

**AGREEMENT DOUBLING IN BASQUE DIALECTS: IDENTICAL AND NON-IDENTICAL TWINS –
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Standard Basque shows the regular one-to-one mapping between syntactic arguments and verbal agreement markers: the absolutive argument is indexed by a verbal prefix; the ergative and dative arguments trigger the presence of a single corresponding suffix on the verb. This is illustrated in (1):

- (1) a. Nik zu ikusi **Z-a-it-u-T**
 I.ERG you.ABS see.ASP **2sgABS-vow-plABS-root-1sgERG**
'I have seen you'
 b. Zuk niri egia esan **d-i-DA-ZU**
 you.ERG I-DAT apple.ABS say ASP EXPL-(root)-DF-**1sgDAT-2plERG**
'You have told me the truth'

Interestingly, some dialectal varieties of Basque stray from this pattern, as ERG and DAT arguments may under very specific conditions be marked twice (or even three-times) on the verb. Descriptively, agreement doublets and triplets can be classified into two distinct types on the basis of their morphological form. In the first place, we find *identical twins and triplets* in the Easternmost dialects of Zuberoa and Erronkari, that is, instances in which an argument (in particular, the DAT argument) is indexed by two or even three occurrences (with minor phonetic alternations) of the same suffix, as shown in (2b) and (3b) respectively. For the sake of comparison, the examples in (a) introduce the corresponding regular forms in Standard Basque:

- (2) a. (niri) hasi z-i-tza-i-**DA-n** kakeria bat
 I.DAT start EXPL-vow-root-DF-**1sgDAT-PAST** diarrhea one
 b. (niri) hasi z-i-tza-i-**TA-DA-n** kakeria bat
 I.DAT start.ASP EXPL-vow-root-DF-**1sgDAT-1sgDAT-PAST** diarrhea one
'I started having a diarrhea' (Estornes Lasa 1984, Yrizar 1992)
 (3) a. Esaten d-i-**DA-zu**
 say.ASP EXPL-(root)-DF-**1sgDAT-2plERG**
 b. (erraiten) d-e-i-**TA-DA-zü-T**
 say.ASP EXPL-vow-(root)-DF-**1sgDAT-1sgDAT-2sgERG -1sgDAT**
'You say it to me' (Yrizar 2002)

The second type of agreement doubling is more general than the previous one, both morphologically and geographically —although still very restricted. It involves *non-identical twins*, that is, an argument's (in particular, DAT or ERG arguments') simultaneous indexing by a prefix and a suffix, two distinct markers. This is shown in (4ab): the former, an example of DAT doubling from the Lapurdian variety of Sara; the latter, an instance of ERG doubling elicited in the Gipuzkoan variety of Pasaia:

- (4) a. Ni.k zuri sagarrak eman **Z-a-u-zki-TZU-t**
 I.ERG you.DAT apple.ABS give.ASP **2ABS_{DAT}-vow-root-plABS-2sgDAT-1sgERG**
'I gave apples to you' (Fernández & Ezeizabarrena 2001:256,262)
 b. (guk) Askotan es **G-en-it-u-GU-n** isautu re iten
 we.ERG often NEG **1plABS_{ERG}-vow-plABS-(root)-1plERG-PAST** know even do-ASP
'Very often, we didn't even know them' (Agirretxe, Lersundi & Olaetxea 1998:224)

Non-identical twins are linked to the phenomena of Dative and Ergative Displacement in Basque, two phenomena in which the dative and ergative arguments trigger not the regular

suffixal marker on the verb ((5a) and (6a), respectively) but a non-canonical agreement prefix ((5b) and (6b), respectively). Thus, the prefix-suffix doublets in (4) conflate the canonical and non-canonical patterns in (a)-(b) on the same form:

- (5) a. Nik zuri sagarra eman d-a-u-TZU-t
 I.ERG you.DAT apple.ABS give.ASP EXPL-vow-root-2sgDAT-1sgERG
 ‘I have given an apple to you’
 b. Nik zuri sagarra eman Z-a-it-u-t
 I.ERG you.DAT apple.ABS give.ASP 2sgABS_{DAT}-vow-plABS-root-1sgERG
 ‘I gave an apple to you’ (Fernández & Ezeizabarrena 2001:256,262)
- (6) a. (guk) Askotan ez d-it-u-GU ezagutu ere egiten
 we.ERG often NEG EXPL-plABS-root-1plERG know even do.ASP
 ‘Very often, we don’t even know them’
 b. (guk) Askotan ez G-en-it-u-en ezagutu ere egiten
 we.ERG often NEG 1plABS_{ERG}-vow-plABS-root-PAST know even do.ASP
 ‘Very often, we didn’t even know them’

In this paper, we will describe and analyze these two types of doubling. Here, we will argue that the two phenomena differ as to their place in the computational system: non-identical twins are a morphological side-effect of a ‘deviant’ syntactic derivation, whereas identical twins and triplets only belong to morphology. More specifically, we will claim that prefix-suffix doublets arise in syntax, as the double agreement marking simply reflects the fact that the [person]-features of the same argument, either ERG or DAT, are probed twice in the syntactic derivation: in the former case, by T and v ; in the latter, by v and V. This irregular syntactic derivation arises from the confluence of two independent properties of Basque: on the one hand, V is always endowed with an uninterpretable [person]-feature that must be valued in the derivation; on the other, 3rd person arguments lack any specification for [person].

On the contrary, instances of identical twins and triplets correspond to ‘well-behaved’ syntactic derivations in which every argument is probed by just one head. Then, this doubling will arise in the mapping to PF because of a multiple insertion of a particular lexical item in a single set of [ϕ]-features valued in syntax. In this regard, we will reject a potential explanation based on templates, that is, the hypothesis that doublets could be required to fill out some empty slots in a verbal template.

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