Basque allocutive allomorphy and the phasal structure of finite embeddings: Results from the To2No project

Bill Haddican[1], Irantzu Epelde[2], Urtzi Etxeberria[2], Ricardo Etxepare[2]

REEDS 2023

[1]CUNY, [2]CNRS, IKER-UMR 5478

1. Introduction

Introduction

- **Allocutivity:** Morphological marking of non-thematic addressees.

(1) *Basque*

Retegik irabazi di-n/k.
Retegi.ERG won AUX-2SG.FAM.FEM/MASC
'Retegi has won.'

(2) *Galician*

Non che me dá pena ningunha.
no 2SG.FAM 1SG give sorrow any
'It doesn't make me feel bad at all.'
(Álvarez Blanco, 1997, 38)

(3) *Magahi*

Ham jaa-it h-i-au.
I go-PROG be-1.SG-2.FAM
'I am going.'
(Alok and Baker, 2018)

Introduction

- **Focus:** some implications for phase edge effects revealed by patterns of allomorphy in innovative Basque allocutive constructions.

(4) *Edge-sensitive allomorphy in root contexts (all lects):*

a. Etorri [du-k].
come ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC
'She has come.' [edge form]

b. Egin [di-a-gu].
do ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC-1PL
'We have done it.' [internal form]

(5) *Variable allomorphy in innovative embeddings:*

Badirudi [etorri du-(k/a)-la].
seems come ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC-COMP
'It seems she has come.'

Main outcomes

i. Clause-typing complementizers and tense-marked complementizers behave differently in the way they condition allomorphy in innovative embedded allocutive constructions.

ii. We take this to indicate two different positions for these morphemes contra Arregi & Nevins (2012). Independent evidence that the position of clause-typing morphemes determines a phonological domain comes from word-level prosody in western dialects and second position effects.

Talk outline

2. Change in root-sensitivity of Basque allocutive marking

Root restrictions in conservative varieties

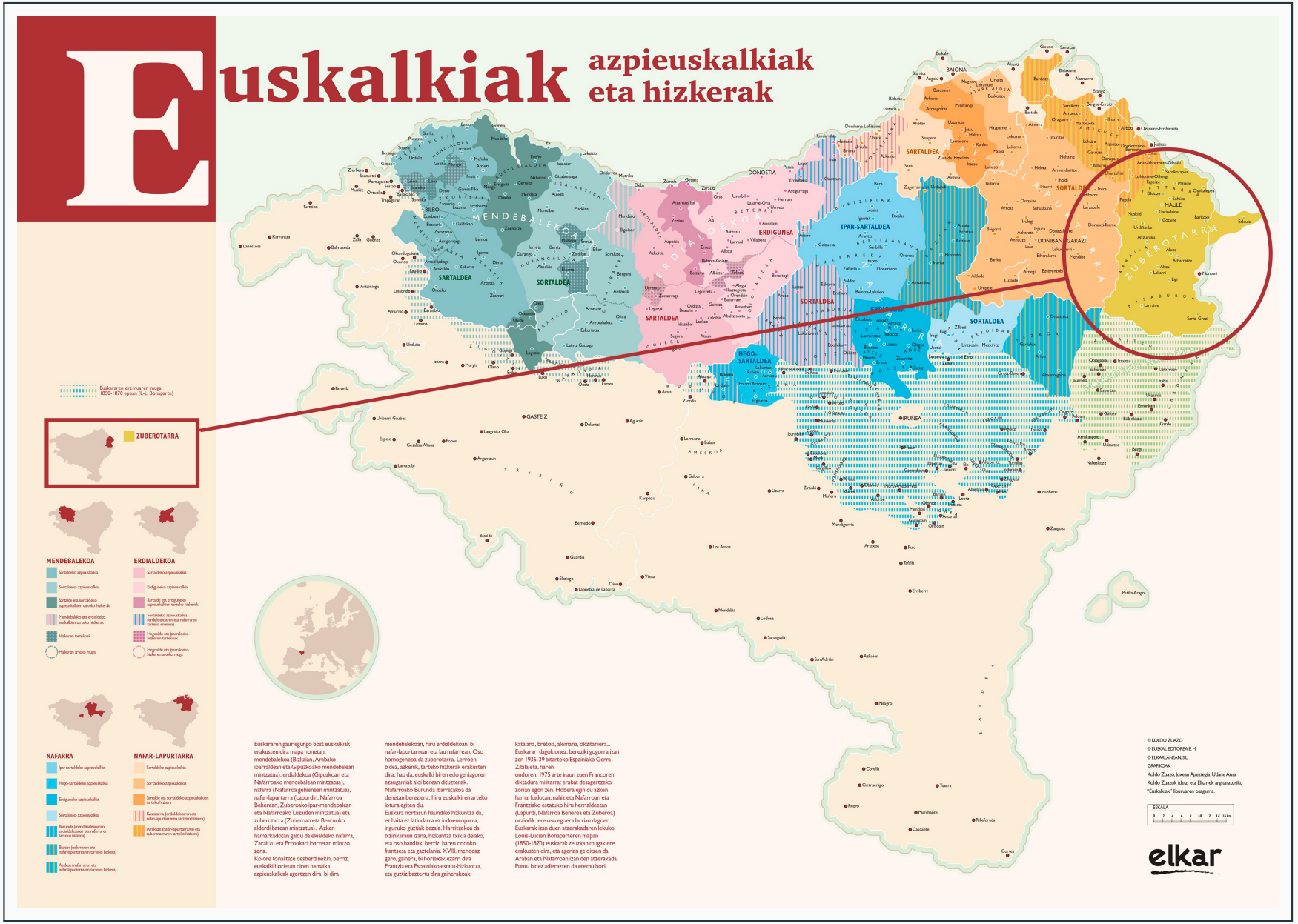
- Much recent formal work has cited Oyharçabal's (1993) influential analysis of Zuberoan, where allocutivity is restricted to root declaratives.

(6) a. [Manex joan-en *du-a/k-la/de-la] uste duk.
Manex go-FUT AUX-2SG.FAM.MASC-Q/AUX-COMP think AUX
'You think Manex will go.'

b. Lan egi-ten *di-n/k-a/duia hire lagunak?
work do-IMPERF AUX-2SG.FAM.MASC-Q/AUX.Q your friend.ERG
'Does your friend work?'

- Conservative southern and western varieties allow allocutive marking in root questions, but not in non-root domains.

Root restrictions in conservative varieties



Innovative embedded allocutivity

- But many southern dialects freely permit embedded allocutives, particularly among younger speakers (Azkue, 1923; Azkue Ibarbia, 1998; Hualde et al., 2003; Aurrekoetxea, 1994; Euskaltzaindia, 2008; Haddican and Etxeberria, 2022; Haddican et al., under review).

(7) [Peninsula Iberica ikusi di-a-t-ela] iruitu
Peninsula Iberian see AUX-2SG.FAM.MASC-1.ERG-COMP seem
zaite-k.
AUX-2SG.FAM.MASC
'I thought I saw the Iberian Peninsula.'
(Adapted from Azkue Ibarbia (1998))

Innovative embedded allocutivity

- Acceptance of embedded allocutivity related to speaker age. (Haddican et al., under review).

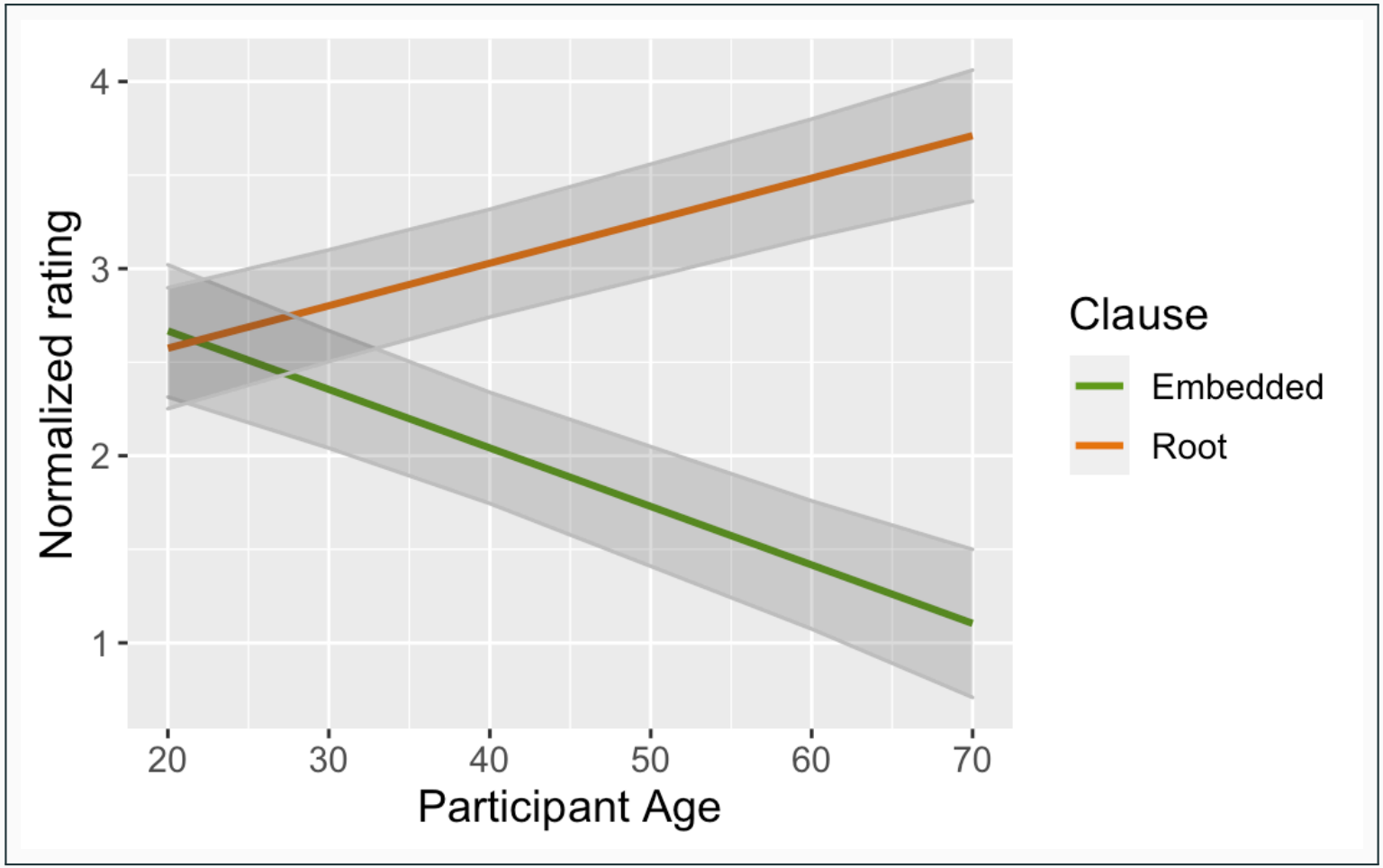


Figure 2: Model estimates for Participant age:Clause.

Innovative embedded allocutivity

- In these innovative dialects only, two questions arise about how syntactic combination of C feeds allocutive allomorphy.
  i. Does domain closure apply before combination with C (8a) or after (8b)?
  ii. Do different kinds of C morphemes feed allomorphy differently?

(8) a. [AUX-ALLOC]-C [ALLOC ↔ /-k/]
b. [AUX-ALLOC-C] [ALLOC ↔ /-a-/]

3. Allomorphy and complementizer types

Three C heads

- Three C morphemes in complementary distribution: declarative *-(e)la*, *-(e)n* appearing in embedded interrogatives, relatives and temporal adjuncts, and a homophonous form *-(e)n* in finite past tense contexts (including roots) (Arregi and Nevins, 2012).

(9) *Declarative C*
Uste dut [etorri-ko gar-ela].
think AUX-1SG come-FUT AUX-C
'I think we will come.'

(10) *Interrogative C*
Ez dakit [nork irabazi-ko du-en].
NEG AUX-1SG who win-FUT AUX-C
'I don't know who will win.'

(11) *Past tense C*
Etorri gin-en.
come AUX-C
'We came.'

(12) *Irish past tense C*
Deir siad gur ghoid na síogaí í.
say they C stole the fairies her
'They say the fairies stole her away.'
(McCloskey, 2001)

Predictions

- Declarative -*ela* and interrogative -*en* are typically taken to occupy same position (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Elordieta, 2001). Arregi and Nevins (2012) take past tense -*en* to occupy this position as well.
- If, as this literature suggests, the syntactic relationship between the C heads and the auxiliary are constant across these morphemes, and if syntax feeds the allomorphy rules determining -*k*/-*a*-, then we are led to expect (13).

(13) *Ceteris paribus expectation*
The three complementizer morphemes will behave identically in their conditioning of -*k*/-*a*- allomorphy.

Data

- We test this prediction using data from a survey of Basque allocutive users carried out in 2020 and 2021 through ongoing ANR-funded To2No project (I. Epelde, coordinator).
- Participants were 421 self-reported Basque allocutive users aged 18-71.
- Participants translated ten different sentences from Spanish into their native Basque, designed to elicit different embedding contexts.
- Feminine forms whose allomorphs are less reliably distinguished were excluded. Total N: 757.
  - Declarative: 223
  - Interrogative: 278
  - Past: 256

Results

- Past tense Cs favor internal responses relative to clause-typing Cs.
- No effect of participant age or gender.[1]

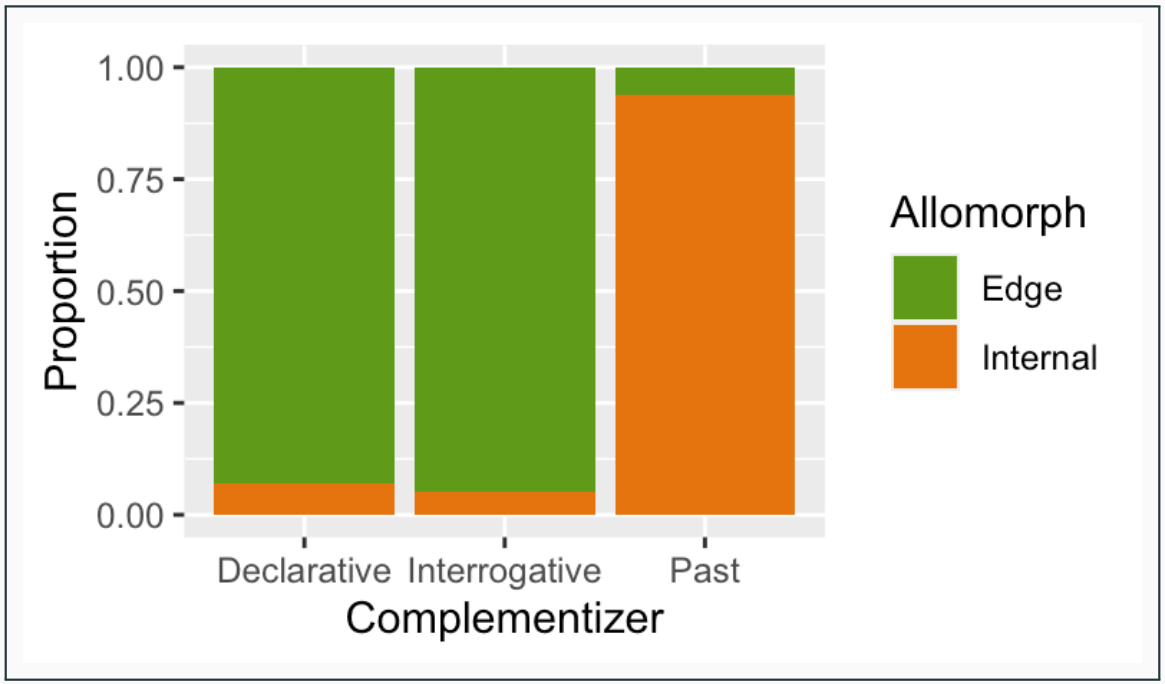


Figure 3: Allocutive allomorphy by complementizer morpheme.

[1] Model: glmer(Allomorph ~ Complementizer + Age + Gender + (1|Participant), family=binomial)

Results

- Use of internal *-a-* forms is nearly at ceiling when bounded on the right by a morpheme other than a complementizer, such as a person clitic.
- It's therefore not the case that the allomorphy rule itself is undergoing change but rather that there is variation across lects in the conditioning effects of different kinds of complementizers.

(14) . . . eman-go z-i-o-a-**gu**-la
. . . give-FUT EPEN-ROOT-DAT-1PL-C
"that we'll give him/her/it it."

4. The phasal structure of finite embeddings

Different prosodic domains

- We take these facts to indicate that clause-typing declarative and interrogative forms induce a spell-out domain not induced by the presence of past tense C.
- Supporting evidence comes from prosodic differences between interrogative *-en* and past tense *-en* in some dialects (De Rijk, 1972; Hualde et al., 1994; Arregi and Nevins, 2012).

(15) *Lekeitio Basque*

a. Noiz allaga-sirí-an
when arrive-AUX-PST
'When did they arrive?' [Past]

b. Ez dakit [noiz allagá siri-an]
NEG know.1SG when arrive AUX-C
'I don't know when they would arrive.' [Interrogative]
(Hualde et al., 1994, 185)

Different C positions

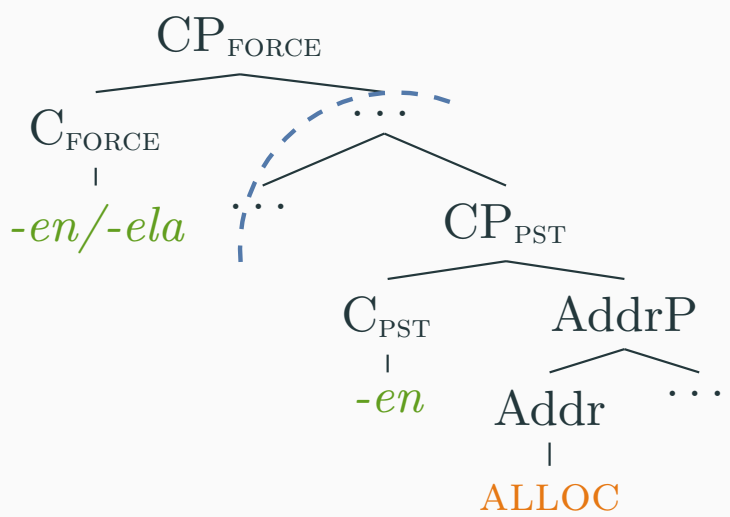
- Crucially, in embedded past contexts, it is the internal (*-a-*) variant, that is generally determined, as in (16).
- We take (16), together with the data illustrated in the figure to indicate that, contrary to Arregi & Nevins' (2012) model, the past tense complementizer and the clause typing complementizers sit in different positions.

(16) . . . ikusi nind-u-a-(e)n-en
. . . see 1SG-ROOT-ALLOC-C-WHEN
'When he/she/it saw me.'

Different C positions

- Specifically, we take the past-tense C head to be introduced lower, and shield the allocutive clitic from the right edge of the morphological word at spell-out. Declarative and interrogative complementizers are merged higher and determine a spell-out domain.

(17)



- In the absence of a past tense *-en* head or a person morpheme to its right, the allocutive morpheme will abut the right edge of the word and spell out as the edge variant.

Unifying edge effects

- We take C_{FORCE} to be the highest functional layer in auxiliary formation, whose morpheme order reflects successive head-adjunction (Laka, 1993; Arregi and Nevins, 2012).
- A second edge phenomenon governed by this position is a second position effect, shielding the auxiliary root from the left edge of the auxiliary. This is revealed in two repair operations that apply when this constraint would otherwise be violated: *d-*/*z*-insertion (18) and ergative displacement (19) (Fernández and Albizu, 2000; Albizu and Eguren, 2000).

(18) *D-insertion*

Egin *(d)-u-t.
do EPEN-ROOT-1SG.ERG
'I have done it.'

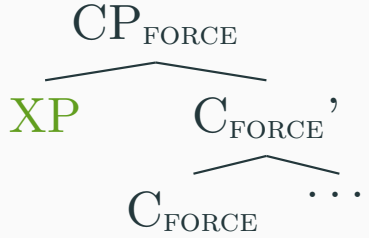
(19) *Erg. displacment*

Egin n-u-en.
do 1SG.ERG-ROOT-PST
'I did it.'

Unifying edge effects

- Specifically, let us assume that this reflects an EPP property of C_{FORCE}—a requirement that the specifier of this position be filled (Holmberg, 2015; Van Urk and Richards, 2015).

(20) *EPP property of C_{FORCE}*



- A further second-position effect in the left periphery is "*T1" which prohibits finite verbs from appearing in sentence-initial position (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Elordieta and Haddican, 2018).

(21) **T1*

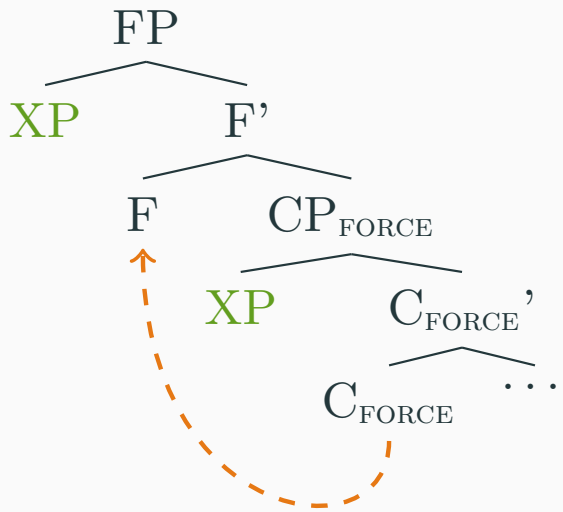
a. Mikel dator.
   Mikel comes
   'Mikel comes.'

b. *Dator Mikel

Unifying edge effects

- If EPP features are properties of phases, and if phasehood can extend/slide (den Dikken, 2007), then one expects successive cyclic EPP effects, i.e. EPP effects fed by head movement.
- We suggest that this is observed in the case of *T1: head adjunction of C_{FORCE} to the head immediately dominating it—let's call this "F" triggers an EPP property at the higher level.

(22) *Phase extension and cyclic EPP*



Unifying edge effects

- Still unexplained is why C_{FORCE} and C_{PST} can't co-occur:

(23) n-u-(*en)-ela
1SG.ERG-ROOT-PST-DECL
'that I had'

- We suggest deletion under agreement. Evidence that C_{FORCE} is sensitive to tense comes from the fact that the second position repair operations are tense-sensitive.

(24) *T-sensitive epenthesis*

a. Egin d-u.
do EPEN-ROOT
'He/she/it has done it.'

b. Egin z-u-**en**.
do EPEN-ROOT-PAST
'He/she/it did it.'

(25) *T-sensitive Erg displacement*

a. Egin d-u-t.
do EPEN-ROOT-1SG.ERG
'I have done it.'

b. Egin n-u-**en**.
do 1SG.ERG-ROOT-PST
'I did it.'

5. Summary

Summary

- Main outcomes:
  i. Clause-typing C morphemes and past tense C morphemes behave differently in the way they condition allomorphy in innovative embedded allocutive constructions.
  ii. We take this to indicate two different C positions for these morphemes contra Arregi & Nevins (2012). Independent evidence that the position of clause-typing morphemes determines a phonological domain comes from word level prosody in western dialects and second position effects.

Thanks

- Study participants
- Beñat Oyharçabal
- An Agence Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique (ANR) grant
- The RE-examining Dialect Syntax (REEDS) project
- Jeroen and Marjo

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