

# VERB-DERIVING PROCESSES IN BASQUE

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## Abstract

*This paper assumes that the Basque suffix -tu is an inflection suffix with a perfective value in analytical verb forms. However, it shows that addition of this suffix is the only overt change required to turn items of several categories into a participle (the verb citation form in Basque). The paper focuses on this derivational process, and shows that the auxiliary valences, theta-roles of arguments and aspect features of derived verbs all are closely related to subcategorization features of derivational bases, which are nouns, adjectives, adverbs and even postpositional phrases.*

## Introduction

A Basque analytical<sup>1</sup> verb consists of an uninflected form of the lexical verb and a conjugated auxiliary.

- (1) a. Jonek Peruri lanak itzuli dizkio  
Jon-ERG Peru-DAT papers-ABS give-back-PERF AUX-A-D-E  
'Jon gave back papers to Peru'
- b. Jon ez da konpondu ondo Perurekin  
Jon not AUX-A get on-PERF well Peru-with  
'Jon did not get on well with Peru'

The uninflected form in (1a-b) bears a perfect aspect ending (Laka 1993a: §2) that, depending on the lexical item, may be either *-i* (2a) or *-tu* (*-du* after a nasal or lateral) (2b).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Hualde (2003: §3.5.2.4.) for a description of synthetic forms and Alcazar (2002) for their set of aspectual readings.

<sup>2</sup> See a more accurate description of inflection suffixes in Hualde (2003: §3.5.1.).

- (2) a. *itzul-i*,  
give-back-PERF  
'to give back'
- b. *konpon-du*  
get on-PERF  
'to get on'

The uninflected form of lexical verbs can take other endings that are clear inflection suffixes: the future suffix *-ko* attached to the perfect form (3), and the imperfective *-tzen* (4).

- (3) a. *Itzul-i-ko*                      *dizkio*  
give-back-PERF-FUT AUX-A-D-E  
'He will give them back to him'
- b. *Ez da*                                      *ondo konpon-du-ko*  
not AUX-A get on-PERF-FUT well Peru-with  
'He will not get on well with him'
- (4) a. *itzul-tzen*                      *dizkio*  
give-back-IMPF AUX-A-D-E  
'He usually gives them back to him'
- b. *Ez da ondo konpon-tzen*  
not AUX-A get on-IMPF  
'He usually does not get on well with him'

The uninflected form may also be constituted by the verb radical itself.

- (5) a. *itzul diezazkioke*                      b. *Ondo konpon daiteke*  
give-back AUX-A-D-E                      well get on AUX-A  
'He can give them back to him'                      'He can get on with him'

Mitxelena (1961: §4.5., 8.5., 12.8)<sup>3</sup> claims that *-tu* came into Basque in Latin verbal forms that were borrowed before the literary period of Basque

- (6) *aditu* 'to listen'                                      cf. Lat. *auditum*  
*arbuiatu* 'to disdain'                                      cf. Lat. *repudiatum*

The suffix *-tu* replaced patrimonial *-i* in some verbal items. In fact, today's Basque often shows two morphological counterparts for this participial form

- (7) *ekoitz-i*, *ekoitz-tu* 'to produce', *sinets-i*, *sinis-tu* 'to believe'

On the other hand, some patrimonial verbs have a single form with *-tu* in today's Basque:

- (8) *antola-tu* 'organize', *gal-du* 'to lose', *sar-tu* 'to enter'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See also Mujika (1982: 285) and Laka (1995b: §3.1).

<sup>4</sup> There is evidence in literary Basque syntax indicating that it must have been a form without suffix that had a perfect value. See Lafon (1943).

The suffix *-tu* is the only one available for the perfective form of verbs borrowed from other languages.<sup>5</sup>

- (9) *ametitu* 'to admit' cf. Spanish 'admitir', *bainatu* 'to bathe' cf. Spanish *bañar*, *tratatu* 'to treat' cf. Spanish *tratar*

Basque has a very large number of non-verbal items whose verb counterpart bears the suffix *-tu*. In fact, the nonfinite form bearing the ending *-tu* is the usual verb citation form for speakers of Basque. Even if *-tu* was not borrowed from Latin, modern-day Basque can derive verbs only by means of *-tu*, which actually adjoins to items of several grammatical categories.

Therefore, on the one hand some authors (Laka 1993a, Haddican 2001) assume that *-tu* and *-i* and *-izen* all are inflection suffixes bearing different aspectual values,<sup>6</sup> while on the other hand, Gràcia et al. (2000: §3.1.3.2) have shown that *-tu* is similar to Spanish and Catalan suffixes *-ar*, *-er* and *-ir* in some ways: they all may be taken not as derivative but as inflectional suffixes. In any case, the presence of the suffix itself is enough to change the category of the base to verb:

- (10) Bas. *lodi*, Cat. *espès*, Sp. *espeso* 'thick'  
Bas. *loditu*, Cat. *espessir*, Sp. *espesar* 'to thicken'

Therefore this paper assumes that the Basque suffix *-tu* is an inflection suffix with a perfective value in analytical verb forms. However, one could informally say that addition of the suffix *-tu* is sufficient to turn certain non-verbal items into verbs, i.e. into the participial, or citation form of Basque verbs. This paper focuses on the derivational process that yields verbs from several Basque items. Although we are not assuming that *-tu* is a derivational suffix, the citation throughout this work of a wide set of items yielding derived verbs has led us to use *-tu* to distinguish the derivational basis from the derived verb.

Sometimes the English translation of a derivational base will be both a nonverbal item and a verb. In such cases we will give only the base itself: in (11) it must be understood that noun *zati* 'piece' gives rise to a verb that should be translated to the same English word '(to) piece'. In cases in which English does not have the same entry for both base and verb, the English translation of the derived verb will be stated (12a). When, besides the attachment of *-tu* some (other) morphological changes occur, the derived verb will also be stated (12b).

- (11) *zati* 'piece'

- (12) a. *giltza* 'key' (> 'to lock')  
b. *lore* 'flower' (> *loratu*)

This does not mean, however, that we will disregard the inflectional, or aspectual point of view of *-tu*. In our glosses it will be appear as PERF (13a), together with the other inflection suffixes of Basque (13b-c).

<sup>5</sup> See Alberdi (2003) in this book.

<sup>6</sup> See other points of view in Ortiz de Urbina & Uribe-Etxebarria (1991) and Artiagoitia (1995: §3, 4, 5).

- (13) a. Jon ez da haserretu Mirenekin  
 Jon not AUX-A get angry-PERF Miren-with  
 'Jon did not get angry with Miren'
- b. Jon ez da haserretzen Mirenekin  
 Jon not AUX-A get angry-IMPF Miren-with  
 'Jon does not usually get angry with Miren'
- c. Jon ez da haserretuko Mirenekin  
 Jon not AUX-A get angry-PERF-FUT Miren-with  
 'Jon will not get angry with Miren'

In this work we will approach the verb-deriving processes in Basque from a merely descriptive point of view. Our point of departure is the work of Gràcia et al. (2000), which describes Basque, Catalan and Spanish derived verbs by means of category and aspectual features and argument structure of both derivational base and derived items. The aim of the present paper is to provide a more accurate description of the behaviour of *-tu*, which is involved in what has been taken as different processes of derivation. Basically we will provide new data about subcategorization features of bases and aspect features of derived verbs. In addition, we hope to provide an approach to both auxiliary valences and theta-roles of arguments of derived verbs.

Section 1 gives a brief description of some general points of Basque grammar involved in Basque verb-deriving processes.

We assume that the main feature that distinguishes several processes of derivation by *-tu* is the grammatical category of the item to which the suffix adjoins. Therefore, sections 2 to 5 correspond to nominal, adjectival, adverbial and postpositional bases.

## 1. Some general issues in the grammar of basque

We believe that readers not familiar with Basque really need some brief pointers focusing on certain aspects of the language. Moreover, the attempt to shed light with new data on phenomena that previous works (Gràcia et al. 2000, Hualde 2003: §3.7.4.) have pointed out must be preceded by some general considerations about this language.

Section 1.1 provides a brief description of the Basque auxiliary and case-marking system.

Gràcia et al. (2000) provide the argument structure of derived verbs and the consequent inheritance from the base. They also provide the lexico-conceptual structures consisting of semantic relationships of logical *participants* of the event expressed by derived verbs. They express argument structures following Grimshaw's framework (1990: §2) in which an argument structure is a set of arguments represented in terms of prominence relationships. In this work we will attempt to provide semantic relationships of participants mapped to syntax. That is, we will deal with habitual theta-roles of arguments. Section 1.2. is concerned with some minimal terminological and theoretical assumptions about theta-roles provided in order to make a description of semantic relationships in the several classes of derived verbs.

Section 1.3 offers an approach to a classification in aspect classes of derived verbs that will be defined in terms of sets of aspect readings related to sets of verbal forms available for each verb class.

### 1.1. Auxiliary valence and case-marks

Several types of Basque verbs, both derived and non-derived, are broadly described in Etxepare (2003), where two domains are made clear: lexical structure of verbs and morphological structure of the auxiliary. Etxepare points out that terms such as monovalent, divalent or trivalent are related to the lexical structure of verbs, while terms such as intransitive, transitive and ditransitive are concerned with the morphological structure of the Basque auxiliary.

Basque has an ergative/absolutive case-mark system. The morphologically non-marked absolutive case is assigned to both subjects of intransitive (14a) and objects of transitive (14b) verbs. The marked case ergative is habitually assigned to subjects of transitive verbs (14b). Noun phrases case-marked ergative appear before noun phrases case-marked absolutive. The marks of the cases in arguments are *-k* for ergative (ERG) and zero for absolutive (ABS).<sup>7</sup> The third case-mark is dative *-(r)i* (DAT).

- (14) a. Katua etorri da  
 Cat-ABS come-PERF AUX-A  
 'The cat came'
- b. Ardi-txakurrak katua ikusi du  
 Sheepdog-ERG cat-abs see-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'The sheepdog saw the cat'

Laka (1993a) describes Basque auxiliary morphology, which shows (obligatory) agreement clitics with these three arguments. We will express the corresponding clitics in auxiliaries as E, A and E in English glosses.

Ditransitive auxiliaries appear with noun phrases case-marked ergative, dative and absolutive (15a). Despite the obligatory agreement with three noun phrases, some of these verbs appear with two arguments case-marked ergative and dative (15b):

- (15) a. Jonek Josebari katu bat oparitu dio  
 Jon-ERG Joseba-DAT cat a-ABS give-PERF AUX-A-D-E  
 'Jon gave a cat to Joseba'
- b. Nik ardi-txakurren jabeei deitu diet  
 I-ERG sheepdog-GEN owners-DAT call-PERF AUX-A-D-E  
 'I called the sheepdog's owners'

<sup>7</sup> In a noun such as *katu* 'cat', *-a* is the determiner, which will not be expressed in the glosses of this work. Absolutive is not an overt case. Therefore, *katua* is a (determiner) phrase case-marked absolutive, and *katuak a* (determiner) phrase case-marked ergative.

Most verbs with a transitive auxiliary appear with noun phrases case-marked ergative and absolutive.<sup>8</sup>

- (16) Jonek beste katu bat ekarri du  
 Jon-ERG another cat one-ABS bring-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'Jon brought another cat'
- (17) a. Alexek otoitz egiten du  
 Alex-EGR prayer egin-IMPF AUX-A-E  
 'Alex prays'
- b. Mikelek barau egin du  
 Mikel-ERG fast do-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'Mikel went on a fast'

Some Basque verbs take a transitive auxiliary but they have a single argument case-marked ergative. Most of them (18a) are the single-verb counterparts of complex predicates (17). Furthermore, some of the single-verb counterparts (18b) take an intransitive auxiliary bearing agreement with a single noun phrase case-marked absolutive (17b).<sup>9</sup>

- (18) a. Alexek otoitzen du                    b. Mikel barautu da  
 Alex-ERG pray-IMPF AUX-A-E            Mikel-ABS fast PERF AUX-A  
 'Alex prays'                                    'Mikel fasted'

The intransitive auxiliary appears with a single noun phrase case-marked absolutive.

- (19) Jon joan da  
 Jon-ABS go-PERF AUX-A  
 'Jon has gone'

On the other hand, (20) illustrates an intransitive/transitive alternation of the auxiliary that is very common in Basque.<sup>10</sup>

- (20) a. Jon alaitu da  
 Jon-ABS gladden-PERF AUX-A  
 'Jon cheered up'
- b. Ustekabeak Jon alaitu du  
 Surprise-ERG Jon-A gladden-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'The surprise gladdened Jon'

<sup>8</sup> Laka (1993b) claims that *otoitz* 'prayer' in the example (17a) of the text is a determinerless phrase case-marked absolutive. See note 7 and section 2.9 for Basque complex predicates such as *otoitz egin* 'to pray' in which the noun does not bear any overt mark. Phrases without a determiner and a quantifier are not allowed in Basque syntax and, since in this paper we do not deal with any theoretical assumptions about complex predicates, glosses will express nothing about the case of these nouns inside complex predicates.

<sup>9</sup> See Laka (1993b).

<sup>10</sup> See Zabala (2003b) in this book.

The verb in (20a) takes an intransitive auxiliary with a noun phrase case-marked absolutive just like the pattern in (19). The same verb in (20b) takes a transitive auxiliary and two noun phrases case-marked ergative and absolutive.

Therefore, Basque subjects are assigned ergative by divalent verbs (that take a transitive auxiliary) and are assigned absolutive by monovalent verbs (taking an intransitive auxiliary). Ergative is also assigned by monovalent verbs (bearing a transitive auxiliary).

Finally there is another kind of ditransitive auxiliary that appears with arguments case-marked dative and absolutive:

- (21) Josebari bururatu zaio konponketa  
 Joseba-DAT come-to-mind-PERF AUX-A-D  
 'The solution occurred to Joseba'

## 1.2. Argument structure and theta-roles

Section 1.1. explains that the number of agreement marks in the Basque auxiliary does not necessarily match the number of arguments of the verb. In the words of Etxepare (2003), intransitive, transitive and ditransitive auxiliaries are not necessarily related to monovalent, divalent or trivalent argument structures.

In this regard, it should be noted that what we have described noun phrases bearing one of the three case-marks have a neutral order that mirrors the agreement morphology of the verb. The combinations available for argument noun phrases are expressed in (21).<sup>11</sup>

- (22) ergative/dative/absolutive  
 ergative/dative  
 ergative/dative/absolutive  
 dative/absolutive  
 absolutive

Regarding argument classes, for the descriptive purposes of this work we assume Pustejovsky's (1995) classification (English examples and underlining are Pustejovsky's): True arguments are the syntactically realized parameters of the lexical items.

- (23) John arrived late

Shadow arguments are parameters that are semantically incorporated into the lexical item. They can be expressed only in some cases.

- (24) Mary buttered her toast with an expensive butter

<sup>11</sup> See Laka (1993a) for the intricate morphology of agreement marks, and Zabala & Odriozola (1996) for specifications about the relationship between noun phrases marked by a certain case and their prominence in the clause.

True adjuncts are parameters that modify the logical expression, but are part of the situational interpretation, and are not tied to any particular lexical item's semantic representation. These include adjunct expressions of temporal or spatial modification:

(25) Mary drove down to New York on Tuesday.

For the descriptive purposes of this work we borrow from Theta-Role Theory some (semantic) labels generally accepted in Linguistics.

We assume that agent is the entity that executes the action expressed by the predicate. Inanimate agents (26b) are taken as causes.

- (26) a. Josebak Xixka garbitu du  
 Joseba-ERG Xixka-ABS clean-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'Joseba washed Xixka'
- b. 'Porrotak ikaratu du Jon urteetan zehar  
 Failure-ERG scare-PERF AUX-A-E Jon-ABS years-in through  
 'Failure scared Jon for years'

In this work we follow Artiagoitia (2000), who assumes that experiencer is an animate being that experiences a psychological state. We therefore assume that in (27-28) *Joseba* is but *Iñigo* is not an experiencer.

- (27) Joseba haserretu da  
 Joseba-ABS get angry-PERF AUX-A  
 'Joseba got angry'
- (28) Iñigo gizondu da  
 become a man-PERF AUX-A  
 'Iñigo became a man'

Artiagoitia defines patient as the entity that suffers the change of place expressed by the verb. Theme is the entity that suffers the change of state expressed by the verb. Gràcia agrees with Artiagoitia in that theme and patient are not easy to distinguish. We embrace both concepts by means of the covert term theme.

Some Basque verbs (→§2.1.2) express both psychological states (29) and changes in (psychological) states (30a-b).

- (29) Heriotzak Marisa ikaritzen du  
 Death-ERG Marisa-ABS frighten-IMPF AUX-A-E  
 'Death frightens Marisa'
- (30) a. Istripuek Marisa ikaritzen dute  
 accident-PL-ERG Marisa-ABS frighten-IMPF AUX-A-E  
 'Accidents frightens Marisa'
- b. Marisa ikaratu da gaur  
 Marisa-ABS get frightened-PERF AUX-A today  
 'Marisa got frightened today'



- (36) Internetetik galdetu dit polita naizen  
 Internet-by ask-PERF AUX-A-D-E whether good-looking am-wether  
 'He asked me whether I am good-looking by Internet'

Here, we will use quotations that pick up both case-marks of arguments and theta roles. So, the pattern of *garbitu* 'to wash' in (26a) is agent (ERG)/theme (ABS), which expresses both ergative/absolutive cases and agent/theme thematic relationships of arguments *Josebak* and *Xixka*. This quotation is also able to express the auxiliary alternation ( $\rightarrow$ §1.1) and so, the pattern of *ikaratu* 'to frighten' in (30a-b) is expressed as (agent(ERG))/experiencer (ABS). Finally this quotation system is concerned with overt order of arguments and the pattern of *ikaratu* is distinguished from the one of *er-deinatu* 'to disdain' which will be expressed as experiencer (ERG)/agent (ABS).

Finally, general semantics will be described by means of general paraphrases such as 'to become N', 'to make A', 'to use N', in which the specification of grammatical category corresponds not only to a semantic concept but also to the grammatical category of the derivational base itself.

### 1.3. Set of aspect readings

Vendler's aspect classes of events are widely certified in the literature about verbs of languages of the world. Although aspect classes were claimed to be lexical, today it is well known that differences between states, activities, accomplishments and achievements are not strictly lexical (Verkuyl 1989). However these labels are useful as descriptors of (four) sets of compositional aspect readings (De Miguel 1999). Therefore we will be speaking about syntactic expressions of four sets of compositional readings.

1.3.1. Pustejovsky (1995) describes both achievements and accomplishments as a set of two subevents. The former denotes a process and a result state that heads the whole event. The latter denotes a process that heads the whole event and a result state. In both cases processes are limited, i.e., they denote a point at which process occurs or finishes.

1.3.1.1. Some Basque postpositional phrases express a measurable time in which the event occurs, i.e., they bear a frame reading. Certain Basque verbs (37a) do not accept this kind of frame readings. These verbs do not allow the quantifier *asko* 'very much/often' in its intensive reading (37c). We assume that they denote events that occur at a point in time and we will call them punctual achievement verbs.

- (37) a. *ahaidetu* 'to become related' ( $\rightarrow$ §2.2.3), *aholkatu* 'to advise' ( $\rightarrow$ §2.9.4), *mailegatu* 'to borrow' ( $\rightarrow$ §2.10.2), *koroatu* (> 'to coronate/crown') ( $\rightarrow$ §2.9.9), *azalez tatu* 'to bind' ( $\rightarrow$ §4.2.2)
- b. \*Ordu erdian ahaidetu dira  
 hour half become relative-PERF AUX-A  
 'They became related in half an hour'
- c. \*Asko ahaidetu dira  
 a lot become relative-PERF AUX-A very much  
 'They became related very much'

Some of these verbs allow non-frame readings for postpositional phrases (38b) but the intensive reading of the quantifier is always avoided.

- (38) a. *konturatu* 'to realize' (→§1.3.1.1)  
 b. Bi hilabetetan konturatu nintzen zail izango zela  
 two months-in realize-PERF AUX-A hard be-future AUX-A-that  
 'I realized two months later that things would be hard'  
 c. \*Asko konturatu naiz  
 very much realize-PERF AUX-A  
 'I realized very much'

1.3.1.2. Some Basque verbs behave like punctual achievement verbs in that they do not accept the quantifier *asko* in their intensive reading (39c). However they admit frame readings (39b), since they consist of processes that finish at a point. We will call them terminative achievements.

- (39) a. *jabetu* 'to take hold' (→§2.2.2) (*loratu* 'to flower' (→§2.4.1), *amaitu* (>'to finish') (→§2.10.4), *sailkatu* 'to classify' (→§4.1.3), *porturatu* 'to bring/put into port' (→§5.1.2)  
 b. Arrosoa bi egunetan loratu da  
 rose-ABS two days-in flower-PERF AUX-A  
 'The rose bloomed in two days'  
 c. \*Arrosoa asko loratu da  
 very much flower-PERF AUX-A  
 'The rose flowered very much'

1.3.1.3. Some Basque verbs accept both frame and intensive readings, since they express both the starting of an event and subsequent identical subevents that yield more and more intensive results. In fact universal quantifiers sound odd with this class of verbs (40b) but both intensive reading of *asko* 'very much' (40c) and even progressive modifiers are licensed (40d). We will call them ingressive achievements.<sup>13</sup>

- (40) a. *gihartu* 'muscle' (→§2.10.4), *ahuldu* 'to weaken' (→§3)  
 b. ?Guztiz gihartu da  
 completely become brawny-PERF AUX-A  
 'He developed his muscles completely'  
 c. Asko gihartu da  
 very much become brawny-PERF AUX-A  
 'He developed his muscles very much'

<sup>13</sup> De Miguel (1999: §46.3.2.4) distinguishes between ingressive, progressive and terminative verbs.



- c. ?Jon<sub>ERG</sub> Estibaliz<sub>ABS</sub> guztiz<sub>completely</sub> erdeinatzen<sub>IMP</sub> du<sub>AUX</sub>  
 Jon-ERG Estibaliz-ABS completely disdain-IMP AUX- A-E  
 ‘Jon disdains Estibaliz completely’
- d. Hiru urtean<sub>three years-in</sub> erdeinatu<sub>hate-PERF</sub> du<sub>AUX</sub> eta<sub>and</sub> aurrerantzean<sub>from now</sub> ere<sub>on</sub>  
 erdeinatuko<sub>hate-PERF-FUT</sub> du<sub>AUX</sub>  
 hate-PERF-FUT AUX- A-E  
 ‘He disdained her for three years and will disdain her from now on’

*Erdeinatu* verbs, i.e., Basque *disdain* verbs take a non-habitual (45b) or habitual (46) state reading for all the verbal forms,

- (46) Jon<sub>ERG</sub> Maite<sub>ABS</sub> erdeinatzen<sub>IMP</sub> du<sub>AUX</sub> zenbaitetan<sub>sometimes</sub>  
 Jon-ERG Maite-ABS disdain-IMP AUX-A-E  
 ‘Jon disdains Maite sometimes’

*Ikaratu* verbs, i.e., Basque *frighten* verbs get state readings (47) as Basque *disdain* verbs do (45-46).

- (47) Gizakiak<sub>Mankind-ERG</sub> Jon<sub>ABS</sub> ikaratzen<sub>IMP</sub> du<sub>AUX</sub>  
 Mankind-ERG Jon-ABS scare-IMP AUX-A-E  
 ‘Mankind scares Jon’

However, unlike Basque *disdain* verbs, Basque *frighten* verbs may take an achievement change of state in some contexts related (48a) or not (48b) to habitual events:

- (48) a. Josebak<sub>Joseba-ERG</sub> Jon<sub>ABS</sub> ikaratzen<sub>IMP</sub> du<sub>AUX</sub> zenbaitetan<sub>sometimes</sub>  
 Joseba-ERG Jon-ABS scare-IMP AUX-A-E sometimes  
 ‘Joseba scares Jon sometimes’
- b. Josebak<sub>Joseba-ERG</sub> Jon<sub>ABS</sub> ikaratu<sub>PERF</sub> du<sub>AUX</sub> gaur<sub>today</sub>  
 Joseba-ERG Jon-ABS scare-PERF AUX-A-E today  
 ‘Joseba scared Jon today’

Notice that the imperfect suffix *-tzen* licenses a unique state reading in some Basque *fear* verbs (45-46), but it may denote change of states in Basque *frighten* verbs (48).

On the other hand, some Basque *disdain* verbs such as *erdeinatu* ‘to disdain’ just license the reading of a past time frame for the state (45c), whereas some other Basque *fear* verbs such as *damutu* (45b) ‘to regret’ are related to the start of the state that still lasts in the present.

Some other verbs with psychological meaning are the result of different deriving processes but they pattern with Basque *frighten* verbs in their set of aspect readings.

- (49) a. Hiri horretan<sub>city that-ABS</sub> Joxez<sub>see-IMP</sub> gogoratzen<sub>remember-IMP</sub> da<sub>AUX</sub> beti<sub>always</sub>  
 city that-ABS see-IMP-*ean* Joxe-*z* remember-IMP AUX-A  
 ‘He always remembers Joxe when he is in that city’

- b. Dena gogoratzten dut  
 All-ABS remember-IMPF AUX-A-E  
 'I remember everything'

1.3.4. Activities are non-limited dynamic processes. Basque verbs bearing activity sets of readings admit the quantifier *asko* which may take either an habitual (50b-b') or an intensive (50c) reading. As is well known, they denote a subject-controlled event.

- (50) a. *barautu* 'to fast' (→§2.9.2), *babestu* 'to protect' (→§2.10.6), *harrikatutu* 'to stone' (→§4.1.1)
- b. Asko dantzatzten zuen  
 a lot dance-IMPF AUX-A-E  
 'He used to dance a lot'
- b' Gutxiago dantzatzea erabaki du  
 less dance-*tzea* decide-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'He decided to dance less'
- c. Alexek asko babesten du Ane  
 Alex-ERG very much protec-IMP AUX-A-E Ane-ABS  
 'Alex protects Ane very much'

## 2. Verbs derived from nouns

Gràcia et al. (2000) describe seven types of derivation from nouns, which seems to be a very wide range of items from this grammatical category. Classes of derivation are described in terms of paraphrases, argument-structure inheritance and aspect features of the derived verbs. We will focus on the classes of nouns that act as the base of the derivation, so we will describe more than twenty subclasses that will provide new data on the classes of nouns themselves, type of auxiliary, inheritance of argument structure and aspect features of the derived verb.

It is well known that some nouns may project predicates, i.e. they have argument structure. Section 2.1 deals with psychological nouns that filter their argument (structure) to both complex predicates and derived verbs. In addition, Zabala (1993: §4.4.6.) has described two more classes of nouns that may head nominal predicates: profession nouns and event nouns. Section 2.2 deals with nouns that are predicate-likely in some points. Most of them are nouns related to human relationships. Moreover, verbs derived from them express a change of state that may also be expressed by the noun itself and a copula. These derived verbs pattern in some points with verbs derived from adjectives (→§3), which could be expected from the not so clear limit separating Basque nouns and adjectives. In this case we will deal only with the structure of verbs.

Sections 2.3. to 2.7. describe verbs derived from several classes of nouns, without assuming any argument structure for the latter: nouns expressing a part of the whole (→§2.3.) or inalienable possession (→§2.4.), relational location nouns (→§2.5.), meal nouns (→§2.6.), and instrument nouns (→§2.7.).

Section 2.8. is concerned with weather-derived verbs. In section 2.9. we see verbs derived from event nouns that sometimes clearly filter their arguments to the verb. Finally, section 2.10. is concerned with result nouns.

### 2.1. Psychological nouns

Basque exhibits the two classes of psychological verbs (→§1.3.3.)<sup>14</sup> that are well described in other languages. Most of them are derived from nouns that designate a psychological state.

We assume that Basque psychological verbs of the first class such as *erdeinatu* 'to disdain' (51) bear an experiencer (case-marked ergative) and an agent (case-marked absolutive).

- (51) a. *damu* 'regret' (> 'to regret'/'to back down'), *deitore* 'lamentation' (> 'to lament'), *erdeinatu* (*erdeinatu* 'to disdain'), *irrika* 'longing' (> 'to long for'), *pairu* 'suffering' (> 'to suffer')
- b. Jonék Estibaliz erdeinatzen du  
Jon-ERG Estibaliz-ABS disdain-IMPF AUX- A-E  
'Jon disdains Estibaliz'

Psychological verbs of the second class suchs as *ikaratu* 'to frighten' bear a cause-agent (case-marked ergative) and an experiencer (case-marked absolutive).<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, unlike English *frighten* verbs, Basque *frighten* verbs follow an alternation auxiliary pattern (cause-agent (ERG))/experiencer (ABS) pattern.<sup>15</sup>

- (52) a. *ardura* 'worry, care' (> 'to worry'/'to worry about'), *adore* 'courage' (> 'to encourage'/'to become animated'), *ikara* 'fright' (> 'to frighten'/'to become frightened'), *lotsa* (> 'to put to shame'/'to be ashamed, to blush'), *poz* 'joy' (> 'to gladden'/'to be glad')
- b. Heriotzak Jon ikaratzen du  
Death-ERG Jon-ABS frighten-IMPF AUX-A-E  
'Death frightens Jon'
- c. Jon erraz ikaratzen da  
Jon-ABS easy become frightened-IMPF AUX-A  
'Jon is easily frightened'

<sup>14</sup> See Artiagoitia (2003) in this book.

<sup>15</sup> It is well known that agentivity usually is not denoted by the non-prominent argument. Moreover, it seems odd that Basque shows both patterns, experiencer (ERG)/agent-cause (ABS) and cause-agent (ERG)/experiencer (ABS). The problem was pointed out by Laka (1993a) for Basque, but in fact, psychological verb grammar is intricate in several languages as Grimshaw (1990: §2.3.) pointed out. She claims that the non-experiencer argument is a theme in both verb classes. Etxepare (2003: §4.1.4.6.3.) assumes that the role of argument case-marked ergative in Basque *frighten* verbs is a stimulus-cause. In fact the agentivity related to ergative case-mark matches in a very wide set of both non-psychological and psychological Basque verbs. See Artiagoitia (2003), Oyharçabal (2003) and Zabala (2003b) in this book.

Therefore, the paraphrase for Basque *fear* verbs is 'to feel N' but two paraphrases are available for transitive and intransitive auxiliary counterparts of Basque *frighten* verbs, as can be seen in English translations. The former's paraphrase (51b) is 'to make feel N' and the latter may be paraphrased as 'to feel N'.

Sometimes there is a complex predicate counterpart for the derived verbs of both classes. Zabala (2002) describes Basque complex predicates as a problem of limit between syntax and (compositional) morphology. Complex predicates bear in most of the cases a nude noun or adjective and a verb. She claims that there are two kinds of Basque complex predicates. The former (53b) bears either a copula or an auxiliary whereas the latter (54b) bears either a full verb or a light verb. In the latter (54b) it is the verb that determines the argument structure of the complex. In the former (53b), the nude noun or adjective may project predicates and therefore it gives at least one argument at least one argument to the complex predicate.

(53) a. *beldur* 'fright' (< 'to frighten/to become frightened')

b. Jon gizakiaren beldur da  
Jon-ABS death-GEN fear is  
'Jon is afraid of mankind'

c. Gizakiak Jon beldurtzen du  
Mankind-ERG Jon-ABS scare-IMPF AUX-A-E  
'Mankind scares Jon'

(54) a. *erdeinu* 'disdain' (< *erdeinatu*)

b. Jonek Estibalizi erdeinu dio  
Jon-ERG Estibaliz-DAT disdain have-A-D-E  
'Jon disdains Estibaliz'

c. Jonek Estibaliz erdeinatzen du  
Jon-ERG Estibaliz-ABS disdain-IMPF AUX-A-E  
'Jon disdains Estibaliz'

However, *erdeinu* 'disdain' (54) shows an argument with a dative mark ( $\rightarrow$ §2.9), and *beldur* (53) bears an argument with a genitive mark. Notice that derived verb *erdeinatu* 'to disdain' bears the same agent argument case-marked absolutive in (54b), whereas the cause-agent of *beldurtu* in (53b) is case-marked ergative. We assume that derived verbs inherit both experiencer and cause-agent from these nouns bearing an argument structure inside a complex predicate.

Etxepare (2003) points out that some complex predicates have a unique state reading, whereas the verb counterpart bears a set of readings related to several verb forms in the Basque paradigm. Section 1.3. shows that some Basque *disdain* verbs such as *erdeinatu* 'to disdain' have a unique state reading similar to that of the complex predicate, although an habitual reading of the state is available. Basque *frighten* verbs where a wide set of readings clearly contrasts with the unique state reading of the complex predicate counterpart.

Finally Odriozola (1993) showed that some (literary) derived verbs of this class select embedded clauses. They have a single punctual achievement reading.

(55) *kilika* 'excitement' ('to incite'), *narrita* 'instigation' (> 'to instigate')

Basque *frighten* verbs share all their characteristics described above with verbs derived from physiologic nouns.

(56) *egarri* 'thirst' (> 'to make/get thirsty'), *gose* 'hunger'

## 2.2. Verbs derived from human and material nouns

Under this heading are verbs paraphrased as 'to (make) become a N'. All of them denote a change of state with individual-level results in the sense of Kratzer (1988), i.e., they express the acquisition of non-transitory properties and they usually follow the pattern (cause-agent (ERG))/theme (ABS).

(57) a. *apaiztu* 'to ordain'/'to become a priest'

b. *Apaiztu*      *dute*  
ordain-PERF AUX-A-E  
'They ordained him'

c. *Apaiztu*                      *da*  
become a priest-PERF AUX-A  
'He became a priest'

This is clear in the adjective-predicate counterpart. In fact, Zabala (2003a) points out that individual-level predicates usually appear with the copula *izan* 'to be' and suffix *-a*:

(58) *Apaiza da*  
priest-*a* is  
'He is a priest'.

Regarding argument structure, Gràcia et al. (2000) do not specify any for these classes of derivational bases. In fact Gràcia (1994: §72) assumes that some Catalan nouns (59a) similar to what we will see in section 2.2.1 do not have argument structure. Gràcia shows that the result of these Catalan and Spanish verb-deriving processes is not predictable as can be seen in the contrast between the meanings of (59a-b) and (59c).

(59) a. *gas* 'gas' (> *gasificar* 'to turn into gas/to gasify')

b. *gel* 'ice' (> 'to freeze')

c. *carácter* 'character' (> 'to characterize, to give character')

However this is not the case of Basque derived verbs that always pattern with both (57) and (59a-b). Some derived verbs (→§2.2.2., §2.2.3.) not described by Zabala

(1993) nor by Gràcia (1994) bear an experiencer that is very closely related to what the nominal base may predicate for.<sup>16</sup>

- (60) *senide* 'relative' (> *senidetu* 'to become related'), *gizon* 'man' (> *gizondu* 'to become a man')

In fact, Gràcia (1994: 73, note 7) pointed out that in the case of new Spanish and Catalan technical words, the result is predictable in that it always patterns with (59a-b).

- (61) *os* 'bone' (> *ossificar* 'to ossify')

She says that, intuitively, these nouns behave like adjectives (→§2) in that subject acquires all the properties of the noun.

We distinguish three classes of verbs:

2.2.1. Material nouns derive verbs that show the set of aspect readings of achievements.

- (62) *ikatz* 'coal' (> *ikaztu* 'to turn into coal'), *izotz* 'ice' (> *izotzu* 'to freeze'), *lurrun* 'vapour' (> 'to evaporate'), *ozpin* 'vinegar' (> 'to turn (in)to vinegar'), *ur* 'water' (> 'to turn (in)to water')

2.2.2. Some nouns mainly related to human traits show the set of aspect readings of terminative accomplishment.

- (63) *adiskide* 'friend' (> 'to become friends'), *gizon* 'men', *haurtu* 'child', *jabe* 'owner' (> 'to take over'), *jaun* 'mister' (> *jaundu* 'to become a gentlemen')

2.2.3. Some verbs derived from human nouns take the set of aspect readings of punctual achievements.

- (64) *ahaide* 'relative' (> 'to become related'), *apaiz* 'priest', *erromes* 'pilgrim', *girstino* 'Christian', *gotzain* 'bishop'

### 2.3. Nouns expressing a part of the whole

Gràcia et al. (2000) describe a derivation process in which the base is a part noun. All of the derived verbs express a change of state of a theme that is seen as broken or divided into parts. The paraphrase is 'to make Ns'.

2.3.1. Some nouns (65a) express unlimited but regular parts of a whole. These parts are closely related achievements that may be indefinitely repeated. That can be seen in the fact that intensive reading provided by the quantifier *asko* 'very much' is ruled out by punctual and terminative achievements but is licensed here with repetitive

<sup>16</sup> Gràcia claims that argument is provided by the derivational suffix.

reading. Notice that the reading of ingressive achievements for *asko* is intensive but theme is affected in the same way as in repetitive readings.

- (65) a. *zati* 'piece', *adar* 'branch'  
 b. Ogia asko        zatitu        du  
 bread very much piece-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'He pieced the bread very much (i.e. he cut/broke the bread into a lot of pieces)'

This argument may also be mapped to syntax as a postpositional phrase.

- (66) *Zati txikietan zatitzen du ogia*  
 piece little-in piece-IMPF AUX-A-E bread-ABS  
 'He cut/broke the bread into little pieces' (i.e. 'he diced the bread')

2.3.2. Some other nouns are related to parts of a whole that may be irregular. They produce verbs that express an achievement event that is not necessarily iterative but rather ingressive or terminative. The results with intensive quantifier *asko* are dubious.

- (67) a. *apur* 'bit' (> 'to break'), *puska* 'portion, bit' (> 'to break')  
 b. ?*Liburua* asko        apurtu        du  
 book-ABS very much break-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'He broke the book very much'

2.3.3. Some nouns are not part of a whole and their derived verbs bear a meaning that is lexicalized to a certain extent. They exhibit the set of aspect readings for accomplishments.

- (68) a. *birrin* 'crumb' (> 'to crumble'), *irin* 'flour' (> 'to pulverize')  
 b. \*Ogia asko        birrindu        du  
 Bread-ABS very much crumble-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'He crumbled the bread very much'  
 c. Ogia guztiz        birrindu        du  
 Bread-ABS completely crumble-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'He crumbled the bread completely'

#### 2.4. Inalienable-possession nouns and deprivation verbs

Some nouns express a kind of inalienable possession. Their derived verbs always denote at least a growing change of state.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See Zabala (2003b) in this book.

2.4.1. Some nouns that are not interpreted as susceptible to deprivation produce verbs that take an intransitive auxiliary. They all have a possessor case-marked absolutive. They express a meaning of growing related to a terminative achievement. Their paraphrase is 'to get N'.

- (69) *abar* 'branch' (> 'to grow branches'), *hosto* 'leaf' (> *hostatu* 'to sprout leaves'), *lore* 'flower' (> *loratu*), *ninika* 'bud'

2.4.2. Nouns that can be interpreted as susceptible to deprivation produce verbs with a special auxiliary alternation described by Etxepare (2002).

- (70) *ale* 'grain' (> 'to pit/to shake out grain'), *kimu* 'branch' (> *kimatu* 'to huddle/to prune'), *luma* (> 'to grow feathers/to pluck')

The intransitive auxiliary counterpart has a meaning of growing.

- (71) Txita horia      leihoko      kaiolan lumatu      zen  
chick yellow-ABS window-in grow feathers-PERF AUX-A  
'The yellow chick in the cage in the window grew feathers'

Transitive counterparts have an accomplishment deprivation meaning paraphrased as 'to deprive of N' and an agent (ERG)/theme or experiencer (ABS) pattern.

- (72) Estibalizek      oilaskoa      lumatu      du  
Estibaliz-ERG chicken-ABS pluck-PERF AUX-A-E  
'Estibaliz plucked the chicken'

2.4.3. Some nouns that are not interpreted as something that grows produce verbs that only have the transitive counterpart.

- (73) *larru* 'skin'

## 2.5. Location nouns

Gràcia et al. (2000) describe Basque verbs derived from nouns that may be paraphrased as 'to go/bring/take/carry to N'. In that work, no restrictions were described for the base, but the derived verbs belong to a closed list of lexical entries. We are dealing with location nouns of two classes that are a kind of shadow arguments whose role would be similar to a goal. All of them show auxiliary alternation and follow an (agent-cause (ERG))/theme (ABS) pattern. They take the set of aspect readings of accomplishments.

2.5.1. Some location nouns yield verbs whose meaning may be either a physical or a figurative movement.

- (74) a. *azal* 'surface' (> 'to explain, to appear'), *bazter* 'edge' (> 'to exclude'),  
*buru* 'head' (> 'to carry out'), *saihets* 'side' (> 'to avoid')

- b. *babe* 'sifter' (> 'to weed out'), *eskola* 'school' (> 'to take to school', *hondar* 'bottom' (> 'to sink'), *kaiola* 'cage', *lerro* 'line' (> *lerratu* 'to glide')

2.5.2. In some cases the bases are relational locative nouns<sup>18</sup> and their derived verbs can more or less be foreseen, since we are dealing with nouns that grammaticalize place. However, their meaning is not so predictable:

- (75) *alde* 'side' (> *aldatu* 'to change'), *inguru* 'surroundings' (> *inguratu* 'to go round')

It seems that no new verbs are being produced this way in modern-day Basque.

## 2.6. Meal nouns

Food-activity nouns yield verbs expressing the activity itself. Their paraphrase is 'to have N' and they take an auxiliary that dialectally may be either transitive or intransitive. Agent is case-marked either ergative or absolutive.<sup>19</sup> They express achievements.

- (76) *afari* 'dinner' ('to have dinner/to dine'), *bazkari* 'lunch'

## 2.7. Instrument nouns

Some instrument and tool nouns yield verbs that have lexically incorporated the noun as an instrument shadow argument.

In most cases the pattern is (ERG)/theme (ABS) and they are either activities or achievements.

- (77) *akuilu* 'spur' (> *akuilatu* 'to incite'), *botoitu* 'button' (> 'to button up'), *giltza* 'key' (> *giltzatu* 'to lock'), *laia* 'shovel', *orraz* 'comb'

## 2.8. Weather nouns

Weather nouns yield transitive verbs that express achievements.

- (78) a. *ateri* 'clear weather' (> 'to clear up'), *ilunabar* 'twilight' (> 'to grow dark'), *negutu* 'winter' (> 'to become winter'), *sargori* 'sultry weather' (> 'to become sultry weather')
- b. Durangaldean atertu du  
Durango area-in clear-up-PERF AUX-A-E  
'It cleared up in the Durango area'

<sup>18</sup> See a description of this subclass of Basque nouns in Odriozola (2002).

<sup>19</sup> See Fernández (1997: §2) for theoretical issues involved in the syntactical behaviour of these verbs.

## 2.9. Event nouns

It is well known (Grimshaw (1990: §3.2, Gràcia 1994) that the subclass of process or event nouns have arguments expressed in syntax with an event reading. In a first approach, we use *event noun* as a semantic label that picks up a subclass of Basque nouns that always bear an event reading. Furthermore, they license genitive phrases or other phrases for the participants in the event that also are expressed in the syntax as arguments of the derived verb. So we can see a set of nouns that give rise to a rather regular verb-deriving process. All of the derived verbs may be paraphrased as 'to make/do/give N'.

There is no doubt about the fact that it is the event noun that has given rise to the verb (and not vice-versa), since the suffix *-tu* was borrowed when nouns and even complex predicates bearing nouns were already available in Basque. In fact, besides derived verbs, Basque often has available a complex predicate counterpart of the second class described by Zabala (2002).<sup>20</sup> They consist of a determinerless noun and a verb, which is what determines the argument structure of the predicate.

- (79) Mikelek barau egin du  
 Mikel-ERG fast do-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'Mikel went on a fast'

The conjugated complex predicate verb in (79) is transitive and the agent is assigned ergative. Notice that the nude noun appears to be an argument of the verb (Laka 1993b) (→§1.1). In fact, verbs such as *egin* 'to do', *eman* 'to give' or *hartu* 'to take' always take a transitive auxiliary and they usually assign ergative and absolutive case-marks to their arguments (see notes 6 and 7). Derived verbs may take either intransitive (80a) or transitive (80b-c) auxiliaries.

- (80) a. Mikel barautu da  
 Mikel-ABS fast PERF AUX-A  
 'Mikel fasted'
- b. Mikelek arnastu du  
 Mikel-ERG breathe-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'Mikel breathed'
- c. Gurasoek Alex Txurdinagan bataiatu zuten  
 parents-ERG Alex-ABS Txurdinaga-in baptize-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'The parents baptized Alex in Txurdinaga'

Neither the derived verbs nor their complex predicates are states and they share a wide range of aspectual interpretations by means of the same verb forms.

- (81) a. Mikel barautzen zen astero  
 Mikel-ABS to fast-IMPF AUX-A every week  
 'Mikel used to fast every week'

<sup>20</sup> See also Etxepare (2003: §4.1.4.5.).

- b. Mikelek barau egiten zuen astero  
Mikel-ERG fast do-IMPf AUX-A-E every week  
'Mikel used to fast every week'
- (82) a. Mikel barautu/barautuko da  
Mikel-ERG fast-PERF/PERF-FUT AUX-A-E  
'Mikel fasted/will fast'
- b. Mikelek barau egin/gingo du  
Mikel-ERG fast-ABS do-PERF/KO AUX-A-E  
'Mikel fasted/will fast'

We distinguish here four classes of verbs derived from event nouns.

2.9.1. Some nouns that express an event not controlled by the subject give rise to verbs with a theme or experiencer case-marked absolutive.

- (83) *behaztopa* 'stumble', *irrista* 'sliding' (> 'to slide')

Some of these verbs take an auxiliary and follow an experiencer (DAT)/theme (ABS) pattern.

- (84) a. *pilpira* 'heartbeat' (> 'to beat')
- b. Untxiari bihotza azkar pilpiratzen zitzaion  
rabbit-DAT heart ABS fast beat-IMPf AUX-A-D  
'The rabbit's heart was beating fast'

2.9.2. Some event nouns yield verbs having an agent case-marked either absolutive (95a) or ergative (85b).<sup>21</sup>

- (85) a. *barau* 'fast', *borroka* 'fight', *hizketa* 'talk', *lasterka* 'running' (> 'to run'), *mintzo* 'speech' (> 'to speak')
- b. *arnasa* 'breath' (> *arnastu*), *bidai*a 'journey' (< 'to travel'), *bira* 'turn', *distira* 'sparkle' (> 'to shine'), *hausnar* 'reflection' (> 'to think over').

Odriozola (1993) points out that some (literary) verbs of this class take a clausal complement. Nevertheless they have an intransitive auxiliary.<sup>22</sup>

- (86) a. *ahalegin* 'effort' (> 'to try'), *lehia* 'endeavour' (> 'to compete'), *oldar* 'attack', *saio* 'try' (> *saiatu*)

<sup>21</sup> See Etxepare (2003).

<sup>22</sup> Besides Odriozola's set of literary verbs, a description of embedded clause complements of Basque verbs can be found in Goenaga (1984).

- b. Jon saiatuko da garbi azaltzen  
 Jon-ABS try-PERF-FUT AUX-A clear explain-IMPF  
 'Jon will try to explain it clearly'

All the verbs of this class are activities.

2.9.3. Some event nouns yield verbs that take a transitive auxiliary. They are non ingressive achievements or activities and their pattern is cause-agent (ERG)/theme (ABS).

- (87) *bataio* 'baptism' (> *bataiatu* 'to baptize'), *epai* 'sentence', *ehiza* 'hunting'  
 (> 'to hunt'), *garraio* 'transport', *zelata* 'spying' (> 'to spy')

2.9.4. Zabala (2002) points out that sometimes the bare noun provides the verb with some features of its own. In fact, it is well known that because of its weakness the light verb somehow needs (one of) the arguments of the noun. However, some event nouns (88a) take a certain noun phrase such as the one case-marked dative in three cases: noun phrases headed by the event noun (88b), complex predicates bearing the even noun (87c), and constructions headed by a verb derived from the even noun (88d).

- (88) a. *galde* 'question' (> 'to ask'), *debeku* 'prohibition' (> 'to prohibit')  
*erregu* 'request'
- b. *erregua ardi-txakurren jabeei*  
 request sheepdog-GEN owner-DAT  
 'a request to the sheepdogs' owners'
- c. *Nik ardi-txakurren jabeei erregu egin diet*  
 I-ERG sheepdog-GEN owners-DAT request do-PERF AUX- A-D-E  
*etortzeko*  
 come-to  
 'I request the sheepdogs' owners to come'
- d. *Nik ardi-txakurren jabeei erregutu diet*  
 I-ERG sheepdog-GEN owners-DAT request-PERF AUX-A-D-E  
*etortzeko*  
 come-to  
 'I request the sheepdogs' owners to come'

Thus, derived verbs follow an agent (ERG)/beneficiary (DAT) pattern and they often express punctual achievements.

## 2.10. Result nouns

Grimshaw (1990: §3.2) and Gràcia (1994) assume that result nouns of both English and Catalan do not have an event structure and therefore, participants that can be seen in the lexical structure of both nouns and derived verbs are not mapped into syntax inside the nominal phrases. In a first approach, we use *result nouns* as the semantic label for nouns such as *otoitz* (89a). We assume that derived verbs are the



tactically realized, has the same reference as the nominal base itself. They express punctual achievements.

- (94) a. *aholku* 'advice' (> *aholkatu* 'to advise'), *asmo* 'intention' (> *asmatu* 'to guess'), *aukera* 'choice', *mailegu* 'loan' (> *mailegatu* 'to borrow'), *usain* 'smell'
- b. Euskarak *tu* mailegatu zuen latinetik  
Basque-ERG tu borrow-PERF AUX-A-E latin-from  
'Basque borrowed *tu* from Latin'
- c. Euskarak *tu* mailegua hartu zuen latinetik  
Basque-ERG tu loan borrow-PERF AUX-A-E latin-from  
'Basque took *tu* from Latin'

2.10.3. Group nouns are also to understood as the result of the event denoted by their derived verbs.

- (95) *bilduma* 'collection', *meta* 'stack', *multzo* 'bunch' (> 'to bunch together'), *pila* 'pile', *zerrenda* 'list'

The transitive auxiliary follows an agent (ERG)/theme (ABS) pattern, in which theme is a unity of the group expressed by the base.

- (96) Anek pinak bildumatzen ditu  
Ana-ERG pin-ABS collect-IMPF AUX-A-E  
'Ane collects pins'

When the plural in a noun phrase has a generic reading (97a), it expresses an activity, but non-generic readings and some inflection forms of the verb license an achievement (97b).

- (97) a. Jantzi zaharrak pilatzen ditu  
clothes old-ABS pile-IMPF AUX-A-E  
'He piles old clothes'
- b. Iazko jantzi zaharrak komunean pilatu ditu  
last year-from clothes old-ABS bathroom-in pile-PERF AUX-A-E  
'He piled last year's old clothes in the bathroom'

2.10.4. Most of the result nouns express a part of the whole that corresponds to the theme of the derived verb. An auxiliary alternation follows an (agent-cause (ERG))/theme (ABS) pattern and the nouns exhibit an (inalienable) possession relationship with the theme. They take the set of aspect readings of ingressive (98a) and other kinds of achievements (98b).

- (98) a. *bular* 'chest' (> 'to sag'), *gihar* 'muscle' (> 'to become brawny'), *gorputz* 'body' (> 'to embody'), *ildaska* 'small groove'

- b. *amai* 'end' (> 'to finish'), *azpimarra* 'underlining' (> 'to underline') *era* 'form' (> 'to establish'), *ixura* 'shape' (> 'to get/give shape'), *sustrai* 'root'

2.10.5. Most of the result nouns express something that belongs to the theme of the derived verb. The pattern is causer-agent (ERG)/theme (ABS) and terminative (99a) or ingressive (99b) achievements are expressed.

- (99) a. *arau* 'rule' (> 'to set the rules'), *hesi* 'fence', *izen* 'name' (> *izendatu* 'to designate'), *koroa* 'crown' (> 'to coronate'), *margo* 'colour' (> 'to paint'),  
 b. *bake* 'peace' (> 'to bring peace', *korapilo* 'knot' (> *korapilatu*), *lanbro* 'fog' (> 'to fog over), *oreka* 'balance', *zorabio* 'dizziness' (> *zorabiatu*)

2.10.6. There are several Basque result nouns (100a) that express something that affects an argument of the verb advantageously or adversely.

- (100) a. *babes* 'protection' (> 'to protect'), *baldintza* 'condition', *berme* 'guarantee' (> *bermatu*), *muga* 'limit', *oztopo* 'obstacle' (> *oztopatu* 'to hinder'), *zigor* 'punishment' (> 'to punish')  
 b. *Zigorra* *Konstituzioaren* *aurkako* *ideiei*  
 Punishment Constitution-GEN against idea-DAT  
 'Punishment for ideas against the Constitution'  
 c. *Konstituzioaren* *aurkako* *ideiak* *zigortu* *nahi* *dituzte*  
 Constitution-GEN against ideas punish-PERF want AUX-A-E  
 'They want to punish ideas against the Constitution'

### 3. Verbs derived from adjectives

In Basque, the productivity of process that derives verbs from adjectives is similar to the one deriving verbs from nouns. In fact one could say that almost any adjective can potentially be involved in a spontaneous derivation resulting in a verb.

Let us see first some of the features common to all verbs derived from adjectives.

- a) Almost all of them may be paraphrased by 'to (make) become A'.  
 b) The pattern is not very variable.

- b1) In most cases the pattern is (agent-cause (ERG))/theme-experiencer (ABS). We assume that themes (101a) and experiencer (101b) are inherited from the base.

- (101) a. *estu* 'narrow', *labur* 'short' (> 'to become shorter/to shorten'), *txiro* 'poor' (> 'to impoverish'/to become poor'), *zabal* 'broad' (> 'to spread/broaden'), *zahar* 'old' (> 'to grow old')  
 b. *alai* 'happy' (> 'to cheer, to make happy'), *harro* 'proud' (> 'to become/make proud'); *haserre* 'angry' (> 'to get angry/to anger') 'sad', *triste* 'sad' (> *tristatu* 'to become sad/to sadden'), *zoro* 'crazy' (> 'to go/drive crazy')

It should be noted that the items in (118b) are psychological verbs similar to the verbs derived from nouns with argument structure ( $\rightarrow$ §2.1)

b2) There are a few that follow experiencer-theme (ABS) (102) or cause-agent (ERG)/experiencer-theme (ABS) (103) patterns.

(102) *axolagabe* 'careless' (> 'to be neglectful'), *ausart* 'brave' (> 'to dare'),

(103) *erraz* 'easy' (> 'to facilitate'), *ezagun* 'well-known' (> *ezagutu* 'to know'), *ezgai* 'unable' (> 'to disqualify')

b3) Etxepare (2003: §2.9.) points out that some Basque verbs may reflexivize by detransitivizing the auxiliary. Most of these verbs are derived from adjectives in Basque:

(104) *apain* (> 'to dress well, to tidy up'), *txukun* 'smart' (> 'to make smart'), *garbi* 'wash', *lehor* 'dry'

(105) a. Josebak Xixka garbitu du  
Joseba-ERG Xixka-ABS clean-PERF AUX-A-E  
'Joseba washed Xixka'

b. Joseba garbitu da  
Joseba-ABS clean-PERF AUX-A  
'Joseba washed himself'

c) A few of the verbs derived from adjectives have complex predicate counterparts of the first type, in which the bare adjective gives at least one argument to the complex predicate.

(106) a. *bero* 'hot' (> 'to heat, to get hot'), *nabari* 'patent' (> 'to be apparent', *oker* 'mistake' (> 'to make a mistake'), *zilegi* 'allowable' (> 'to be allowable')

b. Berotu	naiz	c. Bero naiz
get hot-PERF AUX-A		hot AUX-A
'I got hot'		'I am hot'

Complex predicates have available a single state reading, whereas derived verbs have the set of readings common to the changes of state ( $\rightarrow$ §2.1).

d) However, most of the verbs derived from adjectives are related to non-state achievements:

d1) In most cases, adjectives derive verbs that designate an ingressive achievement. Their paraphrase is 'to (make) become (more) A'.

(107) *ahul* 'weak' (> 'to weaken/to grow weak'), *bigun* 'soft' (> 'to soften/to grow soft'), *lodi* 'fat' (> 'to (make) get fat'), *txukun* 'smart' (> 'to make smart'), *zurbil* 'pale' (> 'to (make) get pale')

Adjectives of this type may take a quantifier suffix (108b), and this complex can also form the base for deriving further verbs of this type (109). This morphological process is available for all the adjectives of this type, although only the derived verbs of some adjectives appear in the dictionary (109b).<sup>23</sup>

- (108) a. Luzea da  
long is  
'It is long'
- b. Luzeagoa da  
Long-more is  
'It is longer'
- (109) a. *luze* 'long', *luzeago* 'longer', *luzeagotu* 'to lengthen still more'
- b. *bizi* 'living' (> 'to intensify'), *txiki* 'little' (> 'to grow smaller'), *larri* 'critical' (> 'to aggravate'), *sendo* 'strong' (> 'to make stronger')

d2) Punctual achievements are also common.

- (110) *antzu* 'sterile' (> 'to become sterile/'to sterilize'), *bikoitz* 'double' (> 'to duplicate'), *isil* 'silent' (> 'to silence'), *oker* 'mistaken' (> 'to make a mistake'), *ezkutu* 'hidden' (> *ezkutatu* 'to hide').

d3) There are some verbs that can take the set of aspect readings of terminative achievements:

- (111) *agor* 'dry' (> 'to dry up), *berri* 'new' (> 'to renovate'), *gai* 'able' (> 'to enable'), *xahu* 'wasted' (> 'to spend')

Kratzer's (1988) two classes of predicates hold for both adjectival bases and derived verbs. On the one hand individual-level adjectives express non-transitory properties and stage-level adjectives are related to transitory properties. On the other hand, changes of states expressed by derived verbs may be interpreted as the acquisition of non-transitory ( $\rightarrow$ §3.1), and transitory ( $\rightarrow$ §3.2) properties.

### 3.1. Derived verbs related to individual-level predicates

Basically, stage-level predicates projected by adjectives appear with the verb *egon* 'to be' (112a) whereas individual-level predicates ( $\rightarrow$ §3.2) take *izan* 'to be' (112b). In most cases adjectives expressing stage-level predicates can be bare, whereas individual-level predicates bear the suffix *-a*.<sup>24</sup>

- (112) a. haserre dago  
anger is  
'He is angry'
- b. aberatsa da  
rich-*a* is  
'He is rich'

However, most adjectives can project both stage and individual-level predicates.

<sup>23</sup> Lexical entries for colours are both nouns and adjectives in Basque and have available this kind of derivation.

<sup>24</sup> See a more accurate description in Zabala (2003a).

- (113) a. *ahul* 'weak' (> 'to weaken', *garbi* 'clean', *isil* 'silent' (> 'to (be) silent'), *lodi* 'fat' (> 'to (make) get fat'), *txukun* 'tidy' (> 'to 'tidy'), *zur-bil* 'pale' (> 'to (make) get pale')
- b. *lodi dago*  
fat is  
'He is fat (now)'
- c. *lodia da*  
fat-*a* is  
'He is fat'

Acquisition of individual-level properties is expressed by verbs derived either from individual-level adjectives (114) or from adjectives that can project both classes of predicates (113).

- (114) a. *antzu* 'sterile' (> 'to become sterile/to sterilize'), *bikoitz* 'double' (> 'to duplicate'), *eder* 'beauty' (> 'to beautify'), *egoki* 'suitable' (> 'to adjust/to suit/to customize')
- b. *Antzutu da*  
become sterile-PERF AUX-A  
'She became sterile'

The acquisition of individual-level properties may also be expressed sometimes by the adjective and the copula *egin* 'to become'.

- (115) *Antzu egin da*  
sterile become-PERF AUX-A  
'She became sterile'

Finally, notice that individual-level properties are expressed as in (116) with the adjective bearing the suffix *-a* and the copula *izan* 'to be'.

- (116) *Antzua da*  
'She is sterile'

It must be pointed out that Basque has a very wide range of items that belong to both adjectival and nominal categories.

- (117) a. *alargun* 'widow' (> 'to become a widow'), *arrotz* 'stranger' (> 'to become strangers') *ero* 'madman' (> 'to go/drive mad'), *euskaldun* 'Basque-speaker' (> 'to make/become a Basque-speaker'), *etsai* 'enemy, hostile' (> 'to become an enemy')
- b. *Begoña euskaldun egin da*  
Begoña-ABS Basque-speaker become-PERF AUX-A  
'Begoña became a Basque speaker'
- c. *Begoña-ABS euskaldundu da*  
Begoña-ABS become Basque-speaker-PERF AUX-A  
'Begoña became a Basque speaker'

These nominals pattern with both adjectives deriving verbs in (113-114) and verbs deriving nouns (→§2.2).

- (118) a. *Apaiz egin da*  
 Priest become AUX-A  
 'He became a priest'
- b. *Apaiztu da*  
 become a priest-PERF AUX-A  
 'He became a priest'
- c. *Apaiza da*  
 priest-*a* is  
 'He is a priest'

In short, all these predicates express (the acquisition of) non-transitory properties.

### 3.2. Derived verbs related to stage-level predicates

Acquisition of stage-level properties is expressed by verbs derived from stage-level adjectives:

- (119) *ados* 'agreed' (> 'to concur/to come to an agreement'), *haserre* 'angry' (> 'to get angry/to anger'), *haurdun* 'pregnant' (> 'to become pregnant'), *jelos* 'jealous' (> 'to become jealous'), *oker* 'mistaken' (> 'to make a mistake')

The acquisition of transitory properties is expressed by both the derived verb and the stage-level adjective with the copula *jarri* 'to put, to become'.

- (120) a. *Haserretu da*  
 anger-PERF AUX-A  
 'She got angry'
- b. *Haserre jarri da*  
 angry get-PERF AUX-A  
 'She got angry'

There are some derived verbs that do not correspond to the acquisition of the properties expressed by the adjective. Their paraphrases correspond to secondary predicates, which are not necessary for the grammaticality of the clause, and they take verbs different from *izan*, *egon*, *egin* and *jarri*.

- (121) a. *nabari* 'obvious' (> 'to realize'), *nabarmen* 'clear' (> 'to make clear'), *ozen* 'loud' (> 'to make loud'), *zabal* 'broad' (> 'to broaden'), *zehatz* 'exact' (> *zehaztu* 'to stipulate clearly')
- b. *Nabaritu du Iñaki gose zegoela*  
 notice-PERF AUX-A-E Iñaki-A hungry was-*ela*  
 'He noticed that Iñaki was hungry'
- c. *Nabari ikusi du Iñaki gose zegoela*  
 obvious see-PERF AUX-A-E Iñaki-A hungry was-*ela*  
 'He saw clearly that Iñaki was hungry'

Notice that all of the verbs in (121) select an embedded clause. In fact, the adjective predicate is directed to the embedded clause (121b) that was not an argument of the adjectival base. On the other hand, Odrizola (1993) has described a set of verbs derived from (psychological) adjectives that select embedded clauses of several classes, and that are lexicalized as aspectual or modal verbs. These verbs do inherit the argument of the adjective:

(122) *ausart* 'brave' (> 'to dare'), *etsi* 'desperate' (> 'to resign')

#### 4. Verbs derived from adverbs

Basque exhibits a very productive process that derives verbs from adverbs bearing the suffix *-ka* (→§4.1). In addition, there are also some other adverbs (→§4.2, §4.3) resulting from a process that seems to be no longer productive in modern-day Basque.

##### 4.1. Adverbs with *-ka*

Basque verbs may be derived from adverbs ending in *-ka*, a suffix of several meanings. Zabala (1993: §2.2.2.1.3., 2.2.2.3.4., 2.4.) claims that these adverbs have available the projection of nominal predicates, since in some cases they do not modify the verb but rather predicate about a subject (123a). However, it should be noticed that these items may modify the verb as adverbs do (123b).

- (123) a. *Xixka horzka dago*  
 Xixka tooth-*ka* is  
 'Xixka is snapping'
- b. *Xixka horzka defenditu da albaitariarengandik*  
 Xixka-ABS tooth-*ka* to defend-PERF AUX-A  
 'Xixka defended herself from the veterinarian by snapping'

The adverbs themselves are derived almost spontaneously from a wide range of nouns. Almost all of the verbs take a transitive auxiliary and an agent (ERG)/theme (ABS) pattern. The nouns and adverbs that give rise to verbs are the following:

4.1.1. Instrument nouns yield adverbs with the meaning 'using N'. The derived verbs paraphrase as 'to use N to beat something' and they denote an iterative activity.

- (124) a. *harri* 'stone', *mailu* 'hammer', *ezten* 'sting', *ziri* 'stick'
- b. *harrika daude*  
 stone-*ka* are  
 'They are throwing stones'
- c. *Haiek emakumea harrikatu zuten*  
 They-ERG woman-ABS to stone-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'They stoned the woman'

Notice that the argument inherited from the adverb is the agent.

## 4.1.2. Derivation from body-part nouns ends up with similar verbs.

- (125) a. *adar* 'horn', *moko* 'beak', *hortz* 'tooth'  
 b. Ahuntza adarka dabil  
 goat horn-*ka* is  
 'The goat is goring/butting (something)'  
 c. Ahuntzak Xixka adarkatu zuen  
 goat-ERG Xixka-ABS to gore-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'The goat gored Xixka'

4.1.3. Adverbs derived from event nouns mean 'to be doing N'. The verb's paraphrase is 'to do N once and again', which also corresponds to an iterative activity. The pattern is similar to that of instrument and body-part nouns.

- (126) a. *aldarri* 'clamour' (> 'to proclaim', *kolpe* 'knock' (> *kolpatu* 'to beat'),  
*musu* 'kiss', *oihu* 'shout', *txalo* 'applause' (> 'to applaud')  
 b. Musuka dabil c. Argik Doro musukatu zuen  
 kiss-*ka* is Argi-E Doro-A to cover with kisses-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'She is kissing' 'Argi covered Doro with kisses'

4.1.4. Classification nouns give rise to verbs rather different from the ones above. They follow an agent (ERG)/theme (ABS) pattern but the argument inherited from the adverb is a theme. The aspect reading is related to this argument that must be plural and denotes some limit of the event. The verbs are in fact terminative achievements.

- (127) a. *sail* 'series', *lerro* 'line', *maila* 'level' (> 'to divide up into levels'),  
*multzo* 'bunch' (> 'to accumulate'), *txanda* 'turn' (> 'to turn with'),  
*zati* 'piece' (> 'to split')  
 b. Liburuak sailka daude  
 book-ABS series-*ka* are  
 'The books are (classified) in series'  
 c. Jonek liburuak sailkatu ditu  
 Jon-ERG book-ABS to-classify-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'Jon classified the books'

On the other hand, verbs in (127) lexicalize the movement itself, whatever a movement is. Other verbs above lexicalize the kind of movement. In any case, all derived verbs from adverbs with *-ka* denote a (kind of) movement in the sense of Demonte (1994).

Although there are some (dialectal) exceptions, generally one-argument verbs cannot be derived from this kind of adverb.

- (128) a. *algaraka* 'laughing', *apurka* 'little by little', *biraka* 'spinning', *iheska*  
 'fleeing', *zuka* 'using the more formal speech'  
 b. \**algarakatu*, \**apurkatu*, \**birakatu*, \**iheskatu*, \**zukatu*,

## 4.2. Locational adverbs

Basque has several lexicalized adverbs<sup>25</sup> that yield a quite productive derivational process. They exhibit auxiliary alternation and an ((agent-cause (ERG))theme (ABS) pattern. On the one hand we have adverbs that consist of a suffix *-ti* attached to a relational location noun (130). Verbs derived from them designate the movement related to an achievement. The pattern is agent-cause (ERG)/theme (ABS) and the argument inherited is a theme.

- (129) *bebe* 'ground', *gain* 'top', *goi* 'above'  
*beheiti* 'down', *gaindi* 'through', *goiti* 'on high'  
*beheititu* 'to lower', *gainditu* 'to overcome', *goititu* 'to lift up'

Adverbs bearing the (lexicalized) postposition *-ra* 'to' (→§5) also give rise to verbs of a similar kind:

- (130) *atzera* 'back', *aurrera* 'forward', *gora* 'up', *kanpora* 'out'  
*atzeratu* 'to put back', *aurreratu* 'to advance/to overtake', *beheratu* 'to lower', *kanporatu* 'to throw out'

## 4.3. Non-derived adverbs

In Basque there are also a few verbs derived from adverbs of other kinds:

- (131) *berandu* 'late' (> 'to delay'), *maiz* 'often' (> 'to do something often')

## 5. Verbs derived from postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases headed by two particular suffix postpositions may derive verbs almost spontaneously. The postpositions are *-ra* (directional) 'to' (→§5.1) and *-z* 'with/by' (→§5.2).

### 5.1. Postpositional suffix *-ra* (directional) 'to'

The verbal ending *-tu* can be adjoined to postpositional phrases headed by the postpositional suffix *-ra* 'to'. We will classify derived verbs mainly according to the class of the nominal base.

5.1.1. Nouns expressing either parts of the human body or sentiments produce a set of psychological verbs in which movement is rather metaphoric. They are punctual-achievement verbs.

- (132) *kontu* 'matter', *kontura* 'to the matter'  
*konturatu* 'to realize'
- (133) *gogo* 'mind' (> 'to remember'), *buru* 'head' (> 'to occur')

<sup>25</sup> See Odriozola (1999, 2002).

The verb's meaning is not predictable from the postpositional phrase. However, these verbs are closely related to their bases. In fact, postpositional phrases are part of complex predicates whose argument structure is inherited by the derived verb.

- (134) a. Joni gogora etorri zaio Joseba  
 Jon-DAT mind-to come-PERF AUX-A-D Joseba-ABS  
 'Joseba came to Jon's mind'
- b. Jonek Joseba gogoratu du  
 Jon-ERG Joseba-ABS remember-PERF AUX-A-E  
 'Jon remembered Joseba'

We assume that they all adhere to an experiencer (ABS) or (ERG)/proposition pattern. They select either an NP or an embedded clause. *Konturatu* 'to realize' takes the intransitive auxiliary, whereas *gogoratu* 'to remember' may take either an intransitive or transitive auxiliary without changing the argument structure.

- (135) Joseba konturatu da Jon haserre dagoela  
 Joseba-ABS to realize-PERF AUX-A Jon angry is-that  
 'Joseba has realized that Jon is angry'
- (136) a. Nik gogoratu dut Dory oraindik gaixorik  
 I-ERG to remember-PERF AUX-A-E Dory-ABS still ill  
 dagoela  
 is-that  
 'I remembered that Dory is still ill'
- b. Ni gogoratu naiz Dory oraindik gaixorik  
 I-ABS to remember-PERF AUX-A Dory-ABS still ill  
 dagoela  
 is-that  
 'I remembered that Dory is still ill'

*Bururatu* may take an experiencer case-marked with dative:

- (137) Josebari bururatu zaio Durangora joatea  
 Joseba-DAT to come in mind-PERF AUX-A-D Durango-to to go-*tzea*  
 'It occurred to Joseba to go to Durango'

5.1.2. Sometimes non-relational location nouns produce verbs that express a true movement. The pattern is agent-cause (ERG)/theme (ABS) or (agent-cause (ERG))/theme (ABS). They show the set of aspect readings of achievements or accomplishments.

- (138) *aho* 'mouth'  
*ahora* 'to the mouth'  
*ahoratu* 'to raise something to the mouth'
- (139) *espetze* 'prison' (> 'to imprison'), *etxe* 'house' (> 'to take home'), *hondo* 'bottom' (> 'to sink'), *itsaso* 'sea' (> 'to set out to sea'), *lur* 'earth' (> 'to land')

Some of them are quite lexicalized.

- (140) *azal* 'surface' (> 'to appear, to show up'), *bide* 'road' (> 'to guide'), *esku* 'hand' (> 'to grab')

5.1.3. Section 3.1. shows that the postpositional suffix *-ra* attaches to a relational location noun. These constructions have undergone a lexicalization process to form an adverb. This process seems to be just one of the subcategory features of these relational locations, but in some cases, postpositional phrases are not lexicalized, i.e. they do not appear in Basque dictionaries and they have a predictable meaning. All of them can function as the base of a derivation process that ends up in a verb.

- (141) *albo* 'side', *albora* 'to the side'  
*erdi* 'middle', *erdira* 'to the middle'  
*azpi* 'bottom', *azpira* 'to the bottom'  
*alboratu* 'to put aside', *azpiratu* 'to bring down', *erdiratu* 'to put in the middle'

5.1.4. Some non-locational nouns yield verbs that, by means of lexicalization, do not express movement at all:

- (142) *argi* 'light' (> *argitaratu* 'to bring to light/to publish'), *begi* 'eye' (> 'to look'), *egun* 'today' (> 'to update'), *plaza* 'square, public life' (> 'to make public')

## 5.2. Postpositional suffix *-z*

Some verbs are derived from postpositional phrases headed by the postpositional suffix *-z* '(instrumental) by/with'. They all take a transitive auxiliary and follow an agent-cause (ERG)/theme (ABS) pattern. The derivational bases are nouns that sometimes are expressed in the syntax as PP headed also by *-z*:

- (143) *Jonek eta Josebak urre zaharraz urreztatu nahi dituzte*  
 Jon-ERG and Joseba-ERG gold old-*z* to gold-plate-PERF AUX-A-E  
*beren belarritakoak*  
 'Jon and Joseba want to gold-plate their earrings with old gold'

The derivational nouns are shadow themes that yield two classes of verbs.

5.2.1. Material nouns give rise to ingressive achievement verbs: on the one hand the quantity of material itself has no limit, and on the other hand, theme has no constrictions on the quantity of material that may be accepted. The paraphrase is either 'to N-plate' (144a) or 'to provide N' (144b).

- (144) a. *altzairu* 'iron' (> *altzairuztatu*<sup>26</sup> 'to iron-plate'), *berun* 'lead', *ez-tainu* 'tin', *urre* 'gold', *lar* 'silver'  
 b. *aire* 'air' (> 'to ventilate'), *azukre* 'sugar', *koipe* 'grease', *ongarri ur* 'water'

<sup>26</sup> Almost all the verbs derived from postposition phrases headed by *-z* have the infix *-ta-* between the postposition phrase and *-tu*.

5.2.2. *-Z* adjoins to countable nouns. The postpositional phrase gives rise to non-ingressive achievements. In most cases theme may accept only one of the entities expressed by the shadow argument. Most of them are neologisms. The paraphrase is 'to provide with N'.

- (145) *azal* 'cover' (> *azalezlatu* 'to bind'), *ohol* 'board' (> *oholezlatu* 'to board up'), *paper* 'paper' (> *paperezlatu*)

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