

PARTITIVE ASSIGNMENT IN BASQUE*

I. Prefixes and Suffixes

This paper will deal with some of the syntax and semantics of a particular suffix of Basque. An introductory discussion of the role that suffixes play in Basque grammar may therefore be useful to those readers who are not familiar with the language.

Joseph Greenberg, in his famous article "Some Universals of Grammar" classifies Basque (p. 106) as an "exclusively suffixing" language. If taken to imply the absence of prefixes from the language, this claim is certainly false. There are prefixes in Basque. They play indeed a most conspicuous role in the morphology of verbs. The person markers of the absolutive (i.e. nominative as opposed to ergative) case are prefixes: *n-*, *b-*, *d-*, etc., as in: *nator* "I am coming", *bator* "you are coming", *dator* "he is coming" and similarly: *nakar* "he is bringing me", *hakar* "he is bringing you", *dakar* "he is bringing him".

In some tenses and moods, the person markers of the ergative case are also prefixes. To take just one example, we have the following forms of the conditional: *nuke* "I would have", *hukeek*, *huken* "you (male, female) would have", *luke* "he (she, it) would have". Other incontrovertible prefixes are: conditional *ba-*, as in *banator* "if I am coming", *bannu* "if I had" and causal *bait-* as in *bainator* "for (or. 'since') I am coming", *bainuen* "for (or. 'since') I had".

Yet, Greenberg is not far off the mark. In derivational morphology, prefixes are extremely scarce, though, it is true, not altogether lacking. As announced by its title. I. M. Echaide's book *Tratado de sufijación, prefijación y composición en el idioma euskaro* (2nd ed., Tolosa 1931) contains a section on prefixation. Many of his alleged examples, however, are not examples of prefixation but of composition. For instance, the formatives *basa-* "wild", *asta-* "wild" and *ugaz-* "foster-, step-", which occur e.g. in *basakatu* "wildcat", *astamats* "wild raisin", *ugazama* "foster mother", are nothing but regular allomorphs of the nouns *baso* "woods", *asto*¹ "donkey" and *ugatz* "breast", used whenever they occupy the position of the first element in a compound.²

* ASJU VI (1972), 130-173.

¹ Other names of animals are used in the same way. We find e.g.: *suge-ijipula*, "wild onion" (lit. "snake-onion"); *otsoportu*, "wild leek" (lit. "wolf-leek"); "wild cherry" (lit. "pig-cherry") and *txori-mats* "wild raisin" (lit. "bird-raisin"). For "wild onion" there are also the Bizcayan forms *erroi-keipula* (lit. "raven-onion") and *sopakijipula* (lit. "toad-onion"). Data from Plácido Múgica *Diccionario castellano-vasco*, p. 1.644.

² For the regularity of the change of final *o* to *a* in disyllabic first members of compounds, see *FHV*, 6.1 (i.e. Luis Michelena, *Fonética histórica vasca*). For the *-x / -tx* alternation in *ugatz*, see *FHV*, 14.6.

Likewise, formations with the negative *ez-* as the first element such as *ez-jakin* “ignorant”, *ez-ikasi* “unlessoned”, *ez-axol* “careless”, can also be considered examples of compounding, since *ez* occurs as an independent word meaning “not” or “no”. Another example of Echaide’s, *baldin* is clearly an independent word, for, along with the phrase *iñor baldin badator* “if anyone comes”, we also find *baldin iñor badator* with the same meaning.

A more difficult case to evaluate is that of the models *al* (an interrogative for yes-no questions), *bide* (indicates high probability), *ote* (dubitative) and *omen* (“reportedly”, “as they say”).³

Azkue and other grammarians call them “modal prefixes of the finite verb”, a designation that seems appropriate enough in the light of their syntactic behavior. Yet, personally, I would prefer to consider them as particles (i.e. independent words) that obligatorily turn into proclitics in the presence of a finite verb. The reason I am reluctant to put them down as mere prefixes is that affixes normally (that is, in non-metalinguistic contexts) cannot survive without a stem supporting them, whereas some of the elements of this class can occur independently in contexts where the finite verb has been deleted. So, for instance, *ote* in examples like the following: *Nork ikusi du? Zuk ote?* “Who has seen him? You perhaps?”, *Neronek ikusi det. —Ba ote?* “I have seen him myself. —Really?” *Iñork ez du ikusi. —Ez ote?* “Nobody has seen him. —Really?” *Hark esaten duena... lege ote... enuskaldunontzat?* “(Is) what he says... perhaps the law... for us Basques?”.

In this last example, which is taken from *Mitxelaren idazlan hautatuak* (p. 397), the copula *da* “is” has been deleted by an as yet poorly understood stylistic rule, and the remaining particle *ote* gives the sentence the rhetorical flavor it has: it is a queclarative in the sense of Sadock.⁴

My impression about these modal items is that they are on their way to becoming prefixes, but have not quite made it yet all the way.⁵

³ The glosses here are only a rough approximation. They do not justice to the syntactic and semantic complexities of these items. A long and probably very interesting dissertation could be written on this subject, preferably by a native speaker.

⁴ See Jerrold M. Sadock, “Queclaratives”, published in: *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting Chicago Linguistic Society*, (1971), 223-231.

⁵ In past centuries, the positional restrictions on these modal particles were less stringent than they are nowadays. In the first work printed in Basque, Etxepare’s *Linguae vasconum primitiae* (1545) *ote* is not attested, but, about a hundred years later, we find it occurring several times in Oihenarte’s poetry, published in 1657. There *ote* (pronounced *othe*) could either precede or follow the finite verb. Among the examples are: *ba daidita othe buts...?* (“Would I be making a mistake?”) (0.11; = II, p. 1300, ... *hutsik othe daidita?* (“Would I be making a mistake?”) (0.130; = XIII, p. 172). *Amets al’egia d’ote nik enzuna* (“Is what I have heard a dream of the truth?”) (0.57; = VI, p. 149). Here *d’ote* is poetic licence for *da ote*.

Azkue in his *Morfología vasca* (II, p. 469) claims that sentences like *Badoa ote* (“Maybe he is (already) coming”) and *Eztoa ote* (“Maybe he is not coming”) are frequently heard non-interrogatively, although not in the Bizcayan dialect: “Fuera del B, se oye mucho separado del verbo cuando no se trata de preguntar.” Like-wise, *omen*, according to Azkue, may either precede or follow the verb: “Casi indistintamente se dicen *etorri omen dira* o *etorri dira omen*, ‘dicen que (es fama que) han venido’”. (*Morfología vasca* II, p. 470). Compare also Azkue’s *Diccionario vasco-español-francés* (11, p. 109), where *berant ibili dire omen*, is given as a possible variant in the Labourdin dialect of *berant ibili omen dira*, “It is rumored the they have been walking late”.

The most obvious examples of prefixes in derivational morphology are *arra-*, “re-”; *des-*, “un-” and *birr-/berr-*, “re-”.

Arra- is restricted to Souletin and Low-Navarrese. It combines with a fairly large number of verbs and with some relational nouns, eg: *jin* “come”, *arrajin* “return”; *egin* “make”, *arregin* “remake”; *phiztu* “light up”, *arraphiztu* “relight”; *seme* “son”, *arraseme* “grandson”; *lloba* “nephew” or “niece”, *arralloba* “great-nephew” or “greatniece”; *maiatz* “May”, *arramaiatz* “June”.

Des- is common to all Basque dialects. It combines only with a very small number of native adjectives and verbs. So we have e.g.: *berdin* “equal”, *desberdin* “unequal”; *egoki* “appropriate”, *desegoki* “inappropriate”; *egin* “do”, *desegin* “undo”.

From *jantzzi* “dress”, however, we do not have **desjantzzi* “undress”, but *erantzzi* “undress”, which, curiously enough, has the form of an old causative of *jantzzi*.

Both prefixes are evidently of Romance origin. They must have entered the language via a large scale borrowing of Romance words containing them, so that the prefixes and their meaning became psychologically real to the speakers of Basque. As the examples show, they can now be combined with purely native stems as well.

The prefix *birr-/berr-* is of native origin. We find it in: *birresan* “repeat” (*esan*, “say”); *birlandatu* “replant” (*landatu* “plant”), *berpiztu* “resuscitate” (*piztu* “animate”), *berrerosi* “buy back” (*erosi* “buy”).

Our discussion so far is enough to show that Greenberg’s assessment of Basque as an exclusively suffixing language cannot stand unamended. Still, on the other hand, it is very nearly correct. Even when one chooses to include all of the doubtful cases, the prefixes still are a negligible minority as compared with the overwhelming number⁶ of suffixes that Basque draws upon for the formation of its lexical items. Moreover, case relationships are signalled exclusively by suffixes. In this limited sense, Basque indeed is an exclusively suffixing language.

The following sentence will serve as an illustration of the way cases are marked in Basque: *Ijitoak emakumeari bi musu eman zizkion masailean*. “The gypsy gave the woman two kisses on the cheek”.

The suffix *-ê* (called “the ergative suffix”) marks the noun *ijitoa* “the gypsy” as the subject of a transitive verb, here of *eman* “given”. The suffix *-ri* marks the noun *emakumea* “the woman” as an indirect object (dative). The absence of a suffix on *bi musu* “two kisses” marks it as a direct object, or, more precisely, as either a direct

In both cases talking about the construction with the particle following the verb, Azkue appears to be referring to contemporary usage: “se oye mucho”, “se dicen”. Still, Azkue was born in 1864 and his contemporaries are no longer ours. Although I have not carried out extensive field work on this question, my feeling is that the particles mentioned can no longer be postposed to the finite verb in any part of the Basque area. The evidence for this includes the corpus of folkstories and other ethnographic materials from many different regions of the Basque country collected by Don José Miguel de Barandiarán and his students, published in four volumes as *El mundo en la mente popular vasca*, Colección Auñamendi, San Sebastián 1960-62. The great majority of the material was collected between 1920 and 1936, but some folktales (from Ataun) go back as far as the beginning of the first decade of this century. As we would expect from the nature of the material, the particle *omen* (including its local variations, such as *emen*) occurs with great frequency; however, we invariably find it in the position immediately preceding the finite verb, and often written together with it as one word. The same is true for the less frequent particles *ote* and *bide*.

⁶ For a list of the most important suffixes, see P. Lafitte, *Grammaire basque*, § 83-86.

object or a subject of an intransitive verb. This unmarked case is called the "absolutive". Finally, the suffix *-n* of *masailean* "on the cheek" marks it as a locative. The form *zizkeion* is a transitive auxiliary of the past tense, which includes reference to a third person singular subject, a third person plural object, and a third person singular indirect object.

The case suffixes are added only to the last element of a phrase; thus, "to the very beautiful woman" translates as *emakume oso ederrari*, and not as **emakumeri osori ederrari*.

A conjoint expression may often be regarded either as one phrase, and hence supplied with a single suffix, or as a conjunction of two or more phrases, and hence with a suffix on each phrase. Thus, corresponding to the English sentence "Edurne and Nekane have done it", both *Edurnek eta Nekanek egin dute* and *Edurne ta Nekanek egin dute* are possible. (The conjunction "and" is *ta* after a vowel, and *eta* after a consonant).

Nothing resembling the various declensions of some of the Indo-European languages, like Latin, Greek, Sanskrit or Slavic, is found in Basque. The same case relationship is always signalled by the same suffix,⁷ similar to what happens in the Uralic or the Altaic languages.

Because of all this, the case suffixes of Basque are more similar to the prepositions of English or, for that matter, Spanish or French, that they are to the case endings of the Indo-European languages mentioned earlier. For this reason, then, I will often use the term "postposition" (i.e. a syntactic unit just like a preposition, except that it is put after the noun instead of before), when I am referring to a suffix signalling a case relationship. To one of these suffixes, namely *-rik*, the rest of this paper will be devoted.

II. The suffix *-rik*: views of older grammarians

The postposition *-rik*, whose *r* drops after a consonant,⁸ has been given different names by different grammarians. The first author to mention the suffix was Oihenart, on page 59 of his work *Notitia utriusque vasconiae*, published in 1638 in Paris. He called it "negative".⁹

Larramendi includes a discussion of it in his famous grammar *El imposible vencido*, published in 1729 in Salamanca, and claims that it is something special, not found in Spanish, French or any other language. He considers it an article, in fact, two articles:

Además de los artículos explicados, tiene el bascuence otros especiales para todo nombre apelativo que no tiene el romance ni otras lenguas. En el nominativo

⁷ It must be observed, however, that semantically animate nouns cannot take locational case suffixes directly, but only via an intervening element *-gan-*. Thus *etxetik* "from the house" but *ijitoarengandik* "from the gypsy".

⁸ In most of the grammatical literature, the form of the suffix is considered to be simply *-ik*, the *r* being viewed as epenthetic element inserted in nominal declensions to avoid certain vowel sequences considered cacophonous. I have argued against this view in my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. language", *FLV* 1 (1969), on pages 336-338.

⁹ I am indebted for this reference to Lécuse, *Grammaire basque* (Toulouse-Bayonne, 1826), p. 82.

y acusativo de singular tiene otros dos artículos, *ic*, *ric*, que sirven con frecuencia, especialmente en ciertos modos de hablar, como cuando preguntamos o negamos alguna cosa. No se usan ambos promiscuamente, sino unas veces uno y otras veces otro. Sea, pues, la regla, que si el nombre se acaba en consonante, tiene lugar el *ic*, v.g.: *mutil*, *guizon* se acaban en consonante, y por eso *mutilic eztagó*, no hay ningún muchacho, *guizonic agueri ezjá*, no parece hombre alguno. Pero si el nombre se acabare en vocal, sólo tiene lugar el *ric*, v.g.: *ogui*, *buru* se acaban en vocal, y por eso *badezú oguiric?*, tienes algún pan? *bururic ezjú*, no tiene juicio. (§ II, pp. 8-9).

Azkue, the great Basque grammarian of the recent past —he died in 1951— follows Larramendi in considering *-rik* an article. In his *Diccionario vasco-español-francés* (1905) he calls it “artículo no afirmativo e indeterminado” (1, p. 400) and adds: “Se usa en negaciones, dudas, condiciones, interrogaciones, etc.; diferenciándose de los artículos *-a* y *-o* en que éstos se usan en afirmaciones concretas”. He also observes that *-rik* can be used only in the absolutive (i.e. nominative) case: “Diferéncianse también los artículos afirmativos y el no afirmativo, en que éste se usa sólo con pacientes o acusativos». In his later work *Morfología vasca* (1923), he uses the term ‘artículo abstracto’ for *-rik*, and opposes it to the “artículo genérico” *-a* and the ‘artículo concreto’ (he also says “concretivo”) *-o* (§ 427).

Nearly a century earlier, Léchuse (*Grammaire basque*, 1826) also made a threefold distinction, not between three kinds of articles, but between three kinds of nominatives: “nominatif”, “nominatif actif” (i.e. ergative *-k*) and “nominatif négatif”, his name for the suffix *-rik*. He remarks (p. 83): “Ce nominatif négatif peut être considéré comme un partitif; en effet, si l’on veut exprimer en basque ces phrases: *Je n’ai pas d’argent, a-t-il de l’argent?* on ne peut dire autrement que: *Ez dut diruric, badu diruric?*”

The same two examples *Ez dut diruric, badu diruric?* had already occurred in Harriet’s *Gramatica escuaraz eta francesez* (1741), from which Léchuse probably took them. Harriet, however, contents himself with stating: “*aitaric, aitarenic* signifient le [sic] non possession de la personne ou de la chose” (p. 450) and then cites a few examples.

The parallel Léchuse draws between *-rik* and the partitive in French meets with stern disapproval on the part of Van Eys. The Dutch bascologist expresses his views as follows:

Ik, par conséquent, à ceux qui expliquent le basque par la langue française, a paru correspondre à ‘de’. Mais *ik* correspond plutôt à un pluriel indéfini. Dans la plupart des cas, l’indéfini est un pluriel ou peut s’expliquer par un pluriel et *ik* n’est pas un suffixe correspondant à la préposition ‘de’, *ik* est, croyons-nous, le signe de pluralité *k* précédé de *i*. (*Grammaire comparée des dialectes basques*, Paris, 1879, p. 39).

It is not necessary for us to criticize this idea in any detail. Van Eys speaks of *i* as an intermediary vowel characteristic of the indefinite plural (p. 35), but his whole theory of the intermediary vowels *a*, *e*, *i* and *o* in Basque (Chap. VI, § 3, 4, 5, 6) has no factual basis. His *i* cannot be identified with the dative suffix *-ri*, which is always word-final. Moreover, noun phrases ending in the suffix *-rik* are always syntactically singular, never plural. On the preceding page (p. 38), Van Eys himself quotes an

example (from Mendiburu) that shows this: ...*ez dute bear lukeen enskarasko libururik* "They don't have the Basque books he would need". If *enkarasko libururik* "Basque books" was plural, the verb forms *dituzte* and *litukeen* would have been used instead of *dute* and *lukeen*. But with *dituzte* and *litukeen* the sentence would have been ungrammatical, since nouns with the suffix *-rik* are not construed as plural in Basque.

We now leave Van Eys and pass on to another grammarian, Jean Ithurry, a parish priest of Sara, who devoted the last years of his life to composing a Basque grammar. He died in 1895, but his work did not come out as a book until 1920. The first part of his *Grammaire basque* deals with case suffixes. Among them we find *-rik*, explicitly referred to as "le suffixe du partitif" (Chap. I, Art. II, p. 2). The third part of the book deals with syntax.¹⁰

The partitive is treated in § 470 (p. 431), where we find enumerated four circumstances under which it is used:

Au partitif se place:

- 1.º Le nom qui vient après l'interrogation, il y a? et il n'y a point?.¹¹
- 2.º L'état, la position, la posture dans lesquels on est, a, reste, demeure, laisse.¹²
- 3.º Après assez de...¹³
- 4.º Après le superlatif.

Aside from a dozen examples taken from the literature, which I have not reproduced, this is all the author has to say about the use of the partitive.

We get better results with the next two authors. Gavel and Lafitte. With them, of course, we are reaching well into the twentieth century. Henri Gavel, in his *Grammaire basque* (Bayonne 1929), a truly outstanding work, has a five-page section (Chap. II, § 54) entitled "Le discédent et le partitif" where he treats the suffixes *-tik* "from", "through", and *-rik*. These two, according to him, were originally one and the same. That is certainly plausible, but a discussion of this would lead us beyond

¹⁰ I can't refrain from mentioning as a curiosity that the first chapter of this part is headed: "Chapitre I, Syntaxe des noms des saints".

¹¹ After this, the author gives four examples, none of them interrogative. I will transcribe the first one here, because it contains no less than five partitive forms: *Prudentei gobernatzen bazare ez da izanen ez aitarik, ez amarik, ez senbarrik ez emazterik maiz komuniatzetik debekatu nabiko zaituenik*, "If you behave wisely, there won't be any father, any mother, any husband or any wife who will want to stop you from receiving Holy Communion often". Especially interesting is the partitivization of the pseudo-extraposited relative clause *maiz komuniatzetik debekatu nabiko zaituen* "who will want to stop you from receiving Holy Communion often". For the notion of pseudo-extrapolation see pages 129-131 of my paper "Relative Clauses in Basque: A. Guided Tour", in Peranteau, Levi, Phares (eds), *The Chicago Which Hunt* (C.L.S., Chicago, 1972), pp. 115-135. [Included in this volume].

¹² None of the Basque grammarians, not even Gavel or Lafitte, distinguishes partitive *-rik* from stative *-rik*. There are, however, both semantic and syntactic reasons for doing so, as can be seen from the end of section III of this paper.

¹³ The phrasing here, of course, is nonsensical. Such a lapsus reminds us of the fact that Ithurry's treatment of syntax in Part III, or at least a great deal of it, is best considered as a collection of notes of the author to himself, to be worked out later, rather than as a manuscript ready for publication. Ithurry, unfortunately, died before he could bring his task to a proper end.

the scope of this paper, which is not concerned with etymology. Certain is that nowadays all Basque dialects do distinguish ablative and partitive.

Gavel had, of course, read Van Eys's *Grammaire comparée*; even so, he is not afraid to use the French partitive as a term of comparison in describing the use of the Basque suffix. We quote:

Le partitif a plusieurs emplois, assez différents les uns des autres. Le plus important est de rendre, dans les phrases négatives ou interrogatives, l'idée exprimée par le partitif français formé à l'aide de la préposition *de* (combinée ou non, suivant les cas, avec l'article défini), lorsque ce partitif français est, au point de vue basque, sujet réel du verbe. Ex:

Ogirik nabi duzuia? 'Voulez-vous du pain?'

Etzen urik 'Il n'y avait pas d'eau'. (Chap. II, p. 32).

Now, we may criticize Gavel's formulation, and rightly so, for it is somewhat infelicitously phrased; yet, he succeeds in making clear three things: (i) *-rik* is a semantic equivalent of the French partitive, but (ii), unlike the latter, it is restricted to negative and interrogative contexts and (iii) to the absolutive (i.e. nominative) case. Of all previous studies, only Azkue's (*Diccionario vasco-español-francés* I, p. 400) achieved this much insight.

On page 34. Gavel mentions what he calls another use of the partitive in Basque, namely, with past participles and some adjectives in the function of an ablative absolute. I consider this a separate suffix, not synchronically related to the partitive; cf. the end of my section III. There are still a few other observations on the partitive in Gavel's book; I will mention some of them further on in this paper.

Finally, in Pierre Lafitte's *Grammaire basque* (Bayonne, 1944), we find the partitive as one of the twelve cases the author distinguishes in Basque (Chap. VII, § 122). Like his predecessors, he collapses partitive *-rik* and stative *-rik*, which together make up his partitive case. He presents a bare list of its various uses in Chap. XXXIV, § 856, and gives a slightly more extensive treatment in Chap. III, § 160, on how to translate the French partitive article into Basque, and in § 161: "Emplois particuliers du cas partitif basque" ("Some special uses of the Basque partitive case").

I am indebted for some valuable information to these and other sections of Lafitte's book, but I will make no attempt to summarize them here, as the book is readily available and should be part of the library of anyone interested in Basque.

We have seen that many Basque grammarians use the term "partitive" when talking about the suffix *-rik*. I will do the same, for the similarity with the French partitive is too striking to be ignored: even though the conditions under which the Basque partitive occurs are much more restricted than those that govern the use of the French construction of the same name.

A partitive is a form typically used for presenting a quantity the exact size of which is not known or is irrelevant. To illustrate with a French example, we have: *Il y a des gitans en France*. "There are gypsies in France". With a well-defined quantity the partitive preposition *de* cannot be used: *Il y a vingt mille gitans en France*. "There are twenty thousand gypsies in France" and not: **Il y a des vingt mille gitans en France*.

In Basque, the use of the partitive suffix in affirmative contexts is subject to severe limitations:

(1)a *Ijitorik ba da Frantzian.

If uttered with normal, purely declarative, intonation, (1)a is ungrammatical in all dialects.¹⁴ The partitive *-rik* cannot appear here, the plural article¹⁵ *-ak* must be used:

(1)b Ijitoak ba dira Frantzian. "There are gypsies in France".

The verb form here is plural too: *dira* "are" instead of *da* "is", since the subject of the existential verb *izan* "be" is the plural form *ijitoak* "gypsies".

In the Northern dialects of Basque, the partitive can be used with declarative intonation in affirmative contexts when the head of the noun phrase carries a modifier of certain types, as we will see in section V.

III. Basic uses of the partitive

Most instances of partitive *-rik* arise as the result of a transformation, which I will call Partitive Assignment, to be discussed in section IV. The theoretical status of *-rik* in the grammar, however, is not merely that of a transformationally introduced element. Some instances of *-rik* are basic; that is, they are to be accounted for by the base rules of the grammar.¹⁶ The basic uses of *-rik* can be distinguished from the derived uses by means of two criteria, both of which must be satisfied:

¹⁴ Contrary to this affirmation, I know of one Guipúzcoan author, Salvador Garmendia born in Zaldibia, who does use the partitive in purely declarative sentences such as (1)a. In a play, published in the journal *Egan*, he writes: *Beti izan degu borondaterik* "We have always had will" *Egan* 29 (1969), p. 111). Cf. French: *Nous avons toujours eu de la volonté*. His sentence is rejected by all my informants. According to L. Michelena, in Zaldibia like everywhere else, people would say: *Beti izan degu borondatea*, without the partitive.

Garmendia has translated various literary works from French into Basque, among those Camus, *Les Justes* and St. Exupéry, *Le Petit Prince*. Thus it is possible that Garmendia has allowed the syntax of his native language to be influenced by that of French. He seems to have developed a particular predilection for the partitive construction, for in his translation of *Le Petit Prince*, he used it, creating an ungrammatical sentence, where the original French version does not have a partitive: *Hemengo ibiztariek ba dute ritorik: ...* "The local hunters have rites:..." (p. 70). The French has: *Il y a un rite, par exemple, chez mes chasseurs*. Thus, it seems that the statement in the text can be left without further qualifications.

¹⁵ The singular article *-a* and its plural *-ak* are usually definite. However, in the morphologically unmarked case (i.e. the absolutive, or nominative), they can also be indefinite, as e.g. in existential clauses, such as (1)b. I cannot go into the details here, since the conditions under which this happens are highly complex and there are at least three geographically coexisting systems. I am hoping to throw some light on this problem in a later publication.

¹⁶ I do not mean to take a stand here with regard to the controversial question as to just how categories such as prepositions, postpositions, case endings and the like are to be generated, either in universal grammar or in the grammar of Basque. All I want to say is that some instances of *-rik* are generated in the same way, and exist at the same level of structure, as the other postpositions of Basque.

- (i) In its basic use, *-rik* functions as a postposition: it indicates a grammatical relation between two constituents.
- (ii) The basic use of *-rik* can occur in all sentence types, including positive assertions.

In accordance with these criteria, two —possibly related— uses of *-rik* are clearly basic; namely, the use of *-rik* in superlative constructions, and the use of *-rik* in quantifier constructions.

a) *Superlative constructions*

- (2a) Arantxa emakumerik ederrena da. "Arantxa is the most beautiful of women".

-en being the superlative suffix, *ederren* is the superlative form of *eder* "beautiful", *-a* is an article; the noun *emakume* "woman" carries the suffix *-rik*.

- (2b) Ijitorik geienak ederrak dire. "Most gypsies are beautiful".

The form *geien* "most" contains the superlative suffix *-en*, and also acts like a superlative form in allowing the partitive *-rik* on the preceding noun *ijito* "gypsy". *-ak* is the plural of the article *-a*, added here to the adjective *eder* "beautiful" by a rule of concord operative in all Basque dialects except Souletin and Roncalese.

- (2c) Zugaitz onen fruturik leena ijitoari eman bear zaio. "The first fruit of this tree must be given to the gypsy".

The adjective *leen* "first" functions as a superlative. It induces the partitive on the noun it modifies, in our example, *frutu* "fruit". The same is true for the adjective *azken* "last", but not for the ordinals *bigarren* "second", *irugarren* "third", and so on. Thus, we can have: *zugaitz onen fruturik azkena* "the last fruit of this tree", but never **zugaitz onen fruturik bigarena* "the second fruit of this tree".

In contemporary usage, at least in Guipúzcoa and Bizcaya, the partitive in superlative constructions is optional. Instead of it, the bare noun may be used, with no difference in meaning: *emakume ederrena* "the most beautiful woman"; *ijito geienak* "most gypsies"; *zugaitz onen frutu leena* "the first fruit of this tree".

b) *Quantifier constructions.*

- (3a) Ijitorik askorekin itzegin degu. "We have talked with many gypsies".
- (3b) Axeterrik aski duzu. "There are plenty of doctors" (Etxepare, *Linguae vasconum primitiae*, p. 100).
- (3c) Naiko gerlarik degu. "We have got enough war".
- (3d) I bezelako euskaldunik ba dek makina bat. "There are a lot of Basques like you" (D. Aguirre, *Gara*, p. 95).

These are all positive assertions where the presence of a quantifier induces the partitive form of the quantified noun phrase. Thus in (3)d, *euskaldun* "Basque" has

the partitive postposition because it is in construction with the quantifier *makiña bat* ‘a lot’. Most parts of Northern Guipúzcoa (e.g. Zarauz, San Sebastián, Oyarzun) have abandoned this use of the partitive in affirmative sentences. They say *ijito asko* instead of *ijitorik asko*.¹⁷ To (3)d, they prefer (3)e or (3)f.

- (3)e I bezelako makina bat euskaldun ba dek.
 (3)f I bezelako euskalduna ba dek makiña bat.
 (The meaning of (3)e or (3)f is the same as that of (3)d).

This practice is to be viewed as an innovation. That the partitive in quantifier constructions was once common all over the area, is shown by frozen expressions such as *eskerrik asko* ‘many thanks’, alongside of which there is no **esker asko*.

In this subsection, too, belongs the use of the partitive in exclamations. Consider the sentences:

- (3)g Ba da ijitorik Españían! ‘There are in Spain an awful lot of gypsies!’
 (3)h Ijitorik ba da Españían! ‘An awful lot of gypsies there are in Spain!’

To account for the partitive in these examples, I will assume the underlying presence of a quantifier, meaning something like ‘a lot’. This quantifier is then deleted by a presumably late rule of Quantifier Deletion operating specifically in exclamatory sentences.

The same process can be found in other languages. In Dutch e.g. sentence (3)h will be rendered as: *Een zigeuners dat er in Spanje zijn!*

In this sentence, the singular form of the indefinite article, unstressed *een*, seems to clash with the plural form *zigeuners* ‘gypsies’. Here too, an understood quantifier, probably *een (bele) boel* ‘a (whole) lot’ nicely accounts for this morphological peculiarity as well as for the meaning of the sentence.

There is a difficulty with this solution in the case of Basque. Exclamations like (3)g,h are used also by speakers who do not allow the partitive with quantifiers in positive contexts. This difficulty is not insurmountable. We have seen that, in certain regions, the use of the partitive with quantifiers has the status of an archaism. But, for archaisms to survive only in exclamatory contexts is not uncommon. Basque itself offers another example of that: In the Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan dialects, the old non-emphatic possessive pronoun *ene* ‘my’ has been totally replaced by the form *nera*, which used to be emphatic, or by *nire*, an analogical formation on the pronoun *ni* ‘I’. With one exception, namely exclamations: *ene Jainkoa!* ‘my God!’, *ene ama!* ‘my mother!’, *ai ene!* ‘oh my!’. The Northern dialects still make use of *ene* in all contexts. Clearly, syntactic theory must have devices for dealing with this type of situation.

By this account, the use of *-rik* in exclamations is a basic one, in spite of the apparent violation of our criterion (ii). Of course, the restriction to exclamatory

¹⁷ Already Leizarraga’s New Testament translation (1571) has quantifier constructions with and without the partitive. So we find: ...*anbitz gauza banuen-ere zuer skribatzekorik* (2, Jn. 1.12) ‘though I had many things to write to you’. But: *oraino anbitz gauza dut zuer erraiteko* (Jn. 16, 12) ‘I have still many things to say to you’.

contexts here has nothing to do with the occurrence of the partitive as such, but only with the fact that the rule of Quantifier Deletion is restricted to those contexts.

From example (3)a, *ijitorik askorekin* “with many gypsies” we see that the use of *-rik* with quantifiers does not require the whole noun phrase to be in the absolutive (i.e. nominative) case. Postpositions in Basque are always added to the end of the whole noun phrase: therefore, the quantifier *asko* “many” and not the noun *ijito* “gypsy” receives the postposition *-rekin* “with”. It is not possible to pile another suffix on top of the partitive itself. Therefore, in example (3)c, where the quantifier *naiko* “enough” precedes the noun *gerla* “war”, it is essential for the whole noun phrase *naiko gerlarik* “enough war” to be in the absolutive case.

What I have called stative *-rik* (see section II, footnote 12) is an entirely different morpheme. We find it added to past participle forms, mainly in the Northern dialects: *ikusirik* “having seen”, from *ikusi* “seen”. For more examples and some remarks on the use of these forms, see P. Lafitte, *Grammaire basque*, § 498. In all dialects, stative *-rik* can be added to certain adjectives and a few nouns. The resulting form always denotes a state, hence the name stative *-rik*. Examples are: (from adjectives) *alperrik* “in vain”, *bakarrik* “alone”, *bilutsik* “naked”, *bizirik* “alive”, *isilik* “silent”, *osorik* “complete”, *zabalik* “wide open”: (from nouns) *baraurik* “empty-stomached”, *bidurrik* “afraid”, *pozirik* “happy”. To many of these forms, the relational suffix *-ko* may be added, the result being a prenominal modifier of a noun phrase: *bilutsik ikusirikako ijitoa* “the gypsy seen naked”, *alperrikako esamesak* “vain gossip”. The *a* appearing in front of the suffix *-ko* is an indication that the underlying form of *-rik* is *-rika*,¹⁸ showing that the phonological rule of Vowel Truncation which I proposed on page 339 of my article “Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?” (*FLV* 1 (1969), 319-351) is not restricted to verb forms.

We thus notice an important difference between stative *-rik* and partitive *-rik*: the former can be followed by the suffix *-ko*, while the latter cannot be followed by any suffix. There is an exception to this statement, but it is not a very interesting one. In certain dialects, and especially in Guipúzcoan, the syllable *-an* (or, rather, the segment *-n*, since the underlying form of *-rik*, *-tik* is *-rika*, *-tika*), possibly identical with the inessive ending *-n* “in”, can be added freely to any

¹⁸ In the modern dialects, Vowel Truncation is a strictly obligatory rule. But, in several 16th and 17th century texts, we find many instances of undeleted *-a*, at least with the suffixes *-rik* and *-tik*. So in Etxepare's poem “Emazten Fabore” (*Linguae vasconum primitiae*, 1545): *ixilika* “silent”, *zerutika* “from heaven”. Also in a poem awarded the first prize in a contest in Pamplona in 1610, we find: *guñonica* “any man”, *alegerica* “joyous”, *jarririca* “seated”, *jancirica* “clothed”, *pobregarica yrtenica* “having come out of poverty”, *arturica* “having taken”, alongside of forms without final *-a*: *fantasiaric* “any phantasy”, *echiric* “closed”, *cumplituric* “fulfilled”. L. Michelena, who quotes this poem in his book *Textos arcaicos vascos*, §3.1.21, remarks: “Llama la atención la frecuencia con que aparece —en parte, acaso, *metri causa*— la desinencia *-(r)ica* de ‘partitivo’. En el v. 67 tiene claro valor de ablativo, *pobregarica* (‘salidos’) de la pobreza.” In the same work, § 3.2.11, we find the text of a Credo in High Navarrese, published in Rome in 1614. It has the form *andica* “from there”, but *concevituric*, *vaytatíc*, *vitarretic*, *jarreríc* with deleted *-a* (op. cit. p. 163). In “Beraiyn's *Tratado de cómo se ha de oír missa* (a bilingual book, whose Basque is Southern High Navarrese, probably from Uterga, published in Pamplona in 1621), there is an instance of *jakinika* “knowing” for *jakinik* (p. 71).

suffix ending in *-ik*, causing no change in meaning whatsoever (cf. Azkue, *Morfología vasca*, § 441). Thus, we meet forms like: *ijitorikan asko* “many gypsies”, *pozikan* “happy”, *ikusirikan* “having seen”, *orregatikan* “therefore”, *oraindikan* “still”, *dirurikan*¹⁹ *gabe* “without money”, *ardoa duelarikan* “while he has wine” (the suffix *-larik* “while” consists of the complementizer *-la* “that”, “while”, together with stative *-rik*).

Some speakers will even iterate the process, producing forms like *pozikanen* from *pozikan*, from *pozik*. The advantage of this free extra syllable is eagerly exploited by the *bertsolaris* (Basque bards) in their improvised poetic productions, where a correct meter is imperative. It also occurs in normal conversational style, albeit in certain regions it is a lot more frequent than in others. In particular, the coastal area seems to be quite fond of it.

Its use is already attested in Etxepare's *Linguae vasconum primitiae* (1545) *biderikan lizatenex* “if there was a way” (*Amore gogorraren despita*, line 4). Also e.g. in Gazteluzar's *Eguia Catholicac* (1686): *maiteagorikan* “more loved” (p. 300).

One important observation before closing this section. The partitive postposition *-rik* is restricted to indefinite noun phrases. It is therefore incompatible with demonstratives and other definite determiners. Thus, while, as we saw, the English phrase *the most beautiful of women* readily translates as *emakumerik ederrena*, the phrase *the most beautiful of these women* can be translated in several ways, but not with the partitive.²⁰ We get: *emakume auetan ederrena* (locative plural), *emakume auetatik ederrena* (ablative plural), *emakume auetako ederrena* (“relational” genitive plural), *emakume auen artean* (or: *artetik*, *arteko*) *ederrena* (literally: “the most beautiful (from) among these women”). Similarly, *the most beautiful of the women* will be translated as: *emakumeetan ederrena*, *emakumeetatik ederrena*, *emakumeetako ederrena*, or, *emakumeen artean* (*arteko*, *artetik*) *ederrena*. Here too, the partitive cannot be used.

A last remark: in all cases, the postposition *-rik* is added directly to its theme. It does not take an intervening marker of indefiniteness, like the locative postpositions do. For the inessive *-n*, e.g., we have the definite forms *zuloan* “in the hole” and (*bi*) *zuloetan* “in the (two) holes”, but also the indefinite (*bi*) *zulotan* “in (two) holes”. For the partitive, only one form exists: *zulorik*.

¹⁹ This example may seem like a real counter-example to the claim we just made. It appears that partitive *-rik* is followed by another postposition: *gabe*. There are, however, many reasons for considering *gabe* an adjective (similar to *bete* “full”) and not a postposition. I will mention just three: *Gabe* can receive the determiner *-a* by the rule of concord mentioned under example (2)b, which applies to nouns and adjectives, but not to postposition:

(i) *Ijito ori dirurik gabea da*. “That gypsy is without money”. Postpositions do not take stative *-rik*, but *gabe* does: *dirurik gaberik* “being without money”.

Some dialects allow *gabe* to occur without a preceding head noun:

(ii) *Pipa nerekin daramat, ezin naiteke gabe ta*. “I am carrying my pipe with me, as I cannot stand to be without” (from: P. Berrondo, Oyarzun).

In no Basque dialect, however, can a postposition ever survive without a supporting head present in surface structure. We conclude that *gabe* is not a postposition.

²⁰ The existence of the forms *emakume hauetarik* and *emakumeetarik* in the Northern dialects should not lead us astray. These are ablative plural forms. In these dialects, *-tarik* replaces *-etatik* (and even the animate *-engandik*) as the plural form of the ablative postposition *-tik*. The partitive postposition *-rik* has no plural.

We are ready to turn now to the main part of this paper, section IV, where we will deal with the transformational process of Partitive Assignment.

IV. Derived uses of the partitive

Consider sentence (4):

(4) *Ijito ori ikusi degu*. "We have seen that gypsy" (gypsy that seen have we).

Negating (4), we get sentence (5):

(5) *Ez degu ijito ori ikusi*. "We haven't seen that gypsy".

The word order in (5) is different from that in (4), because the negative-*ez* attracts the auxiliary *degu*, thus forming one phonological word: *eztegu*. In the same way, we would expect the negation of (6)a to be (7)a, and that of (6)b, to be (7)b:

(6)a *Ijitoa ikusi degu*. "We have seen a gypsy".

(6)b *Andaluziko ijito bat ikusi degu*. "We have seen a gypsy from Andalusia".

(7)a *Ez degu ijitoa ikusi*. "We haven't seen the gypsy".

(7)b *Ez degu Andaluziko ijito bat ikusi*. "We haven't seen one gypsy from Andalusia".

But, as we see from the glosses, this is not the case. (7)a is not the negation of (6)a, and (7)b is not quite the negation of (6)b. The negations of (6)a and (6)b are (8)a and (8)b, respectively:

(8)a *Ez degu ijitorik ikusi*. "We haven't seen a gypsy".

(8)b *Ez degu Andaluziko ijitorik ikusi*. "We haven't seen a gypsy from Andalusia".

This is a strange, or, at least, unexpected, situation. Can we account for it? Yes, we can, if we avail ourselves of the resources of Transformational Grammar. One way, indeed, of clarifying what is going on, is to postulate the existence of a grammatical transformation. I will call this transformation Partitive Assignment. It applies to an indefinite noun phrase, and is triggered by a negative commanding²¹

²¹ The notion of "command" is due to R. W. Langacker. In his paper "On Pronominalization and the Chain of Command" (published in Reibel and Schane: *Modern Studies in English*, pp. 160-186) he defines the concept as follows: "We will say that a node A 'commands' another node B if (1) neither A nor B dominates the other; and (2) the S-node that most immediately dominates A also dominates B" (p. 167).

The condition that the negative commands the noun phrase to which the partitive is assigned will explain e.g. why in the following sentence *oilloa* "a chicken" cannot be changed to *oilloorik* in spite of the preceding negative *ez*:

Ikusi ez nauen ijitoak oilloa arrapatu du. 'They gypsy who hasn't seen me has caught a chicken'. In this example, the negative *ez* does not command the noun phrase *oilloa*, since the clause (i.e. S-node) that most immediately dominates *ez* is the relative clause (*ijitoak*) *ikusi ez nau* "(the gypsy) has not seen me", which does not contain (i.e. does not dominate) the noun phrase *oilloa*.

this noun phrase. What it does is Chomsky-adjoin the postposition *-rik* to the right of the noun phrase. (See Fig. 1.)

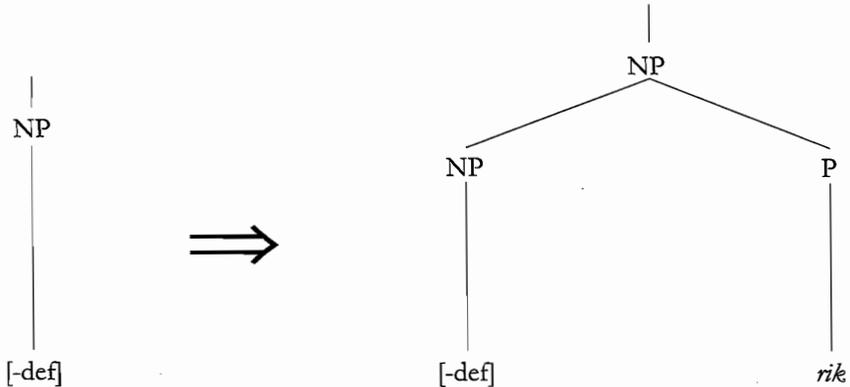


Fig. 1. Partitive Assignment

Formulated in this fashion, Partitive Assignment is a standard type rule, allowed by any theory of transformational grammar: Chomsky-adjunction of a designated element. The restriction to indefinite noun phrases is also well known in transformational practice, cf. e.g. the rule of *there*-insertion in English. The requirement that the triggering negative must command the NP node affected by the rule needs no comment. It merely expresses the fact that Partitive Assignment is upward bounded in the sense of Ross (*Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, section 5.1ff), as is the case of the great majority of transformational rules.

Partitive Assignment is blocked when the noun phrase already has a postposition attached to it. Whether this restriction has to be incorporated into the statement of the rule in a more or less ad hoc manner, or can be deduced from some general principle of grammar, is not clear to me at present. If a universal constraint is involved, however, it should be weak enough to allow for the double case-marking which constituents inside relative clauses are subjected to in some Australian languages. (Data from Prof. K. L. Hale, M.I.T.).

Our formulation of Partitive Assignment makes it necessary to postulate a rule of Determiner Deletion. This rule deletes indefinite determiners (indefinite *-a* and its plural *-ak*, *bat* "a", and *batzuek* "some") whenever they are followed by the postposition *-rik*. This way, we get the correct form *ijitorik* in examples (8)a and (8)b. Otherwise of course, we would end up with the non-existent forms **ijitoarik* and **jito batik*.

Determiner Deletion, however, is needed anyway, regardless of how we formulate Partitive Assignment. It serves to express the fact that *-rik* is unique among the postpositions of Basque in that it is always added directly to the last noun or adjective of the affected noun phrase, without any intervening determiner. This is true for both basic *-rik* and derived *-rik*. We may contrast this with the behavior of the dative postposition *-ri*. In certain syntactic environments, *-ri* can be added directly to the noun: *iru ijitori* "to three gypsies", but usually a determiner

intervenes: *ijito bati* “to a gypsy”, *ijito batzuei* “to some gypsies”, and with a definite determiner: *ijitoari* “to the gypsy”, *ijitoai* “to the gypsies”. With dative *-ri*, there are thus five possible forms; with Partitive *-rik* only one: *ijitorik*.

It is, of course, not surprising that there is a rule of Determiner Deletion associated with the postposition *-rik*. From section III, we know that *-rik* is incompatible with definite determiners. The feature indefinite is therefore redundant and needs no manifestation in surface structure. Whether it is actually deleted, or just prevented from being spelled out, is of little importance here.

I am well aware that this treatment of the Partitive in Basque is not the only one possible. It is, however, a very natural one, and it provides us with a framework that enables us to describe the distribution of *-rik* in a fairly coherent way. In a sense, our transformational approach reconciles the conflicting views of the native grammarians discussed in section II. Since the combined effect of Partitive Assignment and Determiner Deletion amounts to the substitution of a postposition for an article, we can say that those who, like Azkue, consider *-rik* to be an article, are looking at the deep structure, whereas those who, like Lafitte, consider *-rik* to be a case ending are looking at the surface structure.

Let us now return for a moment to our example sentences (6)-(8).

The theory we have given explains why the negations of (6)a and (6)b have the form of (8)a and (8)b, and not of (7)a and (7)b. But why are (7)a and (7)b still grammatical sentences? The answer is that *-a* in (6)a is ambiguous between a definite and an indefinite article, and *bat* in (6)b between a numeral (“one”) and an indefinite article (cf. footnote 15). The indefinite reading of (7)a and (7)b is removed by the obligatory application of Partitive Assignment, and only the other reading remains.

In these examples, Partitive Assignment is triggered by the negative *ez* “not”. This, however, is not the only negative that can trigger Partitive Assignment. Two others are *ezin* “impossible” and *nekez* “hardly”:

- (9)a *Ijito onek ezin du jantzi berririk erosi.* “This gypsy cannot buy new clothes”.
 (9)b *Nekez arkituko dezu emen ijitorik.* “You will hardly find gypsies here”.

We have seen Partitive Assignment applying in negative contexts. Actually, there is a much wider class of contexts in which Partitive Assignment can apply. There, however, its application tends to be optional, and occasionally subject to idiolectal variation. These contexts can be listed as follows: (i) - (vi):

- (i) Presence of a word meaning “only”: *bakarrik*, *soillik*, *txoilkiki*.

Example:

- (10)a *Orrelako astakeririk Nixonek bakarrik egingo zukean.* “Only Nixon would have made such a blunder”.

It is likely that an underlying negative accounts for the occurrence of the partitive in this example; especially if the underlying structure of (10)a is similar to that of (10)b:

- (10)b *Inork ez zukean egingo orrelako astakeririk, Nixonek bai.* “Nobody would have made such a blunder, (but) Nixon has”.

(ii) Presence of the word *beste* "other" modifying the noun phrase partitivized:

(11)a Ba det beste adiskiderik. "I have other friends".

(11)b Gaur, berriz, beste konturik dago. "Today, however, it's a different story"
(A. Zabala, *Bertsolarien Txapelketa* 1960, p. 10).

(iii) Yes-no questions:

(12)a Ijitorik ikusi al dezu? "Have you seen gypsies?"

(12)b Ogirik ba al dezu? "Do you have bread?"

(12)c Ardorik nai al dezu? "Do you want wine?"

If the widely held view among transformational grammarians is correct that the derivation of yes-no questions involves a disjunction of a positive clause with its denial; an underlying negative may be responsible for the occurrence of the Partitive here.

It is important to note that the partitive in this type of questions may or may not be associated with negative presuppositions or expectations. In other words, the examples given under (12) do not betray a negative expectation on the part of the speaker. They are negative only in so far as the possibility of a negative answer is left open. Indirect yes-no questions also allow the partitive:

(12)d Ijitorik ikusi duen (or: duenetz) galdetu diot. "I have asked him if he has seen gypsies".

(12)e Aitak dirurik emango ote didan ari naiz. "I am wondering if father will give me money".

(iv) Some Wh-questions, namely those that are equivalent to a negative assertion (queclaratives, see footnote 4), or, at least, indicate strong disbelief or consternation on the part of the speaker. Neutral Wh-questions do not allow the partitive:

(13)a Noiz esan du itzik? "When has he said a word?"

(13)b Nun arkituko dezu emen artzik? "Where will you find bears here?"

(13)c Zergatik esan bear zizuten itz gaiztorik? "What did they have to say nasty words to you for?"

(13)d Zeiñek eman dio dirua? (*dirurik) "Who has given him money?"

Note the contrast between (13)e and (13)f:

(13)e Eliza ori zarberritzeko, zeinek emango luke dirurik? "Who would give money to renovate that church?"

(13)f Eliza ori zarberritzeko, zeिñek eman du dirua? (*dirurik). "Who has given money to renovate that church?" (spoken after the renovation of the church).

(v) Conditionals:

(14)a Ijitorik ikusten badezu, esaiezu eztaietara etortzeko. "If you see gypsies, tell them to come to the wedding".

(14)b Babarrunik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitudala itzematen dizut. "If you eat beans, I promise that I will take you to the movies".

(vi) A special class of predicates allow the partitive to occur inside their sentential complements, but not inside the main clause of the predicate. Using a term introduced

by E. Klima for a similar situation in English, we may call them "affective" predicates. (see: E. S. Klima; "Negation in English", XV, 41, in J. A. Fodor, J. J. Katz: *The Structure of Language*, pp. 246-323). Some members of this class are: all adjectives with the suffix *-egi* "too"; *sinisgaitz* "unbelievable", *arrigarri* "surprising", *zail* "difficult", *zoro* "foolish", *arritu*, "to be surprised", *bildur izan* "to be afraid", *debekatu* "to forbid", *ukatu* "to refuse". Examples:

- (15)a *Ijito au pobreegia da jantzi berririk erosteko.* "This gypsy is too poor to buy new clothes".
- (15)b *Sinisgaitza da artzik emen ikustea.* "Seeing bears here is unbelievable".
- (15)c *Arrigarria da Don Primitivok euskerazko libururik irakurtzea.* "It is surprising that Don Primitivo reads Basque books".
- (15)d *Egun auetan zailla da bizimodurik eskuratzea.* "It is difficult these days to obtain a living".
- (15)e *Ijitorik ezkongai gelditzea zoroa iruditzen zait.* "It seems foolish to me for a gypsy to remain unmarried".
- (15)f *Arritzen naiz ijitorik emen arkitzea.* "I am surprised to find gypsies here".
- (15)g *Martini errurik ezarriko zioten bildur zan.* "He was afraid that they would put blame on Martin" (D. Aguirre, *Garoa*, p. 184).
- (15)h *Legeak debekatzen du artzik iltzea.* "The law forbids killing bears".
- (15)i *Ijito onek ukatu egin du ardorik edatea.* "This gypsy has refused to drink wine".

This terminates our listing of the contexts in which Partitive Assignment can operate. We should still point out in this connection that Partitive Assignment can reach down into complement clauses. What this means is that, whenever the partitive can occur in a clause, it can also occur in a sentential complement below that clause. Here are some examples that illustrate this:

- (16)a *Ijitorik ikusi dezula uste al du Mirenek?* "Does Miren think that you have seen gypsies?"
- (16)b *Egia al da ijitorik ikusi dezula?* "Is it true that you have seen gypsies?"
- (16)c *Ijitorik ikusi dezula egia bada, zergatik ez dituzu ekarri?* "If it is true that you have seen gypsies, why didn't you bring them?"

In fact, the triggering element, e.g. the negative *ez* or the interrogative *al*, can be separated from the affected noun phrase by any number of intervening clauses. Thus, the partitive is possible in (16)d, but not in (16)e:

- (16)d *Ijitoai dirurik ematera alkatea beartu nai izan zuela esan zidala sinisterazten ez naiz saiatuko.* "I won't try to make people believe that he told me that he had wanted to force the mayor to give the gypsies money".
- (16)e *Ijitoai dirua (*dirurik) ematera alkatea beartu nai izan zuela esan zidala sinisterazi bear det.* "I must try to make people believe that he told me that he had wanted to force the mayor to give the gypsies money".

This fact, of course, was the reason why we used the notion of command in the formulation of Partitive Assignment given at the beginning of this section. That the triggering element commands the affected noun phrase, however, is a necessary but

not a sufficient condition for partitivization to be possible. A relative clause may be commanded by a negative; but if this relative clause has a definite head noun phrase, it forms a syntactic island opaque to Partitive Assignment. Note the following contrast:

- (16)f Artzik il duen ijitorik ez degu ezagutzen. "We don't know a gypsy who has killed bears".
 (16)g Artzak il dituen ijtoa ez degu ezagutzen. "We don't know the gypsy who has killed bears".

In (16)g the Partitive could not be used: **artzik il duen ijtoa ez degu ezagutzen*.

From the fact that the triggering element need not be in the same clause with the noun phrase Partitive Assignment operates on, it can be inferred that this transformation must be postcyclic, that is, unless one accepts a proposal recently made by P.A.M. Seuren. This author argues that for the purpose of deciding whether a certain cyclic transformation can apply or not on a given cycle, the grammar must be allowed to make use of information that is not present in that cycle but is present in some higher one. (See P.A.M. Seuren, "Negative's Travels", in Seuren (ed.), *Semantic Syntax*, Oxford 1974). If his view is right, Partitive Assignment could still be a cyclic rule.

Up to now, we have talked about Partitive Assignment as if it were a process completely unique to Basque. The moment has come to bring up a parallel that will have occurred to many readers: the rule that accounts for the distribution of unstressed *any* (and some related forms) in English. This rule was introduced under the name of "Indefinite Incorporation" by E. S. Klima in his pioneering article "Negation in English", published in its final form in 1964 (J. A. Fodor, J. J. Katz (eds.), *The Structure of Language*, pp. 246-323), although based on research done nearly five years earlier. In subsequent years, the rule repeatedly figured in linguistic discussions. J. R. Ross used it in his dissertation *Constraints on Variables in Syntax* (1967) as a typical example of a feature-changing rule (section 5.1.3). R. T. Lakoff discussed it in her dissertation *Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation* (M.I.T. Press, 1968), and compared it with a similar rule in Latin (sections 4.1 and 4.5). She called it "some-any change" (pp. 111, 113), a clear misnomer, since neither is the output of the rule necessarily *any*, nor its input *some*, as Klima was careful enough to point out in his section 25. R. T. Lakoff also wrote an article in *Language* under the title "Some Reasons Why There Can't Be Any *some-any* Rule" (*Lg* 45 (1969), 608-615). In it she shows, not that there is no "*some-any* Rule", as the title would lead one to expect, but, rather, that there is such a rule, and that it has the property of being sensitive to presuppositions held by the speaker.

The differences between Basque Partitive Assignment and English Indefinite Incorporation are clear. The latter does not introduce any preposition (the English counterpart of the Basque postposition), and, accordingly, is not restricted to prepositionless noun phrases. But no less clear are the similarities. Both rules act on indefinite noun phrases, without, however, moving them from whatever position they may have in the sentence. Most importantly, they apply in virtually identical environments.

This latter similarity is so striking that it can hardly be due to chance. Basque and English are not genetically related; nor is it likely that a rule of this scope and complexity should have made its appearance in either language by way of some superficial process of borrowing. Thus, the connection between the two processes must be a structural one.

We do not know just what underlying factor characterises the contexts in which Indefinite Incorporation can apply in English. Klima's introduction of "the grammatico-semantic feature *Affective*" (op. cit. section 41) —a convenient move that greatly simplified later discussions— did not solve the problem but merely named it. Still, whatever its nature, the same factor that triggers Indefinite Incorporation in English also triggers Partitive Assignment in Basque.

At this point, a question must arise. If the exact same factor triggers both rules, why, then, are not the environments exactly identical? We know indeed that they are not. On the one hand, English *other* does not induce Indefinite Incorporation: *I have some other friends*, not **I have any other friends*, but Basque *beste*, which means "other" does allow Partitive Assignment (see example (11)a). On the other hand, Indefinite Incorporation can apply in the term of comparison in an English comparative: *Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy*. This is not the case for Partitive Assignment in Basque. We have:

(17)a Miren ijitoa (*ijitorik) baino ederragoa da. "Miren is more beautiful than a gypsy".

In this construction, the partitive form cannot be used. One can use indefinite forms with the prefix *edo* "any", such as *edozein* "any kind of" (Spanish *cualquier*), or *edonungo* "from anywhere". However, these forms correspond more closely to English stressed *any*, than to the unstressed forms produced by Indefinite Incorporation. See examples (17)b and (17)c.

(17)b Miren edozein ijito (*ijitorik) baino ederragoa da. "Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy whatsoever".

(17)c Miren edonungo ijitoa (*ijitorik) baino ederragoa da. "Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy whatsoever" (literally: "than a gypsy from any place whatsoever").

Our task is now to account for the discrepancy we observed between the two rules. I will attempt an explanation in terms of certain differences in structure between Basque and English. If this explanation is correct, we can maintain that both rules are triggered by an identical underlying factor. My explanation is based on a generalisation of a well-known constraint. I want to generalize the constraint on backward pronominalization (for which concept see J. R. Ross, "On the Cyclic Nature of English Pronominalization", *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, II, pp. 1.669-1.682) to cover all non-movement rules that make crucial use of variables. "Non-movement rules" is a more general term than "feature-changing rules", a designation I would like to avoid anyway, because the status of features in syntax generally is not very clear. I will start from a formulation of this constraint given by J. R. Ross in his dissertation *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. I quote from section 5.3.2:

(5.152) *Condition on backward pronominalization*: If one element precedes another, the second can only pronominalize the first if the first is dominated by a subordinate clause which does not dominate the second.

I submit that this can be generalised to all non-movement rules that make crucial use of variables, as follows:

Causality Constraint: If an effect precedes its cause, the effect must be dominated by a subordinate clause which does not dominate the cause.

Corollary: When cause and effect are clausemates, the cause must precede the effect.

It is possible to formulate a weaker form of the Causality Constraint which is reminiscent of Langacker's version of the constraint on backward pronominalization. For this version, see R. W. Langacker, "On Pronominalization and the Chain of Command", in Reibel and Schane, *Modern Studies in English*, or Ross's paraphrase of it in *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, section 5.3.2, formula (5.153).

Causality Constraint (second version): No effect can both command and precede its cause.

For a rule like pronominalization, which is not upward bounded, the second version of the constraint is weaker than the first. The second, but not the first, would allow backward pronominalization from the rightmost into the leftmost of a pair of conjoined sentences, something we know does not happen.

For upward bounded rules, however, it is easy to see that the two versions are fully equivalent.

My phrasing of the Causality Constraint was, of course, very loose and informal. By "cause", I mean the smallest constituent indicated in the structural description of the rule which can be said to trigger the change. By "effect", I mean the smallest constituent indicated in the structural description of the rule which undergoes the change the rule is designed to carry out. I do not propose the Causality Constraint as a global constraint, to be valid throughout the derivation, but as a purely local one, to hold only at the point where the rule in question applies. Even with these qualifications, my formulation of the constraint leaves much to be desired, but it will do for the purpose at hand.

Consider the problem with *beste* and *other*. Since Basque *beste* "other" can induce the partitive on the noun phrase it introduces, we will infer that English *other* has the same virtue with respect to Indefinite Incorporation. However, because of the Causality Constraint, this virtue will never be actualized. Compare the order of terms in the corresponding phrase *beste adiskide batzuek* and *some other friends*. In Basque, there is no problem. The partitive is a suffix on the noun phrase, and *beste* invariably precedes the head noun. Therefore, the partitivized form *beste adiskiderik* can be generated. But, in English, the determiner *some* precedes *other* in the surface structure, and, in all likelihood, in every underlying structure as well. Hence our Corollary prevents *other* from changing the preceding *some* to *any*.

For the comparative, the same situation obtains in reverse. In the English phrase *more beautiful than any gypsy* the factor that triggers Indefinite Incorporation necessarily precedes the noun phrase *any gypsy*, which can be, indeed, the rightmost constituent of the sentence. But in the Basque phrase *ijitoa baiño ederrago, baiño* “than” always follows the noun *ijito*, which could be sentence initial. Assuming that at the moment when Partitive Assignment should apply, *ijitoa* is no longer dominated by a subordinate clause, the Causality Constraint will bar the rule from applying.

It is true that this argument is not absolutely airtight, since I do not know in detail how comparatives are derived, either in English or in Basque. To destroy it, one might argue that the surface structure order does not reflect the deep structure order, and that Indefinite Incorporation or Partitive Assignment apply early enough as to be dependent on this deeper order. That this may be the case is perhaps not entirely inconceivable. Yet, for the time being, I can see little reason to believe in this counter-argument, especially if Partitive Assignment is indeed, as I think it is, a postcyclic rule.

We have left to show that the Causality Constraint is consistent with the way Indefinite Incorporation and Partitive Assignment apply in the other cases. We do not have to worry about “affective” predicates (cf. examples (15)a - (15)i), since they take effect only inside their sentential complements. No matter what the linear order is between the affected noun phrase and the affective predicate, the Causality Constraint is automatically satisfied.

For English Indefinite Incorporation, the matter is relatively clear with respect to the other conditioning environments of the rule. Conditionals show an initial marker, the conjunction *if*, which can be taken to trigger the rule. Questions of all types are introduced by a Wh-complementizer or something of the sort,²² probably at all levels between deep and shallow structure. As for negation, it is generally agreed that it passes through sentence-initial position, and, then, goes on to preverbal position by the transformation of Neg. Placement. Now, if Indefinite Incorporation precedes Neg. Placement, we have no problem, for the negative morpheme will precede any noun phrase in the sentence. But if it follows, there is also no problem; the Causality Constraint will explain nicely why *Some gypsy is not happy* cannot be converted by Indefinite Incorporation to *Any gypsy is not happy*.

So much for English. We now turn again to Partitive Assignment in Basque. We will first look at conditional sentences. Consider (14)a.

(14)a *Ijitorik ikusten badezu, ...* “If you see gypsies, ...”

Sentence (14)a seems to contradict the Causality Constraint, because the Partitive noun phrase *ijitorik* “gypsies” precedes the conditional morpheme *ba*. Note, however, that there is a more emphatic variant of (14)a, namely (14)aa, which has another conditional morpheme *baldin* “if” in sentence-initial position:

²² For relevant discussions on the structure of English questions, see C. L. Baker, “Notes on the Description of English Questions: The Role of an Abstract Question Morpheme”, *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), 197-219, and J. W. Bresnan, «On Complementizers: Toward a Syntactic Theory of Complement Types», *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), 297-321.

Naturally, one need not accept the whole theoretical framework of either of these authors, in order to agree that English questions have an initial marker of some sort.

(14)aa Baldin ijitorik ikusten badezu, ... "If you see gypsies, ..."

I will assume, now, that all conditional sentences are introduced by *baldin* at some level of underlying structure. Partitive Assignment, then, takes place before *baldin* is deleted, generating (14)a; or is moved onto the finite verb, generating: *ijitorik ikusten baldin badezu*, which is also a grammatical sentence.

To account for the Partitive in questions, I will take a similar tack. There is a particle *ea* (often glossed in Spanish as "a ver"), which optionally introduces dependent questions:

(12)dd Ea ijitorik ikusi duen galdetu diot. "I have asked him if he has seen gypsies".

Independent questions have emphatic variants with *ea*. So (12)a has the variant (12)aa:

(12)a Ijitorik ikusi al dezu? "Have you seen gypsies?"

(12)aa Ea ijitorik ikusi dezun? "I am asking you: have you seen gypsies?"

On the basis of this evidence, I will assume that all questions are introduced by *ea* and that Partitive Assignment precedes the process by which *ea* is converted to preverbal *al* in Guipúzcoan, to preverbal *abal* in Labourdin, and to postverbal *-a* in Low Navarrese and Souletin. Cf. Low Navarrese *xitorik ikhusi duzuya?* "have you seen gypsies?", where *duzuya* derives from *duzu* + *a*.

In this connection, it is interesting to report an observation made by H. Gavel in his *Grammaire basque*, Chapter II, p. 33. Gavel noticed that questions that are not syntactically marked as interrogative, but are marked only by intonation (e.g. *etorriko zera?* "you'll come?" instead of *etorriko al zera?* "will you come?"), as a rule, do not admit the partitive: **Ogirik nabi duzu?* "You want any bread?" It is natural to interpret the absence of the syntactic marking as the absence of *ea*. What is left is only a suprasegmental question morpheme realized as a rising intonation at the end of the sentence. Being sentence-final, it is barred from inducing the partitive by virtue of the Causality Constraint.

We will now consider negation. The English sentence *No gypsy came* can be translated in three ways, depending on considerations of topic and focus. We have (18)a, (18)b and (18)c:

(18)a Ez zan etorri ijitorik (semantically unmarked form). "No gypsy came".

(18)b Ez zan ijitorik etorri (*ijito* in focus). "No gypsy came" (i.e. "It was (the) gypsies who didn't come").

(18)c Ijitorik ez zan etorri (*ijito* as topic). "As for gypsies, none came".

I will postulate that at one stage²³ of their derivation, all negatives have the form *Ez S*. In other words, Basque, which is an underlyingly verb final language, nevertheless has presentential negation at some point in the derivational history of

²³ I subscribe to a view of grammar in which negation starts out as a higher predicate and is then lowered into its sentential complement by a cyclic rule. As this rule, in all likelihood, is early enough to precede Partitive Assignment, and as we defined the Causality Constraint as a local constraint, these considerations are irrelevant to our present concern.

its negative sentences. If this is correct, an underiving order for all three sentences above is given in (18)d:

(18)d *Ez ijitoa etorri zan.

(18)d is not a possible surface order, because the negation *ez* will obligatorily attract the auxiliary *zan*. (18)c, then, is derived by Topicalization. In Basque, topics conserve any case-marker they may have. Hence, Topicalization follows all Case-Marking Rules. It is therefore not surprising to see, from example (18)c, that it also follows Partitive Assignment.

Thus, in Basque as well as in English, we have found the operation of the respective rules consistent with the Causality Constraint (*quod erat demonstrandum*). I have not shown, of course, that the Causality Constraint must be valid. Nor have I shown that the differences we observed between Basque and English cannot be explained any other way. All I can hope to have shown is that the Causality Constraint stands up to preliminary scrutiny, explains some otherwise puzzling facts, and therefore deserves closer investigation.

This conclusion ought to have marked the end of this section. But there is one aspect of Partitive Assignment we have still to discuss, namely, its restriction to indefinite noun phrases. We will now study cases where it seems that a definite noun phrase has undergone Partitive Assignment.

Elderly informants from Northern Guipúzcoa reported sentences like the following as used by their parents:

- (19)a Ez da gaur gure aitarik Donostira joango. "My father won't go to San Sebastian today".
 (19)b Gaur gure aitarik Donostira joango balitz, legatza ekarriko liguke. "If my father were to go to San Sebastian today, he would bring us codfish".
 (19)c Gaur gure neskarik ikusi al dezu dantzan? "Have you seen our girl at the dance today?"

In these sentences, the partitive noun phrase has a unique referent: there is only one father in (19)a and (19)b, and (19)c could be spoken by a member of a family with only one girl. So it seems that Partitive Assignment has applied to underlying definite noun phrases.

When I asked younger speakers about these sentences, their reactions varied. Some considered them totally unacceptable. Others found that they could be used, but only in case the speaker is very angry or intensely impatient. One informant gave me this sentence as one he would be apt to use himself:

(19)d Ez da gaur nere emazterik Donostira joango! "No wife of mine will go to San Sebastián today!"

He commented that this was a very emphatic emotional statement, which must be pronounced with an angry intonation. However, there is nothing particularly emphatic or emotional about the next example, which is taken from a foreword written by A. Iturria to the third edition (1956) of the famous novel *Garoa*:

(19)e Bera ez mintzeko, ez det emen bere izenik aipatuko (p. vii). "Not to hurt his feelings, I won't mention here his name".

In the examples we have seen so far, we found the partitive occurring on an inalienably possessed noun phrase. There are also examples of the partitive with a proper name. In the translation of the four Gospels, *Lau ebanjelioak* (Zarauz, 1961), brought out by the Franciscans of Aránzazu, we read in a footnote to Lk. 2.43:

- (19)f ..., orduan konturatuko ziran Maria ta Jose Jesus-ik etzala an eta billa asi ziran. "..., it was then that Mary and Joseph must have realized that Jesus was not there, and began to look for him".

We find such examples in other dialects too. The next example is from the Souletin dialect of Tardets. It is taken from a story told by Fabien Hastoy and cited by R. M. Azkue in his work *Euskalerriaren jakintza*, II, p. 317.

- (19)g ...Sanctificetur-ik eztüzü haboro, barda otsuak yen beiteit. "... there is no Sanctificetur anymore, for he got eaten by a wolf yesterday night".

The following example is cited by H. Gavel in his *Grammaire basque*, Chapter II, p. 34. He does not indicate the source of his quotation, which is undoubtedly Labourdin.

- (19)h Besubioko mendiak aurthiki zuen su eta hauts, eta etzen Pompeirik gehiago izan. "Mount Vesuvius threw up fire and ashes, and there was no Pompeii anymore".

Another example from Labourdin is found in the play *Hilla esposatu* (ed. Auspoa, 1965) written by Piarres Larzabal (born in Ascain):

- (19)i Ttanta Adelak, ez du gehiago aitarik nahi (p. 118). "Aunt Adela doesn't want father anymore".

Here *aitarik* stands for *gure aitarik*: the sentence is concerned with the father of the speaker, the girl Mayi, not with the father of Aunt Adela. Domingo Aguirre's famous novel *Garoa* ("Fern") abounds with examples of the type we are studying. With those, we are back in the Guipúzcoan dialect, which Aguirre, though himself a speaker of Bizcayan (born in Ondárroa), used in this novel, written around 1907. We will quote six examples from it:

- (19)j I ba-ua, Moxolorik ez den agertuko (p. 253). "If you go, Moxolo isn't going to appear".
- (19)k Ez nion nere baimenik inola emango (p. 228). "Under no circumstances would I give him my permission".
- (19)l Ez da Kataliñek eta amonak nai dutenik gertatuko oraingoan (p. 217). "This time, what Katalin and grandmother want, will not happen".
- (19)m Baiña gaur ez dezu nere arrebarik ikusiko (p. 247). "But you are not going to see my sister today". (Meant as a prohibition, not as a prediction.)
- (19)n Ez zan geiago Pedro Migelen izenik entzun Azkarragako baserrian (p. 207). "The name of Pedro Miguel wasn't heard anymore on the Azkarraga farm".
- (19)o Ez siñistu nere burua botako dedanik, ez siñistu! Ez nere bururik, besteren batena, zurea, botako det... (p. 214). "Don't believe that I will throw my head (i.e. myself) down the cliffs, don't believe it! Not my head, but that of someone else, yours, I will throw..."

Should we now relax the condition on Partitive Assignment, and claim that the transformation applies to noun phrases which are either indefinite, or proper names, or inalienably possessed? I think not, for more than one reason. First of all, we are bound to suspect that there is something wrong with any rule plagued by a disjunctive condition. More often than not, either two or more rules have been mashed together, or a significant generalization has been missed. Secondly, if we simply make Partitive Assignment applicable to definite noun phrases, we fail to account for the typical flavor of our example sentences. Compare e.g. (19)d with the more common (19)dd:

(19)dd Ez da gaur nere emaztea Donostira joango! "My wife won't go to San Sebastian today!"

While there is no doubt that (19)d and (19)dd are cognitively synonymous, (19)d is certainly more than a mere variant of (19)dd generated by an optional application of Partitive Assignment to the definite noun phrase *nere emaztea* "my wife".

Thirdly, our whole argument is based on a misconception in the first place. What reason do we have, after all, to assume that in the examples we gave Partitive Assignment has applied to definite noun phrases? Surely no reason of grammatical form, since possessed noun phrases and proper names occur in definite as well as in indefinite constructions: *gure neska* bat "a girl of ours" and *Albert Einstein* bat "an Albert Einstein". Nor do semantic considerations involving reference imply anything about definiteness or indefiniteness. *Henry Kissinger* and *a certain Henry Kissinger* are both uniquely referring noun phrases. Yet, one is definite and the other is indefinite.

We thus find we have no real basis for the claim that Partitive Assignment can apply to definite noun phrases. Still, our examples are exceptional in some way, and we must try to account for that. For this purpose, we return to sentence (19)d and ask what happens when we substitute a transitive verb, say *egin* "do" for the intransitive verb *joan* "go". We do this because the subject of a transitive verb will be in the ergative case, and, thus, unable to undergo Partitive Assignment.

(20)a Nere emazteak ez du olakorik egingo. "My wife won't do any such thing".

(20)b Nere emazte batek ez du olakorik egingo! "A wife of mine won't do any such thing!"

Now, (20)a with the definite noun phrase *nere emazteak* "my wife (ergative)", while a possible sentence, does not match (19)d in emotional emphasis. Rather, what we get, with the same angry intonation of (19)d, is (20)b, which has the indefinite noun phrase *nere emazte batek* "a wife of mine (ergative)". Of course, neither (20)b nor (19)d contradicts the pragmatic assumption that a Basque husband cannot have more than one wife. On further analysis, (20)b turns out to be ambiguous. It may mean (i) or (ii):

- (i) It is inconceivable that someone who is married to me would do any such thing.
- (ii) It is inconceivable that someone who is like my wife is, would do any such thing.

On interpretation (i), (20)b can be derived from (20)c by *dalako*-Deletion.

(20)c Nere emaztea dalako batek ez du olakorik egingo! "A wife of mine won't do any such thing!"

The adjective *dalako* consists of three elements: the relational suffix *-ko*, the complementizer *-la* and the copula *da* "is". It serves to emphasize the functional character of the noun *emazte* here; in other words, it brings out the opaque reading of (20)b. The normal relativized form of the copula, *dan* "who is", does not distinguish between opaque and transparent readings.

I will not try to analyse the phrase *nere emaztea dalako bat* here in terms of underlying structure. I may note, though, that apart from the meaning we are concerned with here, namely the opaque reading of "one who is my wife", it can also have the meaning of "one who passes for my wife". *Dalako*-Deletion does not apply to this counterfactual *dalako*.

On interpretation (ii), (20)b can be derived from (20)d by *bezelako*-Deletion.

(20)d *Nere emaztea bezelako batek ez du olakorik egingo!* "Someone like my wife won't do any such thing!"

Bezela means "like"; the relational suffix *-ko* is needed to turn this into a prenominal modifier.

When the head of the partitive noun phrase is a proper noun, we are usually dealing with a case of *bezelako*-Deletion. For instance *jesus-ik* in (19)f probably derives from *jesus bezelakorik* "anyone like Jesus". (Note that *like* is a reflexive predicate).

Yet, proper names can also co-occur with *dalako*, even though they do not denote functions. Mugica's *Diccionario castellano-vasco* gives this example (under *tal*, p. 1.695): "me lo ha dicho un tal Antonio: Andoni dalako batek esan dit" ("A certain Anthony has told me so"). And under *llamado* (p. 1.125): "un hombre llamado Zacarías: Zakarias izeneko (izendun, dalako, ...) gizon bat" ("A man called Zacharias"). L. Michelena has used this construction in one of his essays: "Zapata delako baten emaztea..." ("The wife of a certain Zapata...") *Mitxelaren idazlan hautatuak*, p. 242. In that example, the word *delako* (an eastern dialectal variant of *dalako*) could have been dispensed with. It is only there to make clear that the preceding word *Zapata* is the name of a person. It is likely that in all of these constructions, some form of the word *izen* "name", has been deleted. Most probably the instrumental *izenex* "by name".

With these rules of *bezelako*-Deletion and *dalako*-Deletion (to which we may add *izeneko*-Deletion), we have enough machinery to account for the indefiniteness of the partitived noun phrases in our examples. In the case of (19)e, *bere izenik* "any name of his", or (19)n, *Pedro Migelen izenik* "any name of Pedro Miguel", however, we can also think of the fact that someone may be identifiable by more than one name: a nick-name, or a special name as a *bertsolari* ("bard") or as a poet.

A last question remains. Why would the speaker have chosen an indefinite noun phrase where he could have used a definite one? The answer is interesting. Note that our set of examples consists of negations, conditionals, and questions. Now, a negative statement about some non-specific noun phrase implies the corresponding negative statement with any specific noun phrase (taken from the range of that non-specific noun phrase) substituted for the non-specific one, but not vice-versa. So e.g., the statement "I don't want any book" implies "I don't want this book". For positive statements, of course, this does not hold: "I want a book" does not imply "I want this book". But for conditionals it does hold: "If you want to read any book, you are an intellectual" implies "If you want to read this book, you are an

intellectual”. Therefore, in negations and conditionals, indefinites make for stronger statements than definites do. We now see the connection with the emotional ring attached to many of the examples in our set. In an emotional frame of mind, we tend to make stronger (more “emphatic”) statements than would be strictly necessary.

It is therefore not surprising that we find English examples similar to the Basque ones. As J. D. McCawley has pointed out to me, it may be just because he realizes that he has only one gallbladder, that an unwilling patient says to his surgeon: “You shan’t take out any gall-bladder of mine!”.

I do not see any general relationship between definites and indefinites in questions. But in the case of our example (19)c, the matter is clear enough. There, any answer to the indefinite question will also be an answer to the definite question: *Gaur gure neska ikusi al dezu dantzaz?* “Have you seen our girl at the dance today?”, without loss of information, because of the pragmatic knowledge on the part of the speaker that there is only one girl in the family. The indefinite question is, therefore, at least as strong as the definite one would have been.

Now that we know that Partitive Assignment applies only to indefinite noun phrases, it is interesting to note that sentential nouns, namely those ending in *-te* or *-tze* (depending on the verb), can take the partitive ending in certain contexts without any special intonation. This means that those sentential nouns (a type of embedded sentence) must be construed as indefinite, at least in affective contexts.

Examples are (with the verbal nouns *joate* “going, to go”, *ikuste* “seeing, to see”, and *siñiste* “believing, to believe”):

- (21)a Ijitoak bere alaba Donostira joaterik ez du nai. “The gypsy does not want his daughter to go to San Sebastian”.
 (21)b Nere emazteak ijito ori ikusterik uste al dezu? “Do you think that my wife would see that gypsy?”
 (21)c Ipui au siñisterik ezin dizut eskatu. “I cannot ask you to believe this story”.

V. Partitive Modifiers

Except for a few marked otherwise, all examples in the preceding pages were taken from Guipúzcoan. But the phenomena we discussed are not restricted to any particular dialect. In fact, the use of the partitive in affective contexts is a constant feature of all Basque dialects from the earliest texts on.

This is not the case for the use of the partitive suffix which we are going to consider in this section, namely, that on (postnominal) modifiers. In affective contexts, the assignment of the partitive ending to a postnominal modifier was implicit in our treatment in section IV. As suffixes in Basque are always added to the last constituent of a noun phrase, the partitive will occur on the modifier, if there is one, and not on the head noun. E.g.

- (22) Ez det ijito itsusirik ezagutzen. “I don’t know an ugly gypsy”.

This section, however, will concern the use of the partitive on postnominal modifiers in purely affirmative, usually existential, contexts. This is found in the

Northern dialects: Labourdin, Low Navarrese and Souletin. It does not happen in Guipúzcoa and Bizcayan. For the High Navarrese area, I do not dispose of enough data to warrant any conclusion. As in all other cases, here too, the partitive ending appears only on indefinites and only in the absolute case.

Is this modifier *-rik* a basic use of *-rik* or a derived one? Strictly speaking, it is neither. It is not a basic *-rik*, because it does not function as a postposition. (Cf. our criterion (i) of section III.) And if it is a derived *-rik*, it must be derived by some rule other than Partitive Assignment, since this rule only applies in affective contexts, and makes no special provisions for modifiers. In fact I have no theory to propose to account for this use of *-rik*. This being so, I will limit myself to illustrating the use of this *-rik* by means of examples.

As demonstratives, being restricted to definite noun phrases, do not qualify, there are only two kinds of postnominal modifiers left: adjectives and (pseudo-)extraposed relative clauses. We will first look at adjectives.

Consider the following sentences in Labourdin:

- (23)a Ijitoak ba dire Frantzian. "There are gypsies in France".
- (23)b *Ijitorik ba da Frantzian. (Only possible as an exclamation, see section III.)
- (23)c Ijito ederrak ba dire Frantzian. "There are beautiful gypsies in France".
- (23)d Ijito ederrik ba da Frantzian. "There are beautiful gypsies in France".
- (24)a Arnoa ba dugu. "We have wine".
- (24)b *Arnorik ba dugu. (Same remark as for (23)b.)
- (24)c Arno goxoa ba dugu. "We have sweet wine".
- (24)d Arno goxorik ba dugu. "We have sweet wine".
- (25)a Sagarrak ba ditugu. "We have apples".
- (25)b *Sagarrik ba dugu. (Same remark as above.)
- (25)c Sagar onak ba ditugu. "We have good apples".
- (25)d Sagar onik ba dugu. "We have good apples".

According to the grammarian P. Lafitte (*Grammaire basque*, § 160.3), the *d*-sentences are emphatic, whereas the *ɛ*-sentences are not. He does not explain in what way they are emphatic, i.e. in what circumstances the *d*-sentences would be used preferably to the *ɛ*-sentences.

Separate mention must be made of the partitive appearing on adjectives in the comparative degree (suffix *-ago*), for this happens also in some regions where ordinary adjectives do not take the partitive in positive contexts. A case in point is the border area between Guipúzcoa and High Navarrese. Luis Michelena who was born in that area (in Renteria), has written this sentence:

- (26)a Erabaki gogorragorik artu bearrean aurkitu ziren bai Cesar Rubicon ibaia igitzerakoan eta bai Cortés ontziak zulatu aurrean (*Egan* 1956, p. 52, reprinted in *Mitxelena-ren idazlan bantatuak*, p. 325). "Both Cesar about to cross the Rubicon river and Cortés before sinking the boats, found themselves having to make a harder decision".

In this dialect, it is not possible to change *gogorrigo* "harder" to *gogor* "hard" while keeping the partitive. Here is a shorter example, acceptable to Mr. Michelena, but rejected by speakers from more central parts of Guipúzcoa:

- (26)b Geroago liburu zaillagorik irakurriko dezute. "Later on, you will read more difficult (harder) books".

With this, we leave adjectives and turn to relative clauses.

Relative clauses in Basque normally precede their antecedents. However, they can become postnominal by a process I have called "pseudo-extraposition", which is such that the relative clause and its antecedent each carry their own determiner. (See my paper: "Relative Clauses in Basque: a Guided Tour", in Peranteau, Levi, Phares (eds.), *The Chicago Which Hunt* (C.L.S., Chicago, 1972) 115-135 [reprinted in this volume], especially pp. 129-131.)

When its antecedent is indefinite, a pseudo-extraposed relative clause can optionally take the partitive in some, but not all, northern (sub)dialects.

The two examples that follow have been taken from a Basque translation of Saki's short story "The Story-Teller" made by the late Souletin author Jon Mirande, and published in the Basque literary review *Egan*.

- (27)a ...neskatxa ttipi bat ba zen ona zenik, (*Egan* 1956, p. 20). "...there was a little girl who was good".
 (27)b Behin ba zen Bertha izeneko neskatxa ttipi bat ohi ez den bezala ona zenik (*Egan* 1956, p. 21). "Once upon a time, there was a little girl called Bertha, who was extraordinarily good".

Examples of this type abound in Leizarraga's New Testament Version (1571):

- (27)c Izan da gizon bat Iainkoaz igorria, Ioanes deitzen zenik (Jn. 1.6). "There was a man sent by God, who was called John".
 (27)d Zen bada Phariseuetarik edozein bat, Nikodemo deitzen zenik (Jn. 3.1). "There was, then, somebody of the Pharisees, who was called Nicodemus".

And an example with two relative clauses on the same antecedent, *ikhuzgarri bat* "a (washing) pool":

- (27)e Eta da Ierusalemen ardi plazán ikhuzgarri bat, Hebraikoz Bethesdá deitzen denik, bartz galeria dituenik (Jn. 5.2). "And there is in Jerusalem by the sheep market a pool, which is called Bethesda in Hebrew, which has five porticoes".

With the possible exception of (27)a, all preceding examples involved non-restrictive (i.e. appositive) relatives. Here is one with a restrictive relative:

- (27)f Bertze bat da testifikatzen duenik nitzaz (Jn. 5.32). "There is another who bears witness to me".

There is another circumstance, not requiring pseudo-extraposition, under which relative clauses can take the partitive ending. This is when we have a so-called free relative, i.e., a relative clause with a pronoun as its antecedent. When this pronoun is indefinite, the relative clause may take the partitive in existential contexts. According to L. Michelena (personal communication), this happens in the Eastern dialects, that is, in all dialects except Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan. We start with an example from Leizarraga's New Testament Version:

- (28)a Ba da bilhatzen duenik eta jugeotzen duenik (Jn. 8.50). "There is one who seeks it and who judges (it)".

A modern Souletin version has a different construction with no partitive here:

- (28)b Ba da nurbait hura txerkhatzen diana eta jüjatzen diana (*Üskaldünaren gi-thünak*, p. 94). "There is someone who seeks that and who judges (it)".

But Miss Madeleine de Jauréguiberry, born and raised in the High-Souletin dialect area (near Tardets), has informed me that a construction similar to (28)a, namely (28)c, is possible in that dialect:

- (28)c Ba da hori txerkhatzen dianik eta jüjatzen dianik. "There is one who seeks that and who judges (it)".

The next example is taken from Axular's famous work *Gero*, first published in 1643.

- (28)d Izatu da erran duenik denbora eztela deus, hartzaz orhoitzapenik eta pen-satzerik eztenean (Chapter XII, p. 219). "There have been some (people) who have said that time is nothing when one does not remember it and think about it".

In connection with this example, L. Michelena has told me that a similar sentence is acceptable in his dialect:

- (28)e Esan duenik ba da, denbora eztela deus. "There are some (people) who have said that time is nothing".

In fact, the following example occurs in his writings:

- (28)f Ba da oraindik haren ateraldi eta erantzunak gogoan dituenik Erreterian (Epilogue of *Mitxelaren idazlan bautatuak*, p. 367). "There are still some (people) in Rentería who remember her witty remarks and repartees".

VI. Concluding Remarks

It will be obvious to any reader that this essay is not much more than a preliminary study of the problems surrounding the suffix *-rik*. Various matters of great interest had to be ignored. Thus, no mention was made of the "partitivized" complementizer *-nik*, which, in the Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan dialects, may substitute for the unmarked complementizer *-la* in what appears to be a subset of the class of affective contexts. A few examples to illustrate this:

- (29)a Ez det uste laister itzuliko diranik. "I don't think that they will come back soon".
- (29)b Iñorik ez daki ezkondua naizenik. "Nobody knows that I am married".
- (29)c Gezurra dirudi Mirenek ori esan duenik. "It seems a lie that Miren has said that".
- (29)d Uste al dezute dirua rik ostu dedanik? "Do you think that I have stolen the money?"

Examples of a different type are shown in (30)a and (30)b.

- (30)a Ez dakigu nor danik (*Lan ebanjelioak*, p. 246). "We don't know who he is".
 (30)b Noiz etorriko zeranikan ere ez dakit. "I don't even know when you will come".

The problems that these constructions raise will have to await their solutions elsewhere. Another topic for further research is the role of presuppositions in those contexts where Partitive Assignment seems to be optional. This role seems to be less important than it is in the case of English Indefinite Incorporation. The informants I have asked did not discriminate between (31)a and (31)b:

- (31)a Sagarrrik jaten badezu, autsiko dizkizut ezurrak. "If you eat (any) apples, I will break your bones".
 (31)b Sagarrrik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitut. "If you eat (*any) apples, I will take you to the movies".

Remember that these informants also accept (14)b, which I repeat here for convenience:

- (14)b Babarrunik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitudala itzematen dizut. "If you eat (*any) beans, I promise that I will take you to tile movies".

Last but not least, Basque Partitive Assignment should be compared with similar rules in other languages. Among the candidates are: Finnish Partitive Introduction (See Ross, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, Formula (5.85)) and Russian Genitive Introduction (idem, Formula (5.92)). Talking about these non-movement rules, a lot more research is also needed to test the Causality Constraint which I proposed as a putative universal for all such rules that make crucial use of variables.

But, "gero gerokoak".²⁴

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²⁴ A Basque saying: "Later things for later". Right now, however, I wish to thank my many friends and patient informants all over the Basque Country for the great help they have been to me in the process of gathering the data. They are too many to list here, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the names of few who have been especially helpful in this connection: Miss Mari-Carmen Garmendia, Miss Mari-Pilar Lasarte, Mr. Xabier Unzurrunzaga, Mr. Felipe Yurramendi. I am also greatly indebted to Prof. Dr. Luis Michelena for a great deal of valuable information and help, generously offered. I am very grateful too to Prof. Dr. William H. Jacobsen, Jr. and Mrs. Virginia Jacobsen for their constant encouragement and for many substantial suggestions, stylistic corrections, and proof-reading.

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