

A NOTE ON BASQUE PARTICIPLES

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Abstract

This paper develops and extends a unified account of two different guises of participial affixes in Basque suggested in Haddican (2007). The affixes -tu/-il/-n/-Ø are traditionally described as “participial” affixes or perfective markers in view of the fact that on main verb complements of finite auxiliaries, they obligatorily cooccur with a perfective interpretation. Nevertheless, in non-finite embeddings, these affixes do not force perfective interpretation, and instead behave as infinitival markers. It is proposed that the affixes -tu/-il/-n/-Ø are merged as infinitival heads, and that the perfective guise of these elements involves raising of the verb root+/-tu/-il/-n/-Ø to a null perfective head. Indirect evidence in favour of this proposal comes from the behaviour of these affixes in central dialects.

1. Introduction*

In the Basque syntax literature, the affixes *-tu/-il/-n/-Ø* —which vary by verb class— are standardly described as perfective markers (Laka 1990, Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Zabala and Odriozola 1996) or participial affixes (San Martín and Uriagereka 2002) in view of the fact that on main verb complements of auxiliaries they force a perfective reading as reflected in the gloss in (1).

- (1) *perfective marker guise*
Opera-tu didate.
operate-TU AUX
‘They have operated on me.’

It has long been recognised, however, that some additional account is needed to explain the behaviour of *-tu/-il/-n/-Ø* in other non-finite environments. Crucially, on verbal complements of modals such as *nahi* ‘want’ in (2), and in other environments to be discussed below, the affixes *-tu/-il/-n/-Ø* need not cooccur with a perfective interpretation (Artiagoitia 1995, chapter 3, Alcázar 2002).

- (2) *infinitival guise*
Bazkal-du nahi dute.
lunch-TU want AUX
‘They want to eat lunch.’

* I am grateful to Xabier Artiagoitia, Ricardo Etxepare, Richard Kayne, Bernadette Plunkett and George Tsoulas for comments on this material. All errors are mine.

The goal of this paper is to develop and extend a unified account of these two guises of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø*, first proposed in Haddican (2007). Specifically, *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* are argued to be merged always and everywhere as infinitival heads. Finite perfective clauses such as (1), then, involve raising of the verb+*-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* to a null [+perfective] head. Evidence in favour of this proposal comes from central dialects including Oiartzun Basque, in which a class of non-agentive predicates determines a morphologically overt perfective head rather than the null variant of other dialects. In such cases, the overt perfective marker attracts the verb root+infinitival marker in a way parallel to the null perfective head in other environments and in other dialects.

The discussion will be organised as follows. In section 2 of this paper, I discuss the behavior of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* as perfective markers and infinitival markers, respectively. In section 3, I present a unified analysis of these two guises. In section 4, I present additional evidence in favour of this analysis in view of the distribution of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* in the central dialect of Oiartzun.

2. The dual identity of the affixes *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø*

The principal motivation for the participial approach to *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* comes from the fact that on main verb complements of auxiliaries, they necessarily cooccur with a perfective interpretation, as reflected in the gloss in (3).

- (3) Ines-ek ikus-i du.
 Ines-ERG see-PERF AUX
 'Ines has seen (it).'

In this environment, *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* are in complementary distribution with the affix *-t(z)en*, as in (4), which may have several different kinds of imperfective interpretations, including continuous and habitual readings as in (5) and (6).

- (4) Ines-ek ikus-ten du.
 Ines-ERG see-IMPERF AUX
 'Ines sees (it).'

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| <p>(5) (Oyharçabal 2003) Zer irakur-tzen duzu hor? what read- IMPERF AUX there 'What are you reading there?'</p> | <p>(6) (Oyharçabal 2003) Egunero zazpitan jeiki-tzen naiz. everyday seven-at get up-IMPERF AUX 'Every day I get up at seven.'</p> |
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In view of this distribution, Laka (1990), proposes that *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* and imperfective *-t(z)en* are alternate values of a single aspectual head, Asp (cf. Zabala and Odriozola 1996). Nevertheless, the behavior of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* in other environments is problematic for an approach to these elements as perfective markers. One such environment is verb focus constructions involving the dummy verb *egin* as shown in (7).

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| <p>(7) a. Error-i egin-Ø da etxea. fall-I do-PERF AUX house 'The house has FALLEN.'</p> | <p>c. Error-i egin-go da etxea. fall-I do-FUT AUX house 'The house is going to FALL.'</p> |
| <p>b. Error-i egi-ten da etxea. fall-I do-IMPERF AUX house 'The house FALLS.'</p> | |

In (7), *-i* appears on the focalized main verb, while aspectual markers such as the imperfective affix *-t(z)en* and future *-ko* are realized on the dummy verb, *egin*. Crucially, in sentences such as (7), the aspectual interpretation is invariably determined by the aspectual morpheme on the dummy verb, *egin*, as reflected in the glosses. Assuming Laka's AspP proposal and an analysis of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* as (always) perfective markers, then the data in (7) are perplexing since they seem to require the realization of different values of a single aspectual head on different items in a single clause. (See Haddican (2005) for evidence that these constructions are in fact monoclausal rather than biclausal.)¹

The behavior of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* on verbs under modals provides additional reason for skepticism toward the traditional analysis of these elements. In particular, verbs selected by the modals *ahal*, 'can,' *nahi*, 'want' and *behar*, 'need' obligatorily bear *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* regardless of the perfectiveness of the action.²

- (8) Egun hartan esan zidan, egunero etor(r)-i nahi zuela.
 day that-on say AUX everyday come-I want AUX-COMP
 'That day she told me she wanted to come everyday.' (want>every)

Iterative/habitual readings of this kind are not possible in the past tense in the absence of a modal; instead, the imperfect affix *-t(z)en* is required.³

- (9) Egunero (*etor(r)-i/etor-t(z)en) zen.
 everyday (come-I /come-T(z)EN) AUX
 'She used to come everyday.'

Similarly, stative verbs like *jakin* 'to know (a fact)' and *ezagutu* 'to know (a person, place etc.)' need not have an "ingressive" interpretation under modals, as reflected in the gloss in (10).

- (10) Nere kardiologoak oso ongi ezagu-tu behar du bihotzaren anatomia.
 My cardiologist-ERG very well know-TU need AUX heart-GEN anatomy
 'My cardiologist has to know the anatomy of the heart very well.'

A third kind of environment in which *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* do not behave as perfective markers is in future forms. These constructions consist of a future marker, *-ko*,⁴ stacked onto the verb root+*-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* as in (11).⁵

¹ If we do not adopt Laka's AspP proposal for Basque, and instead posit different merged position in the clausal functional sequence for these different aspectual heads (Cinque 1999), then this problem may not arise.

² However, see Artiagoitia (1995) for a different approach to *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø*.

³ I will remain agnostic as to whether «perfectiveness» and features like [+perfective] are grammatical primitives or not. (For a recent treatment of these issues see Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria 2000). For the purposes of the claims made here, it will suffice to observe that on complements of auxiliaries the affixes *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* have aspectual properties absent in other environments.

⁴ In northern and eastern dialects, this affix is *-en*.

⁵ In this regard, the behavior of Basque *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* is similar to infinitival markers in certain Romance varieties in which future forms are derived (diachronically, at least) by stacking a future morpheme on top of a verb root plus an infinitival marker as in (i).

- (i) Spanish
 cant(a)-r-é
 sing-Infinit.-Fut.1sg.
 'I will sing.'

- (11) Abes-tu-ko dut.
sing-TU-FUT AUX
'I will sing.'

Again, in these constructions, *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* lack the aspectual properties of perfective heads discussed above. For example, stative *ezagutu*, 'to know (a person, place etc.)' need not have an "ingressive" interpretation as in (12).

- (12) Nire kardiologoak oso ongi ezagu-tu-ko du bihotzaren anatomia.
My cardiologist-ERG very well know-TU-FUT AUX heart.GEN anatomy
'My cardiologist, must know (lit. 'will know') the anatomy of the heart very well.'

Similarly, future forms with *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* allow iterative and habitual interpretations as in (13) and (14) respectively.

- (13) Maiz etorr-i-ko da.
often come-I-FUT AUX
'She'll come often.'

- (14) Altua iza-n-go yaz, koxkortzen yaz-en-ean.
tall be-I-FUT AUX-PRES get older AUX-COMP-in
'You'll be tall when you're older.'

In certain environments, then, *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* are not plausibly understood as perfective markers (Alcázar 2002, Artiagoitia 1995: chapter 3), but rather seem to behave as infinitival markers akin to Romance *-r*. In fact, the distribution of verbs + *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* is similar in three other ways to infinitives cross-linguistically. First, the verb + *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* is the citation form for the verb. While infinitives are commonplace as citation forms, an aspectually marked verb as a citation form, is less expected. Second, verbs + *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* are also selected by certain prepositions and postpositions including *nahiz* 'despite' and *gabe* 'without.' (Other postpositions take a gerund complement headed by an affix *-t(z)* *en* homophonous with the imperfective affix discussed above.)

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| (15) <i>nahiz gaztea iza-n</i> despite young be-N 'despite being young.' | (16) <i>ikusi gabe</i> see-I without 'without seeing.' |
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Third, these constituents participate in short *wh*-movement, as in (17) (Ortiz de Urbina 1989).

- (17) Ez dakit zer abes-tu.
not know what sing-TU
'I don't know what to sing.'

In view of these facts, I will assume that on verbs under modals and in future constructions the verbal affixes *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* are not plausibly understood as perfective markers, but rather as infinitival markers, on a par with Romance *-r*.⁶ The following

⁶ An alternative analysis suggested by Richard Kayne (p.c.) is that *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* are akin to thematic vowels which precede the infinitival *-r* affix in Romance. Spanish, for example has the thematic vowels [a], [e] and [i] visible in infinitival forms such as *habl-a-r* 'to speak', *perd-e-r* 'to lose', and *decid-i-r* 'to

section proposes a unified account of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* in this guise, and their perfective doppelgänger.

3. A unified account

The fact that *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* in these two kinds of environments have disparate sets of properties suggests the possibility that these elements are in fact different morphemes and that their homophony is accidental. One consideration that makes this approach unattractive, however, is the allomorphy of these elements. That is, the same classes of verbs take the same affixes —*-tu*, *-i*, *-n* or *-Ø*— regardless of whether *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* appear in their infinitival marker guise or in their perfective marker guise. The open class affix is *-tu* as shown in (18), and three smaller classes of (typically older) verbs take the affixes *-i*, *-n* and *-Ø* as shown in (19)–(21)), respectively.

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| <p>(18) a. Opera-tu didate. operate-TU AUX-PRES 'They have operated on me.'</p> <p>b. Opera-tu nahi didate operate-TU want AUX-PRES 'They want to operate on me.'</p> | <p>(19) a. Etor(r)-i da. come-I AUX-PRES 'She has come.'</p> <p>b. Etor(r)-i nahi du come-i want AUX-PRES 'She wants to come.'</p> |
| <p>(20) a. Ema-n didate. give-N AUX-PRES 'They have given it to me.'</p> <p>b. Ema-n nahi didate. give-N want AUX-PRES 'They want to give it to me.'</p> | <p>(21) a. Igo-Ø da. go up-Ø AUX-PRES 'He/she has gone up.'</p> <p>b. Igo-Ø nahi du. go up-Ø want AUX-PRES 'He/she wants to go up.'</p> |

This allomorphy, then, is mysterious if perfective *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* and infinitival *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* are underlyingly separate morphemes. In view of these facts, I will pursue an analysis of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* in these two environments as underlyingly one and the same element.

An immediate question for a unified approach to these two guises of *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* is to determine which of these two guises corresponds to the underlying form and which is the derived form. That is, are *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* merged as perfective morphemes which can behave as infinitival markers, or are they merged as infinitival markers which in certain environments take on properties of aspectual heads?

decide'. As noted by Kayne, Basque bears particular resemblance to French in that (most) «past participle» forms bear no other overt morphology than this thematic vowel.

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| <p>(i) On a telefone. 'We have called.'</p> | <p>(ii) On a fini. 'We have called.'</p> |
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In addition, many French gerunds do not have this vowel: *partir* 'to leave' vs. *partant* 'leaving'; *parler* 'to speak' vs. *parlant* 'speaking'. From this perspective, Basque might have a null infinitival affix in many of the environments discussed above. In the following discussion, I will set this possibility aside and treat *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* as infinitival markers.

At first glance, certain similarities between the Basque facts presented here and the Frisian *participium pro infinitivo* (PPI) construction (den Dikken and Hoekstra 1997) recommend the former approach, namely that *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* are perfective markers which behave as infinitives in non-finite embeddings. In the Frisian example in (22), ‘do’ takes a participial affix despite the fact that it is the complement of the modal ‘want’ which normally takes an infinitival complement. As den Dikken and Hoekstra show, this participle is parasitic on the higher “true” participle, *wollen* ‘liked.’

- (22) Frisian (den Dikken and Hoekstra 1997)
 Hy soe it dien wollen ha.
 he would it do.PTC want.PTC have.INF
 ‘He would have liked to do it.’

Given that Basque *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* constituents participate in certain restructuring phenomena (Haddican 2005), and given that PPI (as well as *infinitivum pro participio*, IPP) is characteristic of restructuring predicates, a PPI analysis is immediately attractive in that it suggests a unified account of these different restructuring phenomena in both Basque and Frisian (whatever this may be). Nevertheless, two aspects of the Basque facts outlined above disfavour a PPI-style approach. First, *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* are not parasitic on a “true” perfective marker, unlike in Frisian. That is, *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* appear in non-finite embeddings even when the higher modal is interpreted non-perfectively.⁷ Second, *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* fail to behave semantically like perfective markers even outside of “restructuring” environments, such as with irrealis *-ko*.

Rather, parsimony seems to recommend the second approach, namely that *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* are underlyingly infinitival markers that, in some environments, may raise to adjoin to a null [+perfective] head. Specifically, on the assumption that *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* are always merged as perfective heads, then some account is needed for why these elements can lose their perfective interpretation when they appear under modals etc. In contrast, assuming that these elements are infinitival heads that raise to adjoin to a null perfective head on complements of auxiliaries, then no such special account is needed, on the view that infinitival markers contribute nothing to interpretation.

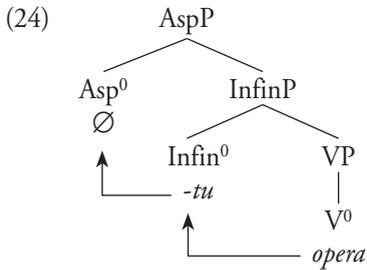
I propose that *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* in sentences like (1) (repeated below) are instead merged as infinitival heads that raise to adjoin to a higher, null perfective head in Asp⁰.⁸ I will assume that these infinitival heads are merged low in IP in a position that I will call InfinP (cf. Wurmbrand 2001, Cinque 2000, Kayne 1993).

- (23)=(1) *perfective marker guise*
 Opera-tu didate.
 operate-TU AUX-PRES
 ‘They have operated on me.’

⁷ As will be discussed below, modals never take the imperfect affix *-t(z)en*. Because of this, and because one value of these heads is *-Ø*, evidence from overt morphology in itself is insufficient to show absence of parasitism.

⁸ This proposal is similar in spirit to that proposed by Ortiz de Urbina (1992). The latter proposes that *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* are part of the verbal root and that perfective forms are constructed by adding a *-Ø* affix. In the case of imperfective forms, a rule deletes *-tul-i/-n/-Ø* from the root and adds *-t(z)en*. This proposal is cited in Zabala and Odriozola (1996: 238 fn.2). I have not seen Ortiz de Urbina’s manuscript.

This proposal is illustrated in (24), which derives the lower portion of (23), above.



A very similar derivation seems to be independently required for the overt irrealis/future affix *-ko*. As discussed above, future forms are constructed by stacking *-ko* onto the verb + *-tul-il-n/-∅*, as shown in (11), repeated below. Again, *-tul-il-n/-∅* in such constructions need not cooccur with a perfective interpretation.

- (25)=(11) *Abes-tu-ko* dut.
 sing-TU-FUT AUX
 'I will sing.'

By contrast, the imperfective marker *-t(z)en* does not attract the verb root + *-tul-il-n/-∅*, but rather the bare V. A derivation in which the imperfective marker attracted the verb root + *-tul-il-n/-∅* would produce the morpheme sequence in (26), which is unattested in most varieties.⁹

- (26) **Abes-tu-tzen* dut.
 sing-TU-IMPERF AUX
 'I sing.'

One approach to these facts from the perspective of the present proposal is as a selectional difference: future/irrealis *-ko* and perfective *-∅* select for infinitival complements while imperfective *-t(z)en* selects for the verb root. From this perspective, future/irrealis *-ko* and perfective *-∅* might be thought of as tense/aspect modals like Spanish *ir* and or Catalan *anar*, which take infinitival complements.¹⁰

4. *-tu* in central dialects

The behavior the affix *-tu* in a set of central Basque dialects suggests additional support for the above analysis of *-tul-il-n/-∅*. In particular, on a class of state and

⁹ This description holds for standard usage. In *bertsolaritza* (improvisational sung verse) and in informal styles in certain dialects *-tul-il-n/-∅* + *-t(z)en* is attested as in (i). I am grateful to Ricardo Etxepare for bringing this fact to my attention.

(i) *Ikus-i-tzen* dut.
 see-*i-t(z)en* AUX-PRES
 'I see it.'

¹⁰ I owe this suggestion to Richard Kayne.

activity verbs including *izan* (copula), *egon* (locative and existential copula), *jakin* ‘know,’ *ibili* ‘walk,’ (also a semi-auxiliary) and *bizi* ‘live’ that standardly take only the affixes *-n* or *-i* in perfective environments, the affix *-tu* may also appear, stacked onto *-n/-i*. This dialectal contrast is illustrated in (27) and (28).

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| (27) Batua ez nuen arazorik iza- <i>n</i> NEG AUX problem have-N ‘I didn’t have problems.’ | (28) Oiartzun Basque ez nuen arazorik iza- <i>n-du</i> NEG AUX problem have-N-TU ‘I didn’t have problems.’ |
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In sentences like (28), then, the “participial marker” seems to double in these dialects, with a restricted set of verbs. Crucially, however, this “doubled” *-tu* affix is unavailable in non-perfective environments in which *-tu* is normally available. In particular, *-tu* in this guise may not appear in future forms, under modals.

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| (29) Future constructions Iza- <i>n</i> (*-du)-ko da. be-N-TU-FUT AUX-PRES ‘It will be.’ | (30) Under modals Iza- <i>n</i> (*-du) behar du-PRES be-INFI-TU need Aux ‘She needs to have it.’ |
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Similarly, a “doubled” *-tu* is excluded in imperatives and with prepositions.

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| (31) Imperatives Ego- <i>n</i> (*-du) lasai. be-INFIN-TU calm ‘Relax./Take it easy.’ | (32) With <i>nahiz</i> , ‘despite’ <i>nahiz</i> gaztea iza- <i>n</i> (*-du) despite young be-INFIN-TU ‘despite being young’ |
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The generalization, then, is that “doubled” *-tu* with this class of verbs is unavailable in precisely the same environments in which *-tul/-il/-n/-Ø* do not force a perfective interpretation.¹¹ From the perspective of the present proposal, then, these data suggest that in central dialects, a *-tu* affix homophonous with the infinitival marker *-tu* is available as a true perfective head. That is, in Oiartzun Basque, this class of state and activity verbs requires an overt *-tu* perfective marker rather than the null variant determined by other verbs.

Crucially, the infinitival markers *-n* and *-i* (in the case of *ibilittu*, ‘walk’ in other dialects) are preserved in these forms. If this account of *-tu* doubling is correct, then, these data suggest a case in which a verb root + infinitival marker raises to a morphologically overt perfective head. This, in turn, lends credence to the above proposal that, in other perfective environments in Oiartzun Basque and in all perfective environments in other dialects, the verb root+infinitival marker raises to adjoin to a null perfective head, as illustrated in (24).

¹¹ Preliminary evidence from historical texts suggests that these restrictions on doubling have been stable for at least the last two hundred years. In particular, in the writings of the native Oiartzuner Basque philologist Sebastian Mendiburu (1708-1782), doubling appears to be restricted to main verb complements of finite auxiliaries, as is the case today. In a sample selection (Chapters I-VII) of Mendiburu’s *Igande eta Festegunetarako Irakuraldiak* («Sunday and Holiday Readings») *egondulizandu* are categorically used in place of *egon/izan* as complements of non-finite auxiliaries and categorically excluded in environments in (29)-(32). A study of a larger sample of the historical record cross-dialectally might further illuminate the history of this phenomenon.

This analysis of *-tu* “doubling” crucially depends on the assumption that the affix *-n* is an infinitival affix and not part of the verbal root. In fact, *-n* has received different treatments in the literature in this regard. The principal evidence for treating *-n* as part of the verb root —unlike *-tu* and *-i*— concerns the behavior of *-n* with imperative and modal auxiliaries in eastern dialects. In these dialects, imperative and modal auxiliaries take the root form of verbs that in other environments take *-tu* and *-i*, as shown in (33).

- (33) Eastern dialects
 Gerta(-*tu) daiteke.
 happen AUX
 ‘It can happen.’

Crucially, in these dialects (and others), these same modals take verbs+*n*.

- (34) All dialects
 Ego-n daiteke.
 be-*n* AUX
 ‘He/she/it can be there.’

By contrast, in western varieties (including the central dialects discussed here), these modals take the verb root+*-tu/-i*.

- (35) Western dialects
 Gerta-tu daiteke.
 happen-TU AUX
 ‘It can happen.’

Nevertheless, evidence that *-n* is not part of the verb root but rather an affix of some kind comes from the fact that, like *-tu* and *-i*, it is absent (across dialects) in synthetic forms such as (36) (Laka 1990).

- (36) synthetic *egon* (locative and existential copula)
 z-e-go-en
 eph¹²-cm-root-past
 ‘he/she/it was (there).’

In addition, like *-tu* and *-i*, *-n* is in complementary distribution with *-t(z)en*.

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|-------------------|---------------------------|
| (37) All dialects | (38) All dialects |
| ego-ten | *ego-n-t(z)en |
| LOC.COP-IMPERF | LOC.COP- <i>n</i> -IMPERF |

These facts concerning synthetic verb formation and imperfective forms suggests that, in all dialects, *-n* cannot be part of the verb root, unless some rule of *-n* deletion applies in these environments. Moreover, given that *-n* in central and western

¹² I follow Albizu (2002) in using the terms «epenthetic prefix», and «class marker» for the two leftmost affixes in (36). The behavior of these elements does not bear on the present discussion. See Albizu (2002), Laka (1993) and Trask (1997) for further discussion of these elements.

dialects (unlike in Eastern dialects) is identical in distribution to the affixes *-i* and *-tu* (abstracting away from verb class restrictions), I will assume that, in these dialects at least, *-n* is a true infinitival marker on a par with *-i* and *-tu*. From this standpoint, then, *-tu* “doubling” in central dialects suggests additional evidence in favour of the derivation of perfective constructions proposed above.¹³

5. Conclusion

The goal of this paper has been to sketch a unified account of two different guises of the affixes *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø*. These elements are often treated as perfective markers in view of the fact that, on main verb complements of auxiliaries, these elements necessarily cooccur with a perfective interpretation. In other environments, however, these elements do not force a perfective reading and behave instead as infinitival markers. In this paper, I have argued that in both environments, the affixes *-tu/-i/-n/-Ø* are merged as infinitival heads. In perfective environments, however, these infinitival affixes are attracted to a null [+perfective] head. Evidence in favour of this proposal comes from central dialects including Oiartzun Basque in which a class of non-agentive verbs determines a morphologically overt perfective head, rather than the null variant determined by other verbs (and by all verbs in other dialects). In such cases, the overt perfective marker attracts the verb root + infinitival marker in a way apparently parallel to the null perfective head elsewhere.

¹³ A possible problem for the foregoing analysis is the availability for some speakers of Oiartzun Basque of a «doubled» *-tu* below a non-finite auxiliary *izandu*, as in (i).

- (i) (Speaker 30, cf. Fraile and Fraile 1996, Zuazo 1997)
 Gaztetz[ea] ond, e(g)on-du izan-du da [...].
 youth.center (be) be-PERF have-PERF AUX.PRES
 ‘There (has been/used to be) a youth center [...].’

Egon and *izan* may also (more commonly) appear without *-tu*, in this environment as in (ii).

- (ii) Oso politta egon-Ø izan-du dituk.
 very nice be-Ø have-PERF AUX.PRES
 ‘It used to be very nice.’

From the perspective of the present account of *egondu* and *izandu* in Oiartzun Basque and neighboring dialects, examples such as (i) seem truly akin the *participium pro infinitivo* (PPI) construction in Frisian, described by den Dikken and Hoekstra (1997), and discussed above. An example of this phenomenon is repeated in (iii).

- (iii) Frisian (den Dikken and Hoekstra 1997)
 Hy soe it dien wollen ha.
 he would it do.PTC want.PTC have.INF
 ‘He would have liked to do it.’

In (iii), the participle *dien*, «done» is parasitic on the higher «true» participle, *wollen* «liked». For the moment, and in the absence of better data on the Basque data, I will assume that the lower of the two *-tu*'s in (i) is parasitic as in the case of Frisian participles.

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