

Participial predication in Basque

JON ORTIZ DE URBINA — MYRIAM URIBE-ETXEBARRIA
(UNIVERSITY OF DEUSTO AND UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT)

Basque can be characterized as an 'extended' pro-drop language, due to the presence of two related features usually associated with this parameter: free constituent permutability and a rich inflectional system where tensed verbs obligatorily agree with their ergative, absolutive and dative arguments. Thus, in contrast with languages which place strong word order constraints, any of the permutations of constituents in a clause like (1) generates a grammatical utterance in Basque:¹

- (1) *Ni-k zu-ri eskutitz-ak idatzi dizkizut*
I-E you-D letter-A pl written AUX(3 A pl/2D/1E)
I wrote (have written) letters to you

The auxiliary form *dizkizut* includes ergative, absolutive and dative markers for *nik*, *eskutitzak* and *zuri*, respectively.

There are some constructions, however, in which these key characteristics do not seem to hold. Such structures differ morphologically from regular clauses like (1) in that the untensed verbal element takes a determiner marker agreeing in number with the absolutive phrase. In this way, if the absolutive phrase is singular, a singular determiner (*-a*) gets attached to the verbal element; if, on the contrary, the absolutive phrase is plural, the verbal element will bear a plural determiner (*-ak*):

- (2) a. *Liburu hori nik idatzi-a da*
book that I-E written-det(sg) 3A(sg)
'This book is written by me'
b. *Liburu horiek nik idatzi-ak dira*
those-A(pl) -det(pl) 3A(pl)
'Those books are written by me'

Sentences like the ones in (2) are usually referred to as 'passive', and we will occasionally use this descriptive label for the construction, without implying, however, that they fully correspond to standard passive structures in English or Spanish.

(1) We are grateful to Beñat Oyharçabal and Javi Ormazabal for helpful discussion and valuable suggestions. Usual disclaimers apply. M. Uribe-Etxebarria's work in this project was funded in part by a grant from the Department of Education, Basque Government.

In the glosses, E=ergative, A=absolutive and D=dative. Some of the translations try to give as close an idea of the Basque sentence as possible, disregarding acceptability in English.

The presence of a determiner attached to the participle correlates with the absence of the characteristics of Basque simple clauses mentioned above: constituent permutability and obligatory ergative/absolutive/dative agreement. With respect to the latter, the 'auxiliary' in these structures does not always necessarily agree with all the arguments present in the clause, and different possibilities of 'partial' agreement can be found. Compare some of the possibilities displayed by (3) with those of regular sentences like (1), repeated here as (4), which becomes ungrammatical when the inflectional agreement with any of the arguments fails, as (4b, c, d) show:

- (3) a. *Eskutitz hau nik idatzi-a da*
 letter this-A I-E 3A(sg)
 'This letter is written by me'
- b. *Nik eskutitz hau idatzi-A dut*
 3A(sg)/1E
 'This letter is (I have it) written by me'
- c. *Eskutitzak nik zuri idatzi-ak dira*
 letter-a(pl) I-E you-D written-det(pl) 3A(pl)
 'The letters are written to you by me'
- (4) a. *Nik zuri eskutitzak idatzi dizkizut*
 I-E you-D letter-A pl written AUX(3A(pl)/2D/1E)
 I wrote (have written) letters to you
- b. **Nik zuri eskutitzak idatzi dira*
 3A(pl)
- c. **Eskutitzak nik zuri idatzi dira*
- d. **Eskutitzak nik zuri idatzi zaizkizu*
 3A(sg)-2A

In addition, these structures are heavily constrained with respect to the permutability of the arguments present in the clause. Thus, in opposition to the word order freedom displayed by regular sentences like (1) in Basque, these constructions do not allow certain linear arrangements of the argumental NPs, as shown in (5):²

- (5) a. *Eskutitza [NIK idatziA] da*
 letter-A(sg) I-E written-det(sg) 3A(sg)
 'The letter is written by me'
- b. **NIK eskutitza idatziA da*
- c. **Eskutitza idatziA da NIK*

In this respect, it is worth noting that, leaving aside the free word order usually possible in Basque, these utterances do not even allow in some cases the basic E-D-A-V (SOV) serialization which is commonly considered the unmarked order in this language. Thus, (5a) is the only possibility available. In this paper, we will provide

(2) Brackets will be used in some of the examples to indicate restrictions on scrambling possibilities: arguments 'within' cannot be permuted with arguments 'without'. In section 3 a more substantive analysis of the nature of the bracketed constituent will be offered.

an analysis of this and related structure types, claiming that their apparently exceptional status can be easily explained if, as we suggest, they are biclausal structures. The analysis relies on independent principles proposed within predication theory and θ -theory, the two areas where these Basque data provide interesting theoretical insights.

Our discussion will proceed in the following way. In Section 1, we will show that lack of permutability and agreement are not characteristics independent from one another, but rather, mutually dependent. In Section 2, we review some alternative analyses of these structures, pointing out some inadequacies of monoclausal accounts. We present an alternative analysis in Section 3, where we claim these are biclausal constructions where a participial clause functions as an open sentence predicated of the absolutive argument via an empty operator. Some technical issues raised by the analysis are briefly discussed in Section 4.

1. Agreement and Permutability

It is important to note that the attachment of the determiner to the verb is related to the failure of the inflectional element to agree with some of the argumental phrases. Only the presence of a determiner in the verb makes 'partial' agreement possible:

- (6) a. *Eskutitza nik idatzi dut*
 letter-A(sg) I-E written 3A(sg)/1E
 I have written the letter
 b. **Eskutitza nik idatzi da*
 3A(sg)
 c. *Eskutitza [nik idatzi -A] da*
 -det(sg)
 'The letter is written by me'

Thus, in the structure in question, the inflectional element may agree in different ways: the auxiliary may maintain agreement with the absolutive phrase only, with the absolutive and ergative phrases or, less commonly, with the absolutive, dative and ergative phrases. (7) illustrates some of these possibilities:

- (7) a. *Eskutitza nik idatzi-a da*
 b. *Nik eskutitza [amari idatzi-a] dut*
 mother-D 3A(sg)/1E
 c. *Nik eskutitza amari [idatzi-a] diot*
 3A(sg)/1E/3D

The existence of this 'partial' agreement can be related to the word order constraints mentioned above. Only arguments triggering agreement can be freely permuted. Arguments not agreeing with the 'auxiliary' cannot be scrambled with agreeing arguments. Some examples are offered below. (8) shows that no element can ap-

pear before the absolutive phrase or after the inflectional element when the latter agrees only with the absolutive phrase. (9a) is the counterpart to (8a), except for the fact that the auxiliary also agrees with the ergative phrase. As (9b, c) show, free word order is again possible for the elements in agreement relation with the inflectional element. Finally, (10) exemplifies the same phenomenon when dative, absolutive and ergative agreement shows up in the tensed verb:

- (8) a. *Liburu hau [nik idatzia] da* (=3a)
 'This book is written by me'
 b. **NIK liburu hau idatzia da*
 c. **Liburu hau idatzia da NIK*
- (9) a. *Liburu hau nik [idatzia] dut* (=3b)
 b. *NIK liburu hau idatzia dut*
 c. *Liburu hau idatzia dut NIK*
 d. *Idatzia dut NIK liburu hau*
- (10) a. *Eskutitzak [nik zuri idatziak] dira* (=3a)
 letter-a(pl) I-E you-D written-det(pl) 3A(pl)
 'The letters are written to you by me'
 b. **ZURI eskutitzak nik idatziak dira*
 c. *Eskutitzak nik zuri [idatziak] dizkizut*
 3A(pl)/2D(sg)/1E(sg)
 d. *Nik eskutitzak zuri idatziak dizkizut*
 e. *Eskutitzak zuri idatziak dizkizut nik*
 f. *Eskutitzak idatziak dizkizut zuri nik*

Summarizing, these structures are characterized by the presence of a determiner attached to the verbal element; only the presence of the determiner makes 'partial' agreement of the inflection with the argumental nominal possible. Agreement with the absolutive nominal is always required, and argumental nominals in no agreement relation with the tensed element must be located in between the absolutive phrase and the participle. Only agreement with the tensed element makes permutability available for arguments.

Before turning to an examination of several alternative analyses of this construction, or constructions, it is necessary to point out a further feature which sets them apart from regular simple constructions and which is only implicit in the previous discussion. Auxiliary selection in Basque, as in French or Italian, is dependent on the transitivity of the main, lexical verb. Basically, unaccusative verbs select *izan* 'be' forms, and unergative and transitive verbs select **edun* 'have' forms, as in (11):

- (11) a. *Joan naiz* (**dut*)
 gone AUX(1A) AUX(3A(sg)/1E)
 I have gone
 b. *Irakurri dut* (**naiz*)
 read AUX(3A(sg)/1E) AUX(1A)
 I have read

The situation changes, however, where a determiner is attached to the participle, in which case either auxiliary seems to be possible regardless of the transitivity of the main verb:

- (12) a. *Semea Ameriketara joan-a da*
 son-A America-to gone-det(sg) 3A(sg)
 'Their son is gone to America'
- b. (*Haiek*) *semea Ameriketara joan-a dute*
 they-E 3A(sg)/3E(pl)
 'Their son is ('they have him') gone to America'
- c. *Liburua Jonak irakurri-a da*
 book-A John-E read-
 'The book is read by John'
- d. (*Haiek*) *liburua irakurri-a dute*
 'They have the book read/have read the book'

While the apparent detransitivization of a 'passive' like (12c) could be understandable (being essentially parallel to French and Italian in this respect too), the apparent possibility of introducing an additional ergative argument to an intransitive verb like *joan* 'go' in (12b) is restricted to the construction under question. We now turn to presenting some analyses of these structures. Before presenting our own biclausal analysis, we will discuss how alternative monoclausal analyses might capture the general properties displayed by these constructions.

2. Monoclausal analyses

2.1 The passive analysis

As mentioned above, structures like (12c) have usually been referred to as passives. Thus, (3a), repeated below as (13a), would be the passive counterpart of active (13b):

- (13) a. *Eskutitz hau [nik idatzi-a] da*
 letter this-A I-E read-det 3A(sg)
 'This letter is written by me'
- b. *Eskutitz hau nik idatzi dut*
 3A(sg)/1E
 I have written this letter

Under this analysis, *nik* would be the subject argument in (13b), but the *by*-phrase in passive (13a). The identity of case marking between transitive subject and *by*-phrase would be a coincidence, with clear semantic support. *Eskutitza* 'the letter' on the other hand, would be the object argument in the active clause, turned subject in the derived passive (intransitive) (13a). Further, the attachment of the determiner and its agreement in number with the absolutive phrase could be related with pas-

sive structures in Romance languages, where the verbal participle and the passive subject agree in gender and number:

- (14) a. *Esta carta ha sido escrit-a por mí*
 This letter has been written(fem.sg.) by me
 b. *Estos libros han sido leíd-os por mí*
 These books have been read-(masc.pl.) by me

As mentioned above, the usage of the descriptive label 'passive' for structures with verbal forms like (15) is quite general:

- (15) participle-determiner IZAN (BE)

From a more theoretical point of view, perhaps the most explicit and articulated analysis of these structures as involving NP-movement can be found in a series of articles by Rebuschi (1983, 1986, 1989). Rebuschi (1989) concentrates on the related variants illustrated in (16):

- (16) a. *Eskutitza Peiok idatzi-a da*
 letter-A Peio-E written-det 3A(sg)
 'The letter is written by Peio'
 b. *Peio eskutitza idatzi-a da*
 Peio-A
 'Peio is (has) written the letter'

Like passives in well-known languages, (16a) would be 'monoclausal and intransitive, and its subject has the theta-role assigned to the object' in the corresponding active. Its structure would be as in (17):

- (17) a. [e] [*Peiok eskutitza idatzia*] *da*
 XP
 b. *eskutitza* [*Peiok t idatzia*] *da*
 XP

The 'number suffix' *-a* in the D-structure (17a) would block case-assignment to the object *eskutitza*, which must then move to get case from INFL. XP would be a verbal maximal projection, and *Peiok* some sort of oblique phrase, similar to the *by*-phrase in English 'no longer subject, as the intransitive finite verb demonstrates'. The same account can be extended to (16b), according to Rebuschi, if Basque is non-configurational and Basque verbs govern and assign case to both subject and object. Then, the presence of the determiner would block case assignment to either argument. If it is the subject case which is blocked, the subject would have to move to receive Case from INFL. Again, the absolutive argument left within VP would not be an object, but an adjunct phrase, since the verb does not reflect any object agreement. In effect, this would be an antipassive structure, well-known in many ergative languages: as in the Eskimo example in (18), a transitive subject (ergative) becomes

intransitive subject (absolutive), while the logical object corresponds to an adjunct (marked instrumental here). The verb in the antipassive clause (18b) agrees only with the absolutive subject:

- (18) a. *Jaani-up nanuq kapi-vaa*
 John-E bear-A stab-3/3
 John stabbed the bear
 b. *Jaani nanuq-mik kapi-vuq*
 John-A bear-inst stab-3
 John stabbed a bear

Notice that (16b) shares not only the agreement peculiarities of (16a), but also the word-order restrictions described above. In particular, reversing the order of the two arguments produces an ungrammatical sentence:

- (19) * *Eskutitza Peio idatzia da*

This 'passive' analysis, however, fails to provide convincing explanations for the crucial features of the constructions. The absence of ergative agreement in (16a), and the presence of two absolutives in (16b) is claimed to follow from the fact that *Peio* and *eskutitza*, respectively, are adjunct phrases (*chômeurs*, in relational terms) rather than arguments. But it seems curious that the morphological case mark these two elements bear as 'adjuncts' corresponds exactly to that appearing elsewhere in Basque with arguments having the same logical grammatical function, transitive subject and object, respectively.³ This would be a coincidence unless, as we will claim, they are indeed arguments, in which case nothing needs be said regarding case marking. As for the word order constraints, since the adjunct phrase must immediately precede the participle, Rebuschi is forced to claim that due to functional-pragmatic factors, they must be focalized (and hence, in Basque, placed immediately to the left of the verb) if present. Notice, however, that a sentence like (19) is ungrammatical rather than unfelicitous, corresponding more to a syntactic violation than a pragmatic one. Moreover, the correct constraint is not that the 'agent phrase immediately precede the participle', as shown in (20):

- (20) a. *Eskutitza [Jonek amari bidalia] da*
 letter-A John-E mother-D sent-det 3A(sg)
 'The letter is sent by John to the mother'
 b. *Eskutitza [eskuz idatzia] da*
 by hand written-det
 'The letter is written by hand'
 c. **Eskuz eskutitza idatzia da*

(20a) is grammatical even though the ergative argument does not appear in the focalization 'position' (immediately preceding the verb). The same word order restric-

(3) Case homophonies do exist, of course (for example between the prolativ, object complement case ending *-tzat* and the benefactive *-(ar)en-tzat*). But it is rather suspicious that the two cases proposed for Basque do not involve homophonies between totally different GFs, but between a GF and a hypothesized adjunct corresponding to the same logical and semantic thematic relation.

tions examined above hold here between the parenthesized elements and *eskutitza*, showing that the relevant factor is indeed word order, rather than focalization. In (20b, c), an adjunct is shown to share the same word order constraints claimed to be pragmatically associated with the 'by-phrase'.⁴

Furthermore, it is not clear why dative agreement is missing in a structure like (20a), since the dative is assigned case and, unlike the ergative argument, cannot be claimed to be an adjunct here: Burzio's generalization only relates the suppression of the participle's external argument and its inability to assign case. There is no principled way in which the dative argument could be claimed to be suppressed and realized as an adjunct (keeping the same case marking) in the way agents are assumed to be suppressed, and realized by means of the *by*-phrase (see Jaeggli 1986).

As a further inadequacy of the passive monoclausal analysis, it must claim that determined participial structures with transitive 'auxiliary' like (21) are unrelated to the passive ones:

- (21) *Nik liburu hori idazleak dedikatua dut*
 I-E book that-A writer-E dedicated-det(sg)
 'I have this book dedicated by the writer'

If the determiner *-a* blocks assignment of the absolutive case, it is difficult to see how *liburu hori* is case-marked, unless the 'auxiliaries' in these constructions (*dut* here) behave as independent verbs, as we will claim. But then a movement analysis whereby *liburu hori* moves out of the participial constituent to be assigned case would be ruled out by θ -theoretic considerations, since, as will be shown later, *dut* also assigns θ -role to its object. If so, *liburu hori* would receive a theme role from *dut* and another one from *sinatua* 'sign', violating the θ -criterion.

2.2 An active monoclausal analysis

Some of the problems mentioned above can be solved by assuming that, rather than passives, these structures are monoclausal active sentences, similar in most respects to the corresponding regular sentences without a determiner in the verbal element. An analysis along these lines is developed in Oyharçabal (forthcoming). The analysis for these structures is based on the optional movement of v and of the argumental NPs from the VP to the SPEC position of the functional categories which form the complex INFL in Basque.⁵ This would explain the agreement facts observed in these sentences, the auxiliary showing agreement only with those NPs which move from their base generated position in VP. Observe, however, that case assignment is in fact one of the reasons argued for the obligatoriness of the movement of these argumental NPs. Thus, it is assumed that these NPs raise to get case. If the explanation for this movement in terms of Case Theory is correct, it is difficult to see how, in a monoclausal structure, the arguments would get case if they remain in VP.

(4) We disregard here a marginally acceptable topicalized interpretation of *eskuz*. On non-scrambling movements (such as *wh*-formation) out of participial constructions, see section 4.

(5) Oyharçabal (forthcoming) makes use of more than one AGR projections, following Chomsky (1989). See Laka (1988) for a different structure.

If, as Oyharçabal claims, ergative case is inherent, one would have to explain why it cannot remain within VP in determinerless structures. But even then one would have to explain how the absolutive argument in (16b) gets case, since Oyharçabal crucially assumes absolutive not to be an inherent case.⁶

Some strong evidence against monoclausal analyses comes from constructions like the one in (22) where a determined participle is again predicated of a nominal in small clause constructions (see Stowell 1981 and Williams 1980, 1983).

- (22) a. *Jonek biharko paper hau sinatua ekarriko du*
 John-E tomorrow paper this-A signed-det bring AUX(3A/3E)
 John will bring this paper signed for tomorrow
 b. *Jonek paper hau guraso-ek sinatua ekarriko du*
 parents-E
 John will bring this paper signed by his parents

The structures in (22) present the same set of core properties discussed in the previous section, suggesting that we are dealing with two instances of the same phenomenon. Thus, a determiner agreeing with the absolutive NP appears attached to the participle, and scrambling of the elements in no agreement relation with the auxiliary is disallowed. Compare (22b) with (23), where the ergative NP which does not agree with the auxiliary is scrambled:⁷

- (23) a. **Gurasoek Jonek paper hau t sinatua ekarriko du*
 b. **Jonek paper hau t sinatua ekarriko du gurasoek*

Moreover, if the verb *sinatu* 'sign' shows up without a determiner attached, the sentence in (22) becomes ungrammatical:

- (24) **Jonek paper hau aitak sinatu ekarriko du*

As in the examples above, the absolutive NP in (22) agrees with the tensed element, but, in this case, it is the thematic object of the verb *ekarri* 'bring'. If a raising analysis was assumed for the absolutive phrase in this case, it would yield a violation of the θ -criterion, given that the raised NP *paper hau* would get assigned two θ -roles (thematic object of both *sinatu* 'sign' and *ekarri* 'bring'). Furthermore, it is not clear how a monoclausal analysis could explain some constructions in which, as in (22b) or (25) below, two ergative NPs appear. Observe that double ergative is absolutely disallowed in monoclausal sentences, a fact which follows naturally from the as-

(6) Some dialectal variation may be involved, since, according to Oyharçabal (p.c.) (16b) is not acceptable for him and antipassives ask for partitive case, as in (i).

(i) *Peio gezur ederrik kondatua da*
 lie big-part told is
 'Peio has (is) told big lies'

(7) The fact that the plural ergative nominal *gurasoek* agrees with the auxiliary is shown by the 3rd-ergative agreement displayed by the inflectional element; observe that singular ergative agreement should show up in the auxiliary if the singular ergative *Jonek* agreed with it.

sumption that the verb does not assign the same subject θ -role twice. Compare (25) with a regular sentence with double ergative in (26):

- (25) *Nik liburu hori idazleak dedikatua dut*
 I-E book that-A writer-E dedicated-det(sg)
 'I have this book dedicated by the writer'
- (26) **Nik idazleak dedikatu dut*
 I-E writer-E dedicated have

In the light of this discussion, we would like to suggest a different alternative which captures the general properties of these structures, analyzing them as instances of participial constructions entering into predicative relationships.

3. The predication analysis

The analyses discussed in the previous section consider the tensed verbal form as an auxiliary accompanying the 'main' verb, to which *-a(k)* is attached. As an alternative, we would like to suggest that *izan* 'be' and **edun* 'have' in (12) are 'main' verbs, used in structures of subject and object predication, respectively. According to this, the structures under investigation would be parallel to simpler ones like (27):

- (27) a. *Ni irakasle-a naiz*
 I-A teacher-det(sg) am
 I am a teacher
- b. *Miren eta Mikel lagun-ak ditut*
 Miren and Mikel-A friend-det(pl) 3A(pl)-1E
 Miren and Mikel are my friends/I have Miren and Mikel (as) friends

(27a) represents the typical copulative structure where an empty linking verb connects the subject argument and the predicate, the latter being predicated of the former.

In (27b) on the other hand, we find a structure of object predication typical of Basque: *ditut* 'I have them' acts as a semicopulative verb, and *lagunak* 'friends' is predicated of its object *Miren eta Mikel*. Both subject and object predicates agree with the c-commanding nominal element they are predicated about, as required in predication structures (Williams 1980). The determiners are agreement markers which spell out this predication relationship.

Although both tensed verbal forms in (27) are main verbs, they differ in terms of their thematic properties. As usually assumed, *izan* 'be' in (27a) is thematically empty, and its subject is not assigned a θ -role by the copulative verb, but by virtue of its entering into the predication relation. As for **edun* 'have', however, we can assume that it behaves like regular transitive predicates in assigning θ -role to both subject and object. This implies that the object in (27b) is θ -marked by both *dut* and the predication relation. Still, no violation of the θ -criterion results from situations of this type. Actually, the structure in question resembles that of unselected small clauses like (28):

(28) *John ate the meat raw*

Here *meat* gets a theme role from *ate* and is predicated about by *raw*. The two cases of θ -marking are different and distinguished in Basque, where partitive case can alternate with absolutes θ -marked by verbs but not in predication relations, a situation which would be expected if partitive were an inherent case (see Belletti 1988). Thus, in intransitive copulative structures neither subject nor predicate can be marked partitive:

- (29) a. ??*Auzokorik ez da ene lagun(a)*
 neighbor-part not is my friend-A
 No neighbor is my friend
 b. **Jende asko ez da ene lagunik*
 people many not is my friend-part
 Many people are not my friends

With transitive semicopulative structures, the object can receive partitive case, triggering indefinite agreement on the predicate. The latter, again, may not be case marked partitive:

- (30) a. *Auzokorik ez dut lagun*
 neighbor-part neg have(1E/3A) friend
 No neighbor is (I have him as) my friend
 b. **Jende asko ez dut lagunik*
 people many-A neg have friend
 Many people are not (I don't have them as) my friends

This may indicate that *dut* can function as a regular lexical verb θ -marking both its subject and its object.

Returning now to the structures in question, we would like to suggest that tenseless participial constructions can participate in the same range of predication relationships illustrated above. Quite generally, participles possess many adjectival characteristics (see Lafitte 1944), crucially among them the ability to modify nouns attributively, as in (31) or predicatively as in (32):

- (31) a. *etxe polit eta apaindu-a*
 house pretty and cleaned-det
 'a pretty and cleaned house'
 b. *jende nekatu-a*
 people tired-det
 'tired people'
- (32) a. *Jon liburu asko irakurri-a da*
 Jon-A book many-A read-det is
 'John is (has) read many books'
 b. *Liburua Jonek idatzi-a da*
 book-A Jon-E written-det is
 'The book is written by John'

- c. *Nik liburu hori irakurri-a dut*
 I-E book this-A read-det have
 'I have this book read'
 (Cfr. Sp. 'Tengo este libro leído')
- d. *Jonek paper hau sinatu-a ekarriko du bihar*
 Jon-E paper this-A signed-det bring aux tomorrow
 John will bring this paper signed tomorrow

The determiner marker *-a(k)* would then be identical with the agreement determiner in (31), certainly not any 'passive' morphology. If at all, the latter should be identified as the perfective ending (*-tu, -i, or -n* usually) attached to verbal roots to form participles, which are the citation form of the verb in Basque.

According to this approach, the structures in (32) would be biclausal, with a main verb (*izan* 'be', **edun* 'have' or *ekarri* 'bring') and a tenseless participial construction predicated about (and agreeing with) the absolutive nominal. Following the parallelism with nominalizations, where the nominal tenseless form of the verb is determined and/or case-marked, as in (34a) below, we will analyze the embedded tenseless clauses in (32) as DPs. As discussed above, the appearance of a determiner attached to the participle plays a crucial role in these structures.⁸ The elements which do not trigger agreement in the auxiliary cannot be freely scrambled, and need to remain in between the absolutive phrase and the determiner-taking participle. That is to say, they 'belong' to the domain of the determiner phrase, that can be defined as a DP (with an internal structure to be discussed later) which modifies the argument with absolutive case. Coming back to the simplest case, the structure of (32b) would be as in (33):

- (33) *Liburua [Jon-ek [e] idatzia] da*
 DP

Therefore, arguments in agreement relation with the auxiliary appear outside this DP, whereas those in no agreement relation with it are located inside the DP. Lack of agreement and word order constraints derive from the clause-bound nature of agreement and scrambling in Basque. Thus, the ergative subject of the embedded DP in (34a), a nominalization, does not agree with the matrix verb (34c), nor can it be scrambled with matrix arguments (34b):

- (34) a. *[Jonek gitarra jo -tze-a] Mireni gustatzen zaio*
 John-E guitar-A play-nom-det-A Mary-D like 3A/3D
 Mary likes (to see...) John playing the guitar
- b. **Gitarra jotzea Mireni Jonek gustatzen zaio*
- c. **[Jonek gitarra jotzea] Mireni gustatzen dio*
 3A/3D/3E

(8) Indeed, the presence of the determiner is the only difference setting apart the usage of the Basque counterpart of *written* as a regular participle (*I have written it*) or as heading an adjectival tenseless clause entering into the predication relation. This might be the reason why while the determiner is optional as an agreement marker with nominals or adjectives in some dialects, it is obligatory with participles.

The third characteristic of these constructions discussed in section 1, the apparent lack of auxiliary selection based on (in)transitivity, simply disappears once we claim the tensed form of the verb is not an auxiliary, but functions as a main verb. The possibility of using 'auxiliary verbs', usually *have* and *be*, as main verbs (or vice-versa), is well-attested in other languages. On top of the basic copulative-like usages illustrated in (27) above, some other constructions can be found in Basque, as shown in (35):

- (35) a. *Nik zuri inbidia dizut*
 I-E you-D envý-A HAVE(3A/2D/1E)
 I envy you/'I have envy to you'
- b. *Nik lana dut*
 job-A HAVE(3A/1E)
 I have a job
- c. *Hau ezina zait*
 this-A impossible BE(3A/1D)
 This is impossible for me

Therefore, in both (32) and (35) *izan* and **edun* would be main verbs associated with subject and object predication structures, respectively.

Similarly, the apparent coincidence between the case-marking of the *by*-phrase in the 'passive' analysis and the transitive subject marking is a spurious datum, since there is no *by*-phrase: ergative arguments in these structures correspond to transitive subjects of the embedded participial verb. In the same way, the 'demoted' object in an 'antipassive' like (32a) is marked absolutive because it is the object argument of the embedded verb.

Given that the tenseless embedded clause contains a participle, it is expected under this analysis that both transitive and intransitive participial DP's could be predicated of a subject or object nominal. This expectation is met, as shown in (36) and (37):

- (36) a. [*Parisen egon-a*] *naiz*
 Paris-in been-det 1Asg
 'I have (am) been to Paris'
- b. *Eskutitza* [*Parisetik bidali-a*] *da*
 -from sent-det 3Asg
 'The letter is sent from Paris'
- (37) a. [*Donostian bertan agertu-a*] *dugun lantxo bat*
 Donostia-in itself appeared-det 3A(sg)/1E(pl) work one
 'One article which has (we have it) appeared in Donostia'
- b. *Nik liburua* [*irakurri-a*] *dut*
 I-E book-A read-det 3A(sg)/1E(sg)
 'I have the book read'/I have read the book

- (38) a. *Ez haiz hi [kantaria izan-a]?*
 neg 2A(sg) you singer been-det
 'Aren't you [the one who has] been a singer?'
 b. [*Aldameneko lankide izan-a*] *dut*
 beside-of workmate been-det 3A(sg)/1E(sg)
 'He has been (I have him) a work companion (of mine)'

(36) provides examples of intransitive predication with transitive and intransitive verbs, while (37) does the same in structures of transitive predication. (38) shows that even a copulative clause can be predicated of a subject or object argument, something difficult to understand in the passive analysis but not unexpected in the predication analysis. The latter also explains why two ergatives may show up in object predication structures like (39):

- (39) a. (*nik*) *jertsei hori [pipiak jan-a] dut*
 I-E pullover that-A moth-E eaten-det
 'I have that pullover eaten by moth'
 b. (*guk*) *berria [etsaiek inguratu-a] dugu*
 we-E village-A enemy-E surrounded-det
 'We have the village surrounded by the enemies'
 c. (*nik*) *nobela [argitaletxe guztiek gaitzetsi-a] izan dut*
 novel-A publisher all-E rejected-det had
 'I have had my novel rejected by all publishers'

Since two independent transitive verbs are involved, each one may take a different subject. Sentences like the ones in (39) provide strong evidence against a monoclausal active analysis, as mentioned in section 2.2 above.⁹ After having made our proposal explicit, we turn in section 4 to a discussion of the internal structure of the embedded DP, followed by a brief overview of some of the theoretical issues raised by its analysis.

4. Internal structure of adjectival participial clauses.

We have identified the parenthesized element in the previous examples as a DP, headed by the determiner. This points at their parallelism with another prominent tenseless subordination type in Basque: nominalizations like the ones in (34). Both

(9) (39) shows that this situation may arise, there being no structural constraints against it. However, independent pragmatic factors make transitive predicative sentences with 'unlike subjects' uncommon. These are presumably the same factors which make simpler sentences like (i) unfelicitous, as opposed to (ii):

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (i) # <i>Miren zure ama dut</i> | (ii) <i>Miren ene ama dut</i> |
| Mary-A your mother 3A-1E | my |
| Mary is (I have her) your mother | Mary is (I have her) my mother |

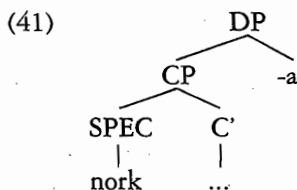
This indicates that the tendency to have an identical subject in the two clauses of a sentence like (37b) may be related to a construction specific pragmatic constraint. There are also semantic constraints which rule out many possible structures, usually deriving from the stative, resultative interpretation of these sentences.

include tenseless verbal forms, and may be determined and/or case-marked. Nominalizations may present the whole range of case markings available to Basque nominals, while participial clauses are restricted in that they can only receive the determiner via agreement, like predicative adjectives.¹⁰ The comparison with nominalizations is helpful in that it also illuminates another aspect of the construction, namely, the availability of subject case, usually assumed to be assigned by the tense inflection. In both constructions lexical subjects are allowed in spite of the lack of overt inflectional morphology, a situation which raises interesting problems with respect to Case Theory and which has been subject to extensive debate.¹¹

The complement of the determined head of DP would be a full CP structure, since clausal pied piping is possible, as in (40):

- (40) *[nork idatzi-a] da liburu hori?*
 who-E written-det is book that
 'Written by whom is that book?'

Assuming the *wh*-word in the embedded clause occupies the SPEC position of CP, and regardless of the specific analysis adopted for the operator-verb adjacency, a structure like (41) would be required:



Notice that the adjacency between *idatzia* 'written' and *zen* 'was' in (40) is the result of well-known characteristics of clausal pied piping in Basque (see Ortiz de Urbina 1989), and cannot be construed as evidence for a monoclausal analysis where the two form a single unit, as in simple clauses like (42):

- (42) *nork idatzi du liburu hau?*
 who-E written aux book this
 'Who has written this book?'

(10) Basque also presents argumental participial clauses, which, although more restricted than nominalizations, display a wider range of case marking possibilities. One example is (i):

- (i) *[Mikелеk egia esan (izan)-ak] poztu ninduen*
 Mikel truth said -det glad aux
 Mikel's saying the truth made me happy

Here the participial clause is marked ergative, corresponding to its role as transitive subject. Such sentences are not adjectival, and fall outside of the scope of this article.

(11) See Goenaga (1985) and Ortiz de Urbina (1989) for discussion. Recent proposals like Cheng and Demirdache (1989), following the INFL proliferation analysis of Laka (1988), and Oyharçabal (forthcoming), where ergative is treated as an inherent case, have opened new paths of research into this question. The analysis in Cheng and Demirdache, who suggest, based on independent reasons, that there exist three different projections of AGR whose heads assign case, could be made extensive in a trivial manner to the predication structures without tensed verb considered here.

The pied piping analysis explains why (40) is possible, as well as the grammaticality judgements in (43):

- (43) a. **Zer idatzia da Axularrek?*
 what-A written-det is Axular-E
 'What is written by Axular?'
 b. *Non izan zen idatzia Axularren liburua?*
 where was Axular-gen book
 'Where was Axular's book written?'

Sentence (43a) is ruled out by the same word-order constraints filtering (8c) out, since the embedded subj. *Axularrek* has been moved out of its DP; moreover, no V2 effects appear in the matrix clause. On the other hand, (43b) is possible, even though its simple clause counterpart would be ruled out in all southern dialects:

- (44) **Non (izan) zuen idatzi liburua?*
 aux written
 'Where did he write the book?'

(44) is ungrammatical due to the split between main verb and auxiliary, which, leaving negative clauses aside, make up an unbreakable unit. (43b) is grammatical because the form of the verb *izan* 'be' is not an auxiliary, but the matrix clause verb. Its acceptability is left unexplained in both the active and the passive monoclausal analysis reviewed in section 2. They follow from our analysis, given the existence of two full CP structures.

One crucial difference between the predication analysis propounded here and the passive analysis lies in the absence of NP-movement in the former. The passive analysis accounts for the interpretation of the absolutive argument in (45) as thematic object of the participle directly by positing a movement of the object to the subject position:

- (45) *Eskutitza [Jonek t idatzi-a] da*
 letter-A John-E written-det is
 'The letter is written by John'

On the other hand, we claim that the relationship is established via predication of the participial clause over the absolutive argument. We will further claim that, while predication is direct in the case of adjectives, it is mediated by empty operators (see Chomsky 1986 and Browning 1987) in the case of participles. Then, the participial structures under consideration would constitute 'open clauses' predicated of an external element whose connection with the clause is established by means of an (empty) operator. As shown in (46), this is parallel to the situation found in relative clauses:¹²

(12) See Oyarçabal (1989) for a discussion of the role of empty operators in relative clauses. Muysken (1989) develops an analysis of Quechua 'passivelike statives', which are closely parallel to Basque 'passives', in which the relationship between the gap in the perfective clause and the subject is also mediated by an empty operator.

- (46) a. *Eskutitza* [OP [*Jonek t idatzia*] *da*
 b. [OP [*Jonek t idatzi zuen*] *eskutitza...*
 written aux
 the letter that John wrote

The empty operator A-bar binds a gap in the argument position. The predication relationship identifies the content of the empty operator, which is coindexed with the subject of predication. This accounts for the apparent interpretation of the latter as an argument of the participle. On the other hand, we claim that there exist two distinct elements: the operator-argument and the subject of predication, linked in the manner indicated above.¹³

The empty operator analysis instantiates the basic intuition that participial structures are 'open clauses' linked to an external element by predication. This raises the question of how this property of participles is to be derived without stipulation.¹⁴ Standard analyses of passive structures usually assume passive morphology (*-en* in English, or *-n*, *-i* and *-tu* in Basque) to suppress or absorb the external θ -role of the base verb. As a consequence of Burzio's generalization (as yet unexplained), verbs not θ -marking their subject cannot assign case to their object, which must then move to a position where it can get case and become visible for the θ -criterion. In this structure, the relation between the gap in the open clause and the element the latter is

(13) The parallelism between the two structures in (46) is deeper, suggesting that the syntactic effects produced by the presence of an empty operator should be explored further. Thus, both structures display similar argument/adjunct asymmetries in pied piping:

- (i) a. *Nork idatzi duen liburua irakurri duzu?*
 who-E written aux book-A read aux
 'The book that who wrote have you read?'
 b. ??*Zergatik idatzi duen liburua irakurri duzu?*
 why
 'The book that (he) wrote why have you read?'
 (ii) a. *Nork idatzia da liburu hori?*
 'Written by whom is that book?'
 b. ??*Zergatik idatzia da liburu hori?*
 'Written why is that book?'

Moreover, both relatives and participial structures share the constraint ruling out preposed elements in pied piping. Contrast (iii) and (iv):

- (iii) [*Mireni* [zer eman diozula]] *uste dute?*
 Mary-D what give aux think aux
 'That what have you given to Mary do they think?'
 (iv) a. ??[*Mireni* {*nork eman dion*}] *liburua irakurri duzu?*
 who-E aux book-A
 'The book that who has given to Mary have you read?'
 b. ??[*Mireni* {*nork emana*}] *da eskutitza?*
 'To Mary by whom is the letter given?'

(14) As usual, we may have to differentiate predicative (and attributive) participles from the ones appearing as complements of auxiliary verbs, as in Basque (i) or its English translation:

- (i) *ikusi dut*
 seen have
 I have seen

It is not clear how the two participles are to be differentiated in a principled way. See Uribe-Etxeberria (1989) for a discussion on the possibility of treating the participle in (i) in a fashion similar to the one applied here to 'passive' constructions.

predicated about is identified as an argument-trace relation produced by NP-movement.

On the other hand, no absorption seems to take place in Basque, since the external argument shows up with its usual case, rather than as an adjunct like suppressed arguments. The absorption analysis also runs into problems with 'antipassive' structures. Here the object receives case as usual, a situation which, taking Burzio's generalization into account, is not compatible with the existence of a dethematized or absorbed subject. If there is no absorption, the gap in the open clause cannot be related with the absolutive element as if it were a case of movement. We have suggested above that the relationship is actually mediated by an empty operator. This explains why the range of possible predication relations is wider in Basque than in English. The empty operator must be identified and will therefore correspond to a verbal argument, typically a subject (antipassive) or a direct object (passives), but also, less frequently, an indirect object, as in (47):

- (47) *Jon* [*OP* [*t eskutitza bidali-a*] *da*
 John-A letter-A sent-det is
 'John was sent a letter'

Sentence (47) is actually ambiguous in Basque, since the operator may be construed as both the subject and indirect object of the participle. This range of gaps in the open participial clause, contrasting with the limited 'objective' interpretation of English passives, would follow from the different mechanisms and structures involved.¹⁵ For obvious reasons, the empty operator by itself lacks reference and cannot define the range of the variable it binds, so that it must receive its reference via predication. The operator selects then the closest nominal available, i.e., the absolutive nominal about which the participial clause is predicated.¹⁶

(15) As usual, the status of selected postpositional phrases is uncertain, although it seems that empty operators can also be identified in this context. One such case might be found in tenseless 'relative' clauses, where the participle, turned into an adverb by the affixation of the adverbial suffixes *-(r)ik* or *-ta*, is predicated of a noun. Thus, the gap in the participial clause in (i) corresponds to the locative complement of the verb, in the same way as the gap in the corresponding tensed relative clause (ii):

- (i) [*askotan egon-da-ko*] *lekua*
 often been-adv-gen place
 'a place often been at'
 (ii) [*atzo t egon nintzen*] *OP*] *lekua*
 yesterday been aux place
 the place where I was yesterday

The parallelism between relative clauses and participial predication structures has already been pointed out above.

Similarly, English sentences like (iii) contain participles atypically predicated of a selected non θ -marked phrase:

- (iii) *frequently travelled destinations*

(16) This predication relation would be one of mutual c-command, as in Williams (1980) if all absolutes in Basque correspond to D-objects. Thus, the 'subject' of predication would be an object in Basque cases. The mutual c-command requirement rules out indirect objects as subjects of predication in English, but not in Basque, where indirect objects may actually be predicated about, as in (i):

- (i) *Irudi horri ona deritzot*
 picture that-D good-det think
 'I believe [to] that picture (to be) good'

Notice incidentally that sentences like (i) provide evidence that the agreement between the adjective and the argument involves number, but not case.

If the presence of a gap is connected with an NP-movement operation triggered by case-theoretic considerations, as in the passive analysis of Basque participial clauses, it is not clear why the same type of 'open' character is shared by attributive participles, for which no movement analysis seems appropriate. Thus, the DPs in (48) contain participles modifying nouns which are interpreted as related to open positions in the θ -structure of the base verb:

- (48) a. *gizon ikasia*
 learned man
 b. *izen ahaztua*
 forgotten name
 c. *herri desagertuak*
 vanished villages

An empty operator analysis of (48) would also account for the predication relationship existing between the attributive participle and the noun it modifies, unifying both predicative and attributive usages in a way which is not easily feasible in the NP-movement analysis of passives.¹⁷

Many more questions arise in connection with participles in general, questions which reach well beyond the limits of this article. In this contribution we have argued that a whole range of structures in Basque which contain determined participles are not to be analyzed as monoclausal (passive or active), but actually contain an embedded participial clause. This participial clause is predicated of an absolutive nominal in subject or object position.¹⁸ This intransitive and transitive predication ty-

(17) As suggested in Levin and Rappaport (1986), the categorial conversion of the verbal base into an adjectival participle might require that the latter be predicated of some element, since adjectives are licensed by entering into a predication relationship. If the external argument in English is suppressed, the participles would have to be predicated about one of their internal arguments. As usual, the θ -role assigned by, say, an attributive participle via predication would not be incompatible with the θ -role assigned in the matrix clause to the noun the participial clause modifies. Categorical conversion from V to ADJ may be still followed by conversion from ADJ to N, just as with regular adjectives:

- (i) *esan-ak*
 said-A(pl)
 'sayings'
 (ii) *Bestek hartu zuen [hark utzi-a]*
 other-E take aux he-E left-det
 Another one took on what he left

There is one area where the parallelism between participial clauses and nominalizations is not clear. The heads of nominalizations and noun phrases share the feature [+N], differing with respect to their specification for [\pm V]. Nominalizations ([+V]) permit as many arguments and adjuncts as regular tensed clauses, marking them with the same endings, while nominals ([-V]) are restricted in the possible number of elements they contain and in the marking system employed (genitive marking). Participial clauses are also 'verbal' in that they can take arguments which are marked in the same way as in tensed clauses. However, they seem to pattern with non-verbal adjective phrases as to the restriction on the number of elements they contain: they are already felt to be rather 'heavy' with two elements and their acceptability decreases if more are added. Actually, many of these constructions are felt to be at best bookish in Basque (at worst, calques from Spanish).

(18) In fact, the analysis presented here makes explicit a traditional approach to these constructions which has occasionally surfaced in Basque studies. Thus, Brettschneider (1979) states that the Basque 'so-called passive' construction 'looks like a predicative statement' similar to basic copulative structures with **izan* 'be'. He also points out that the same constructions is also possible with intransitive verbs.

Similarly Wilbur (1979) claims these 'passive sentences are nothing but stative predicate adjective constructions' (pg. 162, footnote 8).

pically involves the use of *izan* 'be' and *edun* as 'main' verbs with a copulative or semicopulative usage. We have also claimed that the relationship between the subject of predication and the argument in the thematic structure of the verb with which it is identified is established via empty operators, in much the same way as the relation between the antecedent and the gap is established in relative clauses. This captures the idea that participles are open elements which need to be predicated of some argument which 'fills' one of their argumental slots.

References

- Belletti, A., 1988, "The Case of Unaccusatives", *LI*, 19.1, 1-34.
- Brettschneider, G., 1979, "Typological Characteristics of Basque", in F. Plank ed. *Ergativity*, Academic Press, New York 1979, 371-384.
- Browning, M., 1987, *Null Operator Constructions*, MIT doctoral dissertation.
- Cheng, L. and Demirdache, H., 1989, "Resolving the Conflict Between Morphology and Syntax in Basque", ms. MIT.
- Chomsky, N., 1986, *Barriers*, The MIT Press, Cambridge.
- , 1989, "Some Notes on Economy and Derivation and Representation", ms. MIT.
- Goenaga, P., 1985, "Complementización y Nominalización en Euskara", *ASJU*, XIX-2, 495-570.
- Jaeggli, O., 1986, "Passive", *LI*, 17.4, 587-622.
- Lafitte, P., 1944, *Grammaire Basque (Navarro-Labourdin Litteraire)*, Elkar, Donostia (1979).
- Laka, I., 1988, "Configurational Heads in Inflectional Morphology: The Structure of the Inflected Forms in Basque", *ASJU*, XXII-2, 343-365.
- Levin B. and M. Rappaport, 1986, "The Formation of Adjectival Passives", *LI*, 17.4, 623-661.
- Maracz L. and P. Muysken eds., 1989, *Configurationality. The Typology of Asymmetries*, Foris, Dordrecht.
- Muysken, P., 1989, "Predication Chains", *LI*, 20.4, 627-645.
- Ortiz de Urbina J., 1989, *Parameters in the Grammar of Basque*, Foris, Dordrecht.
- Oyharçabal, B., 1989, "Pro-drop and the Resumptive Pronoun Strategy in Basque", in L. Maracz and P. Muysken eds. 1989, 63-84.
- , forthcoming. "Ergaccusativity", to appear in J. I. Hualde and J. Ortiz de Urbina eds., *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics*.
- Rebuschi, G., 1983, "Autour du Parfait et du Passif Basques", in *Piarres Lafitte-ri Omenaldia, Euskaltzaindia*, Pamplona 1983, 545-558.
- , 1986, "Diathese et non-configurationalité: L'exemple du Basque", *Actances* 2, 175-207.
- , 1989, "Is There a VP in Basque?", in L. Maracz and P. Muysken eds. 1989, 85-116.
- Stowell, T., 1981, *Origins of Phrase Structure*, MIT Ph. D. dissertation.
- Uribe-Etxebarria, M., 1989, "Argument Transfer vs. Predication: a Speculative Trip around the Structure of IP in Basque", ms. Uconn.
- Wilbur, T. H., 1979, *Prolegomena to a Grammar of Basque*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Williams, E., 1980, "Predication", *LI*, 11.2, 203-238.
- , 1983, "Against Small Clauses", *LI*, 14.2, 287-308.