

# THE CASE OF AN ENLIGHTENING, PROVOKING AND ADMIRABLE BASQUE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR THE THEORY OF ARGUMENT STRUCTURE\*

Xabier Artiagoitia

## Abstract

*This article analyzes morphological evidence from Basque to support one basic claim: that subjects of the object-experiencer (i.e. frighten-type) psych verbs are internal arguments. The derivational suffix -garr̥i provides the relevant evidence. This suffix is traditionally characterized as forming adjectives from verbs and, disputably, from nouns or adjectives and as having both an active and a passive meaning. I first establish on several grounds that -garr̥i is basically a deverbal suffix which forms adjectives productively. Secondly, I show that the so-called passive value of the suffix is restricted to diadic transitive verbs: the internal argument of the verb becomes the external one of the adjective. The so-called active value of the suffix is restricted to psych verbs with experiencer objects: the surface subject of the verb becomes the external argument of the adjective. Thirdly, a unified characterization of the -garr̥i suffixation is proposed along the lines of Grimshaw (1990): if subjects of the frighten class are internal arguments, there is one single rule of -garr̥i suffixation which adds an R(eferential) argument to bind the first internal argument of a diadic verb; the original external argument, if there is one, is suppressed. Verbs whose surface subject bear an instrumental  $\theta$ -role also admit the suffix -garr̥i (the subject becomes the external argument of the adjective); this fact suggests that instrumental subjects count as internal arguments in Basque. The mere existence of -garr̥i supports the claim that the frighten verb class lacks an external argument; its existence can be also taken as a fair prediction of Belletti and Rizzi's unaccusative analysis of the frighten class, but runs counter to both Pesetsky's analysis (1995) and a purely transitive-causative analysis of object experiencer verbs (cf. Arad 1999a-b).*

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\* This is a shortened and slightly modified version of Artiagoitia (1997), published as a (1995) article; the insistence of some friends and colleagues that I do an English version of that article and the realization that I often find myself in the need to explain the contents of that article to non-Basque scholars have finally convinced me that an English version is necessary. This update is one way or another in debt with Lisa Galvin, Maider Huarte, Cecile McKee, Juan C. Odrizola, Antxon Olarrea, Javier Ormazabal, Beñat Oyharçabal and, above all, Koldo Zuazo, to whom I owe a lot of examples and grammatical judgements. My students in the 1997, 1999 and 2003 morphology classes were also a big and stimulating help. The remaining errors are only mine. This research is funded by the research projects 9/UPV 00027.130-13587/2001 and Euresco BFF 2002-10379. The article uses the following abbreviations: art = article, aux = auxiliary verb, D = dative, E = ergative, gen = genitive, lit = literally, loc = locative.

## 0. Introduction

The purpose of this article is twofold: to show that the Basque morpheme *-garri* is indeed one and only deverbal suffix thus dismantling the classical view that there is a passive *-garri* and an active *-garri*; and secondly, to strengthen and support Belletti and Rizzi's original insight that object experiencer verbs (their *preoccupare* class) have two internal arguments. The contribution I make here can be understood from two angles: from the bascologist's point of view, this article sets out to settle an old issue in Basque morphology using the tools of modern generative grammar; from the generative grammarian's point of view, this article tries to show that, once Belletti and Rizzi's treatment of *preoccupare* and *piacere* verbs is assumed to be correct, the Basque derivational suffix *-garri* is precisely the kind of morpheme which they predict will exist, for it treats the internal argument of simple transitive verbs and the deepest internal argument of the *preoccupare* and *piacere* psych verbs alike.

The article is structured as follows: in section 1 I present the relevant data and the previous accounts of the suffix *-garri*. Section 2 establishes on several grounds that *-garri* is indeed a *deverbal suffix* which forms adjectives productively. The third part studies the verb classes that may be the base for *-garri* suffixation and shows that all these classes share fundamentally the same argument structure: they are all biargumental verbs; given the correctness of Belletti and Rizzi's treatment of *preoccupare* verbs, the rule of *-garri* suffixation affects the same kind of argument, namely the deep direct object of the verb. Part four is devoted to showing that the class of verbs that give rise to the so called *active* value of *-garri* corresponds to Belletti and Rizzi's *preoccupare* class. Finally, section 5 reviews four different proposals regarding the morphology/argument structure and psychological verb/argument structure connection; Grimshaw's approach seems to be the most adequate for a unified analysis of *-garri*.

I warn the reader that this article doesn't intend to argue for a specific theory of derivational morphology and its interaction with argument structure or lexical semantics; on the contrary, it strives to present a piece of (hopefully) interesting data that may help clarify theoretical issues to others.

## 1. Presenting *-garri*

The Basque suffix *-garri* is traditionally characterized as: (a) forming adjectives and nouns from verbs and, disputably, from nouns/adjectives; and (b) as having both an *active* and a *passive* meaning. The data in (1-2) illustrate the first point:

### (1) undisputable verbal base

verb	derived word
a. <i>erakarri</i> "attract"	<i>erakargarri</i> "attractive"
b. <i>bete</i> "fill"	<i>betegarri</i> "filling" (n/adj), "filler" (n)
b. <i>gehitu</i> "add"	<i>gehigarri</i> "additive" (n), "additional" (adj)
c. <i>ikus</i> "see"	<i>ikusgarri</i> "spectacular, visible"
d. <i>kontsolatu</i> "console"	<i>kontsolagarri</i> "consoling/consolable"
e. <i>ulertu</i> "understand"	<i>ulergarri</i> "understandable"

## (2) disputable verbal base

noun/adjective	verb	derived word
a. <i>argi</i> "bright", "light"	<i>argi(tu)</i> "shine, clarify"	<i>argigarri</i> "clarifying"
b. <i>eder</i> "beautiful"	<i>eder(tu)</i> "embellish"	<i>edergarri</i> "embellishing, embellisher"
c. <i>harri</i> "stone"	<i>harri(tu)</i> "astonish"	<i>harrigarri</i> "astonishing"
d. <i>ikara</i> "fear"	<i>ikara(tu)</i> "scare, frighten"	<i>ikargarri</i> "scaring, frightening"
e. <i>lagun</i> "friend"	<i>lagun(du)</i> "help"	<i>lagungarri</i> "helping"

A look at a contrast between (1) and (2) shows that, although the base of *-garri* is generally taken to be a verbal root (Azkue 1925, Villasante 1974, Azkarate 1990), there are some cases where that claim seems questionable: there are many noun-verb or adjective-verb pairs, where the verb is derived by zero suffixation. The citation form of a Basque verb is the participle (i.e. the *-tu* form or *-i* form),<sup>1</sup> so the verb root is homophonous with the corresponding noun or adjective; hence, the verb roots in the examples in (2) are best characterized as *argi*, *eder*, *harri*, *ikara* and *lagun*, respectively. The fact that Azkue (1925) and Villasante (1974) paraphrase one meaning of *-garri* as "producer of" gives the impression that in many cases *-garri* must indeed attach to noun roots. Azkarate (1990), perhaps led by this confusing paraphrase, proposes to derive words like *ikargarri* (= 2c) "scaring, frightening" from verbal expressions like *ikara sortu*, *eman*, *eragin* "create, produce, give fright", implicitly assuming that the base may well be a noun in the relevant cases.

The data in (3-4) illustrate the second traditional claim about the value of the suffix:

## active value

- (3) *Berri horrek Jon hunkitu du* → *Berri hori oso hunkigarria da*  
 new that.E move aux new that very moving is  
 "The news deeply impressed John" "That piece of news was very impressive"

## passive value

- (4) *Jonek film hori ikusi du* → *Film hori ikusgarria da*  
 Jon.E film that see aux film this spectacular is  
 "John saw that movie" "That movie is worth seeing"

The *active/passive* terms simply reflect the fact, pointed out most clearly by Azkarate (1990), that the subject of the derived adjective may correspond to the original subject of the verb in the so called active use of *-garri* as is the case in example (3), while it corresponds to the original direct object of the verb in the passive use of *-garri*, as in (4).<sup>2</sup>

Another unsettled question is the category of the suffix *-garri*: although Azkue (1925) clearly mentions that it can be both an adjective and a noun, Villasante (1974) and

<sup>1</sup> *-tu* is the only productive participle ending in modern Basque; other endings are *-i* (cf. *ikusi* above), *-n* or simply  $\emptyset$ , in cases where the participle and the verbal root is homophonous.

<sup>2</sup> The passive value becomes more prominent when giving the relevant translation: *ikusgarri* "property of something that deserves being seen"; interestingly, it is debatable whether Basque has a true passive construction.

Azkarate (1990) only talk about its adjectival value. In the next section I shall argue that *-garri* is uniformly attached to verbal roots and that it is only productive as adjectival suffix.

## 2. The suffix *-garri* only attaches to verbs and is an adjective

There are three basic arguments to claim that the base of *-garri* is also a verb even in the disputed cases like those in (2). I summarize them below.

### 2.1. The regularity in the meaning of the derived word

The meaning of the derived word is best understood taking the verb as the base. Take the following examples:

- |        |                                      |   |
|--------|--------------------------------------|---|
| (5) a. | <i>aberasgarri</i> “enriching”       | (cf. <i>aberats</i> “rich”; <i>aberastu</i> “become rich, enrich”)    |
| b.     | <i>argigarri</i> “clarifying”        | (cf. <i>argi</i> “bright, light”; <i>argitu</i> “clear, clarify”)     |
| c.     | <i>harrigarri</i> “surprising”       | (cf. <i>harri</i> “stone”; <i>harritu</i> “get astonished/ astonish”) |
| d.     | <i>lagungarri</i> “helping, helpful” | (cf. <i>lagun</i> “friend”; <i>lagundu</i> “help”)                    |
| e.     | <i>lazgarri</i> “impressive”         | (cf. <i>latz</i> “rough”; <i>laztu</i> “roughen/impress”)             |

The meaning of these is crystal clear if paraphrased with the corresponding verb:

- |        |  |                                 |
|--------|--|---------------------------------|
| (6) a. | <i>aberasgarri</i> = ( <i>bat edo bat</i> ) <i>aberasten duena</i> | “that it enriches (someone)”    |
| b.     | <i>argigarri</i> = ( <i>zer edo zer</i> ) <i>argitzen duena</i>    | “that it clarifies (something)” |
| c.     | <i>harrigarri</i> = ( <i>bat edo bat</i> ) <i>harritzen duena</i>  | “that it surprises (someone)”   |
| d.     | <i>lagungarri</i> = ( <i>bat edo bat</i> ) <i>laguntzen duena</i>  | “that helps (someone)”          |
| e.     | <i>lazgarri</i> = ( <i>bat edo bat</i> ) <i>lazten duena</i>       | “that it impresses (someone)”   |

There is a regular and coherent meaning relation between the verb and the derived adjective.<sup>3</sup> If we take the noun/adjective as the base, the regularity is lost. For the active use, the meaning traditionally associated with the suffix is “producer of”; nonetheless, it is pretty obvious that *lagungarri* doesn’t mean “producer of friends” but “helpful”; the meaning of *aberasgarri* is not “producer of rich (people?)” but “enriching”; the meaning of *argigarri* is “clarifying”, but nothing implies that light or brightness is produced; *harrigarri* simply means “astonishing, surprising” given that the original connection between *harri* “stone” and *harritu* “astonish” or “get astonished” (literally “stone”) is presently lost. Similar considerations apply to *lazgarri*, derived from *laztu* “impress”, which can also have the literal meaning “roughen” (cf. *latz* “rough”): the meaning of the derived adjective stems from the meaning of the verb, not the actual meaning of the original adjective.

<sup>3</sup> The examples in (5-6) all correspond to the active value of *-garri*, the one that is more problematic for noun/adjective-verb pairs. There are fewer disputed cases with the passive value:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| (i) a.  | <i>zenbat</i> “how much/many” / <i>zenbatu</i> “count”                              |
| b.      | <i>zenbakarri</i> = countable   |
| (ii) a. | <i>txalo</i> “applause” / <i>txalotu</i> “applaud”                                  |
| b.      | <i>txalogarri</i> = “that it deserves being applauded by someone, worth applauding” |

In both cases it is clear that the meaning must be paraphrased departing from the verb.

We safely conclude then that, even in the alleged doubtful cases, *-garri* attaches to verbs and there is no need to duplicate the range of possible bases.

## 2.2. The morphophonological argument

There exist many pairs of noun/adjective-verb alternations where the verb stem undergoes a phonological change:

(7) verbs that change /e, o, u/ → [a]

noun/adjective	verb
a. <i>aipu</i> "citation"	<i>aipatu</i> "cite"
b. <i>akuilu</i> "spur"	<i>akuilatu</i> "incite, spur on"
c. <i>amorr</i> "irritation"	<i>amorratu</i> "become irritated, irritate"
d. <i>arbuio</i> "despise"	<i>arbuiatu</i> "despise"
e. <i>deitore</i> "regret"	<i>deitoratu</i> "regret"
f. <i>errespetu</i> "respect"	<i>errespetatu</i> "respect"
g. <i>fresko</i> "fresh"	<i>freskatu</i> "become fresh, refresh"
h. <i>gomendio</i> "advice"	<i>gomendatu</i> "advise"
i. <i>gorroto</i> "hatred"	<i>gorrotatu</i> "hate"
j. <i>gozo</i> "sweet"	<i>gozatu</i> "sweeten"
k. <i>kutsu</i> "taint"	<i>kutsatu</i> "taint, contaminate"
l. <i>laudo</i> "praise"	<i>laudatu</i> "praise"
m. <i>luze</i> "long"	<i>luzatu</i> "lengthen, delay"
n. <i>oso</i> "complete"	<i>osatu</i> "complete"
o. <i>susmo</i> "suspicion"	<i>susmatu</i> "suspect"
p. <i>zoro</i> "crazy"	<i>zoratu</i> "get crazy, drive crazy"

Not surprisingly, the adjectives derived with *-garri* all display the corresponding vowel change, as if derived from the verb and not from a noun/adjective root:<sup>4</sup>

- (8) a. *aipagarri* / \**aipugarri* "mentionable" b. *akuilagarri* / \**akuilugarri* "incentive"  
 c. *amorragarri* / \**amorrugarri* "irritating" d. *arbuiagarri* / \**arbuioagarri* "despicable"  
 e. *deitonagarri* / \**deitogarrri* "regrettable" f. *errespetagarri* / \**errespetugarri* "respectable"  
 g. *freskagarri* / \**freskogarrri* "refreshing" h. ...

We thus have additional evidence that *-garri* invariably attaches to verbal roots.

<sup>4</sup> A possible objection to this argument: the vowel change might be induced by the noun/adjective itself, a phenomenon well-known in Basque noun roots:

- (i) a. *asto* "donkey" b. *astakeria* "donkey-nonsense" (cf. also *astokeria*)

Nonetheless, as pointed out in Artiagoitia (1995), these alternations have a lexicalized flavor and need not be respected in modern Basque as long as the suffix is still productive; hence, *astokeria* is also possible. If the vowel change in (8) were induced by the noun/adjective itself, we would expect pairs like *aipagarri* / *aipugarri*, contrary to fact. Indeed, the few cases where we find an alternation (e.g. *tristegarri* / *tristagarri* "saddening") it is because two forms of the verb (i.e. *tristetul* / *tristatu* "sadden") also exist.

### 2.3. The modern use of *-garri*

A third and crucial argument comes from the coinage of new words with *-garri*. The spontaneous formation of new words and the judgements of speakers when confronted with possible words show that in order for a new *-garri* word to be derived there must be a verbal root. Below is a list of possible words formed taking nouns with no corresponding verb root as the base:

(9) noun/adj.	verb	derived word	
a. <i>depresio</i> "depression"	* <i>depresiotu</i>	* <i>depresiogarri</i>	cf. <i>tristagarri</i> "saddening"
b. <i>fede</i> "faith"	* <i>fedetu</i>	* <i>fedegarri</i>	cf. <i>susmagarri</i> "suspect"
c. <i>gezur</i> "lie"	* <i>gezurtu</i>	* <i>gezurgarri</i>	cf. <i>engainagarri</i> "deceiving"
d. <i>ilusio</i> "illusion"	* <i>ilusiotu</i>	* <i>ilusiogarri</i>	cf. <i>liluragarri</i> "fascinating"
e. <i>lo</i> "sleep (n)"	* <i>lotu</i>	* <i>logarri</i>	cf. <i>nekagarri</i> "tiring"
f. <i>izpiritu</i> "spirit"	* <i>izpiritutu</i>	* <i>izpiritugarri</i>	cf. <i>penagarri</i> "distressing"
g. <i>gogo</i> "mind, will"	* <i>gogotu</i>	* <i>gogogarri</i>	cf. <i>kezkarri</i> "worrying"
h. <i>hots</i> "sound"	* <i>hostu</i>	* <i>hoskarri</i>	cf. <i>deigarri</i> "calling, requiring attention"

The result is that none of these words is acceptable. The reader should be aware that there exist grammatical examples which are apparently similar to the ones rejected by the speakers in that the base *might* be taken to be a noun or an adjective very much like the ones in the first column. But this similarity dissolves very quickly because all of the good examples have a corresponding verbal root:

(9) noun/adj.	verb	derived word
i. <i>triste</i> "sad"	<i>tristatu</i> "get sad, sadden"	<i>tristagarri</i> "saddening"
j. <i>susmo</i> "suspicion"	<i>susmatu</i> "suspect"	<i>susmagarri</i> "suspicious"
k. <i>engainu</i> "lie"	<i>engainatu</i> "deceive"	<i>engainagarri</i> "deceiving"
l. <i>neke</i> "tiredness"	<i>nekatu</i> "get tired, tire"	<i>nekagarri</i> "tiring"
m. <i>pena</i> "distress"	<i>penatu</i> "distress"	<i>penagarri</i> "distressing"
n. <i>kezka</i> "worry"	<i>kezkatu</i> "get worried, worry"	<i>kezkarri</i> "worrying"
o. <i>dei</i> "call"	<i>deitu</i> "call"	<i>deigarri</i> "calling"

Thus, whether a new *-garri* word is possible is a function of the existence of an appropriate verb, not a noun or an adjective. We reach the same conclusion by looking at loanwords. Below I give a list of verbs, many loanwords from Spanish, of the type that generally accept *-garri*; not surprisingly, Basque speakers accept these words. I also provide a list of the corresponding possible noun root, when there is one:

(10) noun	verb	derived word
a. <i>aluzine</i> "hallucination"	<i>aluzinatu</i> "freak out"	→ <i>aluzinagarri</i> "hallucinatory"
b. <i>depresio</i> "depression"	<i>deprimitu</i> "depress"	→ <i>deprimigarri</i> "depressing"

c. <i>dibersio</i> "diversion"	<i>dibertitu</i> "divert"	→ <i>dibertigarri</i> "diverting"
d. <i>entretenimendu</i>	<i>entretenitu</i> "entertain"	→ <i>entretenigarri</i> "entertaining"
e. <i>estres</i> "stress"	<i>estresatu</i> "stress"	→ <i>estresagarri</i> "stressing"
f. <i>gezur</i> "lie"	<i>gezuratu</i> "deny"	→ <i>gezurtagarri</i> "deniable"
g. <i>gobernu</i> "government"	<i>gobernatu</i> "govern"	→ <i>gobernagarri</i> "governable"
h. --	<i>kantsatu</i> "get tired, tire"	→ <i>kantsagarri</i> "tiring, tiresome"
i. <i>konbikzio</i> "conviction"	<i>konbentzitu</i> "convince"	→ <i>konbentzigarri</i> "convincing"
j. <i>sedukzio</i> "seduction"	<i>seduzitu</i> "seduce"	→ <i>seduzigarri</i> "seductive"
k. <i>sorgin</i> "witch, wizard"	<i>sorgindu</i> "bewitch"	→ <i>sorgingarri</i> "bewitching"
l. <i>tolerantzia</i> "tolerance"	<i>toleratu</i> "tolerate"	→ <i>toleragarri</i> "tolerable"

It is clear that newly coined *-garri* word always chooses the verbal root.

In view of all the concurring evidence, then, one is led to claim that *-garri* is indeed a deverbal suffix and that there is no evidence to postulate both a verb *and* a noun or adjective subcategorization frame. Hence:

(11) *-garri*, N/Adj, [+V \_\_\_\_]

There is however a small set of exceptions where the root is necessarily a noun. Below I provide a short list of these exceptions:

(12) noun/adjective	verb	derived word
a. <i>azpi</i> "bed (for animals)"		<i>azpigarri</i> "material for making a bed"
b. <i>eredu</i> "model"		<i>eredugarri</i> "model"
c. <i>interes</i> "interest"	<i>interesatu</i> "interest"	<i>interesgarri</i> "interesting"
d. <i>onura</i> "profit"		<i>onuragarri</i> "profitable"
e. <i>xarmant</i> "charming"		<i>xarmantgarri</i> "charming"
f. <i>zirrara</i> "impact, shock"		<i>zirrargarri</i> "shocking"
g. <i>barre</i> "laugh (n)"	<i>barre egin</i> "laugh"	<i>barregarri</i> "derisive"
h. <i>irri</i> "smile (n)"	<i>irri egin</i> "smile"	<i>irrigarri</i> "derisive"
i. <i>negar</i> "cry (n)"	<i>negar egin</i> "cry"	<i>negargarri</i> "deplorable"

There is little doubt about many of the examples in (12): *azpi*, *eredu*, *interes*, *onura*, and *zirrara* are all nouns, and no corresponding verb exists as the possible source for the *-garri* word. The case of the French loanword *xarmant* < *charmant* "charming" is different since the adjective *xarmant* already exists in Basque as a direct loanword; hence *xarmantgarri* is just a pleonastic form, with two suffixes, French *-nt* and Basque *-garri*.

The last three exceptions are set apart: they all involve three nouns that form unergative verbs of the type [noun + *egin* "do"], well known in the literature on Basque (cf. Levin 1983, Laka 1993). For the time being (but see note 15), I will just note that the absence of *egin* in the derived word seems to indicate that the adjectives are derived directly from the noun, the inner argument of the complex verb.

#### 2.4. Only the adjective value is alive

Finally, I turn to consider the categorial status of the suffix: it seems unquestionable that some words are nouns, others are adjectives, and others can be both:

- (13) a. *Euskarri sendoa behar du mahai honek* (noun)  
holder strong.art need aux table this.E  
“This table needs a strong holder”
- b. *Jokabide lotsagarria izan da zurea* (adjective)  
behavior embarrassing.art be aux yours  
“Yours has been an embarrassing behaviour”
- c1. *Musika lasaigarria maite dut, ez rokanrola* (adjective)  
music relaxing.art love aux not rock-n-roll  
“I like relaxing music, not rock’n’roll”
- c2. *Lorik egin ezean, hobe duzu lasaigarri gogor horietako bat hartzea* (noun)  
sleep.prt do if-not better aux tranquilizer strong those.of one take  
“If you can’t sleep, you’d better take one of those strong tranquilizers”

In short, *euskarri* “holder” is only a noun; *lotsagarri* “embarrassing” only an adjective; and *lasaigarri* can be both a noun “tranquilizer” or an adjective “tranquilizing, relaxing”.

There is evidence to claim that the noun value of *-garri* is no longer productive, while the adjective value is pretty much productive. By productive, “we understand the possibility for language users to coin, unintentionally, a number of formations which are in principle uncountable” (Schultink 1961, cited in Lieber 1992: 3). Thus, as the little experiment in (10) indicates, Basque speakers have no trouble in coining new adjectives based on *-garri*; many of the examples in (10) were drawn from articles in the opinion section of the newspaper *Egunkaria*, and most of them are not found in Basque normative dictionaries. Furthermore, if a speaker of Western Basque hears the Eastern adjective *akigarri*, she will have no problem in figuring out what it means if we give her the corresponding Western synonym of *akitu* (i.e. *nekatu* “tire, get tired”).

The situation with nominal *-garri* is somewhat different: many speakers don’t know what object *berogarri* is (“coat, overall jacket” for those who use it), even though the verb *berotu* “heat” is common to all Basque dialects; similar considerations apply to other possible nouns like *aipagarri* (literally “citer”) or *aurkigarri* (“finder”); in fact, speakers’ reaction is that they don’t know these nouns because they were never confronted with them. In other words, nouns with the suffix *-garri* have to be learned on a one-by-one basis, so it is a very hard task to persuade anyone that an *aipagarri* might be, for example, a CD-rom that carries all kinds of citations by writers and artists.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the meaning of many *-garri* nouns is often highly idiosyncratic and that is hardly the case with *-garri* adjectives: *pasagarri* (lit. “passer, thing that helps to pass”), as a noun, means “footbridge” in some places but “amount of food needed to

<sup>5</sup> *aurkigarri* is used with the meaning “index” by Etxeberri of Ciboure, a classical Basque writer of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Speakers need to memorize this meaning, or else they will think it is an adjective.



survive/pass the winter” in others; according to Azkue (1905), *begiragarri* (lit. “protector”) is the word for “preservative” in some dialects, not just protector in general; *luzagarri* “lengthener” is also the word for “excuse, apology” for some speakers, and so on and so forth.

In sum: there is a clear sense that one could in principle gather all the nouns derived with the suffix *-garri*, but there seems to be little sense in doing so with the corresponding adjectives; these are, in principle, uncountable. Having determined that *-garri* is a deverbal suffix which forms adjectives in a productive way, we now turn to the next question: which verbs accept *-garri*? And, what do they have in common?

### 3. Verbs that can take *-garri*

For ease of exposition, I will start out by separating the so called passive and active values of the suffix just to later show that both values are amenable to a unified analysis.

#### 3.1. Verbs that give rise to the so called passive *-garri*

It is no secret that this passive *-garri* is similar, though not totally equivalent, to its English counterpart *-able*, at least as described in Williams (1981). The verbs that take *-garri* with this sense are simple transitive verbs, usually with an agent-theme argument structure and the corresponding ergative-absolutive pattern. I will call this type the *aipatu* class:

##### (14) the *aipatu* class: simple transitive verbs

*aipatu* “cite”, *agurtu* “greet”, *aldatu* “change”, *aztertu* “examine”, *barkatu* “forgive”, *begiratu* “look”, *edan* “drink”, *egin* “do”, *erabili* “use”, *entzun* “hear”, *eskuratu* “retrieve”, *ezagutu* “know”, *eztabaidatu* “dispute”, *garbitu* “clean”, *gogoratu* “remember”, *gomendatu* “recommend”, *ikusi* “see”, *irakurri* “read”, *jakin* “know”, *jan* “eat”, *kontatu* “count, tell”, *laudatu* “praise”, *onartu* “accept”, *oroitu* “remember”, *sinetsi* “believe”, *susmatu* “suspect”, *tolestu* “fold”, *txalotu* “applaud”, *ukitu* “touch”, *ulertu* “understand”, *zenbatu* “count”

- |                                     |   |                                |
|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| (15) <i>Jonek liburua aipatu du</i> | → | <i>Liburua aipagarria da</i>   |
| .E book.art cite aux                |   | book.art citable is            |
| “John mentioned the book”           |   | “The book is worth mentioning” |

Similarly, psych verbs of the *subject experiencer* type, the *temere* class of Belletti and Rizzi (1988), may also undergo *-garri* suffixation:

##### (16) the *gorrotatu* class: transitive psych verbs (experiencer = subject)

*adoratu* “adore”, *ahendatu* “regret”, *arbuiaitu* “despise”, *deitoratu* “regret”, *desiratu* “desire”, *eraman* “suffer”, *erdeinatu* “despise”, *estimatu* “esteem”, *gaitzetsi* “refuse, detest”, *gorrotatu* “hate”, *higuindu* “abhor”, *jasan* “bear”, *maitatu* “love”, *miretsi* “admire”, *pairatu* “suffer”

In Basque, these verbs behave as a regular transitive verbs, with an ergative-absolutive pattern:<sup>6</sup>

- (17) *Mirenek John Coltrane miresten du* → *John Coltrane miresgarria zen*  
 Mary.E                      admire aux                      admirable was  
 “Mary admires John Coltrane”                      “John Coltrane was admirable”

A third class of verbs includes those verbs whose subject is absolutive and are not considered transitive; instead they take an instrumental or dative object:

- (18) the *fidatu* class: absolutive-quirky case verbs

*baliatu* “make use of”, *fidatu* “trust”, *errukitu* “take pity on”, *ohartu* “realize, be aware of”, *urrikaldu* “take pity on”

- (19) a. *Jon Mirenez fidatzen da* → *Miren fidagarria da*  
 Mary.inst trust aux                      trustworthy is  
 “John trust Mary”                      “Mary is trustworthy”  
 b. *Jon arazo horri ohartu zaio* → *Arazo hori ohargarria da*  
 problem that.D realize                      problem that noticeable is  
 “John became aware of that problem”                      “That problem is noticeable”

In a sense, given that the object (not direct object proper) becomes the subject of the derived adjective, I assimilate this use of *-garri* to a subcase of the *passive* value.

### 3.2. Verbs give rise to the so called active value of *-garri*

The range of verbs that give rise to the active value of the suffix reduces to two blocks: psych verbs of the experiencer-object type (cf. English adjectival *-ing* studied by Brekke 1988), and verbs whose subject may bear an instrumental, non-agentive,  $\theta$ -role.

The first class corresponds basically to Belletti and Rizzi’s *preoccupare* class, which I term with the similar Basque verb *kezkatu*:

<sup>6</sup> Some of these subject experiencer verbs, most of them mental states, have a variant with a predicate noun and the verb *ukan* “have” (cf. Etxepare 2001):

- (i) *Mirenek Joni {gorroto, beldur, higuina} dio*  
 Mary.E John.D hatred fear disgust has  
 Lit: “Mary has hatred/fear/disgust for John”

Other mental states are sometimes expressed with the verb *izan* “be”:

- (ii) *Miren {beldur, haserre} da*  
 Mary fear angry is  
 “Mary is {afraid, angry}”

(20) psych verbs of the *kezkatu* class (experiencer object)

*arduratu* “become concerned, concern”, *aspertu* “get bored, bore”, *beldurtu* “become frightened, frighten”, *debeiatu* “become/make impatient”, *engainatu* “deceive”, *entretenu* “get entertained, entertain”, *erakarri* “attract”, *ernatu* “get excited, excite”, *ernegatu* “get/make desperate”, *erotu* “get/drive crazy”, *espantatu* “scare”, *estutu* “become distressed, distress”, *etsi* “get/make desperate”, *galdu* “harm, corrupt”, *gogaitu* “get bored, bore”, *gogobete* “satisfy”, *harritu* “get astonished, astonish”, *harrotu* “become/make arrogant”, *haserretu* “get angry, anger”, *hunkitu* “get impressed, impress”, *ikaratu* “get scared, scare”, *iraindu* “insult”, *izutu* “get scared, scare”, *kaltetu* “harm”, *kezkatu* “get worried, worry”, *kilikatu* “excite”, *laidotu* “offend”, *larritu* “become/make anguished”, *lasaitu* “get calmed, calm”, *lazu* “impress”, *liluratu* “become fascinated, fascinate”, *lotsatu* “get embarrassed, embarrass”, *mindu* “hurt”, *nahastu* “get confused, confuse”, *nazkatu* “get disgusted, disgust”, *nekatu* “get tired, tire”, *okaztatu* “disgust”, *penatu* “get distressed/distress”, *poztu* “become/make happy”, *samindu* “afflict”, *sortu* “get sedated, sedate”, *sumindu* “get enraged, enrage”, *sutu* “infuriate”, *tentatu* “tempt”, *tristatu* “become sad, sadden”, *txunditu* “surprise”, *zoratu* “get/drive crazy”, *zuzpertz* “recover”

- (21) *Film horrek Jon aspertu du* → *Filma aspergarria da*  
 film that.E bore film.art boring is  
 “That movie bored John” “the movie is boring”

As the reader may see from the example (21), the theme or stimulus argument is marked ergative, the case usually born by the subject in transitive structures in Basque, and the experiencer is marked absolutive.

There is a second, much smaller, class of psych verbs that mirrors the corresponding *piacere* class of Belletti and Rizzi’s; here the experiencer is marked dative, and the other argument bears absolutive case:

(22) the *gustatu* class (absolutive-dative verbs; dative = experiencer)<sup>7</sup>

*damutu* “regret”, *gustatu*, *laket* “like”

- (23) *Mireni Janis Joplin gustatzen zaio* → *Janis Joplin oso gustagarria zen*  
 Mary.D like aux very likable was  
 “Janis Joplin appeals to Miren” “Janis Joplin was very appealing/likable”

It is indeed very much debatable whether the absolutive argument is the subject in the *gustatu* class; nonetheless, given that the tendency among Basque scholars is to

<sup>7</sup> *komeni* “to be convenient” is similar, though it is not considered a psych verb:

- (i) *Joni irakurtzea komeni zaio* → *irakurtzea komenigarria da*  
 .dat reading convene aux reading convenient is  
 “Reading is convenient for Jon” “Reading is advisable”

consider that the absolutive is the subject, I assimilate this class to the active use of *-garri*, but nothing hinges upon this choice.<sup>8</sup>

The second block of verbs which allow the active value of *-garri* are verbs whose subject bears what appears to be an instrumental role; the verb list below might be amenable to a more subtle analysis. I term these verbs the *erakutsi* ‘show’ class:

(24) the *erakutsi* class (transitive verbs with instrumental subjects)<sup>9</sup>

*agertu* ‘display’, *akuilatu* ‘spur’, *alixatu* ‘lift’, *apaindu* ‘decorate’, *arindu* ‘thin/lessen’, *astundu* ‘get/make something heavy’, *atzenatu* ‘delay’, *aurreratu* ‘go forward’, *azkartu* ‘speed’, *babestu* ‘protect’, *balakatu* ‘adulate’, *begiratu* ‘free, save’, *behaztopatu* ‘block’, *berandutu* ‘delay’, *beratu* ‘soften’, *berotu* ‘heat’, *bete* ‘fill’, *biguintu* ‘soften’, *bizitu* ‘enliven, vitalize’, *bultzatu* ‘push’, *deitu* ‘call’, *deklaratu* ‘declare’ (*des*)*ohoratu* ‘(dis)honour’ (*des*)*ugertu* ‘(dis)oxidize’, *edertu* ‘embellish’, *eragin* ‘influence’, *eragotzi* ‘prevent’, *erakutsi* ‘show’, *erdiratu* ‘tear, break’, *estali* ‘cover’, *eutsi* ‘hold’, *ezeztatu* ‘eliminate’, *freskatu* ‘refresh’, *gazitu* ‘salt’, *gehitu* ‘add’, *gelditu* ‘stop’, *gogoratu* ‘remind’, *gorde* ‘hide’, *gozatu* ‘sweeten’, *handitu* ‘enlarge’, *hil* ‘kill’, *hoztu* ‘cool’, *isolatu* ‘isolate’, *ito* ‘asphyxiate’, *itsutu* ‘blind’, *jaso* ‘raise’, *kitatu* ‘remove a debt’, *kutsatu* ‘taint’, *labaindu* ‘slip’, *laburtu* ‘shorten’, *lagundu* ‘help’, *lerdendu* ‘slenderize’, *leundu* ‘soften’, *liraindu* ‘slenderize’, *mehatzatu* ‘threaten’, *ondu* ‘improve’, *oroitu* ‘remind’, *osatu* ‘complete’, *piztu* ‘switch on, revive’, *sendatu* ‘cure’, *sendotu* ‘strengthen’, *trabatu* ‘block’, *txikitu* ‘diminish’, *zabaldu* ‘widen’, *zulatu* ‘perforate’

- (25) *Argazki horrek Irakeko egoera erakusten du* →  
 picture that.E Iraq.of situation show aux  
 ‘That picture shows that situation in Iraq’

*Argazki hori Irakeko egoeraren erakusgarria da*  
 picture that Iraq.of situation.gen showing is  
 ‘That picture is indicative of the situation in Iraq’

It is particularly revealing to show that in order for the suffix *-garri* to be possible with the verbs in (24), the argument that the suffix controls must be a non-agent subject:

- (26) a. *Jonek hutsunea bete du* → \**Jon izan da hutsunearen betegarria*  
 .E gap.art fill aux be aux gap.gen filling.art  
 ‘John filled the gap’ ‘John was a filler of the gap’

<sup>8</sup> Eventually, what is crucial is that the *-garri* adjective corresponds to the direct object (i.e. the theme in B & R’s approach) argument of the verb. See Artiagoitia (2000a: 411), where it is hinted that the dative is indeed the subject.

<sup>9</sup> Some verbs in the list have a psych interpretation by extension: *bizitu* ‘enliven’ but also ‘encourage, cheer up’; *berotu* ‘heat’ but also ‘anger’; *erdiratu* ‘tear, break’ and *ito* ‘asphyxiate’, which both have a physical and psychological meaning; *piztu* ‘switch on’ but also ‘revive, encourage’. Conversely, the verb *estutu* ‘distress’ in (20) also means ‘narrow, tighten’, but the adjective *estugarri* is used with meaning ‘distressing’ than with the meaning ‘narrowing’. As a lexicalized noun, *estugarri* is ‘rope, string’ in some varieties.

- b. *Eztiak edonor betetzen du* → *Eztia janari betegarria da*  
 honey.E anyone fill aux honey food filling.art is  
 “Honey fills just anyone” “Honey is a filling food”
- (27) a. *Kazetariak Irakeko egoera erakutsi du* →  
 journalist.E Iraq.of situation show aux  
 “The journalist showed the situation in Iraq”
- \**Kazetaria egoeraren erakusgarri izan da*  
 journalist situation.gen showing be aux  
 “The journalist was indicative of the situation”
- b. *Argazki horrek Irakeko egoera erakusten du* →  
 picture that.E Iraq.of situatin show aux  
 “That picture shows the situation in Iraq”
- Argazkia egoeraren erakusgarri da*  
 picture situation.gen showing is  
 “The picture is indicative of the situation”

The word *betegarri* “filling, having the property of filling something” in (26) can only be applied to the instrument that fills the gap, not to the agent of filling.<sup>10</sup> Similar considerations apply to *erakusgarri* “showing, indicative”; it is a property of the instrument that shows or displays something, not a property of the agent that shows or displays that same thing.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.3. Verbs that give rise to both values of *-garri*

There is a number of verbs that admit *-garri* in the two traditional senses:

- (28) *gogoratu* “remember, remind”, *gomutatu* “remember, remind”, *kontsolatu* “console”, *luzatu* “lengthen”, *oroitu* “remember, remind”, *pasatu* “pass”, *seinalatu* “signal”, *urratu* “tear”...

But this is simply due to the fact that these verbs can have both a regular transitive use and an instrumental-theme interpretation. Consider the following examples:

<sup>10</sup> To refer to the agent, we’d need something like *Jon izan da hutsunearen betetzaillea* “John was a filler of the gap”. The condition on the suffix *-t(z)aile* is that it must control the external argument of the verb (cf. Azkarate 1995).

<sup>11</sup> Nothing prevents an animate argument from being the subject of a *-garri* adjective, as long as that argument is not an agent:

- (i) a. *Familia galdu duen {umeak/umearen egoerak} gerraren zentzugabekeria erakusten du*  
 “[The kid/the situation of the kid] who lost his family shows the nonsense of the war”  
 b. *Familia galdu duen {umea/umearen egoera} gerraren zentzugabekeriaren erakusgarri da*  
 “[The kid/the situation of the kid] who lost his family is indicative of the nonsense of the war”

The kid is definitely not a true agent in (ia), but a sort of stimulus/instrument which shows the nonsense of the war.

- (29) a. *Hitz horiek kondenatuko zaituzte zu*  
word these condemn aux you  
“These words will condemn you”
- b. *Hitz horiek izango dira (zure) kondenagarriak*  
word these be aux your condemning  
“Those words will be condemning (of you)/your condemnation”
- (30) a. *Jonek hilketa kondenatu zuen*  
.E killing condemn aux  
“John condemned the killing”
- b. \**Jon kondenagarria zen*  
condemning was  
“John was condemning”
- (31) a. *Jonek hilketa kondenatu zuen*  
.E killing condemn aux  
“John condemned the killing”
- b. *Hilketa kondenagarria zen*  
killing condemnable was  
“The killing was condemnable”

As we can see from the contrast between (29) and (30), the active meaning of *kondenagarri* is restricted to the *instrumental* interpretation of the verb *kondenatu* (cf. 29a-b), but it is impossible with the *agentive* interpretation (= 30b). On the other hand, the suffix *-garri* is amenable to the *passive* interpretation since the derived adjective can be predicated of the corresponding direct object in cases like (31b).

### 3.4. What do all verbs that take *-garri* have in common?

A first look at the types of verbs to which the suffix *-garri* can attach is very telling: all of them take two arguments. We may generalize this fact and propose it as an actual rule:

- (32) The suffix *-garri* is restricted to verbs that take two arguments<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> It is tempting to say that the suffix is restricted to verbs that take *two DP arguments*, because verbs which also select sentential complements seem to only take *-garri* provided the DP complement is involved:

- (i) a. *Jonek proposamena onartu du* → *Proposamena onargarria da*  
“John accepted the proposal” “The proposal is acceptable”
- b. *Jonek gaixorik dagoela onartu du* → \**Jon gaixorik dagoela onargarria da*  
“John accepted that he is sick” “It is acceptable that John is sick”

Adjectives formed with the active value of *-garri* are incompatible with sentential complements, because the verbs that they are derived from don't accept a sentential subject to start with:

- (ii) \**Nola mintzatu zaren lasaitu nau* → \**Lasagarria da nola mintzatu zaren*  
“How you talked calmed me down” “It is relaxing how you talked”

To my mind, the only cases where a sentential complement to a *-garri* adjective is allowed are those with the lexicalized adjectives *ikaragarri/izugarri* literally “frightening”; these adjectives often simply mean “incredible”:

- (iii) *Ikaragarria da Athleticek zelan irabazi duen partida*  
“It is incredible how Athletic won the game”

Another datum that supports the lexicalized flavor of *izugarri/ikaragarri* is that they can be used as adjective/verb degree modifiers:

If (32) is truly part of the rule that forms new words from *-garri*, it predicts that typical monoargumental verbs will be excluded; the prediction is certainly fulfilled:

- (33) \**afalgarri* “dining/dinable”, \**borrokagarri* “fighting/fightable”, \**bukagarri* “finishing/finishable”, \**dimitigarri* “resigning/resignable”, \**egongarri* “staying/stayable”, \**erorgarri* “falling/fallable”, \**etorgarri* “coming/comeable”, \**funtzionagarri* “functioning/functionable”, \**hasigarri* “starting/startable”, \**ibilgarri* “walking/walkable”, \**irakingarri* “boiling/boilable”, \**irtengarri* “exiting/exitable”, \**izangarri* “being/beable”, \**jaiogarri* “be borning/bornable”, \**jardungarri* “engaging/engageable”, \**joangarri* “going/goable”, \**jokagarri* “playing/playable”, \**mintzagarri* “speaking/speakable”...

The list in (33) includes both thematically unaccusative (*bukatu* “finish”, *egon* “stay”, *erori* “fall”, *etorri* “come”, *funtzionatu* “function”, *hasi* “start”, *ibili* “walk, march”, *irakin* “boil”, *irten* “exit”, *izan* “be”, *jaio* “be born”, *joan* “go”) and unergative verbs<sup>13</sup> (*afaldu* “dine”, *borrokatu* “fight”, *dimititu* “resign”, *jardun* “engage”, *jokatu* “play”, *mintzatu* “speak”), and speakers clearly reject them.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, when a verb has an inchoative/transitive alternation, the *-garri* word always relates to the transitive use of the verb:

(34) inchoative	transitive	derived word
a. <i>altxatu</i> “rise”	<i>altxatu</i> “raise”	<i>altxagarri</i> “leaven” (lit. “raiser”)
b. <i>gelditu</i> “stop”	<i>gelditu</i> “stop someone”	<i>geldigarri</i> “stopping someone”
c. <i>hil</i> “die”	<i>hil</i> “kill”	<i>hilgarri</i> “mortal, killing”
d. <i>ito</i> “drown”	<i>ito</i> “asphyxiate, drown (someone)”	<i>itogarri</i> “asphyxiating”
e. <i>lotsatu</i> “get embarrassed”	<i>lotsatu</i> “embarras”	<i>lotsagarri</i> “embarrassing”

- (iv) a. *Donostia ikaragarri polita da*  
 “San Sebastian is absolutely beautiful” (lit. “frightening beautiful”)  
 b. *Bilbo ikaragarri aldatu da azken boladan*  
 “Bilbao has changed a lot lately” (lit. “has changed frightening lately”)

Therefore, leaving aside the special case of *izugarri/ikaragarri*, it seems that *-garri* adjectives are possible with verbs that take two arguments, but those arguments need to be DPs, not sentences.

<sup>13</sup> I follow a thematic criterion when classifying verbs: *funtzionatu* “function”, *irakin* “boil”, and *irten* “get out, exit” select the transitive auxiliary (*irten* only in Western Basque); the verbs *borrokatu* “fight”, and *jokatu* “play” may choose the transitive and intransitive auxiliary depending on the dialect.

<sup>14</sup> In the Basque General Dictionary, one can find the following words: *erorgarri* “property of making one fall”, *joangarri* “reason to go”, *etorgarri* “origin”, *irakingarri* “property of making something boil”, which are nonetheless rejected by all my informants. All of them are creations of lexicologists, and have rarely been used in the history of written Basque; it is remarkable, however, that all these creations imply a causative/transitive and, hence, biargumental use of the verbs, even though the relevant transitive is non-existent. For example, *erorgarri* means “faller = that makes one fall”, *joangarri* “something that makes one go” and so on, but the verbs *erori* and *joan* cannot be used transitively.

A second prediction of (33) is that verbs which typically take three arguments will be at odds with the suffix *-garri*; again, the prediction is borne by the data; speakers find the relevant examples awkward or sharply reject them:

- (35) ??*erosgarri* “buyable”, ??*salgarri* “sellable”, ??*esangarri* “sayable/saying”, \**eskagarri* “askable”, \**eskaingarri* “offerable”, \**ipingarri* “putable”, \**jasogarri* “receivable/ receiving”, ??*kengarri* “removable”, \**uzgarri* “lendable”...

In view of all this evidence, I conclude that the suffix *-garri* can only attach to verbal roots that take two arguments, and this salient feature is precisely what both uses of *-garri* share, superficially at least.<sup>15</sup>

We now try to go a step forward: is there any other coincidence between the two types of verbs that take *-garri* beyond their taking two arguments? Or are we doomed to propose that there are basically two rules for the suffix? There are good *a priori* reasons to reject this latter position: first, traditional Basque grammarians always treat *-garri* as one single suffix, not two; the vowel change detected in denominal verbs that take *-garri*

<sup>15</sup> The realization that *-garri* attaches to two-argument verbs can help us do away with at least three of the apparent exceptions in (12), that is to say *barregarri*, *irrigarri* and *negargarri* (=12g-h-i). These examples are special for two reasons: (a) the base seems to be a noun; (b) even if the verb is taken as the base for the adjective, the interpretation seems to require a causative-like argument apparently absent in the base: something *barregarri* “derisive” would be something that makes one laugh; but that causer is not an argument of *barre egin* “laugh”; I said this much when I analyzed these adjectives as exceptions in Artiagoitia (1995: 367). There is, however, a way to derive these isolated examples from the general pattern of *-garri*. Interestingly, these three verbs which accept *-garri*, i.e. *irri egin*, *barre egin* and *negar egin*, have something in common; they can all take a dative argument:

- (i) a. *Zeri egiten diozu barre?*      b. *Zure ateraldiari irri egin zioten*  
 what.D do aux laugh                      your story.D smile do aux  
 “What are you laughing at?”              “They laughed at your story”
- c1. *Andreak euren bekatuei, eta euren semeenei negar egin behar zieten* (Añibarro)  
 women.E their sin.D and their son.pl.gen.dat cry do have aux  
 “Women had to cry for their sins and their sons’ (sins)”
- c2. *Bazuen zeri negar egin bai, gaixuak*  
 BA.had what.D cry do yes poor  
 “Indeed, the poor guy did have what to cry for”

And, as a matter of fact, it is this dative argument the one that the *-garri* adjective is predicated of: something *barregarri* “derisive, laughable” or *irrigarri* “derisive” is such that one laughs or smiles at it (marked dative); something *negargarri* “deplorable” is such that one deplores or cries for it (marked dative). If we assume that the nouns *barre/irri/negar* are part of the complex verb, the verb simply has two arguments: the subject-agent, marked ergative, and the goal-source (?), marked dative. Therefore, these three words turn out to be a subcase of the passive use of *-garri*.

One question remains: why is the verb *egin* “do” absent from the derived adjective? In fact, this is strictly incorrect: there exist less frequent variants of the adjectives with the correspondig verb base: *barre egingarri*, *irri egingarri* and *negar egingarri*. Nonetheless, as pointed out in Artiagoitia (2000b) and Oyharçabal (2003a), to the extent that [noun + *egin* “do”] unergative verbs participate in derivational processes, the absence of the verb part in the derived form is a constant. In Artiagoitia (2000b), I speculate that *egin* simply fills up an empty V node in the syntax (i.e. computational system); but these unergative verbs may well have their V node empty lexicon-internally. Cf. also Gràcia et al. (2000).



affects both values of the suffix; thirdly, both values of the suffix are equally productive in present Basque.

My position is that there is a stronger coincidence between the two uses of the verb: in fact, a closer look at the verbs that give rise to the active value of *-garri* shows that the *kezkatu* and *gustatu* classes in (20) and (22) correspond almost exactly to Belletti and Rizzi's *preoccupare* and *piacere* classes. Furthermore, these authors analyze these two verb classes as fundamentally *unaccusative* verbs in that they have two internal arguments. This is crucial; if Belletti and Rizzi are on the right track and if the corresponding Basque verbs display the same characteristics as their Italian counterparts, there is indeed a more subtle connection between the two uses of *-garri*: the suffix affects the most internal argument of two-argument verb to make it the subject/ external argument of the derived active. I illustrate this subtle connection between the two uses of *-garri* with the following examples:

- (36) passive value of *-garri*: the suffix *affects* the direct object of the base verb
- |    |                                       |   |                                   |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Jonek artikulua aipatu du</i>      | → | <i>Artikulua aipagarria da</i>    |
|    | John.E article.art cite aux           |   | article.art mentionable is        |
|    | “Jonek cited the article”             |   | “The article was mentionable”     |
| b. | <i>Jonek artikulua gorrotatzen du</i> | → | <i>Artikulua gorrotagarria da</i> |
|    | John.E article.art hate aux           |   | article.art detestable is         |
|    | “John hates the article”              |   | “The article is detestable”       |
- (37) active value of *-garri*: the suffix *affects* the superficial subject of the verb
- |    |   |   |                                     |
|----|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Artikuluak Jon hunkitu du</i>                | → | <i>Artikulua oso hunkigarria da</i> |
|    | article.E move aux                              |   | article.art very moving is          |
|    | “The article touched John”                      |   | “The article is very touching”      |
| b. | <i>Artikulua Joni gustatu zaio<sup>16</sup></i> | → | <i>Artikulua gustagarria da</i>     |
|    | article.art John.D appeal aux                   |   | article.art appealing is            |
|    | “The article appeals to John”                   |   | “The article is appealing”          |

In (36) there is little doubt about the connection between the adjective and the verb: the suffix creates a new adjective that is predicated of the internal argument of the verb base. In (37) the suffix affects the superficial subject of the verb; but, crucially, if one adopts Belletti and Rizzi's analysis for verbs like *hunkitu* and *gustatu* we have an initial syntactic derivation like the following:

- (38) a. [<sub>VP</sub> *Jon artikuluak hunkitu*] → *Artikulua hunkigarria da*  
 b. [<sub>VP</sub> *Joni artikulua gustatu*] → *Artikulua gustagarria da*

<sup>16</sup> See note 8 above. Again, personally I don't think the absolutive argument is the surface subject, I just follow the traditional Basque view; if the dative argument is the subject, then the analysis is simpler, for the absolutive is the deep *and* surface direct object.

In (38) the argument affected by the suffix *-garri* is again the deepest or innermost argument of a two-argument verb. They should be compared to the corresponding syntactic representations of the regular transitive verbs that can take *-garri*:

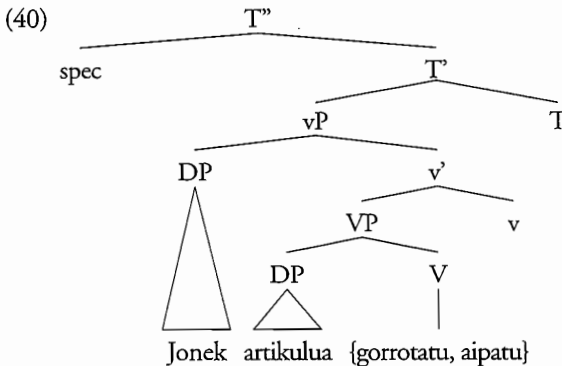
- (39) a. [<sub>VP</sub> *Jonek* [<sub>VP</sub> *artikulua aipatu*]] → *Artikulua aipagarria da*  
 b. [<sub>VP</sub> *Jonek* [<sub>VP</sub> *artikulua gorrotatu*]] → *Artikulua gorrotagarria da*

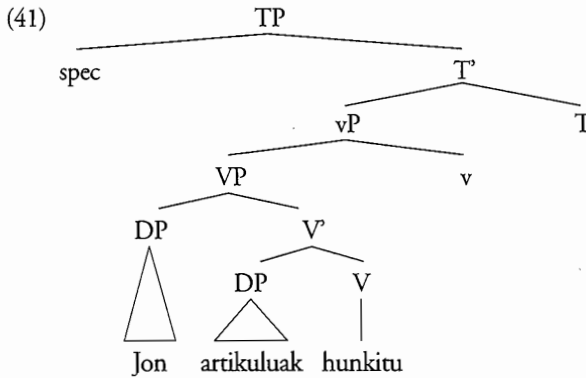
The connection is evident: in both cases, the suffix is making the (most) internal argument (the so called *theme* argument) and making it the external argument of the adjective. Viewed from the other angle, *-garri* is precisely the kind of suffix Belletti and Rizzi's account predicts could exist since it treats the stimulus, i.e. their *theme*, argument of *preoccupare* and *piacere* verbs, indeed the deep direct object in their proposal, in a way similar to the direct object of a regular transitive verb.

In the next section, I will simply make the case to persuade the reader that the verbs of the *kezkatu* and *gustatu* classes do indeed have the same properties that verb classes studied by Belletti and Rizzi have; furthermore, I will also try to show that the *erakutsi* class may be amenable to the same analysis. A note of clarification is in order: many linguists have criticized several aspects of Belletti and Rizzi's account of psych verbs; we can cite, among others, Grimshaw (1990), Ruwet (1993), Pesetsky (1995), Arad (1999a, 1999b). It is not my intention to compare and weigh all theories regarding psych verbs, but rather present a possible line of explanation for the rule of *-garri* suffixation based on the hypothesis that the suffix is one and the same in both its active and passive uses. It will be in section 5 when I shortly review possible accounts of the suffix *-garri*; in any case, my assumption is that there is only one *-garri* and that some version of Belletti and Rizzi's original insight must be correct.

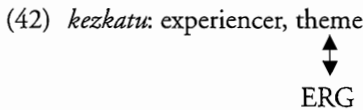
#### 4. The *kezkatu* class equals Rizzi and Belletti's *preoccupare* verbs

Belletti and Rizzi (1988) give a battery of arguments to show that the *preoccupare* verbs are fundamentally unaccusative and lack a true external argument despite their transitive appearance; this is in contrast with the corresponding transitive verbs, among which they include the *temere* class. Adapting the analysis of both classes of verbs to Basque using Chomsky's (1995) clausal structure, we obtain something like the following D-Structure trees for *aipatu* and *gorrotatu*, and for *kezkatu*, respectively:





Whereas (40) corresponds to a regular transitive structure, the diagram tree in (41) simply tries to reflect the fact that both the experiencer and the theme argument are internal to VP; according to (and adapting) Belletti and Rizzi’s original proposal, the lexical entry of the *kezkatu* class should include something like the specification of the lexical or inherent case of one of the arguments.<sup>17</sup> Hence:



This inherent specification prevents the projection of a true external argument, according to Belletti and Rizzi. Now, what kind of evidence is there to prove the correctness of (41)? Belletti and Rizzi give several arguments to show (a) that the subject of *preoccupare* class is a derived subject; (b) that the surface object is not a truly direct object of the verb; and (c) that unusual binding properties follow from a configuration similar to (41). The three kinds of arguments are replicated below for *kezkatu* verbs.

#### 4.1. The subject of *kezkatu* verbs is a derived subject

Belletti and Rizzi provide five arguments to claim that subjects of *preoccupare* are derived subjects. I reproduce or adapt most of them to Basque. Incompatibility with the arbitrary interpretation of third person plural subjects, a property also shared by unaccusative verbs, is one of the clearest tests where *kezkatu* and *preoccupare* verbs go hand in hand:

<sup>17</sup> In Belletti and Rizzi’s view, the experiencer is assigned inherent accusative case; from the point of view of the Obligatory Case Parameter accusative case is the marked, non-default case, required to mark a second argument. Basque is an ergative language, so the non-default case is ergative rather than accusative; thus the right adaptation of Belletti and Rizzi’s approach to Basque would require that the theme be marked with inherent ergative case.

- (43) a. *pro etxera deitu dute (Jon izan da, bai)*  
 3pl home call aux be aux yes  
 "They called home (It was John, yes)"
- b. \**pro berandu iritsi dira afaltzera (Jon izan da, bai)*  
 3pl late arrive aux dinner.for  
 "They arrived late for dinner (It was John, yes)"
- c. \**pro Jon kezkatzen dute (baliteke alaba izatea)*  
 3pl worry aux could daughter be  
 "They worry John (It could be his daughter)"

Belletti and Rizzi attribute this property to the theta-marking properties of INF; in current terms, this should be attributed to the theta-marking properties of little *v*, which projects no specifier in (41) at D-Structure.<sup>18</sup> *Kezkatu* verbs also resist the causative construction, a test generally given as a diagnostic for raising verbs:

- (44) a. \**Mirenek artikuluarri Jon hunkiarazi dio*  
 Mary.E article.D impress.make aux  
 "Mary made the article move John"
- b. \**Mirenek Olentzerori Jon hunkiarazi dio*  
 Mary.E SantaClaus.D impress.make aux  
 "Mary made Santa Claus move John"

As the examples show, a verb of the *kezkatu* class such as *hunkitu* "move, impress" is incompatible with the bound causative verb *arazi*.<sup>19</sup>

A third argument for the lack of external argument of *kezkatu* verbs comes from reflexivization: Basque lacks anaphoric cliticization, ungrammatical with *preoccupare* and raising verbs in general according to Belletti and Rizzi, but has a detransitivization strategy in order to form reflexive structures; in this detransitivization strategy the verb selects the auxiliary verb *izan* "be":

<sup>18</sup> Pesetsky (1995: 37ff) calls this third person plural existential interpretation *corporate* interpretation and argues it should be regarded as a test for agentivity. Personally, I don't exactly think his corporate interpretation and Belletti and Rizzi's original interpretation are the same thing. In any case, Basque non-agentive subjects do behave as argued by Belletti and Rizzi:

(i) *Telegrama bitxi bat jaso dute bulegoan; ugazabak berak jaso du*  
 strange one get aux office.loc boss.E he.E get aux  
 "They received a strange telegram at the office; it was the boss in person who received it"

The plural arbitrary subject in (i) is a goal argument, and need not be a true plural.

<sup>19</sup> As in Italian, the causative construction is possible under the agentive interpretation:

(i) *Zuzendariak aktoreari beste aktorea hunkiarazi dio*  
 "The director made the actor impress the other actor"

But in this case we would have a true external argument as the subject of *hunkitu*.

- (45) a. *Jonek ispiluan bere burua ikusi du*  
 E mirror.loc his head see aux=has  
 "Johns has seem himself in the mirror"
- b. *Jon ispiluan ikusi da*  
 mirror.loc see aux=is  
 "John has seen himself in the mirror"

Ortiz de Urbina (1989) accounts for this kind of reflexives by proposing a rule of lexical binding whereby the external  $\theta$ -role is assigned the  $\phi$ -features of the internal argument lexicon-internally and, hence, the former need not project in the syntax; only the internal argument is projected. Interestingly, *kezkatu* verbs can't form detransitivized reflexives:

- (46) \* *Jon kezkatzen da* (= ok under the interpretation "John worries")  
 "John worries himself"

The ungrammaticality of (46) is expected if *kezkatu* verbs lack an external argument in the first place; there is no argument *higher* than the experiencer argument within the lexical entry that could bind it.<sup>20</sup> This account is very close to Grimshaw's explanation of the Italian data.

Finally, the Basque version of a marginal argument that Belletti and Rizzi mention in a footnote is interesting: *kezkatu* verbs are incompatible with impersonal constructions, just like unaccusatives:

- (47) a. *Atzo errakuntza asko egin ziren partidan*  
 yesterday error many do aux game.loc  
 "Yesterday many errors were made during the match"

<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the usual reflexive construction with the pronoun *bere burua* (literally "his/her head") is highly marginal for *kezkatu* verbs, just like it is for *preoccupare* verbs:

- (i) ?? *Jonek bere burua lotsatzen du*  
 .E his head.art embarrass aux  
 "John embarrasses himself"

And only improves when the agentive interpretation is forced:

- (ii) *Jonek nahita lotsatzen du bere burua*  
 .E deliberately embarrass aux his head.art  
 "John embarrasses himself deliberately"

See Belletti and Rizzi (1988) and Grimshaw (1990: 158ff) for two possible explanations of this peculiar behavior.

<sup>21</sup> Unaccusatives accept generic impersonals:

- (i) *Hemen berandu iristen da afaltzera*  
 here late arrive aux dinner.for  
 "Here one arrives late for dinner"

In Albizu's (in press) recent study of Basque impersonals and detransitivized reflexive structures, the analysis of impersonal constructions of transitive verbs always require an external PRO argument in the specifier of little *v*. If *kezkatu* verbs have the specifier of *v* empty, it comes as no surprise that they won't accept either structure.

- b. \* *Atzo berandu iritsi zen afaltzera*<sup>21</sup>  
 yesterday late arrive aux dinner.for  
 “Yesterday it was arrived late for dinner”
- c. \* *Atzo ardiak beldurtu ziren*  
 yesterday sheep.art frighten aux  
 “Yesterday sheep were frightened”

Example (47c) is only grammatical under the reading “yesterday the sheep got scared”, but cannot mean “the sheep were frightened, someone frightened the sheep”. Consequently, most if not all,<sup>22</sup> the arguments given by Belletti and Rizzi to show that the subject of *preoccupare* is not a deep subject and should not be treated as an external argument are more or less replicated for the subject of Basque *kezkatu* verbs, one of the verb class that gives rise to the active value of *-garri*. Therefore, it appears that *kezkatu* verbs are typologically similar to *preoccupare* verbs.

#### 4.2. The object of *kezkatu* is a syntactic island

Belletti and Rizzi show that the surface object of *preoccupare* verbs, the experiencer argument, is not a sister to the verb in that it behaves as a syntactic island for extraction. Their examples are relative clauses involving extraction of genitive wh-phrases from the object/experiencer position. Basque doesn't allow extraction/relativization of genitives from DPs, but resumptive pronouns help to improve those examples:

- (48) a. \**[Jonek [e aita] gorrotatzen duen] neska*  
 John.E father hate aux.comp girl  
 “The girl whose father John hates” lit.: “the girl that John hates father”
- b. *[Jonek [beraren aita] gorrotatzen duen] neska*  
 John.E her father hate aux.comp girl  
 “The girl that John hates her father”

<sup>22</sup> Belletti and Rizzi also mention lack of passivization amongst the properties of *preoccupare* verbs, a property challenged by Pesetsky (1995: 21ff), not convincingly in my opinion. It is doubtful whether Basque has a true passive construction. In any case, it seems that *kezkatu* verbs are highly marginal in the alleged passive construction:

- (i) a. *Liburu hau Atxagak idatzia da*  
 book this .E written.art is  
 “This book is written by Atxaga”
- b. *Aresti jende askok miretsia eta gorrotatua izan zen*  
 people many.E admire.art and hate.art be aux  
 “Aresti was admired and hated by many people”
- c. ?? *Ikusleak Almodovarren azken filmak hunkituak izan ziren*  
 viewer.E.gen last film.art.E moved.art be aux  
 “Spectators were moved by Almodovar's last movie”

However, examples are ungrammatical when extraction is out of the object of a verb belonging to the *kezkatu* class, whether there is a resumptive pronoun or not:

- (49) a. \* [ekonomiak [e aita] kezkatzen duen] neska  
 economy.E father worry aux.comp girl  
 “The girl whose father the economy worries”
- b. \* [ekonomiak [beraren aita] kezkatzen duen] neska  
 economy.E her father worry aux.comp girl  
 “The girl that the economy worries her father”

Regardless of the proper account of this restriction (L-marking, lexical government, or head-to head feature checking), it seems again that the parallelism between (the surface objects of) *preoccupare* and *kezkatu* verbs is well founded.

There is a second, Basque-specific, piece of data that suggests that the surface object of *kezkatu* is not a true object: the impossibility of existential interpretation. As observed by Laka (1993) and Artiagoitia (2002), Basque plural DPs allow an existential interpretation equivalent to Romance bare DPs only in internal argument position:

- (50) a. *Irakasleak bileran izan dira*  
 teacher.art meeting.loc be aux  
 “(The) teachers were present at the meeting”
- b. *Errektoreak irakasleak zigortu ditu*  
 provost.E teacher.art punish aux  
 “The provost punished (the) teachers”
- c. *Irakasleek telefonoz deitu dute*  
 teacher.E phone.by call aux  
 “The teachers/?? teachers phoned”
- d. *Irakasleak bileran mintzatu dira*  
 teacher.art meeting.loc talk aux  
 “The teachers/?? teachers talked at the meeting”

The DP *irakasleak* may have a definite (“the teachers”) or existential (“(some) teachers”) interpretation in (50a) and (50b) where it is the subject of an unaccusative or the object of a transitive verb, respectively. In (50c), we find the same DP bearing ergative case as the subject of the unergative verb *deitu* “call” and we only obtain a definite interpretation; we have a similar situation in (50d) with the verb *mintzatu* “speak”, except that in this case this verb doesn’t require ergative case for its subject. The contrast between the two interpretations becomes more evident once the tag “but we don’t know which ones” is added, because this forces the existential interpretation:

- (51) a. *Irakasleak pasatu dira baina ez dakigu zeintzuk*  
 teacher.art go-by aux but not know which  
 “Teachers went by but we don’t know which ones”

- b. ?? *Irakasleak mintzatu dira baina ez dakigu zeintzuk*  
 teacher.art speak aux but not know which  
 “Teachers spoke but we don’t know which ones”

When we turn to the surface objects of the *kezkatu* class, we see that these don’t behave as true direct objects:

- (52) a. *Ikasketa-plan berriak irakasleak zoratu ditu* (??*baina ez dakigu zeintzuk*)  
 study-plan new.E teacher.art drive-crazy aux  
 “The new plan has driven all teachers / ??(some) teachers crazy (but we don’t know which ones)”
- b. *Zurrumurruek irakasleak kezkatzen dituzte* (??*baina ez dakigu zeintzuk*)  
 rumours.E teacher.art worry aux  
 “The rumours worry the teachers / ??(some) teachers (but we don’t know which ones)”

In other words, the interpretation of (52a) and (52b) cannot be “there exist teachers that the new plan drove crazy” or “there are some teachers that the rumours worry”. Regardless of how this restriction is handled in the grammar (cf. Longobardi 1994, 2000), we’ve got a case for not taking the superficial object of *kezkatu* as a *bona fide* direct object.

#### 4.3. Binding Theory is peculiar with *kezkatu* verbs

The Basque *kezkatu* verbs replicate the usual peculiar binding data with psych verbs in that a reflexive inside the subject position appears to be bound by the object:

- (53) a. *Ni, neure buruak nazkatzen nau*  
 I my head.art disgust aux  
 “As for me, my own self disgusts me”
- b. *Bere buruaren irudiak Jon asko kezkatzen du*  
 his head.gen picture.E much worry aux  
 “The image of himself worries John a lot”

Basque reflexive anaphors mean literally “X’s head”, so (53a) appears to mean “my head (i.e. *myself*) disgusts me”, with the entire reflexive pronoun as the surface subject. As Rebuschi (1993) has shown, however, in Basque reflexives it is the possessor part of the “x’s head” expression the one that should really count as truly reflexive. The data are similar with reciprocals: reciprocal subjects cannot be bound by the object, but subjects containing a reciprocal pronoun can:

- (54) a. \**Elkarrek nazkatzen gaitu*  
 each other.E disgust aux  
 “Each other disgusts us”
- b. *Elkarren inguruko istorioek nazkatu egin gaituzte*  
 each other.gen about story.E disgust do aux  
 “Stories about each other have made us sick”



Object agreement in the verb (prefix *g-*) marks that the absolutive argument is first person plural *gu* “us”. Following Belletti and Rizzi’s original insight, one can in principle account for these peculiar binding theory facts if the diagram in (41) is correct; at some point of the derivation (e.g. at D-Structure or at LF via reconstruction), the surface object, the absolutive argument, *c*-commands the anaphor inside the ergative argument.

#### 4.4. Are *erakutsi* verbs similar to *kezkatu/preoccupare* verbs?

The verbs which belong to the *erakutsi* class also give rise to the active value of the suffix *-garri*. It would be very promising if these also displayed some or all of the properties of the *kezkatu* class. In which follows, I offer a preliminary sketch of their properties; this sketch suggests that these verbs may lack an external argument too, although it is not all clear whether the instrumental argument is the closest internal argument of the verb. First of all, the instrumental, non-agent, interpretation of these verbs is incompatible with the third person plural arbitrary interpretation:

- (55) a. *Arrazoa duzula erakutsi didate* (\**Jaurlaritzaren inkesta izan da*)  
 reason.art have.comp show aux government.gen survey be aux  
 “They showed that I am right (it was the government’s survey)”
- b. *Ingelesa ikastera bultzatu naute* (\**azken bidaiia izan da*)  
 English.art learn.to push aux last trip be aux  
 “They encouraged me to learn English (it was the last trip)”

They are also incompatible with the factive construction:

- (56) a. \**Ugazabak lantegiko giroari beharginak itoarazi dizkio*  
 boss.E factory atmosphere.D worker.art asphyxiate.make aux  
 “The boss made the atmosphere asphyxiate the workers”
- b. \**Amaiak azken bidaiari Jon ingelesa ikastera bultzarazi dio*  
 Amaia.E last trip.D English.art learn.to push.make aux  
 “Amaia made the last trip encourage John to learn English”

Thirdly, *erakutsi* verbs are generally possible in impersonal, detransitivized, structures, but the understood argument cannot be instrumental, the one that the *-garri* adjective is predicated of:

- (57) *Horrelako proiektuak beti bultzatu dira sail honetan;*  
 that.like project.art always push aux department that.loc  
 “Projects like that have always been supported in this department”
- a. \*?*Izan ere, dirulaguntza deialdiak bultzatu ditu*  
 be even fellowship call.E push aux  
 “As a matter of fact, the fellowship program has supported them”
- b. *Izan ere, sailburuak berak bultzatu ditu*  
 be even director.E he.E push aux  
 “As a matter of fact, the director himself has supported them”

The impersonal construction can only be followed by the tag that mentions the agent, the external argument, not the instrumental. Finally, the peculiar binding facts typical of psych verbs are also found with the subjects of *kezkatu* verbs:

- (58) a. *Horrela segituz gero, neure buruak hilko nau!*  
 so keep if my head.E kill aux  
 "If I keep like this, my own self will kill me!"
- b. *Estresa dela eta, neure buruak asko itotzen nau azken boladan*  
 stress is.comp due my head.E much drown aux last occasion.loc  
 "Due to stress, my own self asphyxiates me a lot lately"

The interpretation of the examples is never agentive: (57a) means something like "my psyche, my worries will kill me", not "I will kill myself"; similarly (57b) means that "my own worries, etc., depress or asphyxiate me", rather than "I asphyxiate myself".

With respect to extraction out of the object of the *erakutsi* class, the data are less clarifying; there is a contrast between the agentive and the non-agentive uses of the verb when relativizing the object:

- (59) a. *gaizkileak beraren alaba hil zuen andrea*  
 bandit.E she.gen daughter kill aux woman.art  
 "the woman that the bandit killed her daughter"
- b. *?kutsadurak beraren alaba hil zuen andrea*  
 pollution.E she.gen daughter kill aux daughter.art  
 "the woman that pollution killed her daughter"

But the contrast is not as robust as in examples (49) above.

In sum, there is some empirical base to conjecture that the *erakutsi* class lacks a truly external argument and has a derived subject, a subject that starts out as (perhaps) the most internal argument of the verb. If correct, this conjecture implies that there is a unifying factor in all uses of the suffix *-garri*: this suffix makes what appears to be the deep direct object of the verb and makes it the external argument of the derived adjective. The existence of *-garri*, then, turns out to be a surprising and independent confirmation of the correctness of Belletti and Rizzi's analysis of the *preoccupare* verb class.

## 5. Theories that can handle *-garri*

I review several theories that handle the relation between argument structure and morphology (Williams, Grimshaw) or theories that deal with the lexical structure of psych verbs (Pesetsky, Arad).

### 5.1. Relevance of *-garri* for Williams' thematic constancy

One interesting property of *-garri* is that it appears to be similar to English *-able*, as described in Williams (1981). In that article, Williams defends the view that derivational affixes operate on argument structures, understood as a list of thematic roles; these

affixes either internalize the original external argument of the verb or else introduce a new external argument. English *-able* is, according to him, best defined as a rule of theme-externalization:

- (60) a. *read* (agent, theme) → *readable* (agent, theme)  
 b. *John read the book* → *the book is readable* (book = theme)

The rule, so understood, predicts that unaccusative verbs should take the suffix, a prediction that is fulfilled according to Williams given the existence of words like *perishable*. The Basque suffix *-garri* resembles *-able* in that it does indeed seem to externalize the theme argument of regular transitive verbs, but it fails to attach to unaccusative verbs (cf. examples in (33) above). This failure speaks against the operativity of thematic role labels *per se* in derivational morphology, a point already made in Levin and Rappaport (1986). What is more, the Basque suffix *-garri* also affects what (according to Belletti and Rizzi) appears to be the theme argument of the equivalent of English *frighten* and Italian *preoccupare* verbs, namely *kezkatu* verbs. If thematic roles are constant for the two or three languages, we would expect that *-able* will also affect *frighten* verbs, but it does not:

- (61) *frighten* (experiencer, theme) → \**frigthenable*  
 (cf. *kezkarri* = frightening)

On the other hand, *-garri* can also affect or externalize non-theme, instrumental, arguments:

- (62) a. *ito* (instrumental, theme/experiencer) “asphyxiate” →  
*itogarri* (instrumental...) “asphyxiating”  
 b. *babestu* (instrumental, theme) “protect” →  
*babesgarri* (instrumental...) “protecting”

In short, claiming that the rule of *-able/-garri* suffixation affects a particular theta-role (e.g. theme) is too strong in that verbs which appear to have a theme are not affected by the rule in English (cf. 61) or in Basque (cf. 33); it is also too weak, given that theta-roles other than the theme may be affected by the rule. Thus, the mere existence of suffixes like *-garri* helps to clarify that thematic constancy cannot be the right approach to derivational morphology processes.

## 5.2. Grimshaw’s argument structure approach

Although her analysis departs in several aspects,<sup>23</sup> Grimshaw (1990) agrees with Belletti and Rizzi (1988) that verbs of the *preoccupare/kezkatu* and *piacere/gustatu* classes

<sup>23</sup> For Grimshaw, *preoccupare/frighten* verbs do have D-Structure subjects even though they lack an external argument. Her explanation for the peculiar binding effects is also different (cf. Grimshaw 1990: ch. 5).

fundamentally lack an external argument. For the former class, she proposes that the realization of the theme, more internal, argument of the verb as the subject is a direct consequence of its being more prominent in the aspectual dimension:

(63) <i>frighten/preoccupare</i>	$(x \quad (y))$	[argument level]
	$\begin{matrix} 2 & 1 \end{matrix}$	[aspectual level]

In other words, *frighten* is a psychological causative verb, but it is the most internal argument the one that is associated with causation; the more prominent argument, the experiencer, is the one that undergoes the change. As for verbs of the *fear/temere* class, Grimshaw assimilates them to regular transitive verbs; on the other hand, she leaves open the treatment of Belletti and Rizzi’s (1988) *piacere* class, but hints that they are perfectly amenable to an unaccusative analysis, given auxiliary choice and crosslinguistic evidence:

(64) a. <i>fear/temere</i>	$(x \quad (y))$	b. <i>piacere</i>	$((x \quad (y)))$
	$\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 \end{matrix}$		
			dative

In sum, except for the *fear/temere* class where experiencer behaves as a true external argument, psych verbs of the *frighten/preoccupare* and *piacere* classes lack an external argument.

Grimshaw’s treatment of psych verbs’ argument structures allows for a straight unification of the two uses of *-garri*. The so called passive value would be formulated as follows:

(65) passive <i>-garri</i>	
a. $(x \quad (y))$	→ (R<=y> (x- $\emptyset$ (y)))
V	→ Adj
b1. <i>aipatu</i>	→ <i>aipagarri</i> “mentionable, worth mentioning”
b2. <i>gorrotatu</i>	→ <i>gorrotagarri</i> “detestable”

In other words, and leaving the representation of meaning aside, the suffix introduces an external argument, call it R,<sup>24</sup> that controls the internal argument of a verb that takes two arguments, one of which is external. The original external argument is erased.

The rule of active would look like this:<sup>25</sup>

(66) active <i>-garri</i>	
a. $((x \quad (y)))$	→ (R<=y> (x (y)))
V	→ Adj
b1. <i>kezkatu</i>	→ <i>kezkagarri</i> “worrying, worrisome”
b2. <i>erakutsi</i>	→ <i>erakusgarri</i> “showing”

<sup>24</sup> “R” corresponds to Williams’ original *Referential* role of nouns, also present in their predicative use. Grimshaw extends it to predicative adjectives; I follow her practice.

<sup>25</sup> I assume that *erakutsi* verbs are analyzed just like *frighten/preoccupare/kezkatu* verbs:

(i) <i>erakutsi</i>	$((x \quad (y)))$	
	$\begin{matrix} 2 & 1 \end{matrix}$	where x = theme; y = instrumental

That is, the suffix introduces an external argument, call it R, that controls the most internal argument of a verb that takes two arguments; since there is no external argument proper, no argument is eliminated.

The two rules can in fact be united; Grimshaw uses two different notations (p. 28 *vs* 41) for *frighten*-type verbs; in one she uses single brackets but claims that the aspectual dimension is sufficient to ensure that the “x” (i.e. “experiencer”) argument doesn’t count as external; in the other she uses double brackets to make the point that there is no external argument. If one chooses the first notation, the possibility to unite (65) and (66) above in an elegant way is self-evident:

- (67) *-garri* suffixation (final version)  
 $(x (y)) \rightarrow (R \langle =y \rangle (x (y)))$   
 where  $x \rightarrow \emptyset$  iff x is external argument

If the other notation is used, the rule should include a bracket to indicate the optionality of an external argument:

- (67') *-garri* suffixation (alternative final version)  
 $([(x (y))]) \rightarrow (R \langle =y \rangle (x (y)))$   
 where  $x \rightarrow \emptyset$  iff x is external argument

This rule also allows for a clear distinction between English *-able* and Basque *-garri*; in English the “x” argument must be external for the rule to apply (cf. English *-er*, which also needs to refer to external arguments according to Levin and Rappaport 1988);<sup>26</sup> in Basque it need not be so and, hence, verbs with two internal arguments are also affected by the rule.

Grimshaw’s approach also predicts that theta-marking of the outer “x” argument will be banned when “x” is external and erased, but not when “x” is internal:

- (68) a. \**Artikuluak egile-aipagarriak dira*  
 article.art author-mentionable.art are  
 “The articles are author-mentionable”  
 b. \**Artikuluak egilearen aipagarriak dira*  
 article.art author.gen mentionable.art are  
 “The articles are author’s mentionable”  
 c. *Ikuskizuna begi-mingarria zitzaion*  
 spectacle.art eye-hurting.art was  
 “The spectacle was eye-hurting”  
 d. *Profetaren hitz horiek aukeratuen seduzigarri gertatu dira*  
 prophet.gen word those elected.gen seducing result aux  
 “Those words by the prophet turned out to be seducing of the elected ones”

<sup>26</sup> I am assuming, *contra* Williams, that unaccusatives verbs take *-able* only marginally.

As examples (68a-b) show, there is no way for the *-garri* adjective to theta-mark the original external argument either via a synthetic compound or a genitive phrase; on the other hand, the “x” argument, if not external, is now more deeply embedded than “y” and thus can be theta-marked both in a synthetic compound and thru a genitive phrase.<sup>27</sup> In sum, Grimshaw’s argument structure analysis of psych verbs gives an elegant account the rule of *-garri* suffixation.<sup>28</sup>

### 5.3. Pesetsky’s zero syntax and the suffix *-garri*

Though briefly and schematically, I would like to make a few remarks on Pesetsky’s approach to the *frighten* verb class.<sup>29</sup> Pesetsky’s analysis is based on two key assumptions: (a) that the theme argument of Belletti and Rizzi masks two or three different theta-roles, *causer* and *subject/target of emotion*, the former being hierarchically superior to experiencers; and (b) that *frighten-preoccupare* verbs are bimorphemic causative verbs. Simplifying matters, Pesetsky proposes that *frighten* verbs derive from intransitive roots of the type  $\sqrt{\text{frighten}}$ ; this verbal root, usually not realized as an actual verb in English, takes two internal arguments, both realized within a PP cascade; the experiencer is projected as the specifier of a PP headed by the empty P CAUSER, and the causer is realized as the complement of the empty P. In the course of the derivation, the empty P incorporates to the verbal root to check its strong morphological feature and gives rise to the actual causative verb:

- (69) a. *The ghost frightened Mary*  
 b.  $[_{VP} \sqrt{\text{frighten}} [_{PP} \text{Mary} [_P [\text{CAUSER}] [_{DP} \text{the ghost}]]]] \rightarrow$   
 $[_{VP} [_{\sqrt{\text{frighten}+P} [\text{CAUSER}]]] [_{PP} \text{Mary} [_{t_P} [_{DP} \text{the ghost}]]]] \rightarrow$   
 $[_{VP} [_{DP} \text{the ghost}]_i; [_{\sqrt{\text{frighten}+P} [\text{CAUSER}]]] [_{PP} \text{Mary} [_{t_P} [_{DP} t]_i]]]$

Given that the empty P cannot assign case, the causer argument will move to the [spec, VP] a position where it can get case, just like regular subjects. This is in effect movement to a theta-position, but Pesetsky claims that this is permitted just in case the theta-role assigned compositionally by  $\sqrt{\text{frighten}}$  and the empty P together doesn’t differ from the original theta-role assigned to the causer DP prior to movement.

Leaving aside many of the problematic details raised by this analysis, it is clear that the arguments affected by the suffix *-garri* don’t have much in common under Pesetsky’s account: in the case of passive *-garri* the argument affected is a true direct object of the verb; in the case of active *-garri*, the argument affected would correspond

<sup>27</sup> Grimshaw (1990: 15) claims that examples of the type *a man-frightening god* are ungrammatical in English because the compound-internal argument (= *man*), the experiencer, is less prominent than the theme argument (= *god*). However, once the external R argument is introduced to form the adjective, this R controls the theme and thus makes it more prominent than the experiencer. Consequently, *a man-frightening god* shouldn’t be ungrammatical. As Lisa Galvin (p.c.) tells me, examples like *a man-irritating comment* or *a vegetarian-pleasing menu* are close to right.

<sup>28</sup> The problem mentioned in note 12 remains to be worked out, though. This could be easily handled in Emonds’ (1991, 2000) framework. I leave this for future research.

<sup>29</sup> For extensive criticism of Pesetsky’s fine-grained semantic analysis see Ruwet (1993: 102-133) and Herschensohn (1999).

to the direct object of an empty P. The reader can check the adaptation of Pesetsky's analysis to Basque in the following two structures:

- (70) a. *aipatu/gorrotatu* verbs: [DP<sub>1</sub> [DP<sub>2</sub> V]  
 b. *Jonek artikulua {aipatu, gorrotatzen} du*  
 "John {mentioned, hates} the article"  
 c. *Artikulua {aipagarria, gorrotagarria} da*  
 "The article is {mentionable, detestable}"
- (71) a. *kezkatu* verbs: [[<sub>PS</sub> DP<sub>1</sub> [<sub>P</sub> DP<sub>2</sub> P] V] (→ [DP<sub>2</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> DP<sub>1</sub> [<sub>P</sub> t<sub>2</sub> t<sub>P</sub>] V +P])  
 b. *Ekonomiaren egoerak Jon kezkatzen du*  
 economy.gen situation.E worry aux  
 "The situation of the economy worries John"  
 c. *Ekonomiaren egoera kezkarria da*  
 economy.gen situation worrying is  
 "The situation of the economy is worrying"

In other words, the cascade structures that Pesetsky provides for a *frighten*-like verb make the causer argument (the original *theme* in B & R) of that verb and the regular internal argument of a transitive verb look radically different. This difference, in turn, implies that there should be two different rules of *-garri*, contrary to what we have defended so far.<sup>30</sup>

To finish this short note on Pesetsky's treatment of psych verbs, I will mention another point where his zero-affix account is problematic. Pesetsky attributes the lack of nominalization with *frighten* verbs to the fact that the zero-affix doesn't license the attachment of any further suffixes (cf. Myers's generalization). It is interesting to note, in this regard, that many Basque *kezkatu* verbs are derived by zero-suffixation from the corresponding noun or adjective and none of these accept (event) nominalizations:

- (72) a. \**Our constant annoyance of Mary* (Pesetsky 1995: 74)  
 b. \**Gure Mirenen nahaste etengabea*  
 our Mary.gen annoy constant.art  
 "Our constant annoying of Mary"  
 c. \**Bonbardeaketan umeen beldurtzea gelditu behar dugu*  
 bombardment.gen child.gen frightening.art stop have aux  
 "We must stop the bombardments' frightening of children"  
 d. \**Albistearen biztanleen harridura*  
 new.gen citizen.gen surprise  
 "The news' surprising of the citizens"

<sup>30</sup> I assume that instrumental subjects could be analyzed as *frighten*-verbs in Pesetsky's approach. If this is not so, then we are left with three kinds of arguments affected by *-garri*, hence three different rules.

And, if they do, the relevant nominal is usually related to the intransitive use of the verb:

- (73) a. *Miren harritu egin zen nabarmen* (= b)  
 surprise do aux clear  
 “Mary got clearly surprised”
- b. *Mirenen harridura nabarmena izan zen* (= a)  
 Mary.gen surprise clear.art be aux  
 “Mary’s surprise was evident”
- c. *Albistek Miren harritu zuen nabarmen* (↑ d)  
 news.E surprise aux clear  
 “The news clearly surprised Mary”
- d. (\**Albistearen*) *Mirenen harridura nabarmena izan zen* (↑ c)  
 new.gen Mary.gen surprise clear.art be aux  
 “(\*The new’s) surprise of Mary was evident”

In other words, examples (73a) and (73b) are equivalent, but examples (73c) and (73d) are not: Mary’s surprise in (73d) relates to her state of being, or becoming, surprised, not to something surprising her.<sup>31</sup>

These facts seem to square well and, indeed follow from, Pesetsky’s treatment of the *frighten* class: it appears that nominalization suffixes cannot attach to the corresponding zero causative affix, thus proving the existence of the latter. However, verb formation via zero-suffixation is very common in Basque (cf. Odriozola 2003) and, contrary to the expectations of a Pesetsky-style analysis, many nominalizing suffixes can attach to zero-derived transitive verbs (74), even in cases where there is an inchoative-transitive alternation (75):

(74) transitive verbs derived via zero-suffixation<sup>32</sup>

N/Adj	transitive verb	derived nominal
a. <i>azal</i> “skin”	<i>azal(du)</i> “explain”	<i>azalpen, azalkuntza</i> “explanation”
b. <i>bero</i> “hot”	<i>bero(tu)</i> “heat”	<i>beroketa</i> “heating”, <i>berogailu</i> “heater”
c. <i>garbi</i> “clean”	<i>garbi(tu)</i> “clean”	<i>garbiketa</i> “cleaning”, <i>garbitzaile</i> “cleaner”
d. <i>zapal</i> “flat”	<i>zapal(du)</i> “opress, step”	<i>zapalketa, zapalkuntza</i> “opression”
e. <i>zuri</i> “white”	<i>zuri(tu)</i> “peel”	<i>zuriketa</i> “peeling”, <i>zuritzaile</i> “peeler”

<sup>31</sup> In other words, even if it might disputably be related to the transitive use of *harritu*, it is a result nominal, not an event nominal (cf. Grimshaw 1990: 119ff).

<sup>32</sup> The verbs *azaldu*, *berotu* and *zuritu* also have an inchoative alternation with their corresponding meaning (“appear”, “turn hot”, and “turn white”).



## (75) verbs with an inchoative-transitive alternation

inchoative verb	transitive verb	derived nominal
a. <i>erre</i> "get burned"	<i>erre</i> "burn"	<i>erreketa</i> "burning", <i>erretzaile</i> "smoker, burner"
b. <i>hazi</i> "grow"	<i>hazi</i> "grow, breed"	<i>haziera</i> , <i>hazkuntza</i> "breeding", "(2) education"
c. <i>hedatu</i> "get extended"	<i>hedatu</i> "extend"	<i>hedapen</i> , <i>hedakuntza</i> "extension"
d. <i>hil</i> "die"	<i>hil</i> "kill"	<i>hilketa</i> "killing", <i>hiltzaile</i> "killer"
e. <i>ireki</i> "open"	<i>ireki</i> "open"	<i>irekiera</i> "opening", <i>irekitzaile</i> "opener"
f. <i>itxi</i> "close"	<i>itxi</i> "close"	<i>itxiera</i> "closure", <i>itxigailu</i> "closer (machine)"
g. <i>itzuli</i> "return"	<i>itzuli</i> "return, translate"	<i>itzulketa</i> "return", <i>itzulpen</i> "translation"

Furthermore, as *-garri* suffixation demonstrates, even *kezkatu* verbs derived from a zero-suffix can take certain suffixes, even though an event nominalization is impossible:

(76) noun/adjective	psych verb	derived word
a. <i>kezka</i> "worry"	<i>kezkatu</i> "worry"	<i>kezkagarri</i> "worrying, worrisome"
b. <i>lotsa</i> "embarrassment"	<i>lotsatu</i> "embarrass"	<i>lotsagarri</i> "embarrassing"
c. <i>haserre</i> "anger"	<i>haserretu</i> "anger"	<i>haserregarri</i> "infuriating", <i>haserretzaile</i> "infuriater"
d. <i>maita</i> "dear"	<i>maitatu</i> "love"	<i>maitagarri</i> "lovable", <i>maitale</i> "lover"

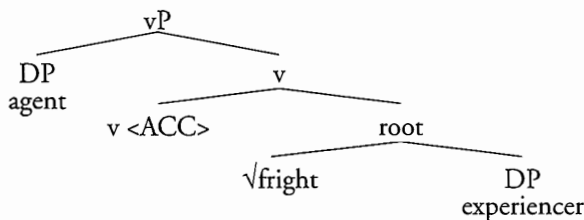
The existence of productive [zero suffix + lexical suffix] morphological processes in Basque cast serious doubts on Pesetsky's account of the ungrammaticality of data like (72) above, ungrammaticality which can hardly be attributed to the subcategorization restrictions of the zero-affix.<sup>33</sup> Instead, it seems that the impossibility of nominalizing *frighten/preoccupare/kezkatu* verbs is independent of the presence of a zero suffix and must be handled in a different way (cf. Grimshaw's explanation in terms of lack of external argument).

<sup>33</sup> Pesetsky can always argue that Basque zero-affixation, unlike its English counterpart, is not syntactic, but lexicon-internal; or else, that the Basque zero suffix is free to attach to any other suffix. This argumentation leaves us with a puzzle: we would need two sources to explain the lack of (event) nominalization with the *kezkatu/frighten/preoccupare* class: a lexical explanation for the Basque case and a morphosyntactic one in terms of subcategorization restrictions on the zero-suffix for the English case. Two sources for a restriction that looks pretty much the same in both languages.

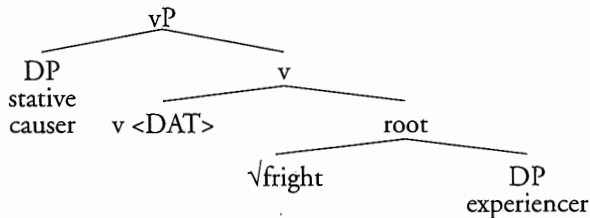
#### 5.4. Arad's "stative little v" and *-garri*

In a couple of articles (cf. 1999a, 1999b) written in the minimalist framework, Arad proposes to treat object-experiencer verbs of the *frighten-preoccupare* type as roots which can be complement to two different types of "v": "standard little v", which gives rise to the active interpretation of this type of psychological verb; and "stative little v", which gives rise to the non-active reading. Both types of little v share two transitivity features: they project an external, causer, argument and they establish an agreement relation with the experiencer argument (in fact, an argument of the root verb proper); the only difference is that the case checked by stative little v tends to be dative, rather than accusative:<sup>34</sup>

(77) a. standard little v



b. stative little v



The two types of little v differ in their semantics: standard little v implies the existence of an agent that brings about a change of state in the experiencer; stative little v, on the other hand, implies the existence of a stimulus that co-occurs with the mental state it causes; in the latter case, Arad claims, there is no change of state proper. I illustrate the semantic difference in (78):

- (78) a. *Ana frightened Laura deliberately* (action → mental state)  
 b. *This problem concerned Laura* (perception of stimulus/mental state run parallel)<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> When the object case is accusative, Arad (1999a: 16) assumes this is lexical or inherent case and regards stative v as defective.

<sup>35</sup> Arad mentions a third, eventive and non-agentive, reading in a footnote. This seems crucial in Basque, given that most *kezkatu* verbs participate in the inchoative-transitive alternation (Levin 1983, Artiagoitia 1995, Etxepare 2003); that is to say, most of them are not stative but change of state verbs, whether they have an agent subject or not.

The alleged psych properties of *preoccupare* verbs would only obtain when the relevant root combines with stative little *v*, but they would not be properties of a given verb, but a consequence of the combination of the relevant root with stative little *v*. In other words, one should talk about the syntactic properties of stative constructions rather than syntactic properties of psych verbs in general.

Space limitations prevent us from giving a full-fledged account and critique of Arad's approach to psych verbs,<sup>36</sup> but the presentation above suffices to show that adapting Arad's view on *frighten-preoccupare* type verbs to Basque would be incompatible with a unified treatment of *-garri*. Why is this so? Because Arad proposes that the *frighten-preoccupare* verbs have external arguments, be it agentive or not, all the way through. In other words, under her account, there is nothing in common between the non-agentive subjects of the *frighten-preoccupare* type and the direct object of a regular transitive verb.<sup>37</sup>

## 6. Final remarks

In this article, I have argued that *-garri* is essentially a deverbal suffix that attaches to verbs that take two arguments; the suffix gives rise to both adjectives and nouns but only the former value is productive in present Basque. The two traditional values of the suffix, the active and the passive, can be reduced to one provided Belletti and Rizzi's original insight that *preoccupare/frighten* verbs lack an external argument is adopted; as shown here, verbs that take *-garri* in the active value do indeed have the properties of *preoccupare* and the like. Arguments that bear the instrumental theta-role are also affected by *-garri*; this fact suggests that they, too, be treated as internal arguments in Basque.

A unified analysis of *-garri* is possible within Grimshaw's framework: *-garri* takes the innermost argument of a two-argument verb and makes it the external argument of the newly created adjective; in this regard, *-garri* simply unifies what seems to be two different suffixes in English (*-able*, and the adjectival suffix *-ing* described in Brekke 1988). Theories that treat *preoccupare/frighten* verbs as causatives or regular transitives fail to predict that *-garri* suffixation might be one single rule and force a dual explanation for the suffix.

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<sup>36</sup> See the previous note. Other problematic aspects of her proposal include the following: she takes NOM-DAT verbs as the unmarked pattern for non-agentive object-experiencer verbs, but the general tendency seems to be for these verbs to behave as regular transitives: cf. NOM-ACC in English and French (Ruwet 1993) or ERG-ABS in Basque. Arad (1999a) also obviates the fact that in *piacere* verbs the dative argument appears to be the subject, rather than the object (cf. Belletti and Rizzi 1988).

<sup>37</sup> This problem also extends to Oyarçabal's (2002, 2003b) treatment of psychological causative verbs, which he analyzes just like regular causative verbs following Pykkänen (2002).

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