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NON-ARGUMENT AGREEMENTS: AN APPROACH TO BASQUE ALLOCUTIVITY¹

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Abstract

In this article Basque allocutivity is studied by offering its general properties, morphological and syntactical features and the main dialectal varieties of this phenomenon. Among others, two main ideas are developed here: on the one hand, we see the *-i-* morpheme as an *allocutive flag*, independent from the *dative flag*, while both were described as one single morpheme until now. On the other hand, we show that two tendencies can be described among the Basque dialects and sociolects as regards its syntactic restrictions.

Keywords

allocutivity, Basque, *allocutive flag*, syntactic restrictions, variation

EZ-ARGUMENTU KOMUNZTADURAK: EUSKAL ALOKUTIBORA JOAN-ETORRIANON

Laburpena

Artikulu honetan euskal alokutiboaren ikuspegi orokorra eskaintzen da, ezaugarri morfologikoei, sintaktikoei eta hizkeren arteko aldakortasunari erreparatuz. Besteren artean, azpimarratu beharreko bi ikuspegi jorratzen dira: alde batetik, alokutiboetako *-i-* ikurra *aurrealokutibotzat* hartzeko arrazoiak aurkezten ditugu, orain arte *aurredatiboarekin* parekatzen zuen azterbidetik bereiziz. Bestalde,

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alokutiboaren murriztapen sintaktikoei dagokienez bi joera nagusi bereizi dira, aldakortasun dialektal zein soziolektalari erreparatuz.

Hitz

alokutiboa, euskara, *aurrealokutiboa*, murriztapen sintaktikoak, hizkera aldakortasuna

1. Objectives

The aim of this article is to offer an overview of a phenomenon in Basque called allocutivity (a special agreement morpheme which references the person hearing the sentence, who is not an argument of the sentence) and to try to find an explanation for this or, at least, to show the key features of this phenomenon which must be taken into account when working on an approach to any such explanation.

To this end, in the first part we will introduce allocutivity, starting with its general properties (§2); then we will look at morphological issues (§3) – both the position (§3.1) and the form (§3.2) of the morpheme – and we will also discuss the ways in which allocutive morphemes are introduced in inflections (§3.3), paying special attention to morpheme *-i-* (§3.3.1); we will then address its syntactic properties (§4) and its dialectal variations (§5).

2. Basque allocutivity: An overview

The allocutive is found in second person singular morphemes which appear in verb inflections. Their distinctive feature is that, although they have the same form of the dative and ergative agreements, they appear when there is no second person singular argument.

- (1) a. *Itziar heldu da*
 arrive 3SG.AUX²
- b. *Itziar heldu du-n/-k*
 3SG.AUX-ALLO.FEM/-ALLO.MASC
- c. *Itziar heldu du-zu*
 3SG.AUX-ALLO.FORM
- d. *Itziar heldu du-xu*
 3SG.AUX-ALLO.FEM/-ALLO.MASC
- ‘Itziar has arrived.’

All the above sentences are equivalent in terms of meaning. The difference between them is the use of different morphemes in the verb inflections, morphemes which reference the receivers of each sentence. In (1a) the sentence is a neutral statement, while in (1b, c, d) different morphemes have been added to the neutral inflection: (1b) uses *-n* to express an informal relation with a female hearer, and *-k* with a male hearer; in (1c) *-zu* is used to express a formal relationship and in (1d) *-xu* is used to express an intermediate relationship in terms of intimacy.

Before exploring the allocutive in more detail, we will examine all the second person singular treatments and the agreement system in Basque (see Table 1).

Pronoun	Gender	Word internal	Word final
Hi	masculine	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-k</i>
	femenine	<i>-na-</i>	<i>-n</i>
Xu	both	<i>-xu(-)</i>	
Zu	both	<i>-zu(-)</i>	
(Ber)ori	both	∅ (3 rd person)	

Table 1. 2nd person morphemes in Basque verb agreement

² In this paper we will use the following abbreviations: ABS: absolutive; AFF: affective; AF: allocutive flag, ALLO: allocutive; ASP: aspect; AUX: auxiliary verb; C: complementizer; Cen: central dialect; Cond: conditional; DAT: dative; DF: dative flag; DP: determiner phrase; EN: eastern Navarrese dialect; EP: epenthesis; ERG: ergative; Err: variety of Erronkari; FEM: feminine; FORM: formal; GEN: genitive; HN: high Navarrese dialect; L: Labourdin; LN: low Navarrese dialect; MASC: masculine; MOD: modal; NALLO: non-allocutive; NREF: non-reflexive; non-res: non-restricted allocutive; P: adposition; part-res: partially restricted allocutive; PL: plural; PLZ: pluralizer; REF: reflexive; REL: relative; ROOT: verb root; S: Souletin dialect; SG: singular; T: tense; TP: tense phrase; W: western dialect; Za: variety of Zaraitzu.

As can be seen in Table (1), there are three types of second person singular in Basque. First of all, *hi*, 'thou', the informal pronoun, which is used in colloquial contexts. *Zu*, 'you', is a more formal pronoun, which is used nowadays as a neutral treatment and is replacing the pronoun *hi* in many varieties of the language. Some eastern dialects have also an intermediate pronoun, *xu*, a palatalised version of *zu*, which is used in intimate contexts, such as children's speech. Finally, in southern dialects (*ber)ori* can be found, a third person pronoun with corresponding third person agreements; however, we will leave this to one side because it does not lead to using the allocutive in any variety of Basque.

As it is well known, Basque is an ergative-absolutive language. Furthermore, there are multiple agreements in its verb inflections, so every argument has its equivalent morpheme inside the inflection. So all three arguments agree in the verb inflection: first the absolutive, next the dative, and, finally, the ergative.

- (2) *Ni etorri n-aiz*
I.ABS come 1SG.ABS-AUX
- (3) *Ni-ri esan di-da-te*
I-DAT tell AUX-1SG.DAT-3PL
- (4) *Ni-k egin du-t*
I-ERG do AUX-1SG.ERG
'You have done it.'

In (2, 3, 4) the verbs agree with the arguments, a rule which all verbs have to comply with. The previous examples had no second person argument: however, such sentences can contain second person morphemes in the inflection and those morphemes are the allocutive. In (2') we take example (2) and add the allocutive morpheme.

- (2') a. *Ni etorri n-au-n/k*
I.ABS come I.ABS-AUX-ALLO.FEM/MASC
- b. *Ni etorri n-au-zu*
I.ABS come I.ABS-AUX-ALLO.FORM

c. *Ni etorri n-au-xu*
 I.ABS come I.ABS-AUX-ALLO.AFF
 'I have come.'

The same sentence can be built in three different ways. The use of each allocutive depends on the way in which the sender of the sentence addresses the hearer during the conversation.

However, different ways of addressing hearers do not affect the language in the same way. Firstly, the use of *hi* during a conversation means that the allocutive has to be used in every case possible, including sentences in which there are not second person arguments. This feature is common to all Basque dialects and varieties. On the contrary, *zu* and *xu* do not have to follow this rule in most of the language's varieties, although in some of them the use of the allocutive is mandatory with these pronouns too.

Dialects	HI		ZU		XU	
	Allo	Nallo	Allo	Nallo	Allo	Nallo
W-C-HN-L	✓	X	X	✓	X	X
N-Za	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
§-Err	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 2. Allocutive forms of addressing hearers in different dialects

As table (2) shows, *hi* is the only pronoun which requires allocutive in all dialects. Moreover, *hi* cannot be used in any variety without allocutive agreement. Therefore, hereafter we will use *hi* and its corresponding female morpheme in every example as all allocutive ways of addressing hearers follow the same patterns.

It should be pointed out that there are no forms of address in any single variety in which both allocutive and non allocutive uses are possible. A sender who has decided to use an allocutive form of address must be coherent and if he/she does not use the allocutive later, in a single sentence or a subsequent one, the sentences in question become ungrammatical. (3) is an example of this.

- (3) **Etxera noa-n ./eta ondoren, lan egingo dut.*
 Home.to go-ALLO ./and then work do AUX.NALLO
 'I have gone home ./and then, I worked.'

After this general view of the phenomenon, we will now examine it in greater depth. First of all, we will look at its morphology.

3. A morphological approach

Our morphological description will focus on the allocutive morphemes. First we will analyse morpheme forms and, then, their position inside verb inflections.

2.1. Form

One of the most significant facts about allocutive morphemes is that they are identical in form to second person agreement marks. Here is an example of this.

- (4) a. *Eskatu dio-na-n faborea handiegia dun*
 ask AUX-2SG.ERG-REL favour big.too AUX.ALLO
 'The favour that you asked him/her for is too big.'
- b. *Eskatu di-na-n faborea handiegia dun*
 ask AUX.-2SG.DAT-REL favour big.too AUX.ALLO
 'The favour that he/she asked you is too big.'
- c. *Faborea eskatu ø-zi-o-na-t*
 Favour ask (3SG.ABS)-AUX-3SG.DAT-ALLO-1SG.ERG
 'I have asked him/her a favour.'

Here we are going to focus on the morpheme *-na-*. As the notes show, the same *-na-* form has different values in each sentence. In all three sentences it is a second

person feminine mark, but in (4a) it is an ergative agreement, in (4b) a dative agreement and, finally, in (4c) it is an allocutive mark.

This syncretism can also be seen in word-final positions.

- (5)
- a. *Faborea eskatu dio-n*
favour ask AUX-2SG.ERG
'You have asked her/him a favour.'
 - b. *Faborea eskatu di-n*
favour ask AUX-2SG.DAT
'She/He has asked you a favour.'
 - c. *Faborea eskatu zio-n*
favour ask AUX-ALLO
'She/He has asked her/him a favour.'

Again, the ergative (5a), dative (5b) and allocutive (5c) morphemes take the same form. Only the word-initial position breaks this law.

- (6)
- a. *Etxera joan h-aiz*
home.to go 2SG.ABS-AUX
'You have gone home.'
 - b. *Lan egin h-uen*
work do 2SG.ERG-AUX
'You worked.'
 - c. *Etxera etorri zu-na-n*
home.to come AUX-ALLO-T
'He/She came home.'

In fact, only the absolutive agreement and, under specific conditions,³ the ergative agreement are in word-initial positions. As the allocutive cannot appear in word-initial positions, the forms are not the same in these cases.

³ Ergative displacement. In non-present tense transitive and ditransitive inflections, when the absolutive is third person and the ergative is first or a second person, ergative agreement happens in the first

In summary, the following scheme:

Person	Word-initial	Word-internal	Word-final
Absolutive	h-, z-	-	-
Ergative	h-, z-	-a-, -na-, -zu-, -xu-	-k-, -n-, -zu-, -xu
Dative	-	-a-, -na-, -zu-, -xu-	-k-, -n-, -zu-, -xu
Allocutive	-	-a-, -na-, -zu-, -xu-	-k-, -n-, -zu-, -xu

Table 3. Second person inflection morphemes

There is considerable evidence that all word-internal and word-final morphemes have the same origins (Gómez & Sainz 1995: 249-260). Looking at Table (3), it seems that all the word-internal and word-final morphemes are the same and their function (ergative, dative or allocutive) is determined by their position inside the inflection.

2.2. Position

We have already seen that the function of the morpheme is linked to its place in the inflection more than to the morpheme itself. So in this section we will try to examine in detail what that place is, taking into account that the allocutive morpheme always takes the same position inside the verb inflection.

When discussing person agreements, some other linguists have already drawn this conclusion. Let us explain it step by step with an example.

- (7) *Nik amari dirua osten zionat*
 I.ERG mother.DAT money.(ABS) steal.ASP AUX
 'I steal money from my mother.'

(7) is a ditransitive sentence and, as a consequence, the inflection has all three argument agreements as well as the allocutive. We will examine this by dividing the inflection into morphemes:

position, using word-initial agreement marks. For more on this phenomenon see Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (2003: 222-223); Laka (1993a)

- (8) z-: third person absolutive.
-i-: dative flag, DF, a morpheme preceding a dative agreement.
-o-: third person dative.
-na-: feminine informal allocutive.
-t: first person ergative.

As (8) shows, the allocutive's position between the argument agreements is after the dative (-o-) and before the ergative (-t). Some linguists, such as Eguren (2000) and Albizu (2002) have concluded this and have defined the Basque agreement system as

- (9) Absolutive-Root-Dative-Allocutive-Ergative

But there are more morphemes than argument agreements in Basque verb inflections and the description in (9) is insufficient for our analysis. So we will try to define the position of the allocutive taking into account all Basque verb inflection morphemes.

One of the morphemes that the allocutive is used with is the modal *-(te)ke-*. It takes the position between the dative (or the root, in its absence) and the allocutive. In (10) the modal *-(te)ke-* is shown in italics and the allocutive is underlined.

- (10) a. nai-*teke*-n
b. zeza-*ke*-na-t
c. litzaio-*ke*-n
d. zakio-*ke*-na-n
e. niezaio-*ke*-na-n

Nevertheless, there is also another morpheme which precedes the allocutive. That is the *-te* pluralizer. However, three allomorphs of *-te* pluralizers can be observed in the inflection.

1. An absolutive pluralizer, whose form is *-de*, which appears just in a few cases.

- (11) a. zau-*de*-n
 b. geun-*de*-na-n

2. A dative pluralizer, whose form is a *-e*, *-te* in some central varieties.

- (12) a. zai- \emptyset -*e*-n
 b. zai-o-*te*-n (some central varieties)

3. An ergative pluralizer, whose form is a *-te*, *-(d)e* in non-central dialects.

- (13) a. di-*te*-n
 b. zezake-*te*-na-n

The difference in all of them is that the modal *-(te)ke-* goes after the absolutive and dative pluralizers but before the ergative pluralizer.

- (14) a. leu-de-ke
 ROOT-ABS.PLZ-MOD
 b. litzai-e-ke
 ROOT-DAT.PLZ-MOD
 c. lu-ke-te
 ROOT-MOD-ERG.PLZ

And the allocutive goes after the ergative pluralizer.

- (15) li-ke-*te*-n
 AUX-MOD-ERG.PLZ-ALLO

In summary, the order of the elements in Basque verbal inflection is

(16) ABS/ERG⁴-ROOT-DF-DAT-*e-(te)ke-te*-ALLO-ERG-T

2.3. Changes in Inflection

The insertion of the allocutive usually leads to some type of change in the verb inflection.

First of all, in order to get a better understanding of this, the Basque auxiliary verb system must be explained in detail (see Table 4).

	Intransitive	Transitive
Indicative	izan ('be')	*edun ('have')
Non-indicative	*edin ('come')	*ezan

Table 4. Auxiliary system in Basque⁵

Taking Table (4) into account, there can be three types of changes in the inflection.

1. Intransitive → transitive → ditransitive

Indicative auxiliaries, if they do not have a dative agreement, change in the following ways:

a. The intransitive auxiliary *izan* becomes the transitive **edun*. In this case, the allocutive morpheme occupies the same place of the ergative, compared with real transitive verbs, most of the time.

(17) a. na-iz → na-u-n
 I.ABS-izan I.ABS-edun-ALLO
 b. na-iz → na-u-n
 I.ABS-izan I.ABS-edun-2SG.ERG

⁴ Ergative mark just in case of *ergative displacement*. See note 2.

⁵ Here the asterisk '*' does not make reference to any ungrammaticality, but to the fact that these verb forms have been reconstructed; that is, they have not been attested in the before mentioned forms.

b. The transitive auxiliary **edun* takes the form of a ditransitive auxiliary: the root *-u-* disappears and an *-i-* appears instead. This change happens both when the dative is inserted and also when the allocutive is inserted. So the allocutive morpheme seems, at first sight, to take the place of the dative.

- (18) a. d-u-t → d-i-na-t
 (3SG.ABS)-edun-1SG.ERG (3SG.ABS)-i-ALLO-1SG.ERG
 b. d-u-t → d-i-na-t
 (3SG.ABS)-edun-1SG.ERG (3SG.ABS)-i-2SG.DAT-1SG.ERG

However, this change only occurs in central dialects.

2. No change

There is no change with the auxiliary **edin* (19) or with *izan* when there is dative agreement (20).

- (19) a. na-i-teke → naiteke-n
 1SG.ABS-edin-MOD -ALLO
 b. da-ki-o-ke → dakioke-n
 (3SG.ABS)-DF-3SG.DAT-MOD -ALLO
 (20) za-i-o → zai-o-n
 (3SG.ABS)-izan-DF-3SG.DAT -ALLO

3. The insertion of the morpheme *-i-*

In the remaining cases, an *-i-* is inserted before the root, giving the verb an allocutive morpheme. We will call this the allocutive flag, AF. This happens with the auxiliary **ezan* (21) and with synthetic verbs (22).

- (21) d-eza-ke-t → d- -i- -ezake- -na- -t
 (3SG.ABS)-ezan-MOD-1SG.ERG -AF- -ALLO⁶

⁶ As Basque's verbal morphology is rich, we did not see necessary to explain every morpheme in the glosses. In our opinion, that would be unnecessary and too complicated and therefore we prefer to focus on the meaningful parts.

- i:DF, a morpheme preceding a dative agreement.
- o-: third person dative.
- na-: feminine informal allocutive.
- t: first person ergative.

In this verb there is an *-i-*, a morpheme which does not mark any agreement or other functional head. It is the DF, that is, a morpheme that marks the presence of a dative in the verb inflection.

The dative flag has two allomorphs: *-i-* and *-ki-*. It is always positioned before the dative agreement mark.

- (25) a. za-i-o
 AUX-DF-DAT
 b. dator-ki-t
 come-DF-DAT

There are two exceptions regarding its position: in ditransitive verbs with the auxiliary **ezan* (26a) and with the *-zki-* pluralizer (26b). The latter case can be explained as follows: *-z-* (pluralizer) and *-ki-* DF, although there is also another DF before it.

- (26) a. d-i-eza-zu-ke-t
 (ABS)-DF-AUX-DAT-MOD-ERG
 b. d-i-z-ki-o-t
 ABS-DF-PLZ-DF-DAT-ERG

Some linguists consider that the DF is actually an applicative (Elordieta 2001: 61-64; Fernández 2012, 2014) or a preposition (Fernández 2013).

2. The Allocutive Flag (AF)

We call the morpheme used for the same function as the allocutive the AF. It takes the position before the root and its only allomorph is *-i-*.

- (27) a. d-i-auka-na-t
(ABS)-AF-ROOT-ALLO-ERG
b. d-i-ago-n
(ABS)-AF-ROOT-ALLO

This is the first time that the term *allocutive flag* has been used. The fact that the DF and the AF may be considered to be a single morpheme or not has been discussed at length. In this article our position is that, in fact, we should talk about two morphemes.

There is more than one reason to consider this analysis. First of all, the position:

- (28) a. Dator-ki-t a'. d-i-atorre-n
b. D-i-eza-i-o-kegu b'. z⁷-i-eza-i-o-ke-na-gu

As we have said before, the DF appears before the dative (28a) while the AF's position precedes the root (28a'). We said that there is one case in which the DF precedes the root (28b); but there, too, the allocutive can appear and the AF's position is before the DF. The syncretism between the indicative ditransitive and the transitive with the allocutive could be solved explained in this way.

- (29) a. d-∅-i-na-t (with dative)
(ABS)-edun-DF-DAT-ERG
b. d-i-∅-na-t (with allocutive)
(ABS)-AF-edun-ALLO-ERG

In fact, in most dialects there is no such match even between those forms because they use other mechanisms to mark the insertion of the dative.

- (30) a. Deu-na-t (+dat) a'. J-o-na-t (+allo)

(Badihardugu elkartea 2005b: 4-5) (W)

⁷As we will point out in section 4, in both central dialects and in standard Basque the union of the initial *d-* and the posterior *-i-*, the AF, leads to *z-*: *di-* > *z-*. In the following examples a *z-* indicates the union of both morphemes and, so, an AF.

b. Da-na-t/d-i-na-t (+dat) b'. D-*i-ne*-t (+allo)

(Salaburu 2005: 117, 121) (Central-eastern varieties)

Secondly, the form of both morphemes is also different. While the DF has almost three allomorphs, the AF remains the same in all contexts.

- (31) a. d-i-o-t a'. z-i-o-na-t
 b. dator-ki-tb'. d-i-atorre-n
 c. dio-ts-o c'. z-io-na-t

Thus, if both were a single morpheme the verbal forms which differ only in the allocutive and the 2nd person dative would be syncretic. However, this does not happen in most cases.

- (32) neutral +dat +allo
 a. dator a'. dator-ki-n a''. d-i-atorre-n
 b. dauka b'. deko-s-ta-zu b''. d-i-auka-n

Finally, the assumption that both morphemes are one means that actually the allocutive is a kind of dative. We do not see this as a possibility. With regards to their form, it is true the morphemes are identical, but it should be born in mind that all word-internal and word-final morphemes take the same form, as we explained in Table (3). With regards to position, they do not take the same place. The *-te* pluralizer divides both marks. In (33), take into account the position of *-n(a)*-.

- (33) a. di-na-te (+dat)
 b. d-i-te-n (+allo)

So all those arguments lead us to think that the allocutive and the dative – and, as a consequence, the DF and the AF – are two different morphemes that have their own functions inside verb morphology. We understand that both morphemes may have the same origin, but believe that they have had different grammaticalizations and

that this has led to two different morphemes, with different specializations as a result. Rebuschi (1984), for example, reached a similar conclusion and Lakarra (2008) also points out in the same direction.

4. Syntactic behavior

From a syntactic point of view, the allocutive shows some distinctive features which differentiate it from argumental agreements. Its non-argumental nature is summarized by Oyharçabal (1993) and we will use that article to mark its most significant features.

Firstly, the allocutive can be found in ditransitive sentences. This shows that the allocutive is independent from the arguments of the sentence.

- (34) *Nik Joni sagarra erosi z-i-o-na-t*
 I.ERG Jon.DAT apple.ABS buy (ABS)-DF-DAT-ALLO-ERG
 ‘I have bought an apple from Jon.’

Secondly, in contrast to argumental agreements, there cannot be any DP sentences with allocutive. In (35), the ungrammaticality of the sentence is caused by the apparition some DPs which refer to the allocutive.

- (35) **pro Hi/hik /hiri mintza niaiteke-k* (Oyharçabal 1993: 17)
 pro_i you.ABS/ERG/DAT speak AUX-ALLO
 ‘I can speak.’

Finally, some genitive pronouns give rise to the same point of view. Until almost the 18th century, there were two separate types of personal genitive pronouns in Basque: reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns. If a sentence had a genitive with reference to an argument, it had to take the reflexive form. This phenomenon is called

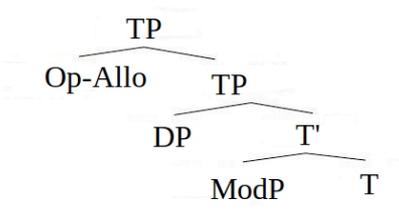
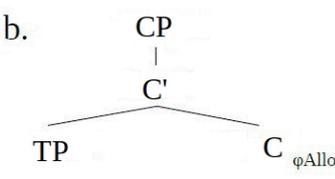
the Aresti-Linschmann law.⁸ Nevertheless, the allocutive did not activate the reflexive genitives and the genitives which made reference to the allocutive had to have the non-reflexive form.

- (36) *Hire / *heure ama ikusi di-a-t*
 NREF.GEN REF.GEN mom see AUX-ALLO-ERG
 ‘I have seen your mother.’

There is another important syntactic feature to the allocutive: its syntactic restrictions. As we examine in depth in section 4, nowadays there is considerable variation even between local varieties, but traditionally in Basque allocutive has been restricted to main clause statements. So its use in embedded (37a), interrogative (37b), imperative (37c) and exclamative (37d) clauses was ungrammatical and it still is nowadays in some varieties.

- (37) a. * *Ez dakinat zer gertatu dunan* (Oyharçabal, 1993:21)
 b. * *Lan egin dina hire lagunak?* (Oyharçabal, 1993:21)
 c. * *Betorren*
 d. * *Zer polita dunan!*

This point leads us to think that this restriction is influenced by complementizers. This point is essential in order to approach a syntactic explanation of the phenomenon. In this article we will restrict ourselves to explaining two theories about it: Oyharçabal (1993: 24) and Miyagawa (2011: 14).

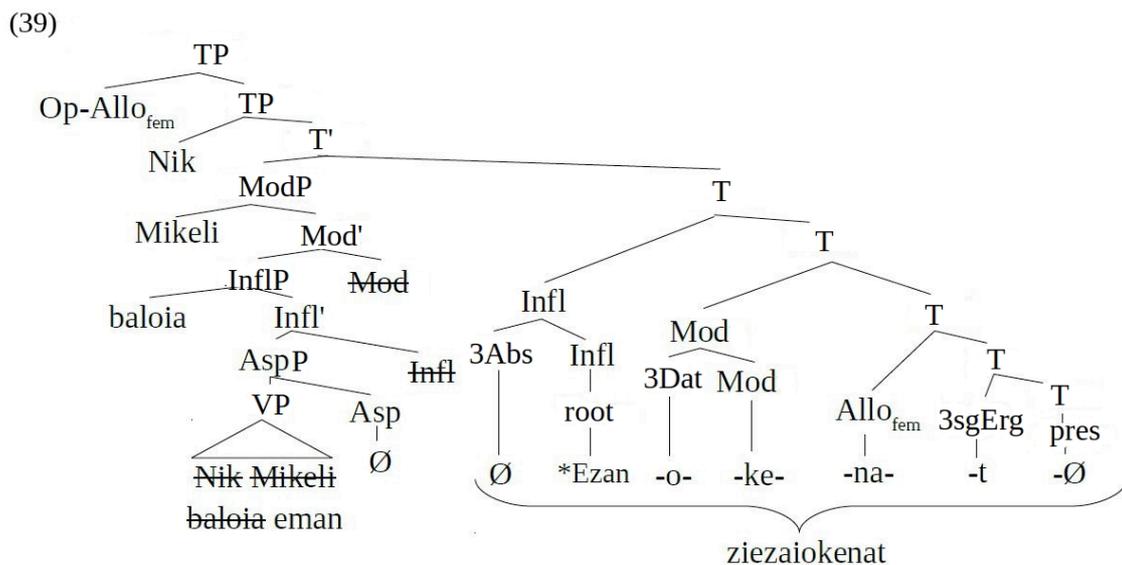
- (38) a. 
 Oyharçabal (1993)
- b. 
 Miyagawa (2011)

⁸ For more information about the law and its application, we recommend Sarasola (1979), specially the third section.

The difference between the two proposals is the position of the allocutive in the inflection. Oyharçabal (1993) believes that the allocutive is an operator adjuncted to the TP. On the other hand, Miyagawa (2011) prefers to think of it as a complementizer, trying to explain its syntactic constraints.

Having seen both proposals, we think that Oyharçabal, despite not being able to give a detailed explanation of the syntactic constraints, is the one which fits best with our hypothesis. The allocutive does not seem to be a functional head, as its non-argumental nature shows. Furthermore, Miyagawa's proposal does not take into account the order of the elements in the verb inflection. However, Oyharçabal does respect the order of elements and this matches perfectly with Laka's (1993) description of the building of Basque verb inflections.

Therefore we think that Oyharçabal's (1993) proposal is better, although we know that it does not explain all the syntactic constraints. However, we believe that analysis can be developed to achieve a more complete syntactic explanation of the phenomenon.



5. Dialectal Variation

The allocutive is highly varied in different Basque dialects. This variation will be studied from two points of view. On the one hand, we will describe morphological variations; on the other, we will examine syntactic variations.

5.1. Morphological Variation

Within morphological variation, we will specify morphological processes produced by the AF in the allocutive verbs. This phonological evolution of the AF with the preceding morpheme *d-* has developed in different ways in each dialect. As a consequence, a rich morphological variation is to be found. There are two main features which must be underlined.

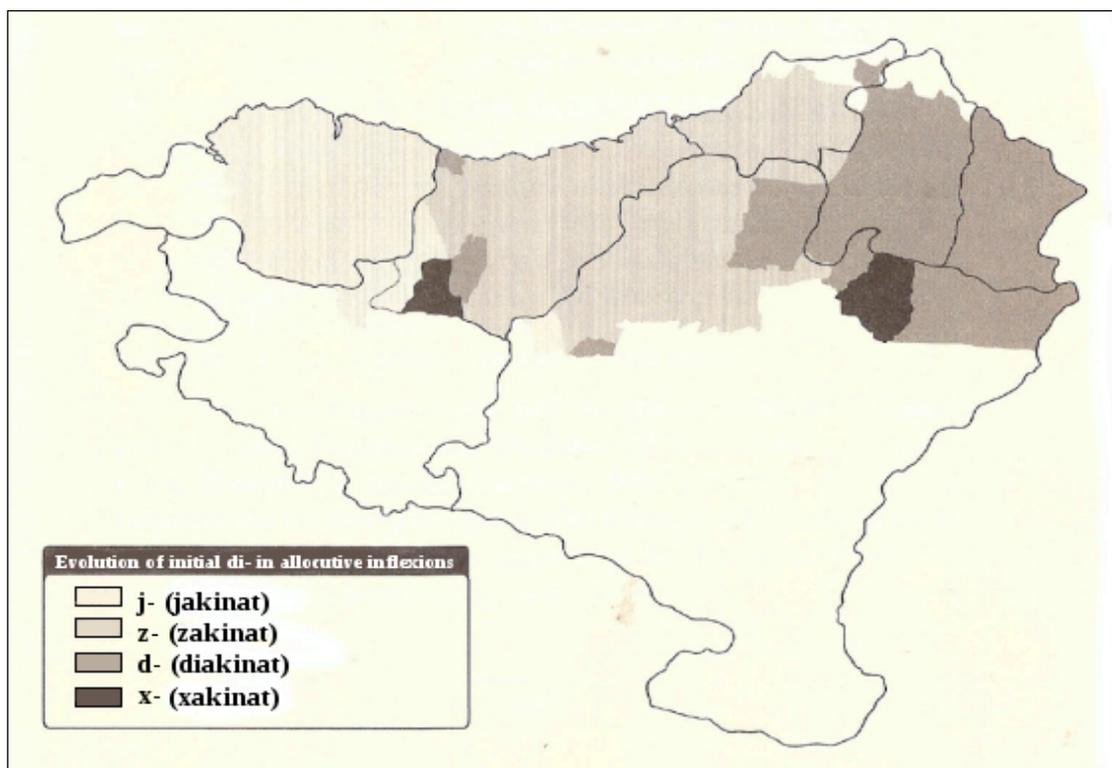


Figure 1. Evolution of initial di- in allocutive inflections (Zuazo 2008: 201)

Firstly, there is a difference between western Basque and the other varieties in the morphological visibility of the root of *edun* 'have'. In most dialects, the presence of the AF masks the auxiliary root **edun* 'have':

- (40) d-u-∅ → d-i-∅-n
 (3SG.ABS)-ROOT-3SG.ERG (3SG.ABS)-AF-ROOT-ALLO

In the western dialect, however, the AF has been located just after the initial *d-*, causing a morphonological process which leads to *j-* (*di->j-*). So the root of the auxiliary **edun* 'have' can be morphologically identified by means of another allomorph (41b)

- (41) a. d-au-∅ → *d-i-au-n-∅⁹
 (3SG.ABS)-ROOT-(3SG.ERG) (3SG.ABS)-AF-ROOT-ALLO-(3SG.ERG)
 b. *d-i-au-n > *j-au-n > j-o-n

(40) is to be found in non-western dialects. The insertion of the AF (*-i-*) in the verb makes the root *-u-* of the auxiliary **edun* 'have' invisible: it is not produced phonetically. In the second one (41b), if the initial *j-* is accepted as the result of the process which happens with *di-* (palatalization: [d+i] > [ji]) and the final *-k/n* morpheme belonging to the allocutive, the intermediate vowel *-o-* could be identified as the root of the auxiliary **edun* 'have'. So, in this case, it remains visible, although under another form.

Another development has produced a further rich dialectal variation. The union of *d-* and the AF has resulted in different forms, which varies in each dialect and subdialect (see Figure 1).

- (42) *di->*
 a. W: *j-*: Diaukan > jaukan
 b. Cen / HN / L: *z-*: Diaukan > zaukan

⁹ Note that here again the asterisk does not make reference to ungrammaticality but to reconstructed forms.

'You, has Miren come?'

- b. **Gaur bazatorren, esaidan*
 today C_{COND}.COME.ALLO say.1SG.DAT.2SG.ERG

'If (s)he comes today, tell me.'

- c. **Etorri dunalako egin dinat*
 come ROOT.ALLO.C do ROOT.ALLO

'I have done it because (s)he has come.'

On the contrary, in central-western dialects, there is some variation with regards to this. As Alberdi (1994: 516-517) points out, the speakers of these dialects use allocutive forms in questions and in conditional clauses as well. However, the allocutive does not appear with the same frequency in all these cases. The allocutive can be used more easily in interrogative clauses (44a) than in conditional clauses (44b). Likewise, it appears more frequently in conditional clauses and in embedded sentences (44c).

The investigation into *address forms* in Basque carried out by Alberdi (1994) confirms these conclusions. Alberdi (1994: 516-517) claims that in central-western dialects the use of the allocutive in questions and conditional sentences is completely normal. Furthermore, in speakers younger than 45 years old the use of the allocutive extends to embedded sentences. Nevertheless, this has not spread to all dialects. The speaker's age seems to be an important social factor for understanding the evolution of this change, but not the only factor. This development is the result of several factors over time, as summarised in Table (5).

Syntactic context	North-east (restricted, traditional)	C-W (partially restricted, 20 th century)	C-W (non-restricted, nowadays)
Main declarative	✓	✓	✓
Interrogatives	X	✓	✓
Present conditional	X	✓	✓
Subordinates	X	X	✓

Table 5. Respecting traditional constraints in different dialects

Table (5) shows from left to right changes to the syntactic restrictions to the allocutive. Each column shows what has changed from the former one on its left, indicating which restrictions have been kept and which ones have changed in each dialect.

The situation shown in the left column is the original one: as all the traditional syntactic restrictions are in it, it is called the *restricted* pattern. The allocutive can be used only in main declarative sentences, not in questions, conditionals or embedded sentences. Although traditionally this was so in all dialects, restrictions have become less rigid during the 20th century. Nowadays they are observed only in the north-eastern dialects. The second column belongs to the *partially restricted* pattern of the central-western dialects where the restrictions are not respected completely. In this case the use of the allocutive has spread from main declarative sentences to interrogative and conditional sentences, leaving some of the restrictions unused. As Alberdi explains, this happens mainly with speakers below 45 years old. Lastly, in the third column none of the restrictions have been maintained, resulting in the *non-restricted* pattern. Here the last restriction which appears in the *partially restricted* pattern, the non-use of the allocutive in embedded sentences, has been removed. So it has been seen that the allocutive has moved from respecting all the syntactic restrictions to being used in all contexts regardless of them. The latter case has been seen mainly amongst the youngest speakers, as in (44c).

There is no doubt that further and deeper investigation is needed to reach consistent conclusions. One of the possibilities is to study literary production as this evolution can be seen there too. Until the 20th century, canonical restrictions applied. In the first half of the century, texts still had traditional restrictions and others followed with the central-western restricted pattern; but there are also texts with no restrictions at all. Nowadays, the central-western restricted way is used on television and in some literary production, but in informal context, the use of the Basque allocutives in all contexts is usual, above all amongst young speakers:

- (45) a. *Neuk bañekik!*
I.ERG C.know.ALLO
'If I knew!.' (Bustintza 1986, Abarak; W, part-res)
- b. *Valentinek ez al zian horri buruzko zerbait bidali?*
Valentin.ERG no C AUX.ALLO that about.GEN something send
'Didn't Valentin send something about that?'
(Atxaga, 1988: 222, Obabakoak; Cen, part-res)

In these two sentences the *partially restricted* pattern is used. In the (45a) the allocutive appears in an exclamation, and in (45b) in an interrogation.

Nowadays, as in the central-western region the most commonly-used pattern is the *partially restricted*, the *restricted* pattern is used in more formal contexts like television or literature. But in informal contexts, the allocutive is not restricted in any way, and this is mainly heard in young people's speech:

- (46) a. *Hire maitasun habiatxo duk hau?*
you.GEN love nest ROOT.ALLO this
'Is this your love nest?' (Cano 2011: 429, *Twist*; part-res)
- b. *Zer ote zakik zertan sartuta dabilen Koldo?*
what know.ALLO what.in entered be.c Koldo
'What will he/she know about what Koldo is involved in?'
(*Goenkale*, episode 817; partially restricted)
- c. *Etorri dekela esan zidak.*
come ROOT.ALLO.C say ROOT.ALLO
'(S)he has told me that (s)he has come.'
(Informal context; C, non-res)

The first two examples show that even in formal contexts (TV and literature) the *partially restricted* pattern can appear, using the allocutive in interrogative sentences. The third one belongs to an informal context where in the *non-restricted* pattern the allocutive is used in an embedded sentence.

Leaving aside central-western dialects, what are the reasons behind the syntactic restrictions in northern-eastern dialects? In order to answer this question, let us focus on (47).

(47) Close interrogative

a. *Lan egiten duia hire lagunak?* (-allo)

work do root.C your friend.ERG

'Does your friend work?'

b. **Lan egiten dina hire lagunak?* (*+allo)

work do root.ALLO.C your friend.ERG

'Does your friend work?'

(Oyharçabal 1993: 21)

But:

(48) Reforced affirmative

a. *Banenki banikek*

C.know.NALLO AFF.have.ALLO

'If I knew, I would have.'

b. **Bahenki, (*banenkike) banekikek*

C.2SG.ERG.know AFF.know.NALLO AFF.know.ALLO

'If you knew, I would knew.'

(Oyharçabal 1993: 12)

The aim of these examples (47) and (48) is to study the role of suffixes and prefixes in the allocutive. Is the use of the allocutive connected with the fact that the verb has a prefix or a suffix?

The example (47b) is not grammatical because of the presence of the allocutive together with the *-a* interrogative complementizer. In (48), the verb *banenki* does not allow the allocutive. In this case the *ba-* prefix is a conditional prefix. So this means that the position of the affix does not influence the presence of the allocutive because both (47b) and (48b) are ungrammatical despite having a suffix and a prefix respectively.

So can we conclude that any affix prevents to use of the allocutive? That is to say, do affixes in verbs inhibit the apparition of the allocutive and are they the main cause of the syntactic restrictions?

The sentence (48a) *Banenki banikek* is grammatical, but it would not be so if the two verbs were in the allocutive form **Banenkik banenkikek*. This is why not all the affixes work the same way, and their features must be studied. In this case, what is the difference between the prefix *ba-* on these two verbs?

The prefix in *banenki* is a complementizer that introduces an embedded conditional sentence. In *banikek* it reinforces an affirmation – something similar to *I did know* – so it is not a complementizer. This makes it clear that the conditional *ba-* prefix which is a complementizer blocks the apparition of the allocutive (**banenkik*), but the affirmative one (*banikek*) does not. In this case, as in the first verb the speaker is not an argument, it is not obligatory to insert the allocutive and the sentence *banenki banuke* is grammatical too. In the second one [*bahenki, banekikek*], however, *bahenki* has the speaker as argument (*if you knew*), so that for the sentence to be grammatical the next verb – *banenkike* – has to be allocutive (*banenkikek*). It should also be pointed out that in this case the *ba-* prefix does not prevent the allocutive as it is affirmative and not a complementizer.

As a result, it is the complementizer which leads to embedded sentences being subject to syntactic restrictions. That is to say, it is the complementizer, overt or not, which blocks the allocutive and not the presence of any affix (prefix or suffix). In order to explain the evolution of these restrictions, it would be interesting to study the influence of geographical and sociological factors on them.

6. Conclusions

These are the main conclusions to this article:

1. In verb inflections in Basque there can be allocutive morphemes which refer to the speaker. In spite of the fact that these morphemes are structurally equal to the ergative and dative cases, they are located outside the argumental structure of the

verb. If in speech the 2nd pronoun from the informal register is used, the allocutive must be used thereafter.

2. This morpheme causes some changes in the verbs which can be classified in three groups. In intransitive verbs with dative agreement there are no changes. Nevertheless, in intransitive verbs without dative agreement the auxiliary verb changes from *izan* ('be') to **edun* ('have'). In all the other cases, that is to say, with synthetic verbs, and in sentences where the auxiliary verb is **edun* ('have') or **ezan*, the morpheme *-i-* is inserted before the verb root.

3. In some of these cases the verb inflection contains the morpheme *-i-*. Although this morpheme has been traditionally linked to the DF we believe that there are enough reasons to treat them as two different morphemes. For one thing, they differ in position: while the DF can appear both before the root and before the dative agreement, the AF can only and without any exception be placed before the verb root. For another thing, there are differences in form: the DF may change its form according to its nature or the dialects (*-i-*, *-ki-*, *-ts-*, *-ra-*) and the AF is always a single *-i-* morpheme.

4. The allocutive in Basque follows some syntactic restrictions which vary from dialect to dialect. Two main tendencies can be observed: in north-eastern dialects traditional constraints have remained, while in central-western dialects their influence has been weakened. So in northern-eastern dialects the allocutive is used only in main declarative sentences. But in central-western dialects it is quite usual to find the allocutive in interrogative and conditional sentences, even in subordinate completive sentences amongst the youngest speakers.

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