb.²¹ Assuming that some version of this hypothesis about Ergative Displacement is right, I shall assume that third person Agr_{Abs} is absent from the structure. We can simply assume that this is due to an impoverishment rule in

²⁰ More specifically, and simplifying somewhat, *g-* appears in verbs which have dative agreement but no ergative agreement, *d-* elsewhere in the present, *s-* and \emptyset - elsewhere in the past (depending on the verb root), and *l-* in *irrealis* tenses (potential and conditional). These details are not important for the analysis.

²¹ For Laka (1993a), *absent* means that it is realized as zero; for Albizu & Eguren 2000, it means that no affix is inserted in the terminal node; and, finally, for Fernández (1999), it means that there is actually no third person Agr_{Abs} features, so that there is, in effect, no Agr_{Abs} terminal node in this case.

the morphological component.²² Again, this means that the prefixes under discussion are not the realization of third person Agr_{Abs}. Hence, in what follows, I will ignore third person Agr_{Abs}.

Another set of affixes which are apparently related to absolutive agreement is formed by certain affixes which have been traditionally thought of as plural agreement markers. In Ondarroa Basque, there are two such affixes, *-s* and *-tx-*. Consider the suffix *-s* first. Its distribution, although vaguely related to the presence of a plural absolutive argument, is quite irregular. Consider, for instance, the following present tense paradigms for the verbs *ixan* ‘be’ and *jun* ‘go’.

(18) *IXAN* ‘be’

<i>1SG</i>	na-s / na
<i>2SG</i>	sa-s / sa
<i>3SG</i>	da
<i>1PL</i>	ga-s / ga
<i>2PL</i>	sa-s-e
<i>3PL</i>	di-s / di

JUN ‘go’

<i>1SG</i>	nu
<i>2SG</i>	su-s
<i>3SG</i>	du
<i>1PL</i>	gu-s
<i>2PL</i>	su-s-e
<i>3PL</i>	du-s

As can be seen in these paradigms, there is no clear sense in which *-s* is plural agreement. First, in the case of the verb *jun*, it is present in all instances of plural Agr_{Abs}, but it is also present in the context of second person singular Agr_{Abs}. In the case of the verb *ixan*, the distribution of *-s* is even more complicated: first, it is possible in all cases except in the third singular; second, it is furthermore obligatory only in the second plural. Ignoring the case of *ixan* for now, one could argue that, in the case of *jun*, *-s* appears only in the plural, if we could somehow assume that the second person singular in Basque is *morphologically* plural. In fact, this is a quite standard assumption in the literature on Basque.²³ However, making this assumption explicit is not a trivial matter. Saying that the second person singular is *morphologically* plural is not enough, since that would predict that second person singular

²² Whether this is actually the case, or whether, as argued for in Fernández (1999), the absence of third person absolutive agreement is syntactically motivated is not important for the morphological analysis defended in this paper.

²³ More specifically, the standard assumption is that the second person singular pronoun (and agreement) we have discussed so far is morphologically plural. In many other dialects, this pronoun and agreement is restricted to formal contexts, while the pronoun *hi* (which is no longer in use in Ondarroa Basque) and the agreement it triggers is strictly singular. Thus, for the dialects which have these two second person singular forms, the discussion below on second person singular should be read as a discussion on *formal* second person singular. Otherwise, the point I am trying to make for Ondarroa Basque can be extended to all other dialects.

and plural forms would be identical. However, this is clearly not the case. As we have seen so far, the second person plural is always associated with the plural suffix *-e*, while the second person singular is never associated with this suffix. Compare this case with French, where the second person singular pronoun in formal contexts is *vous*, which is homophonous with the second person plural pronoun, and accordingly triggers plural agreement in finite verbs. In this case, we can say that the second person singular in formal contexts in French is morphologically plural (even though it is semantically singular). Second person pronouns and agreement morphemes in Basque clearly do not behave this way. In fact, as far as I can tell, the only possible argument in favor of this assumption is the fact that they trigger the presence of this *-s* suffix (and similar ones) in verbs. Thus, there is no advantage in trying to develop an analysis of Basque inflection under the assumptions that the second person singular is *morphologically* plural, and that the suffix *-s* is plural agreement. One would need to explain why the second person singular is *morphologically* singular for some morphological processes (such as the affixation of plural *-e*), but *morphologically* plural for others (such as the affixation of the so-called *plural* affix *-s*). It seems to me that this analysis offers no advantage over one in which the second person singular is strictly singular, and in which *-s* is treated as a suffix which is inserted in the presence of plural Agr_{Abs} or second person singular Agr_{Abs}. Although, at first, the assumption that second person singular is *morphologically* plural might be seen as advantageous, further consideration of the facts show that the assumption is not supported, in that it offers no insight into Basque inflectional morphology. Furthermore, the distribution of *-s* in verbs like *ixan* (see (18)), where it also appears in the first singular, and where it is optional in all cases except in the second plural, the assumption is weakened even more. It seems that, even though at some point in the history of Basque affixes like *-s* were plural markers, they are not so any more.²⁴ As far as I can tell, this affix, and similar ones, is nothing but a historical relic.

Something similar can be said about the other affix under discussion, namely *-tx-*. Its distribution is similar to *-s*, in that it appears in the context of plural Agr_{Abs} and second person singular Agr_{Abs}. For instance, in the present tense, the transitive auxiliary **edun* with third person singular ergative agreement is *g-a-tx-u* with first person plural Agr_{Abs}, *s-a-tx-u-e* with second person plural Agr_{Abs}, *do-tx-u-s* with third person plural Agr_{Abs}, and *s-a-tx-u* with

²⁴ Thus, I am not trying to argue against the view that at some point in the history of Basque the pronoun *su* (*zu* in Standard Basque) was morphologically plural, or that suffixes like *-s* were plural suffixes. This might very well be true (and it probably is), but this is irrelevant to the point I am making.

second person singular Agr_{Abs}. On the other hand, it is *dau* with third person singular Agr_{Abs}, and *n-au* with first person singular Agr_{Abs}. I believe that the point should be clear by now: there is no sense in which the second person singular is *morphologically* plural, hence there is no sense in which *-tx-* is plural agreement. Again, as in the case of *-s*, this affix seems to be just a historical relic. Furthermore, this conclusion is strengthened by the fact that some speakers find the form *n-a-tx-u* (along with the more traditional *n-au*) grammatical as a first person singular absolutive form.

Thus, for the rest of the paper, I will simply assume that Agr_{Abs} is as has been described so far, that is, there is no Agr_{Abs} for third person (as opposed to first and second person, in which case Agr_{Abs} is as shown in (17)), and suffixes like *-s* and *-tx* are neither absolutive agreement markers nor plural markers. As for the latter, I will simply assume that they are inserted in the context of certain forms of Agr_{Abs}. Since spelling out in detail their distribution is rather complicated, and, as far as I can tell, would not contribute to further our understanding of Basque morphology, I will ignore them henceforth.

3.2. Ergative agreement

Ergative agreement is realized with the pieces shown in (19).

(19) *Ergative Agreement*

	1	2	3
SG	V-t	V-s-u	V-Ø
PL	V-g-u	V-s-u-e	V-e

Note that the exponents in (19) are strikingly similar to pronouns and Agr_{Abs} (cf. (14)). Specifically, both second and third plural contain the plural suffix *-e*, which is also the plural suffix used in nominal environments and in Agr_{Abs}. Furthermore, second person *s-u(-e)* and first person plural *g-u* are identical to pronouns. It seems that in these cases Agr_{Erg} is using the same person/number affixes as in nominal environments and Agr_{Abs}. What is more striking about *g-u* and *s-u(-e)* is that they include the pronominal stem *u*, which is used for the same person/number combinations in pronouns.

In order to account for these similarities, I propose that Agr_{Erg} in fact uses the same affixes as Agr_{Abs} and nominal environments for the realization of person/number features, i.e. the

ones in the table in (14). The only exception to this is the first person singular, which is *-t* in Abs_{Erg} , as opposed to the prefix *n-* used elsewhere (see (14)).

Note that, unlike Agr_{Abs} , Agr_{Erg} is always realized to the right of V. In Agr_{Abs} , the position of a specific affix with respect to the verbal stem only depends on its status as a suffix or a prefix. However, in Agr_{Erg} both prefixes and suffixes follow the verbal stem. Nevertheless, prefixes do not lose their status as prefixes. As shown in (19), the prefixes that follow the verbal stem are prefixes with respect to the *pronominal stem u*. This puzzling behaviour of Agr_{Erg} affixes with respect to linear order and the stem they attach to will be the topic of §5. What is important to keep in mind for now is that the affixes used for Agr_{Erg} are the same ones as in Agr_{Abs} and nominal environments (with the exception of first singular *-t*).²⁵ Furthermore, this is true not only in terms of the segmental content of the affixes, but also in their status as prefixes or suffixes. For instance, second person is realized as the prefix *s-* in all instances of person/number inflection seen so far. Thus, we can extend the table in (14) to the one in (20), once Agr_{Erg} *-t* has been added.

(20) *The Pieces of Basque Inflection*²⁶

<i>PREFIX</i> (PERSON/NUMBER)	<i>STEM</i>	<i>SUFFIX</i> (PERSON/NUMBER)
g- (1 ST PL)	i, u, eu, eur, ber, V, X	-t (1 ST SG)
n- (1 ST SG)		-a (3 RD)
s- (2 ND)		-e (PL)
		-o (PROX.PL)

Finally, it is important to note that, under this view, the terms *prefix* and *suffix* are used in a very specific technical sense. What has been assumed in the description made so far is that being a prefix or a suffix is a *lexical* property of individual vocabulary items such as *s-* or *-t*. Specifically, if a vocabulary item has the property of being a prefix, then it must be attached to the left of some stem. If on the other hand, it is a suffix, it must be attached to the right of a stem. This has some important consequences for the analysis to be developed below. As we

²⁵ Another exception is the proximity plural, which, as shown in (i), does not appear in agreement inflection.

(i) Orrek gixon-o-k liburu irakurr-i d-ab-e.
those man-PROX.PL-ERG book(ABS) read-PRF 3PRF-Aux-3PL.ERG
'Those men have read the book.'

As shown in (i), plural agreement is always *-e* even when agreeing with an argument inflected for proximity plural. I will assume that this is a consequence of the process of agreement: it copies person and number features, but it does not copy the feature [\pm Prox].

²⁶ Note that (20) does not contain all the relevant information. In particular, as we have already seen, third person *-a* only appears in nominal environments, and *-t* only appears in Agr_{Erg} .

have seen above, in several instances of Agr_{Erg} (as in other morphemes containing person/number features), it is possible that more than one piece is realizing person/number features. Thus, second person plural Agr_{Erg} (*s-u-e*) is realized by three different pieces: the prefix *s-* (second person), the suffix *-e* (plural), and the stem *-u-*. Thus, the fact that *sue* appears after the verbal stem cannot mean that it is a suffix, at least in the technical sense that I am using this term here. This is due to the fact that being a suffix or a prefix is a lexical property of a specific item.²⁷ Since *sue* is formed by more than one item, it cannot be a prefix or a suffix.²⁸ Although this is only a terminological point, it is important to bear it in mind. Since, as we have seen, agreement realizations such as *sue* are formed by more than one piece, we cannot account for their linear distribution within the verb by saying that they are *prefixes* or *suffixes*, since these are properties of individual vocabulary items. Thus, an important part of the analysis in §5 will be devoted to account for the linear position of agreement realizations such as *sue* within the verb.

3.3. Dative Agreement

Dative agreement, like Agr_{Erg} , always appears to the right of the verbal stem. However, as shown in (21), the pieces used to realize Agr_{Dat} seem to be quite different from those used in Agr_{Erg} .

(21) *Dative and Ergative Agreement*²⁹

	AGR_{Dat}	AGR_{Erg}
<i>1SG</i>	V-sta	V-t
<i>1PL</i>	V-sku	V-gu
<i>2SG</i>	V-tzu	V-su
<i>2PL</i>	V-tzue	V-sue
<i>3SG</i>	V-tza/ko	V-∅
<i>3PL</i>	V-tze/koe	V-e

²⁷ Of course, the order within the string *s-u-e* is accounted for in these terms: the stem *-u-* is preceded by the prefix *s-* and followed by the suffix *-e*. In the case of *s-* and *-e*, since they *are* individual vocabulary items, we can attribute them the property of being a prefix or a suffix.

²⁸ Of course, one can use informally the term *suffix* in this case to describe the fact that *sue* follows the verbal stem. But this usage of the word ‘suffix’ is not the one I am using here.

²⁹ The allomorphy in third person Agr_{Dat} depends on the presence of Agr_{Erg} : it is *-tza/e* if Agr_{Erg} is present, and *-ko(e)* otherwise.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that Agr_{Dat} uses the same affixes as Agr_{Erg}, despite appearances. Consider the examples in (22)-(23), from Standard Basque and the Ondarroa dialect, respectively.

(22) *Agr_{Dat} in Standard Basque*

Gu-ri liburu-a eror-i zitza-i-gu-n.
 we-DAT book-ABS.SG fall-PRF Aux-DAT-1PL.DAT-PST
 ‘We dropped the book.’

(23) *Agr_{Dat} in Ondarroa Basque*

Gu-ri liburu jaus-i ga-sku-n.
 we-DAT book(ABS) fall-PRF Aux-1PL.DAT-PST
 ‘We dropped the book.’

As can be seen in (22), a verb containing dative agreement in Standard Basque always has an additional morpheme, *-i*, which I have glossed as DAT. As shown in (23), Ondarroa Basque seems to lack this morpheme. However, as I show immediately below, this morpheme is present in this dialect. What I have glossed so far as *dative agreement* can be divided in two parts. All the forms can be derived from *tz/ko* plus something else, as shown in (24). The actual output is due to phonological processes (affricate simplification, stop devoicing and vowel epenthesis) which apply elsewhere in the language.³⁰

- (24) a. 1st singular: $tz+t = sta$ (affricate simplification, vowel epenthesis)
 b. 1st plural: $tz+gu = sku$ (affricate simplification, stop devoicing)
 c. 2nd: $tz+su(e) = tzu(e)$
 d. 3rd singular: $tz+\emptyset = tza$ (vowel epenthesis)
 $ko+\emptyset = ko$
 e. 3rd plural: $tz+e = tze$
 $ko+e = koe$

³⁰ See Hualde (1991). Côté (1998) discusses epenthesis and affricate simplification in Ondarroa Basque.

I assume that *tz* and *ko* are the realization of a morpheme which I label as DAT, and which obligatorily appears in a finite verb when it has Agr_{Dat}.³¹ The appearance of *tz* or *ko* as the realization of DAT depends on two factors. Specifically, *ko* is used when Agr_{Dat} is third person and there is no Agr_{Erg} (cf. *gustaten ga-ko-e* ‘it pleases them’), and *tz* is used elsewhere (cf. *emo tz-e-t* ‘I gave it to them’; *gustaten ga-tz-u* ‘it pleases you’).

What is important to note is that, as can be seen in (24), what follows *tz/ko*, i.e. Agr_{Dat}, is in fact identical to Agr_{Erg}. Thus, the affixes used for both Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} are the ones in (19), repeated here as (25).

(25) *Dative and Ergative Agreement*

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>SG</i>	V-t	V-s-u	V-∅
<i>PL</i>	V-g-u	V-s-u-e	V-e

As a consequence of this analysis, Agr_{Dat} is identical in form to Agr_{Erg}. In Ondarroa Basque, this is obscured by certain regular phonological processes (cf. (24)) which apply to the string realizing DAT+Agr_{Dat}.

3.4. Interim Conclusion

In this section I have shown that person/number inflection is quite uniform across categories (i.e. in nominal contexts and in agreement). With minor differences, all categories use the same pieces for the realization of these features, both in terms of the segmental content that is used and in their status as prefixes or suffixes. For instance, it has been shown that first person plural is always realized only with the prefix *g-* in all categories. The result is that all categories realizing person/number inflection follow the template in (20), repeated here as (26).

³¹ As I show in §5.1, it is not clear what exact role this morpheme plays within the verb.

(26) *The Pieces of Basque Inflection*

PREFIX (PERSON/NUMBER)	STEM	SUFFIX (PERSON/NUMBER)
g- (1 ST PL)	i, u, eu, eur, ber, V, X	-t (1 ST SG)
n- (1 ST SG)		-a (3 RD)
s- (2 ND)		-e (PL)
		-o (PROX.PL)

4. Accounting for Cross-Categorial Generalizations

In this section I provide an analysis of Basque Person/Number inflection. The main objective of this analysis will be to account for the cross-categorial generalizations I have presented in the previous section, and others that are discussed in §4.1. The analysis, which is presented in §4.2, treats these differences as a result of a template imposed on the realization of person/number inflection, and of the competition for insertion among vocabulary items.

4.1. Cross-Categorial Generalizations

As was shown in §§2-3, person/number inflection always follows the same template (cf. (26)), i.e. the one in (27).

(27) *Person/Number Inflection*

(Prefix)–Stem–(Suffix)

What the stem is depends on the particular category in which the features appear. Person/number features are realized in the affix positions. As indicated in (27) both affix positions are optional in the sense that whether a specific position is filled depends on the particular person/number features to be realized, and on the context in which these features appear. (28) is a summary of the realization of each person/number combination which we saw in the previous sections.

- (28) a. First Singular: prefix (*n-*) in Agr_{Abs} and nominal environments,
 suffix (*-t*) in Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg}.
- b. First Plural: prefix (*g-*).
- c. Second Singular: prefix (*s-*).

- d. Second Plural: prefix (*s-*) and suffix (*-e*),
prefix (*s-*) and suffix (*-o*) in proximity plural contexts.
- e. Third Singular: suffix (*-a*) in nominal environments,
∅ in agreement.
- f. Third Plural: suffix (*-a*) in nominal environments,
suffix (*-e*) in agreement,
suffix (*-o*) in proximity plural contexts.

There are several generalizations that emerge from (28). First, there are two affixes which are clearly not specified for any particular category: (i) the prefix *s-* always appears in the second person; and (ii) the prefix *g-* always appears in the first person plural. These prefixes always realize these features, both in nominal environments and in verbal agreement. Furthermore, the plural suffix *-e* can appear in any category (e.g. D, in Agr_{Erg}), but it does not appear in all cases in which there is a plural feature: (i) it is not present in the context of first person; (ii) it is not present in the context of third person in nominal environments; and (iii) it is not present in proximity plural contexts. Thus, the distribution of this suffix is rather puzzling: even though it can appear in any category, its distribution is highly restricted. Finally, other affixes are restricted to certain categories: (i) first person singular *-t* (only in Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg}) and *n-* (elsewhere), (ii) third person *-a* (only in nominal environments), and (iii) proximity plural *-o* (see footnote 25). In the following section, I offer an analysis of the morphology of person/number inflection in Basque which will account for all these generalizations. In particular, I show that several of the generalizations stated above follow from underspecification of morphological features, and from the fact that the relevant vocabulary items compete for insertion in person/number morphemes. Thus, many of the puzzling properties of Basque person/number inflection examined so far will be accounted for without specific stipulations.

4.2. Fission in Basque Person/Number Inflection

In this section, I provide an analysis of Basque person/number inflection which uses the mechanism of Fission. The main idea behind the analysis will be that most of the facts

presented in the previous section can be seen as a consequence of a template imposed on the realization of person/number inflection.

One of the facts that we need to account for is the fact that in the template in (27) neither of the affix positions needs to be overtly expressed. Thus, in some cases only the prefix position is overt (e.g. *g-* in the first plural); in other cases only the suffix position is overt (e.g. *-e* in the third person plural); in others neither position is filled (e.g. in third singular agreement); and, finally, in the second person plural, both positions are overt (*s-* and *-e*). This fact is relevant because we have to determine what is the relation between these positions and morphemes (i.e. terminal nodes) in the syntactic tree. For instance, one could assume that for each position that is filled there is a distinct corresponding terminal node in the tree. Under this assumption, second person plural in Basque would involve two terminal nodes, while first person plural would involve only one node.

On the other hand, the analysis presented in this section works on a different assumption, which is stated in (29).

- (29) In Basque, all the person/number features of an argument (or of agreement with a single argument) are bundled into a single terminal node.

If we take into account the assumption in (29), we are forced to say that there is some syntax-independent mechanism which ensures the differences in realization mentioned above. Basically, this mechanism has to somehow split the terminal node in some cases (i.e. in the second plural) so that two exponents will be used. This is what in the DM literature has been called *Fission*. As I show below, an account in terms of Fission allows us to explain certain distributional properties of the affixes involved in person/number inflection in Basque.

There are several versions of Fission in the literature (see Halle & Marantz 1993, Noyer 1992, Halle 1997). For the purposes of this paper, I will assume the one advanced in Noyer (1992), although the data to be examined are also basically compatible with the one defended in Halle (1997). The basic idea behind Noyer's (1992) view of Fission is that, in the unmarked case, a single terminal node corresponds to a single position in the string of exponents (i.e. a single morpheme is realized by a single exponent), but that there are marked cases in which a single terminal node can correspond to more than one position. Under this

view of Fission, it is not the case that a terminal node is split into two terminal nodes; rather, a single terminal node can be realized by inserting more than one exponent.

What specific vocabulary items (VIs) are inserted in a terminal node subject to Fission depends on what VIs are available. According to the Subset Principle (cf. (1)), the first VI to be inserted is the specific item specified for a subset of the features in the terminal node. In Noyer's (1992) terms, this application of Vocabulary Insertion *discharges* the features it is specified for. As a consequence, further applications of Vocabulary Insertion can only apply to items that are specified for (a subset of) the features not discharged by the previous VI.

The number of items that can be inserted into a terminal node will be determined by (i) the list of VIs (they can only discharge features that have not been discharged by previous applications of Vocabulary Insertion); and (ii) language particular constraints. Thus, as shown in Noyer (1992), Arabic T/Agr is subject to a template according to which this terminal node is realized in two different obligatory positions. In this case, only two VIs can (indeed, must) be inserted (one in each of the two positions). On the other hand, Noyer (1992) also shows that there are languages in which there are no restrictions apart from those resulting from the list of available VIs.

I would like to propose a very similar analysis for Basque person/number inflection. First, I propose that Basque inflection is subject to a template very similar to the one proposed by Noyer for Arabic, according to which the T/Agr node must be realized in two different positions. The template I propose for Basque is basically the one in (27), repeated here as (30).

(30) *Template for Person/Number Inflection*

(Prefix)–Stem–(Suffix)

A node containing person/number features is realized in two optional³² positions, one preceding the stem and another one following the stem.³³

As we saw in §4.1, person/number inflection can be realized by a prefix (e.g. in the first person plural *g-*), a suffix (e.g. first person singular *-t*), both a prefix and a suffix (e.g. second

³² Of course, *optional* here means that the realization of each position is not forced by the template, i.e. whether either position is filled depends solely on the person and number features present on the terminal node.

³³ What specific stem is used in each case is a matter which I will leave for §5.

person plural *s-...-e*), or neither (e.g. third person singular in Agr_{Erg}). Thus, there can be at most one affix in either position, and at least zero. (30) is a formalization of this fact.³⁴

Each affix to be inserted is specified to go in either the prefix or the suffix position. The VIs that I will assume are the ones in (31). The features used for person specifications are those in (32), taken from Halle (1997).³⁵ The number features are [+PI] for plural and [-PI] for singular.

(31) *Vocabulary Items for Person/Number Inflection*³⁶

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| a. /g-/ ↔ [+Auth, +PSE, +PI] | (‘first person plural’) |
| b. /-t/ ↔ [+Auth, +PSE] / in Agr _{Erg} and Agr _{Dat} ³⁷ | (‘first person singular’) |
| c. /n-/ ↔ [+Auth, +PSE] | (‘first person singular’) |
| d. /-o/ ↔ [+PI, +Prox] | (‘plural proximate’) |
| e. /s-/ ↔ [+PSE] | (‘second person’) |
| f. /-a/ ↔ [-PSE] / in D | (‘third person’) |
| g. /-e/ ↔ [+PI] | (‘plural’) |

(32) *Person Features*

	1 ST	2 ND	3 RD
<i>Participant in Speech Event (PSE)</i>	+	+	–
<i>Author in Speech Event (Auth)</i>	+	–	–

³⁴ Note that the assumption that these positions are optional is a departure from Noyer’s (1992) system. Basically, he assumes that there can be two types of fission: (i) fission is forced by a template containing obligatory positions, and (ii) fission is not constrained, i.e. there is no limit to the number of VIs that can be inserted (only the VIs themselves impose this limit). My departure from these assumptions is justified for Basque because (i) as we saw above, these positions are optional, and (ii) as I will argue below, in cases in which we would expect to have more than one suffix, we in fact only have one, which means that Fission in Basque cannot be constrained only by the VIs that can be inserted.

³⁵ Note that many of these vocabulary entries are underspecified, as expected in a framework assuming Late Insertion. Thus, the fact that *s-* in (31e) is not specified as [-Auth] does not necessarily mean that it cannot be the realization of second person, or that it can be the realization of first person. Whether it is or not depends on the whole list of items that compete for insertion in the relevant node, and on the Subset Principle. Several examples illustrating this are given below.

³⁶ It is important to note that all the vocabulary entries in (31) encode something that has been assumed so far, namely, that each affix realizing person/number features is specified as being a prefix or a suffix (see §3.2). Their linear order with respect to the stem they attach to is only determined by this idiosyncratic property of each affix. As I will show in §5, this is not enough for certain instances of agreement. As we will see there, the relevant affixes in these instances of agreement must also be ordered with respect to other material within the verb.

³⁷ This vocabulary entry can also be stated as in (i):

(i) /-t/ ↔ [+Auth, +PSE] / V*[_]

where V*[_] means that the item is inserted in a node that must follow the verbal stem. This is probably a better formulation for this entry, under the assumption that all agreement categories in a given language are instances of the same morpheme, so that labels like *absolute agreement* or *ergative agreement* make no sense (see Chomsky 1993). However, I have chosen the more descriptive formulation in (31b), which uses these labels, for clarity. Not much hinges on this detail.

There are several properties of the VIs in (31) that need mentioning. First, several of the vocabulary items are not specified to be inserted in any specific category. Thus, both first person plural *g-* and *s-* are not specified for any category. This accounts for the fact that first person plural and second person are always realized with these items, independently of the environment. Thus, underspecification of VIs allows us to account for this fact. On the other hand, the fact that some other VIs, i.e. first person singular *-t* and third person *-a*, are restricted to appear in certain categories is directly encoded in their entries. However, there are other restrictions that were mentioned in §4.1 that are not directly encoded in (31), namely, restrictions on the distribution of the plural suffix *-e*. Nevertheless, as we will see below, these restrictions are derived from the properties of Vocabulary Insertion and the template in (30). Thus, these restrictions need not be stated explicitly in its vocabulary entry.

First consider the distribution of the plural suffix *-e*. As we saw in §4.1, this suffix is used in the second person, but not in the first person. A related fact is that the prefix position encodes number in the first person (i.e. singular *n-* vs. plural *g-*), while the same is not true for second person (i.e. the prefix is *s-* for both the singular and the plural). This is reflected in the VIs in (31) in that *g-* is specified as plural and *s-* is not specified for number. Vocabulary Insertion for first person plural would then proceed as shown in (33).

(33) *First Person Plural*

Input	[+Auth, +PSE, +Pl]	__stem__
(31a)	[]	<i>g</i> -stem__

In (33), the first column represents what specific rule is being applied. The second column is the feature specification of the terminal node; after each application of Vocabulary Insertion, the features that are discharged by the VI are removed from the second column. Finally, the third column represents the VI that is inserted by each rule.

Thus, in the case of first person plural, the first affix to be inserted is *g-*, which, according to (31a), discharges both first person (i.e. [+Auth] and [+PSE]) and plural features. Since there are no features left to be discharged, and there is no VI in the list which can be inserted

On the requirement that ergative and dative agreement morphemes must follow the verbal stem, see §5.2.

in this context, Vocabulary Insertion stops at this point. In particular, the plural suffix *-e* cannot be inserted, since the plural feature has been discharged by the prefix.³⁸

On the other hand, in the second person, two VIs are inserted, the prefix *s-* and the suffix *-e*. Vocabulary Insertion proceeds as in (34).

(34) *Second Person Plural*

Input	[−Auth, +PSE, +PI]	__-stem-__
(31e)	[−Auth, +PI]	<i>s</i> -stem-__
(31g)	[−Auth]	<i>s</i> -stem- <i>e</i>

In this case, the prefix *s-* is only specified for person ([+PSE]) features, and not for number features.³⁹ As a consequence, the suffix *-e* can be inserted, discharging the plural feature of the terminal node.⁴⁰ Thus, in the first person, the insertion of the first person plural prefix bleeds the insertion of the plural suffix in (33). On the other hand, this does not happen in the second person in (34), since the prefix does not realize number features. This is an example of what Noyer (1992) terms *discontinuous bleeding*: the realization of a specific feature (here, the plural) in one position (here, the prefix) prevents the realization of the same feature in another position (here, the suffix).

Thus, the basic difference between the first and the second person is that in the former, the prefix encodes number, while the latter does not. Note that this is a distinction that has to be made independently of whether a suffix is needed or not. In the present analysis, a direct consequence of this fact is that the plural suffix cannot be inserted in the first person, while it can in the second person. As a result, we do not need to specify that the plural suffix cannot be inserted in the context of first person. This allows us to simplify the feature specification for the suffix *-e*; its complex distribution follows from independently motivated properties of Basque person/number inflection. This is a direct consequence of the hypothesis that Fission is involved in the realization of person/number in Basque.

³⁸ The fact that insertion of *g-* occurs before insertion of *-e* can apply is due to the Subset Principle: the former is specified for more features than the latter.

³⁹ Again, note that the prefix *s-* is only specified for the person feature [+PSE], not for [-Auth]. This is not a crucial ingredient of the analysis. In particular, this does not change the fact that the node it is inserted in is fully specified for second person features (i.e. [+PSE] and [-Auth]). This is just as expected in a framework assuming late insertion.

⁴⁰ Note that in this case the order of application of VI cannot be determined by the Subset Principle, since both affixes are specified for the same number of features. Nevertheless, if Vocabulary Insertion had applied in the inverse order, the result would have been the same.

Another restriction on the insertion of the plural suffix *-e* has to do with the third person. In nominal environments, third person plural is not realized with this suffix. Rather, only the third person suffix *-a* is used (i.e. in nominal contexts, third person singular and plural are segmentally identical). The derivation for third person plural is as shown in (35).

(35) *Third Person Plural D*

Input	[-Auth, -PSE, +PI]	__-stem-__
(31f)	[-Auth, +PI]	__-stem- <i>a</i>

In this case, insertion of the third person suffix discharges the suffix position of the template. As a consequence, no more suffixes can be inserted. In particular, the plural suffix *-e* cannot be inserted. Note that in this case, the ordering of *-a* before *-e* is crucial. If the order were reversed, we would expect third plural to be *-e*, rather than *-a*. Both affixes are specified for the same number of features, so in this case their order of application must be stipulated. Furthermore, note that bleeding of *-e* by *-a* only occurs in nominal environments, as reflected in the entry for *-a* in (31f). In agreement, *-a* is not possible, so in the third plural *-e* is inserted.

Therefore, the restrictions on the distribution of the plural suffix *-e* are accounted for without the need to specify them in its lexical entry. They follow from the fact that this suffix is competing with the other affixes in (31), both in terms of the features that they realize and in the position in which they are inserted. It is in cases like these that we can see that the template proposed in (30) is necessary. Without it, more than one suffix would be inserted, given the VIs in (31).

Finally, there is another restriction related to the third person which is not directly encoded in (31). It has to do with proximity plural contexts. In these contexts, the only possible suffix is *-o*. Thus, the second person plural pronoun in this context is *s-u-o*, and the third person plural pronoun is *eur-o*. The lack of the plural suffix *-e* in the second plural is due to the fact that *-o* is specified for two features, [+PI] and [+Prox]. Since *-e* is only specified for a subset of these, i.e. [+PI], only *-o* can be inserted. Similarly, due to the template, insertion of *-o* in the suffix position in the third person plural prevents the insertion of third person *-a* in the same position. In these cases, the order of *-o* before *-e* and *-a* follows from the Subset

Principle, since the former is specified for more features than the latter. The derivation for these two cases is as in (36).

(36) a. *Second Person Plural in Proximity Contexts*

Input [-Auth, +PSE, +Pl, +Prox] *_-stem-_*

(31d) [-Auth, +PSE] *_-stem-o*

(31e) [-Auth] *s-stem-o*

b. *Third Person Plural in Proximity Contexts*

Input [-Auth, -PSE, +Pl, +Prox] *_-stem-_*

(31d) [-Auth, -PSE] *_-stem-o*

To conclude, in this analysis, several of the restrictions on particular affixes mentioned in §4.1 are a consequence of the hypothesis that person/number nodes in Basque are subject to Fission due to the template in (30). This allows us to simplify greatly the entries for the relevant VIs, accounting for those restrictions in a uniform manner.

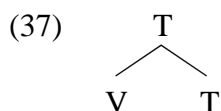
5. Stems in Basque Person/Number Inflection

In previous sections, I have concentrated on the realization of person/number features as affixes, ignoring what stems they attach to and in which manner this attachment occurs. The present section is devoted to these stems. First, §5.1 discusses the structure of finite verbal forms in Basque. This structure is important in the analysis developed in §5.2, which accounts for the different kinds of stems that the affixes attach to, both in nominal and verbal environments. Furthermore, the analysis will also account for certain puzzling similarities between pronouns and Agr_{Erg}/Agr_{Dat} that were noted in §3.

5.1. The structure of tensed verbs in Basque

As was shown in §3, all finite verbs in Basque contain absolutive, dative, and ergative agreement morphemes. In this section, I provide an analysis of the structure of finite verbs in which all these agreement morphemes are assigned a position.

In Laka (1990) (see also Arregi 2000), it is proposed that the basic structure of finite verbs in Basque is as in (37).⁴¹



In (37), V is the main verb in synthetic forms and the auxiliary in analytical forms. In the former, V adjoins to T via head movement; in the latter, V is inserted to meet the requirement that T must be ‘supported’ by a verbal category.⁴²

What is important for the present analysis is to locate the different agreement morphemes that appear in the structure of tensed verbs in (37). In order to determine this, it is helpful to see what the linear arrangement of these morphemes is with respect to others in the verbal complex. (38) contains some relevant examples.

- (38) a. n -u
 1SG.ABS -go
- c. s -atos -e
 2ABS -come -PL.ABS
- b. s -atxu -t
 2ABS -Aux -1SG.ERG
- d. s -atxu -e -t
 2ABS -Aux -PL.ABS -1SG.ERG

As was shown in §2.3, absolutive agreement is realized affixed to the verbal stem. This can be seen clearly in all the examples in (38). Absolutive agreement prefixes immediately precede the relevant verbal stem, while the plural absolutive suffix *-e* immediately follows the verbal stem. Furthermore, as shown in the transitive examples in (38), ergative agreement

⁴¹ In Arregi (2000) I also assume that in certain tensed forms there is also an Asp head adjoined to T, but which is never realized overtly. Since this covert head will have no effect on the analysis, I will ignore it here for the sake of exposition.

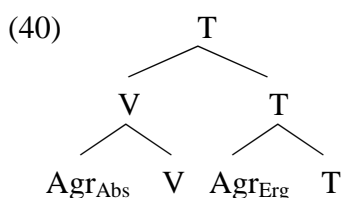
⁴² In fact, it is very plausible that what I am identifying as V is in fact more complex. Thus, in a form like *n-a-u-Ø* (1SG.ABS, 3SG.ERG), the verbal stem is *-au-*. The initial *-a-* in this stem varies according to tense and agreement. However, the conditions under which this affix and related ones appear is far more complicated than might seem at first. It seems to be related to tense in some manner. Thus, in standard Basque, it is used only in present forms, while *-i(n)-* appears in past forms (as in *n-in-du-en*, 1SG.ABS, 3SG.ERG). In the Ondarroa dialect the facts are more complicated, *-i(n)-* (or *-e-*) appearing only in some past forms, and *-a-* appearing in other past forms and always in the present. Thus, at least in this dialect, it does not seem to be the direct realization of tense. Although a full analysis of Basque verbal inflection should take all these facts into account, to provide an analysis for them would be well beyond the scope of this paper, which concentrates only on the spellout of agreement morphemes. As far as I can tell, there is no satisfactory analysis of this morpheme in the literature. Probably, this is simply because there is nothing to say about it, except for the fact that its distribution is irregular. For instance, Rotaetxe (1978) gives a somewhat detailed description of verbal inflection in Ondarroa Basque, but has nothing to say about this specific morpheme.

Another affix which I assume is part of what I am calling the verbal stem is the so-called *plural -tx-* affix. As I argued for in §3.1, this affix is not the realization of plural agreement, and I assume that it is simply adjoined to verbs in the context of certain cases of absolutive agreement.

follows both the verbal stem and the plural absolutive suffix. Finally, consider the examples in (39), which contain the overt past morpheme *-n*.

- (39) n -a -sue -n
 1SG.ABS -Aux -2PL.ERG -PST

The examples in (39) show that the tense morpheme is final in the verbal complex. I shall assume that this linear order is derived from the structure in (40).



Note that the left-to-right order in which the nodes are arranged in (39) is irrelevant at the level of the syntactic structure. What is important about this structure is that, since absolutive agreement is sister to V and ergative agreement is sister to T, it correctly derives the fact that absolutive agreement is closer to the verbal stem than ergative agreement. This is the right result, since, as we saw above, when absolutive agreement is realized as a suffix, it precedes ergative agreement. The fact that ergative agreement and tense are sisters in (40) derives the fact that these two morphemes are always adjacent.⁴³

Finally, we need to determine the position of dative agreement in the structure of the inflected verb. As was shown in §3.3, what looks like a single Agr_{Dat} morpheme is in fact a string composed of Agr_{Dat} and DAT, where the latter is a morpheme which always appears in finite verbs containing Agr_{Dat} . Thus, we now need to determine the location of two different morphemes: DAT and Agr_{Dat} . As illustrated in (41)), the string derived from these two morphemes surfaces between the verbal stem and Agr_{Erg} .

⁴³ In this paper I do not offer an analysis of the syntax of agreement in Basque, i.e. I have nothing to say about what determines the appearance of agreement morphemes in the verbal structure. Note that the structure in (32) might be seen as compatible with theories in which absolutive case and agreement are verb-related, while ergative case and agreement are tense-related (see Chomsky 1993, Bobaljik 1993, Arregi 1998). However, this is not straightforward, since, at least in analytical forms, the verbal stem in inflected verbs is neither the main verb nor the v projected above the main verb, as I argue in Arregi (2000). Whether these proposals can be made compatible with the morphologically motivated structure in (32) is a question that I leave for future research.

- (41) Es to-**tzu**-t emo-n liburu.
 Not Aux-**DAT**+**2SG.DAT**-1SG.ERG give-PRF book(ABS)
 ‘I have not given you the book.’

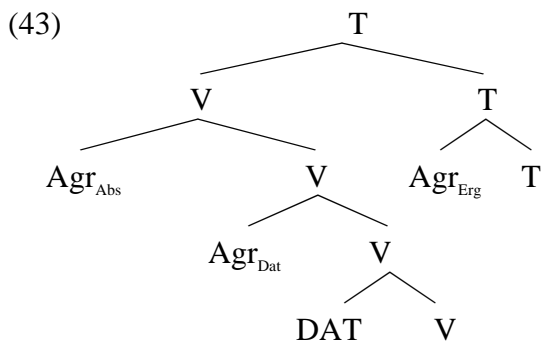
However, we also need to know where these morphemes are located with respect to the Agr_{Abs} plural suffix *-e*, which is also located between the verbal stem and Agr_{Erg}. Unfortunately, there is no evidence in this respect in the dialect studied here. Two factors conspire to make this impossible. First, the plural suffix *-e* appears only when Agr_{Abs} is second person plural.⁴⁴ Second, in this dialect, as in many other Basque dialects, a strong version of the Person-Case Constraint holds, i.e. when there is dative agreement, absolutive agreement has to be third person. As a result, Agr_{Dat} and absolutive *-e* cannot co-occur in the same verb in this dialect. However, in Standard Basque, this constraint holds only if Agr_{Erg} is present, so it is possible to have both absolutive *-e* and Agr_{Dat} in the same verb if there is no Agr_{Erg}. This is illustrated in (42).⁴⁵

- (42) Etorr-i z-atza-**i-zki-gu**-te. (Standard Basque)
 come-PRF 2ABS-Aux-**DAT**-**ZKI**-**1PL.DAT**-PL.ABS
 ‘Y’all have come to us.’

(42) shows that both DAT and Agr_{Dat} precede the plural Agr_{Abs} *-te* (the standard equivalent to plural *-e* in Ondarroa). This means that these two morphemes are closer to the verbal stem, i.e. more embedded, than Agr_{Abs}. Therefore, I conclude that the structure of a Basque verb inflected for the three types of agreement must be as in (43).

⁴⁴ In the third person, there is no *-e* because, by hypothesis, there is no third person absolutive agreement (see §3.1). In the first person plural, there is no *-e* for reasons that were discussed in §4.2.

⁴⁵ Note that the Standard Basque example in (42) contains a morpheme *-zki-* (glossed as *ZKI*) which intervenes between DAT and Agr_{Dat}. This is an allomorph of the so-called plural morpheme discussed in section §3.1. For reasons discussed there, this is in fact not a plural agreement affix, but simply a historical relic which can simply be analyzed as an ‘extension’ of the verbal stem in certain contexts.



In this structure, Agr_{Dat} is adjoined to the verbal stem (which contains, among other things, DAT), and Agr_{Abs} is adjoined above Agr_{Dat}. This whole structure is in turn adjoined to the T+Agr_{Erg} complex. Of course, as mentioned before, the linear order in (43) is irrelevant. This structure only reflects hierarchical relationships among nodes in the structure of the verb, which only partially determine linear order among these nodes. Thus, according to the structure in (43), Agr_{Dat} must be closer to the stem than Agr_{Abs}. However, this structure does not imply that, for instance, Agr_{Abs} must precede Agr_{Dat}, or that it must follow it. The structure in (43) is compatible with both linear orders. What specific linear order among these nodes is realized is the result of other constraints. This will be, in part, the topic of §5.2.

In this section I have presented morphological evidence for the structure of tensed verbs in (43). Nevertheless, I have not tried to relate this structure to the syntax of case and agreement in general. As was noted in footnote 43, trying to relate this structure to theories where absolutive is verb-related and ergative is tense-related is not without problems. The same kind of problems arise with DAT and Agr_{Dat}. One could be tempted to equate DAT to some kind of applicative head (see Marantz 1993). This would run into the problems mentioned in footnote 43, and would also not be able to account for cases in which a direct object has dative case. This tends to occur in many dialects, including Ondarroa, whenever the direct object is first or second person. In these cases, the direct object is dative, and agreement with the direct object is done with Agr_{Dat}. Furthermore, the tensed verb also contains DAT. Thus, there is a correlation between DAT and Agr_{Dat}, but the correlation between DAT and indirect objects is not as straightforward as one would expect if this head were an applicative head. Thus, the morphologically motivated structure (43) seems to be somewhat related to the structure of the clause, but it is not clear what this relation should be. However, for the purposes of this paper, it is enough to assume the structure in (43), and its relation to the syntax of case and agreement is a topic that I will leave for future work.

5.2. Epenthetic Stems in Basque

In the previous sections I have shown that the similarities in spell out of person/number features found across categories justifies having vocabulary items realizing these features that are not specified to be inserted in a particular node. Still, there are important differences between the different categories which we must still account for.

The most important difference is exemplified by the contrast between the stem used in nominal environments and the one used in Agr_{Abs} . In the latter, the affixes realizing person/number features attach to the verbal stem. However, in nominal environments, the stem used depends on the specific context in which the affixes are inserted. Thus, in full XPs, the third person suffix *-a* attaches to the last word in the XP. However, in pronouns (including third person pronouns), which are bare Ds, no stem is available within the DP, so a set of special stems (*i, u, eu, ber, eur*) is used. This interpretation of these facts seems reasonable; since the affixes which are inserted in D need to attach to some stem and none is available, a special *epenthetic* stem is inserted. Something similar occurs in other constructions in other languages. Consider the case of the English comparative suffix *-er*. It can only be attached to stems of a particular phonological shape (i.e. monosyllabic); if such a stem is not available, the default stem *mo* is inserted to satisfy the requirement that *-er* must be a suffix.

However, one could argue that these pronominal stems are not epenthetic in the sense described above. It could be that pronouns are not bare Ds, as was assumed in §2; rather, it could be that pronouns are Ds with some kind of NP complement, whose realization is these stems. Under this view, these stems would not be epenthetic, nor would they be inserted so that the D affixes attach to them. Rather, they would be realizations of some nominal category present in all pronouns.

The realization of Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} suggests that this cannot be the case, and that the analysis of the pronominal stems as epenthetic is on the right track. As we saw in §3.2, a striking property of certain realizations of these nodes is that they need the same stem as is used in pronouns, i.e. *u*. The table in (44) contains the relevant forms.

(44) ‘Pronominal’ Stems in Agreement Nodes

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>SG</i>	-t	-s- u	∅
<i>PL</i>	-g- u	-s- u -e	-e

The generalization that can be drawn from (44) is the one stated in (45).

(45) The stem *u* is inserted in Agr_{Erg}/Agr_{Dat} if a prefix is inserted in Agr_{Erg}/Agr_{Dat}.

That is, the stem *u* is needed only when a prefix (i.e. *s-* or *g-*) is used. The fact that the stem which is inserted in this case is *u* and not any other one is not surprising: it is the same one that is inserted in pronouns when they have the same person/number features (i.e. first person plural or second person).

If the stems that are inserted in pronouns were the realization of some nominal category inside DPs, the fact that these stems are also necessary in some agreement nodes would be very puzzling. Still, one could argue that in fact, Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} are pronominal clitics. However, this would not explain why only some instances of agreement require this stem. Therefore, an account of these stems in which they realize some kind of nominal category would not be satisfactory. In the remainder of this section I will argue that analyzing these stems as epenthetic can account for their distribution in both pronouns and agreement in a satisfactory way. The analysis will follow from independently needed assumptions on the mapping between the syntactic hierarchical structure and linear order.

Why these epenthetic stems are needed in pronouns is straightforward. Since pronouns are bare Ds with no complement, there is no stem to which the affixes that realize D can attach. Thus, some kind of stem must be inserted in order to satisfy the affixal requirement of the pieces in D. I will assume that these stems are introduced by some kind of readjustment rule (see Halle & Marantz 1993), i.e. after vocabulary insertion, since the application of the relevant rule depends on the fact that the specific vocabulary items that are inserted in D need a stem. Thus, I propose the rules of *stem insertion* in (46).

- (46) a. $\emptyset \rightarrow eu / __[+PSE, +Emph]$ ('emphatic first and second persons')
- b. $\emptyset \rightarrow i / __[+Auth, -Pl]$ ('first person singular')
- c. $\emptyset \rightarrow u / __[+PSE]$ ('first person plural and second person')
- d. $\emptyset \rightarrow eur / [+Pl]$ ('third person plural')
- e. $\emptyset \rightarrow ber$ ('third person')

These rules must be understood as a sort of repair rules, i.e. they apply only if necessary to satisfy the affixal requirement of some vocabulary item.

On the other hand, the default stem is necessary in agreement only in some cases. Specifically, they are never necessary in Agr_{Abs} , and they are necessary in Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} only if they contain a prefix (i.e. generalization (45)). Why a default stem is not necessary in Agr_{Abs} is straightforward. As we saw in §5.1, Agr_{Abs} is adjoined to V, i.e. the verbal stem. Therefore, as one would expect, the affixes inserted in Agr_{Abs} simply attach to the verbal stem. In Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} there are two patterns: (i) if the agreement node contains a prefix, the affixes attach to a default stem, not the verbal one; and (ii) otherwise, the affix (i.e. suffix) attaches to the verbal stem. Case (ii) is not surprising; it is what we expect. Case (i) is the surprising one. Somehow, the presence of a prefix in Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} blocks their attachment to the verbal stem.

These facts can be stated as the generalization in (47).

(47) Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} must follow the verbal stem.⁴⁶

(47) simply states the generalization that Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} always follow the verbal stem. Thus, there seems to be a requirement on the linear position of Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} which is independent of the affixes that are inserted in them. On the other hand, nothing like this is true of Agr_{Abs} ; whether a particular affix precedes or follows the verbal stem only depends on its status as a prefix or a suffix. In fact, there are cases in which Agr_{Abs} both precedes and follows the verbal stem, since a prefix and a suffix have been inserted in the agreement node.

In order to make that requirement on Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} precise, we need to make explicit our assumptions on the mapping between hierarchical syntactic structures and linear order. I assume that this is achieved through some version of Marantz's (1988) Mapping Principle. Basically, this principle states that a relation between α and β at level X corresponds to some other relation between α and β at level Y. For our purposes, the relevant levels are the hierarchical syntactic structure and the string of vocabulary items realizing the nodes in that structure. The relations between the nodes in the structure include, among others, sisterhood. In the string of vocabulary items, the relevant relation is linear adjacency. Thus, the mapping

⁴⁶ As should be clear by now, I am using the term *verbal stem* here, as elsewhere in the paper, meaning 'verbal root plus any other morphemes that have been realized so far.' Thus, the fact that ergative agreement follows the verbal stem means that it follows the verbal root plus absolutive agreement and dative agreement (if there is any).

principle states that syntactic sisterhood relations can be mapped to phonological adjacency relations.

This is precisely what seems to be happening with Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} , according to (47). The sisterhood relation between V and Agr is mapped onto an adjacency relation where V is left adjacent to Agr. This is presented schematically in (48) (where $\alpha*\beta$ means ‘ α is left adjacent to β ’).

$$(48) \quad [[V][Agr]] \rightarrow V*Agr$$

Furthermore, I will assume that this is a requirement only on Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} , not on Agr_{Abs} .⁴⁷ As a consequence, the linearization of the two types of agreement will depend on different factors. In the case of Agr_{Abs} , it only depends on the prefix or suffix status of the pieces inserted in it, so their ordering with respect to the verbal stem is straightforward, as shown above. As for Agr_{Dat} and Agr_{Erg} , it depends on (48), as well as the particular requirements of the specific affixes inserted in them.

In order to see how this accounts for the insertion of the epenthetic stems in $\text{Agr}_{\text{Dat}}/\text{Agr}_{\text{Erg}}$, consider first the case of the first person singular, in which no epenthetic stem is necessary. (49) provides a specific example, with first person singular Agr_{Erg} (the derivation for first person singular Agr_{Dat} would be identical in the relevant respects).⁴⁸

$$(49) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a.} \quad s \quad -atxu -t \\ \quad \quad 2\text{ABS} -\text{Aux} -1\text{SG.ERG} \\ \text{b.} \quad [[V][\text{Agr}_{\text{Erg}}]] \rightarrow [[s-atxu] * [-t]] \rightarrow s-atxu-t \end{array}$$

In this specific case, the requirement imposed by the suffix inserted in Agr_{Erg} and requirement (48) on Agr_{Erg} are in effect the same: the affix has to be right adjacent to the verbal stem. The same thing happens in the other case when only a suffix is inserted in Agr_{Erg} and Agr_{Dat} , i.e. *-e* in the third person plural.

⁴⁷ It is not clear what this difference between the two kinds of agreement might derive from, so for the moment this is simply a stipulation.

⁴⁸ In the structure in (49), the V node also contains Agr_{Abs} , but this is not relevant for the realization of the Agr_{Erg} node. I have also ignored T for the same reason.

However, things are quite different when a prefix is inserted in these agreement nodes. (50) is a relevant case, with first person plural Agr_{Dat} .

- (50) a. d -o -tz -gu (> dosku)
 3ABS -Aux -DAT -1PL.DAT
 b. $[[V][\text{Agr}_{\text{Dat}}]] \rightarrow [[d-o-tz] * [g-]]$

As shown in (50b), the two requirements on the linear order of Agr_{Dat} are contradictory in this case. On the one hand, the prefix *g-* must be to the left of a stem. On the other hand, the mapping requirement in (50) requires it to be to the right of the verbal stem. The only way to satisfy both requirements is to insert an epenthetic stem, which will be *u* (cf. (46)).⁴⁹ Thus, the complete derivation is as in (51).

- (51) $[[V][\text{Agr}_{\text{Dat}}]] \rightarrow [[d-o-tz] * [g-]] \rightarrow d-o-tz-g-u$

Thus, the basic idea is that a default stem is inserted whenever an affix has no other stem to attach to. In pronouns, this is always the case, since they are bare Ds. In Agr_{Abs} , the affixes can always attach to the verbal stem. Since there is no ordering requirement on the node Agr_{Abs} , only the requirements of the affixes must be met. In Agr_{Erg} and Agr_{Dat} , they affix to the stem only if it does not violate (48); otherwise, an epenthetic stem is inserted. This last case occurs only if a prefix is inserted in the agreement node: prefixing to the verbal stem would violate (48). This does not happen with Agr_{Abs} , since (48) does not hold for Agr_{Abs} . Thus, (48), together with independently motivated properties of Basque inflection, explains why certain cases of agreement, and not others, look like pronouns in that they contain *pronominal* stems.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have provided a unified analysis of person/number inflection in Basque. The main generalization that has been captured is that the realization of these features in Basque is

⁴⁹ In fact, there is another way in which both requirements could be satisfied, i.e. through Morphological Merger (see Marantz 1988, Embick & Noyer 1999). Why it does not apply in this case is a question that I will leave for future research. Note, however, that the answer would depend on a theory that would explain the different motivations for the application of this operation, and the differences between languages which in the same type of contexts differ on whether they use Merger or not. However, no such theory has been advanced yet.

quite uniform across categories, i.e. in nominal environments and in verbal agreement. Within the framework of DM, I have implemented this by having a set of VIs most of whose members are not specified to be inserted in nodes of a particular category. In §4, a Fission analysis based on this assumption was presented, in which the details of the distribution of person/number affixes were explained. Thus, a principled account has been offered for the distribution of person/number affixes in Basque, based on the crucial notions of underspecification and late insertion.

Furthermore, I have also shown that all the items realizing person/number features are affixes that attach to some stem. What stem is used depends on the context. If none is available, as in pronouns, I have proposed that an epenthetic stem is inserted. This, together with plausible assumptions about the mapping between syntax and linear order, allowed us to explain one of the most puzzling properties of Basque agreement, namely, that only certain cases of agreement are identical to pronouns.

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The Role Of Verbal Agreement in Licensing Null Arguments

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Abstract

It has been argued that Agreement plays an important role in a number of syntactic phenomena, such as Case checking, the licensing of null arguments, and free word order variation. In this article I review two main functions that have been attributed to Agr: Agr as a licenser of pro, and Agr as a theta-licenser (Baker 1996). Drawing from the data observed in non-finite constructions in Basque, which do not show overt morphological agreement, it is shown that we can dispense with the syntactic functions attributed to Agr, since null pronominals and free variation in the order of constituents also occur in these constructions. Instead, it is proposed that empty categories in non-finite constructions function as pronominal variables, being bound to a D-linked topic, and that reordering of constituents depends upon the possibility of moving phrases to the domain of CP.

0. Introduction*

In this paper I explore the semantic interpretation and syntactic function of verbal agreement in Basque. Two claims will be made: first, I will argue that the phi-features of Agr are not necessary for licensing empty categories in argument position, and, secondly, I will show that the correlation that Baker (1996) establishes between free word order and the presence of morphological agreement does not hold in Basque. Rather, I propose that (relatively) free constituent order requires having [Spec, CP] or adjunction to CP as a potential landing site of scrambled and/or focused arguments.¹

The article is organized as follows. Section 1 discusses the syntactic function of Agr in finite and non-finite clauses in Basque. In section 1.1 I present the standard analysis, which argues in favour of an Agr-based approach for the existence of *pro*-drop in Basque. Section

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¹ For reasons of space, some of the issues addressed in this paper will not receive an extensive discussion. For further details readers are encouraged to consult in Elordieta (2000).

1.2 shows that Basque allows *pro*-drop in non-finite contexts as well, despite the absence of morphological agreement. In section 2 I discuss the theoretical status of such empty categories and suggest that they may be considered as pronominal elements which behave as variables, since they are bound by a topic in an A'-position. Section 3 examines the role of agreement in word order in Basque. In this section I review Baker's (1996) correlation between rich agreement and the possibility of permutation of the constituents of a finite sentence, which he proposes for polysynthetic languages. Drawing from the data in non-finite sentences, I show that agreement is not the factor permitting free word order in Basque, and I suggest that constituent permutation is possible if the functional structure and the syntactic configuration required to host scrambled and focused constituents is available. Basically, whether movement to [Spec, CP] or adjunction to CP is available. Finally, in section 4 I draw the general conclusions made in the paper.

1. Standard analyses of *pro*-drop

1.1. Pro-drop in rich agreement languages

Basque is a three-way *pro*-drop language, as subjects and objects (direct and indirect objects) can be freely omitted (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Laka 1988).² In standard accounts of the distribution of *pro* in null subject languages, it is generally assumed (following an original idea proposed by Taraldsen 1980), that rich verbal agreement is tightly related with the possibility of allowing null arguments. Based on this idea, Rizzi (1986) formulates the *pro*-drop parameter with the proviso of the *pro* module, which basically requires that *pro* be both licensed and identified by an X°. Thus, in rich agreement languages like Italian or Spanish, fully-fledged verbal agreement (Agr) governs the empty category in subject position, and thus, it licenses it and makes it possible to recover the content of the null subject (cf. also Chomsky 1982). In essence, the Agr-dependent account for *pro*-drop intends to capture the intuition that the phi-features or the nominal features for person, number and gender, marked as clitics on the verb, are responsible for determining the content of the missing argument.

Note that the *pro*-drop parameter is mainly concerned with null *subject* languages, since in most of the languages studied to deal with the *pro*-drop phenomenon, the morphological

specification of phi-features on verbal agreement only refers to/is only associated with the category occupying the subject position. Given this fact, one predicts that languages showing object agreement on the verb should allow a null pronominal in object position. Indeed, this is what occurs in Basque finite clauses. Sentences constituted by a single verb and the inflected auxiliary are completely grammatical, as the example in (1a) illustrates. Consider the pair of examples given in (1),³ where null arguments (1a) alternate with overt arguments (1b):⁴

- (1) a. pro pro mires-ten z-a-it-u-t
 admire-IMP 2A-PRES-PL-root-1E
 ‘(I) admire (you).’
- b. Ni-k zu-Ø mires-ten z-a-it-u-t
 I-E you-A admire-IMP 2A-PRES-PL-root-1E
 ‘I admire you.’

Verbal agreement with the arguments of a verb is obligatory in Basque finite clauses. This holds regardless of the overt or null occurrence of the arguments. Thus, the inflected auxiliary verb in each sentence in (1) unambiguously agrees with the subject and the object(s) by means of the markers encoded in the inflected verb form, as is shown in the glosses. Let us consider (1b), for instance. Here two person agreement markers appear attached to the auxiliary root, one corresponding to the direct object of the transitive verb, e.g. the 2.p.sg. (/z-/), and the other corresponding to the subject, e.g. the 1.p.sg. (/t/). Under the standard assumption that Agr licenses empty nominal categories, one would expect that agreeing arguments can be dropped in Basque, and, indeed, the prediction is borne out, as is shown in (1a). Moreover, indirect objects also agree with the verb, and, as expected, they may be omitted, as in (2a):⁵

² I would like to point out that throughout the paper I will assume an underlying SOV order for Basque, as this is the neutral constituent order in the language (cf. de Rijk 1969 and much subsequent work). For an alternative basic SVO order in Basque, see Ormazabal, Uriagereka & Uribe-Etxebarria (1994), Albizu (1995), Elordieta (1997).

³ Basque is an ergative language in its morphology, i.e. the subject argument of transitive and unergative verbs bears a morphological case (ergative) distinct from the case of the subject of an unaccusative verb (absolutive), which is the same case of the object of a transitive verb. As shown in the examples, absolutive case is morphologically null, represented here as $-\emptyset$.

⁴ These are the glosses and abbreviations I will be using in the text: E=ergative, A=absolutive, D=dative, root=verbal root, DEF=definite article, PERF=perfective participle, IMP=imperfective participle, PRES=present tense, SG=singular, PL=plural marker, NOM=nominalizer, C=complementizer.

⁵ In some traditional Basque grammars, it is generally assumed that *d-* represents the person agreement marker corresponding to the 3.p. However, following de Rijk (1992), I treat /d(a)-/ as a present tense morpheme. Cf. also Trask (1977), Euskaltzaindia (1987), Laka (1988, 1992), and Elordui (1995) for the idea that the 3.p. has no overt agreement markers, and Heath (1976), Ortiz de Urbina (1989) for the opposite view that /d-/ represents a 3.p. marker.

- (2) a. pro pro pro eman-Ø Ø-d-i-zki-zu-t
 give-PERF 3A-PRES-root-PL-2D-1E
 ‘(I) have given (them) (to you).’
- b. Ni-k zu-ri musu-ak-Ø eman- Ø Ø-d-i-zki-zu-t
 I-E you-D kiss-DEF.PL-A give- PERF 3A-PRES-root-PL-2D-1E
 ‘I have given kisses to you.’

1.2. Null arguments in non-agreeing languages

Notwithstanding the above, Huang (1984, 1989) points out that the distribution of null arguments cannot be only governed by the presence of rich agreement, given the existence of null subjects and null objects in languages which lack overt agreement inflection, such as Chinese and Japanese. On the basis of these facts, Huang proposes an analysis of null pronominals based on control: his *Generalized Control Rule* (GCR), which tries to capture the occurrence of *pro* in both Chinese-type and Italian-type of null subject languages.⁶

(3) *Generalized Control Rule*

Coindex an empty pronominal with the closest nominal element (NP or Agr)⁷

According to the GCR, null subjects in Italian are coindexed with Agr, and since Agr is able to identify the empty pronominal, a *pro* subject is legitimate in that context. On the opposite side, Chinese lacks Agreement, but *pro* is still possible as a subject in an embedded clause since it can take an NP in a higher clause (either a subject or object) as its antecedent, just like any overt pronominal:

- (4) Zhangsan_i shuo [e_i hen xihuan Lisi]
 Zhangsan say very like Lisi
 ‘Zhangsan_i said that (he)_i liked Lisi.’ (Huang 1989: [4a])

In addition, Huang notes that empty objects are also possible in Chinese. However, it follows from the GCR that they are not instances of *pro*, firstly, as there is no object agreement in Chinese, and, secondly, because the GCR would force a *pro* object to be

⁶ See Jaeggli & Safir (1989), for the similar idea that “uniform” agreement paradigms license null subjects.

⁷ Huang defines *closeness* in terms of c-command.

coindexed with the subject of its own clause (i.e., the closest nominal element). However, this would lead to a principle B violation, and hence, the result is expected to be ungrammatical. Note that even if we allow for the GCR to hold across clause boundaries, the null object cannot refer to the matrix subject, according to Huang. This is shown by the example in (5), taken from Huang (1989):

- (5) Zhangsan_i shuo [Lisi_k hen xihuan e_{*k, *i}]
 Zhangsan say Lisi very like
 ‘Zhangsan_i said that Lisi_k liked him_{*k, *i}’ (Huang (1989):[4b])

Huang argues that the null object illustrated in (5) must refer to a discourse topic, which can be overt or non-overt. Assuming that the Topic position is an A’-position (Chomsky 1977 1982), the null argument is A’-bound, thus, by definition (Chomsky 1982), it is a variable. Hence, we expect it to be subject to Condition C of the Binding Theory, that is, it must be A-free. The prediction is borne out, as is shown in (5) by the impossible A-binding relation between the matrix subject and the null object.

In the next section, I will present an analysis of null arguments in Basque which provide further support to the variable analysis posed by Huang.

1.3. Problems for an Agr-dependent account

An approach which relies heavily on the presence of agreement in order to license (and identify) the occurrence of empty referential arguments proves to be problematic on the basis of three relevant factors.

Firstly, as has been discussed in the foregoing paragraph, it leaves unexplained the existence of empty pronominals in languages such as Chinese or Japanese, which lack an overt specification for Agr in their particular grammars.

Secondly, Basque provides empirical evidence that shows that Agr is not necessary to license and identify empty categories with referential interpretation. The evidence comes from the fact that null arguments are found in non-finite constructions, despite overt agreement is absent in these contexts. Moreover, in a parallel manner to what is observed in finite clauses, empty categories in non-finite sentences alternate with lexical DPs, as is illustrated in (6a-b):

- (6) a. pronahi Ø-d-u-zu [ni-k Jon-i egia oso-a-Ø gaur bertan esa-te-a]?
 want 3A-PRES-root-2E [I-E Jon-D truth all-DEF-A today just say-NOM-DEF]
 ‘Do you want me to tell Jon the truth just today?’
- b. pro_i nahi Ø-d-u-zu [e e_{i/k} e gaur bertan esa-te-a]?
 want 3A-PRES-root-2E [today just say-NOM-DEF]
 ‘Do you_i want me/him_j to tell (it) to you_i/him_k just today?’

The examples show that any of the three arguments of a verb can be omitted in non-finite clauses, akin to what occurs in finite sentences (cf. (1) and (2) above). Thus, in (6b) both the embedded subject and the two objects have been left out. Note also, as shown earlier with regard to finite contexts, that null subjects and null objects in non-finite clauses can freely alternate with lexical DPs, as illustrated in (6a). Therefore, they cannot be instances of PRO. The reference of the embedded empty categories may be controlled by an argument of the matrix clause, as is shown by the possibility of coindexing the embedded null indirect object with the matrix subject. However, control is not required in these contexts. Importantly, these empty categories can take its reference from a different source, namely, from a discourse topic. In effect, the reference of each of the null arguments exemplified in (6b) can be determined in the discourse via coreference with one (or more) salient topic(s), which itself can be overt or non-overt (the latter possibility arises only if its reference can be recovered from the discourse). Thus, consider a context in which e.g. there is a story that involves Jon, but Jon ignores the exact details of that story, perhaps because they may affect him. In this context, I may offer myself to tell Jon the truth, by asking the question in (6b), or in (6a), indistinctly.

Thus, we see that these empty categories are neither instances of PRO nor of *pro* (since there is no rich agreement that can license them (following Rizzi 1986 and related work)). Which type of empty category do they represent, then? As will be argued in the next section, I propose treating null arguments in non-finite sentences as *pro* variables, i.e., as *pro* A'-bound by a discourse topic.

Before we move into the following section, I would like to point out a third problematic case for an Agr-based analysis. The data come from languages such as Brazilian Portuguese (BP), where the inflectional system is getting impoverished, but yet null subjects and null objects are possible in the language. As for null objects, it has been argued that they are not

pronominal elements, but rather variables (Raposo 1986).⁸ On the other hand, null subjects in BP display a number of properties typical of pronominal elements (for instance, the fact that null subjects can be A-bound), despite the fact that Agr is not rich enough to identify the empty category (see Negrao 1997, Modesto 1999). These authors conclude that the occurrence of null subjects in BP is not directly related to the presence of agreement. This conclusion points in the same direction argued for here, i.e., that Agreement is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the licensing of *pro*, at least in the languages examined in this section.

2. Null arguments in non-finite sentences as pronominal variables

2.1. Previous analyses

Surprisingly, the occurrence and licensing of empty categories in non-finite constructions in Basque has received little attention in the literature. As far as I know, there is only one proposal which deals specifically with the matter, namely, Zabala and Odriozola's (1996) work on Basque nominalizations (henceforth Z&O).⁹ Z&O argue that Basque finite and non-finite clauses are essentially identical in their phrase structure, with the difference that in non-finite constructions the node Agreement, which they consider to have strong features, is not morphologically specified, as opposed to the overt strong Agr of finite clauses. Following standard assumptions among Basque linguists (cf. Oyharçabal 1992, Cheng & Demirdache 1993, Fernandez 1997), Z&O assume the presence of an agreement projection per argument, in which domain Case checking and verbal agreement are established (see Z&O 1996) for a detailed discussion of the technical implementation of their proposal). Given that lexical DPs in Basque are marked with Case both in finite and in non-finite constructions (cf. the nominalizations in (6a-b)), Z&O conclude that Agr projections are present in the syntactic structure of non-finite constructions as well. On the other hand, in order to explain how null arguments are licensed in infinitival contexts, they propose that a *pro* can be licensed by one of the following mechanisms: (i) by having a rich agreement morphology, or (ii) by having an Agr with strong features. Z&O argue that what licenses *pro* in Basque non-finite contexts is the fact that Agr has strong features.

⁸ Cf., however, Menuzzi (1994), who demonstrates that there is an asymmetry with respect to the \pm animacy of null objects. He claims that only animate null objects are variables, whereas inanimate null objects can be characterized as empty pronominals.

⁹ For a detailed study of Basque nominalizations, see Goenaga (1985) and Artiagoitia (1992).

This analysis has several problems, however. On the one hand, no empirical evidence is provided for the existence of Agr in non-finite constructions. Essentially, the argumentation behind such an assumption is theory-internal, i.e. it is derived from independent principles such as Case assignment theory and the licensing of null pronominals. In particular, the authors assume that Case checking is established in the specifier position of AgrPs —as in early minimalism (Chomsky 1993). Hence, the presence of case-marked DPs in non-finite sentences, as well as the existence of null referential arguments, which they take to be instances of *pro*, lead the authors to claim that the Agr nodes are present in such contexts, although they are not *visible* in the overt syntax. Nevertheless, against this background, there are proposals, such as Iatridou (1990), Murasugi (1992), and more recently Chomsky (1995) himself, which argue against the assumption that Agreement projections exist at all. This weakens considerably Z&O’s hypothesis, which is based on the assumption that Case checking requires the existence of AgrPs.

A further problem of Z&O’s proposal is that it does not explain how the (non-anaphoric) referential null arguments receive their interpretation. Given that the morphological specification of Agr is too *weak* to identify the empty pronominals, Z&O propose that the recovery of the content of *pro* is independent from its formal licensing (Z&O 1996:248), and that *pro* in non-finite clauses is licensed by an Agr with strong features. In the case of controlled null arguments, Z&O follow Borer (1989) and Bobaljik (1993), and hypothesize that controlled *pro*-s receive their interpretation by being bound to an argument of the matrix clause. This may be done by either assuming an anaphoric Agr (Borer 1989) in the infinitival clause, or an anaphoric Tense (Bobaljik 1993). According to Bobaljik, Control phenomena arise as a result of the fact that the embedded clause has a dependent (or anaphoric) Tense, which must raise to the matrix Tense at LF. He further assumes that controlled subjects sit in the [Spec, T] position, accounting therefore for the fact that they get their reference from an argument of the matrix clause. Nevertheless, as Z&O correctly point out, it is not clear how the anaphoric nature of Tense is related to anaphoric agreement. Furthermore, it is not clear to me either how such a proposal could capture cases of optional controlled arguments, as is illustrated in the example in (7):

- (7) Miren-ek_t gu-ri_k [e_k/zu-k e_{v/m} kotxez erama-te-ko] eskatu digu
 Miren-E we-D [you-E car-by bring-NOM-ko] ask-PERF AUX
 ‘Miren_t has asked us/for you to take her_{t/k}/him by car.’

There are two null arguments in the embedded clause of this example. The most preferred interpretation of the null embedded subject is that it refers to the matrix indirect object *guri* ‘to us’. However, it is also possible that the subject be overt, and distinct in reference from any matrix argument. This is shown by the possibility of having an ergative 2.p. subject in the embedded sentence (7). This, I think, raises a problem for a Control theory based on anaphoric agreement. Secondly, the interpretation(s) of the null object raise a similar question. As is shown by the possible coindexations, the null object may be controlled by the matrix subject, but it can also refer to a DP which is salient in the discourse. All these possible readings cannot be captured under an account which treats null arguments in non-finite clauses as *pro* licensed by a strong Agr. I propose, as a hypothesis, that these empty categories are pronominal variables. Let us discuss this proposal in further detail.

2.2. Alternative proposal: null arguments as pronominal variables

Thus far we have seen that null arguments in Basque non-finite clauses display some properties which are typical of pronominal elements, such as that they can be A-bound, and that they can alternate with overt arguments. On the other hand, we have seen as well that if these empty categories involve *pro*, they raise a problem for the Identification Hypothesis of *pro*, since they cannot be identified by Agr. Given that they can get their reference from a non-overt topic (cf. (7)), it seems plausible to analyze these null categories as variables A'-bound by a (non-)overt topic (Huang 1984).¹⁰ Consider the example in (8), where the topics are made explicit:

- (8) (ogi-a- \emptyset)_i pro nahi \emptyset -d-u-zu [(ogi-a- \emptyset)_i [ni-k ama-ri e_i erama-te-a]]?
 bread-DEF-A want 3A-PRES-root-2E [bread-DEF-A [I-E mother-D take-NOM-DEF]]
 ‘(As for the bread,) do you want me to take it to mother?’
 lit.: ‘(The bread), do you want (the bread), for me to take it to mother?’

(8) shows that a topicalized constituent (*ogia* ‘the bread’), which is associated with the embedded clause, may appear either in the matrix clause (successive long movement), or in sentence initial position in the embedded clause. Moreover, it can be an overt or a null topic (the brackets enclosing the topic are meant to indicate that both alternatives are possible). I

¹⁰ Cf. also Raposo (1986) for a similar analysis of null object constructions in European Portuguese.

assume that topics are left-peripheral to the clause, and that they occupy a position higher than the landing-site of wh-phrases (CP, in Ortiz de Urbina's 1989/1999 analysis, or FocP, in Rizzi's 1995 terms), given that topics in Basque precede wh-phrases and focalized constituents (for a similar hierarchical structure, cf. Rizzi 1995). This is illustrated in (9) below:

- (9) ama-ri_k bihar_m [_{CP} zer_i nahi Ø-d-u-zu [_{CP} t_i ni-k e_m e_k t_i eramatea]]?
 mother-D tomorrow [what want 3A-PRES-root-2E [I-E take-NOM-DEF]]
*'As for mother_k, tomorrow, what do you want me to take (to her)_k?'
 lit.: 'To mother, tomorrow, what do you want me to take (to her)?'*

Given that the empty categories *e* in object position in (8) and (9) refer to the topicalized constituents, one might consider to treat dropped arguments in Basque non-finite clauses as variables locally A'-bound to a topic, as argued in Huang (1984) for null objects in Chinese. The prediction is, then, that they should be sensitive to Strong Crossover effects. However, (10) shows that a null object can corefer with a c-commanding DP in an A-position. This result is unexpected if the empty category is a true variable, which involves an empty operator. It seems, thus, that in these cases the null object is pronominal:

- (10) Miren-ek_t pro [zu-k e_{v/k} kotxez erama-te-a] eskatu digu
 Miren-E [you-E car-by bring-NOM-DEF] ask-PERF AUX
'Miren_t has asked us for you to take her_{v/k}/him by car.' (=7)

An alternative analysis for the constructions illustrated in (8) and (9) might be to consider them as instances of *Left Dislocation* (LD), which involves base-adjunction of the LD phrase to the sentence. The problem with this view is that typically only NPs (or DPs) can be left-dislocated (cf. Cinque 1990), and in Basque such a restriction is not operative, as shown in (9), where an adverb is topicalized (besides the dative phrase). A further property of LD is that only one phrase can be left-dislocated (cf. Cinque 1990), whereas in Basque there is no limit to the number of phrases which can be fronted, as is illustrated in (9), where both the dative phrase and the adverb have been fronted. Bringing all these facts together, I conclude that the constructions we are discussing here are not left-dislocations. They cannot be patterned with *Clitic Left Dislocation* (CLLD) constructions either, because whereas CLLDs always involve

a resumptive clitic pronoun (Cinque 1990), in Basque this pronoun is not phonetically realized.

Cinque discusses a further type of A'-dependency which involves a subclass of empty categories represented by parasitic gaps, gaps of apparent extraction from islands, and gaps of Complement Object Deletion (COD) constructions. He proposes to analyze these empty categories as *pronominal variables*, i.e. according to the typology of ECs given in Chomsky (1982), they may well be described as A'-bound [+pronominal, -anaphor] elements.

Adopting Cinque's proposal, I propose to treat Basque null arguments —as illustrated in (8), (9) and (10)— as pronominal variables, that is, a kind of empty *resumptive* pronouns which corefer with a topic in an A'-position. According to standard assumptions, a resumptive pronoun is a (D-structure) pronominal element which becomes a variable at LF via A'-binding (cf. Chomsky 1982). I propose that due to its dual status as pronominals and variables, the empty categories we are concerned with here display properties typical of pronominals and of variables. On the one hand, like pronouns, they can corefer with a c-commanding DP in an A-position, and alternate with overt DPs, as we have seen in (10) and (6), respectively. On the other hand, these empty categories behave like variables sensitive to strong islands, such as adjunct islands (Cinque 1990). (11) illustrates an Adjunct Island violation:

- (11) a. *Jon- i_k , Mikel- \emptyset_m lane-tik bota \emptyset -z-u-te-n
 Jon-D Mikel-A work-from fire.PERF 3A-PAST-root-3E-PAST
 [PRO $_m$ e_k aurpegikoa- \emptyset ema-te-arren]
 [slap-A give-NOM-for]
 'As for John $_k$, they fired Mikel $_m$ from work for having given (him) $_k$ a slap.'
 lit.: 'To John $_k$, they fired Mikel from work for having slapped (him) $_k$ in the face.'
- b. ??Mikel- \emptyset_m lane-tik bota \emptyset -z-u-te-n
 Mikel-A work-from fire.PERF 3A-PAST-root-3E-PAST
 [PRO $_m$ e aurpegikoa- \emptyset ema-te-arren]
 [slap-A give-NOM-for]
 'They fired Mikel $_m$ from work for having given (him $_k$ /you/them...) a slap.'
 lit.: 'They fired Mikel $_m$ from work for having slapped (him $_k$ /you/them) in the face.'

(11a) involves a topicalization construction. Assuming that topicalization implies movement, the ungrammaticality of the sentence falls out straightforwardly, as such a movement would violate the Adjunct Island condition. Interestingly, (11b) is also ruled out, despite the fact that the topic is not overt. I take this to indicate that (11b) involves the same structure as (11a).

Thus, in view of these facts, it appears plausible to analyze the empty categories occurring in non-finite constructions as empty resumptive pronouns, i.e. as null pronominal elements displaying certain variable properties, by virtue of being bound by a covert D-linked DP in an A'-position.

We could extend the analysis of null arguments in non-finite clauses to finite clauses as well. Or alternatively, we might suggest that Basque uses two strategies to license null arguments. Thus, following standard assumptions, it might be argued that the empty categories in finite clauses are *pro*-s licensed by Agr, whereas in non-finite clauses they are pronominal variables. Under economy considerations, the former approach is more desirable, as we would achieve a unified explanation for the occurrence and distribution of ECs in the same language. However, adopting this view might lead to a redundancy in the case of finite clauses, given the *rich* agreement system of Basque. I leave this issue open for further research.

Summing up, the proposal argued for in this section is that empty categories in non-finite clauses in Basque are not empty pronominals licensed by Agr, but rather, they are null pronominals identified and bound by a D-linked topic. In this sense, they are better characterized as null pronominal variables, which explains the dual properties of variables and of pronominal elements displayed by these empty categories.

3. Agreement and free word order

In this section I will review two main hypotheses which argue that Agr allegedly has syntactic consequences on constituent order. The discussion will be largely based on Jelinek's (1984) and Baker's (1996) assumptions about the clausal structure of non-configurational and polysynthetic languages, such as Mohawk, Wichita or Chukchee.

3.1. Jelinek (1984)

Jelinek claims that in non-configurational languages, where null pronominals are plentiful, the pronominal clitics which appear attached to the verb are the true arguments of the verb. She claims that the clitic pronouns are assigned grammatical Case, which reflects their grammatical function, as opposed to lexical DPs, which she argues are optional adjuncts bearing «non-grammatical (oblique) cases» (Jelinek 1984:44). Being adjuncts, lexical DPs may occur freely at any site of the clause, which can account for the free word order observed in these languages. On the other hand, since the clitics themselves are the arguments of the verb, there is no need to postulate any *pro*-s in the grammar of those languages. Moreover, treating pronominal clitics as the true verbal arguments, she can explain the optionality of lexical DPs in such languages.

We might try to apply Jelinek's proposal to Basque, and argue that there are no such empty categories in Basque finite clauses, because the agreement morphemes are the true arguments. Notice, however, that this approach relies on the assumption that overt DPs are adjuncts, but lexical DPs in Basque are not adjuncts (cf. Cheng & Demirdache 1993).¹¹ Furthermore, it does not provide an explanation for the existence of null arguments in non-finite contexts, where there are no agreement morphemes.¹² Therefore, despite its interest, Jelinek's account cannot capture the whole set of data in Basque.

3.2. Baker (1996)

Along similar lines to Jelinek's approach, Baker (1996) also establishes a connection between the presence of agreement morphemes and allowing null arguments in a language. However, his account differs from Jelinek's in that he proposes that the null arguments (*pro*) are the real arguments, and not the agreement clitic markers themselves, as Jelinek proposes. The basic intuition of Baker's analysis is captured in *The Morphological Visibility Condition* (MVC), informally formulated in (12):

(12) *The Morphological Visibility Condition:*

All the theta-roles of a head must be expressed morphologically within the word, either by agreement morphemes, or by incorporation of a root.

¹¹ Baker (1996) uses six syntactic tests to prove the adjunct status of overt DPs in Mohawk. Only in one of these does Basque pattern with Mohawk, namely, in the absence of non-referential quantified NPs.

¹² To this respect, Jelinek herself admits in a footnote that probably the argument structure of infinitival clauses is quite distinct from that of main clauses.

As a consequence of (12), lexical DPs in polysynthetic languages cannot appear in A-positions, because thematic roles are assigned to null pronominals. In fact, Baker claims that in polysynthetic languages there are three elements involved in the expression of the argument of a verb: an empty category (*pro*) which is the true argument of the verb, an agreement morpheme which makes the *pro* visible for theta-role assignment (as stated in (12)), and, optionally, a DP in adjunct position that expresses most of the semantic content associated with the argument.¹³ The syntactic structure given in (13) illustrates the phrase structure for a sentence ‘Father hit the dog’ in a polysynthetic language, according to Baker’s theory:

(13) $[_{IP} \text{Father}_i [_{IP} [_{IP} \text{pro}_i [_{I'} \text{I/Agr} [_{VP} \text{hit pro}_k]]]] \text{dog}_k]]$

The study of polysynthetic languages in comparison with Basque is extremely interesting, since the two types of languages exhibit a considerable number of common properties, listed in table (14) below. In (14) I contrast the basic structural properties of polysynthetic languages with Basque:

(14)	Polysynthetic Languages	Basque
multiple agreement morphemes	+	+
null pronominals	+	+
free constituent order	+	+
lexical DPs with Case	-	+
lexical DPs in adjunct position ¹⁴	+	-

Baker argues that a significant consequence of the MVC is that it can account for the existence of free word order in polysynthetic languages. In fact, under such a morphological condition, free permutation crucially depends on the assumption that lexical DPs are generated in an adjoined position, in a similar way to Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) constructions in Romance languages (cf. Cinque 1990). Notice that the MVC strongly relies on the fact that agreement morphemes are theta-related to the verb through coindexation with an obligatory null pronominal. As a consequence, lexical DPs are not arguments but

¹³ Baker adopts the Licensing Condition for Adjuncts that Cinque (1990) assumes for Clitic Left Dislocation: ‘An Agr-type XP generated in adjoined position is licensed if and only if it forms a chain with a unique null pronominal in an A-position’.

¹⁴ For present purposes I am considering ordinary non-topicalized constructions.

modifiers, and hence they have fewer syntactic restrictions on their presence or their position (Baker 1996:42. Cf. also Jelinek 1984). From this, Baker concludes that free ordering of constituents in polysynthetic languages is dependent upon the presence of morphological agreement. Obviously, this has very important consequences for a theory of scrambling in languages where agreement morphology is abundant. Basque may serve as a testing language to see whether Baker's correlation holds in Basque. As the sentences given in (15) and (16) below show, the predictions of Baker's correlation seem to be confirmed. Thus, we see that the three arguments of the finite (agreeing) verb in (15) can be freely permuted giving rise to 24 possible combinations in the linear ordering of the constituents (for reasons of space, here I only give two possible orders).¹⁵ In contrast, participial relative constructions of the type represented in (16) disallow constituent permutation within their clause. Only the order SO is permitted. According to the MVC, this result is expected, since participial constructions are non-finite structures lacking agreement morphology.¹⁶ Instead, the constituents within the participial clause must follow a strict order, as the strong marginality of (16b) shows:

- (15) a. ume-a-k ama-ri baloi-a-Ø eman-Ø Ø-d-i-o
 child-DEF-E mother-D ball-DEF-A give-PERF 3A-PRES-root-3D
 'The child has given the ball to his/her mother.'
- b. baloi-a-Ø ama-ri ume-a-k eman-Ø Ø-d-i-o
 ball-DEF-A mother-D child-DEF-E give-PERF 3A-PRES-root-3D
 'THE CHILD has given the ball to his/her mother.'
- (16) a. Baloi-a-Ø [ume-a-k ama-ri eman-a] da
 ball-A [child-DEF-E mother-D given-SG]¹⁷ is
 'The ball is given to the mother (by) the child.'
- b. ??baloia-Ø [ama-ri ume-a-k eman-a] da
 ball-A [mother-D child- DEF-E given-SG] is

Note, incidentally, that the data show that the presence of Case on the nominal arguments is not a sufficient condition to permit free permutation of constituents, as has been proposed

¹⁵ Constituent ordering is not absolutely *free of charge*. Rather, pragmatic and semantic factors, such as topicalization and focalization, affect the order of the clausal constituents.

¹⁶ Various proposals have been put forth concerning participial constructions in Basque; see Rebuschi 1982, Ortiz de Urbina & Uribe-Etxebarria 1991, Oyharçabal 1992. For a thorough study of participial predication in Basque, see Zabala 1993.

¹⁷ As argued elsewhere (Zabala 1993, Elordieta 1997), I take the suffix */-a/* to be a number agreement marker. For evidence in favour of a Number Phrase, see, for instance, Ritter (1991), Zabala (1993), Hoekstra & Hyams (1995).

for languages such as German. Thus, in (16b) the arguments within the participial clause bear case, but they cannot be permuted; i.e., the order OS is ungrammatical. Hence, it can be concluded that the presence of Case is a necessary condition to allow scrambling, but not a sufficient condition.

Despite the fact that the data in (15) and (16) appear to fit in Baker's analysis, a closer look at other non-finite constructions shows that his hypothesis cannot account for the Basque data.

4. Towards an explanation: scrambling as adjunction to CP

We have seen that the data in (15) and (16) seem to support one corollary of the MVC, i.e. the connection between agreement and free word order. Nevertheless, there is empirical evidence which shows that the presence of agreement is not a *sine qua non* condition for sanctioning scrambling of arguments. The evidence comes from nominalizations and from participial clauses in complement position.¹⁸ These constructions are particularly interesting, since, even though the verbs do not display any overt agreement or tense morphology, they show the possibility of permuting the order of the constituents within the domain of the embedded clause, as exemplified in (17) for nominalizations and in (18) for participial clauses:

- (17) a. [ume-a-k ama-ri ura-Ø ema-te-a-k] (S-IO-O-V)
 [child-DEF-E mother-D water-A give-NOM-DEF-E]
 'The child giving water to his/her mother.'
- b. [ura-Ø ama-ri ume-a-k ema-te-a-k] (O-IO-S-V)
 [water-A mother-D child-DEF-E give-NOM-DEF-E]
 'THE CHILD giving water to his/her mother.'
- (18) a. Ezin dut sinetsi [Ainhua-k tesi-a-Ø hain gaizki defendatu izan-a]
 cannot AUX believe [Ainhua-E thesis-DEF-A so badly defended have-DEF]
 'I can't believe that Ainhua defended her thesis so badly.'
 lit.: 'I can't believe Ainhua having defended her thesis so badly.'
- b. Ezin dut sinetsi [tesi-a-Ø Ainhua-k hain gaizki defendatu izan-a]
 cannot AUX believe [thesis-DEF-A Ainhua-E so badly defended have-DEF]

Given the data discussed in the previous section, I argue that free ordering of constituents is not dependent upon the presence of agreement markers cliticized onto the verb, contrary to Baker's generalization. Basque nominalizations and participial complement clauses show that free word order is possible even when no agreement is present. In this respect, the asymmetry observed between (16b) and (18b) is interesting. Although both sentences show no agreement on the verb, and both involve a participial construction, the order of constituents can be permuted in (18b), but not in (16b). I argue that this asymmetry is related to the fact that (16b) is a reduced relative clause (cf. Bouda 1973, Eguzkitza 1981, Artiagoitia 1992), whereas (18b) is a complement clause. Suppose that when arguments appear displaced, especially when they precede the subject argument, as in (15b), (16b), (17b) and (18b), they target [Spec, CP] or are adjoined to CP (cf. among others, Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Rizzi 1995). On the standard assumption that relative clauses are islands for movement, we expect that no phrase will be allowed to move out of the relative clause. On the other hand, assuming that a null operator occupies [Spec, CP] in relative constructions, this position is no longer available as a potential landing-site for displaced phrases. Indeed, this is what the construction in (16b) shows, when we try to adjoin the indirect object *amari* 'to his/her mother' to CP. In contrast, the object argument can be scrambled in (18b) because (18) is a complement clause, which does not block argument extraction. Thus, I propose that what makes permutation of constituents possible is to have functional structure available to contain the scrambled arguments. If CP is projected, and movement to its specifier or to some higher node is possible, scrambling will be allowed. Otherwise, it will not be possible. This explains why argument clauses allow permutation among the sentential constituents, whereas reduced participial relative clauses do not.

5. Conclusion

In this study, empirical evidence was provided to argue that the standard analysis, which claims that *pro*-s are licensed by rich agreement, does not cover all occurrences of null pronominals in Basque. Empty categories in non-finite constructions are licensed despite the absence of agreement. I have argued that these null elements are pronominal variables, that is, pronominals bound by a coreferent DP in an A'-position, which is often deleted, since it is contextually or situationally given.

¹⁸ I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing these constructions to my attention.

The article has also investigated Baker's (1996) correlation between rich agreement and free word order in polysynthetic languages, which turns out not to hold in Basque. Although still a working hypothesis, I have suggested that constituents can be distinctly ordered as long as the functional structure (a CP layer and beyond) and the syntactic configuration required to host scrambled arguments is available. This provides an explanation for the fact that participial relative constructions, in contrast to other non-finite constructions, disallow scrambling (cf. (16b)), namely, because in relative clauses [Spec, CP] is already occupied by a null operator, and movement out of a relative clause would violate the Island Condition.

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On the position of verbal agreement markers

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Abstract

This study aims to identify the causal mechanisms responsible for the position of agreement markers relative to verb stems. A diachronic analysis reveals that agreement inflections derive from relatively mobile sources (unstressed pronouns) and are more likely to emerge in highly polymorphic hosts (verbs forms which already have some tense, mood, aspect and/or subject agreement suffixes). This, in combination with a psycholinguistic principle that resists affixation to complex sequences of morphemes explains why crosslinguistically agreement markers are prefixes much more frequently than any other verbal inflections (an observation for which supporting crosslinguistic statistical evidence is supplied).

0. Introduction

The present work looks at various issues regarding the position of agreement markers on verbs, particularly their status as either suffixes or prefixes. The development and positioning of morphological markers has received considerable attention in the literature. A common observation dating back to, at least, Sapir (1921:67) is that suffixes occur more frequently than prefixes while infixes are very rare. Greenberg (1957) was the first linguist to propose an explanation for the predominance of suffixes through a combination of psycholinguistic and historical factors. Greenberg himself further observed that the position of inflections tends to correlate with word order typology: verb final languages are almost exclusively suffixing while VO languages allow both prefixes and suffixes (cf. Greenberg 1966). A number of studies have followed this multifaceted approach trying to account for the position of affixes by invoking language processing (Hawkins & Gilligan 1988, Hawkins & Cutler 1988), diachronic language change (Dryer 1992, Siewierska & Bakker 1994) or a combination of more than one factor (Hall 1992, Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990). However, the vast majority of these studies did not realize that the position of agreement morphemes differs from that of other types of affixes. Subject agreement inflections and especially object agreement do not exhibit a strong suffixing preference nor do they exhibit clear correlations with word order typology (cf. Siewierska & Bakker 1994, Enrique-Arias 2000). This means that the explanations for the form of grammatical markers have generally overlooked agreement markers.

This paper explores the different theories that have been proposed to account for the position of morphological markers and argues for an account that involves a combination of different factors. The article is organized as follows. First I present current statistical data on verbal morphology to show that, while suffixal morphology is overwhelmingly more frequent than prefixing, agreement markers strongly contradict this tendency. Next I present the main crosslinguistic generalizations that have been proposed to explain the position of affixes. The first one stems from generative work on morphology (cf. §2.1), the second one appeals to principles of lexical processing (cf. §2.2), and the third one (cf. §2.3) invokes principles of language change. In section 3 I propose an explanation for the principles governing the position of agreement markers by combining semantic and historical factors already proposed in previous studies with an original processing factor. The general hypothesis investigated is that the positioning patterns of inflectional affixes are crucially connected to morphologization and the processing consequences it brings about. This specifically involves a universal psycholinguistic principle which, during the stage at which morphologization is implemented, prevents fusion of grammatical markers to long sequences of inflections.

The data used for this study are from a sample of 203 languages used in Hawkins & Gilligan (1988) which contains information on verbal morphemes coding for tense, mood, aspect, subject agreement and object agreement (cf. pp. 249-257). In order to complete the insufficient data on object agreement, data from Dryer's data base (personal communication) have been used. This combination of samples will be referred to as the *combined sample*.

I am aware of the problems associated with the use of large samples (cf. Dryer 1989, Perkins 1989). While such samples are likely to contain languages that are not fully independent, only a large sample can provide a fair number of the less frequently occurring markers (particularly object agreement). For instance, two previous studies done with smaller samples (Foster & Hofling 1987 and Perkins' sample used in Hawkins & Gilligan 1988) provide information on object agreement for only ten and eleven languages, respectively. With such small numbers it is hard to establish statistically significant correlations with other factors.

Another problem is the possibility of errors since most of the information in the samples comes from secondary sources and I am not familiar with many of the languages represented in the sample. I am confident that these errors will produce only random variation in the data, and thus the results should still be valid. A comparison between the data from the combined sample and other published sources shows that the results are not radically different from those found in other samples (cf. Table 3 below).

1. The data and universals

Various cross-linguistic studies of morphology have observed that suffixes are more frequent than prefixes (Greenberg 1957 1966, Hawkins & Gilligan 1988, Hawkins & Cutler 1988, Dryer 1992, Hall 1992). This distribution seems to be in close relation with head-ordering typology. While verb final languages are almost exclusively suffixing, non-verb final languages allow for both prefixes and suffixes. The correlations between basic word order and tense, aspect, and mood morpheme order in the sample are displayed in Table 1.¹

Table 1

Tense, mood and aspect affix order correlation with word order

	TENSE				MOOD				ASPECT			
	Prefixes		Suffixes		Prefixes		Suffixes		Prefixes		Suffixes	
VO	21	18%	27	24%	8.5	14%	13.5	23%	32	26%	32	26%
OV	2	2%	63	56%	2.5	4%	35.5	59%	8.5	7%	51.5	41%
	23	20%	90	80%	11	18%	49	82%	40.5	33%	83.5	67%

Table 1 demonstrates that while VO languages allow both prefixing and suffixing, OV languages are skewed in favor of exclusive suffixing with only 2%, 4% and 7% of the languages exhibiting tense, mood or aspect prefixes respectively (see Greenberg 1966:93, Hawkins & Gilligan 1988:232, Dryer 1992:126 for a similar distribution).

Subject agreement and object agreement in verbs, however, do not follow these general tendencies. Table 2 shows that agreement categories are consistently more resistant to the suffixing preference and that there is no correlation between word order and the forms of agreement markers.

¹ The aggregate proportions of prefixing to suffixing are arrived at by calculating the ratio of prefixing to suffixing in all the languages that have entries for a given category. Consider the example of the 124 languages with aspect inflections (64 VO and 60 OV) distributed as follows: within the 64 VO languages 26 have suffixes, 26 languages have prefixes and 12 languages have both. The 60 OV have 50 languages with suffixes, 7 languages with prefixes and 3 languages with both. For the purposes of calculation, languages with both suffixes and prefixes will count as 0.5 prefixing and 0.5 suffixing, making the ratio of suffixing to prefixing for aspect inflections 32 to 32 in VO languages, 51.5 to 8.5 in OV languages, and 83.5 to 40.5 or 67% / 33% overall.

Table 2

Agreement affix order correlations with word order

	SUBJECT AGREEMENT				OBJECT AGREEMENT			
	Prefixes		Suffixes		Prefixes		Suffixes	
VO	43.5	32%	26.5	19%	17	26%	20	31%
OV	20	15%	46	34%	19.5	30%	8.5	13%
	63.5	47%	72.5	53%	36.5	56%	28.5	44%

In the combined sample, subject agreement is realized as a prefix in 47% of the languages, while object agreement exhibits 56% prefixing. As seen in Table 3, other language samples confirm these results, namely that agreement categories, and especially object agreement, do not show a strong suffixing preference.²

Table 3

Distribution of agreement inflections in several language samples

		SUBJECT AGREEMENT		OBJECT AGREEMENT	
		Prefixes	Suffixes	Prefixes	Suffixes
Bybee et al. (1994)	N=76	42%	58%	39%	61%
Perkins	N=40	61%	39%	75%	25%
Siewierska-Bakker	N=237	49%	51%	49%	51%
Dryer	N=171	no data	no data	47%	53%
Gilligan	N=50	42%	58%	no data	no data
Stassen	N=113	36%	64%	no data	no data
Combined sample	N=203	47%	53%	56%	44%
AVERAGE		46%	54%	53%	47%

In all of the available samples agreement categories are the most resistant to the suffixing preference. The distribution of subject agreement markers ranges from 61% prefixing in Perkins' sample to over a third of prefixes (36%) in Stassen's sample. Siewierska & Bakker (1994), Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) and Gilligan's sample exhibit values close to a 50-50 distribution of prefixes and suffixes. As for object agreement we have a strong preference for prefixes in Perkins' data (75%), and again values close to 50% in both Siewierka & Bakker (1994) and Dryer's sample (cf. Hawkins & Gilligan 1988:225). The percentages of prefixing for subject and object agreement in the combined sample (47% and 56% respectively) are fairly close to the average of all the samples (46% and 53%).

² The figures for the samples collected by L. Stassen, R. Perkins and G. Gilligan correspond to the data published in Hawkins & Gilligan (1988:249-257). The figures for Dryer's sample are taken from a footnote in Hawkins & Gilligan (1988:225).

2. Explanations for the position of verbal inflections

2.1. The Head Ordering Principle

One analysis of affixing placement originating from generative studies in morphology (Aronoff 1976, Williams 1981), and developed in Hawkins & Cutler (1988) and Hawkins & Gilligan (1988), the Head Ordering Principle (HOP), considers inflectional affixes to be heads of their respective lexical categories. Since, according to this principle, heads of words are lined to the same side of stems as heads in the syntax, suffixes would be expected in head-final languages (OV languages with postpositions) and prefixes in head-initial (VO languages with prepositions).

The problem with this type of explanation is that it conceives affixes as being introduced in a language as a primitive category; it then assumes that the HOP determines where to place them. In the generative framework, the rather descriptive principles of Universal Grammar (UG) are ultimately explained by the innateness hypothesis (i.e., such principles are innately represented in the human species). The immediate connection between UG and innateness does not allow invoking other possible causal factors such as human perception, communicative motivations, considerations of discourse or semantic factors in language explanation. This amounts to ignoring evidence from our knowledge of the current state of human development that suggests that there exists a link between functional factors and structural regularity and that therefore the innate hypothesis is not complete.³

Another limitation of this kind of analysis is that it lacks any explanatory dimension over historical language change (cf. Andersen 1973, Harris 1982:13-14, Hall 1992:24-6). Accordingly, this view ignores a great deal of evidence suggesting that bound morphology derives from free forms that, upon undergoing semantic generalization and phonological decay, fuse to surrounding lexical material (Givón 1979). I consider that any explanation for regularities found across languages must determine what causal mechanisms are responsible for the incorporation of the observed regularities into the actual language systems. In order to establish these mechanisms, it is necessary to address the problem of how the historical evolution of the relevant structures took place (cf. Clark & Malt 1984, Bybee 1985:38 & Hall 1992:84 for a similar idea).

At any rate, the HOP has been put in question even by linguists working within the generative framework. In the first place, the claim that affixes are heads is very unsupported (cf. Zwicky 1985, Bauer 1990, Newmeyer 1990, Hall 1992). A second argument against the explanatory adequacy of

³ Even in the case that we accept the innate hypothesis with no reservations, we should try to explain why certain particular properties become innate rather than others. It is likely that many of these properties were favored because they afford functional advantages of some sort.

the HOP is that it is riddled with numerous counter-examples. While it is true that head-final languages (OV languages with postpositions) are predominantly suffixing, head-initial languages (VO languages with prepositions) allow prefixes and suffixes on just about equal terms (cf. Table 1 and 2). In explanations based on historical, pragmatic or psycholinguistic tendencies exceptions are somehow expected; however, in what is presented as a parametric universal preprogrammed in the genetic endowment of humankind, exceptions function as counter-evidence and are far more damaging for the theory. Furthermore, agreement markers consistently contradict this explanation, since the position of these grammatical markers does not show a correlation with word order (cf. Table 2 above; also see Siewierska & Bakker 1994:115).

2.2. The suffixing preference

Another account for the position of verbal inflections, originally formulated in Greenberg (1957) and developed by Hawkins & Cutler (1988) and Hawkins & Gilligan (1988), invokes principles of lexical processing to specify a universal suffixing preference. Hawkins & Cutler (1988) and Hawkins & Gilligan (1988) observe the existence of a clear skewing in favor of suffixation in languages in which the HOP would predict a head initial/prefixing configuration. The explanation they offer is a processing one: prefixes entail greater representational complexity and hinder the access to the stem-based lexicon, and thus suffixes are preferred crosslinguistically.

Hawkins & Cutler (1988) and Hawkins & Gilligan (1988) rest on the HOP and thus are subjected to the same criticisms set forth in the previous section. Besides, their explanation cannot account for the position of agreement affixes since these grammatical markers do not exhibit a suffixing tendency (cf. Tables 2 and 3). If suffixing is always preferable as the way of getting most efficient lexical processing, why do the expression units of certain grammatical categories, namely agreement morphemes, not show a suffixing preference?

2.3. Fossilized Syntax Hypothesis

A third explanation appeals to principles of language change (Givón 1979, also discussed in Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990, Hall 1992, Siewierska & Bakker 1994), and advocates a preference for morphemes to be located in the positions of the erstwhile independent words that gave rise to them.

The claim that the position of cliticized or affixal elements reflects their syntactic position before they became cliticized is illustrated by numerous examples in many languages. For instance, Latin had auxiliaries in postverbal position. As a result future markers in Romance are suffixes: Spanish *amar-é*,

French (*je*) *aimer-ai* < AMARE HABEO (cf. Spanish *-é*, French *-ai* > HABEO). However, the studies that have tested the Fossilized Syntax Hypothesis in accounts of the position of agreement markers often confuse this claim with a substantially different one. They tend to assume that the current position of cliticized or affixal pronouns reflects the unmarked syntactic position of full NPs with the same function at the time of cliticization (cf. Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990, Hall 1992, Dryer 1992, Siwierska & Bakker 1994). To substantiate this rather different claim, it would be necessary to show that in morphologization processes cliticized subject and object pronouns have preserved the syntactic order of full NPs with the same function, since it is from cliticized pronouns that agreement inflections derive historically. That is not necessarily the case, as can be seen from the readily attested development of Romance object clitic pronouns. While object noun phrases regularly follow finite verb forms, cliticized objects are preverbal. This preverbal position cannot be a result of the morphologization of these bound pronouns during the OV stage of Proto-Romance, since the obligatory preverbal position of these clitics is a relatively recent development established only long after the VO order had become dominant. This means that, even though Givón's assumptions concerning the origin and evolution of inflections are confirmed in many attested historical derivations, it is clear that they do not allow us to make universal generalizations linking the position of agreement affixes to current syntactical order.

2.4. Summary and conclusions

To sum up, I submit that these explanations present three main weaknesses. First, they usually argue for a single principle while ignoring competing theories. Second, they fail to notice that the extent to which the principles proposed for explanation correlate with affix position varies considerably with the semantic category of the affix. While tense, mood and aspect categories correlate with word order typology and show a strong suffixing preference, agreement markers do not show a suffixing preference nor do they exhibit clear correlations with syntactical order. This difference in form poses a challenge to explanations in which one single generalization or hypothesis is used to account for the position of all inflections. A third problem involves the very idea of trying to find correlations between word order and affix position. In general, correlations reflect some sort of harmony between different subsystems. However, while word order is one of the most diachronically unstable properties (cf. Nichols 1992:167), inflections are bound and thus very conservative. It is then evident that inflections, already fused to the verb, cannot suddenly shift from a pre-stem to a post-stem position or vice-versa in order to stay in harmony with a change in word order. Therefore, looking for correlations between current word order and current affix order, as most

of these studies attempt to do (cf. Hawkins & Gilligan 1988, Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990, Hall 1992, Dryer 1992, Siewierska & Bakker 1994), is not compelling.

I believe that we may attain a more complete explanation of the position of agreement markers by taking into account all of the factors that determine the position of affixes, with special attention to the processing consequences of the morphologization of agreement.

3. A revised explanation

One of the factors that determines the form of grammatical markers is the frequency with which the words candidate for morphologization occur contiguous to verb stems in the discourse (cf. Bybee 1985:38-43). In order for a grammatical marker to fuse to the verb stem it must occur contiguous to the stem with sufficient frequency and be in the same phonological phrase as the stem. Following the principle that words that function together in the sentence tend to occur together in the sentence (Vennemann 1973:41), a word whose scope is primarily the verb such as a tense auxiliary, will appear closer to the verb and become a ready candidate for desemantization and fusion to the verb. On the other hand, a word like a pronoun, whose scope may include the whole proposition and whose meaning is related to the participants in the action rather than the action described by the verb, will occur further from the verb, and a process of desemantization and fusion to the verb will be less likely to occur. The frequency of these collocations is an important factor. For example, in a language in which both tense auxiliaries and object pronouns occur contiguous to the verb, the former may be more likely to attach to the verb than the latter if the combination verb+tense occurs in every clause but the juxtaposition of verb+object-pronoun does not occur in intransitive clauses or clauses containing a nominal object.

There are two consequences of this principle. First, the expression units of agreement reflect a lower degree of fusion to verb stems. While tense, mood and aspect categories are often signaled by means of stem changes, reduplication of the stem or vowel harmony, agreement remains more easily segmentable and loosely fused to the stem. Crosslinguistically it is far more common for agreement categories to be signaled by means of clitics or detached markers than it is for tense, mood or aspect (cf. Bybee 1985). This makes agreement inflections more vulnerable to a change in their position due to the pressure of pragmatic or processing factors.

Second, this principle explains why agreement inflections are less frequent crosslinguistically. As observed in Greenberg (1966:93), the presence of inflectional subject agreement in a language implies the presence of either aspect, tense or mood and, as observed in Siewierska & Bakker (1994), no

language has object agreement that does not also have subject agreement. This distribution is confirmed in the analysis of the combined sample. Based on the morpheme distribution suggested by all these samples, an implicational universal emerges, which may be summarized as in (1):

(1) TENSE/MOOD/ASPECT > SUBJECT AGREEMENT > OBJECT AGREEMENT

If the verb has categories for object agreement, it has subject agreement categories and if it has subject agreement categories it has tense-mood-aspect categories.

In addition to the frequency of the juxtaposition of words candidate for morphologization and verb stems, there is a second factor that may influence the outcome of a morphologization process: the type of source from which inflections develop. Tense, mood and aspect affixes derive from verbs, more specifically auxiliaries, which tend to reflect a position consistent with word order typology. For instance, in the great majority of the SOV languages, auxiliaries follow the main verb (cf. Greenberg 1966, Dryer 1992). As a result, when the auxiliary loses its free lexical status in a head-final language, it will typically result in a suffix. Similarly, affixes deriving from heads in a head-initial language will likely be realized as prefixes, yielding a correlation between the position of affixes and the position of heads within the syntax. In contrast, agreement categories derive from subject and object unstressed pronouns which, contrary to auxiliaries, are more vulnerable to factors like topicalization, prosody, and other constraints such as verb second. Since these factors often influence the order in which clitics are placed with respect to the host, the position of agreement affixes may reflect an order that does not correlate with syntactical word order.

In the absence of a detailed historical analysis of morphologization for an extended language sample, there is not an adequate way of statistically testing these assumptions. However, if we ignore the effects of possible word order change, the distribution of affixes in the combined sample may be seen as evidence for the underlying validity of the assumption that the historical sources of tense, mood and aspect are less mobile than those of agreement markers. Tense, mood and aspect inflections occur in a position consistent with this hypothesis (prefixes in VO and suffixes in OV) in 71% of the languages. In contrast 44% and 61% of subject and object agreement inflections respectively are aligned with the order of full NPs with the same function. The lower mobility of object affixes relative to subject ones may be attributed to the observation that there is a closer syntactic and semantic bond between object and verb than between subject and verb. As a result object pronouns may be expected to be less susceptible to pragmatic or processing factors than unstressed subject pronouns (cf. Siewierska & Bakker 1994:111 for a discussion of this argument).

These historical and semantic factors would explain why the position of agreement inflections yields weaker correlations with syntactical order. However, further explanation is needed to account for why agreement inflections are more resistant to the suffixing preference. I believe this may be explained by invoking processing factors in interaction with universal (1) above.

As pointed out in section 2.2, a tradition of research has linked the suffixing preference to principles of language processing. Prefixing entails greater representational complexity and hinders the access to the stem-based lexicon. Consequently, prefixes are disfavored crosslinguistically. Despite the lack of a suffixing preference for agreement inflections, this argument seems to be basically correct. However, I consider that there is another factor not covered in the literature, polymorphemicity, that also results in difficulties in the processing of verbal morphology. The reason for this difficulty is that affixing (i.e. both suffixing and prefixing) always entails some degree of processing difficulty (cf. Hall 1992) and consequently, a long sequence of morphological material increases the processing demand even more. As a result, prefixing may be preferred in languages in which there are already many suffixes, since new suffixed inflections may lead to additional performance difficulties, such as an awkward stress group. This means that in languages with a lot of suffixes, the general processing advantages associated with suffixing may cease to apply, and prefixing may then constitute a relatively more efficient form of morphologization.

Due to the fact that the inflectional expression of agreement depends implicationaly on the inflectional expression of other grammatical categories, and not vice-versa (as seen in universal (1) above), agreement categories attach to verbs generally only when other categories exist as affixes. This fact, in combination with the observation that the suffixing preference may be invalidated in forms in which there is already a lot of suffixing, leads to an explanation for the non-preponderance of suffixes in agreement inflections.

This psycholinguistic argumentation has not been explored in accounts of affix position in the literature. However, the data discussed in some studies seems to support the claim presented here that even though there is some fundamental difficulty concerning prefixes compared to suffixes, in words with lots of suffixes, prefixing may be a preferable affixation type. For instance, Cowgill (1966:131) has observed a correlation between abundant affixation and prefixing in a corpus of data from Indo-European languages. He concludes that “a high morpheme-to-word ratio appears to go with a high prefix to suffix ratio.” Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1990:8) observe that the only V-final languages with a high ratio of prefixing are those that have a high degree of affixation. Hall (1988:332) observes that prefixing is more common in verbs than it is in nouns (39.3% vs. 18.4%). Again this yields a correlation between prefixing and rich affixation: while affixation in nouns is usually restricted to a

maximum of two markers, the number of affixes a verb can have is virtually unlimited (cf. Nichols 1986:105).

This hypothesis predicts that, in a representative sample of the languages of the world, polymorphemicity should influence the distribution of inflections. As seen in section 1, while OV languages favor suffixing, languages with VO order allow both prefixing and suffixing on just about equal terms (cf. Tables 1 and 2). Consequently, in OV languages, polymorphemicity will result in an accumulation of suffixes leading to prefixing as an alternative morphologization type. On the other hand, in head initial languages high polymorphemicity in the form of a lot of prefixing is possible too. In those cases in which prefixing is the dominant tendency, suffixing may be the alternative in morphologization in highly polymorphemic hosts. As a result, unless we look at individual languages, it is not possible to determine whether a high affix to word ratio in VO languages will result in more suffixing or prefixing, since this will depend on the dominant position of affixes in each language. All that can be said is that, according to the hypothesis here, both exclusive suffixing and exclusive prefixing should be tolerated in languages with few inflections and dispreferred in languages with a lot of inflections. As shown in Table 4, this prediction finds wide support in the data from the combined sample. In this table, numbers one to five in the upper row of the tables indicate the number of inflectional grammatical categories present in the languages in question. The categories considered are tense, mood, aspect, and subject and object agreement. The columns indicate number of languages and column percentages.

Table 4

Type of affixation correlations with number of grammatical categories

No of categories	1		2		3		4		5	
only suffixes	8	44%	22	67%	24	44%	10	26%	2	10%
only prefixes	8	44%	5	15%	2	4%	1	3%	2	10%
only suf or pref	16	89%	27	82%	26	48%	11	29%	4	20%
both suf and pref	2	11%	6	18%	28	52%	27	71%	16	80%
TOTAL	18		33		54		38		20	

Table 4 includes the total 163 languages with some type of verbal affixation in the combined sample. In consonance with the hypothesis that polymorphemicity results in both prefixing and suffixing, languages with only one or two categories of inflections have both types of affixation in

11% and 18% of the cases respectively. Languages with three verbal inflections have suffixes and prefixes in roughly half of the languages (52%); and languages with four and five categories of verbal inflections have both types of affixation in 71% and 80% respectively.⁴

In summary, the crosslinguistic data presented here provides support for the hypothesis that in languages with many inflectional suffixes, additional affixes are more likely to be prefixes than in languages with fewer affixes. The effect of this is that since agreement morphemes generally attach to verbs only when other categories exist as affixes, agreement morphemes will be prefixes more often than other categories.

4. Summary and conclusions

Despite the speculative nature of much of the discussion in this article, I think that we can conclude with reasonable confidence that the lack of serialization with syntactic order and the resistance to the suffixing tendency exhibited by agreement markers is the result of a combination of the following semantic and processing factors: [i] tense, mood and aspect originate in the phonetic and semantic decay of auxiliary verbs, which tend to have a position consistent with word order typology, while agreement markers derive from more mobile sources, namely unstressed pronouns, which often exhibit more than one possible position; [ii] in diachronic processes of morphologization, tense, mood and aspect become more rapidly integrated with the stem and tightly fused to it, while agreement markers are less likely to become bound; [iii] following a universal psycholinguistic principle which causes fusion of affixes to be resisted when it occurs in a prefixed position but to be unopposed in suffixation, the morphologization of tense, mood and aspect exhibits a skewing towards suffixing; [iv] due to the universal principle that inflectional expression of agreement depends implicationaly on the existence of inflections for tense, mood or aspect, agreement inflections typically emerge in hosts where other categories already exist as affixes; [v] a lot of affixing may override the suffixing tendency, especially when prefixing entails the processing advantage of avoiding a long sequence of grammatical meanings concentrated at one side of the stem. The combination of these factors would result in the lack of serialization with syntactical order and the resistance to the suffixing tendency exhibited by agreement markers.

⁴ Since the values in some of the cells in the first and fifth columns are less than 5, which may decrease the validity of the chi-square test, I performed tests collapsing the five groups of 'number of grammatical categories' into four and three groups; this procedure yielded higher numbers. All such tests were statistically significant at $p < 0001$.

However, the explanatory principles proposed here are just tendencies. As a result, exclusive prefixing or suffixing in languages with a lot of affixes may be tolerated although this will happen in a relatively small number of languages. The interaction of the different principles follows the general notion of "competing motivations," that is, although the psycholinguistic motivation is always present, it may be overridden by other motivations. For instance, in some languages stress placement rules may favor phonetic attrition in one position and not in the other. Another factor to take into account is the existence of secondary sources of affixation such as auxiliaries, internal lexical reanalysis and borrowing, which may not be affected by the psycholinguistic constraints on affix position proposed in this explanation. In any case, these factors do not seem to have a deep effect on the formal realization of verb inflections, since they are relatively rare in comparison to the historical, psycholinguistic, and semantic principles that have been proposed in previous sections.

Likewise this is not to say that factors not discussed here have no part to play in the formation and positioning of affixes.⁵ The process of affixation is extremely complex, involving syntactic, phonetic, semantic and processing factors. In this article I have attempted to attain a more complete explanation of the position of agreement markers by taking into account the main factors that determine the position of affixes at the stage in which affixation is implemented with special attention to the processing consequences of the morphologization of agreement.

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⁵ Some other factors considered in discussions of the position of affixes are: the numeric preponderance of languages with SOV word order (cf. Givón 1979, Hall 1992), the tendency for the ends of phonological units to be articulatorily weaker than their beginnings (cf. Hall 1992), or the concept of semantic relevance (Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990).

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Absolutibo komunztaduradun ergatiboak, absolutibo komunztaduradun datiboak: Ergatiboaren Lekualdatzetik Datiboaren Lekualdatzera*

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Abstract

Euskararen zenbait mintzairatan, datibo argumentuak ezohiko absolutibo-komunztadura erakusten du perpaus ditransitibotako laguntzaileetan. Honela, (i) zuk niri tabakua emon nazu perpausa hobesten da, (ii) zuk niri tabakua emon dostazu perpausaren kaltetan. Fenomeno honek, ‘Datiboaren Lekualdatzea’ deituko dudanak dirudiena baino antzekotasun haundiagoa du Ergatiboaren Lekualdatzearekin: ‘komunztadura bitxikoak’ dira biak, bietan datibo eta ergatibo argumentuak ezohiko komunztaduraz ageri direlako, eta baita pertsona komunztadura murriztukoak ere, bietan komunztaduretarik bat ezabatu egiten delako. Lanean zehar erakutsiko dudanez, fenomeno biek erakusten dituzten antzeko ezaugarriez gain, lanabes teoriko bertsuez azal daitezke: bietan [kasua] eta [komunztadura] operazio berean erkatu beharrean, bi operaziotan ‘erdibitzen’ da tasunon erkaketa.

0. Atarian

Euskararen aldaera batzutan, hala nola Lekeitiokoan, zenbait perpaus ditransitibotako Datibo argumentua, Datibo-komunztaduraz gabe, Absolutibo-komunztaduraz markatzen da laguntzailean, eta Datibo-komunztadura ezabatu egiten da adizkitik. Hala, kasu eta komunztadura bereizi egiten dira Ergatiboaren Lekualdatzean (EL)¹ bezalatsu (Trask 1979, Ortiz de Urbina 1986, Laka 1993, Fernández 1997, Albizu & Eguren 2000).

Perpaus hauetan, Absolutibo-komunztaduraz *mozorrotzen* dira Datibo argumentuak, ELn Ergatibo argumentuak Absolutibo-komunztaduraz markatzen diren modura. *Datiboaren Lekualdatzea* (DL) dei egingo diot fenomenoari, diferentziengatik ere, antzekotasunek EL

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¹ Ondoko laburdura hauek erabiliko ditut testuan zehar: A=absolutibo-komunztadura; AK=akusatibo kasua; A_p=datibo argumentuarekiko absolutibo-komunztadura; A_e=ergatibo argumentuarekiko absolutibo-komunztadura; ABS=absolutibo kasua; AP=aplikatiboa; BOK=bokala; DAT=datibo kasua; DL=Datiboaren Lekualdatzea; DM=datibotasunaren markatzailea; E=ergatibo-komunztadura; EL=Ergatiboaren Lekualdatzea; ERG=ergatibo kasua; ESPL=espletiboa; irag=iragana; n=numeroa; P=plurala.

fenomeno orokorrigoaren itzalera garamatzate-eta: batean nahiz bestean, *komunztadura bitxia* (Hale 1996 1998 2000) dugu nolabait —Ergatibo argumentuaren Absolutibo-komunztadura ELn eta Datibo argumentuaren Absolutibo-komunztadura DLn—, eta batean nahiz bestean, pertsona komunztadura murriztu egiten da, Ergatibo-komunztadura eta Datibo-komunztadura ezabatuz ELn eta DLn hurrenez hurren.

DL fenomenoaren eman dadin, bi baldintza bete behar ditu perpausak: a) Absolutibo argumentuak hirugarren pertsona izan behar du; b) Datibo argumentuak lehen pertsona izan behar du aztergai darabildan aldaera honetan, baina bigarren pertsona ere izan daiteke beste zenbait mintzairatan, hala nola, lapurteraz. Bestalde, DLk ez du tempusarekin inongo menpekotasunik, orainean nahiz iraganean gertatzen baita sistematikoki, EL ez bezala, zeina iraganean gertatzen den soil-soilik.

Datuon azalpenerako, lehenago EL fenomenoaren azaltzeko erabili ditudan oinarri berberak erabiliko ditut orain ere, Fernández (1997 1999) eta Fernández & Albizuren (2000) ildotik. Lehenik eta behin, Vren tasunei nahitaezkoak iritziko diet hizkuntza ergatiboetan, *Nahitaezko Kasuaren Parametroak* (Chomsky 1993, Bobaljik 1993) Vren kasuari deritzan modura. Bigarrenik, hirugarren pertsonako DPK, lehen eta bigarren pertsonakoek ez bezala, [pertsona] tasunik ez dutela proposatuko dut eta ez dutela, hortaz, Vren [pertsona] tasuna zilegiztatzerik. Bi asertzio hauen ondorioz, ABS argumentuek Vren [pertsona] tasuna erkatuko dute, baldin eta baldin bakarrik lehen edota bigarren pertsonakoak badira, bestela, lehen edo bigarren pertsonako Ergatibo argumentuek beraiek erkatuko dute EL perpausetan, baina baita Datibo argumentuek DL perpausetan ere, Azken Baliapide operazioaren bitartez. Fenomeno bietan, beraz, [kasu] eta [komunztadura] tasunen erkaketa bereizi egiten da bi operaziotan, *erkabidea erdibituz*.

Lan honek ondoko atalak ditu. 1 atalean, Lekeitioko euskaraz, DL fenomenoaren islatzen duten datuen berri eman eta deskribatuko ditut. 2 atalean, DL egituretako numero komunztadura aztertuko dut. 3 atalean, DL egiturarik gabeko perpausak izango ditut hizpide. 4. atalean, EL perpausen erkabide erdibitua berrikusiko dut. 5 atalean, DL perpausetarako azterbidea proposatuko dut, ELrako oinarri teoriko berberak erabiliz. Azkenik, 6 atalak bilduko ditu ondorio nagusiak.

1. Absolutibo komunztaduradun datiboak : Datiboaren Lekualdatzea

Euskaraz perpaus ditransitiboetan, Ergatibo (ERG), Datibo (DAT) eta Absolutibo (ABS) kasuez markaturiko hiru argumentu ageri dira, eta hirurok aditz komunztaduran islatzen dira pertsona komunztadura morfemen bitartez. Hiru komunztadura sail dago: Absolutibo-komunztadura (A-komunztadura), ABS argumentuak islatzen dituen, Datibo-komunztadura (D-komunztadura), DAT argumentuei lotzen zaiena, eta Ergatibo-komunztadura (E-komunztadura), ERG argumentuei dagokiena. Pertsona komunztadura morfemak ditugu (1)ko taulan.

(1) Absolutibo, Datibo eta Ergatibo-komunztadurako pertsona morfemak

	A	D	E
ni	n-	-t-/da-	-t
hi (familiar.)	h-	-a-/na-	-k/-n
gu	g-	-gu-	-gu
zu (ezfamiliar.)/(p)	z-	-zu-	-zu

Lehen eta bigarren pertsonako argumentuak ageriko morfemez islatzen dira aditzean. Hirugarren pertsonako argumentuak, aldiz, ez du ageriko morfemarik ez A-komunztaduran ez eta E-komunztaduran ere, singularreko hirugarren pertsonako DAT argumentua /-a-, -o-/ morfemaz azaltzen den arren D-komunztaduran. Lan honetan, hirugarren pertsonako argumentuek pertsona komunztadurarik ez dutela berretsiko dut (Trask 1977, Euskaltzaindia 1987, Laka 1988, Gómez & Sainz 1995, Fernández 1999, Albizu & Eguren 2000, Fernández & Albizu 2000)².

Pertsona komunztaduraz gain, plural markatzaileak ere badira euskaraz. Lekeitioko euskaraz, pluraleko ABS argumentuetan /-it-, -z-/ pluralgileak darabiltzate, eta bigarren edota hirugarren pertsonako ERG argumentuetan, berriz, /-e-/ pluralgilea.

Irakurleari aski ezagunak zaizkion datuok gogorarazi ondoren, euskararen gramatikagintzan aspaldion xehetasunez eta zenbait ikusmiratatik aztertu izan den fenomeno baten berrikustea da orain dagokiguna, ELrena, hain zuzen ere. EL fenomenoak deskribatzeko azaltzeko beste bide dagoen arren, euskalariak ondo erakutsi duten modura (Trask 1979, Ortiz de Urbina 1986,

² /D-, z-, l-, b- / eta /Ø/ aurizkiak, tempus-modu aurizkitzat gabe (Trask 1977, Euskaltzaindia 1987, Laka 1988) espletibotzat jo dira Albizu & Eguren (1996), Fernández (1999) edota Fernández & Albizuren (2000) lanetan. Lan hauetara jo daiteke hipotesi hau garatu nahi bada.

Laka 1993, Fernández 1997, Albizu & Eguren 2000), Fernández (1999) eta Fernández & Albizuren (2000) ildotik deskribatuko dut honelaxe: EL jasaten duten perpausetan, ERG argumentua, E-komunztaduraz gabe, A-komunztaduraz ageri da laguntzailean, eta E-komunztadura ezabatu egiten da adizkitik. Hau da, EL fenomenoan, *komunztadura bitxiaz* (Hale 1996 1998 2000) ageri da ERG argumentua —ez E-komunztaduraz, A-komunztaduraz baino. Are, laguntzaileak murriztu egiten du pertsona komunztadura, E-komunztadura desagertu egiten delako.

Jakina denez, ezinbestekoak dira ondoko hiru baldintzak, EL gerta dadin: a) ABS argumentuak hirugarren pertsona izan behar du; b) ERG argumentuak lehen edo bigarren pertsona izan behar du, eta d) tempusak iragana edo alegiazkoa izan behar du. ELren adibideak ikus daitezke (2b) eta (2d)n.

(2)	a.	Ni	Lekitxora	etorri	n-it-z-an
		Ni-ABS	Lekitxo-ADL	etorri	1A-BOK-ERROA-IRAG
	b.	Nik	tabakua	ekarri	n-e-b-an
		Ni-ERG	tabakua (ABS)	ekarri	1A _E -BOK-ERROA-IRAG
	d.	Nik	antxoak	jan	n-e-ba-z-an
		Ni-ERG	antxoak-P (ABS)	jan	1A _E -BOK-ERROA-PA-IRAG

Goiko (2b) eta (2d)ko perpausetan, *nik* ERG argumentua /n-/ A-komunztadura aurrizkiaz ageri da laguntzailean, (2a)ko perpaus iragangaitzeko morfema berberaz. Ohikoa zaion E-komunztadura atzizkia, bestalde, ezabatu egiten da laguntzailetik. EL perpausetako adizkiak, hortaz, komunztadura bakarrekoak dira, nahiz eta, predikatu iragankorreko perpausetako laguntzaile beraz eratzen diren.

(2b) eta (2d)ko adibideetan erakutsi dudanez, Lekeitioko euskaran ere ageri zaigu EL egitura, printzipioz horretarako baldintzak betez gero, sistematikoki aurkitzen ditugu-eta honelakoxe perpausak. Euskaraz, EL bezain orokorra ez dena eta Lekeitioko euskaran, bederen, aurki daitekeena, (3a)ko perpausetan islatzen den fenomeno da.

(3)	a.	Zuk	niri	tabakua	emon	n-a-zu
		Zu-ERG	ni-DAT	tabakua (ABS)	emon	1A _D -BOK-(ERROA)-2E

b.	*Zuk	niri	tabakua	emon	d-o-st-a-zu
	Zu-ERG	ni-DAT	tabakua (ABS)	emon	ESPL-ERROA-DM-1D-2E

(3a)ko perpaus ditransitiboan, hiru argumentu ageri zaizkigu ERG, DAT eta ABS kasuez markaturik hurrenez hurren, eta laguntzaileak bi argumenturekin baino ez du komunztadura egiten, hau da, DAT argumentuarekin batetik eta ERG argumentuarekin bestetik. ERG argumentua E-komunztadurako /-zu/ atzizkiaz islatzen da laguntzailean, eta ez da alde honetatik ezer aipagarririk. DAT argumentua, alabaina, D-komunztaduraz azaldu beharrean, A-komunztadurako /n-/ aurrizkiaz ageri da laguntzailean. Honetan dago, hain zuzen, perpaus honetako komunztaduraren bitxia: DAT argumentua ez da D-atzizkiaz komunztatzen, A-aurrizkiaz baino, eta ondorioz, D-komunztadura bera ezabatu egiten da laguntzailetik, A- eta E-komunztadura soileko adizkia azaleratuz.

Oso bestela, (3b)ko perpaus ditransitiboa ez da onargarria Lekeitioko euskaran. Bertan, ohiko komunztaduradun adizkia dugu, hasierako /d-/ aurrizkiaz gain, D-komunztadura eta E-komunztadura morfemez eratu dena. (3a)ko perpausaren ez bezala, D-komunztadura dagokio, ohi den legez, DAT argumentuari.

Honaino emandako datuekin gonbaraziorako bideak urratu ditugula esan daiteke. Hala, aztergai darabilan (3b)ko perpausak dirudiena baino antzekotasun haundiagoa du (2b)ko EL perpausarekin. Gogoratu, batetik, (2b)ko EL perpausaren laguntzaileak A-pertsona morfemaz komunztadura egiten duela ERG argumentuarekin, eta ondorioz, E-komunztadura ezabatu egiten dela adizkitik; gogoan izan, bestetik, (3b)ko perpausaren DAT argumentua dela A-komunztatzen dena, eta D-komunztadura ere desagertu egiten dela adizkitik. Bi fenomenoetan, hortaz, komunztadura bitxia ageri da —ELn, A-komunztadura ERG argumenturako eta (3b)ko perpausaren, A-komunztadura DAT argumenturako—, eta bietan murriztu egiten da pertsona komunztadura —ELn, E-komunztadura ezabatuz; (3a)ko perpausaren, D-komunztadura desagertuz.

Era berean, badirudi antzeko baldintzek sortarazten dutela fenomeno bat nahiz bestea, argumentuen pertsonari begiratuz gero bederen, zeren ABS argumentuak hirugarren pertsona izan behar baitu bietan³, eta ELko ERG argumentuak nahiz (3b)ko DAT argumentuak lehen pertsona. ELrako, gainera, ERG argumentua bigarren pertsona ere izan daiteke, eta Lekeitioko euskaraz DAT bigarren pertsonakoa bada, (3b)ko bezalako perpausa bezalakorik onartzen ez

den arren, geroago —3 atala— erakutsiko dudan bezala, badira fenomeno bereko mintzairak, non DAT argumentuak lehen pertsona ez eze, bigarren pertsona ere izan behar duen. Esaterako, Lafittek (1987) *Le Solécisme de la Côte* deritzanaz dioenez, DAT argumentua bigarren pertsonakoa deneko *dauk* adizkiaren ordezkari *hau* forma darabilte itsasaldeko lapurtarrek. Baita DAT lehen pertsonakoa deneko *daut* edota *dauku* adizkien ordezkari *nau* eta *gaitu* formak erabili ere.

ELko (2b)ko perpausak eta (3b)koak erakusten dituzten antzekotasun hauek azpimarratzekotan, *Datiboaren Lekualdatze* (DL)⁴ fenomenoak dei egingo diot (3b)ko perpausak erakusten duenari. DL fenomenoak, ez du, jakina, ELk duen hedapena euskalkietan, baina ez da Lekeitiora edota Bizkaiko itsasaldera mugatzen: Koldo Zuazok diostanez⁵, Lapurdiko Hegomendebaldean gertatzen da fenomenoak: Basusarri, Arrangoitze, Arbona, Senpere, Ainhoa, Zugarramurdi eta Urdazubin hasi eta itsasora bitartean. Zuraiden eta Ezpeletan ere aurki daitezke fenomenoaren aztarnak (Irizar 1997 eta 1999, Zuazo 1999). Nafarroan, berriz, Baztanen, Bertizaranan eta Bortzirietan betetzen da, eta Gipuzkoan Donostia eta Irun bitartean (Irizar 1981 1991 eta 1992, Zuazo 1997). Ez da, hortaz, hain fenomeno urria euskararen aldaeretan, aldaeraz aldaera fenomenoak ezberdintasunak erakuts ditzakeela pentsa daitekeen arren.

DL egiturako datuak osatuz joatearren, (4a) eta (4d)ko perpausak ere begira daitezke, fenomeno beraren isla dira-eta. (4d)ko perpausetan, (4a)koan ez bezala, pluraleko lehen pertsonakoa da DAT argumentua, baina ikus daitekeenez, horrek ez du DL ez den beste egiturarik ekartzen, ez eta ERG argumentua hirugarren pertsonakoa izateak ere. (4a) eta (4d)ko perpausak (4b) eta (4e)ko perpausekin aldera daitezke, hurrenez hurren. Azken biak ez dira onargarriak Lekeitioko euskararen. Hortaz, ez dago *nau/dost* edo *gaitxu/dosku* alternantziarik perpaus ditransitiboetan, DL egiturako halabeharrezko *nau/gaitxu* adizkiak baino.

- (4) a. Mokixek (niri) tabakua erregala n-a-u
 Mokix-ERG ni-DAT tabakua (ABS) erregala 1_{A_D}-BOK-ERROA-(3E)

³ Printzipioz ez dirudi perpaus ditransitiboetan hirugarren pertsonako ABS komuntadura besterik dugunik. *Pertsona Kasuaren Mugarako*, ikus Bonet (1994), Albizu (1997, 1998) eta Ormazabal (1999).

⁴ Datiboaren Lekualdatze izena proposatzerakoan, ez dut izena izanarekin bateratu nahi, Ergatiboaren Lekualdatze izena darabildanean bezala.

⁵Koldo Zuazori erakutsi nahi diot nire esker ona euskalkien inguruan eman dizkidan datuengatik nahiz iturri bibliografikoengatik.

- b. *Mokixek (niri) tabakua erregala d-o-s-t
 Mokix-ERG ni-DAT tabakua (ABS) erregala ESPL-ERROA-DM-1D-(3E)
- d. Mokixek (guri) tabakua erregala g-a-itx-u
 Mokix-ERG gu-DAT tabakua (ABS) erregala 1A_D-BOK-PA-ERROA-(3E)
- e. *Mokixek (guri) tabakua erregala d-o-s-ku
 Mokix-ERG gu-DAT tabakua (ABS) erregala ESPL-ERROA-DM-1D-(3E)

DL eta EL fenomenoaren artean bereizkuntza nabarmenik aurkitzekotan, tempusaren zehaztapenean izan behar luke. Aski ezaguna denez, EL gerta dadin, tempusak iragana edo alegiazkoa izan behar du ezinbestean; DLk, aldiz, ez dirudi inongo mendekotasunik duenik tempusaren zehaztapenarekiko. Horrela, iraganeko (5a) eta (5b)ko DL perpausetan, *naben* eta *nazun* adizkiak ditugu hurrenez hurren, iraganeko /-n/ morfemaz markatuak biak. Adizki hauek, (4a) eta (3a)ko *nau* eta *nazu* orainaldiko formen kideak dira. Are, aginteraz ere gertatzen da fenomenoak, (5d)ko perpausetan ikus daitekeen bezala.

- (5) a. Pasa dan astian, Mokixek ekarri naben tabakua (niri)
 b. Pasa dan astian, zeuk ekarri nazun tabakua (niri)
 d. Hurreratu nazun tabakua (zuk/niri)

Eta bereizkuntzei erreparatzekotan, bada bat itxuraz bederen begibistakoa dena. Izan ere, (3a) eta (4d)ko perpaus ditransitiboetan ageri zaizkigun *nazu* eta *gaitxu* formak DLko perpausetan ez eze, ohiko komunztadurako perpausetan ere ageri zaizkigu, (6)koan ikus daitekeen modura.

- (6) (Zuk) (ni) ikusi n-a-zu
 Zu-ERG ni (ABS) ikusi 1A-BOK-(ERROA)-2E

Eta ohikoa diot, A-komunztadura (6) perpausetan ABS argumentuari dagokiolako, ez DATri, (3a)ko DL perpausetan bezala. Nolanahi ere, ez dirudi adizkia itxuraz bera izan arren⁶, berdin erator daitezkeenik (3a) eta (6)ko perpausak. 5. atalean itzuliko naiz honetara.

⁶ Kontuan hartu EL perpausetako adizkiak soilik A-komunztadurakoak, hau da, komunztadura bakarrekoak izan arren, **edun*/**ezan* laguntzaile iragankorretan eraikitzen direla. DL perpausak, bestalde, D-komunztadurarik gabeak izanik, ez dirudi hain harrigarria denik A- eta E-komunztaduradun adizki itxuraz arruntaz baliatzea.

Laburbilduz, atal honetan gramatikagintzan orain artean aztertu gabeko DL fenomenoak deskribatu eta bere ezaugarri nagusiak definitu ditut, EL egiturarekin gonbaratuz. Bi fenomenoen arteko antzekotasunei erreparatuz, eta ez horrenbeste diferentziei, euskarri berekoak dirudite biek. Lehenik eta behin, bietan komunztadura bitxia da, edo nahi bada, ezohikoa: EL perpausetan ERG argumentuaren A-komunztadura eta DL perpausetan, DAT argumentuaren A-komunztadura bera. Bigarrenik, pertsona komunztadura murriztu egiten da bietan: E-komunztadura ezabatu egiten da EL perpausetan eta D-komunztadura, berriz, DL perpausetan.

2. Datiboaren Lekualdatzea eta numero komunztadura

EL fenomenoak aztertzerakoan, Fernández & Albizuk (2000) dagoeneko esan duten bezala, bada aipa daitekeen komunztaduraren beste bitxikeria bat, alegia, ERG argumentua A-pertsona komunztaduraz islatzen bada ere, ABS argumentua A-numero komunztaduraz ageri da laguntzailean. Hala, A-komunztadura nolabait erdibiturik ageri da pertsona komunztaduran batetik, ERG egozten zaiona, eta numero komunztaduran bestetik, ABSri egokitzen zaiona. DL perpausetan ere, A-komunztadurako pertsona eta numeroaren arteko banaketa ematen da, (7)ko adibidean ikus daitekeen modura.

(7)	Zuk	niri	antxoak	emon	n-a-zu-z
	Zu-ERG	ni-DAT	antxoak-P (ABS)	emon	1A _D -BOK-(ERROA)2E-PA

Goiko adibidean (7), DAT argumentua A-pertsona komunztaduraz ageri da adizkian /n-/ aurrizkiaren bitartez, baina ABS argumentuari dagokio /-z/ A-komunztadurako pluralgilea. EL egituretan bezalatsu, A-komunztadurako pertsona eta numero markatzaileak bereizi egiten dira bi argumenturi morfema bana egokituz.⁷

Nolanahi ere, datuei zor zaien fidelitasunaz, ñabardura batez bereizi behar dira (7)ko perpausaren eredukoak eta (8)koa. Izan ere, DAT argumentua pluralekoa denean, A-komunztadurako numero morfema bakar bat ageri beharrenean, bi numero morfema ageri zaizkigu adizkian, alegia, /-it-/ hizkia batetik eta /-z/ bestetik. Bigarren honek ABS argumentuarekiko komunztadura islatzen duela dirudi, baina /-it-/ hizkiak DAT

argumentuarekin bat egiten du, ABS argumentua singularrekoa denean ere ageri baita adizkian — (4d)ko adibidean esaterako. (8)an ikus daiteke, A-komunztadurako bi numero morfemadun adizkia.

(8)	Mokixek	guri	antxoak	emon g-a-itx-u-z
	Mokix-ERG	gu-DAT	antxoak -P (ABS)	emon 1A _D -BOK-PA-ERROA-(3E)-PA

Hortaz, badirudi (8)ko adibideak, A-komunztadurako pertsona eta numeroa bi argumenturen artean erdibitzeaz gain —(7)koak bezala—, A-komunztadurako numeroa ere banatzen duela bi argumenturen artean⁸.

Amaitu aurretik, ohartu behar da (7) perpauseko *nazuz* adizkia DL perpausetan baino ez dela ageri, fenomenoaren ebidentziak nolabait indartuz.

3. Datiboaren Lekualdatzerik gabeko formak

Goiago nioen DL egiturarik eman dadin, DAT argumentuak lehen pertsonakoa izan behar duela halabeharrez. Ildo honetan, perpaus ditrantsitiboko DAT argumentua bigarren pertsonakoa izanez gero, ez da DL egiturarik eratzen Lekeitioko euskaran. Hala, (9a)ko perpausa ez da onargarria, eta bere ordez, DAT argumentuari D-komunztadura egokitzen zaioneko (9b) eta (9d)ko perpausak dira mintzaira honetan hobesten direnak bai orainaldian bai iraganean.

- (9) a. *Nik zuri tabakua ekarri zaitxut
 b. (Nik) (zuri) tabakua ekarri dotsut/neutsun
 d. (Nik) (zuri) antxoak ekarri dotsuraz/neutsuzan

⁷ Lafittek (1978) ere aipatzen du honelakoxe banaketa erakusten duen adibide bat: (i) *bi ogiak ekharri nauzkate*, (ii) *bi ogiak ekarri dauzkidate* perpaus kanonikoaren ordez. (i) adibideko *nauzkate* adizkia ere DL egituretan baino ezin daiteke ageri.

⁸ Gorka Elordietak ohartarazi nauenez, (8)ko *emon gaitxuz* formak, (7)ko *emon nazuz* adizkiak ez bezala, ez du nahitaez DL adibidea izan behar, -z marka *-it-* pluralgilearen erreduplikazio hutsa izan baitaiteke itxura bereko forma kanonikoan, esaterako, (i) *Mokixek gu ikusi gaitxuz* perpausean.

Bestalde, numero komunztadura DAT eta ABS argumentuen artean banatzea izan liteke DL fenomenoaren ELtik bereizteko argudio sendoa, aintzat hartzen bada, behintzat, *-it-* morfema DAT argumentuari dagokiola DL egituretan, morfema bera EL perpausetan nahitaez ABS argumentuari dagokion bitartean.

Ez da lan honen helburua DL formak xehetasunez aztertzea aldaeraz aldaera, baina, gorago nioen bezala, Lekeitioko euskararen lehen pertsonako DAT argumentura mugatzen dena, beste aldaera batzuetan bigarren pertsonako DAT argumentura ere zabaltzen da, (9a)ko perpausaren modukoak onargarritzat joz. Eta hau da, hain zuzen, DL fenomenoaren orokortasunean ulertzeko aintzat hartu beharrekoa, alegia, DAT argumentuak lehen nahiz bigarren pertsonakoa izan behar duela, DL gerta dadin. Ondorioz, hirugarren pertsonako DAT argumenturik izanez gero, ez da DL egiturarik sortzen, (10)k erakusten dudana modura.

(10) (Nik) Leiretxori tabakua ekarri dotsat/neutsan

Badira, bestalde, datu adierazgarriak orain arte aipatu ez ditudan perpausetan, DLrik gabeak hauek ere. Esaterako, (11a) eta (11b)ko perpausak, pentsa litekeenaren kontra, ez dira onargarriak gramatika honetan, ez orainaldian, ez eta iraganean ere. Perpaus hauen ordeztan, DAT argumenturik gabeko perpaus iragankorrak hobesten dira eta */-tzako/* posposizio buruko sintagma batez adierazten da DATz behar lukeena.

- (11) a. *(Guk) (zuri) tabakua ekarri dotsugu/geuntsun
 b. *(Guk) (zuri) emon nabezan antxoak ekarri dotsuguz/geuntsuzan
 d. Guk tabakua ekarri dogu/genduan zeutzako
 e. Guk antxoak ekarri doguz/genduzan zeutzako

Ez da aise azaltzen zein den (11a) eta (11b)ko perpausen ezgramatikaltasunaren zergatia, ez eta zerk dakarren (11d) eta (11e)ko perpausetara zehar kasuko sintagmarik, egiturazko DATren ordeztan. Ez da hori argitzea lan honen helburua, baina (11)ko datuek DAT kasuaren azken aztarna direla pentsa daiteke. Horrela, bada, hiru eratarik ageri zaigu DAT kasua: i. ohiko D-komunztaduraz; ii. A-komunztaduraz DL perpausetan; eta iii. */-tzako/* zehar kasuaz ordezkaturik eta komunztadurarik gabe. Hirugarren honetarako azalpenik gabe ere, DAT kasuari buruzko zeinahi ikerketak aintzat hartu beharko lituzke (11)ko datuak eta beste aldaeretan izan lezaketen hedapena. Oraingo honetan DL perpausen zergatiak dira ondoren — (5) atalean— argitzen saiatuko naizenak. Horretarako, EL perpausetarako hipotesiaren berrikusketarekin hasiko naiz —(4) atalean—, DLk ere argibide teoriko bertsuak dituela

erakusteko. (12)ko taulara dakartzat orain arte emandako datu adierazgarrienak eta lerrootan aztergai erabili ditudan DL eta EL perpaus ereduak, kanonikotzat har daitekeenaz gain.

(12) Perpaus iragankorrak

	<u>Kasua</u>	<u>Komunzt</u>	<u>Eredua</u>	<u>Etsenplua</u>	
a.	2/3E –1D-3A	A _D	∅ E	DL	<i>nazu</i> (3a) <i>nazuz</i> (7)
b.	1/2E -1/2A	A	E	Kanonikoa	<i>nazu</i> (6)
d.	1/2E-3A	A _E	∅ EL		<i>neban</i> (2b) <i>nebazan</i> (2d)

Horiexek dira ondoko bi ataletan azalduko ditudan perpaus ereduak, eta ereduan ereduako perpausen eratorpenak ere proposatuko ditut bertan.

4. Absolutibo komuzntaduradun Ergatiboak: Ergatiboaren Lekualdatzeaz berriro

Gorago (1. atalean) nioen EL fenomenoak deskribatzeko azaltzeko beste bide dagoela. Azterbiderik horietako batek Fernández (1999) eta Fernández & Albizun (2000) izan du azken formulazioa eta ondoko bi proposamen teoriko nagusitan oinarritzen da.

Lehenik eta behin, *Nahitaezko Kasuaren Parametroak* (Chomsky 1993, Bobaljik 1993) nahitaezko ϕ -tasunen gaineko bereizkuntza parametrikora garamatza. Izan ere, hizkuntza ergatiboetan aditz buruek (Vk euskaraz) baldintzatzen dituzte ϕ -tasunak perpaus iragangaitzetan, ez Tk. Horrela, Vren tasunak (ϕ_2 -tasunak aurrerantzean) nahitaez erkatzen dira euskararen gramatikan.

Bigarrenik, [pertsona] tasunaren arabera bereizten dira DPk. Horrela, bada, hirugarren pertsonako DPk, lehen eta bigarren pertsonakoek ez bezala, ez dute [pertsona] tasuna inola burutzen, eta ez dute, hortaz, [numero] tasuna besterik. Horregatik, hain zuzen, ez dute hizkuntza ergatiboetan nahitaezkoa den ϕ_2 -pertsona tasuna zilegiztatzeko gaitasunik.

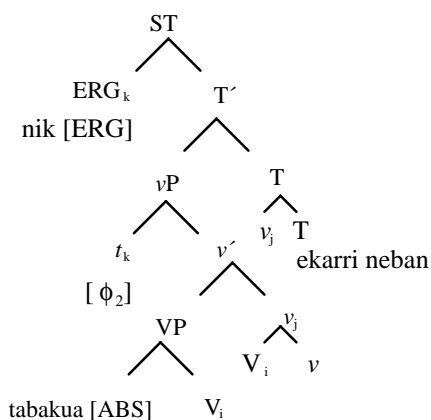
Proposamen teoriko hauezaz gain, Egitarau Minimalistaren (Chomsky 1993 1995 1998) baitako zenbait hipotesiri lotzen zaie azterbidea, orain ere jarraituko ditudanak. Horrela, ERG argumentuak Spec-vP gunean sortzen direla iritziko dut eta ABS argumentuak, berriz, Vren osagarri gunean. Komuzntadura kanonikoa duten perpausetako [kasu] eta [ϕ] tasunen erkaketari dagokionean — (6)koan esaterako—, ABS argumentuak [ϕ_2] tasunak eta ABS

kasua *in situ* erkatzen dituela ebatziko dut, ERG argumentuak, bere aldetik, [ϕ_1] tasunak eta ERG kasua Spec-T gunean zilegiztatzten dituen bitartean.

(13a)n dago berriro (2b)ko perpausa. Gorago nioen modura, EL perpausetan, ERG argumentua A-komunztadura aurrizkiaz ageri da, eta ohiko E-pertsona atzizkia ezabatu egiten da adizkitik. (13b)ra dakart dagokion eratorpen sintaktikoa.

- (13) a. Nik tabakua ekarri n-e-b-an
 Ni-ERG tabakua (ABS) ekarri 1_{A_E}-BOK-ERROA-IRAG

b.



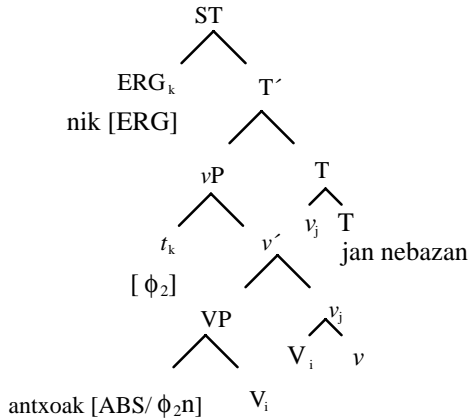
(13b) ED perpausaren eratorpenean, V buruaren [kasu] eta [ϕ]tasunen *erkabide erdibitua* ematen da, hau da, ABS argumentuak ABS kasua erkatzen badu ere, ERGk berak erkatzen du [ϕ]tasuna. Are, ERG argumentuak V buruaren [ϕ]tasuna erkatzen du batetik, baina bestetik, T buruaren [kasu] tasuna ere. Dakusagun eratorpena urratsez urrats. (13b)n, hirugarren pertsonako ABS argumentuak ABS kasua erkatzen du *in situ*. Aldiz, ez du V buruaren [ϕ] pertsona tasunik zilegiztatzeko gaitasunik. Ondorioz, behin V v_i adjunktatutakoan, lehen pertsonako ERG argumentuak berak erkatuko du [ϕ_2] tasuna ezohiko erkabidez. Spec-Trako mugimenduan zilegiztatuko du azkenik ERG kasu tasuna.

Ildo berean azter daiteke baita (2d)ko perpausa ere, (14a)ra dakardana berriro ere. Aztertu berri dugun (14a) perpausuan bezalatsu, ABS komunztadura aurrizkiaz ageri da ERG argumentua. Bereizkuntza bakarra ABS argumentuan datza: (14a) perpausuan, pluraleko ABS argumentua dugu, adizkian /-z-/ pluralgilean islatzen dena. Perpaus honetan A- komunztadura ERG eta ABS argumentuen artean erdibitzen da, ERG argumentuari egokitzen zaiolarik A-

pertsona komunztadura eta ABS argumentuari, berriz, A-numero komunztadura. (14b)n ikus daiteke dagokion eratorpena.

- (14) a. Nik antxoak jan n-e-ba-z-an
 Ni-ERG antxoak-P (ABS) jan 1_{A_E}-BOK-ERROA-PA-IRA

b.



Goiko eratorpenean (14b) V buruaren [pertsona] eta [numero] tasunak bi argumentuek, hau da, ABS eta ERG argumentuek erkatzen dituzte hurrenez hurren: [numero] tasuna *in situ* erkatzen du ABS argumentuak, ABS kasuarekin batera; [pertsona] tasuna, berriz, ERG argumentuak erkatzen du Spec-*v* gunean, V v_i adjunktatu ondoren. ERG kasu tasuna ERG argumentuaren Spec-T mugimenduan erkatuko da azkenik.

Labur esanda, hirugarren pertsonako ABS argumentuak [φ₂] pertsona tasuna erkatu ezin izatetik dator ERG argumentuaren [φ₂] pertsona tasunaren ezohiko erkaketa. Horrela, Vren [kasu] eta [φ] tasunak erdibitu egiten dira erkabidean, ERG argumentuaren [kasu] eta [φ] tasunak ere bi gunean erdibitzen diren antzera. Ondoren —5 atala— ikusiko dugunez, erkabide erdibitu bertsua gertatzen da DL egituretan ere, oinarri teoriko berberen ondorioz.

5. Datiboaren Lekualdatzeaz hipotesi bat

EL eta DL fenomenoen arteko antzekotasunak deskribatu egin ditut hastapenean (1. atala). Oraingo honetan, bi fenomenoetarako antzeko azterpideak eman daitezkeela proposatu eta erakutsiko dut.

Gogoan izan, dagoeneko esan dudan bezala, bi fenomenoak komunztadura bitxikoak direla nolabait, hau da, ERG argumentuari ohikoa den E-komunztadura egotzi beharrean A-komunztadura ezartzen zaiola EL egituran, eta DAT argumentuari berez zor zaion D-komunztaduraren orde, A-komunztadura DL perpausetan. Kontuan hartu, gainera, ERG nahiz DAT argumentuek bereganatzen duten komunztadura bitxi hori bera dela bietan, A-komunztadura alegia, hirugarren pertsonako ABS argumentuak izan ezin dezakeena. Ez da ahaztu behar, halaber, ERG eta DAT argumentuak ohikoa ez den komunztaduraz jabetzeak ondorio bera dakarrela bi fenomenoetan: pertsona komunztadura urrituko egiturak dira biak, E-komunztadurarik ez da ageri ELn, ez eta D-komunztadurarik ere DLn.

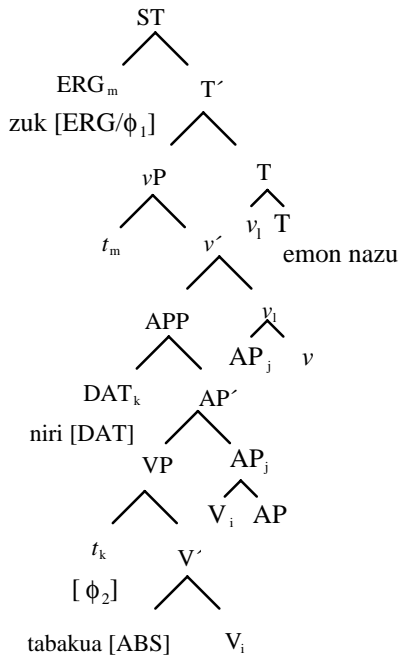
Antzekotasun hauetatik abiatuz, badirudi oinarri teoriko berberak erabil ditzakegula eta antzeko azterbideez baliatu, EL nahiz DL perpausak azaltzeko. 5 ataleko proposamen teorikoak ez ezik, aintzat izan ERG eta ABS argumentuez gain, DAT argumentua ere badugula perpaus ditransitiboetan. DAT argumentuari dagokionean, Spec-VPn sortzen dela ebatziko dut, eta DAT egiturazko kasutzat hartuko dut (Hualde 1986, Cheng & Demirdache 1990, López & Austin 1995, Fernández 1997). Nolanahi ere, ez dut oraingoan autore hauen ildorik jarraituko, perpaus egituran hirugarren komunztadura burua bereiziz. Hipotesi minimalista goiztiarretik aldenuz, Aplikatiboa (AP) buruari⁹ egotziko diot DAT kasua erkatu beharra, behin DAT argumentua Spec-APP gunera igo ondoren. APP v arinaren osagarri gunean ezarriko dut perpaus egituran; VP, berriz, AP buruarenean.

(15a)n ikus daiteke (3a)ko DL perpaus bera, DAT argumentua A-komunztaduraz ageri denekoa. (15b)koa da dagokion eratorpena. Eratorpena uler dadin, gogoan izan EL egituretarako formulatu ditudan proposamen teoriko biak: i. Vren ϕ -pertsona tasuna ezinbestean erkatu behar da eratorpenean, eta ii. hirugarren pertsonako argumentuak ez du [pertsona] tasunaren burutzapenik eta ez du, hortaz, ϕ_2 -pertsona tasuna erkatzerik. Oinarri teoriko biotan eraikitzen da (15b) eratorpena.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------|--------|---------------|------|---------------------------------|
| (15) | a. | Zuk | niri | tabakua | emon | n-a-zu |
| | | Zu-ERG | ni-DAT | tabakua (ABS) | emon | 1A _D -BOK-(ERROA)-2E |

⁹ Hautu honek eztabaida teoriko luzea behar luke, eta ez da hori garatzea nire oraingo egitasmoa. Honezaz interesa duenak jo dezake, besteak beste, Romero (1997) edota Ormazabal & Romero (1998) lanetara. Ohartu proposamenotan ABS argumentuak DAT argumentua o-komandatzan duela jatorrizko gunean.

b.



Goiko eratorpenean (15b), Vren [kasu] tasuna erkatu du ABS argumentuak eta Vren [φ] tasuna, berriz, DAT argumentuak. Vren [kasu] eta [φ]tasunak erdibitu egiten dira erkabidean, EL egituraren (13b)ko eratorpenean bezalaxe. Gainera, DAT argumentuak, V buruaren [φ]tasuna zilegiztatzeko duen arren, AP buruaren [kasu] tasuna ere erkatzen du Spec-AP gunean. Behin φ₂-pertsonek tasuna erkatu ondoren, ERG argumentuak Tren [kasu] nahiz [φ]tasunak zilegiztatuko ditu Spec-T gunean.

Badirudi, beraz, ezohiko komunztadurako EL eta DL fenomenoak oinarri teoriko berberaz azter daitezkeela. Bietan berebiziko garrantzia du hirugarren pertsonako argumentuaren [pertsonek] tasunik ezak, horren ondorioz lehen edo bigarren pertsonako beste argumentu batek, ERG edo DAT argumentuak erkatuko duelako halabeharrezko φ₂-pertsonek tasuna. Datuak osotasunean uler daitezke, ohartu beharra dago iraganeko perpausetan, hau da, EL fenomenoak gertatzen denekoetan, bi fenomenoak lehiatzen azaltzen zaizkigula. Horrela, (16a)ko perpausean, (5b)ko bera, DL fenomenoak nagusitzen zaio ELri eta (16b)ko perpausean, (10a)koa, aldiz, EL da gailentzen den estrategia sintaktikoa.

- (16) a. Pasa dan astian, zeuk ekarri nazun tabakua (niri)
- b. (Nik) (zuri) tabakua ekarri neutsun

Jakina, EL fenomenoak tempus mugak ditu, iraganean azal daitekeela soil-soilik, eta DL iragan nahiz orainaldian gerta daiteke. Alegia, bien artean bada diferentziarik. Era berean ezin uka daiteke EL fenomeno askoz ere orokorragoa dela euskaraz eta DL, berriz, euskararen zenbait mintzairatan baino ez dela ageri. Nolanahi ere, pentsa daiteke Vren [pertsona] tasunaren erkabideak, ABS ez den argumentuarekiko, hau da, ERG ala DAT argumentuarekiko, bereizkuntza parametrikoa dakarrela euskaratik euskarara, eta ziurrenik euskaratik beste hizkuntza batzuetara. Aipagarria da, bestalde, hizpide dugun Lekeitioko euskararen EL fenomeno ageri daitekeen tempusean, hau da, iraganean, EL edota DL estrategia biak aurkitzea, segun eta argumentuen [pertsona] tasuna nola burutzen den, (16a) eta (16b)ko perpausen bitartez erakutsi nahi izan dudana bezala¹⁰.

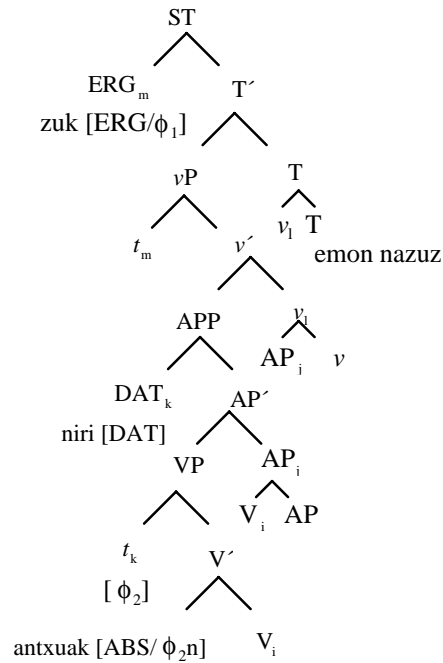
Atal honi amaiera eman aurretik, pluraleko ABS argumentudun DL perpausak ere aipatu nahi nituzke. Hauetan ere, EL perpausetan bezalakoxe erdibiketa ematen da A-komunztadurarekin, A-pertsona komunztadura DAT argumentuari egokitzen zaion bitartean, A-numero komunztadura ABS argumentuari egozten zaiolarik. (17a)n ikus daiteke (6)ko perpaus bera. Bertan, /n-/ A-pertsona komunztadura singularreko lehen pertsonako DATri dagokio; /z-/ A-numero komunztadura, berriz, pluraleko hirugarren pertsonako ABS argumentuari. Honek, EL perpausetan azaldu zaizkigun datu bertsuetara garamatza berriro ere: pluraleko hirugarren pertsonako ABS argumenturik bada, pertsona komunztadura DATri dagokio ezinbestean, eta numero komunztadura ABSri egotz dakioke. (17b)n ikus daiteke eratorpena.

- (17) a. Zuk niri antxoak emon n-a-zu-z
 Zu-ERG ni-DAT antxoak-P (ABS) emon 1A_D-BOK-(ERROA)-2E-PA

¹⁰Fernández & Halek (1999) eta Fernández & Albizuk (2000) ohartarazten duten bezala, euskararen zenbait aldaeretan, ERG argumentuak Vrekin nahiz Trekin izan ditzake [ϕ]-erkaketa harremanak, adizki berean A- eta E-komunztaduraz azaleraziz (i.). DL egituretan, aldiz, ez du *erkabide bikoitzeko* adizkirik, hau da, Vrekin nahiz APrekiko [ϕ]-erkaketa harremanen ondorioz DAT argumentua A- nahiz D-komunztaduraz adierazten den adizkirik (ii.).

(i) g-en-e-rama-gu-n vs. (ii) *g-a-itx-u-gu-zu-n
 1A_E-P-BOK-ERROA-1E-IRAG 1A_D-BOK-P-ERROA-1D-2E-IRAG
 generaman *gaitxuzun (zeunskun)*

b.



Goiko eratorpenean (17b), ABS argumentuak *in situ* erkatzen ditu [kasu] eta φ₂-numero tasuna; DAT argumentuak, bere aldetik, φ₂-pertsonea tasuna Spec-V gunean. Hurrengo operazioan, AP buruaren DAT zilegiztatuko du DAT argumentuak eta ERG argumentuak, azkenik, ERG nahiz φ₂-tasunak Spec-T gunean.

6. Ondorioak

Lan honetan erakutsi dudanez, ez da EL fenomenoa [kasu] eta [φ] tasunen erkaketa bereizten dituen bakarra. DL deritzadanean ere, bereizkuntza bertsua aurkitzen dela esan daiteke, DAT kasudun argumentuak APren [pertsonea] tasuna gabe, Vrena erkatzen duelako, ezohikoa zaion φ₂-pertsonea tasunaz azaleraziz. Erkabide erdibitu hau bi oinarri teorikoren ondorioa da, batetik hirugarren pertsonako ABS argumentuak φ₂-pertsonea tasuna erkatzeko duen ezintasuna eta bestetik φ₂-tasunak halabeharrez erkatu behar izatea, bi oinarriok direlarik EL sortarazten duten berberak.

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Objektu-komunztadura XIX eta XX. mendeetako euskal gramatiketan

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Abstract

Lan honek XIX. eta XX. mendeetako euskal gramatikagintzan objektu-komunztadura nola ulertu eta aztertu izan den azaldu nahi luke. Astarloaren aurreneko analisi morfemikotik abiatuta (§1) eta gramatika orokorreko “aditz bakarraren teoria” izeneko berrikusi ondoren (§2), hiru analisi mota bereiziko ditut, analisi bakoitzak hirugarren pertsonako objektuarekiko komunztadurari eskaini dion ikuspegia irizpidetzat harturik: Lehena gramatika orokor eta filosofikoaren ildotik doa, euskarak aditz bakarra duela proposatzen delarik (§3); zeharka bederen, teoria pasibista defendatzen dutenak ere sartu behar ditugu talde honetan (§4); izan ere, autore hauen guztien aburuz, aditz “iragankorretan” hirugarren pertsonako objektua beti markatzen da nolabait, are objekturik ez dagoen kasuetan ere. Bigarrenik, tradiziozko teoria egongo litzateke (§5): d-, z- (ø-), l- eta b- aurrizkiak hirugarren pertsonaren markatzat hartzen dira, zenbaitetan ustezko izenordainekin erlazionatzen direlarik. Azkenik, aspektu-denborazko teoria deitu dudana dugu (§6): teoria honen arabera, aipaturiko aurrizkiak (antzinako) modu-aspektu-denborazko markak dira.

0. Sarrera*

Gauza jakina da euskararen aditz flexioak zenbait argumenturekin komunztatzen duela: argumentu absolutibo, ergatibo, datibo eta, kasuan, alokutiboarekin. Bestalde, euskararen morfologia ergatiboa dela eta, egitura iragangaitzen (zehazkiago, ez-akusatiboen) argumentu bakarrak eta iragankorretako objektuak kasu bera eta komunztadura-hizki berak dituzte, absolutiboari dagozkionak alegia. Baina XIX. mendean eta, neurri txikiagoan bederen, XX. mende hasieran, tradiziozko gramatikagintzaren moldeek, nagusiki latindar gramatikan oinarrituek, oraino sendo dira eta latinaren morfologia nominatibo-akusatiboaren eredua —besteak beste, subjektuarekiko komunztadura besterik kontuan hartzen ez duena— da hizkuntza guztien gramatikari aplikatu ohi zaiona.

* Artikulu hau “Estudios de lingüística histórica vasca: morfología, dialectología y lexicografía históricas” (PI97/49) ikerketa-proiektuaren barruan kokatzen da. Aurreko bertsioa Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegian gazteleraz aurkeztu zen. Ene eskerrona Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegiko entzulegoari, bertan egindako galdera eta ohar baliotsuengatik. Mila esker orobat Beñat Oyharçabali eta bi ikuskatzaile izengabeei, euren iruzkin eta zuzenketek biziki aberastu baitute testua.

Lan honek, eredu horretatik abiatuz euskal gramatikagintzan objektu-komunztadura nola ulertu den eta zein azterbide proposatu diren azaldu nahi luke. Euskal aditzaren objektu-komunztadurari buruzko azterketen bi abiaburu aurkeztuko ditut, alegia:

- a. Astarloaren ideiak (§1): euskal aditzaren lehen analisi morfematikoa dugu harena. Pertsona-komunztadura hizkien tradiziozko analisiaren oinarriak ezarri zituen, bereziki *Discursos Filosóficos*eko (Astarloa 1883 [ca. 1804-1806]) “Características de personas” (465-468.or.) izeneko kapituluan.
- b. Gramatika orokorraren ideiak eta, batik bat, “aditz bakarraren teoria” deiturikoa (§2). Halaber, hiru analisi mota bereiziko ditut, analisi bakoitzak hirugarren pertsonako objektuarekiko komunztadurari eskaini dion ikuspegia aintzat harturik. Hiru ikuspegiok ez dute inondik ere elkar baztertzen; aitzitik, historikoki loturik agertzen zaizkigu eta, noizik behin, elkarren osagarri ere gerta daitezke, ikusiko dugunez. Honakoak dira:
 - a. Gramatika orokor eta filosofikoa (§3) eta, zeharka bederen, teoria pasibista (§4): aditz “iragankorretan” hirugarren pertsonako objektua beti markatzen dela aldarrikatzen dute, are objekturik ez dagoen kasuetan ere. Pasibisten formulazioa apur bat konplexuagoa da.
 - b. Tradiziozko teoria (§5): *d-*, *z-* (ϕ -), *l-* eta *b-* aurrizkiak hirugarren pertsonaren markatzat hartzen dira eta, zenbaitetan, ustezko izenordainekin erlazionatzen dira.
 - c. Aspektu-denborazko teoria (§6):¹ *d-*, *z-* (ϕ -), *l-* eta *b-* aurrizkiak (antzinako) modu-aspektu-denborazko markak dira.

1. Astarloa (1883 [ca. 1804-1806])

Astarloak euskal aditzaren aurreneko morfema-zatiketa burutu zuen. Euskal aditzaren zatiketari ekiteko aintzat hartu zituen oinarri teorikoak ez dira lan honen aztergai (ik. horretaz Gómez 1999); nolana ere den, oinarriok albo batera utzirik, pertsona, denbora, modu eta abarren markak aski zuzen identifikatu zituela ohartarazi nahi nuke.

Gure gaiari loturik baitaude, Astarloaren teoriaren bi puntu nabarmendu nahi nituzke, alegia ekonomi hatsarrea eta euskaran (hots, jatorrizko hizkuntzan, hizkuntza “naturalean”) zortzi pertsona bereiztea:

¹ “Tradiziozko teoria” eta “aspektu-denborazko teoria” deiturak lan honetan erabiltzen dira lehen aldiz, zenbait ideia biltzen dituzten etiketa identifikatzaile gisa erabiltzen ditudalarik. Kasu bakoitzean ideia hauek biltzen dituen ardatza euren antzekotasun “tipologikoa” da; izan ere, batzuetan —paralelotasunarekin jarraituz gero— ez dute inongo “ahaidetasun genetikorik” erakusten.

a. Astarloaren formulazioan, naturaren arabera adierazi behar den oro adierazteko, hizkuntzak ahalik eta baliabide formal gutxien erabiltzea eskatzen du ekonomiak. Honekin batera, Astarloak hizkien (*características*) eta esanahien arteko bana-banako erlazioaren perfekzioa aldarrikatzen du. Ondorioz, erlazio honi ekonomiaren hatsarrea erantsiz gero, Astarloak behin eta berriz defendatzen du bereizkuntza batean ezaugarrietariko bat betiere ezaugarririk eza dela. Horregatik kategoria bakoitzean terminoetariko bat zero morfemak (\emptyset) markatzen du, oro har semantikoki markatugabea dena (adibidez, numeroan singularra, kasuetan *paciente* edo absolutiboa, etab.). Astarloak gramatikaren kategoria eta azpikategoria guztietan ezartzen du ekonomia hatsarrea, sistema sendo eta zehatza lortuz.

c. Zortzi pertsona bereizte hori (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:424-426) bigarren pertsona singularra hirutan banatzeak dakar: eztabadako tratamendua (*cortés*), hitano (*familiar*) maskulinoa eta hitano femeninoa, alegia (ik. (2)ko taula). Bereizkuntza honek agerian jartzen dizkigu Astarloaren planteamendu apriorizkoak. Izan ere, aitorturiko helburuen arabera jatorrizko hizkuntzaren gramatika bilatzen ari delarik ere, argi dago aldez aurretik euskara duela buruan eta ez dituela beti hain irizpide logiko eta naturalak erabiltzen. Horrela, bada, ekonomia hatsarrea pertsona-hizkiei ezarri baitizkie, Astarloak dio ezaugarririk eza, batetik, singularreko hirugarren pertsona egilean eta, bestetik, singularreko bigarren pertsona maskulino jasailean gertatu behar duela, naturak hala agintzen duelako gertatu ere:

(1) Por la misma economía suponemos que el no tener característica alguna de persona el auxiliar, ha de ser señal de que el agente es tercera persona de singular, y el paciente la segunda masculina del mismo número. (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:465)

Beraz, adizki laguntzaile “ekonomikoa” *au* (\emptyset -*au*- \emptyset) ‘hau’ litzateke. Ondoko taula honek Astarloak (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:465-468) proposaturiko pertsona-hizki guztiak aurkezten ditu, arazo konplexu edo zalantzarakoak argitu nahian Astarloaren beraren pasarte batzuk gehitzen ditudalarik:²

² Honako laburdura hauek erabili ditut: c=*cortés* (eztabadakoa), f=femeninoa, fam.=*familiar* (hitanoa), LAG=laguntzailea(ren erroa), m= maskulinoa, p=plurala.

(2)

	jasaillea (paciente)	egilea (agente) / hartzailea (recipiente)
1	n-	-t-, -t
2c	z-	-zu-, -zu
2f	∅-LAG-n ⁽ⁱ⁾	n-LAG ⁽ⁱ⁾
2m	∅-	-aa-, -k
3	d-, fam. ∅- ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾	-∅ / -a-, -a
1p	g-	-gu-, -gu
2p	z-LAG-z	-zu(b)ee ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾
3p	-z	-(b)ee ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾

(2i) La segunda persona femenina tendrá por característica paciente la letra *n* pospuesta al auxiliar, á quien no antecederá persona alguna cuando esta persona es paciente, y cuando es agente ó recipiente, se conocerá por la característica de paciente que antecederá á dicho auxiliar. (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:466)

En la segunda conjugacion [*Au-na*] se ven dos letras más que en la primera, esto es, la *n* y la *a*. La *n* es característica de segunda persona femenina paciente y la letra *a* es letra eufónica. Si la *n* se coloca despues de la radical *au*, y no ántes como lo tiene de costumbre el bascuence en todos los tiempos reales con las características de personas pacientes: el motivo es el no confundirse con la primera persona de singular paciente: por esto es que la *n* inicial es característica de primera persona paciente en el tiempo real y agente en el apostrofico; pero para que la *n* sea característica de segunda femenina ha de hallarse al fin ó en medio de dccion. (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:716)

(2ii) La tercera persona será paciente en las conjugaciones corteses cuando precede al auxiliar la letra *d*, y en las familiares no necesita de característica alguna ni para ser agente ni para ser paciente; de modo que cuando en estas conjugaciones no hay característica de agente ni de paciente, será señal de que una tercer persona de singular es el agente, y otra tercera del mismo número el paciente. (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:466)³

(2iii) Las características de agente y recipiente, se pluralizan añadiendo á las letras que las indican, una doble *e* cuando tienen consonantes; pero siendo vocales se sustituyen por la dicha letra *e* doble. (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:466)

Azkenik, Astarloak datibo-ergatibo hurrenkera erlatiboaz ohartarazten du:

³ Cf. orobat "...otra tercera persona del mismo número singular paciente, caracterizada en la *d* inicial de dicho auxiliar [*d-eu-ts-a-t*]" (Astarloa 1803:150).

(3) Las personas recipientes se distinguen de las agentes en que aquellas van colocadas inmediatamente despues del auxiliar, y por consiguiente anteriores á las personas agentes. (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]: 466)

Behin baino gehiagotan Astarloak iradokitzen du pertsona-hizkiak pertsona-izenordainetatik datozela (*z-* < *zu*, *n-* < *ni*, *g-* < *gu*):

(4) En la tercera conjugacion [*Z-au*] hallamos por característica paciente la letra *z*, nota de segunda persona cortés, como que viene del pronombre *zu*, usted. [...] En la cuarta conjugacion [*N-au*] la característica paciente es la *n* y denota primera persona del singular, como que viene del pronombre *ni yo*. [...] En la sétima conjugacion [*G-au*] la persona paciente se halla caracterizada por la letra *g* y nos dá á entender la primera persona del plural, como que es la misma *gu*, nosotros, suprimida la *u*. (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:716-717)

Edo izenordain erakusleetatik datozela, hirugarren pertsona hartzaileez den bezainbatean:

(5) En la conjugación 18 [*Autza* ‘Aquél te le ha muerto’] la persona recipiente es tercera de singular indicada en la letra *a* final, que es nota de esta persona, pues es el mismo pronombre con que damos á entender el *aquel* de la lengua castellana. [...] y en la conjugación 20 [*Autzee* ‘Aquél te les ha muerto’] la tercera de plural es la que recibe, ó el dativo indicado por las dos *ee* que viene del pronombre *aeec*, aquellos. (1883 [ca. 1804-1806]:718)

Astarloak ez ditu iraganaldiko (*tiempos apostroficos*, bere sisteman) komunztadura-hizki bereziak aipatzen —gorago agerturiko *n-* izan ezik; ik. (2i)—, ezta adizki irrealis (*l-*) eta aginterazkoak (*b-*) ere. Aditz sistema azaltzen duelarik, orainaldiko adibideak erabiltzen ditu nagusiki.

Laburbilduz, Astarloaren lanak euskararen komunztadura-hizkien tradiziozko analisiaren oinarritzko gai nagusiak agertzen ditu; bide batez, ondoko autore batzuen lanetan baino askoz landuago agertu ere. Honako gai hauek ezartzen ditu:

- a. Argumentu motaren arabera komunztadura-hizki desberdinak daudela ohartaraztea.
- b. Kasu bakoitzean zein hizki diren zehaztea.
- c. Pertsona-komunztadura hizkien jatorrian izenordainak daudela iradokitzea.
- d. Pertsona-komunztaduraren eta numero-komunztaduraren arteko nahasketa.

2. Gramatika orokorra eta aditz bakarraren teoria

Gramatika orokorra, aise esateko, hizkuntza guztien arazo orokorreari buruzko hausnarketa da; aurreneko formulazioetatik batez ere irizpide logikoetan oinarritu zen, korrante filosofikoaren arabera harrezkero “arrazoia” edo “natura” etiketez hornituko ziren irizpideetan (Auroux & Clérico 1992, Dominicy 1992).

Hizkuntzalaritzaren historian zehar honelako hausnarketek tradizio luzea izan badute ere —*modistae* (XIII-XIV. m.), gramatikari filosofo humanistak (Scaliger, Sanctius, Vossius, Campanella, etab.)—, bultzadarik handiena Port-Royaleko lanen argitalpenaren ondotik dator: *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660) eta *Logique* (1662) (ik. Donzé 1967 eta Wheeler 1995, besteak beste). Port-Royaleko lanek elkarri loturiko bi helburu erdietsi nahi zituzten: hizkuntzaren arau orokorrak aurkeztea eta, horretaz baliatuz, edozein hizkuntza partikular arin eta erraz ikasteko gidaliburua lortzea. Port-Royaleko autoreak honako premisa honetatik abiatu ziren, alegia hizkuntza gogoaren isla dela eta, hortaz, gramatika ere halakoxea dela. Ondorioz, gogoaren funtzionamendua berdina bada gizaki guztiengan, gramatika ere berdina izango da oroventzat.

Oraingo honetan, Port-Royaleko lanetako bi arazo nabarmendu nahi nituzke, perpausaren analisia eta aditz-teoria hain zuzen ere:

a. *Perpausaren analisia*: Port-Royaleko logikak gogoaren lau eragiketa bereizten ditu eta horietariko batzuek paralelismo garbiak aurkitzen dituzte gramatikaren unitateen artean (Wheeler 1995:172-173):

- i. Bururatzea: ideia bat izatea, zerbaitetan arreta jartzea.
- ii. Judizioa: Bi ideia batzea, norbaiti bururatu zaiona halaxe dela, edo ez dela, baieztatzen edo ezeztatzen delarik. Judizioa, hortaz, proposizioa ere bada.
- iii. Arrazoiketeta: Bi judiziotatik abiatuz, hirugarren bat eratzea.
- iv. Ordenamendua: Zenbait ideia, judizio eta arrazoiketaren hurrenkera, gai baten ezagutza erdiesteko modurik egokienean antolatuak.

Hauetarik aurreneko biak dira bereziki interesatzen zaizkigunak: Lehenik, ideien bururatzeak funtsezko eginkizuna betetzen du perpaus-atalen sailkapenean. Izan ere, Port-Royaleko gramatikak zatiketa bitarra ezartzen du, hizkuntza guztientzat balio duena, jakina: alde batetik, gure pentsamenduen objektuak adierazten dituzten hitzak eta, bestetik, gure pentsamenduen itxura edo modua adierazten duten hitzak bereizten dira. Lehenbiziko kategorian izenak (hala substantiboak nola adjektiboak), artikulak, izenordainak,

partizipioak, preposizioak eta adberbioak sartzen dira; bigarrenean aditzak, juntagailuak eta interjekzioak ditugu.

Bigarrenik, judizioak ezartzea gogoaren eragiketa nagusia da; hots, bi ideia batzea, euren arteko identitatea baieztatzeko edo ezeztatzeko ($A = B$ edo $A \neq B$). Hortaz, hitz egitea proposizioen bitartez judizioak adieraztea baino ez da. Perpaua proposizio bat da eta proposizioa bi ataletan banatzen da: subjektua eta atributua; biak dira gogoaren objektuak, bi ideia dira. Subjektua eta atributua kopularen bitartez lotzen dira; honen eginkizun bakarra batasun hori baieztatzea da.

b. *Aditz-teoria*: Azaldu berri dudan proposizioaren egiturarekin zuzenean loturik, Port-Royaleko autoreen aburuz aditza baieztatzeko erabiltzen den hitza da. Horregatik, dagoen aditz bakarra kopula da (hots, *da*). Teoria honen arabera, “aditz” deitu ohi diren gainerako hitzak unitate konplexuak lirakeke, bertan baieztapenari beste adieraren bat gehitu zaiolarik: subjektua (*naiz*), atributua (*dabil*) edota denbora (*zen*). Horrela bada, aditzen lehen banaketa bitarra ezartzen da: aditz “substantiboak” (benetako aditz bakarra, baieztapen hutsa, kopula alegia) eta aditz “adjektiboak” (gainerakoak).

Port-Royaleko lanek arrakasta eta eragin handia izan zuten XVIII. mende osoan eta XIX.aren zati batean, bereziki Frantzian, non hizkuntzalaritza historiko-konparatzailearen nagusitasuna aski berandu iritsi baitzen. Nolanahi ere den, garai hartan gramatika orokorraren helburuak eta formulazioak hein batean aldatu ziren, batik bat gramatikari filosofo sentsualisten (Condillac, esaterako), entziklopedisten (Du Marsais, Beauzée) eta, geroago, ideologoen (Desttut de Tracy buru) eskutik. Aditz-teoriaz den bezainbatean, urte haietako autoreen berrikuntzarik nabariena honakoa da: aditz substantiboak ez du jadanik “baieztapena” adierazten, “existentzia” baizik.

Azkenik, ohartarazi behar da gramatika orokorraren metodo logiko-arrazionala eta haren argudiatze motak hizkuntza jakinen gramatikak egiteko ere erruz erabili izan zirela. Gehienetan, haatik, ez ziren lan horietan hizkuntza guztien ezaugarri komunak bilatu nahi, baizik eta delako hizkuntza hark arrazoiaren eta logikaren legeei men egiten ziela frogatu.

Lan mota horren barnean sartu behar ditugu, hain zuzen ere, XIX. mendean gramatika orokorraren urratsei nola edo hala jarraitu zieten euskal gramatikariak. Agian, salbuespen bakarra Astarloa litzateke, bera baita euskarari buruzko hausnarketak, era berezi batean bada ere, hizkuntzaren azterketa orokor baterantz bideratu zituen autore bakarra.

3. Aditz bakarraren teoria eta euskal aditzaren objektu-komunztadura

Ekin diezaiozun, bada, XIX. mendean euskal aditzaren objektu-komunztadura aztertzeko aditz bakarraren teoriaren ereduari jarraitu zioten saioen aurkezpenari. Oro har, proposamen hauen egileek ahaleginak egin zituzten euskal aditzak forma ugari dituela eta, halarik ere, sailkapen zeharo logiko, erraz eta erregular batean bil daitezkeela erakusteko. Egile hauetariko batzuek euskal aditza ikasteko erraztasuna ere aipatu zuten berariaz.

Ikusmolde logiko horren baitan, aditz iragankorrek betiere objektu-komunztaduraren hizkia badutela proposatu zuten, are objektu jakinik ez dagoen kasuetan ere. Izan ere, bestela, adizki iragankorrek ez badituzte beti egilea eta jasailea barneratzen, zertarako ote?, zergatik ez erabili iragangaitzak?

3.1. Darrigol [1827]

Darrigolek ez zuen euskal aditzaren egitura Astarloak bezain xeheki aztertu. Aitzitik, aditzaren analisiak helburu garbia du harengan: euskarak bi aditz besterik ez duela erakustea (*n(a)iz* eta *dut*). Hala ere, bi aditzok, azken finean, aditz bakar baten bi aldaeratzat har daitezkeela iradoki zuen (Darrigol [1827]:109); eta badirudi honelaxe ulertu zutela Darrigolen gogaideek (ik., esaterako, Campi3n 1884:308).

Teoria honen ondorioz, Darrigolek proposatzen du adizki jokatu-gabeak ez direla benetako aditzak, izenak edo adjektiboak baizik; orobat, adizki trinkoak (*verbes subalternes* deitzen dituenak) *n(a)iz* edo *dut* benetako aditzetariko baten eta adizki jokatu-gabe baten nahastearen emaitza baino ez dira:

(6) En effet, *nago* r3sulte de la combinaison de *naiz* avec *egon*: *naiz* avec *ibil* donne *nabila*; *naiz* avec *etor* fait *nator*. [...] car qui ne voit *dut erabil* dans *dabilat*, *dut eraman* dans *deramat*, *dut eraunts* dans *derauntsat*, &c.? ([1827]:109)

Hain zuzen ere, Darrigolek pertsona-hizkiei buruz eskaintzen dituen azalpen bakarrak adizki trinkoen azterketa honen barruan kokatzen ditu, euren iturburua diren *niz* eta *dut* aditzekiko paralelismoaz ohartarazi nahi baitu, bere teoriaren bermetzat erabiliz ([1827]:137hh):

(7) ...et l'on verra d'abord que la premi3re articulation, qui est l'expression du sujet, est constamment la m3me, soit dans les inflexions du verbe primitif (*niz*), soit dans les inflexions correspondantes du d3riv3 *nago*. Dans l'un et dans l'autre ce sont les initiales communes *n*, *h*, *d*, *g*, *c*, *d*. ([1827]:140)

Aipu honetan esanak aintzat hartuz gero, irudi luke *d-* hirugarren pertsonako subjektu-markatzat hartzen zuela Darrigolek. Haatik, NOR-NORI, NOR-NORK eta NOR-NORI-NORK paradigma “iragankorrak”⁴ aurkezten baditu ere, ez du objektu zuzenaren eta zeharkako objektuaren markei buruzko inolako oharrik egiten, eta ezin dugu jakin paradigma horietako *d-* pertsona-hizkitzat jotzen ote zuen, halakorik susma badezakegu ere.

Dakidalarik bederen, Darrigolen lanean agertzen da lehenbizikoz gramatika orokorrari jarraitzen dioten autoreengan —eta ez hauengan soilik— behin eta berriz errepikatuko den iritzia, alegia adizki iragankorretan objektu-komunztadura beti adierazten dela:

(8) Il a été dit que le mécanisme de ce verbe [transitive] consiste à présenter toutes les combinaisons que peuvent exister entre les pronoms *je, tu, vous, il, nous, vous, ils*; de telle sorte que chacun de ces pronoms paraisse successivement en nominatif, en régime direct et en régime indirect.⁵ Conformément à cette doctrine, nous n'aurions pas le moyen de traduire les formules françaises *j'ai, tu as, il a, &c.*; car notre verbe transitif, pris dans toute sa force, renfermant toujours l'expression d'un complément déterminé, les formes *duc, dut, du*, [sic] ne disent pas seulement *j'ai, tu as, il a, &c.*, leur sens est, *je l'ai, tu l'as, il l'a, &c.* Mais rien n'empêche qu'on ne fasse abstraction de tout complément déterminé; et c'est en effet par le moyen d'une abstraction autorisée par l'usage, que nous disons, *jan dut* (j'ai mangé), *ikhusi dut* (j'ai vu), *entçun dut* (j'ai entendu), &c. (Darrigol [1827]:137)

Ordea, harrigarria badirudi ere, sintaxizko atalean euskal aditzak objektuaren numeroarekiko komunztadura duela aipatzen du, baina ez du deus ere esaten objektuekiko pertsona-komunztadurari buruz ([1827]:145).

⁴ Darrigolek darabilen terminologian “iragankor” terminoak esanahi bikoitza du: Batetik, pertsona bat baino gehiago dituzten aditzak dira, bata nominatiboan (hots, absolutiboan) eta bestea(k) zehar-kasuren batean; aditzaren esanahia pertsona batetik bestera “iragaiten” da (NOR-NORI paradigmari buruz ari delarik baino ez du adiera hau erabiltzen, letra etzanez erabili ere; ik. [1827]:118). Hauxe da, hain zuzen, besteak beste Larramendik darabilen adiera (Larramendi 1729:170hh). Eta hauxe da, orobat, terminoaren lehen adiera eta, azken buruan, Priszianorenganaino gibeleratu daiteke. Baina, beste alde batetik, Errenazimenduko latindar gramatiketan nagusi da aditz iragankorren saila “aktiboen” barruan sartzea; hots, objektu zuzena dutenak dira iragankorrak (ik., Antzinateko eta Espainiako tradizioei buruz, Gómez Asencio 1985:128hh). Denbora aurrera joan ahala, “aktibo” ezaugarri semantikoa eta “iragankor” ezaugarri sintaktikoa gero eta nahasiago agertuko ziren eta hori da Darrigolen lanean aurkitzen dugun bigarren adiera, adiera nagusia alegia. Larramendiren kasuan, honako aditz sailkapena dugu: aktiboak eta neutroak, eta aktiboen barnean bi aditz-joko absolutu (*dut, ditut*) eta hogeita bat aditz-joko iragankor edo erlatibo (NOR-NORI-NORK eta NOR-NORK pargimeei dagozkienak).

⁵ Cf. “Affirmer l'influence la plus étendue que se puisse imaginer, l'action la plus générale possible d'un sujet sur un autre, telle est la valeur première et la fonction essentielle de notre verbe actif. Renfermer en soit les pronoms tant singuliers que pluriels des trois personnes; épuiser avec un laconisme parfait toutes les combinaisons mathématiquement possibles entre les six pronoms personnels, en les présentant d'abord deux à deux, puis trois à trois; exprimer, avec une facilité qui étonne, une variété qui enchante, une rapidité d'expression que rien n'égale, toutes les attitudes ou situations respectives que peuvent prendre ces divers pronoms, employés en sujet et en complément, en complément direct et en complément indirect; tel est le mécanisme intéressant et la richesse singulière de ce verbe incomparable” (Darrigol [1827]:125-126). Pasarte honetan “aktibo” deitzen badio ere, hamar bat orrialde beherago “iragankor” berba erabiliko du (ik. aurreko oharrean esandakoa).

3.2. Chaho (1836)

Chahok ere euskal aditzaren bikoiztasuna onartu zuen, Lécuse-k (1826) eta Darrigolek proposatu zuten bezala. Baina, Chahoren iritziz, *dut* ez da *niz*-en aldaera bat baizik. Chahok uste du euskaran aditz bakarra dagoela: *iz*; aditz hau, gainera, izen bat da jatorriz: *hitz*. Egia esan, Chahok gramatikan hitz kategoria bakarra onartzen du, izena (Chaho 1837:35, 51, 170; ik., halaber, Oyharçabal 1998:439).

Darrigolek adizki iragankorrek beti adierazten dutela objektua ohartaraztea besterik egin ez zuelarik, Chahok, horrekin batera, uste hau berretsi nahi duen analisi formala eskaintzen du eta, aldi berean, adizki iragangaitzak eta iragankorrak aditz bakar baten aldaeren multzoan biltzen ditu:

(9) Il est certain que la forme *Dut* n'est que la troisième personne du verbe *Niz*; *da*, avec combinaison d'un double rapport: *dahoura* lui est, il est: le *t* final exprimant une relation personnelle à l'individu qui parle. *Dut* signifie en définition, lui est à moi, je l'ai, j'ai. Voilà la vraie raison pour laquelle la conjugaison de *Dut* emporte l'expression d'un régime j'ai, je l'ai. (Chaho 1837:82)

Hots, $dut = da + houra + t$. Gauza bertsua gertatzen da iraganaldian eta aginteran:

(10) Le passé de *Dut*, *nian* ou *nuen*, j'avais je l'avais, offre dans sa décomposition syllabique *nihurane*, lui, était de moi: ainsi des autres modes. (Chaho 1837:82)

Analisi konplexuagoa da iraganaldirako proposatzen duena: $nian / nuen = ni + houra + ne$. Aginterari dagokionez, azkenik:

(11) L'impératif de *Dut*, *ezak ezadak*, qui n'a jamais de valeur que comme forme auxiliaire, dérive de l'impératif *iz* avec déterminante *a* et relation *k*; il s'écrit *izak*, *izadak*, dans la plupart des dialectes, et se combine avec les noms actifs pour compléter la conjugaison. (Chaho 1837:82)

Alegia, $ezak = iz + a + k$ (non $iz = haiz$ 'izan hadi').

Niz eta *dut* aditzen batasunaren aldeko beste argudio bat eskaintzen du bidenabar: *niz*-en forma alokutiboak *dut*-en bigarren pertsonako formen modukoak direla (Chaho 1837:82).

Chahok paradigma ugari eman zituen bere lanean, baina ez zuen adizkien morfologi egituraren azterketa zehatza burutu. Ohar bat edo beste eskaini zigun han-hemen, besterik ez; esaterako, eta gure gaiari dagokiolarik, baldinkerako hirugarren pertsonan *l-* *d*-ren lekuan dagoela dioelarik (Chaho 1837:72).

3.3. Inchauspe (1858)

Segur aski, Inchauspe da euskarak aditz bakarra duela gotorkien aldarrikatzen duen euskalaria. Haren liburuaren hasierari begiratzea baino ez dago, Bonaparte Printzeari egindako eskaintzaren ondoren, honelaxe hasten baita:

(12) La langue basque n'a qu'un verbe. (Inchauspe 1858:1)

Aditz bakarra bi “bozetan” sailkatzen du: iragankorra eta iragangaitza. Liburuaren gainerako orrialdeak baieztapen hau frogatzeari eskaintzen dizkio.

Inchauspek adizki iragankorrek objektua nahitaez adierazten dutelako uste ezaguna errepikatzen du, baina ez du haren aldeko argudiorik ematen:

(13) DU exprime toujours une relation avec un objet autre que le sujet et demande un complément direct. (Inchauspe 1858:22)

Darrigolek eta Chahok ez bezala, Inchauspek subjektu, objektu zuzen eta zeharkako objektuaren markak azaltzeko atal bat eskaintzen du (Inchauspe 1858:435-439):

a. Begien bistako kasuetan (batik bat pluralekoetan) pertsona-izenordainekiko erlazioa iradokitzen du (*n-* eta *ni*; *h-* eta *hi*; *g-*, *-gu* eta *gu*; *z-*, *-zu* eta *zu*; *z-*, *-zie* eta *zík* ‘zuek’).

b. Hirugarren pertsonako subjektuari dagokionez, honako hizki hauek proposatzen ditu:

(14) *D*, *L* ou *Z* initiales pour les deux voix; l'impératif a de plus le *B* initial (Inchauspe 1858:436)

Hala eta guztiz ere, ez du *d-* egiazko pertsona-hizkitzat jotzen, sendogarri artikulatortzat baizik. Hasierako kontsonante hori ez dela orainaldiko hirugarren pertsonako adizki guztietan agertzen du irizpide:

(15) La troisième personne indéfinie est la plus simple dans toutes les formes, et elle semble devoir être considérée comme étant la forme radicale. Cependant, il serait possible que la forme radicale primitive fût plutôt A, U, et que la D, dans *da*, *du*, eût été introduit pour donner aux voyelles *a*, *u*, une articulation plus distincte et plus forte. Ce qui donnerait du fondement á cette opinion, c'est la disparition du D dans la composition des terminatifs; ainsi de *da*, il est, on a fait: *záit*, il est à moi; *záiku*, il est à nous; *záyo*, il est à lui; et le Biscayen, au lieu du *z*, emploi le *y*: *yat*, *yaku*, *yako*. Le D de la voix transitive DU se conserve plus généralement dans les terminatifs; cependant, il disparaît aussi dans

certain terminatifs; ainsi on dit *nai* ou *nau*, pour exprimer il a moi; *hai*, *hau*, pour il a toi. Ces terminatifs sont composés de *ni*, moi; *hi*, toi; et du verbe DU ou U, AU. (Inchauspe 1858:437)

c. Baina, harrigarria badirudi ere, hirugarren pertsonako objektu zuzenaren hizkiei buruz ari delarik, ez ditu (14)ko aurrizkiak errepikatzen eta “adizki sinple edo zehaztugabeen” bidez adierazten direla baino ez du aipatzen:

(16) La troisième personne du singulier, exprimée en français par *le*, *la*, et les régimes directs animés ou inanimés indiqués par les mêmes articles, se rendent *par la forme simple ou indéfinie* (Inchauspe 1858:438; azpimarra nirea da)

Ez da hain harrigarria, baina, kontuan hartzen badugu lehentxeago aurrizkiak subjektuaren markatzat hartu dituela eta, beraz, ezin ditu orain objektu zuzenaren markatzat ere jo.

3.4. Bonaparte (1869, 1876, 1877)

Bonapartek, bere lanetan han-hemenka, euskal adizkien sailkapen desberdinak proposatu zituen, eta sakabanatze horrek haren aditz-teoria ulergaitz eta aztergaitz bilakarazten du sarriegi. Jarraian, gure gaiari hertsikien lotzen zaizkion arazoak aurkezteari ekingo diogu. Ezer baino lehen, ohartarazi nahi nuke adizki iragankorrek objektua nahitaez adierazi behar izatea Bonaparteren aditz-teoriaren erdigunean kokatzen dela. Orobat, Bonaparte, oso modu berezian bada ere, aditz bakarraren teoriaren aldekoa da. Azal ditzadan bi puntuok.

Adizki jokatuen sailkapenaren barnean Bonapartek izen adiztuen (*noms verbisés*) eta aditz-bukaera hutsen (*terminatifs (verbaux) purs*) arteko bereizketa egiten du. Lehenbizikoek izen-etorkiko erroa dute; bigarrenek, aldiz, ez dute inolako errorik agertzen:

a. Aurreneko sailean adizki trinkoak, *izan* iragangaitza (*naiz*, *da*), eta *iraun* (*diro*, *ziroen*, *diroke*), *adi* (*dadin*, *nadila*) eta *ki*⁶ (*dakion*, *zekiola*) laguntzaileak sartzen dira; *izan* iragankorra (*dezadan*, *dezake*) eta *egin* (*dagidan*, *dagizula*) bi sailen arteko zubia dira, ez baitute indikatiboko adizkirik.

b. Aditz-bukaera hutsen bereiztea, bestalde, Bonaparteren aditz-teoriaren funtsezko puntua da. Errorik gabeko adizkiak dira. Izan ere, izenordainez (subjektua, objektu zuzena,

⁶ Adizkion erroa *egon* edo *egoki* (Bonaparte 1877:42) izan litezke, baina *ki* bera izentzat ere badu (1877:44).

zeharkako objektua, alokutiboak)⁷, modu- eta denbora-hizkiez eta “letra eufonikoez” osaturik daude, eta osagai hauen guztien elkartzea da, hain zuzen ere, *aditza* sortarazten duena. Garbitasun hau, aditzik gabeko aditz hau, oso deigarri gertatu zitzaion Bonaparteri, eta horrexegatik eskaini zion printzeak leku berezia bere ohar teoriko urrietan, kutsu metafisikorik falta ez bazaio ere:

(17) Le Verbe pur est pour nous quelque chose d’insaisissable, qui se manifeste toutefois au milieu d’éléments matériels fort saisissables et qui, loin d’en être le produit, les domine de toute sa puissance en les vivifiant. Le Verbe c’est la Vie. (Bonaparte 1869:159)

Atariko ohar hauei beharrezko deritzet, Bonapartek *dut* (hots, aditz-bukaera huts bat) bezalako adizkietarako aurkezten duen analisisa ulertuko bada. Bonapartek proposatzen du adizki iragankorren bereizgarria beren objektu-marka erakuslea izatean datzala:⁸

(18) De toutes les permutations que l’on observe dans le verbe basque, celles des syllabes *au*, *dau* sont sans contredit les plus nombreuses et les plus importantes. Ce sont bien ces syllabes en effet, ou leurs permutations (et c’est en cela surtout que consiste notre théorie du Verbe basque) celles qui représentent le régime direct singulier de troisième personne, *au* n’étant lui-même que le démonstratif français *ceci*. (Bonaparte 1869:xi)

Hau da, *dut* = *dau* + *t*, *nau* = *ni* + (*h*)*au*, etab. Beste alde batetik, *dau* erakuslearen aldaera bat baino ez da (*au*, *hau*, *haur*, *gau*, *kau* eta *kaur* beste aldaerekin batera) —zehazkiago, *gau*-ren aldaera litzateke, printzearen teoriaren bertsioetariko batean behinik behin (Bonaparte 1877:37)— eta aditz-bukaeretan bilakaera franko izan ditzake:

(19) Nous disons donc que la syllabe *au*, telle qu’elle existe dans son intégrité primitive en *dau* ‘il l’a’ du bisciaïen, peut se transformer en *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* *ü*, *ai*, *ei*, *eu*, *aa*, *ao*, *ie*, *ii*, *io*, *iu*, *iü*, *oo*, *üi*, *üü*. (Bonaparte 1869:xi)

Ondoren, bilakaera bakoitzaren adibideak ematen ditu, bakoitzaren geografi jatorria ere zehazten duelarik.

⁷ Diodan, bidenabar, “alokutibo” terminoa Bonapartek sartu zuela euskalaritzan, euskarari buruzko bere lehenbiziko lanean (Bonaparte 1862:19).

⁸ Berebat zeharkako objektuari dagokionez, non *-o-* < *oni*.

Hortaz, Chahoren analisiaren oso antzekoa dugu printzearena, nahiz eta teoria konplexuago batean txertaturik egon. Azken finean, bien helburua adizki iragankorretan objektuak nahitaez agertu behar izatea formalki azaltzea da.

Adizki iragankorretako erakuslearen beste adibide bat Bonapartek “*izan* iragankorra” deitzen duen aditzean (= **ezan*)⁹ kausitzen dugu. Orobat, *izan* iragangaitza eta *izan* iragankorra egoteak berebiziko adibidetzat jotzen du Bonapartek Inchauspere bi bozen teoriaren alde egiteko:

(20) Ce nom verbal qui signifie en même temps “eu” et “été” dans cinq des huit dialectes basques [...] est un argument très-favorable aux deux voix dans le verbe. [...] Le changement de l’*i* initial de *izan* en *e* dans *dezan*, est dû au démonstratif qui s’amalgame, pour ainsi dire, avec l’adjectif verbal. (Bonaparte 1876:8)

Alegia, *dezan* = *dau* + *iza-n*. Puntu honetan ere hurbiltzen zaio Bonaparte Chahori, baita *iz* erroa (*h*)*itz* izenarekin parekatzen duelarik (Bonaparte 1877:42); oroit bedi latinean *verbum* hitzak zuen esanahi bikoitza.

Hirugarren pertsonan agertzen diren aurrizkiez den bezainbatean, Bonapartek ez ditu pertsona-markatzat hartzen, bere teorian pertsona-hizki guztiak izenordainkiak baitira, ez ahaztu. Agertu berri dugunez, *d-* erakuslearen zatia da; *z-* eta *l-* “letra erredundanteen” sailean sartuko lirateke, printzearen aburuz:

(21) Le *d* préfixe qui se trouve au présent de l’indicatif à régime de troisième personne et aux temps qui en dérivent, disparaît au passé et aux temps du même type. A la troisième personne on a un *z* rédondant [*sic*], qui à son tour se change en *l* au présent du conditionnel, au présent et aux futurs du potentiel conditionnel, ainsi qu’aux suppositifs et aux optatifs correspondants. (Bonaparte 1869:xi)

Irudi luke, bada, aurreko pasarteak nolabaiteko bilakaera iradokitzen duela: *d-* > *z-* > *l-*, alegia. Azkenik, aginterako aurrizkia *ba* baieztapenetik eratorrarazten du (Bonaparte 1869:158): “Nous avons en outre la suppression du *d* initial, et à la troisième personne l’addition de la syllabe affirmative *ba* fondue avec le terminatif: *dezan*, *beza*.” Izan ere,

⁹ **Ezan* aditz laguntzailea, baita **edin* ere, van Eysek berreraiki zituen bere gramatika konparatzailean (1879:196 hh). Laurogeietako hamarkadaren bukaeran aditz hauek rol berezia jokatu zuten Berlingo *Euskara* aldizkarian Bonaparte, van Eys eta Vinsonek Etxepare eta Leizarragaren hizkeren inguruan izan zituzten eztabaidetan (lan hauen aipamenerako, ik. Gómez 1989).

Bonaparteren analisisian hirugarren pertsonako subjektuaren marka berez \emptyset da beti; gogoan izan bedi objektuaren marka *au* erakuslea dela, dituen aldaera guztiekin ere:

(22) Que le *z* et le *l* de la troisième personne des temps passés et conditionnels soient rédundants [*sic*], en tant du moins qu'ils n'expriment pas le sujet, c'est ce qui est amplement prouvé par le biscalien qui supprime très-souvent ces consonnes initiales. Le sujet est toujours supposé être de troisième personne lorsqu'il n'est ni de première, ni de seconde. (Bonaparte 1877:45)

Bonapartek bere lehenbiziko lanetatik azpimarratu zuen euskaran objektu zuzenak duen berezitasuna: adizki iragankorretan beti adierazi behar da objektua, objekturik ez dagoelarik ere: “En basque la voix transitive du verbe est toujours objective pronominale” (Bonaparte 1862:22). Honen aldean, zeharkako objektua guztiz kontrako egoeran legoke: perpausean zeharkako objektua dagoelarik ere, gerta daiteke, Iparraldeko euskalkietan behinik behin, aditzarekiko komunztadurarik ez gordetzea. Gertakari hau, printzearen ustez, gaztelaren klitiko-bikoizketarekin lot daiteke, gaztelaren euskararen eraginagatik gertatu baita; Iparraldeko euskalkietan, aldiz, klitiko-bikoizketarik ez duen frantsesaren eraginez gerta daiteke komunztadurarik eza (Bonaparte 1862:23; ik. orain Ortiz de Urbina 1994).

3.5. Campión (1884)

Campiónek funtsean Bonaparteren aditz-teoriari jarraitu zion. Haatik, Printzearen ideietatik urrundu zen *z*-, *l*-, *b*- aurrizkien etorkiari dagokionean; izan ere, Campiónen ustez, aurrizkiok antzinako izenordainen aztarnak lirateke:

(23) La conjugación nos revela la existencia de un sistema de pronombres más rico que el actual, con serlo tanto. Incorporados al verbo se han salvado de una total sumersión uno de primera persona, *t—d* «yo» y tres de tercera *z*, *l* y *b*, además de vários sufijos de pluralización ó abundanciales que yá no entran en la composición ni derivación nominal,... (Campión 1884:787-788)

Halaber, Campiónek Bonaparteren aditz-teoriaren arazo nagusietariko bat berraztertu zuen: *dut*-en paradigmán objektu zuzena markatzeko (*d*)*au* erakuslea azaltzen den ala ez. Zabalaren eta, beroni jarraiki, van Eys-en proposamenaren bertsio aldatu batean oinarritzen da; autore hauen iritziz, *dut*, *du*, etab. *daukat*, *dauka* eta abarren laburketak baino ez dira. Campiónek, aldiz, *eu* “erroa” dela *euki*-tik datorrena uste du:

(24) EU está tomado de EUKI directamente, no de EUKI yá conjugado, como suponen Zabala y Mr. Van Eys. (Cami3n 1884:792)

Eta, gainera, *euki*-ren etimologia proposatzen du; ‘honekin’ esanahia izango zuen:

(25) Su etimología parece ser la siguiente: EU variante de au «ésto» y KI, nombre primitivo que, á juzgar por sus derivados, significa «compañía, reuni3n[»], ú otro concepto análogo (Cami3n 1884:792)¹⁰

Hau da, *ni euki* ‘yo con esto’ eta *nik dut*, *nik daukat* ‘yo he, yo tengo’ pare-pareko adierazpenak lirerateke.

Baina non sartzen da *d*- aurrizkia proposamen honen barruan? Cami3nek uste du *deus*-etik datorrela, hitz hori erromantzetiko mailegu garbia dela konturatu gabe. Irtenbide honen bitartez, Bonaparteren (eta Darrigolen, Chahoren eta abarren) iritzia salbatu ahal du, alegia adizki iragankorretan objektuarekiko komunztadura beti dagoelakoa —nahiz ez duen arazoa zehazki azaltzen— eta, abiapuntu horretatik, hipotesi tipologiko ausarta plazaratzen du:

(26) En cuanto al origen de la *d* aventuraré una hipótesis: que es un resto del vocablo DEUS «algo» [...]. Mi hipótesis presupone el hecho, tambien del todo hipotético, de que la lengua euskara ha pasado por un período de incorporaci3n [...]. La incorporaci3n, por lo tanto, correspondería á la infancia de la raza euskara. (Cami3n 1884:795)

3.6. Azkue (1891)

Aditz bakarraren teoria aldez edo moldez baliatu zuten autoreekin amaitzeko, Azkuek Bilboko Euskarako Katedrarako idatzi zuen gramatika-liburuaz zertxobait azaldu nahi nuke. Azkueren *Euskal-Izkindearen* iturri nagusia, Lakak (1986) ongi erakutsi zuenez, Astarloaren *Discursos Filosóficos* liburua da (1804-1806 bitartean idatzia, itxuraz, baina 1883an lehenbizikoz argitaratua). Azkuek Astarloaren proposamenak gainditzten ditu, ustezko jatorrizko euskara berreraikitzen ahalegintzen baita, erabilera praktikora eramateko asmoz.

Astarloarengandik abiatzen den ideia bati jarraiki —oroit bedi (4)ko aipua—, Azkuek pertsona-komunztadura hizkiak pertsona-izenordainekin erlazionatzen ditu, *-t* atzizkiak¹¹

¹⁰ Kontuan izan zenbait urte lehenago Bonapartek (1877:43) iradoki zuela *-ki* aditz atzizkia (*eduki*, *egoki*) eta *-ki(n)* deklinabide atzizkia gauza bera direla eta, hortaz, biek ‘kidetasuna’ esan nahi dutela.

zalantzak dituela aitortzen badu ere. Hirugarren pertsonako objektuaz den bezainbatean, urrundik ere Benveniste-ren formulazio ospetsua gogora ekartzen duen honako hau dio:

(27) Las cosas singulares ó las llamadas terceras personas¹ [1Muchas veces no suelen ser personas; *locutivos* nunca. Véase el párrafo 205.] solemos indicarlas con tres elementos: *d*, *b* y *l*. (Azkue 1891:185)¹²

Ondoren, aurrizki bakoitzaren banaketa zehatza ematen du eta, geroztik, Campiónek proposaturiko izenordain-jatorriarekin bat dagoela adierazten du:

(28) ¿Qué son, pues, *b*, *l* y *d*? ¿Cuál es su origen? Yo no lo sé.

Entre todos los pareceres que conozco, el de Campión es á mi juicio el que anda más cerca de la verdad: dice el escritor nabarro que parecen rastros de pronombres perdidos. (Azkue 1891:203)

4. Teoria pasibista

Jatorriz, teoria pasibista XIX. mende hondarrean sortzen da, zenbait hizkuntzaren morfologia ergatiboari azalpen berri bat eskaintzeko asmoz; izan ere, latindar gramatikaren ereduak markatzen zuen nominatiboa eta subjektua lotzeko joera handiegia baitzen oraindik ere. Aurrenik, Kaukasoko hizkuntzetan ezarri zen pasibotasunaren teoria eta geroxeago sartu zen euskalaritzan, lehenbizi Müller-en (1885) eta gero, xehetasun handiagoz, Stempf (1890) eta Schuchardt-en (1893) eskutik. Hein handi batean Schuchardt-en ospeak hartaraturik, hainbat euskalari, atzerritarrak batik bat, teoria pasibistari atxiki zitzaizkion, mende honen 60etako hamarkada arte nolabaiteko dotrina bihurtu zelarik, “une espèce de dogma” Oyharçabalek (1991:966) dioskunez.¹³

Pasibismoaren teoriak honako puntu hauek proposatzen ditu (erabilitako argudioak alde batera utziko ditut oraingoan):

a. Aditza subjektuarekin komunztatzen da.

¹¹ Bestalde, *-k* eta *-n* atzizkiei dagokienez, Azkuek, guztiz Astarloaren erara eta zehazki Errori jarraiki, ‘sendotasun’ (1891:110) eta ‘ahultasun’ (1891:183) esanahiekin lotzen ditu, hurrenez hurren: “*N*, a juicio del escritor de Erro, suele indicar debilidad y cuadra bien á hembras”.

¹² Gogoan har bedi *z-* ez duela aipatzen gramatika bizkaieran oinarritzen duelako eta iritzi garbizaleek hartara eramaten dutelako.

¹³ Euskalaritzatik at ere izan zen egitura ergatiboaren pasibotasunari buruzko eztabaida; ik. Seely (1977:197-199).

- b. “Nominatiboa” (hots, absolutiboa) da beti perpausaren subjektua, bai perpaus iragankorretan, baita iragangaitzetan ere.
- c. Ondorioz, perpaus iragankorretan aurkitzen duguna subjektu jasailea baino ez da. Hortaz, egitura pasiboak dira eta aditza aditz pasiboa dugu.
- d. Ergatiboa egile-osagarritzat hartzen dute, latineko egile-ablatiboaren antzera eta instrumentaletik oso gertu.

Lan honetan nabarmendu nahi nukeena hauxe da: absolutiboa beti subjektutzat jotzen dutenez, eta aditzaren eta subjektuaren arteko komunztadura derrigorrezkotzat hartzen dutenez, absolutiboarekiko komunztadura —eta, beraz, “gure” objektu zuzenarekiko— komunztadura nahitaezkoa da teoria honen baitan. Teoriaren alderdi honek aditzaren pasibotasuna hein batean Darrigolek-eta adierazitako analisiarekin lotzen du. Ildo honetatik Oyharçabalek (1991) ohartarazi digu pasibismoaren teoriaren eta aditz bakarraren teoriaren arteko loturez eta Chahoren gramatika-lanean aurkitu du, hain zuzen ere, “les premières éléments de la théorie de la passivité” (1991:969).

4.1. Stempf (1890)

Areago dena, Stempf-ek berak aitortzen du Chahok egindako *dut*-en analisia izan duela abiapuntu (oroit bedi (9)ko aipuan ageri den *da+houra+t*); hau da, euskarak ez duela egiazko adizki iragankorrik, denak direla *izan*-en adizkiak (Stempf 1890; *apud* Oyharçabal 1991).

Orobat, Chahok eskainitako aditz bakarraren aldeko beste argudio batzuk ere aurki ditzakegu Stempf eta Schuchardt-en lanetan euskal aditzaren pasibotasuna defendatzeko (Oyharçabal 1991:970-972), hala nola:

- a. **Ezan*-en adizkiak *izan*-en adizkien barruan sartzea (ik. (11)ko aipua), Bonaparteren teoriarekin ere lotuz.
- b. *Niz*-en paradigmako adizki inplikatioak eta alokutiboak (*zaitugu; nauk, dun,...*) *dut*-en paradigmakoekin parekatzea. Gogora bedi Chaho ere ohartu zela honetaz.

Hala ere, Chahok edo Bonapartek ez bezala, Stempf-ek ez du *-u-* erroa erakusletzat hartzen, *ukan* aditzaren errotzat baizik. Proposamen hau Vinsonek plazaratu zuen lehenbizikoz, Bonaparteren eta van Eys-en¹⁴ teoriei erantzuteko hain zuzen ere. Horrela bada,

¹⁴ Van Eys-ek, lehenbiziko lanetan behinik behin (1874, 1875), *dut*-en paradigmako adizkiak *eroan*-en forma laburtuak zirela proposatu zuen.

adizki iragankorretarako Stempf-ek ematen duen analisiak garbiro Darrigolek (1827) adizki trinkoetarako eman zuena dakarkigu gogora:

- (29) i. *nauzu* = *naiz* + *ukan* + *zuk*
 tu m'as = *je suis* + *eu* + *par toi* (Stempf 1890:4)
- ii. *nintuzun* = *nintze(n)* + *ukan* + *zuk* + *n*
 vous m'aviez = *j'étais* + *eu* + *par vous* (Stempf 1890:8)
- iii. *nakarzu* = *naiz* + *ekar* + *zu*
 vous me portez = *je suis* + *porté* + *par vous* (Stempf 1890:6)

4.2. Schuchardt (1893, 1895, 1923)

Ezer baino lehen, ohartarazi behar da Schuchardt-ek ez dituela erabiltzen Stempf-ek hain gogoko zituen goiko asmakuntza horien gisakoak (Oyharçabal 1991:973). Azter dezagun orain hurrengo arazo hau: pasibisten ustez subjektuak (betiere nominatibo-absolutiboan) aditzarekin komunztatu behar badu eta, aldi berean, laguntzaile iragankorreen (*du*) hirugarren pertsonako “subjektuarekiko” komunztadura markatzeko erakuslea dagoela (*-u-* osagaian alegia) arbuiatzen badute, nola burutzen da, orduan, hirugarren pertsonako subjektuarekiko komunztadura adizki “pasibo” edo iragankorretan? Konponbidea tradiziozko teoriara itzultzea da: *d-* izenordain-jatorrikoa dela proposatu eta, bestalde, *-u-* osagaia aditz-errotzat, zehazkiago *ukan*-en errotzat, hartzea. Ikus ditzagun Schuchardt-en (1895:208) adibide batzuk:

- (30) i. *darot (=dit)* = *da* *du* (*ki*) *t*
 cela *avoir* *à* *moi*
- ii. *dakot (=diot)* = *da* (*du*) *k(i)* *o* *t*
 cela *avoir* *à* *lui* *moi*

Izan ere, Vinsonek analisi hauxe hartzen du, besteak beste, pasibotasunaren aurkako argudioen artean:

(31) Quand on traduit *du* «il l'a», l'expression manque du signe du sujet, puisque *u* est le radical «avoir» et *d* le pronom régime de troisième personne; quand on le traduit comme M. Schuchardt «il est eu par lui», c'est l'instrumental «par lui» qui fait défaut, ce qui est beaucoup plus difficile à comprendre. D'autre part, le pronom régime direct de troisième personne, pour nous, c'est-à-dire le sujet de M. Schuchardt, manque absolument aux formes de l'imparfait. Tout cela est fort étrange. (Vinson 1895:81)

Vinsonen azken baieztapen hau ulertzeko, esan behar da Schuchardt-ek ez zituela orainaldiko adizkiak bakarrik aztertu eta aurrizki bakoitzaren jatorria proposatzen ahalegindu zela, orainalditik kanpo izenordainen aztarna gutxi aurkitzen dugularik ere, itxuraz bederen:

- a. *D(A)*:- Ikusi berri dugunez, Schuchardt-en (1893 [1972:271]) aburuz, **da* hirugarren pertsonako antzinako izenordaina izan zitekeen.
- b. *Z*:- Schuchardt-ek (1893 [1972:222-223]) hedapen analogikoa proposatu zuen hemen, *zan*-etik abiatuz; bertan *z*- osagaia *izan*-en erroaren zatia litzateke. Analogia *za-n* → *z-an* berranalitik abiatuko litzateke, lehenik *z*- aurrizki berria *z-uen* adizkira eta, geroago, gainontzeko aditzetara hedatuko zelarik.
- c. *L(E)*:- Uste dut Schuchardt-ek (1923 [1947:44-45]) iradoki zuela aurreneko aldiz *l*- aurrizkia *ahal*-en arrastoa izan zitekeela.
- d. *B(E)*:- Van Eys-ek (1865:59) eta Schuchardt-ek (1923 [1947]:56) aurrizki hau hirugarren pertsonako *bera* izenordaineekin lotu zuten.¹⁵

5. Tradiziozko teoria

Ikusi dugunez, aditz bakarraren aldeko azken autoreak (Camió n eta Azkue: ik. §3.5. eta 3.6.) eta pasibotasunaren aldekoak, azken buruan, tradiziozko teoriarekin elkartzen dira: izan ere, haiek guztiek *d*-, *z*- (\emptyset -), *l*- eta *b*- aurrizkiak hirugarren pertsonako (izenordain-)markatzat hartu zituzten. XIX. mendeko beste egile batzuek ere aldarrikatu zuten, esplizituki edo inplizituki, aurrizkiok pertsona-hizkiak zirela, hala nola Lécluse, Zavala, Lardizabal, Vinson, van Eys, Ribáry, etab. Azken hau hartuko dut hizpide, alde batetik, ziur aski aipatu guztietarik ezezagunena delako eta, bestetik, zenbait proposamen interesgarri egin zituelako. Ondoren, XX. mendean oso eragin handia izan zuten Azkueren morfologian (1923-25) eta Lafitte-ren gramatikan (1943) agerturiko iritziak laburtuko ditut, tradiziozko teoriaren erakusgarri.

5.1. Ribáry (1877)

Ribáry hungariarra zen eta hungarieraz idatzi zuen bere euskal gramatika. XIX. mendearen bigarren erdiko euskalarien artean erdietsi zuen entzutea, urri samarra izanik ere, Vinsonek eginiko frantses itzulpenari zor zaio eta, batik bat, itzulpenarekin batera Vinsonek berak

¹⁵ Aurrizki hauei buruzko ondorengo eztabaida eta proposamenen laburpen baterako —bereziki Lafon (1943), euskal aditzaren pasibotasuna aldarrikatu zuen azkenetarikoa—, ik. Gómez & Sainz (1995:254-256).

idatziriko sarrera eta ohar osagarriari, Bonaparteren erantzuna merezi izan baitzuten (Bonaparte 1877). Ribáryren datu-iturri nagusiak Larramendi eta Lardizabalen gramatikak dira eta, euskararen gaineko hausnarketei dagokienez, Mahn-en (1875) liburuxka, ordea.

Nabari da Ribáryk ez dakiela euskaraz ia ezer, ezta euskalaritzaren aurreko tradizioaz ere, eta honek hurbilketa arras berria baina, aldi berean, aski nahasia sortarazten dio. Hori dela-eta, liburuan zehar nahiko kontraesan eta iritzi aldaketa aurkitzen ditugu; analisi xehe batek erraz arbuiatzen dituen proposamen burugabeak han-hemen sakabanatzen ditu, eta erabat garatzen ez duen zorioneko intuizio bat edo beste kausi dezakegu.

Esaterako, lehen pertsonako *-t* atzizkia *denik* edo *dunik* formen laburketa delako proposamen harrigarria Mahn-engandik hartzen du (Ribáry 1877:31). Halarik ere, aldi berean *-da* atzizkian “1. pertsonako izenordain zahar baten datiboa” ikusi uste du (1877:37).

Aurrizkiei dagokienez, ahal den neurrian izenordainetatik eratortzen saiatzen da — gainerako pertsonetako hizkietan aski garbi ikusi duena—, noizik behin ustekabeko emaitzak lortzen dituelarik:

- a. *D-*: Objektu zuzenaren markatzailea delakoan dago, antzinako izenordain baten aztarna (Ribáry 1877:32-33).
- b. *Z-*: Proposamen ezin gaurkoagoa dakar (cf. Gómez & Sainz 1995:255, 266):

(32) ...la dérivation du suff. de 3^e pers. est obscure, le *z* ou *se* ne peut se tirer de *ark*: on pourrait songer au pronom *zer*, *zerk* «lequel, quoi», mais c'est vraiment à peu près impossible. (Ribáry 1877:46)

- c. *B-*: Lafonen iritzia aurreratzen du, itxuraz bederen:

(33) Le *b* des 3^e pers. sing. et plur. est identique avec le préfixe *ba*, qui exprime le désir [*sic*], comme en français la conjonction *que*; ainsi *beza* = «qu'il ait», *bédi* = «qu'il soit». (Ribáry 1877:48)

5.2. Azkue (1923-25)

Tradiziozko teoria XX. mendearen lehen erdian eragin handiena izan zuten bi gramatiketan ere aurkitzen dugu: Azkueren morfologian (1923-25) eta Lafitte-ren gramatiketan (1943), hain zuzen.

Azkuek aurrizkien distribuzioaren berri ematen du egoki, baina guztiak “características de paciente” direla dio (aipuko <r> tildedunak <rr> aldatzen ditut):

(45) En las terceras personas hay varias características: 1^a *d* en indicativo, subjuntivo y potencial próximos: *dator* viene, *datorrela* que venga, *datorke* puede venir. 2^a *z* en los mismos modos remotos: *zetorren* podía venir. En dialecto B la característica de esas flexiones es cero en casi todos los verbos conjugables: *etorren*, *etorrela*, *etorkean*. 3^a *b* en imperativo: *betor* venga, siendo de advertir que tal elemento paciente, en la mayoría de los pueblos del B, sólo se usa hoy en tratamiento de *berori* vuesa

merced [...]. 4^a *l* en hipotético, condicional y potencial remoto: *baletor* si él viniera, *letorke* él vendría, *etorri leiteke* pudiera venir. Las terceras personas plurales tienen las mismas características. Se distinguen de las flexiones singulares en el elemento pluralizador *z* de los pacientes y *e* de los agentes. (Azkue 1923-25:539-540)

Aurreko aipua hobeki ulertzeko, ohartarazi behar nuke Azkuek *Euskal-Izkindean* (1891) erabili zuen aditz-denbora hurbilen eta urrunekoen (*próximos* eta *remotos*) arteko bereizketa darabilela *Morfologían* ere: *dakart* / *nekarren* (cf. Azkue 1923-25:529).

Azkuek aurrizkien etorkiari buruzko aurreko proposamen batzuk berrikusten eta iruzkintzen ditu:

- a. Schuchardt-en (1893) *z*-ri buruzkoa (ik. §4.2) aipatzen du, baina ez du inolako iritzirik ematen; pentsa genezake, beraz, Azkuek *z*- aurrizkiaren etorki analogikoa onartzen duela.
- b. Campiónen (1884:794) *d*-ri buruzkoa (ik. §3.5) kritikatzeko du, *deus* —*ezer* bezala eta *zerbait* ez bezala— ezezkako polaritadedun testuinguruetan baino ezin baita agertu, gaurko hitzez adieraztea zilegi bazait. Onartzen du, ildo beretik, Schuchardt-ek proposaturiko etimologia: *deus* < proventzaleko *degus* ‘inor ez’.¹⁶
- c. Schuchardt-en *d*-ren gainekoari harrera ona egiten dio. Areago dena, Azkuek egoki deritza aitzineuskarako osagaien (*elementos prevascos*) zerrenda zabaltzeari, *l*-aurrizkia eta *-z* pluralizatzailea ere sartuz. Izan ere, Azkueren aburuz, hiru osagai hauek ez dute gaurko izenordain-sisteman inongo kiderik, aginterako *b*- aurrizkiak ez bezala: cf. *berau*, *berori*, *bera* (Azkue 1923-25:542; baina ik., orobat, Gómez & Sainz 1995:255-256).
- d. Bonaparteren *-o-* eta *d*-ri buruzkoak (ik. §3.4) ez ditu onartzen; Azkuek ez du uste bi hizkiok erakusleetatik datozenik.
- e. Azkenik, Bonaparteren *b*-ri buruzkoa ere (*beza* < *ba* + *dezan*; 1869:158) arbuiatzen du. Azkueren ustez, *b*- aurrizkia baieztapenetik baletor, ezin izango lirateke aginterako adizkiak ezeztapenarekin batera erabili, bere aburuz adizki bakarra sortzen baitute: “*ezbedi* (*ezpedi*)” (Azkue 1923-25:542).

¹⁶ *Deus*-en etimologiaz, ik. Agud & Tovar (1991: s.v.).

5.3. Lafitte (1943)

Lafitte-k erakusten digun honako taula honi (eta beste hainbati) erreparatzen badiogu, garbiro ikus dezakegu tradiziozko teorian koka daitekeela bere gramatika:

1. Taula

	PRÉSENT	IMPÉRATIF	ÉVENTUEL	PASSÉ
<i>Le</i>	D — =	B — =	L — =	Z — =
<i>Me</i>	N — =		Nind — =	Nind — =
<i>Te</i>	H — =	H — =	Hind — =	Hind — =
<i>Les</i>	D — z =	B — z =	L — z =	Z — z =
<i>Nous</i>	G — z =	G — z = n	Gind — z =	Gind — z =
<i>Vous</i> (s.)	Z — z =	Z — z =	Zind — z =	Zind — z =
<i>Vous</i> (pl.)	Z — z = te	Z — z = te	Zind — z = te	Zind — z = te

(Lafitte 1943:244)

Nolanahi ere den, Lafitte-k ez du hirugarren pertsonako aurrizkien jatorriaz ezer zehatzik adierazten, ez izenordainetatik ez beste nonbaitetik datozenik.

Beste alde batetik, Lafitte-k uste du hirugarren pertsonako objektua agertu gabe ere ulertu behar dela, are objektu jakinik ez dagoen esaldietan, aspaldi Darrigolek eta Chahok iradoki eta Bonapartek bere teorian garatu zuen bezala:

(46) En français, on peut dire: *il chante, je mange, tu bois*; en basque, il faut exprimer le complément en quelque manière; et, s'il est indéterminé, on suppose une 3^e personne du singulier de valeur indéfinie ou neutre. (Lafitte 1943:357)

6. Aspektu-denborazko teoria

Lan honetan zehar ikusi dugunez, *d-*, *z-* (\emptyset -), *l-*, *b-* aurrizkiak denbora eta moduen arabera banatzen direla aski goiz hautemandako zerbait da (ik., esaterako, Bonaparteren (21)ko aipua). Halarik ere, luze itxaron beharko dugu aurrizkiok pertsona-komunztadura hizkiak direlako iritzia baztertu eta, haren ordeaz, modu, denbora edota aspektuaren markatzaileak direla proposatu arte.

Alberdik (1989:778) Saroïhandy-ri (1918) egotzi dio gogoeta honen lehentasuna, nahiz eta Saroïhandy-k berak aitortzen duen ezin duela aurrizki bakoitzaren etorkia argitu. Ondoren,

pentsabide hori *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* aldizkarian argitaraturiko bi artikulutan berragertu zen, artean ia inork erreparatu ez bazien ere: Pennaod (1970) eta Oregi (1974), alegia. Haatik, Trask-ek (1977) bere kasa gisa bereko proposamena plazaratu zuenetik, gero eta euskalari gehiago atxiki zaizkio; esan liteke gaur egun ia aho batez onartzen dela.¹⁷ Ezpairik gabe esan liteke teoria honi bultzada handia eman ziola De Rijk-ek (1992) proposatu *d*-aurrizkiaren etimologia: **da* antzineuskaran ‘orain’ adierazteko hitza dugu eta, hortaz, orainaldiko adizkietan agertzea zeharo ulergarri gertatzen da (*d*-ri buruzko ikuspuntu desberdin baterako, ik. Rotaetxe 1998).

Aspektu-denborazko teoriaren berehalako ondorioa honakoa dugu: hirugarren pertsonako argumentu absolutiboak (hala subjektu iragangaitzak nola iragankorretako objektuak) adizki-konplexuan pertsona-ukomunztadura hizkirik gabe geratzen dira, agerian behinik behin. Hala bada, argumentu ergatiboen egoerara hurbiltzen dira nolabait.

Teoria honetatik abiaturik, azken urteotan arazo hauen inguruko azterketak ugaltu dira: besteak beste, Laka (1988), Gómez (1994), Elordui (1995), Gómez & Sainz (1995), Fernández (1997), Albizu & Eguren (2000), Ormazabal & Romero (2000). Nolanahi ere, aurritzion jatorriaz adostasuna ia erabatekoa den arren, zenbait lanetan aurritzikiak hirugarren pertsonaren markatzailatzat hartzen jarraitu da, kasuan kasuko egilearen analisi sinkronikoak egokiagotzat jotzen zuenean.

7. Azken oharra

Aurreko orrialdeetan euskal aditzaren objektu-komunztadurari buruz izan diren ikusmoldeak aurkezten saiatu naiz. Arreta berezia jarri dut, halere, zeresan gehien eman duten hirugarren pertsonako aurritzien izaeraz eta jatorriaz esan direnetan, hauexetan nabarmentzen baitira, nik uste, teoria desberdinen arteko alderik markagarrienak. XIX. mende hasieran kausitzen ditugu euskal aditzaren morfema-egiturari buruzko lehen azterketak, nola edo hala gramatika orokorrari atxikiak gehienbat. Astarloari zor diogu, hain zuzen, euskal aditzaren aurreneko morfema-banaketa, baita tradiziozko teoria deitu dudanaren oinarriak ezartzea ere. XIX. mendeko autore gehienek gramatika orokorrean hainbesteko arrakasta izan zuen aditz bakarraren teoriaren eredura egituratu zituzten beren azterketak. Mendearen hondarrean

¹⁷Aipa dezadan, erakusgarri gisa, Euskaltzaindiaren gramatikak ere onartu duela azterbide hori (Euskaltzaindia 1987:143).

euskal aditzaren pasibotasunaren teoriak lortu zuen euskalarien harrera ona, eta halaxe iraun zuen XX. mendeko 60etako hamarkada arte. Hala aditz bakarraren nola pasibotasunaren aldekoek —zeinek bere jarrera teoriko desberdinetik— hirugarren pertsonako objektu-komunztadurari buruzko ondorio bertsua erdietsi zuten: beti markatzen da, are esaldian objektu jakinik ez dagoenean ere. Mende honetako 70etako hamarkadan, ikuspuntua zeharo aldatzen da; hirugarren pertsonan agertzen diren aurrizkiak ez dira geroztik pertsona-hizkitzat hartzen eta modu, aspektu eta denborarekin lotzen dira; ondorioz, hirugarren pertsonako objektu-komunztadura ez dela agerian markatzen proposatzen du aspektu-denborazko teoriak. Nabarmentzekoa iruditzen zait azken puntu hau; izan ere, mende bat eta erdiko epean adizki iragankorretan hirugarren pertsonako objektua beti markatzen dutela (are objekturik ez dagoenean ere) pentsatzetik objektu-markarik inoiz ez dagoela (are objektua dagoenean ere) proposatzera pasatu da.

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The German Present Participle*

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Abstract

In recent literature, syntactic variation is attributed to the morphological properties of lexical elements. This paper presents a case study of the German present participle. It provides for an explanation of its argument structural and distributional properties. In particular, it will be proposed that present participles project reduced relative clauses headed by the root of the definite determiner (cf. Siloni 1995), and that their argument taking behavior follows from properties of the overt morphological markers involved in the construction.

0. Introduction

The German present participle (P1) is used as a nominal (1a) and as a clausal modifier (2a). Morphologically, P1 is made up of a verbal stem and the suffix /nd/.¹ Agreement is obligatory in adnominal position (1), and excluded in adverbial position (2). Participial agreement is identical with adjectival agreement in its form and distribution, as exemplified in (1b) and (2b):

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|----|-----|------------|---------------|
| (1) | a. | ein | sing-end-es | Kind | b. | ein | traurig-es | Kind |
| | | a | sing-P1-AGR | child | | a | sad-AGR | child |
| | | | | 'A singing child'/'A child who sings' | | | | 'A sad child' |
| (2) | a. | Sie stieg | sing-end (*-e) | in den Zug. | | | | |
| | | she stepped | sing-P1-AGR | into the train | | | | |
| | | | | 'She boarded the train singing.' | | | | |
| | b. | Sie stieg | traurig (*-e) | in den Zug. | | | | |
| | | she stepped | sad-AGR | into the train | | | | |

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¹ An epenthetic vowel, *schwa*, spelled as "e", is inserted in most cases, according to the phonological context —cf. ex. (11).

The P1 refers to an ongoing or habitual activity the agent theta-role of which is obligatorily linked to a nominal outside the phrase projected by P1: the modified noun in the case of adnominal P1 (1a), the subject of the containing clause in the case of adverbial P1 (2a).

P1 can be combined with the infinitival prefix /zu/ ('to'):²

- (3) a. das [zu trink-end-e] Bier
 the [to drink-P1-AGR] beer
 'The beer which should/must be drunk'
- b. das [nicht zu trink-end-e] Bier
 the [not to drink-P1-AGR] beer
 'The beer which can/should/must not be drunk'
- (4) *Das Bier stand nicht zu trinkend im Kühlschrank.
 the beer stood not to drink-P1 in-the fridge

Prefixed P1 differs from bare P1 in the following respects:

- (i) It appears exclusively in adnominal position ((3) vs. (4)).
- (ii) It exhibits a vague deontic modality attributing an obligation to an unspecified agent (3a). In the context of negation, prefixed P1 asserts the absence of an obligation for an unspecified agent. In certain contexts, this comes close to an epistemic reading asserting that the respective event cannot be performed (3b).
- (iii) It has a passive reading: the noun modified by a prefixed P1 is obligatorily linked to the internal argument of the participle. The agent theta-role remains implicit in this construction.

In section 1, we will address some differences between adjectives and present participles and argue that the latter embed a verbal functional category. In particular it will be claimed that /n/ of /nd/ is the infinitival suffix. Section 2 will investigate the argument-taking properties of P1. They will then be derived in an IP-structure borrowed from Borer (1998), and specified as dictated by the particular morphological configuration. Section 3 will address

some CP-phenomena and propose the final analysis of P1 —built on Siloni (1995)— as a reduced relative clause headed by the root of the definite determiner /d/.

1. The Syntactic Category of P1

In spite of their similarity with respect to agreement, participles and adjectives differ in three relevant respects (cf. Toman 1986, Wunderlich 1987):³

- (i) An adjective may function as the main predicate of a sentence, a participle may not (5).
- (ii) Adjectives form comparatives and superlatives, participles do not (6)-(7).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------|----------|----|---------------------------|------|
| (5) | a. | Er ist alt. | | b. | *Er ist alternd. | |
| | | he is old | | | he is age-P1 | |
| | | | | | (<i>'He is aging.'</i>) | |
| (6) | a. | älter als sie. | | b. | der älteste Mann | |
| | | older than she | | | the oldest man | |
| (7) | a. | *alternder | als sie | b. | *der alterndste | Mann |
| | | age-P1-COMP-AGR | than she | | the age-P1-SUP-AGR | man |

- (iii) While accusative case is restricted to adverbial (measure phrase) NPs in genuine APs, as shown by the contrast between (8a) and (8b), structural accusative shows up in phrases projected by unprefixing P1 (9).⁴

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------|--------------|----|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (8) | a. | Der Muffin ist einen | Dollar wert | b. | *Hans ist die Aufgabe | fähig |
| | | the muffin is one-ACC | dollar worth | | H. | is the task-ACC able |
| (9) | | die Aufgabe lösend | | | | |
| | | the task-ACC | solve-P1 | | | |

² According to German orthography, the infinitival prefix is spelled as a separate word.

³ Note that there exists a class of apparent participles allowing for main predicate use. This class is lexically constrained, however, and can be argued to involve a genuine adjectival suffix homophonous with the participle suffix —cf. Wunderlich (1987) for details. This class fails all the following tests and will be ignored throughout the discussion.

⁴ Related to its passive character, prefixed P1 does not take accusative objects.

By contrast, the assumption of an opaque participle-marker /*nd*/ would leave the existence of prefixed P1 unexplained, and it would force an extension of the subcategorization frame of /*zu*/ to verb stems or /*nd*/-participles.

- (13) a. (zu) lös-en
 (to) solve-INF
- b. die zu lös-en-d-e Aufgabe.
 the to solve-INF-P1-AGR task
 ‘*The task to be solved.*’
- c. [zu- [_{Inf} [_V lös] -en]-d-e

Postponing questions relating to the position of /*zu*/, /*d*/ and agreement, I conclude that the participle-marker /*nd*/ must be analyzed into an infinitival suffix /*n*/, and a participial suffix /*d*. In other words, P1 embeds a fully inflected infinitival verb.

2. IP-Projection

The presence of infinitival morphology as depicted in (13c) suggests that P1 is not a product of derivational morphology. In this section it will be argued that P1 indeed projects full IP-structure. First, we will be concerned with the distribution of accusative case and the availability of floating quantifiers which support IP projection of bare P1. Second, prefixed P1 will be argued to lack external arguments. However, their argument structural properties support an analysis as passives with NP-movement of the internal argument. This presupposes the projection of IP. The projection of IP by prefixed P1 is also supported by their modal interpretation.

2.1. Bare P1

Bare P1 does not take overt nominatives, but transitive bare P1 assigns accusative case as illustrated in (10) above.

As expected for a nominative-accusative language, the internal argument of unaccusative predicates can not be assigned accusative in the context of /*nd*/ (10b). This shows that P1

obeys Burzio's generalization exactly like sentences do. Consequently, an external theta-role must be assigned by transitive P1, although no overt nominative is present. The presence of a covert subject to bare P1 is confirmed by the presence of floating quantifiers.⁶ (14) exemplifies this for the three main predicate types:

- (14) a. die [hier alle unablässig Zigaretten rauchenden] Studenten
 the [here all constantly cigarettes smoke-P1-AGR] students
'The students who are all constantly smoking cigarettes here'
- b. die [jetzt doch wieder alle arbeitenden] Kumpel
 the [now AFFIRM again all work-P1-AGR] miners
'The miners who are all at work again now'
- c. die [jetzt wieder alle auftauchenden] Probleme
 the [now again all up-pop-P1-AGR] problems
'The problems which are all popping up again now'

I conclude that P1 takes a covert argument corresponding to the nominative in finite sentences. Ignoring irrelevant details,⁷ (15a) gives the configuration of transitive predicates, (15b) the one of unergatives, and (15c) the one of unaccusatives, where an empty argument raises from object to subject position:

- (15) a. [IP [ec] [VP [Acc] V] -en]
 b. [IP [ec] [VP V] -en]
 c. [IP [ec] [VP [t] V] -en]

2.2. Prefixed P1

Prefixed P1 does not take overt structural arguments: neither nominative nor accusative noun phrases may appear. However, the argument structure of prefixed P1 is constrained in an interesting way: only transitive verbs are possible as prefixed P1 for all speakers of German

⁶ Floating quantifiers are mildly deviant with P1, if they appear in a very short constituent. Adding material and an appropriate context strongly improves the examples.

⁷ The full structure and derivations will be provided below.

infinitival prefix blocks the realization of a subject.⁸ Thus, the passive behavior of prefixed P1 is basic and generalizes over all prefixed infinitives. Controlled infinitives differ from prefixed P1 in that they incorporate a functional element which reactivates the theta role of the subject, according to Haider (1984). We turn now to the nature of that element and show that its value and interaction with adjacent functional heads accounts for both the distribution of external arguments and the modal properties of bare vs. prefixed P1.

2.3. Tense, Aspect and Modality

Bare participles —like stage level adjectives (21b)— allow for temporal reference by overt temporal adverbials (21a). In the absence of temporal adverbials (22), the event time of the bare participle most naturally —but not necessarily— includes the event time of the containing clause. Both with and without temporal adverbs, bare P1 refers to an ongoing event. We are therefore dealing with durative aspectuality, rather than a tense. Bare P1 is incompatible with telicity markers and the corresponding adverbials (23).

- (21) a. der gestern noch schwer leidende Patient
 the yesterday still heavily suffer-P1-AGR patient
- b. der gestern noch schwer kranke Patient
 the yesterday still heavily ill-AGR patient
- (22) der schwer leidende Patient wurde ins Spital gebracht.
 the heavily suffer-P1-AGR patient was to-the hospital taken
- (23) ??das in 5 Minuten die Suppe auf-essende Kind
 the in 5 minutes the soup up-eat-P1-AGR child
 (*'The child who is finishing her soup in 5 minutes'*)

Prefixed participles do have a flavor of temporal ordering: the event described is interpreted in some vague way as happening after. However, the construction does not specify any

⁸ Haider (1984) talks of a “designated argument” which is normally realized as a nominative NP.

reference relation for this ordering. The freedom of temporal anchoring is most evidently observable in past perfect constructions:⁹

(24) Er hatte das zu lösende Problem schon vergessen.

He had the to solve-P1-AGR problem already forgotten

'He had already forgotten the problem to be solved.'

a. ET > PARTT

the problem was unsolved (but might have been solved) before it was forgotten

b. RT > PARTT

the problem remained unsolved when it was forgotten (but might have been solved since)

c. UT > PARTT

the problem is still unsolved at the moment of speaking

If prefixed P1 involves a predicate of temporal ordering —like *before*—, the free anchoring with respect to matrix time operators could be derived by QR of the participle phrase. But such an analysis misses the fact that no available reading involves the assertion of an event. It is asserted rather that an event ought to happen. In other words, prefixed P1 has a modal, rather than a temporal interpretation.

Let us take a closer look at the modality involved. Recall first that prefixed P1 is always characterized by what I have called a vague deontic modality in section 0 above. Prefixed P1 relates the occurrence of an event to an unspecified agent or cause. In fact, this is the most salient property of prefixed P1. Consider unaccusatives, which are grammatical only for some speakers:

(25) %der [morgen zu erscheinende] Artikel

the [tomorrow to appear-P1-AGR] article

'The article due to appear tomorrow'

⁹ We will use Reichenbach's terminology referring to event time (ET), reference time (RT), utterance time (UT), plus the time of the participial event (PARTT); cf. Stowell (1996) for discussion.

The speakers who accept (25) as grammatical do so only if it conveys an agentive implicature: the appearance of an article is an intentionally caused event presupposing some preparatory activity. It is felicitous just because it implicitly asserts that somebody's preparatory activity ought to lead to the article's appearance tomorrow. If that agentive implicature is excluded by the context of an unaccusative P1, then it is severely ungrammatical for all speakers:

- (26) *die [morgens im Osten zu erscheinende] Sonne
 the [in-the-morning in-the east to appear-P1-AGR] sun

Finally, the aspectual reading of prefixed P1 differs slightly from the one of bare P1. Although any sense of perfectivity is excluded by their modal import, telicity markers and the corresponding adverbials are grammatical here:

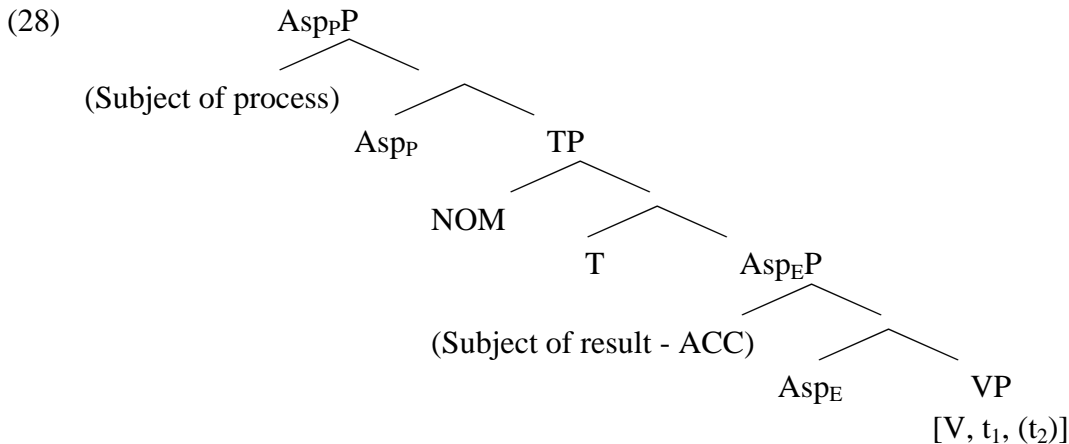
- (27) die in 5 Minuten auf-zu-essende Suppe
 the in 5 minutes up-to-eat-P1-AGR soup
 'The soup which is to be finished in 5 minutes'

2.4. Structure and derivations

Summarizing the data presented so far, we have to account for the absence of tense with both bare and prefixed P1, for full argument projection of bare P1, and defective (passive) argument projection of prefixed P1, and for the differing aspectual properties of bare vs. prefixed P1. The structure of prefixed P1 should also explain its modal reading and agentive implicatures.

A theory offering a unified account of all these facts has been suggested by Borer (1998). According to that proposal, oppositions such as *unergative* vs. *unaccusative*, or *internal* vs. *external argument* are not determined by lexical information, but by the particular configuration a verb and its arguments appear in. Following Dowty (1991), Borer (1998) assumes the existence of two fundamental thematic properties, one related to eventivity and resultativity, and one related to processes and agentivity. These two properties are represented grammatically in the form of functional heads. The head responsible for process-readings is called ASP_P, the one responsible for eventive readings ASP_E.

ASP_E shows up whenever a change of state is referred to and it denotes, together with the argument related to it, the result of the change. Correspondingly, the properties of that argument are those of an affected object. ASP_P shows up in constructions denoting processes. If ASP_P is related to an argument, that argument is read as the subject of that process, i.e., as the argument which instigates or causes the process.



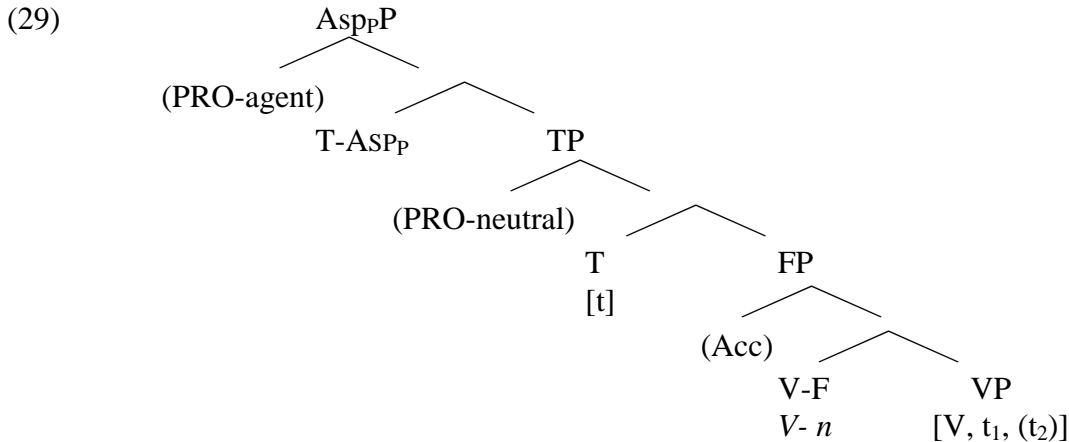
Interacting with the primary case assigner T, ASP_P and ASP_E take part in the licensing of structural case. In a nominative-accusative system, T obligatorily assigns nominative, and it does so in combination with ASP_P in agentive environments. ASP_P can not assign case without T in nominative languages. When AspP does not denote, T takes a raised object (unaccusative and passive), or an aspectually neutral¹⁰ subject in its specifier (non-agentive transitives).

Accusative is licensed by the secondary case assigner ASP_E whenever a result state is referred to as part of the asserted predicate, and nominative has already been assigned. If no result state is referred to by a transitive predicate, a direct object may still be assigned structural case by an aspectually neutral head F projected instead of ASP_E.

Turning now to P1, we assume the following structure for the unprefix variant:¹¹

¹⁰ We use the term *aspectually neutral*, because such arguments still carry thematic roles like possessor, experiencer etc. which are assigned in VP.

¹¹ For expository reasons, we continue using head-initial trees, although P1 is head-final throughout. Nothing crucial depends on this at the moment. We will return to the issue in section 3.



Bare P1 optionally takes agent arguments. This evidences that the projection of a specifier to Asp_P is free. We assume that ASP_P merges with (empty) T to take an agent in its specifier. Non-agentive readings are generated when T does not merge with Asp_P and takes a thematically neutral specifier.

The aspectual import of bare P1, and its resulting incompatibility with telicity markers must be accounted for by the absence of ASP_E and the projection of F. In transitive configurations, F assigns accusative case. In unaccusative configurations, the internal argument raises to the specifier of T.¹²

Prefixed P1 resembles passives with respect to argument structure. In Borer's (1998) theory, passive argument structure arises in nominative-accusative languages when T combines with ASP_E ¹³ instead of Asp_P . In that case, the agent role of ASP_P can not be assigned to a full structural argument.¹⁴ Nevertheless, ASP_P retains its aspectual/thematic function denoting a process.¹⁵ Therefore, unaccusative meanings cannot be generated, and the corresponding predicates are generally excluded. It also follows that some speakers allow for unaccusative prefixed P1, but that they do so only under the agentive implicature pointed out above.

Unergatives are excluded because T is left without an argument in its specifier.

¹² Notice that unaccusatives are usually telic predicates requiring the projection of ASP_E . However, the focus shifts from the result state to a preceding process or activity in bare P1. This shift follows from the projection of F instead of ASP_E .

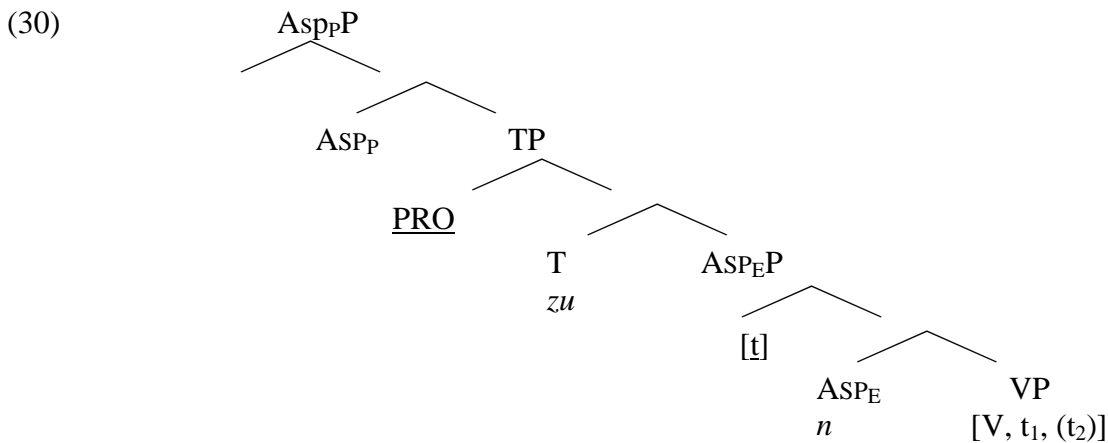
¹³ Recall that ASP_E /telicity marking is available in prefixed P1.

¹⁴ More precisely, Borer (1998) claims that Asp_P takes a non-generic impersonal pro in passives. We will come back to the lack of a person feature.

¹⁵ Several questions arise concerning the interaction of auxiliaries and participles and their respective morphological markers in the formation of finite passives in German. In this paper, we will restrict our attention to P1.

The merger of T with ASP_E instead of ASP_P is a serious departure from the default configuration in a language. It should therefore be related to an easily detectable morphological feature, and indeed it is, with a few qualifications.

In prefixed P1, T is realized by /zu/, which is a prefix. Following Bok Bennema (1994), I assume that prefixes are morphological specifiers which are immediately dominated by a morphologically maximal projection. It follows from this assumption that head chains do not extend beyond a prefix.¹⁶ T will therefore not merge with Asp_P.



But has T merged with ASP_E? In the absence of overt structural arguments, the issue cannot be decided. Considering controlled infinitives, we must conclude that it has not. If it had, we would expect an ergative-absolutive pattern of case assignment. Instead, we get a nominative-accusative pattern, with Burzio's generalization applying: transitive <PRO-Acc>, unergative <PRO>, and unaccusative <PRO-t>, not <*Acc>.

We conclude that ASP_E and T project independent specifiers in the presence of /zu/, and that the specifier of ASP_E raises to T in prefixed P1.

At this point we can offer a principled explanation of Haider's (1984) claim that /zu/ neutralizes the external argument, and that an additional element reactivates it in controlled clauses.

Recall the assumption made above that ASP_P denotes a process, but fails to take a specifier. Assume now that /zu/ only bans the merger of ASP_P with T, and that its failure to take a specifier is a consequence of the presence of /d/:

¹⁶ For a recent implementation of comparable assumptions, cf. Brody (2000).

(31) Under /d/, Asp_P projects a specifier iff it has combined with T.

If this is the case, then agentive readings will be generated in controlled clauses by movement of PRO from [Spec, T] to [Spec, Asp_P]. Borrowing from Chomsky (1999), we may speculate that only T, but not Asp_P, has a person-feature under /d/. The analysis of /d/ defended in the following section boldly supports this speculation.

3. Participial CP and the Nature of Its Head /d/

Interpretationally, the phrases projected by P1 are open sentences with one structural argument (the one realized as PRO) linked to an external element. We will now investigate the linking mechanism and conclude that we are dealing with coreference rather than movement. This conclusion will follow from a comparison of the locality conditions imposed by non-finite relative clauses and P1 respectively. We will then claim —building on Siloni (1995)— that P1 projects to CP, and that C is occupied by the root of the definite determiner.

3.1. Relativization and Transparency

In descriptive and didactic grammars of German, P1 is often compared with relative clauses. Their interpretational similarity, which is most obvious in adnominal position, is exemplified in the (a) vs. (b) examples below.

- (32) a. ein [PRO das Haus füllendes] Konzert
 a [the house fill-P1-AGR] concert
- b. ein Konzert, das das Haus füllt
 a concert that-NOM the house fills
 ‘A concert filling the house’
- (33) a. das [PRO nicht zu trinkende] Bier
 the [not to drink-P1-AGR] beer

- b. das Bier, das man nicht trinken kann/darf/soll.
 the beer that one not drink can/may/should
'The beer one can/may/should not drink'

It is worthwhile comparing P1 with minimally different non-finite relative clauses. The distribution of non-finite relative clauses is heavily constrained in German (cf. van Riemsdijk 1985, Haider 1985): they may only occur as complements to a finite control-predicate (34).

Crucially, the relative pronoun must be located at the left edge of the complex relative clause. This effect may be achieved by pied piping of the infinitival RC (34a), or by movement of the relative pronoun to the specifier of the finite CP (34b).¹⁷

- (34) a. ein Riese, [[mit dem zu sprechen] ich vergessen hatte]
 a giant [[with that to speak] I forgotten had]
 b. ein Riese, [[mit dem] ich [[t] zu sprechen] vergessen hatte]
 a giant [[with that I to speak forgotten had]
'A giant who I had forgotten to talk to'

Evidently, infinitival relative clauses do not introduce a barrier for A'-movement. By contrast, P1 does introduce such a barrier. If A'-movement is triggered by a constituent internal to P1, the entire P1 must be pied-piped:

- (35) a. [Welchen Riesen bezwingend] verlorst du dein linkes Ohr?
 [which giant defeat-P1-AGR] lost you your left ear
'Defeating which giant did you lose your left ear?'
 b. *Welchen Riesen verlorst du [[t] bezwingend] dein linkes Ohr?
'Which giant lost you defeat-P1-AGR your left ear?'

¹⁷ If the relative pronoun originates inside a PP, that PP must always be pied piped.

Since IP does not usually introduce a barrier to movement, we conclude that P1 projects a CP. This conclusion is confirmed by the very fact that P1 undergoes movement, which is also usually unattested for IP.¹⁸

If present participles project thematically saturated, opaque CPs, we immediately derive the constraint noticed in section 1, example (5), that P1 is ungrammatical in predicative position.

3.2. The Status of /d/

We have just established that participles project to the level of CP. Recall now that they also carry agreement morphology of a type and distribution characteristic for the nominal, not the verbal domain: in contrast to verbal number and person agreement, P1 agrees for number, gender and case. The form of the agreement suffix is governed by the preceding determiner. If D encodes the respective features, adjectives and participles carry a dummy marker (36a). If D does not agree, or if it is null, P1 and adjectives carry contentfull agreement suffixes (36b).

(36) a.	<u>d-er</u>	leidend- <u>e</u>	Patient
	the-NOM.SG.MASC.	suffer-P1-AGR(DEF)	patient
b.	ein	leidend- <u>er</u>	Patient
	a	suffer-P1-NOM.SG.MASC.	patient

At some point in the extended projection, the participle must have acquired nominal features.

Having isolated /d/ as an independent morpheme, it is tempting to identify it as the root of the definite determiner (cf. (36a)). Let us pursue this hypothesis and assume that a definite determiner may be inserted under C.¹⁹ Since the material instantiating C determines the clause type, let us assume that /d/ types the CP it heads as a relative clause.²⁰

¹⁸ It is pointed out by a reviewer that movement per se does not establish the conclusion that P1 projects a CP: VPs move too. However, it has been established in section 2 that P1 is not a VP. Since the choice is between CP and IP, movement does support CP.

¹⁹ Notice that the assumption of non-complementizers heading CP is widespread in Germanic syntax: the standard analysis of V2 depends on it.

²⁰ Notice also that /d/ is a root only. Full definite determiners are composed of the root /d/ plus pronominal agreement (cf. Prinzhorn & Brugger 1995, Wiltschko 1998). Since the agreement exhibited by participial /d/ is not independent, but governed by an external determiner, it comes as no surprise that it does not turn CP into a referential expression. By contrast, full definites do have this effect, as it can be observed in nominalized infinitives like *das Laufen* ('the running'), *das Sterben* ('the dying'), etc.

Infinitival relative clauses headed by a definite determiner are not restricted to the Grammar of German. Siloni (1995) has first defended such a proposal for Hebrew —where the determiner in C is overt—, and extended it to French, where the respective determiner is silent.

3.3. Headedness

At this point, a remark regarding directionality is in order. In footnote 11 it has been noticed that P1 projects a head-final configuration. Indeed, /*d*/ may not be followed by anything except agreement. We have thus found the only instance of a head-final CP in German.

Morpho-syntactically, German clause-structure falls in two domains which roughly correspond to IP and CP. The IP domain is projected by bound morphemes and inflected auxiliaries, and its heads are uniformly located to the right. The CP domain is headed by uninflected complementizers or fully inflected finite verbs which move to C by substitution. CP is uncontroversially head-initial.

The distribution of syntactic headedness thus corresponds to the morphological properties of the respective heads: verbal affixes trigger head-final configurations in German —empty or uninflected heads tend to be initial. If this generalization has any significance, it is just natural that affixal C appears clause-finally, as indeed it does.²¹

3.4. Morphosyntax and features

Let us finally consider some consequences of the morpho-syntactic properties of /*d*/ and /*zu*/. First, the requirement of agreement in the presence of /*zu*/ —and the corresponding ban on adverbial prefixed P1— noticed in examples (3)-(4) now follows from the morphological nature of /*zu*/ and /*d*/. Indeed it is evidence in favor of our analysis.

Recall that /*d*/ is not a full determiner, but only its root. As such, it is in need of morphological licensing by a supporting element. Recall also that the prefix /*zu*/ does not allow merger of T with ASP_P. Instead, ASP_P moves to C. Since ASP_P is phonologically empty, it cannot act as a support for /*d*/, which depends on agreement to be licensed. Thus, the severe ungrammaticality of prefixed P1 in adverbial position, where no agreement is triggered.

²¹ We will not address questions related to the derivation of head-final structures here.

It might be claimed that the obligatory adjacency and order of morphemes suggest that prefixed P1 is a complex word. But even if this is true, the morphological structure introduced by the prefix /zu/ separates /d/ from its possible verbal support:

- (37) a. [[[V]n]d]
 b. *[zu[[V]n]]d
 c. [[zu[[V]n]][[d]Agr]]

Koopman (1995) distinguishes 2 kinds of morphological proximity: incorporation by adjunction, and receptor binding. Adopting her framework we may assume that the root /d/ projects a morphological receptor which needs to be bound in a strictly local configuration. The 2 brackets separating /d/ from its left-adjacent morpheme in (b) introduce a barrier for receptor-binding; the lexical requirements of /d/ are therefore left unsatisfied and the derivation crashes. In (c), the receptor of /d/ is bound by Agr, and the construction survives.

These considerations finally lend strong plausibility to the above speculation concerning (27): Under /d/, Asp_P has a person feature only if it has merged with T.

Again, we are guided by the morphological configuration, in particular by the intervention effect created by the prefix /zu/. When T is occupied by /zu/, ASP_P does not merge with T, but moves to C. Now we know that C is occupied by a determiner, and it happens to carry overt agreement. Indeed, person is not among its features.

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A brief description of some agreement restrictions*

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Abstract

In this paper, we analyze several agreement combination restrictions in natural languages and propose that they are the consequence of syntactic universal constraints applying to the structure of ditransitive constructions. The main empirical domains considered are the so-called *me-lui* and Person-Case Constraints; following a line of research initiated by Bonet (1991), we consider these two restrictions as versions of the same condition. Unlike previous analyses, however, we argue that their origin cannot be morphological. We then argue that the different ditransitive structures where the agreement restrictions have their effect all share the same syntactic agreement mechanisms, independently of their external make up (i.e. whether they show up as Applicative Constructions, Double Object Constructions or Ditransitive Dative Constructions in the different languages analyzed).

1. The Person-Case Constraint

The minimal contrast in (1a)-(1b) illustrates a well-known restriction observed independently in the grammar of numerous languages concerning the combination of pronominal clitics (Perlmutter 1971 for Spanish and French; Hale 1973 for Warlpiri; etc):¹

- (1) a. Pedro te lo envía
Peter CL2DAT CL3ACC send(3NOM)
'Peter sends it to you.'
- b. *Pedro te me envía [Spanish]
Peter CL2DAT CL1ACC send(3NOM)
'Peter sends me to you.'

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In both (1a) and (1b), the two preverbal clitics correspond to the dative and accusative arguments of the ditransitive verb *enviar* ('send'). However, not any combination is allowed: while dative second person and accusative third person clitic clusters —*te-lo* in (1a)— are possible, the combination with accusative second person clitic in (1b) yields an ungrammatical result. The paradigm in (1) illustrates a more general contrast between third person and first/second person accusative clitics in ditransitive structures, known in the literature with the name of *me-lui constraint*.

The *me-lui* constraint only restricts the distribution of direct object pronominal clitics, and the construction is not affected by the person features of the dative clitic. Thus, contrasting with the ungrammaticality induced by the first and second person object clitic in (2a-b), first and second person dative clitics do not yield an ungrammatical result, as far as the object clitic is third person; this is illustrated in (1a) above and (3):

- (2) a. *Pedro le/se te envía
 Peter CL3DAT CL2ACC send(3NOM)
 'Peter sends you to him.'
- b. *Pedro le/se me envía
 Peter CL3DAT CL1ACC send(3NOM)
 'Peter sends me to him.'
- (3) Pedro me lo envía
 Peter CL1DAT CL3ACC send(3NOM)
 'Peter sends it to me.'

Bonet (1991) links this restriction to some restrictions independently observed in a variety of languages with multiple agreement systems. These languages systematically show certain gaps in the paradigm of ditransitive verbs where only third person accusative or absolutive markers cooccur with dative agreement. The minimal pair in (4)-(5) illustrates this point in Basque. The sentence in (4) where the absolutive object is third person is perfectly

¹ For reasons that will become clear in the discussion, we will use the same notation for clitics and agreement markers in the glosses. We will use the following abbreviations in the examples: CL=clitic, ACC=accusative, ABS=absolutive, DAT=dative, NOM=nominative, ERG=ergative, 1=first person, etc., PRES=Present tense, Aux=Auxiliary, CAUS=Causative verb, FEM=Feminine.

grammatical. However, the examples in (5a-b) which show first person object agreement result in ungrammaticality [modified from Albizu 1997a]:²

- (4) Zuk etsaiari misila saldu d- Ø -i -o -zu
 You-ERG enemy-DAT missile-ABS sell PRES-3ABS-Aux-3DAT-2ERG
'You sold the missile to the enemy.'
- (5) a. *Zuk etsaiari ni saldu na -i -o -zu
 You-ERG enemy-DAT me-ABS sell 1ABS-Aux-3DAT-2ERG
'You sold me to the enemy.'
- b. *Etsaiak zuri ni saldu na -i -zu -Ø
 Enemy- ERG you-DAT me-ABS sell 1ABS-Aux-2DAT-3ERG
'The enemy sold me to you.'

Bonet (1991) and Albizu (1997b) give an impressive list of languages that show, with some range of variation, the same cooccurrence restrictions (Albizu's thesis presents a study including 43 languages, corresponding to families of very different typological properties). Bonet proposes the descriptive generalization in (6) to cover the instantiation of the phenomenon in both clitic and agreement systems. According to Bonet's generalization, the presence of a dative agreement or a dative clitic blocks accusative or absolutive agreement other than third person:

- (6) *Person-Case Constraint*: If DATIVE, then ACC/ABS=3rd person.

As observed in the literature, this constraint is active only in contexts that involve both an accusative AND a dative marker; following Bonet, the syntactic contexts subject to the PCC are: a) ditransitive verbs of the type illustrated above, b) causative constructions (7), c) benefactive (or applicative) constructions (8), d) inherent reflexives (9), e) inalienable possession (10) [see Harris 1981, Bonet 1991 §4.2.2.]:³

² Regarding the status of the initial D- in the auxiliary, clearly a temporal marker, see Laka (1993), Gómez & Sáinz (1995) and references there.

³ Bonet also includes causative constructions with ditransitive embedded V, as in (i):

(i) La iglesia me (*le) hizo dar dinero a Sara

We think, however, that this is a totally different phenomenon, related to the cooccurrence of two different dative agreement

- (7) a. Liburua ekarri arazi d- Ø -i -o -zu
 book-ABS bring CAUS PRES-3ABS-Aux-3DAT-2ERG
'You made him bring the book.'
- b. *(Ni) ekarri arazi na -i- o -zu
 me- ABS bring CAUS 1ABS-Aux-3DAT-2ERG [Causative construction, Basque]
- (8) a. Te pinté para Myriam
 CL2ACC painted for Myriam
'I painted you for Myriam.'
- b. Le pinté a Myriam un retrato tuyo
 CL3DAT_i painted to Myriam_i a portrait you-GEN
'I painted Myriam a portrait of yours.'
- c. *Te le pinté a Myriam
 CL2ACC CL3DAT painted to Myriam
'I painted you for Myriam.' [Benefactive construction, Spanish]
- (9) a. El niño se me escapó
 the child CL3INH.REFL. CL1DAT run away
'The child ran away from me'
- b. *Yo me le escapé
 I 1INH.REFL. CL3DAT run away
'I ran away from you.' [Inherent reflexive, Spanish]
- (10) a. On va lui mettre le bébé dans les bras
 (It) will CL3DAT put the baby in the arms
'We are going to put the baby on his arms.'
- b. On va te mettre dans ses bras
 (It) will CL2ACC put in the arms
'We are going to put you on his arms.'
- c. *On va te lui mettre dans les bras
 (It) will CL2CC CL3DAT put in the arms
'We will put you on his arms.'
 [Inalienable possession, French; Kayne 1975:174]

Otherwise, the occurrence of first or second object marker will not be restricted; specifically, no restriction applies when there is no dative marker, as in (11), or when the dative is an ethical dative, as in (12):

- (11) Pedro me envía a tu casa
 Peter CL1ACC send(3NOM) to your home
'Peter sends me to your place.'
- (12) Te me van a desnucar
 CL2ACC 1ETH.DAT will to break the neck
'They will break you the neck (and I am affected by it).' [both examples from Spanish]

In the next section we will extend the empirical coverage of the phenomenon to new areas that show that the relevant feature involved is animacy rather than person; we will also show that the nature of the constraint cannot be morphological. In section 3 we will discuss in more detail the syntact contexts where the constraint is at stake. We will show that they all involve the same structural configuration.

2. The Extended Person-Case Constraint

The data covered by the PCC have usually been explained in morphological terms. In this section we will show that Bonet's PCC constitutes only a subcase of a broader generalization. First, based on some additional data from Spanish, we will show that a purely morphological analysis of the phenomenon is not feasible. Furthermore, from this set of data, animacy, rather than 1st/2nd person, will become the most prominent feature to be considered. Second, we will also show that whatever the appropriate constraint is, it must be extended to other phenomena that were previously unrelated and that would not be predicted to be covered by morphological analyses.

We will follow Bonet's proposal that the cases covered by the *me-lui* Constraint and the Agreement-related cases fall under a single explanation. Consequently, unless otherwise explicitly noted, every statement concerning clitics should be considered extensible to agreement systems, and any observation concerning accusative case in nominative languages can be also interpreted as valid for absolutive in ergative languages.

2.1. The PCC is not about Person

2.1.1. *Le* as an animacy marker

The first kind of data that does not fit with the generalization in (6) comes from certain dialects of Spanish, the so-called *leísta* dialects. In peninsular Spanish, there are two main groups of dialects with respect to the clitic system. Standard Spanish, which is represented in Table 1, splits clitics into two groups: accusative clitics, which in turn are marked for gender, and dative clitics.

Table 1

Accusative and dative clitics in Standard Spanish

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
ACCUSATIVE	lo	la
DATIVE		le

On the other hand, a property common to many dialects —represented in table 2— is the use of *le* not only for dative arguments but also for accusative *animate* ones. These dialects make a twofold distinction among accusative clitics: animacy and gender:⁴

Table 2

Accusative clitics in leísta dialects

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
ANIMATE	le	la/le
ACCUSATIVE		
UNMARKED FOR ANIMACY	lo	la
DATIVE		le

⁴ The term *leísmo* covers different phenomena: in some *leísta* dialects, the clitic forms *le* (singular) and *les* (plural) cover all forms of direct and indirect objects, and therefore they do not make any distinction between animate and inanimate objects. These dialects are not very interesting from the point of view of the problem we are discussing here, since they do not make any relevant morphological distinction, not even the standard direct object/indirect object. What is important is that in other areas, the use of clitics *lo* and *le* clearly distinguish between inanimate and animate objects. See Landa (1995) and Fernández-Ordóñez (1999) for an extensive description of these dialectal differences.

Contrary to the generalization in (6), in *leísta* dialects the PCC applies even with third person objects under certain circumstances. Thus the object animate clitic *le* can never coappear with a dative clitic. This is shown in examples (13)-(14). In *leísta* dialects, when the accusative clitic appears isolated, it must be *lo* if the object is not animate, and *le* if the object is animate; this is illustrated in (13). According to Bonet's generalization in (6), we would expect both inanimate *lo* and animate *le* to be compatible with a dative clitic, since neither of them mark first or second person objects. However, as shown in (14b), dative clitics are excluded if the object clitic is the third person animate clitic *le* [examples from Romero 1997]:

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|----|----|------------------------------|----------------------------------|----|-----|----|------------------------------|----------------------|
| (13) a. | Lo | | vi | | b. | Le | | vi | |
| | | | CL3ACC _[-Animate] | saw | | | | CL3ACC _[+Animate] | saw |
| | | | | 'I saw it.' | | | | | 'I saw him.' |
| (14) a. | Te | lo | di | | b. | *Te | le | di | |
| | | | CL2DAT CL3ACC | gave | | | | CL2DAT CL3ACC | gave |
| | | | | 'I gave it to you.' ⁵ | | | | | 'I gave him to you.' |

These facts clearly show that the relevant feature at stake is animacy, rather than person; this fact, which extends considerably the set of phenomena to be analyzed, will be crucial for the analysis of other languages yet not included in the sample. This extension, however, does not challenge the morphological nature of the PCC.

2.1.2. Strong Pronouns and Binding Effects

There is a general phenomenon in Spanish that suggests that the restrictions we are considering here go beyond the clitic and agreement systems and that (6) cannot be considered simply as a morphological condition involving animacy instead of person. It is a well known fact about every dialect of Spanish that strong pronouns in object position require clitic doubling, as illustrated in (15). They minimally contrast in this respect with full NPs which, in most dialects, cannot be doubled by a clitic (16).

⁵ Under certain circumstances, this sentence may also mean 'I gave him to you', an issue to which we will return in the next section.

- (15) *(La) vi a ella
 CL1ACC saw her
'I saw her.'
- (16) (*La) vi a Sara
 CL1ACC saw Sara
'I saw Sara.'

It has been traditionally observed that strong pronouns like *él/ella* ('he' or 'him'/'she' or 'her') are obligatorily interpreted as [+animate] in all syntactic contexts where they are not preceded by a prepositional head. Following Montalbetti, we can rephrase this observation by assuming that the pronoun must be interpreted as [+animate] whenever it is doubled by a clitic or enters in an agreement relation. In other cases, strong pronouns may be interpreted either as animate or inanimate:

- (17) La vio a ella [=the child/#the table]
 CL3ACC saw her
'She saw her.'
- (18) Salió de la tienda con ella [=with the child/with the table]
 left from the shop with her
'She left the shop with her.'

In clear contrast with strong pronouns, the clitic pronoun *la* can freely correfer with inanimate as well as with animate objects:

- (19) La mesa/tu amiga, la vimos en esa librería.
 The table/your friend, CL3SGFEM saw in that bookstore
'The table/your friend, we saw it/her in that bookstore.'

Interestingly, strong pronouns pattern together with animate object clitics regarding the PCC. Thus, in (20), a third person feminine clitic, which is not specified for animacy,

coappears with a dative clitic;⁶ as predicted by the PCC the sentence is grammatical. On the other hand, in (21) a third person feminine accusative strong pronoun is introduced in the very same structural context and the sentence becomes ungrammatical [examples from Ormazabal 2000]:⁷

(20) Te la llevamos
 CL2DAT CL3ACC.FEM brought(1NOM)
 ‘We brought her to you.’

(21) *Te (la) llevamos a ella
 CL2DAT CL3ACC.FEM brought(1NOM) a her
 ‘We brought her to you.’

Since there is no difference in the clitic cluster of the two sentences, the contrast between the ungrammatical (21) and grammatical cases like (20) challenges the empirical adequacy of morphological approaches. Note, however, that the core of the PCC itself is not violated, given the animacy qualification introduced in the previous section. That is, the strong pronoun *ella* (‘her’), being necessarily animate, introduces the feature relevant to the constraint in the sentence, and the PCC is activated.

As a consequence, a morphological analysis could be preserved only if we postulate two different underlying forms for the clitic *la*, much in the spirit of Bonet and subsequent analysis: a [+animate] *la* and a [-animate] or unmarked *la*. However, there is a second kind of evidence, based on binding facts, that argues against this option. Consider first the following sentences [(22) from Roca 1992]:

⁶ The reason why we are using feminine clitics is because most dialects do not make any distinction between animate and inanimate arguments in this gender. We are not going to consider here those *leísta* dialects where feminine animate arguments are marked with *le*, instead of *la*.

⁷ The status of the marker *a* which accompanies some types of internal arguments is controversial; see Romero (1997) and references there for discussion.

- (22) a. Sara₁ piensa que la₁ entregaste a la policía.
 Sara thinks that CL3ACC handed to the police
 ‘Sara thinks that you handed her over to the police.’
- b. Sara₁ piensa que se la*₁ entregaste a la policía [her ≠ Sara]
 Sara thinks that CL3DAT CL3ACC handed to the police
 ‘Sara thinks that you handed her over to the police.’
- (23) a. La pistola_i (se) la_i entregué a la policía
 The gun (CL3DAT) CL3ACC handed to the police
 ‘I handed it —the gun— over to the police.’
- b. A la niña_i (*se) la_i entregué a la policía
 The girl (CL3DAT) CL3ACC handed to the police
 ‘I handed her —the girl— over to the police.’

Sentences in (22) and (23) exhibit an interesting contrast with respect to binding possibilities. In (22a), the subject of the matrix clause can bind the object in the embedded sentence, as expected. However, pronominal binding of the object by an animate antecedent is impossible whenever an object clitic coappears with a dative clitic, as in (22b). The nonavailability of binding is not related to the fact that clitics form a cluster in (22b): in the clitic left-dislocation structure exemplified in (23a), the antecedent —*the gun*— can bind the pronoun. However, as in the previous example, if the antecedent is animate, binding is blocked, as in (23b).

These data show that whenever pronominal binding relations are established, they have to be sensitive not only to person features, but also to other features of the nominal antecedent. In particular, an animate object can only be bound by an animate antecedent.⁸ Interestingly, the interpretation of object clitics in (22b) is not restricted to inanimate objects: as illustrated in the glosses, the clitic can be interpreted as animate as long as it is not sententially bound.

⁸ The only case we are aware of where the feature identity condition does not hold even for speakers of *leísta* dialects is in topic constructions, as in (i):

(i) El niño, te lo llevamos a las cinco
 The child, CL2DAT CL3ACC bring-1NOM at five
 ‘The child, we will bring him to you at five.’

Ormazabal & Romero (in progress) analyze the feature identity requirement on pronominal binding and show that the relationship between the nominal in topic position and the pronominal is not subject to Binding Condition B.

Given all this discussion, let us return to the problem considered above concerning the possibility of two different but homophonous feminine clitics, one animate and the other one inanimate. Everything said so far would be coherent with this hypothesis. Remember, however, that *leísta* dialects show a difference between masculine animate *le* and masculine inanimate *lo* [see table 2 and examples (13)]. Note, however, that in PCC contexts —and only then—, *leísta* speakers use *lo* to make reference to animate as well to inanimate arguments. Thus, as the glosses indicate, the theme in (24b), in contrast to (24a), can receive an animate interpretation.

- (24) a. Lo vi
 CL3ACC saw
 ‘I saw it/*him.’
- b. Te lo llevé
 CL2DAT CL3ACC brought
 ‘I brought it/him to you.’

Consider now the example in (25):

- (25) Antonio₁ piensa que se lo*₁ entregaste a la policía
 Antonio thinks that CL3DAT CL3ACC handed to the police
 ‘Antonio thinks that you handed him/it over to the police.’ [him≠Antonio]

Like in (24b), the clitic *lo* in (25) can also refer to an animate object. However, as in the feminine cases discussed above, the clitic cannot be syntactically bound by the animate antecedent, *Antonio*. Morphological approaches incorrectly predict that *lo* should be able to corefer with the syntactic antecedent: the clitic can be interpreted as animate, but it is not morphologically specified for the animacy feature. Remember that in this case we may be certain that *lo* does not split into an animate and an inanimate form, since there is an actual independent form for animate objects in these dialects, namely *le*. Thus, it cannot be the case that the features of the clitic are responsible for the impossibility of coreference (25). Rather, the properties of this construction appear to be similar to the ones discussed in reference to

(22)-(25) with regard to strong pronouns, where the PCC manifested itself as a non-morphological condition.

Summarizing, the phenomena discussed in this section strongly support the conclusion that the PCC is a subcase of a broader constraint on the syntactic encoding of the animacy of the argument in agreement relations, which we will call the Animacy Agreement Constraint (AAC). It is the animacy property that makes the right distinction between elements that may enter into the ditransitive constructions and those that may not, since only this property puts strong pronouns together with first and second person pronouns and third person clitic *le* of *leísta* dialects. Furthermore, the impossibility of some coreference interpretations in (25) and its feminine parallel in (22)-(23) also shows that a purely morphological approach is not capable of dealing with the entire range of phenomena under consideration and that a syntactic approach is needed.

2.2. It is not about Dative either

In the previous section we saw that the Animacy Agreement Constraint (AAC) is not about person, but about animacy. In this section we will argue that the AAC is not a constraint about Case either. Once we consider animacy as the key property of the constraint, a new set of interesting phenomena can be introduced into the picture. The evidence comes from a variety of sources: on the one hand, languages such as Mohawk and English where Dative marking is not at stake and the effects of the constraint show up between two accusative arguments. On the other hand, languages such as Haitian Creole or English, where the effects of the phenomenon appear with no overt morphology involved.

2.2.1. Double Accusative Constructions

In Mohawk, animate objects, in contrast to inanimate ones, must be licensed either by incorporating into the verb, as in (26a), or by overt agreement with the verbal auxiliary, as in (26b). If neither of these two options takes place, as in (26c), or if the two of them take place, as in (26d), the result is ungrammatical [examples from Baker 1996, p. 21 ex. 17].

- (26) a. Ra-wir-a-núhwe'-s
 MsS-baby-Ø-like-HAB
 'He likes babies.'
- b. Shako-núhwe'-s (ne owirá'a)
 MsS/3PO-like-HAB NE baby
 'He likes them (babies).'
- c. * Ra-núhwe's ne owirá'a
 MsS-like- HAB NE baby
 'He likes babies.'
- d. *[?]Shako-wir-a-núhwe'-s
 MsS-3PO-baby-Ø-like-HAB
 'He likes babies.'

It has to be noted, however, that incorporation of animate arguments is heavily restricted in UG (Mithun 1984, Evans 1997). Only a small group of half a dozen animate nouns or so can be regularly incorporated, and therefore the option of agreement is strongly preferred. Inanimate objects, on the other hand, may optionally incorporate, but they never trigger agreement (see Baker 1996). Another well known restriction about incorporation that will be important for our purposes is the fact that only deep objects may incorporate into the verb, this possibility being barred not only for subjects, but also for benefactives, goals, locatives, etc. (Baker 1988).

In Mohawk ditransitive constructions, the benefactive/goal argument must trigger object agreement with the verb. Given that only one object agreement is available in this language (we will return to a more general characterization of this issue in the next section), the theme object loses its ability to agree with the verb. When the object is inanimate, no conflict arises, as observed in (27): the benefactive argument agrees with the verb, and the inanimate object does not need to enter into an agreement relation. But animate objects must trigger some operation in order to be licensed; since the benefactive argument cannot incorporate, the only possibility for these objects is to incorporate, leaving the agreement slot for the benefactive argument, as in (28b) [ibid. p. 206, eexx (38) & (40)].

- (27) Ká'sere' Λ-hi-tshΛry-a-'s-e'
 car FUT-1SA/MSO-find-BEN-PUNC
 'I will find him a car.'
- (28) a. *káskare' Λ-hi-tshΛry-a-'s-e'
 girlfriend FUT-1SA/MSO-find-BEN-PUNC
 'I will find him a girlfriend.'

- b. Λ-hi-skar-a-tshΛry-a-'s-e'
 FUT-1SA/MSO-friend-Ø-find-Ø-BEN-PUNC
'I will find him a girlfriend.'

Remember, however, that the incorporation option is very marked and restricted to a small set of animate objects. Consequently, in all cases where incorporation is not possible —such as proper names and pronouns— and the only option for the animate object is agreement with the verb, ditransitive constructions are barred.

The paradigm discussed here is very reminiscent of the discussion of the PCC in the previous section. On the one hand, animate objects in Mohawk behave like strong pronominal objects in Spanish in that they show some extra licensing requirement that does not affect inanimate objects; on the other hand, the syntactic contexts where the licensing restrictions show up are exactly the same, independently of the Case specifications the arguments involved have in each language. Insofar as these common properties are not purely coincidental, a unified analysis is a welcome result.

2.2.2. *Animate restrictions without morphology*

In section 2.1. we have shown that the phenomenon under consideration is of a syntactic nature. In this section we will show that it also shows up in languages and contexts where no morphological marking is involved; this fact constitutes a strong piece of evidence in favor of that conclusion. The key cases are languages such as Haitian Creole, where the lack of overt agreement does not prevent the AAC effects from appearing. In this language, the constraint restricts the distribution not only of pronouns (29a) but also of proper names (29b) in the object position of ditransitive constructions (Degraff, p.c.).

- (29) a. *mwen pral bay li Mary/l
 I will give him Mary/her
 b. *mwen pral bay Jan Mary/l
 I will give Jan Mary/her
 c. mwen pral bay Jan yon menai
 I will give Jan a girlfriend

In fact, abstracting away from interpretations where the object is focalized [see appendix I], this restriction is also present in English. Consider the sentences in (30):

- (30) a. They showed me it
 b. ?They showed me him
 c. *They showed him me

There seems to be a clear contrast between (30a-b) and (30c), which most speakers consider totally ungrammatical. The absence of a clear contrast between the 3rd person animate and inanimate follows from the plausible assumption that 3rd person verbal agreement does not reflect this distinction in English (as it does not reflect the distinction masculine/feminine between *him* and *her*). In fact, although there are a few other differences between the paradigms discussed in this section and the previously discussed ones, the most obvious and interesting distinction concerns the type of objects that fall into the category *animate* in each language. Silverstein's (1976) seminal paper observes that languages differ in the grammaticalization of animacy according to the following hierarchy:

- (31) 1st person (speaker) > 2nd person (addressee) > 3rd person pronoun > personal name, kin term > human > animate > inanimate

Thus, while only first and second person pronouns are subject to the animacy restrictions in languages like standard Spanish or English, Haitian Creole also considers 3rd animate pronouns and proper names, and Mohawk goes all the way down the hierarchy to *human* in the consideration of grammatically active animate objects. Interesting as it is, the precise nature of this hierarchy goes far beyond the scope of this paper.⁹

⁹ Animacy does not intend to reflect any property of the biological world, but just the way we, humans, conceptualize the external world. So, for instance, in DuuNidjawu, a Wagawaga dialect, accusative Case is restricted to animate objects. In this language dogs, but not kangaroos, are paired with humans (Wurm 1976):

- (i) Nunam-bu bugin^y-na bum-be:
 children-ERG dog-ACC beat-PRES
 'Children are beating the dog.'
- (ii) Na-d^yu bum-I man goro:man (*goro:man-na) d^yuyume
 I-ERG kill-PAST this kangaroo (kangaroo-ACC) yesterday

3. PCC and Double Object Constructions

As we have mentioned several times, all the constructions involved in the discussion of the previous two sections are instances of ditransitive constructions. In this section we will show that in addition to the AAC effects they all share the same structural conditions and behave the same with respect to several phenomena.

It is well known that cross-linguistically there are two main strategies to express ditransitive constructions. The first one is what we will call the *to*-construction (TC), in which the internal structure of the VP consists of an NP (Theme) and a PP (Goal, Locative, etc.).

(32) The kids gave [a letter] [to Sara]

We will refer to the second one as the Double Object Construction (DOC). The internal structure of the VP consists of an NP (Goal, Locative, etc.) and a second NP (Theme).

(33) The kids gave [Sara] [a letter]

Of course, cross-linguistically there are some other options (we have seen, for instance, the incorporation option in Mohawk), but the pattern exemplified here is widely attested.

In the previous sections we have seen a variety of configurations subject to the PCC. They all have in common that they involve ditransitive configurations in which both internal arguments are animate. The main goal of this section is to show that all the constructions subject to the AAC are in fact instances of the construction illustrated in (33).

3.1. Double objects and dative objects. Differences

It has been assumed (see Kayne 1981 and Larson 1988) that Romance languages lack DOC, i.e., they lack a construction in which the goal behaves as a *primary object* regarding agreement, word order, etc. (Dryer 1987). Instead, in addition to the *to*-construction (34a), these languages present an alternative dative construction, exemplified in (34b), where the goal triggers the presence of Dative agreement on the verb.

'I killed this kangaroo yesterday.'

- (34) a. Los niños entregaron el libro a Sara
 The children gave the book to Sara
- b. Los niños le entregaron el libro a Sara
 The children CL3DAT gave the book to Sara

It is generally argued that these Ditransitive Dative Constructions (DDC) and standard DOCs of the type exemplified in (33) correspond to two very different structures; this is so mainly for two reasons: their differences with respect to Case marking and their behavior regarding subject raising in passive sentences.

Regarding the first difference, in DDCs the goal is dative-marked, whereas in DOCs it is marked with accusative. It has to be noted that the Dative Case in DDCs is assumed to be an instance of inherent Case. Given the role played by Case Theory in the past twenty years, these properties led most authors to the conclusion that the two constructions cannot reflect the same computational operations. However, these assumptions have been independently questioned. Briefly, in many languages dative is encoded as an agreement relation. In Basque, for instance, the alternation shows up between a goal that is marked with allative, as in (35a), and a construction where the goal shows overt (dative) agreement with the verb and is also dative-marked in the argument.

- (35) a. Eskutitza Jonen-ganA bidali d- Ø -u -te
 letter-the John-ALLATIVE send PRES-3ABS-aux-3PLERG
 ‘They sent the letter to John.’
- b. Eskutitza Jon-I bidali d- -i -o -te
 letter-the John-DAT send PRES-3ABS -aux-3DAT -3PLERG
 ‘They sent the letter to John.’

This suggests that Dative Case licensing requires the same mechanisms as accusative or nominative (see Masullo 1992, Franco 1995). If dative and accusative involve the same kind of checking procedures, the difference between Spanish and English can be regarded as a parametric option, as proposed in Ormazabal & Romero 1998. We will return to this issue in

more detail in the next section, merely noting for the time being that the syntactic differences between dative- and accusative-marked goals are far from evident.

The second difference traditionally considered in the literature is their different behavior with respect to passive constructions: while in DDC it is the theme the argument that underlies subject raising in passives (36), in DOCs it is the goal:

- (36) a. *Sara (le) fue entregado el libro
 Sara CL3DAT was given the book
 (lit.) 'Sara was given the book'
- b. El libro le fue entregado a Sara
 the book CL3DAT was given A Sara
 (lit.) 'The book was given Sara'

As a quick comparison of the text and the glosses suggests, English and Spanish follow opposite ways when deriving DOC/DDC passives. However, the cut is not cristal clear if we consider the whole range of linguistic variation. A cross-linguistic survey easily shows that the theme may raise in many languages, including British English, to subject position. As a matter of fact, this has been a topic of much debate in the bantuist literature, where it is related to what they call *symmetric* and *asymmetric object languages* (see Bresnan & Moshi 1990 and references therein):

- (37) K-ĩ-m-lyĩ-ĩ-ò
 7S-PR-1O-eat-APP-PAS
 'It (the food) is being eaten for/on him/her.'

From this perspective, in principle, the real problem would be why in DDC languages the goal cannot raise to subject position. However, again, this is not totally accurate; thus, in Icelandic a dative goal can become the subject of the passive sentence (Sigurðson 1992, Yip et al. 1987, Zaenen et al. 1985, Boecxs 2000, and references there).

- (38) Henni var skila_ peningunum
her_{dat} was_{default} returned money_{dat}
‘She was given the money back.’ [Zaenen et al. 1985:454]

There seem to be two factors that make this option available in Icelandic but not in other DDC languages. First, Icelandic makes a distinction between third person and neuter agreement. The option to neuter or default agreement seems closely related to the availability of quirky subjects (see Boecx 2000). And second, expletive constructions are also available with transitive verbs (see Bobaljik & Jonas 1993). Assuming that expletives constitute an instance of quirky subjects, both arguments may be easily related. If this is correct, the unavailability of the goal raising strategy in languages like Spanish could be linked to the agreement properties of these languages, rather than to Case (see Romero 1997 2000 for a more complete analysis and discussion of many theoretical implications).

3.2. Double objects and dative objects. Similarities

Several arguments have been proposed in the literature to unify DDC and DOC. Here we will survey only the most relevant ones.

3.2.1. C-command asymmetries

Barss & Lasnik (1986) convincingly showed that the internal arguments of *to*-constructions and DOCs exhibit reverse c-command relations with respect to each other (see also Larson 1988). They exemplify this hierarchical relation with respect to anaphor binding (39), variable binding (40), weak-crossover, superiority, reciprocals, and negative polarity items.

- (39) DDC a. I showed Mary_i to herself_i
b. *I showed herself_i to Mary_i
DOC c. I showed Mary_i herself_i
d. *I showed herself_i Mary_i
- (40) DDC a. I sent every check_i to its_i owner
b. *I sent his_i paycheck to every worker_i
DOC c. I gave every worker_i his_i paycheck
d. *I gave its_i owner every paycheck_i

Uriagereka (1988) shows that identical asymmetries between the goal and the theme argument arise in Galician DDCs. The following cases exemplify this point regarding anaphoric inalienable possessors (41) and pronominal variable binding (42).

- (41) DDC a. Xan botou o cuxo_i á_i nai
 Xan threw the calf to-the mother
 ‘Xan brought the calf to his (own) mother.’
- b. *Xan botou o_i fillo á_i vaca
 Xan threw the son to-the cow
 ‘Xan brought her (own) son to the calf.’
- DOC c. Xan botou-lle á vaca_i o_i fillo
 Xan threw-it to-the cow the son
 ‘Xan brought the cow her (own) son.’
- d. *Xan botou-lle á_i nai o cuxo_i
 Xan threw-it to-the mother the calf
 ‘Xan brought his (own) mother the calf.’
- (42) DDC a. Din cada xornal_i a seu_i dono
 gave.I each pay to its owner
 ‘I gave each pay to its owner.’
- b. *Din seu_i xornal a cada xornaleiro_i
 gave.I his pay to each worker
 ‘I gave his pay to each worker.’
- DOC c. Dinlle a cada xornaleiro_i seu_i xornal
 gave.I.him to each worker his pay
 ‘I gave each worker his pay.’
- d. *Dinlle a seu_i dono cada xornal_i
 gave.I.him to its owner each pay
 ‘I gave its owner each pay.’

Demonte (1991, 1995) and Romero (1997) for Spanish, Marantz (1993) for Albanian, and Markantonatou (1993) and Anagnostopoulou (1998) for Greek have also found the same kind of asymmetries irrespective of the linear order of the arguments.

3.2.2. Possession restriction

Since Green (1974) it is a well known fact that Double Object Constructions are subject to a constraint on the semantic nature of the goal: roughly speaking, it must be animate (see also Jackendoff 1990 and references therein for different interpretations of this restriction):

- (43) a. I sent a letter to Paris
 b. *I sent Paris a letter

The same restriction can be also found in languages such as Spanish (Demonte 1991 1995), Greek (Anagnostopoulou 1998) or Basque (44) precisely in DDC environments.

- (44) a. Eskutitza Parise-RA bidali dute
 letter-the Paris-ALLATIVE send aux.3SGABS-3PLERG
 ‘They sent the letter to Paris.’
 b. *Eskutitza Paris-I bidali d- ∅ -i -o -te
 letter-the Paris-DAT send PRES-3ABS-aux-3DAT-3PLERG
 ‘They sent the letter to Paris.’

3.2.3. Oehrle cases

Oehrle (1975) surveys different restrictions on the semantics of DOCs. One of them is the so-called Nixon-cases, exemplified in (45):

- (45) a. Nixon gave a book to Mailer
 b. Nixon gave Mailer a book

Oehrle notes that (45b) conveys an interpretation that is not possible in (45a), namely, one in which there is no physical transfer of any book: It is the mere existence of Nixon that gives Mailer an idea for writing a book. Demonte (1991 1995) for Spanish and Anagnostopoulou (1998) for Greek observe that the same asymmetry shows up between the *to*-constructions and the DDCs:

- (46) a. Nixon dio un libro a Mailer (TC)
 ‘*Nixon gave a book to Mailer.*’
 b. Nixon le dio un libro a Mailer (CDS/DOC)
 Nixon CL.DAT gave.3S a book to Mailer
 ‘*Nixon gave Mailer a book.*’

3.2.4. Focus fronting

In the context of a discussion about the distinction between stage- vs. individual-level predicates and DOCs, Romero (1997) observes that there is an asymmetry between *to*-constructions and DOCs with respect to focus fronting: while the former are possible in focus-fronted configurations, the latter are not. As he observes, this asymmetry applies to English DOCs as well as to Spanish DDCs:

- (47) a. What I gave was a bottle to the baby
 b. *What I gave was the baby a bottle
 (48) a. Lo que di fue una botella al niño
 b. *Lo que le di fue una botella al niño

It is worth observing that the impossibility of cleft or focus fronting also extends to languages such as Basque where ditransitive constructions involve dative agreement. As the Basque examples in (49) show, Focus fronting or clefting of the verbal complex is not possible in ditransitive constructions whenever a dative argument that must agree with the verb is present, but it is completely acceptable in the allative construction, where the goal has no agreement relation with the verb.

- (49) a. Liburua Myriamengana da eraman dudana
 b. *Liburua Myriami da eraman dudana

As all the previous cases discussed in this section, the similar behavior in the three language-types supports an analysis that argues for the same structural analysis of DOCs and DDCs.

3.3. Summary: the AAC and DOCs

Up to now we have presented compelling evidence that supports the idea that DDC and DOC have similar syntactic structures (c-command asymmetries, focus fronting), and are subject to the same lexical (possession restriction) and interpretive (Oehrle-cases) restrictions. In this context, the fact that a universal restriction like the Animacy Agreement Constraint (AAC) discussed in section 2 is confined precisely to these two syntactic contexts strongly asks for a unified account. More specifically, the null hypothesis is that two constructions that are subject to the same syntactic conditions and receive the very same semantic interpretation, as is the case of the DDC and DOC constructions, are—in spite of their superficial differences— particular morphological instantiations of identical syntactic operations (see Romero 1997 2000 for extensive discussion). From this point of view, the description of the AAC made here fits quite nicely: whatever syntactic processes are involved in the derivation of DOC/DDCs should also be responsible for the AAC (see Ormazabal & Romero 1998).

Appendix I: Unaccusative Constructions

A clear case where the behavior of DOC and DDC languages differ is in the context of unaccusative predicates. Baker (1997) notes that there is no language in which unaccusative verbs with two internal arguments—e.g. *pass*— allow Double Object Constructions, as the ungrammaticality of English (50) and Dutch (51) illustrates [example (50) from Baker 1996a, pp. 9-10]:

- (50) a. The ring passed to Mary
 b. *Mary passed the ring
 c. *The ring passed Mary
- (51) a. *Hij onglipted de teugels.
 He slipped the reins.
 The reins slipped out of his hands.

However, Ormazabal & Romero (1998) observe that DDC and DOC languages present a clear contrast in this respect. More specifically, while Baker's generalization seems to be true

for DOC constructions, *ditransitive* unaccusatives are possible in DDC contexts, as the Spanish (52) and Basque (53) examples illustrate:

(52) Me han crecido los tomates
 CL1DAT have grown the tomatoes
lit.: 'The tomatoes grewed me.'

(53) Liburua niri erori zait
 book me-DAT fell aux-1DAT
lit.: 'The book fell me down.'

In fact, with respect to the DDC group, the situation is even more complex. In general, even languages that allow unaccusative constructions in DDC configurations show AAC effects when the derived subject is animate, as the example in (54), from Spanish, illustrates:

(54) *Me has crecido
 CL1DAT have-2NOM grown
lit.: 'You grewed me.'

Other languages, however, do not seem to show AAC effects in unaccusative contexts (see Bonet 1991 and Albizu 1997). The Basque examples in (55) are paradigmatic in that respect since verbs like *sartu* ('enter/introduce'), which show unaccusative/transitive alternations, allow first and second absolutive-dative combinations in the unaccusative version, but never in the ditransitive one:

(55) a. Gelan sartu na -tzai -zu
 room-in enter 1ABS-aux-2DAT
'I entered in your room.' (*lit.: 'I enter to you in the room.'*)

b. *Gelan sartu na - i -zu- te
 room-in enter 1ABS-aux-2DAT-3ABS
'They introduced me in your room.' (*lit.: 'They entered me to you in the room.'*)

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