

Genitivization in Northern Basque Complement Clauses

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I will begin with a brief review of some basic aspects of Basque clause structure.¹ In main clauses, the verbal complex contains obligatory marking of pronominal categories in ergative, absolutive, and dative cases. Ergative is the case of transitive subjects (TS's), absolutive that of transitive objects and intransitive subjects (TO's, IS's), and dative that of indirect objects. In modern Basque, these pronominal markers are ordinarily added to a special auxiliary verb, while the main verb has only an aspect suffix (periphrastic conjugation); only a few verbs can optionally add the pronominal markers directly (synthetic conjugation). The predominant periphrastic type can be illustrated by **ts** example (Guipuzcoan dialect):

(1)	txakurr - a	il- tzen	det
	dog the	kill asp	1s-3s

The notation « 1s-3s » indicates first singular ergative plus third singular absolutive, so the translation is « I am killing the dog ». The overt TO *txakurr-a* has no case suffix, since absolutive is the unmarked case. If the independent first singular pronoun were added, it would have the ergative suffix *-k* (*ni-k txakurr-a il-tzen det*). Because of the pronominal markers in the auxiliary *det* {analyzed as third singular

¹ It is a pleasure to thank Prof. Michelena and Prof. De Rijk for their helpfulness to me, and the Nevada Basque Studies Program staff in general. I also wish to thank Prof. Haritschelhar of Bordeaux for answering my questions on his Low Navarrese dialect. Prof. De Rijk also suggested several factual and stylistic changes which have been incorporated into the final version of the paper.

absolute *d-*, auxiliary root allomorph *-e-*, and first singular ergative *-t*), the independent pronoun *ni-k* is not necessary, though it can be optionally added.

The indicative verbal constructions typical of main clauses are similar in structure to certain verbal constructions in subordinated clauses. For example, indirect quotations and related clauses are formed by merely adding a suffix to a main-like clause. Subjunctive, potential, and conditional clauses show specialization in the verb morphology, but we still have obligatory pronominal marking, usually in the auxiliary verb.

However, there are other subordinated clauses which are not finite {i.e. show no pronominal marking in verb complexes). In these clauses the verb is in one of three forms — radical, perfective participle, or infinitive. (In some dialects the first two may not be distinguished.) The infinitive clause, which we are primarily concerned with, contains a verb marked with the infinitive suffix *-tze-* (or allomorph *-te-*), plus whatever nominal suffixes are required by the context. The infinitive version of (1) would be this:

- (2) txakurr - a il - tze -
 dog the kill inf
 «killing the dog»

To this, we could add definite *-a* and a zero case marker to produce an IS (absolute case), as in «Killing the dog is bad». Or, we could add *-ko*, «for», and get a purpose clause: «in order to kill the dog»; In infinitive constructions the presence or absence of definite *-a-* is largely determined by the following nominal suffix, so we need not worry about this.

We will anticipate some of the upcoming discussion by noting that in (2) it is not clear who is the TS of «to kill» in the infinitive clause. If the TS is the first singular pronoun, we could add *ni-k* to make this clear. Or we could leave it out and rely on context to clarify the situation. As we will see later, not all such potential ambiguities can be resolved so easily in infinitive clauses.

In the Guipuzcoan dialect, from which (1) and (2) are taken, overt NP's in infinitive clauses have the same case marking as in main clauses (e.g. ergative for .TS, absolutive for TO or IS, etc.). This seems to be the situation in all of the main Basque dialects south of the Spanish-French border.

In the northern dialects (Labourdin, Low Navarrese, and Souletin) there is one important difference. Here the TO of a transitive infinitive clause is genitivized, while TS's and IS's are unaffected:

- (3) ni - k txakurr - a - ren hil - tze -
 I erg dog the gen kill inf
 «my killing the dog» (lit. «by me the dog's killing»).

The rule responsible for introducing genitive *-(r)en* in this construction will be referred to as TO-GEN; for the time being we will leave open the question of whether this is a special rule or merely a special case of a general genitivization rule.

TO-GEN raises several interesting questions about Basque syntax, and deserves a more thorough study than is possible here. I will suggest one possible approach, which I feel is on the right track but which may be rejected by other scholars. My approach will be to examine in what ways TO-GEN facilitates the interpretation of surface structures and to contrast the actual system with a hypothetical one lacking TO-GEN. Among other things, I will offer speculations as to why the rule does not affect IS's, though in many respects IS's and TO's are syntactically related, and as to why the rule might be restricted to the northern dialects.

Much of this paper will be oriented toward the Labourdin dialect. The only detailed discussion of TO-GEN that I have found is in Lafitte's grammar² of literary Labourdin and Low Navarrese.

² Lafitte (1962). The relevant section is that on the "infinitif nominal", pp. 206-223. Case-marking is specifically discussed on pp. 221-223. Most of the Basque examples cited in this paper are taken from Lafitte, generally without specific acknowledgement. Quite a few have been altered in various ways, and one or two errors may have crept in, though I do not think they affect any major points. Quotations from Lafitte in the following pages are

Lafitte appears slightly biased toward Labourdin, and anyway there do not seem to be any notable differences in the two dialects with respect to TO-GEN. I have been able to check Lafitte's remarks by reading a portion of Axular's devotional work *Gero* (published 1643)³, a landmark in Basque literature and of linguistic interest as a faithful reflection of the Labourdin dialect of several centuries ago. Various points were also cleared up in an all-too-brief session with Professor Haritschelhar of Bordeaux, a native speaker of Low Navarrese. No real divergences between Lafitte's rules and the actual data from *Gero* and the informant session were turned up, though some additional facts were discovered. There are, however, some genuine differences between these dialects and Souletin in the details of TO-GEN, and these will be discussed at the end of the paper.

I will assume that base forms of infinitive clauses are like those of main clauses, except that aspect and tense markers are absent (this point may be controversial, but is irrelevant for our purposes). Our first problem is the deletion of underlying NP's, especially TS's, TO's, and IS's, in infinitive clauses. One deletion rule is essentially identical to English EQUI-NP DELETION, whereby a certain NP in a higher clause can cause deletion of a coreferent NP in the infinitive clause. This rule seems to be at work in sentences like this:

- (4) txakurr - a - ren hil - tze - ra joan - Ø nintzen
 dog the gen kill inf to go asp past ls
 «I went to kill the dog.»

Here the independent pronoun *ni-k* («I-erg.») is ungrammatical in the infinitive clause («I went for me to kill the dog»). This deletion rule generally affects TS's and IS's of subordinated clauses; I do not have enough data for a full discussion.

Not all deletions can be explained in this way, however.

from the section mentioned above unless otherwise noted.

³ I have used Axular (1964), the recent edition by Father ViJlasante. Sentence (17) later on is taken from *Gero*. The evidence obtained from *Gero* agrees nicely with Lafitte's remarks in all important points

Pronouns in ergative, absolutive, and dative cases can be deleted even when EQUI-NP DELETION can not apply. Such independent pronouns tend to be emphatic and are usually avoided if possible. In the absence of pronominal emphasis we can get sentences like this:

(5) txakurr - a - ren hil - tze - a on - a zen
 dog the gen kill inf the good the was 3s
 «Killing the dog was good.»

When it is common knowledge who did the killing, or when it does not matter who did, this sentence causes no interpretative difficulties. However, if the pronominal category of TS is of some importance, omitting the independent ergative-case pronoun would be a problem. Only the clumsy procedure of adding an overt pronoun, ordinarily reserved for genuine emphasis, could mark this category explicitly.

Without going into details, I suspect that this deletion may be typical of third person demonstratives rather than of first and second person pronouns, which have somewhat more of a propensity to resist deletion. For the purposes of this paper, the ins and outs of deletion are not crucial. The existence of some form of deletion in infinitive clauses is, however, significant.

The second problem to be dealt with is the determination of the level at which TO-GEN applies.

It can be shown that it follows the basic case marking rules, and that it also follows certain raising rules.

That TO-GEN follows the basic case-marking rules can be seen most clearly by the interaction of TO-GEN and partitivization. The latter rule adds the partitive suffix *-(r)ik* to IS's and TO's with indefinite specification in negative contexts; the general process is analogous to the familiar rule in French grammar.

(6) gizon - ik ez dut ikhus - ten
 man part not ls-3s see asp
 «I do not see any man/men.»

In the corresponding infinitive, we again get partitive *gizon-ik*, not genitive singular *gizon bat-en* («a man's») or the like:

(7) ba - noa, gizon - ik ez ikhus - te - ko
emph go 1s man part neg see inf for
«I go in order not to see any man/men.»

Contrast this sentence with (8), where the TO is definite:

(8) ba - noa, gizon - a - ren ez ikhus - te - ko
emph go 1s man the gen neg see inf for
«I go in order not to see the man.»

My interpretation of this is that TO-GEN is inapplicable to any NP containing an overt case suffix. (It does not apply to *any* NP without such suffixes, since it fails to affect IS's, but it can not apply unless this condition is met.) The addition of the partitive suffix therefore suffices to block TO-GEN. It can not be claimed that partitivization removes NP's from the TO function, since the auxiliary in (6) is marked for third singular TO. Whether or not this is correct, it is obvious that partitivization precedes TO-GEN and can block it.

The principle that TO-GEN can only affect a NP lacking overt case suffixes can also be used to explain why northern Basque differs from many other languages in genitivization of TO's and not TS's. In Turkish, for example, TS's but not TO's are regularly genitivized. If we look at the functions represented by the NP's which are subject to genitivization in these languages, the rules appear to be completely different. However, in both northern Basque and Turkish it is the morphologically unmarked case which is genitivized, so from the formal point of view the same thing is going on in each.

Partitivization is clearly a postcyclic rule, since the element that triggers it— usually the negation *ez* 'not'- does not have to be in the same clause as the noun to which the partitive is assigned, but can be several clauses higher up in the tree structure of the sentence. Now, if TO-GEN

is postcyclic, it must follow all cyclic rules. Therefore, further support for our position is found in the fact that we can show by independent evidence that TO-GEN follows a cyclic raising rule. Consider this sentence:

(9) liburu hoi - k irakur - tzen ditut
 book that pl read asp 1s-3p
 «I am reading those books.»

Ordinarily, the corresponding infinitive clause would be this:

(10) liburu hoi - en irakur - tze-
 book that gen.pl read inf
 «reading those books»

If the next clause up contains the verb «to go», and the infinitive itself is marked with the allative suffix *-ra* or *-rat*, we can get the expected form:

(11) liburu hoi-en irakur-tze-rat noa
 to go 1s
 «I am going to read those books.»

But, according to Lafitte, for some writers we can also get this:⁴

(12) liburu hoi-k irakur-tze-rat noatza
 pl to go 1s-3p
 «I am going to read those books.»

There is apparently no significant difference in meaning, but there certainly is a syntactic difference. In (12), the underlying TO of the infinitive clause is raised into the main clause as TO of the now transitive verb «to go». This verb must be marked for third plural object, so the suffix *-tza* is added. Without the infinitive clause, the transitive use of «to

⁴ Lafitte (1962), p. 255. His example has been simplified here.

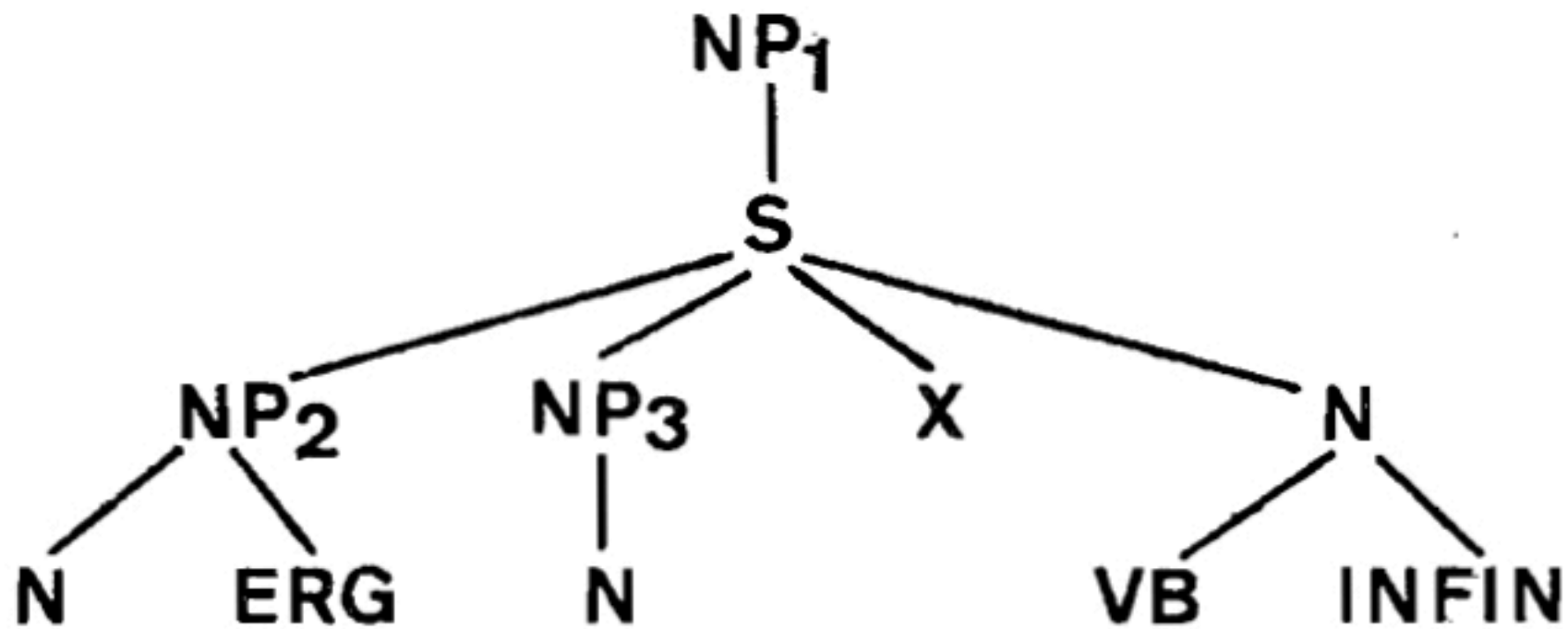
go» is completely ungrammatical:

- (12) *liburu hoi-k noatza
*«I am going those books.»

(The grammatical sentence *liburu hoi-eta-rat noa*, «I am going to those books», is a totally different construction.)

It would seem difficult to state this raising rule if it followed TO-GEN, since possessive genitives can not be so raised. The only natural statement of the rule would be at a stage where TO-GEN has not yet applied and so the TO is morphologically unmarked. My conclusion is that, on a given cycle, TO-GEN is a relatively late rule, since it must follow some basic case marking rules and probably follows the raising rule.

The structure to which TO-GEN applies is essentially this:



The effect of the transformation is to add the genitive suffix to the noun dominated by NP₃:

The question now is whether TO-GEN is an independent rule or merely a case of a general genitivization rule which also produces possessive genitives, as in (15):

- (15) gizon - a - ren txakurr - a
 man the gen dog the
 «the man's dog»

The latter analysis seems plausible, since the TO could be considered a modifier of the nominalized verb, and since nominal modifiers of nominal elements normally become genitives.

However, there are problems with this analysis. The main objection to it is that it does not explain why IS's are not genitivized in intransitive infinitives:

- (16) ni ethor - tze - ko
 I come inf for
 «for me to come»

With the suppletive first singular genitive *ene* this is ungrammatical (**ene ethor-tze-ko*).

I will not claim that IS's and TO's are syntactically identical at all levels, even though both take the absolutive case in main clauses. There are differences between them, especially in rules affecting subordinate clauses. For example, in certain type of complements we get a non-finite complement when the TS or IS is coreferent to a NP in the next clause up, but a finite one (e.g. a subjunctive clause) otherwise, even when the TO is coreferent. EQUI-NP DELETION may also affect IS's differently from TO's.

However, we have already showed that TO-GEN is a fairly late rule, so the question is whether there is any syntactic difference *at this level* which would account for the application of TO-GEN to TO's but not IS's. Since case-marking has already applied, IS's and TO's have been

grouped together morphologically in opposition to ergative TS's before TO-GEN applies. TO's have no particular tendency to appear closer to verbs than do IS's, so word-order does not provide a way out. All in all, there seems to be no natural explanation of why TO's but not IS's are genitivized, if this genitivization is considered as merely a special case of the general genitivization rule.

Speaking of word-order, this is another area where TO-GEN seems a bit anomalous. In possessive constructions, the possessor NP must precede the possessed NP directly, as in (15). With few exceptions, this order is fixed, and normally no elements may intervene between the two NP's.

In infinitive clauses, however, a genitivized TO may appear anywhere in the clause:

- (17) *liburu bat - en* , *euskara - z* ,
 book a gen Basque with
guztiz ere euskara - rik baizen
 especially Basque than other
etziakitenentzat , *egi - te - a*
 for those who did not know make inf the
 «to make a book, in Basque, especially for those ignorant
 (of languages) other than Basque»

Here the genitivized TO is *liburu bat-en*. and is separated from the infinitive *egi-te-a* by several intervening elements. The genitivized TO may even be extraposed:

- (18) *ikhus -te - ra joan nintzen bada eri horr - en*
 see inf to go ls past sick that gen
 «I went to see that sick (man).»

Such extraposition can not occur with possessive genitives:

- (19) *txakurr - a ikhus - ten dut gizon - a -ren
 dog the see asp 1s-3s man the gen
 «I see the man's dog.»

If these remarks on word-order are correct, they further weaken the theory that TO-GEN and ordinary genitivization are one and the same. My conclusion, which may not be widely accepted, is that TO-GEN can not be accounted for by juggling tree diagrams so that ordinary genitivization applies automatically to TO's in infinitive clauses (but fails to affect IS's). A separate rule seems necessary.

So far all we have accomplished is an approximate formal statement of TO-GEN. We have not explained why such a rule might be natural in the light of other syntactic phenomena, why it does not apply to IS's, nor why it is restricted to the northern dialects.

The best approach to TO-GEN may well be a functional one; namely, by examining the consequences of the rule for disambiguating surface structures. In this view, the important thing about the genitive suffix introduced by TO-GEN is that it contrasts with zero, which the TO would otherwise have as case suffix.

Before pursuing this, we must briefly discuss some basic facts of nominal morphology. For definite nouns we have the following ergative and absolutive case forms: erg. sg. *-ak*, erg. pl. *-ek*, abs. sg. *-a*, abs. pl. *-ak* (we will not bother with further morpheme breaks here). Note in particular that *-ak* is ambiguous. For pronouns, demonstratives, and most indefinite nouns, this homophony is avoided by various means.

In main clauses, and others with finite verbs (i.e. those with obligatory pronominal marking), the possible ambiguities are rather limited. If there is both an ergative singular noun and a plural absolutive noun, we have ambiguity:

- (20) gizon - ak txakurr - ak ikhus - ten ditu
 man dog see asp 3s-3p
 «The man sees the dogs.»
 «The dog sees the men.»

Word order tends to be SOV, but this is not rigid (for example, focussed NP's are moved in front of the verb complex, whatever their case). So if the verb is not incompatible with one of the NP's as TS or TO there is ambiguity.

Suppose that only one overt NP occurs in a sentence and it has -*ak*. If both TS and TO are third person elements, we have the following possibilities:

(21) txakurr - ak ikhus - ten du
 dog see asp 3s-3s
 «The dog sees him.»

(22) txakurr - ak ikhus - ten ditu
 3s-3p
 «The dog sees them.»
 «He sees the dogs.»

(23) txakurr - ak ikhus - ten dituzte
 3p-3p
 «They see the dogs.»

Note that it is the auxiliary which distinguishes (21) and (23) from (22), though it fails to disambiguate (22). In the first example, the auxiliary indicates singular TO, so *txakurr-ak* can not be absolutive plural; hence it is ergative singular. By similar reasoning we can deduce that *txakurr-ak* is absolutive plural in (23). With (22), we can at least narrow the meaning down to two candidates. Furthermore, if the covert TS or TO is other than third person, there is no ambiguity at all:

(24) txakurr - ak ikhus - ten nau
 dog see asp 3s-1s
 «The dog sees me.»

(25) txakurr - ak ikhus - ten ditut
ls-3p

«I see the dogs.»

Because of the pronominal inflections of the auxiliary (or the finite verb in the case of the synthetic conjugation), many potential ambiguities are avoided. Without these pronominal inflections the situation would be much worse. But the infinitive clauses do not have such inflections, so (21-23) would all be collapsed as (26) if TO-GEN did not apply:

(26) txakurr - ak ikhus - te -
dog see inf
« (X's) seeing the dogs»
«the dog's seeing (X)»

Even (24-25) and other forms with first or second person TS's or TO's could appear as (26), unless independent pronouns were added. We would have all the ambiguities possible in main clauses, plus several new possibilities of confusion.

Of course, context would clear up many sentences; in (27), for example, there would be no problem:

(27) *gizon - ak ez ikhus - te - ko ba -noa mendi - rat
man not see inf for go ls mtn to
«I am going to the mountain(s) so as not to see the men.»

Here it is obvious that EQUI-NP DELETION has removed the first person pronoun in the infinitive clause, which otherwise could be overt. The *-ak* of *gizon-ak* could only be absolutive plural, so *gizon-ak* is the TO. If it were the TS (ergative singular), we would get a subjunctive clause:

(28) gizon - ak ez nezan ikhus, ...
 man erg.sg not 3s-1s subj. see
 «so that the man will not see me, ...»

Therefore, if (27) were grammatical (in a dialect where TO-GEN did not take place), it would be unambiguous.

In this hypothetical version of the Labourdin dialect without TO-GEN, there would be many other sentences not so easily disambiguated. For example:

(29) txakurr - ak ikhus - te - a on - a da
 dog see inf the good the is 3s
 «It is good for (X) to see the dogs.»
 «It is good for the dog to see (X).»

Furthermore, there would be sentences which could finally be disambiguated, but only after processing the entire sentence. The infinitive clause itself would not be clear until the main clause was interpreted. In a complex sentence this could lead to processing difficulties.

We can now contrast this hypothetical version of Labourdin with the actually attested system. (26) can only mean «the dog's seeing (X)»; (27) is replaced by the grammatical *gizon-en ez ikhus-te-ko...* (with genitive plural *-en*); (29) can mean only «It is good for the dog to see (X)»; and many infinitives could be immediately interpreted instead of waiting for the entire sentence to be analyzed. There are still some ambiguities in infinitive clauses not found in main clauses, but they are relatively minor. There is even one bonus: a construction which is ambiguous in main clauses but disambiguated in infinitives. Contrast (20) with (30-31):

(30) gizon - ak txakurr - en
 man erg.sg dog gen.pl
 «the man's seeing the dogs»

(31) txakurr - ak gizon - en ikhus - te -
 erg.sg gen.pl
 «the dog's seeing the men»

In (31) I have reversed the relative order of the two NP's to avoid the appearance of a possessive genitive:

(32) gizon - en txakurr -ak ikhus - te -
 gen.pl erg.sg
 «the men's dog's seeing (X)»

In short, TO-GEN permits a reduction in the number of possible ambiguities in infinitive clauses. The number of remaining ambiguities is not much different from that of main clauses. In particular, any overt NP can be unambiguously interpreted; with a transitive verb *-ak* is always ergative singular, *-en* absolutive plural (converted into genitive plural), etc.

The functional approach adopted here helps explain why IS's are not genitivized. In intransitive clauses there is no possible confusion between ergative singular and absolutive plural *-ak*, since only the latter is possible by definition. TO-GEN seems to apply only when it is genuinely necessary to resolve ambiguities. In intransitive infinitive clauses there is no such need and the rule does not apply.

We may even be able to partly explain the dialectal distribution of TO-GEN on functional grounds, though this is more difficult. It is true that the southern dialects also have the same marker *-ak* for ergative singular and absolutive plural. In fact, *-ak* is also the suffix for ergative plural (in the northern dialects this is *-ek*). So we might expect even more potential ambiguities in the south, hence a greater need for something like TO-GEN.

In fact, however, some conservative subdialects of the southern region retain a pitch-accent system which is capable of distinguishing ergative singular *-ak* from the other two (e.g. *gizon-ak*, *giz6n-ak*). It is likely that this pitch-accent system was once more widespread and has been eroded through contact with Spanish, which has a different type of

stress. In the conservative subdialects, many otherwise possible ambiguities in infinitive clauses can be resolved by the pitch-accent pattern. In the other dialects substantial ambiguities are probably found in these clauses, but the prior existence of the pitch-accent system helps explain the lack of TO-GEN historically.

So far as I have been able to determine, the Labourdin dialect does not have such a pitch-accent system capable of discriminating the two *-ak* 's (ergative singular and absolutive plural). A few studies of the dialect have indicated stress in transcriptions, but there appears to be wide variation within the dialect area. The evidence does not suggest that pitch or stress play a systematic role in the morphology of the dialect. If it can be shown that pitch or stress can distinguish the two *-ak* 's, this fact will force major revisions in the conclusions of this paper. However, Lafitte says this:⁵

En Basque,. les mots pris isolément n'ont pas d'accent bien caractérisé, sauf en souletin: ils sont *isotones*, c'est-à-dire que leurs syllabes ont sensiblement la même valeur.

In Souletin, there appears to be a stress (rather than pitch-accent) system much more prominent and systematic than anything which has turned up in Labourdin. However, Larrasquet's transcriptions show that the two *-ak* 's are not distinguished by stress in Souletin. Examples: *ezkdatz-ak* (no gloss); *ssohú-k* (from underlying **ssohó-ak*), «meadow».⁶ These can be either ergative singular or absolutive plural.

We now turn to some restrictions on TO-GEN in Labourdin not previously mentioned. The first is that TO-GEN fails when the infinitive is followed by locative *-a-n* or comitative *-a-rekin*. (Actually, the infinitive also has a locative in *-n* without the definite suffix, and this other locative does require TO-GEN.) This situation is true at least of the older literary works, according to Lafitte, who does not say whether it still applies in modern written and spoken Basque. His examples:

⁵ Lafitte (1962), p. 17.

⁶ Larrasquet (1934), pp. 57-59.

(33) hura ikhus - te - a - n
 that see inf the loc
 «(in) seeing that one»

(34) hura ikhus - te - a - rekin
 «(with) seeing that one»

The common denominator of these constructions which distinguishes them from other infinitive clauses (including those with the other locative *-n*) is that they are used as adverbial clauses («Seeing that one, I ran away»). The two are distinguished in that the locative indicates a moment or fixed period, the comitative a more durative situation.

It is not entirely clear why this exception occurs (and we will see later that TO-GEN does apply to these constructions in Souletin). Perhaps it is due to analogy with other types of adverbial clause, which do not have TO-GEN. We could explain the case marking in (33) and (34) as due to the influence of semantically (rather than formally) similar clauses.

Temporal adverbials can be formed by adding *-nean*, analyzable as relative *-n-* plus locative *-(e) a-n*, to a main-like verbal complex:

(35) txakurr - a hil - tzen dut
 dog the kill asp 1s-3s
 «I am killing the dog.»

(36) txakurr - a hil - tzen duta - nean
 dog the kill asp 1s-3s when
 «when I am killing the dog.»

Another important type of adverbial clause has the perfective participle, often with instrumental *-(e)z* or partitive *-(r)ik* :

(37) palma adar batzuk har - tu - rik
 palm branch some take perf part
 «taking some palm branches, ... »

(38) aita - k gauza hari erran - ez gero - z
 fathererg thing that say inst after
 «after father said that thing, ...»

Since (36-38) are not infinitive constructions, TO-GEN does not apply, and the TO's (*txakurr-a*, *palma adar batzuk*, *gauza hori*) are in the absolutive (zero) case. It seems likely that the failure of TO-GEN in (33-34) may be due to analogy from these constructions. A second restriction on TO-GEN is that it may fail when the TO is, to quote Lafitte, «notablement éloigné de son verbe». This is clearly a low-level stylistic feature without grammatical importance. The distance between TO and infinitive. does not seem to prevent Axular from genitivizing it — see (17). Perhaps more important than mere distance would be position of the TO before another NP, such as a dative NP. Since genitivization would be confusing (TO-GEN or possessive genitive?), for some speakers and writers TO-GEN might be blocked here.

The third restriction can also be disposed of easily. Many combinations of verb and TO have in time become frozen idiomatic constructions. The noun is typically unmarked for definiteness, may be restricted in word-order to position directly before the verb, and avoids such transformational rules as partitivization in negative contexts. In extreme cases we could reanalyze these constructions as compound verbs (e.g. *hitz-eman*, «promise», originally «give word»). So it is no surprise to learn that these frozen TO's may fail to undergo TO-GEN.

On the other hand, there are some cases where we might expect TO-GEN to fail but where we find that it does apply; namely, to IS's and TS's:

(39) gizon - a - ren egi - te - a
 man the gen do inf the
 «the man's action»

(40) gizon - a - ren ji - te - a
 man the gen come inf the
 «the man's coming»

We can also get TO-GEN in infinitive clauses with *-a-n* or *-a-re-kin*, which usually do not permit TO-GEN as we have just seen:

(41) liburu - a - ren has - te - a - n
 book the gen begin inf the loc
 «in the beginning of the book»

Actually, however, these are not ordinary infinitive clauses, and it is not TO-GEN which is at work. The «infinitives» are parallel to English derived nominals (refusal, arrival, permission) as opposed to productively formed nominalizations (refusing, arriving, permitting). Lafitte puts it this way: «Ces infinitif s doivent etre pris comme *noms*». Unfortunately, the ordinary infinitive and derived nominal are homophonous in Basque more often than in English. In fact, the unexpected genitivization in (39-41) is the best diagnostic test for distinguishing the two types. So we are not compelled to extend TO-GEN to TS-GEN and IS-GEN.

We now turn to other types of non-finite complement constructions and see whether TO-GEN applies to them, as it does to infinitive clauses. One type is based on what I have called the perfective participle, with suffix *-tu-*, *-i-*, or *-0*. Depending on the construction, the participle may lack further suffixation, or may add a nominal suffix such as partitive *-(r)ik* or instrumental *-(e)z*.⁷

We have already seen that perfective participle clauses with *-(r)ik* or *-(e)z* form adverbials —, as in (37) and (38). All clauses of this type seem to resist TO-GEN, so the fact that TO-GEN does not apply in (37) and (38) seems to be part of a more general restriction.

⁷ On the perfective participle ("participe"), see Lafitte (1962), pp. 224-234. For the radical ("infinitif radical") see pp. 206-211. Some of the following examples and brief quotations are from these sections unless otherwise noted.

Without case suffixes, the perfective participle clause is usually the complement of one of a set of elements including *nahi*, «desire»; *maite*, «love»; and *behar*, «need». The participle clause is used when the subject of the higher clause is coreferent with the subject (TS or IS) of the complement clause; otherwise a subjunctive clause is generally used.

The usual constructions are these:

(42) *nahi dut etxe - rat joan - Ø*
 desire ls-3s house the-to go perf
 «I want to go to the house.»

(43) *nahi ditut gizon - ak hil - Ø*
 ls-3p man abs.pl kill perf
 «I want to go to the house.»

Note that in (43), the TO of the complement clause (*gizon-ak*) does not undergo TO-GEN and remains in the absolutive case. However, note also that in (42) the auxiliary of the main clause (*dut*), transitive, is marked for first singular IS and third singular TO, while that of (43), *ditut*, is marked for first singular TS and third plural TO. What is going on here is that the TO of the complement clause has been raised as the TO of the main clause. So the failure of TO-GEN is explained by the fact that the underlying TO of the complement clause no longer belongs to that clause.

We can also get adverbs such as *nahi-z*, «wanting», or *beharr-ez*, «in need of», with instrumental *-(e)z*, and these can take the same type of complement:

(44) *gizon - ak hil nahi - z*
 man abs.pl kill desire instr
 «wanting to kill the men»

Again *gizon-ak* is absolutive, not genitive. It is less easy to explain the failure of TO-GEN here, since there is no direct evidence that *gizon-ak* is raised as TO of *nahi-z*, which in this case is formally nominal

rather than verbal. Still, there is no way to disprove an explanation using raising in (44) as well as in (43), so this in itself does not clearly show that TO-GEN fails in perfective participle forms.

Besides these uses, the perfective participle may also function as a passive participle, verbal noun, or active participle (the latter chiefly in older texts). The question of TO-GEN does not arise in the case of the passive participial function for obvious reasons, but in the other two cases it does.

To illustrate the active participial use Lafitte cites this example:

(45) O Jainko hoinbertze mirakulu egin - Ø - a
Oh God so many miracle do perf the
«Oh God, who has performed so many miracles»

It can be seen that TO-GEN does not apply here, since *hoinbertze mirakulu* is in *the* absolutive, not genitive, case. We can not explain this away by raising rules or the like.

As a sort of verbal noun or infinitive, the perfective participle can be used like this:⁸

(46) ba - dakizu zer den zure tratu - a :
emph know 2p what is your business the
mando - a sal - Ø eta asto - a eros - i
mule the sell perf and donkey the buy perf
«You know what your business is: selling mule(s) and
buying donkey(s).»

Again we see that TO-GEN fails in this construction. In other cases, genitivization does take place with perfective participles used as nominalizations, but once again we are dealing with derived nominals,

⁸ In example (46) the form *sal* should not be analyzed as the radical of *saldu*, but rather as a form derived from the perfective participle *saldu* by backwards gapping of the perfective suffix *-du* under identity with the perfective suffix *-i* of *erosi*. We thus see that functional identity is sufficient for gapping to take place: phonological identity is not required.

and the genitivization may affect underlying TS's and IS's as well as TO's:

(47) orhoit ene erran - Ø - ez
remember my say perf instr
«Remember what I say» (lit. «my said»)

Sentences (45-46) demonstrate that TO-GEN just does not apply in perfective participle clauses. Some of the previous examples, such as (37-38) and (42-44), could possibly be accounted for as special exceptions. However, (45-56) can not be explained away in this manner, and so there must be a restriction on TO-GEN that it can not apply in perfective participle clauses.

There is a third non-finite clause type alongside infinitive and participle constructions; this one has a suffixless verb root (radical). Among its various uses, we may mention that it is used as complement of verbs meaning «fear», and in assorted adverbial and purpose clauses. We will not bother to go into detail about this clause type. Suffice it to say that it agrees with the participle construction in that TO-GEN does not apply:

(46) mando - a sal eta asto - a eros
mule the sell and donkey the buy
«to sell mule(s) and buy donkey(s)»

In the Labourdin dialect, we conclude, there is a major difference between infinitive clauses and the other two non-finite clauses, inasmuch as TO-GEN affects only infinitive clauses. I do not claim to have found a clear functional explanation for this discrepancy. Lafitte says that in this dialect the perfective participle «est considéré plutôt comme un verbe». However, it is hardly a verb in an utterance like (45). If it could be shown that perfective participle and radical clauses could be derived from finite clauses by a late rule eliminating the auxiliary, there would be no problem. However, I am not prepared to make such a claim with the evidence available to me at this time.

So far we have been specifically discussing the Labourdin dialect, and presumably most of the rules affecting TO-GEN are much the same in most of the Low Navarrese dialect area. We now turn to the Souletin dialect to the east, which presents several new twists. The data available to me are from Gèze's grammar (1875), and Professor Haritschelhar's edition of the poetry of Etchahun (1970). These data are by no means satisfactory for a thorough syntactic study, but at least give us an idea of the basic constructions found in Souletin.⁹

The basic TO-GEN rule seems to be the same, inasmuch as only TO's can be genitivized in infinitive clauses (unless the infinitive is really a derived nominal). However, TO-GEN is not blocked in the case of infinitives with locative *-a-n* or comitative *-a-reki* (corresponding to Lab. *-a-rekin*).

Contrast these sentences with (33-34):

(49) ha - ren ikhous - ti - a - n
 that gen see inf the loc
 «(in) seeing that one»

(50) ha - ren ikhous - ti - a - reki
 comit
 «(with) seeing that one»

There seem to be no specific constraints on TO-GEN related to the type of suffix added to the infinitive. However, at least in Etchahun's poems, the TO-GEN rule seems to be optional no matter what suffix occurs. Perhaps there are external explanations for the failure of the TO-GEN rule in cases where we would expect it to apply: the presence of frozen TO plus verb constructions, for example, or poetic license in view of metrical considerations. At any rate, TO-GEN does seem usual in infinitive constructions, and its failure irregular.

The most striking difference between Labourdin and Souletin is in the treatment of the other non-finite complement clauses. As we have

⁹ From Gèze I have taken sentences (49-50) and (54), the latter in modified form. The other Souletin examples are from Etchahun.

seen, in Labourdin neither the perfective participle nor the radical clause permits TO-GEN. However, in Souletin this is perfectly possible, and seems to be about as regular as in infinitive clauses, except when there are special factors blocking TO-GEN.

As in Labourdin, TO-GEN usually fails in perfective participle complements of *nahi*, «desire», etc., because the TO is raised into the next clause up. However, when *nahi* is not part of a verbal complex, but rather is treated as a noun in an adverbial (usually with instrumental -z), there is no clause into which the TO can be raised. It remains part of the complement clause subordinated to *nahi*, and the examples I have show that TO-GEN takes place:

(51) ha - ren hatçaman - Ø nahi - z
 that gen arrest perf desire instr
 «wanting to arrest that one»

The element *lotsa*, «fear», behaves similarly to *nahi* in many respects, except that its complement is the radical verb. The example I have where *lotsa*- occurs as an adverb with the instrumental suffix shows the same TO-GEN as in (51):

(52) eta khorpitz - a - ren gal lotsa - z
 and life the gen lose fear instr
 «and fearful of losing (his) life»

There is one example from Etchahun where TO-GEN fails in an adverbial clause like (51), perhaps because of metrics. Since TO-GEN occasionally fails even in infinitive clauses in Etchahun's poetry, this is not surprising.

The limited data suggest that there may be a real restriction on TO-GEN in perfective participle clauses in adverbial clauses, where the participle has one of the nominal suffixes *-(r)ik* (partitive) or *-(e)z* (locative):

(53) hura kita - tü - rik
 that leave perf part
 «having left that one»

(54) zu ikhous - i - z gero-z
 you see perf instr after
 «after seeing you»

In both sentences, and in the two or three others I have found of this construction, the TO (*hura, zu*) is in the absolutive, not genitive, case.

I do not have sufficient data to explore all the ramifications of TO-GEN and of its conditioned failures in Souletin. Nor will I attempt the same sorts of functional «explanations» for the peculiarities of TO-GEN for this dialect as I have done for Labourdin, except to make one point.

This is that Souletin appears to show a logically expectable extension of the Labourdin TO-GEN rule by applying it to all types of non-finite clauses rather than just to infinitive clauses. The restriction to infinitive clauses in Labourdin is one of the most difficult points to account for functionally, since the same sorts of potential ambiguities in case marking which TO-GEN resolves in infinitive clauses can also occur in perfective participle and radical clauses. So it is comforting to find that in Souletin the rule applies to all these non-finite clauses.

A topic which I have not explored is the historical development of the syntactic patterns I have described. It is difficult to say whether Proto-Basque may have had some form of TO-GEN, and I have no evidence whatever bearing on this. It would not be too surprising to me if it turned out to be an innovation in the north. In this case we would be able to explain it as a sort of therapeutic development designed to disambiguate previously homophonous constructions.

As to whether Labourdin or Souletin represents the earliest type of TO-GEN more faithfully, I would guess offhand that Labourdin does. Labourdin restricts the rule to infinitive clauses, while Souletin has a more general rule affecting all non-finite complements. It would seem

more plausible to think of an originally limited rule becoming more general, rather than a general rule becoming arbitrarily restricted for unknown reasons.

I will close by inviting explanations of TO-GEN other than the functional one I have relied on, and by the usual appeal for more data, especially on the Souletin dialect.

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