

Basque clitics in morphosyntax

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1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Background

- Finite verbs in Basque have morphemes that agree in ϕ -features with all the verbal arguments (S, DO, IO)
- In some dialects, a singular familiar addressee is also included in the verbal agreements (agreement is for gender)

S	DO	IO	Addressee	Auxiliary verb
1sg				<i>naiz</i>
2sg				<i>zara</i>
1sg	2sg			<i>zaitut</i>
2sg	1sg			<i>nauzu</i>
1sg	3sg	2sg		<i>dizut</i>
1sg			masc	<i>nauk</i>
1sg			fem	<i>naun</i>

The forms of the ϕ -morphemes for first and second person are predictable based on their (morpho-)phonological position alone, and are for the most part transparently related to the strong pronoun form for that ϕ -feature combination:

<i>pronoun</i>	<i>prefix</i>	<i>non-final suffix</i>	<i>final suffix</i>
<i>ni</i> (1sg)	n-	-da-	-t
<i>hi</i> (2sg fam masc)	h-	-a-	-k
<i>hi</i> (2sg fam fem)	h-	-na-	-n
<i>zu</i> (2sg neutral)	z-	-zu-	-zu
<i>gu</i> (1pl)	g-	-gu-	-gu
<i>zuek</i> (2pl)	z-	-zu(t)e-	-zu(t)e

Third person suffixes, on the other hand, are conditioned by the case(/argument position) of the form with which they agree, but are not affected by word-edge adjacency:

<i>number</i>	<i>dative</i>	<i>ergative</i>
singular	-o-	∅
plural	-e-	-te-

The prefixes which are distributionally correlated with third person forms may in fact not mark ϕ -features at all. More discussion of these will ensue in section N.

Background

- Monstrous combinations are possible (according to written grammars):

(1) \underline{z} - i- ezai $\underline{-zki}$ $\underline{-o}$ -ke $\underline{-a}$ $\underline{-t}$
Pfx T Aux pl.Abs 3sg.Dat Irr Allo.masc 1sg.ERG

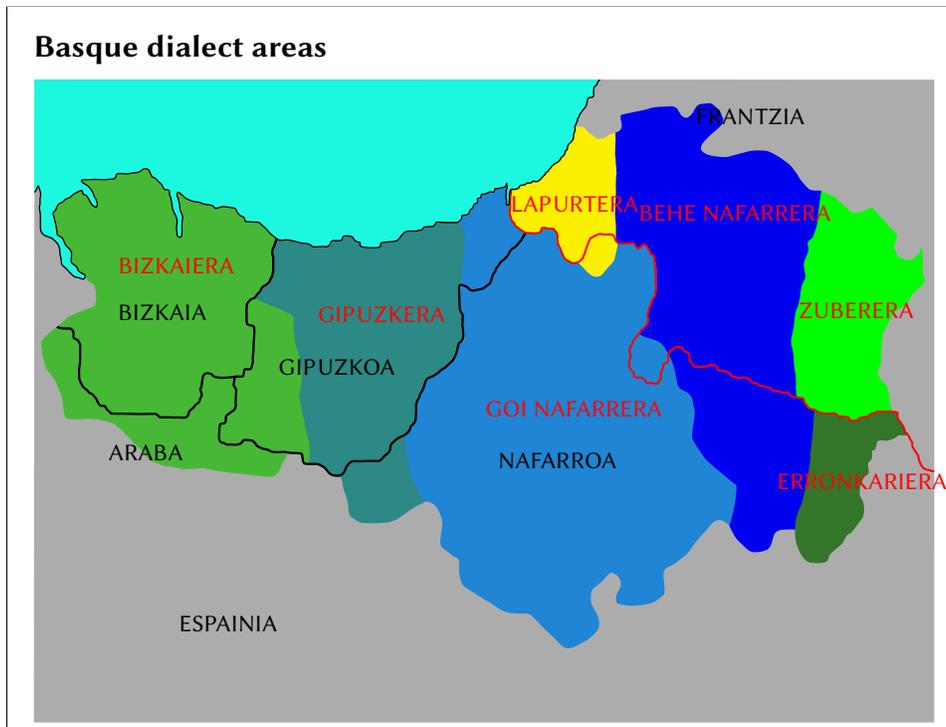
‘(To familiar male addressee) I can (verb) them to him.’

- Recent interest in this phenomenon centers around the question of whether the exponents of ϕ -features in the verb are reflexes of Agree(ment) or clitics
 - Preminger (2009), Arregi and Nevins (2012), ...

Goals

- Contribute evidence about the clitic status of Basque verbal ϕ morphemes
- Explain cross-dialectal variation in the realization of these morphemes
- ...

1.2 About Basque



There are four major Basque dialects: Western (Bizkaian), Central (Gipuzkoan), Navarrese, and Navarro-Labourdin. (Zuazo 1998) There are also two smaller dialects: Zuberoan and Eastern Navarrese, but they impinge little on the phenomena under study here or on the standard language. The standard dialect, established in the 1960s, is based on Central and Navarro-Labourdin norms. (Hualde and Zuazo 2007) In this talk, I will focus on Gipuzkoan forms, with references to other dialects included where relevant. The orthography used in glosses is always the standard, unless otherwise noted.

Arregi and Nevins (2012), in their an extensive treatment of Basque auxiliary verb agreement phenomena, analyze the Bizkaian dialect.

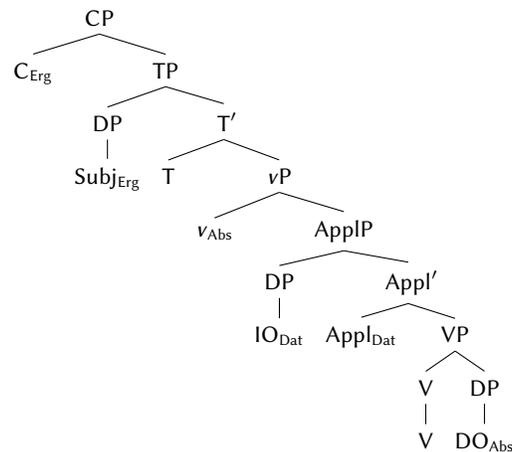
1.3 About clitics

2 Morphology

2.1 Background

In order to do morphology, you must do syntax

- I assume a Distributed Morphology framework (Embick and Noyer 2001)
- Basque clause structure (missing phrasal movement):



For reasons of time, I will not be able to discuss many of the assumptions underlying the above tree, though I'd be happy to take questions on them.

- For arguments that ergative case is assigned by C, see Rezac, Albizu, and Etxepare (2012)
- With respect to the assignment of absolutive case by v , note that Basque lacks Burzio's Generalization, wherefore absolutive case needn't be assigned by the external argument-introducing head.
- With respect to the head-initial structure of the tree:
 - Basque has V2 in matrix questions,¹ a diagnostic of head-initial C (den Besten 1989)
 - Haddican and Arantzazu Elordieta (2013) develop a more nuanced theory of V2-like word order patterns in Basque

Movement operations

- Head movement proceeds from a deeply embedded head to T (or C in questions, embedded clauses, and focus constructions)
 - All but 10ish verbs in Basque are conjugated synthetically:
 - (2) Jon- \emptyset eror-i da
 - J.-ABS fall-PRF AUX.3sgABS
 - 'Jon has fallen.'
 - The verbal root+aspect form a head distinct from the auxiliary:

¹The V2 property is not entirely straightforward. As discussed immediately following, the auxiliary and main verb are distinct heads. Dialects differ on whether they have Wh-Aux-X-V word order (true Germanic-style V2, in northern dialects) or Wh-V-Aux-X (in southern dialects, Batua). Aranzazu Elordieta (2001) argues that V and Aux can form a single head by incorporation, one possible strategy for coping with dialects that display the latter order.

(3) ez da inor etorr-i
 Neg Aux.3sgAbs nobody come-Prf
 'Nobody came.'

- For Arregi and Nevins (2012), this means that there is no head movement to T; auxiliaries are directly inserted
 - Spelling out $v + T \rightarrow \text{Aux}$, $V + \text{Asp} \rightarrow V$ is a HMC violation, assuming $T > \text{Asp} > v > V$

Movement operations are needed

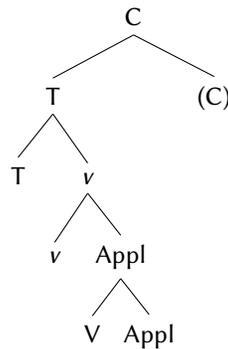
- However: auxiliaries are found in non-finite contexts:

(4) harri-tu egin nau haur-ak gezur-ra esa-n
 surprise-PRF do AUX.1sgABS.3sgERG child-ERG lie-ABS say-PRF
 izan-ak
 AUX-ERG

'The child's having told a lie surprised me.'
 (Amundarain et al. 2003, ex. 1548)
- Getting the Root+Asp separated from the rest of the functional heads for spell-out is a puzzle
 - Participle selection (Wurmbrand 2013)
 - (Appeal to more clitics?)

Spelling out

- The morphology receives the following complex head for linearization:



2.2 Morphological evidence about clitics

Overview of argument

- Strategy
 - If a morpheme is in a position compatible with the structure of the complex head \rightarrow no evidence
 - If its position is incompatible \rightarrow posit clitic

Absolutive number

Our template

$T_{v_{Abs}} V_{Appl_{Dat}} C_{Erg}$

- Appears almost in the predicted spot:

(5) d- i -zki -o -zu
Pfx Aux v.pl 3sg.Dat 2sg.Erg

‘You have (V-ed) them to us.’

- Solution: Local Dislocation rule (Embick and Noyer 2001):

(6) $[v^* [V^* Appl]] \rightarrow [{}_v V + v]^* Appl$

- Alternate form of this rule: move all the way across $[V Appl]$ (or let v be head-final):

(7) d- i -o -tza -zu
Pfx Aux 3sg.Dat v.pl 2sg.Erg

‘You have (V-ed) them to us.’

Ataun (de Yrizar 1997:)

Although example (5) lacks an obvious reflex of the applicative head, the same point is demonstrated by a synthetically conjugated verb, where *ki* spells out Appl:

(8) d- ago -z -ki -t
Pfx be v.pl Appl 1sg.Dat

‘They correspond to me.’

(The *ki* which appears in (5) is not a synchronic reflex of Appl; it disappears when the absolutive is singular.)

Ataun belongs to the Zegama subvariety of the Gipuzkoan dialect (on the classification of Bonaparte (1869); Zuazo (1998) calls this the Central dialect).

Dative

Our template

$T_{v_{Abs}} V_{Appl_{Dat}} C_{Erg}$

- Appears in the right place (taking into account the LD rule above):

(9) z- i -zki -da -k
Pfx Aux Abs.pl 1sgDat Allo.masc

‘(To familiar male addressee) s/he has (V-ed) them to me’ (hika)

(10) d- e- ritz -o -zu
Pfx T opine 3sg.Dat 2sg.Erg

‘You think it about it.’

Ergative and allocutive

Our template

$T_{v_{Abs}} V_{Appl_{Dat}} C_{Erg}$

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Any imperfections which remain are attributable only to me.

Ezkerrak

Azkenik eta guztiaz gain, hizkuntza, etxea, eta bihotza zabaldu dizkidaten lagun euskaldunei ezkerak eman nahiko nizkieke.

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