STUDIES IN BASQUE SYNTAX : RELATIVE CLAUSES

by

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Rudolphus P.G. de Rijk

Submitted to the Department of Foreign Literatures and Linguistics on August 14, 1972, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the internal structure of relative clauses in Basque, as well as the constraints on relative clause formation in that language.

Basque relative clauses differ from English relative clauses in several ways. Both involve a pair of coreferential noun phrases; but, in Basque, the lower coreferential noun phrase does not undergo a movement rule; instead, it is obligatorily removed by a deletion process. Because the case marking of this noun phrase disappears with it, many relative clause constructions are ambiguous with respect to the syntactic role of this deleted lower noun phrase.

Unlike English relative clauses, the relative clause in Basque always precedes its head.

Postpositions in Basque can be divided into two classes: relativizable and non-relativizable postpositions. When the lower coreferential noun phrase carries a non-relativizable postposition, relativization is not possible, except for certain well-defined special cases.

Four characterizations of relativizability for postpositional phrases are given.

Special attention is paid to the Island constraints, first proposed by J.R. Ross. It is found that Basque obeys the Complex Noun Phrase constraint and the Coordinate Structure constraint, but not the Sentential Subject constraint.

The study closes with a chapter on pronominal heads, in which various syntactic constructions peculiar to Basque are discussed, such as, pseudo-extraposition, diminutive relative clauses,and repetition of relative clauses for expressive purposes.

Relative clauses referring back to propositions are absent in Basque.

Thesis Supervisor : Kenneth L. Hale.

Title: Associate Professor of Linguistics.

MOTTO:

O glücklich, wer noch hoffen kann
Aus diesem Meer des Irrthums aufzutauchen!
Was man nicht weiss, das eben brauchte man,
Und was man weiss, kann man nicht brauchen.

Goethe, Faust I, 1064-68.

But:

If you shut your door to all errors
Truth will be shut out.

Rabindranath Tagore, Stray Birds, CXXX

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CHAPTER 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

Relative clauses have been a favored focus of interest on the part of generative grammarians since the beginnings of transformational studies. There are many articles and research papers specifically devoted to relative clauses, some dealing with English and some dealing with other languages, including non-Indo-European ones. Moreover, in a considerable number of studies devoted to other topics, a great deal of the evidence presented derives from observations about relative clauses.

In the first category, I may make mention of the following papers:

C.S. Smith: Determiners and Relative Clauses in a Generative Grammar of English. Language 40 (1964), 37-52.

P.M. Postal: Crazy Notes on Restrictive Relatives and other matters. Unpublished mimeograph, 1967.

S.Y. Kuroda: English Relativization and Certain Related Problems. Language 44 (1968), 244-266.

C.S. Bird: Relative Clauses in Bambara. The Journal of West African Languages, Vol.2, No 1.

L.W. Martin: Some Relations of Embedding in English Nominals. Papers from the Fourth Regional Meeting Chicago Linguistic Society, 63-70.

R.M.W. Dixon: Relative Clauses and Possessive Phrases in Two Australian Languages. Language 45 (1969),35-

E. Annamalai: Adjectival Clauses in Tamil. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1969.

K.L. Hale: Relative Clauses in some non-Indo-European Languages. Paper read at the First Annual Meeting of the New England Linguistics Society, November 1970.

S. Kuno: Relative Clauses. Notes on Japanese Grammar (18). Report NSF-27 Aiken Computation Laboratory of Harvard University, November 1970.

S. Kuno: Themes and Relative Clauses. Notes on Japanese Grammar (19). Report NSF-27 Aiken Computation Laboratory of Harvard University, November 1970.

T.J. Klokeid: Relative Clauses in Mabuiag. Unpublished Report, M.I.T., December 1970.

A.M. Schwartz: General Aspects of Relative Clause Formation. Working Papers in Linguistic Universals, 1971.

In the second category, I will mention only a few out of the many relevant papers that could have been included here:

E.S. Klima: Relatedness Between Grammatical Systems. Language 40 (1964), 1-20.

S.S. Annear: English and Mandarin Chinese: Definite and Indefinite Determiners and Modifying Clause Structures. POLA Report No 11 (1965) 1-55.

J.P. Dean: Determiners and Relative Clauses. Unpublished Mimeograph, M.I.T. 1966.

J.R. Ross: Constraints on Variables in Syntax. Ph.D. Dissertation, M.I.T. 1967.

E.W. Bach: Nouns and Noun Phrases. In: E.Bach and R.Harms, Universals in Linguistic Theory, 1968.

A.N. Chomsky: Conditions on Transformations.

The attention lavished upon the relative clause is not hard to justify. The relative clause is important in grammar. It is, after all, one of the few recursive devices in language. It is a good thing when scholars familiar with un-familiar languages write about the characteristics of relativization in these languages, even if the descriptions they produce do not always happen to go beyond observational adequacy. Assimilating such accounts may help to free the student from his linguistic prejudices, be it the prejudice that all languages are basically like English, or the prejudice that languages differ in generally unpredictable ways.

Moreover, since J.H. Greenberg's well-known typological study, we know that sometimes unexpected correlations can be found between seemingly unrelated grammatical phenomena. In particular, the study of correlations between the structure of the relative clause and other areas of syntax may be expected to yield significant insights into the realm of universal grammar. An obvious prerequisite to such studies is that reliable data on relative clauses in a wide variety of languages be available and easily accessible to the general linguist.

The present study of relative clauses in Basque is offered as a modest contribution to future typological studies.

Furthermore, it is fitting to start the exploration of the syntax of Basque with a study of relative clauses. Many parts of Basque grammar cannot be fully understood without knowledge of the structure of the relative clause. Time clauses, the determiner system and complementation, subjects which grammarians have racked their brains over, are all based in part on relative clauses, or, at least interrelate closely with them.

In view of this, it seems surprising that so little space has been devoted to relative clauses in grammars and textbooks of Basque. In fact, relative clauses are mentioned only in passing, if at all. The only exception I know of is I.M. Echaide's work Sintaxis del Idioma Euskaro (San Sebastian, 1912), where a 35-page-long section is devoted to them. Echaide's treatment contrasts favorably with the virtual absence of treatment in other books. He appears to have grasped the general nature of relative clauses rather well and provides some genuine insight into their structure. Unfortunately, most of the space is taken up by a host of totally uninteresting examples, his observations are sometimes inaccurate, and, on the whole, his treatment is much too sketchy to satisfy a modern student of language.

The descriptive account I am about to present, therefore,

owes little to grammatical treatises. It derives very largely from personal field work carried out in the Basque Province of Guipúzcoa, the most recent of which was done in the fall of 1969. My field notes have been supplemented by observations gathered through reading numerous literary and non-literary Basque texts. Especially helpful were also the answers I obtained to written questionnaires from a number of obliging informants. In this connection, I am particularly grateful for the invaluable help of Ms Mari-Pilar Lasarte (Leiza) and Mr Xabier Unzurrunzaga (Zarauz).

CHAPTER 2. THE STRUCTURE OF RELATIVE CLAUSES.

No further introduction being necessary, we will now embark on our scrutiny of the form and properties of Basque relative clauses.

A relative clause is a sentence modifying a noun phrase, such that the deep structure of the sentence contains a noun phrase identical to the noun phrase it modifies. The concept of linguistic identity that is needed here is not mere identity in form but also includes identity of reference. The whole construction consisting of the sentence together with the noun phrase acts again as a noun phrase. It can thus be classified as an endocentric construction with a noun phrase as its head. (Cf. L. Bloomfield, Language, §§12.10)

In English, and in the Indo-European languages generally, the modifying clause follows its head and is often introduced by a relative pronoun. The head noun phrase is therefore appropriately termed the "antecedent" of the relative pronoun, and, by extension, of the relative clause.

In Basque, as we will soon see, there is no reason to speak of relative pronouns. The relative clause, moreover, precedes its head. Using the term "antecedent" here would easily lead to confusion. Yet, we need convenient terms to refer to each of the two coreferent noun phrases present in the underlying structure. Therefore, I will sometimes use

the term "postcedent" to refer to the head noun phrase that the relative clause is attached to, and "procedent" to refer to the noun phrase internal to the relative clause which is coreferential to the head. We will see that, in Basque, the procedent is always deleted.

We will now proceed to examine an example of a relative clause. With the nouns aita 'father', nai 'will','desire', ama 'mother', liburu 'book' and the verbs irakurri 'read' and erre 'burn' we can form the following sentence:[1)]

(1) Aitak irakurri nai du amak erre duen liburua.[2)]
"Father wants to read the book that Mother has burned.'

We have a matrix sentence:

(1)a Aitak irakurri nai du liburua.
'Father wants to read the book.'

And we have a constituent sentence:

(1)b Amak liburua erre du.
'Mother has burned the book.'

The shared noun phrase liburua 'the book' (questions of definiteness versus indefiniteness will not be raised here) has been deleted from the constituent sentence, which serves

as a prenominal modifier of the postcedent liburua in the main clause. The finite verb form du '(he)has(it)' of the relative clause carries a suffix whose shape seems to be -en. Actually, I will show a little later that the real phonological form of the suffix is -n. I will call this suffix the "relativizer". It is worth noting that the relativizer shows no agreement with the postcedent or with any noun phrase in the sentence: its shape is absolutely invariant. Clearly, then, the relativizer is not a relative pronoun, in fact, it is not even a noun.

As we can see from (1)a, the finite verb need not come at the end of its sentence. In relative clauses, however, the verb is always final. Hence, we may visualize the relative clause construction as $[_{NP}\ S - n - NP\ ]_{NP}$, where the relativizer -n functions as a link between the clause and the postcedent noun phrase.

We have seen one example of a relative clause in Basque and we will see many more in the rest of this work, but it may be useful to stop here a moment and ask if the preceding analysis of relative clauses in Basque is correct. Is it true that the deep structure of a relative clause contains a noun phrase identical to the head, and that this noun phrase is obligatorily deleted? We assumed above that sentence (1)b Amak erre du liburua. 'Mother has burned the book' underlies the relative clause in (1). It may be thought,

however, that the extra noun phrase liburua 'the book' is quite superfluous, and that it is really (1)c

(1)c Amak erre du.
'Mother has burned it.'

which underlies the relative clause in (1), thus obviating the need for a deletion transformation.

That this proposal fails, however, is not too difficult to show. Of course, (1)c in isolation is a well-formed surface structure solely by virtue of the fact that unstressed (i.e. non-contrastive, non-focussed) pronouns are regularly dropped in Basque if they are in agreement relation with the verb. To get the evidence that we need to show that our original analysis of relativization is basically correct, we will, therefore, use an example containing a locative constituent, as there is no syntactic agreement between a locative and its verb. Consider sentence (2):

(2) Amak liburua ezarri duen kutxa joan da. [3)]
'The box that Mother has put the book in has gone.'

(The argument that I am about to give is valid for what we will call the Main dialect. In the Restricted dialect, sentences like (2) are ungrammatical. We will discuss these two dialects later on in this thesis.)

In any analysis, the relative clause must be a clause, that is, it must be dominated by an S node. This S must be generated in its underlying form by the same base rules that generate sentences in isolation. Now, if the proposal we are discussing is correct, then, just as (1)c is the constituent sentence of the relative clause in (1), (2)a must be the constituent sentence of the relative clause in (2):

(2)a *Amak liburua ezarri du.
'*Mother has put the book.'

But (2)a, being an ungrammatical sentence, will not be generated by the base rules. What happens is,of course, that the verb <u>ezarri</u> 'put' demands the presence of a locative complement, as in:

(2)b Amak liburua kutxan ezarri du.
'Mother has put the book in the box.'

(2)c Amak liburua onetan ezarri du.
'Mother has put the book in here.'

(2)d Amak liburua emen ezarri du.
'Mother has put the book here.'

Yet, the relative clause in (2) does not seem to contain a

locative complement; worse still, it becomes ungrammatical as soon as a locative is added to it:

(2)e *Amak liburua kutxan ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
'*The box that Mother has put the book in the box has gone.'

(2)f *Amak liburua labean ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
'*The box that Mother has put the book in the oven has gone.'

(2)g *Amak liburua onetan ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
'*The box that Mother has put the book in here has gone.'

(2)h *Amak liburua emen ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
'*The box that Mother has put the book here has gone.'

The only satisfactory explanation for these facts is that the underlying structure of the relative clause in (2), being a sentence with the main verb ezarri 'put', contains a locative noun phrase, for the presence of a locative is a necessary condition for the lexical insertion of the verb ezarri. From the meaning of the sentence we can tell that this locative must be kutxan 'in the box', the locative form of the postcedent noun kutxa 'box'. As the locative noun phrase does not appear in the surface structure of the relative clause,

there has to be some transformational mechanism removing it. This mechanism must be either a movement rule or a deletion rule. Whichever it is, it may be thought of as consisting of two parts: movement or deletion of the noun phrase without its postposition (in our case, the postposition is -n, indicating the locative) and deletion of the remaining postposition. Is it movement or is it deletion? We know that the procedent noun phrase disappears without a trace. Therefore, if a movement rule is involved, the only thing it can do is to move the procedent into the position of the postcedent, substituting the former for the latter. If the postcedent is a full-fledged noun phrase (kutxa in the case of (2)), then the movement rule is tantamount to a deletion rule. In fact, this is an obvious way in which to formalize deletion under identity.

But there is another possibility. It may be the case that prior to the application of the movement rule, the postcedent was a referential variable, a dummy element in the sense of Chomsky's Standard Theory. Then the underlying structure of sentence (2) contains only one occurrence of the noun phrase kutxa. The movement rule will then move this noun phrase from the relative clause into the postcedent position of the main clause.

Although this proposal comes close to a suggestion M.K. Brame once made for English relative clauses (See his

unpublished paper 'On the Nature of Relative Clauses.' M.I.T. 1968) , we cannot adopt it here. Its main flaw is that the deep structure of the sentence no longer indicates in a non--adhoc way which of the noun phrases in the constituent sentence is to be relativized. The same deep structure that ends up as (2) would also underly (2)i and (2)j:

(2)i Liburua kutxan ezarri duen ama joan da.
'The mother who has put the book in the box has gone.'

(2)j Amak kutxan ezarri duen liburua joan da.
'The book that Mother has put in the box has gone.'

No present theory of grammar, I hope, would be willing to assign the same deep structure to (2), (2)i and (2)j.

There is still another argument against the possibility of a movement rule being at work here. As J.L. Morgan has pointed out for a similar phenomenon in Albanian, the complete absence of any cases of Pied Piping makes it highly unlikely that a movement rule is involved.

We conclude that the procedent disappears from the relative clause by deletion, rather than by movement. As any noun whatsoever can be procedent in some relative clause, the deletion cannot be a deletion of a designated element. The principle of Recoverability of Deletion, therefore, requires that

we have deletion under identity.

This provides us with an additional argument that the understood locative in (2) is indeed kutxan, 'in the box', since, otherwise, there would be no way of deleting it under identity.

We now understand why sentences (2)e, (2)f, (2)g and (2)h are ungrammatical. Or, to be quite exact, I should point out that there is a reading under which these sentences are grammatical. Namely, the reading where the relativized noun phrase kutxa does not refer back to the locative complement of the verb ezarri, but to a locative adverbial that indicates the place where the action itself occurred. In this interpretation, (2)e

(2)e Amak liburua kutxan ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
'The box in which Mother has put the book in the box has gone.'

mentions two different boxes: one that Mother has put the book in, and another one inside which Mother's action is said to take place.

Similar readings with two different locatives in the constituent sentence are possible for (2)f, (2)g and (2)h.

Barring those readings, however, (2)e is ungrammatical

because procedent deletion, which is obligatory, has failed to apply; and (2)f, (2)g and (2)h are ungrammatical because no well-formed relative clause can arise in the absence of coreferential elements. Just how the grammar captures this in a formal way is of no interest here.

We have been discussing sentence (2) as an example of a relative clause, and we have inferred from it the existence of certain grammatical processes. As we seek a uniform treatment of relativization as a grammatical phenomenon, it follows that the same general processes needed to generate (2) must apply to all other instances of relative clauses, in particular to sentences like (1), where a simpler account may, at first, seem adequate.

Having seen that the analysis of the relative clause given earlier is correct - as far as it goes -, we can now turn to the next point of discussion, the affinity between relative clauses and genitive constructions.

Henri Gavel (Grammaire Basque, Bayonne 1929, page 8-9) considers relative clauses as being real genitive constructions. More precisely, he considers the relation between a relative clause and its head noun phrase identical to that between a genitive form and the noun phrase it modifies.

From a semantic point of view, this suggestion is quite plausible. We have:

Aitak irakurri duen liburua

'The book that Father has read'

just like:

Aitaren liburua

'Father's book'

And also:

Aitak irakurri duen liburu bat

'A book that Father has read'

just like:

Aitaren liburu bat

'A book of Father's'

Syntactically, the two constructions have several characteristics in common. Both types of modifier precede the head, are linked to it by a suffix, do not admit anything intercalated between them and the head, and do not occur with personal pronouns as their head. (This last instance of parallel behavior between possessive constructions and relative clause constructions is more apparent than real: the fact that personal pronouns cannot be possessed (*nere zu , '*my you') seems due to a deep structural or semantic constraint, whereas I will show in a later section that the absence of relative clauses on personal pronouns is merely a matter of surface structure.)

There are languages (e.g. Chinese) where the same formative that functions as a genitive marker also accompanies relative clauses. For Basque too, various authors have identified the relative marker with the genitive marker. So I. Omaechevarria in his book Euskera (Zarauz, 1959), page 11: "La '-n' de 'zuek jaten dezute-N ogia' es la misma que la de 'gure amare-N ogia'; por lo que puede traducirse: 'el pan DE vosotros coméis.'" (The '-n' of 'zuek jaten dezute-N ogia' is the same as that of 'gure amare-N ogia'; one can therefore translate 'the bread OF you are eating.')

The French Bascologist René Lafon, however, points out correctly that the form of the relative marker is -n, a form different from that of the genitive: "Mais on ne peut assimiler purement et simplement les formes verbales relatives aux formes nominales de génitif, et voir dans les 'propositions relatives', avec M. Gavel, "des expressions qui sont en réalité des génitifs". Le suffixe relatif est proprement -n; l'e de -en et l'a de -an sont des voyelles de liaison, dont l'emploi s'est sans doute étendu à partir des cas où il est phonétiquement nécessaire, comme dans dud-a-n 'qui est eu par moi'. L'indice du génitif est presque partout -en....." (Lafon, Le système du verbe basque au XVI^{e} siècle, Bordeaux 1943, I, p. 457-458)

Lafon is referring here to the -en of such forms as duen in (1), in contrast to du in (1)b. I look upon this vowel -e-

and the -a- of some other forms a little differently from Lafon. Although Bascologists so far have failed to recognize it, there is a lot of evidence for the existence of a phonological rule of vowel truncation in final position. I will briefly indicate some of the evidence. Assuming a final vowel truncation rule provides an explanation for the fact that the same vowel shows up with all three suffixes that can be added directly onto the finite verb. These suffixes are: the relativizer -n, the finite complementizer -la and the now largely obsolete suffix -ño 'until', 'while'. In Northern Guipúzcoa du gives duen, duela and dueño, in Southern Guipúzcoa du gives duan, duala and duaño. Leaving Guipúzcoa for a moment and turning to the valley of Roncal, we see that in the Roncalese dialect du gives dion, diola and dioño. Roncalese has a rule by which u goes to i before a low vowel (e.g. buru bat, 'one head', buria 'the head'). This rule must be ordered after vowel truncation: an instance of a bleeding order in the sense of Kiparsky. In Roncalese, the underlying form of du is duo.

In Guipúzcoa, da gives dan, dala, daño, but in all areas East of Guipúzcoa (including Roncal) we have the alternation: da, den, dela, deño. Again we find the same vowel for all three suffixes. The alternation itself now becomes quite easy to handle: da has as its underlying form dae, with the e dropping by final vowel truncation; but with a suffix added the rule cannot apply and we get den, dela, deño by an in-

dependently motivated rule that reduces ae to e. For Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan the underlying form is simply daa. (Michelena derives den from daen historically, but analyses the latter as da+en rather than as dae+n̄, without giving any justification for this analysis. Fonética Histórica Vasca, p.117) To get dezu 'you have it' and its relative form dezun, we can set up an underlying form dezuu, or more simply, restrict vowel truncation to low vowels, as it seems to be needed for a and e (and in Roncalese also o) only.

Notice furthermore the alternation dit 'he has it for me' and didazu 'you have it for me', which we can now analyse as d + i + da + Ø and d + i + da + zu, where d indicates a 3rd person object, i the presence of an indirect object, da a first person singular (here as an indirect object; in other forms it can be agent also), Ø a third person agent, and zu a second person agent. (The absence of any plural markers indicate that the direct object, the indirect object and the agent are all singular: hence the glosses given above.) To the underlying representation dida , vowel truncation and final obstruent devoicing apply, in the intrinsic order.

The relativized form of det 'I have it' is dedan. Starting out from the underlying representation deda, the same rules as above will give the correct outputs.

We thus see that the facts are best handled if we assume that the underlying form of du is due (dua in Southern Gui-

púzcoan, duo in Roncalese), thus explaining the relativized form duen (duan in Southern Guipúzcoan, dion in Roncalese). As Lafon recognizes, the underlying form of the relative marker is -n. That this is indeed so results from the following observation: All past tense verb forms in Basque end in -n. When the relativizer is added to such forms, no formal change results. Thus the string of segments Aitak irakurri zuen liburua can be either a sentence 'Father read the book' or a noun phrase 'The book that Father read'. In the latter case, what we must have is zuen + n giving zuen. The relative marker, therefore, does not contain an initial vowel.

It seems plausible to assume that the stress rules of Basque must be sensitive to the underlying double consonant of past tense relativized forms, since with polysyllabic auxiliaries we find a difference in intonation:

(3)a Gurasoak irakurri zúten liburua.
'The parents read the book.'

(3)b Gurasoak irakurri zutén liburua
'The book that the parents read'

Likewise:

(4)a Gu iltzera zetórren gizona.
'The man was coming to kill us.'

(4)b Gu iltzera zetorrén gizona

'The man who was coming to kill us'

The picture, however, is not as clear as it may seem at first sight. Intonational phenomena in Guipúzcoan Basque are elusive in the extreme. No one knows what the system of rules for stress assignment looks like; to date, not even observational adequacy has been achieved. The difficulty is partly that the intonation can be markedly different in neighboring villages all over the area, so that informants are very unsure of themselves and are reluctant to make judgments about what constitutes a correct intonation and what does not, and partly that stressed syllables have very little acoustic prominence over the others, as contrasted with the stressed syllables of Spanish, English or Russian. I will quote from L. Michelena, Fonética Histórica Vasca, Chapter 20:

".... en los dialectos centrales y occidentales, es decir, en las variedades mejor conocidas y más prestigiosas de la lengua, las diferencias de intensidad, altura y duración de unas sílabas a otras son pequeñas y difíciles de percibir. El valor distintivo del acento es por otra parte reducido, puesto que hay excelentes gramáticas que no lo mencionan siquiera. La versificación, que en la poesia popular es inseparable del canto, no lo tiene en cuenta, ni siquiera en suletino." (Page 379)

("... in the Central and Western dialects, that is to say, in the best known and most prestigious varieties of the language, the differences in intensity, pitch and duration from one syllable to the others are small and hard to perceive. The phonemic value of the accent is, on the other hand, rather small, since there are excellent grammars that do not even mention it. Versification, which in popular poetry is inseparable from song, does not take it into account, not even in the Souletin dialect.")

To return now to our examples (3)a,b and (4)a,b, the following comments must be made:

First, there is no independent evidence that I am aware of that the stress rules in Basque are sensitive to the presence of double consonants, or, more generally, of consonant clusters.

Second, in relativized present tense forms, where there is no underlying double final consonant, as a rule we also find final stress: [4)]

(3)c Gurasoak irakurtzen dutén liburua.
'The book that the parents read (or: are reading).'

(4)c Gu iltzera datorrén gizona
'The man who is coming to kill us'

Third, while final stress in relativized verb forms is

certainly the rule, exceptions (i.e. cases where the final stress is not physically realized) do ocasionally occur.

Fourth, with even greater frequency, it happens that non-relativized verb forms too get final stress.

We thus see that intonation is not a fool-proof means of distinguishing relativized from non-relativized verb forms. Faced with this lack of a clear-cut formal distinction between these forms, some native speakers feel the need to disambiguate the construction. Thus, in many parts of Southern Guipúzcoa (e.g. in Ormaíztegui), the suffix -(e)ko is often added to relativized verb forms, especially to past tense forms. This suffix -(e)ko, which, in the absence of a better name, is often called the "locative genitive", serves to connect noun phrases to noun phrases in nominal constructions: etxeko atea 'the door of the house' (etxe 'house', ate 'door'), etxeko alaba 'the daughter of the house' (alaba 'daughter'), Bilboko eguraldia, 'the weather in Bilbao' (eguraldi 'weather'), egun erdiko lana 's half day's work' (egun 'day', erdi 'half', lan 'work'), bi milla jendeko erria 'a village of two thousand inhabitants' (bi 'two', milla 'thousand', jende 'people', erri 'village'). For the speakers referred to above, the preferred rendering of the phrase 'the book that Father read' is: Aitak irakurri zuaneko liburua. Examples can also be found in print:

(5)a Ordurik samurrena maiteari agurtegin bear dioneko garaia izaten du. (D.Aguirre, Garoa, p.233)
'Its (i.e. love's) most tender moment is when one has to take leave from ones beloved.' 5)

This example shows that -eko can be used with relativized present tense forms (here dio-n), but its use with past tense forms seems to be more common.

(5)b Berak lepoa moztu-arazi zioneko Joan uraxe bera dala uste du... (Lau Ebanjelioak, p.82)
'He thinks that it is that very same John whose head he had had cut off' (Literally: (to) whom he had caused the throat to be cut off.') 6)

(5)c Noan berriro irten nintxoaneko etxe artara.
(Lau Ebanjelioak, Luc. 11.24b)
'Let me go again to that house from which I left.' 7)

We saw that the shape of the relative marker is -n. As I have shown on page 336-338 of my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?" (Fontes Linguae Vasconum 1 (1969), 319-351), the underlying form of the genitive marker is -ren, in older times possibly -en. Therefore, the relativizer -n cannot be identified with the genitive suffix -ren.

It may be possible, however, to identify it with something else, namely with a suffix -n that functions as the"Wh-complementizer", to borrow a term introduced by Joan W. Bresnan (On Complementizers, Foundations of Language 6 (1970) 297-321). This suffix characterizes the finite verb of embedded questions: (Glossary: Ez 'no', 'not'; dakit "I know(it)'; noiz 'when'; zergatik 'why'; nolako 'what kind of'; zer 'what'; ikusi 'see'; bear 'need'; esan 'tell'; ari 'be doing'.)

(6)a Ez dakit aitak libura irakurri duen.
'I don't know if Father has read the book.'

(6)b Ez dakit aitak liburua noiz irakurri duen.
'I don't know when Father read the book.'

(6)c Ez dakit aitak liburua zergatik irakurri duen.
'I don't know why Father has read the book.'

(6)d Liburua nolakoa dan ikusi bear degu.
'We must see what the book is like.'

(6)e Esaidazu zer ari zeran.
'Tell me what you are doing.'

Direct questions do not allow this suffix:

(7)a Aitak liburua irakurri al du?

'Has Father read the book?'

(7)b Aitak liburua noiz irakurri du?

'When did Father read the book?

(7)c Aitak liburua zergatik irakurri du?

'Why has Father read the book?'

(7)d Liburua nolakoa da?

'What is the book like?'

(7)e Zer ari zera?

'What are you doing?'

We observe that the Wh-complementizer -n does not fuse with the interrogative pronouns: (6)a contains the Wh-complementizer but no interrogative pronoun, the other examples contain both. In (6)b we have noiz 'when', in (6)c zergatik 'why', in (6)d nolako (i.e. nola 'how' together with the suffix (e)ko) 'what kind of', and in (6)e zer 'what'.

We noted that in direct questions this complementizer is not overtly present. For English, Bresnan has postulated a Complementizer Deletion rule. Clearly, the facts just given point to the necessity of such a rule in Basque. This neces-

sity does not depend on the truth of Bresnan's claim that complementizers are part and parcel of the deep structure of every sentence. A performative analysis of questions and statements of the general type proposed by J.R. Ross (On Declarative Sentences. In: R.Jacobs and P.S. Rosenbaum (eds.), Readings in English Transformational Grammar) and J.F. Sadock (Hypersentences. In: Papers in Linguistics, 1 :2) will, in all probability, also require a Complementizer deletion rule.

We have seen that we find the same suffix as a Wh-complementizer and as a relative marker. Does this reveal a deep syntactic correlation between relatives and interrogatives, or, does it, on the contrary, represent a sheer coincidence? A definitive answer to this question, it seems to me, cannot be given on the basis of the Basque facts alone. We have to know a lot more about universal grammar than we do at present, before we can answer this question confidently. Assuming, for the sake of investigation, that we are not dealing with a case of purely accidental homonymy, how can we account for these two quite different functions of the same suffix?

One possibility is to claim that the complements found in indirect questions are actually derived from relative clauses. This, however, seems to me rather unlikely. First of all, I am unable to find a semantically plausible source

along these lines for an indirect yes-no question like (6)a. Secondly, although it may seem at first that (6)b, (6)c and (6)e (but hardly (6)d) can be derived from relative clauses, namely, from the Basque equivalents of:

(b) I don't know the time that Father read the book.

(c) I don't know the reason why Father has read the book.

(e) Tell me the thing that you are doing.

a closer examination will show that this is not so. A major obstacle to such an approach to indirect questions is furnished by the simple observation that relative clause constructions are noun phrases, and that some - if not most - of the verbs governing indirect questions do not take noun phrase type complements in deep structure. In particular, (8)b, (8)c and (8)e, the literal renderings of the English sentences (b), (c) and (e), are ungrammatical:

(8)b *Ez dakit aitak liburua irakurri duen ordua.
'I don't know the time that Father read the book.'

(8)c *Ez dakit aitak liburua irakurri duen arrazoia.
'I don't know the reason why Father has read the book.'

(8)e *Esaidazu ari zerana.
'Tell me the thing that you are doing.'

Contrast these with the grammatical sentences:

(8)f Ez naiz gogoratzen aitak liburua irakurri duen orduaz.
'I don't remember the time that Father read the book.'

(8)g Ez naiz gogoratzen aitak liburua irakurri duen arrazoiaz.
'I don't remember the reason why Father has read the book.'

(8)h Ez da gogoratuko ari zeranaz.
'He won't remember the thing that you are doing.'

These data are explained when we assume that the verb jakin 'know' with the meaning it has in the examples under (6) does not allow noun phrases as objects, while the verb gogoratu 'remember' is subcategorized for noun phrases with the instrumental postposition -z.

This is not to say that there are no cases in which jakin shows noun phrase objects in surface structure. Such objects, however, are highly restricted in nature, and their occurrence is best accounted for by deletion processes acting on underlying sentential objects.

The most obvious examples of this are sentences like (8)i and (8)j, of which (8)k and (8)l, respectively, are exact paraphrases:

(8)i Ez dakit zure izena.
'I don't know your name.'

(8)j Ez dakit zure zuzenbidea ere.
'I don't know your address either.

(8)k Ez dakit zure izena zer dan.
'I don't know what your name is.

(8)l Ez dakit zure zuzenbidea zer dan ere.
'I don't know what your address is either.'

Deriving (8)i from (8)k and (8)j from (8)l is not only semantically appropriate, but it also permits to explain the otherwise mysterious fact that we do not get sentences like (8)m and (8)n:

(8)m *Ez dakit zure txirringa.
'I don't know your bike.'

(8)n *Ez dakit zure emaztea.
'I don't know your wife.'

(8)m and (8)n are ungrammatical because their only sources are (8)o and (8)p, and these sentences are themselves ungrammatical.

(8)o *Ez dakit zure txirringa zer dan.
'*I don't know what your bike is.'

(8)p *Ez dakit zure emaztea zer dan.
'*I don't know what your wife is.'

The latter sentence, of course, is grammatical in the reading where it asks for the profession, the status or the role of "your wife". In that reading, however, (8)p does not reduce to (8)n. Thus, the deletion process has to distinguish between a question asking for identification, as in (8)k and (8)l, and a question asking for a property, as in the grammatical reading of (8)p. Moreover, only identifying questions with zer 'what' can reduce in this way, not identifying questions with zein 'which': (8)q is grammatical, but it does not reduce to (8)m:

(8)q Ez dakit zure txirringa zein dan.
'I don't know which is your bike.'

The deletion of zer dan 'what is' is governed not just by the lexical verb jakin, but also by a whole collection of semantically related verbs. Among them are: gogoratu 'remember', aaztu 'forget', ikasi 'learn', irakatsi 'teach', esan 'tell'. Presumably, all these verbs contain a prelexical element JAKIN in their semantic representations. Therefore, the

deletion is either prelexical or linked to the prelexical item JAKIN by a derivational constraint. [8)]

In another set of examples,certain abstract nouns, generally deverbal, and also demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns are found as surface noun phrase objects of jakin and related verbs:

(8)r Ez dakit nere ikaskaia.
'I don't know my lesson.'

(8)s Ez dakit ijito orren berririk.
'I don't know anything about that gypsy.'
(Literally:'I don't know any news of that gypsy.')

(8)t Ez al dakizu ori?
'Don't you know that?'

(8)u Zuk zer dakizu?
'What do you know?'

(8)v Ez dakizu ezer.
'You don't know anything.'

In these examples, a sentential source for the object noun phrase does not readily suggest itself. Still, I do not consider them genuine counter-examples. The object pronouns

in (8)t, (8)u and (8)v refer to something that must be propositional, and in (8)r the verb jakin seems to have a somewhat different meaning than in the other examples. Strong evidence in favor of the exclusion of noun phrase objects in deep structure is the fact that jakin, unlike gogoratu, never takes animate objects, even in surface structure. Thus we get:

(8)w Zutaz gogoratzen naiz.
'I remember you.'

But jakin can never be used this way. To translate the English sentence 'I know you' none of the following will do:

(8)x *Ba zazkit.

Ba is an affirmative particle. We will discuss it presently.

With the object zu 'you' in focus position in front of the verb, we do not get:

*Zu zazkit.

Nor do we get a periphrastic construction:

*Jakiten zaitut.

A different verb ezagutu 'be acquainted with' must be used:

(8)y Ezagutzen zaitut.
'I know you.'

(8)z Ez det zure emaztea ezagutzen.

'I don't know your wife.'

If the verb jakin could take noun phrases at all as objects at the deepest level, we would be hard put to explain why animate objects should be excluded, since the meaning of the verb would make it equally applicable to animate and inanimate objects.

An even stronger argument is contained in the observation that the idiomatic translation of 'I know Basque.' is not Ba dakit euskera (euskera 'the Basque language') as we might expect, but rather:

(8)# Ba dakit euskeraz.

'I know Basque.'

The -z of euskeraz is the instrumental ending, characteristic of manner adverbials:

(8)$ Oinez etorri naiz.

'I have come on foot.'

Combined directly with jakin, a manner adverbial does not seem to make sense. I claim, however, that jakin must always have a sentential object, and I propose as a source:

(8)% Ba dakit euskeraz itz egiten.

'I know how to talk Basque.'

(itz 'word'; egin 'do', 'make'; itz egin 'make words', i.e. 'talk')

(8)% is synonymous with (8)#, and the manner adverbial is appropriate here: 'talk in Basque', that is, 'talk in the Basque way'.

Accepting the claim I made about the subcategorization of jakin, of course, immediately rules out (8)b and (8)c as sources for (6)b and (6)c, as the only way that sentences like (8)b and (8)c could ever arise - this in the event that, at least (8)b is grammatical for some speakers - would be as transforms of (6)b and (6)c. That is, some relative clauses are derived from indirect questions, rather than vice versa.

If we do not accept it, and do believe that the verb jakin can take noun phrase objects in underlying structure, there is room for further discussion. We have seen that (8)b and (8)c are ungrammatical. This alone is not sufficient reason to preclude their appearance in the derivation of (6)b and (6)c. It could indeed be that the conversion of (8)b and (8)c into (6)b and (6)c, respectively, is obligatory.

However, there are solid arguments against this analysis that have nothing to do with the ungrammaticality of (8)b and (8)c. In fact, to simplify the exposition, I will assume that

there are speakers for whom at least (8)b is grammatical.

The first argument applies to indirect yes-no questions only. There is a particle ba in Basque, which appears in utterances in which the focus is not on any of the noun phrases in the sentence, but on the modality of the sentence, on its truth value, so to say.

(9)a Aita ba al dator? - Bai, aita ba dator.
'Is Father cóming?' '- Yes, Father's cóming.'

In both the question and the answer, the focus is not on the subject (i.e. the question is not equivalent to:'Is it Father who is coming?'), rather, the subject is taken for granted and the truth of the proposition itself is being questioned or asserted. This is in contrast to a sentence like:

(9)b Aita al dator? - Bai, aita dator.
'Is Fáther coming?' '- Yes, Fáther is coming.'

The question in (9)b but not that in (9)a can be rephrased as: Zein dator? Aita? 'Who's coming? Father? .

The absence of ba in (9)b indicates that the constituent immediately in front of the verb (note that the question particle al, like ba itself, is a proclitic to the verb), here the subject aita, is the focus of the utterance.

Normally, the particle ba occurs only with synthetic (i.e. non-periphrastic) verb forms. 'Father hás come' is Etorri da aita, not *Etorri ba da aita. Exceptionally, it is possible to say: Aita ba da etorri. 'Father hás come.'

"Unicamente en tono de disputa se contesta a frases como Ez da etorri con Ba da etorri ..... " (Severo de Altube, De Sintaxis Euskérica, San Sebastian, 1920, Chapter III,(4))

"Only in a quarrelsome tone of voice is it possible to answer sentences like Ez da etorri ('He hasn't come') with Ba da etorri (He hás come)...."

This ba, now, can occur in indirect yes-no questions:

(9)c Ez dakigu ba datorren ala ez.
'We don't know whether he is coming or not.'

But, ba never occurs in relative clauses:

(9)d Datorren ijitoa ez datorrenaren anaia da.
'The gypsy who is coming is the brother of the one who is not coming.'

We do not get ba here, although we might have expected it because of the contrast between 'the gypsy who is coming' and 'the one who is not coming':

(9)e *Ba datorren ijitoa ez datorrenaren anaia da.

The fact that ba occurs in indirect questions but not in relative clauses presents a problem for a theory that tries to derive the former from the latter.

Can we explain why ba is excluded from relative clauses? The reason is, I believe, that ba would be totally redundant in that context. Relative clauses are always presupposed to be true; thus, ba, as an affirmative particle, has nothing new to add to the content of the embedded proposition. The fact that relative clauses are presupposed to be true, while indirect questions are never presupposed to be true, is, of course, in itself a powerful argument against deriving indirect questions from relative clauses.

The second argument is somewhat similar to the first, except that it applies to all indirect questions, not just to yes-no questions. The modal particle ote, glossable as 'perhaps', can occur in all kinds of questions, but does not occur in relative clauses:

(10)a Aitak liburua irakurri ote du?

'Has Father perhaps read the book?'

(10)b Ez dakit aitak liburua irakurri ote duen.

'I don't know if Father has by some chance read the book.'

(10)c Aitak liburua noiz irakurri ote du?
'When did Father ever read the book?'

(10)d Ez dakit aitak liburua noiz irakurri ote duen.
'I don't know when Father ever read the book.'

(10)e Aitak liburua zergatik irakurri ote du?
'Why has Father ever read the book?'

(10)f Ez dakit aitak liburua zergatik irakurri ote duen.
'I don't know why Father ever read the book.'

But certainly not: 9)

(10)g *Ez dakit aitak liburua irakurri ote duen ordua.
'*I don't know the time that Father ever read the book.'

(10)h *Ez dakit aitak liburua irakurri ote duen arrazoia.
' I don't know the reason why Father ever read the book.'

As relative clause constructions such as (8)b and (8)c do not admit <u>ote</u> (witness the ungrammaticality of (10)g and (10)h), and indirect questions such as (6)b and (6)c do admit it (as in (10)d and (10)f), it must follow that indirect questions cannot be derived from relative clauses.

It is possible to contest the cogency of this argument concerning ote. The reasoning might go as follows:

The force of the argument just given resides in the claim that the deep structure of indirect questions must be significantly different from that of relative clauses, because ote occurs in the former, but not in the latter. That is, it is assumed that the exclusion of ote from relative clauses is a deep structure fact, presumably connected with the meaning that relative clauses have.
However, it appears that the exclusion of ote is not due to semantics, as can be inferred from the fact that it has synonyms that do occur in relative clauses: apika, bearbada and onenean, which all can be glossed as 'perhaps'.
Etymologically, bearbada is bear ba-da 'if it is necessary', but it is now used idiomatically in the meaning of 'perhaps'. Onenean is literally on-en-ean 'at best', but, doubtlessly under the influence of the Spanish phrase a lo mejor , its meaning is often weakened to that of 'perhaps'.
All of these can occur inside relative clauses:

(10)i Apika Europako gaizkillerik aundiena dan gizona Madrilen bizi da.
'The man who is perhaps the greatest criminal in Europe lives in Madrid.' 10)

(10)j Egunen batean bearbada nere emaztea izango dan emakumea etorriko da gaur gu ikustera. [11]

'The woman who perhaps one day will be my wife will come today to see us.'

(10)k Ta aiek onenean egingo diguten kalteaz zer?

'And what about the damage that they will perhaps cause us?'

Therefore, so the reasoning might continue, we can still derive indirect questions from relative clauses, if we assume that sentences like (10)g and (10)h are, in principle, grammatical, and, therefore, can underly (10)d and (10)f, but are thrown out at the end by a surface structure constraint.

The surface structure constraint in question will be one that disallows proclitic elements from appearing inside relative clauses. The following particles are all proclitics, and none of these particles occur inside relative clauses: ba "affirmative"; omen 'reportedly'; al "question marker"; ote "perhaps", ba "conditional". Examples:

(10)l *Etorri ba diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira.

'The gypsies who háve come will be happy.'

(ijito 'gypsy', poz-ik egon 'be in a state of happiness')

(10)m *Etorri omen diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira.
'The gypsies, who, reportedly have come, will be happy.'

(10)n *Etorri al diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira.
'*The gypsies, who have they come? will be happy.'

(10)o *Etorri ote diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira.
'The gypsies, who maybe have come, will be happy.'

(10)p *Pozten naiz etorri ba diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira.
'*The gypsies who I am glad if they have come will be happy.'

Thus, so the reasoning concludes, there is an independently motivated surface structure constraint against ote in relative clauses, which makes the examples containing ote completely irrelevant to the issue of the deep structure origin of indirect questions.

I firmly disagree with this alleged counter-argument, for the following reasons:

1). There is no constraint against proclitics appearing inside relative clauses, as demonstrated by the occurrence of the - clearly proclitic - negation particle ez inside relative clauses:

(10)q Etorri ez diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira.

'The gypsies who have not come will be happy.'

The ungrammaticality of examples (10)l, (10)m, (10)n, (10)o and (10)p can be explained without reference to the proclitic character of the particles contained in them.
The ungrammaticality of (10)l has already been explained, with the help of the observation that the truth of a relative clause is always presupposed. The same observation will also account for the ungrammaticality of (10)m: omen explicitly relieves the speaker from all responsability for the truth of the sentence containing it. This sentence, therefore, cannot be presupposed to be true, and hence cannot function as a relative clause.[12] (10)n is ungrammatical in English as well: interrogative sentence cannot occur as relative clauses, the reason being, once again, that the truth of a relative claus is invariably presupposed. Sentence (10)o, the one containing ote, is, as I will argue under 2). , ungrammatical for the same reason as (10)n is. (10)p is ungrammatical in English too; hence the fact that conditional ba is a proclitic in Basque is shown to be irrelevant.

It turns out, therefore, that there is no independently motivated surface structure constraint against proclitics in relative clauses.

2). While apika, bearbada, onenean and ote can all be glossed as 'perhaps', there are syntactic differences between them, which are likely to go back to the deep structure level.

Of little importance for us is the fact that onenean is restricted to assertions:

(10)r Onenean azaldu da.
'Perhaps he has shown up.'

(10)s *Onenean azaldu al da?'
'Has he perhaps shown up?'

(10)t *Azaldu al da onenean?
'Has he perhaps shown up?'

Compare:

(10)u Azaldu al da bearbada?
'Has he perhaps shown up?'

Important for us is, however, the fact that ote, but not bearbada, or apika , (See (10)u) is incompatible with the question marker al :

(10)v *Azaldu al ote da?
'*Has he, maybe, shown up?'

(10)w *Azaldu ote al da?

'*Has he, maybe, shown up?'

Furthermore, the presence of ote in a main clause automatically turns the sentence into a question. Compare:

(10)x Bearbada azaldu da.

'Perhaps he has shown up.'

(10)y Azaldu ote da?

'Has he perhaps shown up?'

Ote, therefore, is similar to al in a way that bearbada is not. Ote has a true interrogative force, which is precisely the reason why it is excluded from relative clauses.

In the face of these considerations the counter-argument collapses and the original argument goes through.

A third argument against deriving indirect questions from relative clauses is contained in the following observation: In indirect questions oraindik can mean 'more', 'else', but in relative clauses it can only mean 'still':

(11)a Ez dakit aitak liburua noiz oraindik irakurri duen.

'I don't know when else Father has read the book.'

(11)b *Ez dakit aitak liburua oraindik irakurri duen ordua. [13]
'*I don't know the time when Father has still read the book.'

The last argument that I will present here is that indirect questions sometimes allow more than one interrogative constituent. There are no corresponding relative clauses:

(12)a Ez dakit liburua zeiñek noiz irakurtzen duen.
'I don't know who reads the book when.'

(12)b Ez dakit liburua zeiñek zergatik irakurtzen duen.
'I don't know who reads the book for what reason.'

But not: [14]

(12)c *Ez dakit liburua zeiñek irakurtzen duen ordua.
"*I don't know the time who read the book.'

(12)d *Ez dakit liburua zeiñek irakurtzen duen arrazoia.
'*I don't know the reason why who read the book.'

In order to show that sentences like (12)a and (12)b are not uncommon in Basque, I will now quote some examples of double questions found in texts. The first example is taken from a Souletin text, the book Onsa Hilceco Bidia, published in Orthez, 1666; the second example is from a Labourdin story

book, published in Bayonne 1929; the last three examples are from Guipuzcoan.

(12)e Harén kontré, nork zer erranen du? Nork zer eginen du? (J. de Tartas, Onsa Hilceco Bidia, page 2.) [15]

'Against him, who will say what? Who will do what?'

(12)f Hehorrek hire burua funditu balimbaduk, nork zer hoben dik beraz? (Jean Barbier, Ichtorio Michterio, p.10, quoted by Ernst Lewy, Elementare Syntax des Baskischen, Kleine Schriften, p. 537.) [16]

'If you have injured yourself, who is then to blame for what?'

(12)g Nik zer dakit, ba, nor nun dabillen? (D.Aguirre, Garoa, p.156) [17]

'What, then, do I know who's walking where?'

(12)h Joanes'ek ez zekian zer esan, zer egin ta zer nori agindu. (D.Aguirre, Garoa, p.161) [18]

'Joanes didn't know what to say, what to do or what to command whom (to do).'

(12)i Orregatik bearrezkoa det jakin nork eta nundik zenbat diru biali didan. (From a letter to the author written by J.M.Zulaika, dated April 3, 1962) [19]

'That's why I have to know by whom and from where how much money was sent to me.'

Examples (12)g, (12)h and (12)i are indirect questions. It seems clear that there are no relative clause constructions that they could derive from.

I have found one sentence, which, at first sight, may be thought of as a counter-example to my claim that there can be no question words inside relative clauses:

(12)j ... nork zer esango dionari biziro begiratu gabe...
(Lau Ebanjelioak, p.116)
'... without paying too much attention to who will say what to him ... '

Sentence (12)j looks suspiciously like a free relative clause, such as, e.g.:

(12)k Esan dionari biziro begiratu gabe...
'Without paying too much attention to that which he has said to him...'

I will discuss free relative clauses in a later section of this thesis. However, (12)j is not a free relative. Rather, it is an example of a sentence in which an indirect question (nork zer esango dion 'who will say what to him') is treated as a noun phrase, as we can see from the fact that it carries the definite article -a and the dative postposition -ri.

What has happened here is that a noun phrase nork zer esango dion has been derived from the sentence nork zer esango dion by quoting: "Nork zer esango dion"-ari biziro begiratu gabe.. This accords well with the meaning of the sentence, and, of course, the verb begiratu 'look', 'pay attention to', 'watch out for' does take indirect questions as complements:

(12)1 Nola egiten dezun begiratu bear dezu.
'You must pay attention to how you do it.'

The last two arguments were adapted from C. Leroy Baker, who discussed the differences between indirect questions and relative clauses in English in section II of his article "Notes on the Description of English Questions", Foundations of Language, 6 (1970), p.197-219.

For all these reasons, then, it seems out of the question that indirect questions are derived from relative clauses in Basque. Rather, the conclusion must be that the suffix -n is basically a complementizer, and that its occurrence in relative clauses, if not accidental, must be accounted for by its function as a complementizer. Complementizers in Basque always take the form of suffixes to the verb, finite or non-finite. Now, in surface structure, the verb need not be final, but, as I have argued in my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?" (Fontes Linguae Vasconum 1 (1969) p.319-351), Basque is verb--final on a deeper level. Complementizers, then, originate

or are inserted at the end of their clauses, and then become enclitics to the verb while it is still final in the sentence. In relative clauses, but not in most other subordinate clauses, the verb must also be final in surface structure. This leads to the following picture of the relative clause in Basque:

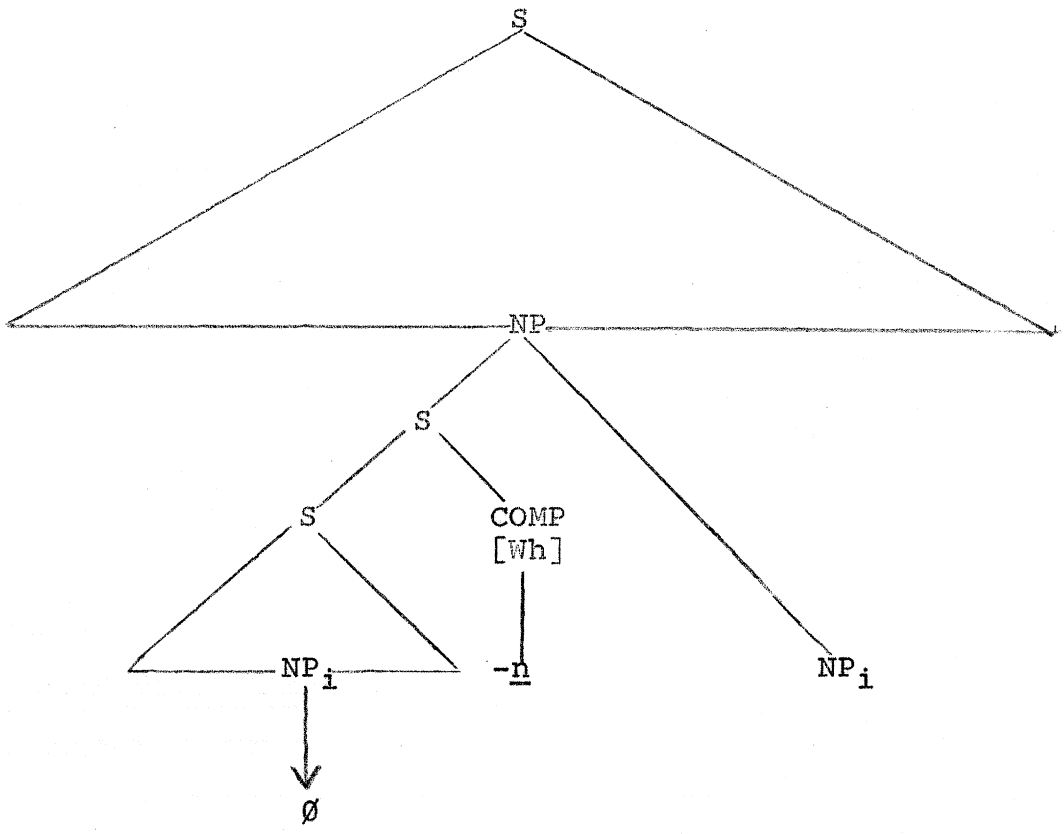


Diagram (1)

This result is in line with the conception of the English relative clause adopted by J.E. Emonds in his dissertation Root and Structure-Preserving Transformations,

which also underlies recent work by J.W. Bresnan. The advantages of this conception for English are brought out by the following quote from Emonds:

"Many grammarians have held that _that_ is not a relative pronoun when it introduces relative clauses, but rather the same particle that introduces other (non-relative) dependent clauses. In this view, an NP or a PP replaces COMP (the morpheme _that_ in most clauses) by means of the _Wh_ fronting rule. Such an analysis accords the same status to all S-introductory _that_'s, explains why prepositions never precede _that_ even though they precede other relative pronouns, and limits relative pronouns to being a subset of the _Wh_ question words." (J.E. Emonds, _Root and Structure Preserving Transformations_, Section IV.2.1)

Indeed, a similar observation was made by Otto Jespersen in 1924:

"... it may be questioned whether English _that_ is not the conjunction rather than a pronoun; compare the possibility of omitting _that_: "I know the man (that) you mentioned" and "I know (that) you mentioned the man", and the impossibility of having a preposition before _that_ : "the man that you spoke about" as against "the man about whom you spoke.""
(O. Jespersen: _The Philosophy of Grammar_ , Chapter VI, p.85)

I am making no claim here that diagram (1) represents, or even approximates the deep structure,or semantic represen-

tation, of relative clause constructions. All I claim is that relative clause constructions look like diagram (1) at some - probably fairly late - stage of their derivation. Although I will have no detailed proposal to make in that direction, we will see later on that there are indications that a structure containing conjoined sentences is relevant to the derivation of relative clauses at a deeper level.

Having accepted the idea that complementizers are to be expected universally as the most natural linking elements between a relative clause and its head, we must conclude that, apparently, languages may differ as to what particular complementizer (or complementizers) they choose to use for that purpose. While the complementizer used in English is mainly the unmarked complementizer _that_, in Basque, it is the Wh-complementizer -_n_.

Incidentally, the English complementizers _for_ ... _to_ and -_ing_ are also able to connect relative clauses to their heads, as shown by the following sentence:

For a bachelor wanting to meet a lot of girls,
the thing to do is to buy a red sports car.

This sentence cannot be derived by ordinary relative clause reduction, since the supposedly unreduced form

*For a bachelor who is wanting to meet a lot of girls,
the thing that is to do is to buy a red sports car.

is ungrammatical, and relative clause reduction in English is always optional.

While one difference between Basque relative clauses and English relative clauses resides in the choice of the complementizer and does not seem predictable from more general characteristics of Basque grammar, another difference, the fact that Basque relative clauses show no movement but rather deletion of the procedent (i.e. the lower coreferential noun phrase) can be plausibly considered to fall under the range of an implicational universal. What remains unclear, however, is just what the implicans of this universal is to be. Different authors differ indeed as to what other feature of grammatical structure they deem the lack of such a movement rule to be most closely connected with.

For C. Leroy Baker, the absence of a rule moving relativized constituents is correlated with the position of the clause in front of the modified noun phrase, i.e. preceding its head,rather than following it, as in English. (C,L. Baker, Notes on the Description of English Questions, Foundations of Language 6 (1970) p. 209)

For J.W. Bresnan, the lack of movement follows from the clause-final position of the complementizer. (J.W. Bresnan, On Complementizers, Foundations of Language 6 (1970) p.317ff.)[20]

For A.M. Schwartz, the absence of a movement rule for

relativized constituents follows from the absence of a rule moving Wh elements in questions; this itself being a necessary property of verb-final languages. (A.M. Schwartz, General Aspects of Relative Clause Formation, Working Papers in Linguistic Universals, December 1971, Stanford University.)

None of the authors offer a convincing argument in favor of their respective claims. Basque, having all three of the properties that are claimed to be relevant, cannot serve as a test case. Some language other than Basque, but sharing some of its characteristics, will have to provide the crucial evidence needed to settle the issue. This, however, cannot be attempted here.

Returning now for a moment to the genitive suffix -ren, I should mention that the possibility of some relationship between it and the complementizer -n is not to be ruled out. Indeed, as R.Lafon notes in this connection, there is a variant form of the genitive, the suffix -re, which is used - obligatorily and only - with singular personal pronouns and with gu 'we' : nere 'my', ire 'thy', zure 'your (sg.)', gure 'our', bere 'his(own)'; but: zuen 'your (plural)' and beren 'their(own)'.

Lafon, who takes the suffix to have been -e rather than -re, adds: "Il est possible que -e ait été à date très ancienne l'indice de génitif commun à tous les noms, et qu'il ait été renforcé, dans les substantifs, les adjectifs et la

plupart des pronoms, par l'addition de -n, suffixe très général servant à marquer la relation de déterminant à déterminé." (R. Lafon, Le système du verbe basque au XVI^{e} siècle; I, p.458)

The segmentation -re-n and the identification of the final segment of this with the relativizer have considerable plausibility, as possessive modifiers are generally assumed by transformational grammarians to be derived from relative clauses.

For a transformational treatment relating possessives to relative clauses in the Australian languages Dyirbal and Gumbaingar, see R.M.W. Dixon: Relative Clauses and Possessive Phrases in Two Australian Languages, Language 45 (1969),35-44. I quote from page 38:
"The relation between a possessive phrase and the noun it qualifies could be treated as an additional syntactic relation. But it can more revealingly be treated as a special instance of the relative clause construction."

Understandably, the particular transformations that Dixon proposes are quite tentative and cannot be generalized easily to fit unrelated languages. The attempt to derive possessive constructions from relative clauses is certainly not absurd; yet, I do not feel justified in proposing specific rules to this effect for Basque, as long as there is no explanation for the exceptional behavior displayed by the personal pronouns.

We noted that two of the personal pronouns do have a genitive ending in -n : zuek 'you all' and berak 'they(themselves)'. For zuek, the fact that it has a regular genitive (zuen 'your(plural)', is, no doubt, due to its being a relatively modern creation. Zu (genitive zure) which is now the polite second person singular, used to be a form for the second person plural, as is evidenced by the verbal morphology. Two paradigms will serve to illustrate this:

n-a-tor	: I am coming
a-tor	: Thou art coming (familiar 2-nd person)
d-a-tor	: He is coming
g-a-toz	: We are coming
z-a-toz	: You are coming (singular)
z-a-toz-te	: You all are coming
d-a-toz	: They are coming

Here the form zatoz (from z-a-tor-z) shows the suffix -z, indicating a plural subject in an intransitive verb form. The form zatozte 'you all are coming' is formed from zatoz by adding another plural marker -te. This -te is borrowed from the morphology of transitive verbs, where it indicates plurality of the agent. (E.g. dakar 'he is bringing it', dakarte 'they are bringing it', du 'he has it', dute 'they have it'.)

The second paradigm shows forms of the type nau 'he has me', which occur mainly as auxiliaries in periphrastic verb forms, as in ikusi nau 'He has seen me'.

n-a-u	: He has me
a-u	: He has thee (familiar 2-nd person)
d -u	: He has him
g-a-it-u	: He has us
z-a-it-u	: He has you (singular)
z-a-it-u-te	: He has you all
d -it-u	: He has them

In this paradigm the morpheme -it- indicates plurality of the direct object. Again, the polite second person form zaitu is morphologically plural. The new plural second person form zaitute has the plural marker -te mentioned above. A variant form zaitue with a plural marker -e also exists.

As we see from these paradigms, when the original second person plural was reinterpreted as singular, the morphology did not change. If it had, we would have gotten *zau (like au 'he has thee') instead of zaitu. Sporadically, however, this restructuring did happen, and forms like zaut (instead of zaitut) 'I have you' are attested in the South-Eastern subdialect of Bizcayan, e.g. in Mondragón (geographically in Guipúzcoa) and in Aramayona (geographically in Alava).

As to beren 'their own' versus bere 'his own', the following remark by P.Lafitte may be taken as corroborating Lafon's conjecture that the final -n of genitives originated as a reinforcement of an earlier construction with -re instead of -ren:

"La différence entre bere 'son', et beren, 'leur', est, semble-t-il, assez récente. Beaucoup d'auteurs traduisent 'sien' et 'leur' par bere et ne font de beren qu'un intensif de bere." (P. Lafitte, Grammaire basque, §211.II)

SUMMARY TO CHAPTER 2.

In this chapter, we investigated the internal structure of relative clauses in Basque. The discussion culminated in considering the structure of diagram (1) on page 50 as the most plausible candidate for the shallow structure of relative clauses.

The relative marker -n (not a relative pronoun) is different from the genitive marker -ren, but it is homphonous with the Wh-complementizer -n.

Arguments have been given that indirect questions, which are characterized by this complementizer, cannot be derived from relative clauses. I have not discussed the reverse possibility, because I see no way of explaining the relative marker -n in a relative clause construction like: Ikusi dedan gizona ardo-zalea da. (The man whom I have seen loves wine.) by means of some kind of interrogative constructions.

There is no Wh-movement in Basque: the relativized noun phrase in the constituent sentence is deleted rather than moved.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2.

1). Basque is an ergative language. This means that the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb have the same case marking. This case is called the "absolutive". In Basque, cases are marked by postpositions. The absolutive case is morphologically unmarked, i.e., it has a zero postposition. The subject of a transitive verb is in a different case, called the "ergative" case. In Basque, this case is marked by the ergative postposition -k. Thus, we have:

(a). Aita etorri da.
'Father has come.'

(b). Aitak irakurri du.
'Father has read it.'

(c) Aitak erre egin du ama.
'Father has burned Mother.

In (a)., aita, being the subject of the intransitive verb etorri 'come',is in the absolutive case. In (b)., aita ('father'), since it is the subject of the transitive verb irakurri 'read', is in the ergative case, giving aitak. In (c)., the subject aita of the transitive verb erre 'burn', is again in the ergative case, and ama 'mother' being the object of erre 'burn', is in the absolutive case.

2). For phonology and pronunciation, I refer the reader to Luis Michelena, Fonética Histórica Vasca, and Nils M. Holmer, El Idioma Vasco Hablado. Unless otherwise indicated, all examples are taken from the Guipuzcoan dialect.The orthography used in the examples is that used by the Basque Academy.
The vowels have approximately the same value as in Spanish.
Only the following consonant signs need comment:
j is a voiceless velar fricative, like spanish jota.
s and z are both voiceless fricatives. They differ only in the point of articulation. s has an apico-alveolar articulation, and z a dorso-alveolar one.
x is a palatal fricative, comparable to English sh.
The letter combinations ts, tz, and tx denote simple phonemes, namely, the affricates corresponding to s, z and x.
ll indicates a palatalized l.
Like in Spanish, there are two r-sounds, a strongly trilled one, spelled rr, and a weak flapped r, spelled r.
Before consonants and in final position, the two sounds do not contrast phonetically, and both are then spelled r. Thus, we have aur 'child' , and aurra 'the child' (-a being the article). This is merely an orthographic convention: the r of aur sounds the same as the rr of aurra.

3). Vocabulary: kutxa 'box', ezarri 'put', joan 'go', 'go away'.

4). Although we have no documentary evidence for it, it is possible to assume that at one time only past tense relativized forms had final stress, and that only later this stress pattern got extended to present tense relativized forms by analogy.

5). Vocabulary: ordu 'time', 'moment', 'hour'; samur 'tender'; ordurik samurrena 'the most tender moment'; maite 'beloved', agur egin 'to say goodbye', bear 'need', necessity'; garai 'occasion', 'time'.

6). Vocabulary: bera 'he himself', lepo 'neck', moztu 'cut off', arazi 'cause (verb)', uste du 'he thinks'.

7). Vocabulary: noan 'let me go', berriro 'again' irten 'go out', 'leave', etxe 'house'.

8). As Prof. J.R. Ross has pointed out to me, this is not necessarily the case. The transformation in question may prove to be applicable to some class of verbs definable in general terms, such as, e.g. non-emotive factives.

9) As I explained earlier, (10)g and (10)h are already ungrammatical, even without the ote. But, with gogoratu 'remember', which does take noun phrase complements, we also do not get:

(a) *Ez naiz gogoratzen aitak liburua irakurri ote duen orduaz.
(I don't remember the time that Father perhaps read the book.')

(b) *Ez naiz gogoratzen aitak liburua irakurri ote duen arrazoiaz. ('I don't remember the reason why Father perhaps read the book.')

10). Vocabulary: gaizkille 'criminal', aundi 'big', gaizkillerik aundiena 'the biggest criminal'. bizi 'to live'.

11). Vocabulary: egun 'day', egunen batean 'on some day', emazte 'wife', gaur 'today', gu 'us', ikustera 'to see'.

12) Prof. J.R. Ross has pointed out that this cannot be the whole story. In English, we do get sentences like: 'The gypsies, who have allegedly come, will be happy.'. Here, the relative clause which is presupposed to be true is not 'The gypsies have come.', but: "It is alleged that the gypsies have come.' Why a similar interpretation is not possible for (10)m remains unexplained.

13) (11)b is already ungrammatical, because jakin does not take noun phrase complements. With gogoratu 'remember' instead of jakin, however, the sentence is ungrammatical, too:

*Ez naiz gogoratzen aitak liburua oraindik irakurri duen orduaz.

14) Since (12)c and (12)d are already ungrammatical for other reasons, (Cf. footnote 9)), I should point out that we do not get the corresponding sentences with gogoratu 'remember', either:

*Ez naiz gogoratzen liburua zeiñek irakurtzen duen orduaz.

*I don't remember the time who read the book.')

*Ez naiz gogoratzen liburua zeiñek irakurtzen duen arrazoiaz.
(*I don't remember the reason why who reads the book.')

Thus, (12)c and (12)d are ungrammatical for more than one reason.

15) The relevant part of example (12)e is: nork zer erranen du?
"Who what will say?' and nork zer eginen du? 'Who what will do?'
In the Guipuzcoan dialect the word for 'who' is zein, but in all other dialects, the word for 'who' is nor, ergative form nork.

16) The relevant part of example (12)f is: nork zer hoben dik?
'who what blame has?'

17) The relevant part of example (12)g is: nor nun dabil? 'who where is walking?'.

18) The relevant part of example (12)h is: zer nori agindu 'what to-whom to-command'.

19) The relevant part of example (12)i is:nundik zenbat diru biali didan 'from-where how-much money (he)-has-sent-to-me.'
didan is dida (surface form: dit) plus the Wh-complementizer.

20) Prof. K.L. Hale has informed me that Navaho constitutes a counter-example to this claim. Navaho has clause-final complementizers, yet, it has a rule that moves Wh constituents.

CHAPTER 3. RELATIVIZABILITY.

After the general considerations that have occupied us so far, we will now examine a variety of examples, and try to find out what restrictions there are on the process of relative clause formation.

Not surprisingly, there are no restrictions whatsoever on the function of what we have called the "postcedent" in the main clause, witness the following examples.

Sentence (13) Irakasleak guztia daki.
'The teacher knows everything.'

can be embedded as a relative clause on the noun irakasle 'teacher' regardless of the role of the latter in the main clause. So we get:

(13)a Guztia dakien irakaslea ez da gaur etorriko.
'The teacher who knows everything will not come today.'

(13)b Guztia dakien irakaslea lendakari izendatu zuten.
'They made president the teacher who knows everything.'

(13)c Guztia dakien irakasleak esan du.
'The teacher who knows everything has said it.'

Since esan 'say' is a transitive verb, its subject irakaslea

receives the ergative suffix -k. The subject,of course, is not just irakaslea 'the teacher', but guztia dakien irakaslea 'the teacher who knows everything'.

(13)d Guztia dakien irakasleari eman bear diogu gure dirua.
'We must give our money to the teacher who knows everything.'

(13)e Guztia dakien irakaslearen emaztea bildur da.
'The wife of the teacher who knows everything is afraid.'

(Like its English translation (13)e is ambiguous as to who it is who knows everything, the teacher or his wife.)

(13)f Guztia dakien irakaslearentzat ekarri det au.
'I have brought this for the teacher who knows everything."

(13)g Guztia dakien irakaslearengatik ez nintzan etorri.
'I didn't come because of the teacher who knows everything.'

(13)h Guztia dakien irakaslearengandik ikasi det ori.
'I have learned that from the teacher who knows everything.'

We will now go on to consider the syntactic role of the procedent in the constituent sentence, that is, inside the relative clause. Let the clause to be embedded be (14):

(14) Gizonak txakurra jo du.
'The man has hit the dog.'

We can then derive either (14)a or (14)b, according to which noun we take as a postcedent: gizona 'the man' or txakurra 'the dog':

(14)a Txakurra jo duen gizona gaiztoa da.
'The man who has hit the dog is bad.'

(14)b Gizonak jo duen txakurra gaiztoa da.
'The dog that the man has hit is bad.'

As we saw earlier in our discussion of sentence (1)c, unstressed personal pronouns that are in an agreement relation with the verb are normally deleted. Perhaps we should rather say that they are incorporated into the auxiliary or finite verb. Sentence (15), then, containes no overt pronoun, just the past participle jo of the verb jo 'hit' (In Basque, the citation form of verbs is the past participle, the shortest of the non-finite verb forms) and the auxiliary du 'has". This form of the auxiliary indicates a third person singular agent,

and a third person singular direct object.

(15) Gizona jo du.

'He (she, it) has hit the man.'

(15) can be embedded as a relative clause to gizona 'the man':

(15)a Jo duen gizona aundia da.

'The man whom he (she, it) has hit is tall.'

In (16) gizona 'the man' is agent, and carries therefore the ergative suffix -k. The direct object pronoun has been deleted:

(16) Gizonak jo du.

'The man has hit him (her, it).'

Embedding (16) as a relative clause to gizona gives (16)a.

(16)a Jo duen gizona aundia da.

'The man who has hit him (her, it) is tall.'

The surface structures of (15)a and (16)a are identical, giving us, therefore, a case of syntactic homonymy.

In (14)a the procedent was agent, in (14)b it was direct object. We will now see that it can be indirect object too. Take e.g. sentence (17):

(17) Emakumeak gizonari aur au eman dio.

'The woman has given this child to the man.'

We can have all of the following relative clause constructions:

(17)a Gizonari aur au eman dion emakumea guztiz ederra da.

'The woman who has given this child to the man is extremely beautiful.'

(17)b Emakumeak gizonari eman dion aurra oso txikia da.

'The child whom the woman has given to the man is very small.'

(17)c Emakumeak aur au eman dion gizona zaarra da.

'The man who the woman has given the child to is old.'

In (17)c the procedent is the indirect object of the relative clause (Cf. (17)), deleted here in the process of relativization.

Again, the nearly obligatory deletion of unstressed personal pronouns gives rise to ambiguity:

(18) Eman dion aurra gaiztoa da.

Literally: Given he-has-it-to-him-Rel child-the bad-the he-is.

This sentence is three ways ambiguous. It can be:

a) 'The child whom he has given to him is bad.'

From (18)a Aurra eman dio.

'He has given the (or a) child to him.'

b) 'The child who has given it to him is bad.'

From (18)b Aurrak eman dio.

'The child has given it to him.'

c) 'The child whom he has given it to is bad.'

From (18)c Aurrari eman dio.

'He has given it to the child.'

In (18) Eman dion aurra gaiztoa da , aurra 'the child' has the zero case marking required by its function of subject in the intransitive main clause where the predicate is gaiztoa da 'is bad'. Nothing is left in the surface structure to tell us what the case marking was of the deleted procedent aur 'child' in the original constituent sentence.

We observe here a general property of the relativization process in Basque: relativization wipes out whatever postposition the procedent may have had, thus making it impossible for the surface structure to indicate the syntactic function of the deleted noun phrase in the constituent sentence, i.e in-

side the relative clause.

Basque relative clauses, then, are less precise than their English (and, more generally Indo-European) counterparts, where a relative pronoun normally indicates the function of the coreferential lower noun phrase in its clause, as in the English sentence:

I walked with the woman because of whom I lost my job.

A sentence such as this cannot be translated into Basque using the relative clause construction that we are discussing.

This, of course, brings up the question how to characterize the range of syntactic functions that the procedent noun phrase can assume in the lower clause, such that the resulting relative clause is grammatical. In other words, what is the generalization underlying the observation that the English sentence

"The woman to whom I lost my job is a foreigner."

has a straightforward rendering in Basque, namely:

(19)a Bizibidea galdu diodan emakumea atzerritarra da.
'The woman I lost my job to is a foreigner.'

while the English sentence:

"The woman because of whom I lost my job is a foreigner."

cannot be rendered in the same straightforward way:

(19)b *Bizibidea galdu dedan emakumea atzerritarra da.

(19)b is totally uninterpretable.

This is by no means an easy problem to investigate. It will be necessary to look at the full range of postpositions in Basque, a procedure that will take up considerable space.

Fortunately, there is one class of forms that we need not consider: expressions of spatial relationships. Although such relations are sometimes expressed by single surface prepositions in English (e.g., under, around, below, behind, over), they always involve a relational noun in Basque. The following example is typical:

maiaren azpian or mai-azpian , 'under the table'.

We have here a noun azpi which is linked to the noun mai 'table' in either of two ways: by means of the possessive suffix -ren added to the definite form maia 'the table' of the noun mai, or by way of nominal compounding. The ending of azpian is the locative postposition -n preceded by the definite article a. Other postpositions can also occur here instead of the locative:

maiaren azpira : 'to under the table',
maiaren azpiraiño : 'as far as under the table',
maiaren azpitik : 'from under the table'.

In fact, the noun azpi can occur without any postposition:

(20) Maiaren azpia zikiña da.
'It is dirty under the table.'

It is clear, then, that there is a relational noun azpi, with the approximate meaning "space extending downward from the under-surface of X and including this under-surface".

Similar remarks apply to:

mai(aren) aldean : 'beside the table',
mai(aren) aurrean : 'in front of the table',
mai(aren) atzean : 'behind the table',
mai(aren) barruan : 'inside the table',
mai(aren) erdian ; ' at the middle of the table',
mai(aren) ertzean : 'at the corner of the table',
mai(aren) gaiñean : 'on top of the table',
mai(aren) inguruan : 'around the table',
mai(aren) ondoan : 'next to the table'.

These are all plain genitival constructions, like, say: apaizaren liburuan 'in the book of the priest', and, as such, do not call for any special treatment.

A REMARK ON POSTPOSITIONS.

In general, of course, the items which it will be our task to pass in review are the postpositions of Basque, not the various linguistic constructs used for translating the prepositions of English or some other language. The difference is far from academic: just because without is a preposition in English, does not mean that its translation gabe is a postposition in Basque. In spite of P. Lhande, who lists it as a postposition in his Dictionnaire basque français (page 315) and of I. Lopez Mendizabal, who counts it among the suffixes expressing grammatical relations (Manual de Conversación, p.297-300), there are good reasons for considering gabe to be an adjective that takes noun phrase complements and not a postposition. These reasons include the following:

1) Gabe admits the article -a , Only the genitival postpositions -ren and -(e)ko can be followed by the article -a. Gabe, however, does not function like a genitival postposition. Therefore, I argue, gabe is not a postposition at all.

Details: Compare (21)a, b with (22)a,b :

(21)a Andres etorri da emaztea gabe.
'Andres has come without his wife.'

(21)b Bera bakarrik emaztea gabea da
'He alone is without his wife.'

(22)a Ixidor etorri da emaztearekin.

'Isidor has come with his wife.'

(22)b Bera bakarrik emaztearekin da.

'He alone is with his wife.'

In (21)b, we have emaztea gabea, with the article -a inserted in predicate position, as is usual for predicate nouns and adjectives in most Basque dialects. This does not happen in (22)b : the form *emaztearekiña does not exist anywhere.

The genitival postpositions -ren and -(e)ko do admit the article: ijitoarena 'the one of the gypsy', and etxekoa 'the one of the house'. But these expressions are special cases of the genitive construction, where these two postpositions serve to link two noun phrases together: ijitoaren zaldia 'the horse of the gypsy' and etxeko tellatua 'the roof of the house'. Under certain circumstances, pronominalization can delete a noun or a noun phrase and leave behind its determiner. When this happens here, the forms just cited are produced:

(23)a Zaldi au ijitoarena baiño obea da.

'This horse is better than the one of the gypsy.'

(23)b Elizako tellatua etxekoa bezin zaarra da.

'The roof of the church is as old as the one of the house.'

Gabe, however, is not a genitival postposition. It cannot link two noun phrases together: *emaztea gabe gizona. To get the meaning 'the man without his wife', the genitival postposition -(e)ko must be inserted here: emaztea gabeko gizona.

2) There is a suffix -(r)ik that combines with all past participles, most adjectives and some nouns, and whose meaning is 'being in a state of ...'. Examples:

With past participles:

etorri	: 'come',	etorririk	: 'having come',
ikusi	: 'seen',	ikusirik	: 'having seen',
il	: 'died',	ilik	: 'having died,dead',
eman	: 'given',	emanik	: 'having given'.

With adjectives:

on	: 'good',	onik	: 'well',
oso	: 'whole',	osorik	: 'completely',
zabal	: 'wide',	zabalik	; 'wide open',
bakar	; 'lonely',	bakarrik	: 'alone',
isil	: 'quiet',	isilik	: 'silent'.

With nouns:

poz	: 'joy',	pozik	: 'happy',
bildur	: 'fear',	bildurrik	: 'afraid',
barau	: 'fast',	baraurik	: 'empty stomached'.

This suffix is never added to postpositions:

etxean	'in the house',	*etxeanik,
etxera	'to the house',	*etxerarik,
etxearentzat	'for the house',	*etxearentzatik.

However, it is often added to gabe:

(24)a Diru gaberik etorri da.
'He has come without money.'

(24)b Zu gaberik ezin bizi du.
'He cannot live without you.'

3) In Northern parts of the Basque Country, including the North-Eastern part of Guipúzcoa, gabe can remain behind in surface structure after the head noun of its phrase has been deleted by pronominalization processes. Nowhere in the Basque Country, however, can a postposition ever survive without a supporting head in surface structure. An informant from Oyarzun gave me this sentence:

(25)a Pipa nerekin daramat, ezin naiteke gabe ta.
'I am carrying my pipe with me, as I cannot (stand to) be without.'

In the book Aprenda el Vasco (published by Editiorial Icharopena, Zarauz 1958, without name of author), which reflects the speech of the area of San Sebastian, we read on page 38:

(25)b Utzi naizkizu erautziga batzuek, gabe gelditu naiz.
'Lend me some cartridges, I have run out.'
(Literally: 'I have remained without.')

Utzi is a verb (cited in the past participle form) that means: 'leave (behind)', 'abandon', and it is used idiomatically for 'lend'.
For the form naizkizu, see footnote 1).

Erautziga means 'cartridge', and batzuek (variant form batzuk) as an indefinite plural determiner; 'some'.

Gelditu is a verb with the meaning 'stay', 'remain', 'stop'.

(25)b is an imperative sentence. In imperative sentences, the verb precedes the object: utzi naizkizu erautziga batzuek is much preferable to ?erautziga batzuek utzi naizkizu.

In the 17th century classic Gero, by Pedro de Axular (not written in Guipúzcoan, but in "Navarro-Labourdin"), we read (Chapter XI, 2):

(25)c Bai, ba da zenbait, zeren Eliza ezin dateke gabe.
(Talking about true Christians) 'Yes, there are some, for the Church cannot exist without.'

Here again we see that gabe does not behave like a postposition: (25)d is completely impossible:

(25)d *Bai, ba da zenbait, zeren Eliza bethi ekin da.
'Yes, there are some, for the Church is always with'

The postposition (r)ekin cannot stand alone. (25)d would be grammatical with hekin 'with them' instead of ekin.

4) As we will see later on in this section of the thesis, if gabe were a postposition, the following sentence in which gabe occurs on the underlying procedent as well as on the postcedent should be grammatical. It is not:

(26) *Pello ezin bizi dan emakumea gabe Andres'ek ere ez du bizi nai.
'Andres does not want to live without the woman without whom Pello cannot live, either.' 2)

For all these reasons, gabe cannot be considered a postposition. Conventional Basque orthography recognizes this, in that it does not write gabe together with the preceding part of the noun phrase, as it always does for postpositions. Gabe is separated out with a hyphen, or even spelled as an independent word: gizonarekin 'with the man', but gizona-gabe or gizona gabe 'without the man'.

If it is not a postposition, what is it? The answer must be, I think, that gabe is an adjective. It occurs in adjective position between the head noun and the determiner, as,for example, in the phrase biotz berorik gabe ori 'that heart (of yours) without any warmth'. Here berorik gabe 'without any warmth' is an adjective phrase, and gabe, since it is the head of this phrase, must be an adjective.

An adjective similar to gabe is bete 'full',e.g.: biotz pozez bete ori 'that heart (of yours) full of joy'. Bete and gabe are similar in that they both take noun phrase complements, yet, bete is subcategorized for noun phrases with the instrumental postposition -z, and gabe for noun phrases that can be either partitive, determined or indetermined: beroz bete 'full of warmth', berorik gabe 'without any warmth', beroa gabe 'without the wamth', bero gabe 'without warmth'. Moreover, bete can occur without a complement in surface structure: ontzi au betea da. 'this vessel is full', gabe cannot do so: *gizon au gabea da. However, in

former times, gabe could be used also as an independent adjective, with the meaning 'destitute' (See R.M. de Azkue, Diccionario Vasco-Espanol-Francés, I-312).

Now that we know that gabe is an adjective, we understand why we cannot form a relative clause such as (27) from a matrix sentence like (27)a and a constituent sentence like (27)b :

(27)a Zakurra lapur aiek kendu didate.
'Those thieves have taken the dog away from me.'

(27)b Zakurra gabe ezin igo naiteke mendira.
'I cannot climb the mountain without the dog.'

(27) *Ezin mendira igo naitekeen zakurra lapur aiek kendu didate.
'Those thieves have taken the dog away from me without whom I cannot climb the mountain.'

While relativization often deletes postpositions, it is unable to delete adjectives.

Plunging ahead now into our investigation of the connection between relativizability and the syntactic function of the procedent, we can report as a first result the following observation:

With regard to their acceptance of relative clauses, the native speakers of Guipúzcoan I have consulted fall into two classes, where each class has its own grammatical system:

(A) A restricted system, where the speakers accept only those relative clauses in which there is mprphological agreement between the procedent and the verb of the relative clause.

(B) A wider system, which I will refer to as "the main system, to be characterized later on.

In the restricted system, the procedent of a well-formed relative clause must have one of the following four functions:

1). Subject of an intransitive predicate.
Example:

(28)a Datorren astean joango naiz.
'I will go the week that is coming (i.e. next week).'

Cf. (Sentences given here under Cf. serve to demonstrate number agreement.)

(28)b Aste santua ba dator.
'The Holy week is coming.'

(28)c Garizumako asteak ba datoz.
'The weeks of Lent are coming.' 3)

The presence of the affirmative particle ba in some of the examples and its absence in others is connected with the concept of focus, as I discussed earlier (See page 36-37) of this thesis.). As I explained there, affirmative ba never occurs inside relative clauses.

2). Subject (agent) of a transitive predicate. Example:

(29)a Tresna ori darabillen errementaria indartsua da oso.
'The smith who is using that tool is very strong.'

Cf.:

(29)b Errementariak ba darabil tresna ori.
'The smith is using that tool.'

(29)c Errementariak ba darabilte tresna ori.
'The smiths are using that tool.' 4)

3). Object of a transitive predicate. Example:

(30)a Alkateak dakarren liburua garestia da.
'The book that the mayor is bringing is expensive.'

Cf.:

(30)b Alkateak ba dakar liburua.
'The mayor is bringing the book.'

(30)c Alkateak ba dakarzki liburuak.

'The mayor is bringing the books.' 5)

4). Indirect object of a transitive or intransitive predicate:

a). With a transitive predicate, e.g. ekarri 'bring':

(31)a Ogia dakarkiodan eskalea osaba det.

'The beggar to whom I am bringing bread is my uncle.'

Cf.:

(31)b Ogia dakarkiot eskaleari.

'I am bringing the beggar bread.'

(31)c Ogia dakarkiet eskaleai.

'I am bringing the beggars bread.' 6)

b). With an intransitive predicate, e.g. azaldu 'appear', 'show up':

(32)a Aingerua azaldu zaion artzaia bildurrez dago.

'The shepherd to whom an angel has appeared is afraid.'

Cf.:

(32)b Artzaiari aingerua azaldu zaio.

'An angel has appeared to the shepherd.'

(32)c Artzaiai aingerua azaldu zaie.

'An angel has appeared to the shepherds.' 7)

With these four cases we have exhausted the possibilities of morphological agreement between the procedent and the verb of the relative clause. No other types of relative clauses are grammatical in the restricted system.

When confronted with examples of relative clauses grammatical in the main system but outside the scope of the restricted system, informants speaking this variety do not always uniformly reject them. Rather, the typical response is a double inconsistency. First, instances of exactly the same type of relative clause may be treated differently by the same informant. One informant accepted (33)a,

(33)a Lenengo aldiz ikusi zindudan erria maite det.

'I love the village where I saw you for the first time.'

but rejected the entirely similar (33)b:

(33)b Igaz udaroa igaro nuen erria maite det.

'I love the village where I spent the summer last year.'

Secondly, the same informant was also found guilty of inconsistency over time. At one time, he accepted (33)c, - rejec-

ting, however, all other examples of the same type that were presented to him - :

(33)c Jaio nintzan erria maite det.
'I love the village where I was born.'

When asked again six months later, the informant rejected (33)c, insisting that a non-finite relative clause construction,(33)d, should be used instead:

(33)d Ni jaiotako erria maite det.
'I love the village where I was born.'

In non-finite relative clauses, the predicate has the form of a past participle, e.g. jaio 'born', etorri 'come'. To this form the relational suffix -tako is added, linking it to the following noun, the postcedent of the relative clause. Mainly outside Guipúzcoa we find a suffix -rikako (or -riko) used instead of -tako, and in the Northern dialects the suffix may be Ø. The suffix -tako (and also -rikako, riko) can be decomposed into two parts: a "stative" suffix -ta (or rika, rik, the suffix discussed on page 70) jaiota 'having been born' (also: jaiorik), etorrita, etorririk 'having come', and the "locative genitive" suffix (e)ko that we have discussed earlier (page 23).
As there is no finite verb in such relative clauses, personal

pronouns cannot be deleted. We thus get: ni jaiotako erria 'the village I was born'.

The informant's rejection of (33)c was so complete that (33)e, another example of the same construction, actually proved unintelligible to him and brought forth the response "What does it mean?".

(33)e Ezkondu nintzan erria maite det.
'I love the village where I got married.'

(I have not starred (33)c and (33)e, because they are grammatical in the main system, which I take as a standard. Both are, however, ungrammatical in the restricted system, which I am now discussing.)

We may note in passing that the grammaticality of (33)d confirms the view that the constraints operative in the restricted system prohibiting sentences like (33)c are transformational rather than deep-structural in nature, for, presumably, (33)c and (33)d have the same deep structure. Of these two, (33)d with its deleted auxiliary, seems to be transformationally more complex. Why the constraints on relative clause formation in the restricted system should allow the more complex (33)d and rule out the simpler (33)c remains a mystery, especially since the main transformation involved, Procedent Deletion, has to apply in the derivation

of (33)d in just the same way as in the derivation of (33)c. Why, then, is it blocked in the latter case, but not in the former?

I have no answer to these questions. It might turn out that both (33)c and (33)d are to be considered ungrammatical in the restricted system, and that (33)d sounded more acceptable to the informant for extra-grammatical reasons.

To conclude the remarks on non-finite relative clauses, I should point out that not every finite relative has a non--finite counterpart. Non-finite relatives are available for the perfect aspect and also for the future modality ('things to be done'), but not for the imperfect aspect as such.

The formation of the perfect aspect non-finite relative has already been explained: past participle + ta-ko, e.g. etorritako 'having come'. The future modality non-finite relative is formed from the verbal noun (i.e., the present participle without its locative ending -n) to which is added the suffix -ko, directly, without an intervening -ta : etortzeko 'coming', 'which is to come'. (The present participle is : etortzen).

Thus, a non-finite variant exists for (34)a, namely (34)b:

(34)a Etorri dan osaba aberatsa da.

'The uncle who has come is rich.'

(34)b Etorritako osaba aberatsa da.
'The uncle who has come is rich.'

Similarly, alonside (35)a, there is a near paraphrase (35)b with a non-finite relative:

(35)a Etorriko dan osaba aberatsa da.
'The uncle who will come is rich.'

(35)b Etortzeko osaba aberatsa da.
'The uncle to come is rich.'

But there are no non-finite alternatives for the imperfect constructions (36), (37) and (38):

(36) Zetorren osaba aberatsa zan.
'The uncle who was coming was rich.'

(37) Datorren osaba aberatsa da.
'The uncle who is coming is rich.'

(38) Igandero etortzen dan osaba aberatsa da.
'The uncle who comes every sunday is rich.'

From now on, I will let non-finite relatives rest, as their role in the overall picture of Basque syntax is not nearly

as central as that of finite relatives.

Now that we have clarified the nature of the restricted system, we must address ourselves to the more arduous task of determining the limits of the main system. We know that there are such limits, since (19)b is ungrammatical in the main system too.

In the examples of grammatical relative clauses that we have seen so far, there appears to be a rather close relation between the procedent noun phrase and the verb of the constituent sentence. In the ungrammatical example (19)b, which I repeat here for convenience:

(19)b *Bizibidea galdu dedan emakumea atzerritarra da.
'The woman because of whom I have lost my job is a foreigner.'

there is no particularly close relationship between the underlying procedent noun phrase emakumearengatik 'because of the woman' and the verb galdu 'to lose'.

Trying to make this idea precise, we may be tempted to claim that the syntactic function of the procedent noun phrase must be such that it enters into the strict subcategorization of its verb. (For the concept of "strict subcategorization", see A.N. Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, Chapter II, §2.3.3.)

This characterization correctly excludes (19)b, it properly includes the restricted system, and it seems like a very natural constraint for a language with procedent deletion to impose on relativization.

Unfortunately, it is not empirically adequate. On the one hand, it excludes relative clauses that are perfectly grammatical, such as (39):

(39) Laister joango aiz beste maitasun batzuek izango ditunan etxera. (Martin Itziar, Larraundiko Sendia, p.23)
'Soon you will go to a house where you will have other love-relationships.'

It seems unlikely that a locative noun phrase, like etxean 'in the house' is involved in the strict subcategorization of the verb izan 'have'.

On the other hand, the proposed characterization fails to exclude some relative clauses ungrammatical for everybody:

(40) *Fidatzen nintzan gizonak emaztea ostu zidan.
'The man whom I trusted stole my wife.'

Here the constituent sentence is:

(40)a Gizonarengan fidatzen nintzan.
'I trusted [in] the man.'

The verb fidatu 'trust' is clearly subcategorized for animate noun phrase with the postposition -(ren)gan 'in'. Yet, relativization on such a noun phrase is not possible.

From this it follows that strict subcategorization is irrelevant to relativization, so that we have to abandon this putative characterization of the main system.

A more careful investigation of the facts is therefore in order. It appears that relativizability depends on the underlying postposition that characterizes the syntactic function of the procedent. Hence, we can divide the Basque postpositions into two classes, according to whether or not relativization is possible. We will call a postposition relativizable if there is a well-formed relative clause such that its procedent carries this postposition. We will see later on in this section that it is necessary to add a provision to this definition of relativizable postposition, the provision being that the postposition on the postcedent (i.e. the coreferential noun phrase that appears in surface structure) is not morphologically identical to the deleted underlying postposition on the procedent.

Up to now, we have found the following postpositions to be relativizable: -Ø (absolutive), -k (ergative), -ri (dative), -n (locative). We will encounter three more: -ra (directional), -tik (ablative) and -z (instrumental).

We have also met two non-relativizable postpositions: -(ren)gatik (motive) and -(ren)gan (animate locative).

Here are still a few more examples of relative clauses involving locative procedents. First an example of a non--restrictive one:

(41) Baztanga dagoen etxe oiek gureak dira. (From: I. Lopez--Mendizabal, Manual de Conversación Castellano-Euskera, p.355)

'Those houses, in which there is smallpox, are ours.'

The constituent sentence is here:

(41)a Etxe oietan baztanga dago.

'In those houses there is smallpox.'

(42) Orain bizi naizen baserria erosteko asmoa det.

'I have the intention of buying the farm on which I now live.'

Here too, the constituent sentence contains a locative:

(42)a Baserri batean bizi naiz.

' I live on a farm.'

(Bizi izan, like vivir in Spanish, means both 'be alive'and

'dwell')

(43) Ez dakit nola atera arkitzen naizen egoera larritik.
'I don't know how to get out of the tight spot I find myself in.'

The constituent sentence is here:

(43)a Egoera larri batean arkitzen naiz.
'I find myself in a tight spot.'

Relative clauses with a locative procedent are attested from the oldest texts on. In the earliest Basque book, Etxepare's Linguae Vasconum Primitiae (Bordeaux 1545), written in the Low-Navarrese dialect of the region of St. Jean Pied de Port, we read:

(44) Emazterik ez den lekhuyan ez dakusat plazerik.
(From the poem Emazten favore, line 27)
'I don't see any pleasure in a place where there are no women.'

And also:

(45) Andre hona den lekhura ailtxa itzak begiak.
(From the poem Andre Dona Maria, A, 4r, line 2)
'Lift up your eyes to the place where the good Lady is.'

Time expressions referring to a point in time or to a period of time are always constructed with the locative:

(46)a Seietan eldu nintzan.
'I arrived at six o'clock.'

(46)b Gabean lan egiten det.
'I work at night.'

Seietan is the locative plural of sei 'six', the word ordu 'time', 'hour' being understood. Gabean is the locative singular of gau 'night'.

Relative clauses on such time expressions are quite common:

(47)a Mendiratu giñan eguna euritsua zan oso.
'The day we went to the mountains was very rainy.'

Compare (47)b : Egun artan mendiratu giñan.
'On that day we went to the mountains.'

(48)a Ondo gogoratzen naiz aita erori zan goizaz.
'I remember the morning that Father fell very well.'

Compare (48)b : Goiz batean aita erori egin zan.
'On a certain morning Father fell.'

What is the morpheme egin and what is it doing in (48)b? The utterance "on a certain morning Father fell" is usually taken as conveying an answer to the hypothetical question: What happened to Father (on a certain morning)? The act of falling is not presupposed, as it would be if the utterance was meant to answer the question: When did Father fall? or: Who fell on a certain morning?.

If we want to couch the situation in more technical terms, we can say that (48)b focusses on the verb and not on any of the noun phrases in the sentence. Now in Basque, as we noted on page 35, a noun phrase in focus must be put immediately in front of the verb. In the Guipúzcoan dialect and in most, though not all, varieties of Bizcayan, this is also true of the verb itself: If the verb is in focus, it must be put immediately in front of what must then be the main verb, namely, egin 'do' when transitive, 'become' when intransitive. Whenever a verb is in focus, it cannot be conjugated, the verb egin will be conjugated in its place.

So we will have: erori egingo da 'he will fall', and not: *eroriko egin da.

When the verb is not in focus, egin does not appear: Noiz eroriko da? 'When will he fall?' Not: *Noiz erori egingo da?

All this applies to periphrastic verb forms only. Synthetic verb forms are focussed upon by means of the proclitic particle ba, as we saw on page 35.

We never find this emphatic egin in relative clauses, just as we do not find the affirmative particle ba in relative clauses. The reason for this is easy to detect. Clearly, the procedent is the semantic pivot of a relative clause. Without a procedent, without the relation of identity holding between the procedent and the postcedent, a relative clause dissolves into ill-formed garbage. The procedent, then, is what is important in the constituent sentence, and, hence, there can be no focus different from this procedent. In particular, the verb of the constituent sentence can never be in focus.

Therefore, (48)b is not the constituent sentence of (48)a, but rather (48)c is:

(48)c Aita goiz batean erori zan.
'Father fell on a certain morning.'

In (48)c not the verb but the temporal adjunct goiz batean 'on a certain morning' is in focus.

Relative clauses with procedents referring to time occur frequently and can be found in the oldest texts we have. There are many examples in Leiçarraga's translation of the New Testament (La Rochelle 1571). To cite just one:

(49) ... Lot Sodomatik ilkhi zen egunean... (Luc. 17.29)
' ... on the day that Lot went out from Sodom....'

There is an even earlier example in the poetry of Etxepare, Linguae Vasconum Primitiae of 1545:

(50) Bizi nizan egunetan, bada, ez zitut utziren. (From the poem Potaren Galdatzia, line 17)
'I shall not leave you on the days that I live.'

The directional postposition -ra 'to', and the ablative -tik 'from' are relativizable:

(51) I joan intzan tokian iñor ezin bizi litekek.
'Nobody can live in the place where you went.'

The constituent sentence is here:

(51)a I toki ortara joan intzan.
'You went to that place.'

An example with a more concrete procedent is (52):

(52) Sarri joaten naizen sagardotegia jendez beterik dago beti.
'The ciderhouse where I often go is always full of people.'

Here the constituent sentence is:

(52)a Sarri sagardotegira joaten naiz.
'I often go to the ciderhouse.'

Before giving some examples of relative clauses where the postposition on the procedent is -tik, I want to point out that glossing this postposition as 'from' covers up an interesting difference between Basque and English. This is due, I claim, to a complication of English, not of Basque. A concrete example will make the matter clear.

(53) Iruña'tik Donostiratu nintzan.
(53)' 'I went from Pamplona to San Sebastian.'

The English sentence (53)' would normally be given as a gloss of (53). From (53)' it can be legitimately inferred not only that, having been in Pamplona I went on to San Sebastian, but also that my journey on that occasion actually started in Pamplona. Of course, I needn't have been in Pamplona for any great length of time. I might just have arrived there, Pamplona being the final destination of aprevious journey. Still, sentence (53)' presents the journey it talks about as departing from Pamplona. If the journey did start somewhere else, not (53)' but (53)'' must be used:

(53)'' I went to San Sebastian through (via, by way of) Pamplona.

The Basque sentence (53), however, merely says that the journey included a stretch from Pamplona to San Sebastian, regardless of where the journey originally started.

Similarly, the Basque sentence (54):

(54) Iruña'tik etorri naiz.

has to be rendered in English as either (54)' or (54)'' :

(54)' I have come from Pamplona.

(54)'' I have come via Pamplona.

Likewise, (55):

(55) Basotik etorri naiz.

is either (55)' or (55)'' :

(55)' I have come from the woods.

(55)'' I have come through the woods.

Another way to bring out the difference between Basque and English is as follows: Given that any one who drives from Chicago to Urbana must pass through Kankakee, the question:

- Do you often drive from Kankakee to Urbana?

can still be answered with:

- No, but I often drive from Chicago to Urbana.

The corresponding Basque question, however;

- Askotan Kankatee'tik Urbana'ratzen al zera?

does not admit of such an answer.

- Ez, baiña askotan Chicago'tik Urbana'ratzen naiz.

would make no sense at all, under the circumstances.

I have carefully avoided using the term 'ambiguous' when I was referring to the Basque sentences (53), (54) and (55). As I interpret the facts, these sentences are not ambiguous at all. All that happens is that English is forced to make a distinction unnecessary in Basque.

Languages which are like English in this respect seem to be more wide-spread than languages like Basque. In fact, Basque is the only language I know of in which 'from' and 'through' coincide in such a way that it is not always possible to decide for an individual sentence which of the two values, from an English point of view, was intended by the speaker.

In Turkish, the value of the postposition dan/den depends upon the head noun:

Izmirden geldim.
'I came from Izmir.'

Pencereden geldim.

'I came through the window.'

But, as Turkish speakers have told me, Izmirden geldim cannot ever mean 'I came through Izmir.'

As E. Wayles Browne has pointed out to me, the same situation obtains for Persian, too. There we have:

Aez Izmir amaedaem

'I came from Izmir.'

Aez paenjaere amaedaem.

'I came through the window.'

Here too, the first of the two sentences cannot mean "I came through Izmir'. This must be translated as:

Aez raeh Izmir amedaem.

'I came through Izmir.'

It is usually possible in Basque to express the meaning of 'through' in such a way that the interpretation 'from' is excluded. This is done, for instance, by using the adverb zear 'across' in combination with the locative case of the head noun:

(56) Basoan zear etorri naiz.

'I have come through the woods.'

When the place that one goes through is thought of as a point rather than as an area, zear is not used:

(57) Zubi zaarretik etorri naiz.

'I have come by way of the old bridge.'

and not:

(57)a Zubi zaarrean zear etorri naiz.

'I have come through the bridge.'

unless the bridge covers a truly large area.

I will now give three examples of relative clauses where the procedent has the postposition -tik, two with the gloss 'from' and one with the gloss 'through':

(58) Zoaz etorri ziñan lekura! (A.M. Labayen, California ... ku-ku! page 149)

' Go to the place you came from!'

Compare (58)a : Leku aretatik etorri ziñan.

'You came from that place.'

(59) Noan irten nintzan etxe artara.

'Let me go to that house [from] which I left.'

Compare: (59)a Etxe aretatik irten nintzan.

'I left [from] that house.'

(60) Itxi zazu sartu zeran atea!

'Close the door through which you have come in!'

Compare: (60)a Atetik sartu zera.

'You have come in through the door.'

Also relativizable is the instrumental postposition -z:

(61) Zuek ez zenduten gu konturatu giñan arriskua ikusten.

'You all did not see the danger that we had realized.'

Compare: (61)a Arriskuaz konturatu giñan.

'We had realized the danger.'

The verb konturatu 'realize', like 'oroitu' 'remember' aaztu 'forget' and a few others, takes instrumental objects.

With this, the list of relativizable postpositions is complete. No other postposition is relativizable. To illustrate, I will give a set of examples. In each of these, the a) - sentence is grammatical, but cannot serve as a consti-

tuent sentence for a relative clause taking as its procedent the noun phrase fitted with the postposition under consideration. The b)-sentences are the ungrammatical relative clauses that would have resulted from this process.

-rentzat 'for'.

(62)a Neska orrentzat ekarri ditut lore auek.
'I have brought these flowers for that girl.'

(62)b *Lore auek ekarri ditudan neska negarrez dago.
'The girl for whom I have brought these flowers is crying.'

-(ren)gatik 'because of'.

(63)a Emakume batengatik lanbidea galdu det.
'I have lost my job because of a woman.'

(63)b *Lanbidea galdu dedan emakumea atzerritarra da.
'The woman because of whom I have lost my job is a foreigner.'

-(re)kin 'with'.

(64)a Neskatxa onekin mendian ibili naiz.
'I have walked with this girl in the mountains.'

(64)b *Mendian ibili naizen neskatxa maite det.

'I love the girl with whom I have walked in the mountains.'

-(ren)gan 'in' (for animate noun phrases).

(65)a Gizon arengan ez naiz fio.

'I don't trust that man.'

(65)b *Fio ez naizen gizona kristau ona izan liteke.

'The man that I don't trust could be a good Christian.'

(See also example (40))

-(ren)gana 'to' (for animate noun phrases).

(66)a Euskaltzain askorengana jo degu, auzi au erabaki naiaz.

'In order to decide this question, we have turned to many Basque academicians (Euskaltzain).

(66)b *Auzi au erabaki naiaz, jo degun euskaltzaiñak h-zale porrokatuak dira.

' The Basque academicians we have turned to in order to decide this question are fanatic h-supporters.' 8)

Do not confuse (66)b with (66)c, which is grammatical, but means something entirely different:

(66)c Auzi au erabaki naiaz, jo ditugun euskaltzainak h-zale porrokatuak dira.
'The Basque academicians we have beaten up in order to decide this question are fanatic h-supporters.'

Underlying the constituent sentence of (66)c we have (66)d:

(66)d Auzi au erabaki naiaz, euskaltzain batzuek jo ditugu.
'In order to decide this question, we have beaten up some Basque academicians.'

Superficially, the only difference between (66)b and (66)c is in the auxiliary: ditugu in (66)c and degu in (66)b. Both forms indicate a first person plural agent (-gu 'we'), but, in addition, ditugu is marked for a plural object, while degu is unmarked for plurality of object.
In (66)c, jo , constructed with a direct object, is the verb 'beat (up)', whereas in (66)b, jo, constructed with a directional object and without an expressed direct object, means 'turn to'. The latter use of jo probably comes from atea jo, 'knock on the door'. As we have seen, finite verb forms agree in number (and person) with a direct object, but not with a directional object.

-(ren)gandik 'from' (for animate noun phrases).

(67)a Irakaslearengandik ikasi ditut egia auek.
'I have learned these truths from the teacher.'

(67)b *Egia auek ikasi ditudan irakasleak euskeraz itz egiten du.
'The teacher from whom I have learned these truths speaks Basque.'

-(ren)ganontz 'towards' (for animate noun phrases).

(68)a Gudarienganontz aurreratzen gera.
'We are advancing towards the soldiers.'

(68)b *Aurreratzen geran gudariak armarik gabe gelditu dira.
'The soldiers towards whom we are advancing have remained without arms.'

-(ren)ganaiño 'as far as, up to' (for animate noun phrases)

(69)a Errege arek Aita Santuarenganaiño biali zituen mezulariak.
'That king sent messengers even to the Pope.'

(69)b *Errege arek mezulariak biali zituen Aita Santuak ez zizkion jaramonik egin.
'The Pope up to whom that king sent messengers paid no attention to them.'

-rontz 'towards' (For inanimate noun phrases).

(70)a Mendi oietarontz bideratzen gera.
'We are starting out towards those mountains there.'

(70)b *Bideratzen geran mendiak emendik eun kilometro daude.
'The mountains towards which we are starting out are a hundred kilometers from here.'

-raiño 'as far as', 'up to' (For inanimate noun phrases).

(71)a Zurekin munduaren bazterreraiño ibiliko nintzake.
'I would walk as far as to the end of the world with you.'

(71)b *Zurekin ibiliko ez nintzakeen bazterrik ez dago.
' There is no spot as far as which I would not walk with you.'

Of course, (71)b can be grammatical when the postposition on the procedent is assumed to be either -ra 'to' or -n 'in': 'There is no spot to which I would not walk with you.' or: 'There is no spot in which I would not walk with you.'.

We have reached the end of our survey of postpositions. To recaptitulate our findings:

Relativizable postpositions are:

ø	:	absolutive,
-k	:	ergative,
-ri	:	dative,
-n	:	locative,
-ra	:	directional,
-tik	:	ablative,
-z	:	instrumental.

Non-relativizable postpositions are:

-(re)kin	:	'with' (sociative),
-rentzat	:	'for' (benefactive),
-(ren)gatik	:	'because of' (motive),
-(ren)gan	:	'in' (for + Animate Noun phrases),
-(ren)gana	:	'to' (for + Animate Noun phrases),
-(ren)gandik	:	'from' (for + Animate Noun phrases),
-(ren)ganontz	:	'towards' (for + Animate Noun phrases),
-(ren)ganaino	:	'as far as' (for + Animate Noun phrases),
-rontz	:	'towards' (for - Animate Noun phrases),
-raino	:	'as far as' (for - Animate Noun phrases).

What I have just given amounts to the worst possible characterization of relativizability: a mere list of cases. Are there, then, no generalizations waiting to be captured here? Is there no better way of characterizing relativizability? I think there is.

Indeed I have found several better ways of characterizing relativizability: (I), (II), (III) and (IV). Of these, the least satisfactory one is (I) and the most satisfactory one is (IV). (IV) indeed seems to express best the generalization that underlies relativizability in Basque.

Let us have, first of all, characterization (I).

Characterization (I):

Phonologically light postpositions - that is, postpositions consisting of not more than three segments - are relativizable, but phonologically heavy postpositions (four or more segments) are non-relativizable.

The optional elements -re- in -(re)kin and -ren- in -(ren)gan etc. are to be counted here as part of the underlying form of the postposition, deletable by a late morphophonemic rule of Possessive Deletion.

From a strictly formal point of view, this characterization is unimpeachable. We have succeeded in establishing an if-and-only-if relation between relativizability and something entirely different. Yet, we don't feel satisfied, for seldom has a characterization been advanced that provides as little insight into the phenomenon characterized as this one offers. Why on earth should a deep syntactic property, which relativizability certainly is, be tied to such a superficial phonological attribute as the number of segments in a postposition?

The only merit of characterization (I) may well be that it provides an irrefutable - although rather trivial - example of a valid generalization that is not linguistically significant.

Fortunately, it is possible to restate this characterization in a more palatable form:

Characterization (II):

Morphologically simple postpositions are relativizable. Morphologically complex postpositions are non-relativizable.

This looks somewhat less adhoc than the previous formulation, since it suggests that the characterization may have, after all, a syntactic basis rather than a purely phonological one.

To see that it fits the facts, we must look again at the list of postpositions. The unanalyzability of the relativizable postpositions is clear from simple inspection. Now, as we look at the non-relativizable postpositions, we notice that the great majority of them contain a formative -ren (-re in the case of -(re)kin). According to Azkue's Diccionario Vasco-Espanol-Francés , 1905, (see Vol. I, p.323, under gan), this formative is optional in Roncalese and Souletin, invariably present in High Navarrese, Low Navarrese and Northern Guipúzcoan, and absent in Bizcayan and Southern Guipúzcoan. My own experience indicates that it can be considered optional in the whole of Guipúzcoa, although the Southern area

tends to use it less than the Northern area does. As I mentioned above, I will assume that the formative -ren is always there in the underlying structure, and account for its absence by the operation of a morphophonemic deletion rule.

This formative can be identified with the genitive suffix. It has not only the same phonetic form as the genitive marker, it also has the same morphophonemic behavior. The following table will demonstrate this, using the lexical items lan 'work', idi 'ox', alaba 'daughter', ni 'I', i 'you (familiar), gu 'we', and the postposition -(ren)gatik 'because of'. All other postpositions beginning with -ren (and also -rekin 'with') behave in exactly the same fashion. For the sake of terminological homogeneity, I will call forms carrying the postposition -(ren)gatik "motive" forms.

The table has three columns. They correspond to what Basque grammarians have called the three "declensions" of the noun: an undetermined declension, a determined singular declension and a determined plural declension.
The undetermined forms can only be used in certain well-defined syntactic environments, e.g., after the adjectival interrogatives zer 'what' and zein 'which': Zein idirengatik kezkatzen zera? ' Because of which ox (or oxen) are you worried?' or: 'Which ox (or oxen) are you worried about?'

As personal pronouns are semantically definite and occur in none of those contexts, I have classified them with the

determined forms, although they lack any overt morphological manifestation of determinedness.

CASE	UNDETERMINED	DETERMINED	DETERMINED PLURAL
Absolutive	lan	lana	lanak
Genitive	lanen	lanaren	lanen
Motive	lanengatik	lanarengatik	lanengatik
Absolutive	idi	idia	idiak
Genitive	idiren	idiaren	idien
Motive	idirengatik	idiarengatik	idiengatik
Absolutive	alaba	alaba	alabak
Genitive	alabaren	alabaren	alaben
Motive	alabarengatik	alabarengatik	alabengatik
Absolutive	- - - -	ni	- - - -
Genitive	- - - -	nere	- - - -
Motive	- - - -	neregatik	- - - -
Absolutive	- - - -	i	- - - -
Genitive	- - - -	ire	- - - -
Motive	- - - -	iregatik	- - - -
Absolutive	- - - -	- - - -	gu
Genitive	- - - -	- - - -	gure
Motive	- - - -	- - - -	guregatik

I have not indicated here the y - glide, which many varieties of Basque in Guipúzcoa and elsewhere will insert between i and a low vowel, giving idiya, idiyen instead of idia, idien. (For the details of this rule and other similar rules, see my paper"Vowel Interaction in Bizcayan Basque", Fontes Linguae Vasconum, 2 (1970), p.149-167).

Our table shows that in all instances, the motive has the form of the genitive followed by the suffix -gatik. Therefore, the formative -ren in motive and other forms and the genitive marker -ren share exactly the same irregular behavior. It can be argued, as I did in my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?" (Fontes Linguae Vasconum 1 (1969), 319-351) (page 337-338), that the different forms of the genitive of nouns in the three declensions can all be accounted for by regular phonological processes. Thus, I derived a form like idien 'of the oxen' from an underlying idi-a-g-ren, where a is an article, g a plural marker and ren the genitive suffix. The synchronic validity of this derivation is not beyond question, but even if it is correct, it provides no account of the way in which the genitive suffix combines with personal pronouns. As the table shows, the genitives of the pronouns ni 'I', i 'you' and gu 'we' are nere, ire and gure, not the expected forms *niren, *iren and *guen . This is a true irregularity, an irregularity shared by the genitive marker and a whole set of other suffixes.

The conclusion, then, that these other suffixes are based on the genitive is obvious and has been drawn explicitly by most native grammarians. So, e.g., I.M. Omaechevarria in his work Euskera: "Etxearentzat, etxearengatik y aun etxearekin se pueden considerar como derivaciones del posesivo etxearen." (Op. Cit. p.]3) (Etxearentzat ('for the house'), etxearengatik ('because of the house') and even etxearekin=('with the house') can be considered as forms derived from the possessive etxearen ('of the house')."

It hardly needs to be mentioned that the deletion rule that I have postulated to account for the free variation between idiarengatik and idiagatik, both meaning 'because of the ox', does not delete the phonological sequence ren. Rather, it deletes a token of the genitive marker, no matter what its superficial shape is. Thus, the result of applying it to the form neregatik 'because of me' is not *negatik, but nigatik.

We have still to show the morphological complexity of the postpositions -rontz=and -raiño.
As a start, we note that -rontz and -raiño have a common semantic element: 'goal-directed motion'. To this common element, -rontz adds the notion that the goal is not necessarily intended to be achieved, and -raiño adds the notion of the attainment of the goal despite possible contrary expectations. The morphological analysis matches the semantic analysis rather nicely: -rontz < -ra + untz, like -ganontz < -gana + untz.

Similarly, -raiño < -ra + ño, like -ganaiño < -gana + ño. (The i of raiño is merely orthographical here.)

The suffix -ño has independent existence, for it can also combine with relativized verbal forms. In that case, its value is 'until' when the verb is perfective, and 'as long as' when the verb is durative. Examples are:

(72)a Zaude emen, ama itzultzen daño. (= dan+ño)
'Stay here, until Mother comes back.'

(72)b Zaude emen, euria ari daño.
'Stay here, as long as it is raining.'

In present-day Guipúzcoan, however, this use of -ño is practically obsolete, so that its distribution here is fairly limited: it must follow -ra or -gana.

The formative -ra, which is part of -rontz and -raiño is identical to the postposition -ra, meaning 'to'. This accounts for the motional sense of the two postpositions.

Of the suffix -untz, I.M. Echaide says "hoy no se usa solo"; (Nowadays it is not used by itself). This quote is from his work Tratado de Sufijación (2-nd edition, 1931) page 188. I may add that there is no evidence that it was ever used by itself. We always find it only in combination with -ra or -gana. Yet, in spite of its limited distribution, Echaide con-

siders -untz a suffix.

The form -rontz that I have been using is a typically Guipúzcoan form of the suffix. There are dialectal variants: -runtz (Bizcayan and partly Guipúzcoan), -rantz Bizcayan and North-Western High Navarrese), and, furthermore, some forms in which the -n- has been lost: -rutz (Bizcayan) and -raz (Roncalese). The existence of these forms provides indirect justification for our analysis, as they can all be derived from the form -rauntz by means of well-attested diachronic developments. In this connection, see L. Michelena, Fonética Histórica Vasca ; for au > a see section 4.5., for au > o and au > u see section 4.6.

Restricting himself to the form -rantz of his native speech, N. Ormaetxea (See R.M. de Azkue, Morfología Vasca, I §504) has proposed an etymology for -antz, which consists in identifying it with a noun antz that means 'appearance', 'likeness'. Without any evidence, Ormaetxea postulates that antz also meant 'face', and then invokes parallels from the neighbouring Romance languages to explain the role of the noun for 'face' in a postposition meaning 'toward'. He quotes High Aragonese cara al monte for 'toward the mountain', and Castillian hacia el monte, where hacia derives from an older form faze a, with faze meaning 'face'. (Cf. J. Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua Castellana, II P. 864) For Ormaetxea, then, the postpositional phrase

mendirantz 'toward the mountain' derives from mendira antz '(with) the face to the mountain'.

Although Azkue seems to approve of this etymology, I have my reservations, and if I were forced to speculate along the lines opened up by Ormaetxea, I would prefer to interpret mendira antz as 'like to the mountain', 'as if to the mountain' (not necessarily counterfactual), noting that a person who goes toward the mountain acts in very much the same way as if he were going to it.

To put it more simply, there is an obvious similarity between going "to" the mountain and going "toward" the mountain: hence the form -ra antz. LIKE TO, where LIKE is to be interpreted as a reflexive predicate, is an appropriate paraphrase for -rantz; moreover, -antz is attested as a suffix in just the required meaning:

gorri 'red' ; gorrantz 'reddish' (i.e. 'like red but not
ori 'yellow' ; orantz 'yellowish', necessarily red)
zuri 'white' ; zurantz 'whitish',
gazi 'salted' ; gaziantz 'slightly salted',
otz 'cold' ; otzantz 'a little chilly'.

This use of -antz is no longer productive or even common. It is known only in scattered localities in Guipúzcoa, Bizcaya and Low-Navarra. (Cf. R.M de Azkue, Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés, I, page 47, and P. Múgica, Diccionario Castellano-Vasco, s.v. rojizo, amarillento, blanquecino, saladillo)

While I do deem this etymology a little more plausible than the one Ormaetxea offered, I do not endorse either of them, if only because they fail to account for the dialectal variants -rontz, -runtz. These point to an older form -rauntz, where -untz remains of unknown origin.

Nor, of course, are we interested in etymology here. What we have to establish is the synchronic complexity of the postpositions -rontz and -raiño. We have to show that these postpositions can be further analysed in a way psychologically real to the native speaker.

It is already clear from the preceding discussion that -ra and -rontz (or -raiño) are not unrelated elements in the language. To start with, the shape of the morphemes and the dialectal variants adduced earlier strongly suggest a morphological relationship between -ra and -rontz.
They are related semantically in that they both contain the notion "goal-directed motion".
They are also syntactically related in that any grammatical sentence remains grammatical when -rontz is substituted for by -ra. This is a one-sided distributional relation; its converse does not hold. Achievement verbs, for example, take -ra but not -rontz:

(73)a Donostira iritxi giñan.
'We reached San Sebastian.'

(Iritxi is an achievement verb, meaning 'reach', 'arrive'.)

(73)b *Donostirontz iritxi giñan.

'*We reached toward San Sebastian.'

(74)a Nekatuta eldu zan etxera.

'He arrived at home tired.'

(Eldu 'arrive', nekatu 'get tired', nekatuta 'tired'.)

(74)b *Nekatuta eldu zan etxerontz.

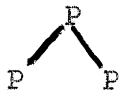
'*He arrived toward home tired.'

Now, from the assumption that -rontz is a modification of -ra, it follows that the distribution of -rontz is included in that of -ra. An analysis, however, that fails to relate -ra and -rontz has no way of accounting for any such distributional relation.

Furthermore, as far as the psychological reality of the relationship goes, what is interesting in Ormaetxea's concern with -rantz is not so much the actual etymology that he proposes, but rather the fact that he, as a native speaker, feels the need to justify an analysis that shows this postposition to be a derivative of the directional -ra

All things considered, I conclude that we are warranted to attribute at least cranberry-status to these postpositions:

Native speakers of Basque feel that -rontz (and similarly -raiño) is -ra + something, like native speakers of English feel that a cranberry is some kind of a berry.

Granted that -rontz and -raiño are morphologically complex, what syntactic surface structure can we assign them? A configuration of the form  would be very unusual,

and has not been needed, to my knowledge, in any syntactic analysis to date. A more plausible assumption is therefore that the structure we have here is the one shown in diagram (2).

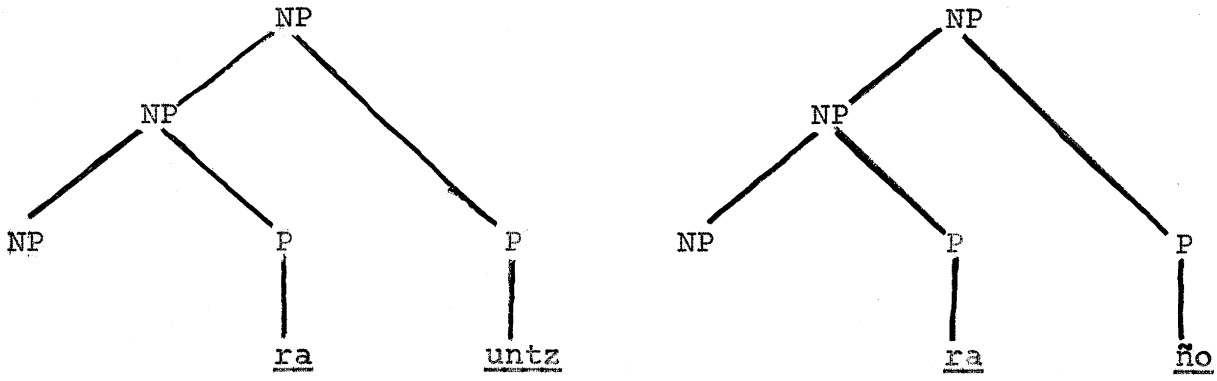


Diagram (2).

The postpositions untz and ño are subject to a constraint which will ensure that they appear only when in construction with a postpositional phrase on the postposition -ra.

Exactly how and where this constraint will be stated I am, at present, unable to ascertain.

Whether or not diagram (2) gives an adequate picture of the structure of postpositional phrases with -rontz and -raiño, the morphological complexity, and with it the validity of characterization (II), has been sufficiently established.

Characterization (III) follows directly from the proof of characterization (II) as given above.

Characterization (III):

Postpositions based on the genitive are non-relativizable. Postpositions based on the directional are also non-relativizable. All other postpositions, including the directional -ra itself, are relativizable.

In order to arrive at what I consider to be the most satisfactory characterization of relativizability, characterization (IV), we must find out more about the syntactic structure of the non-relativizable postpositions that are based on the genitive.

Since such postpositional phrases contain the genitive morpheme, it is natural to suppose that they are also syntactically speaking, genitive constructions. To investigate this possibility, we will compare a genitive construction such as apaizaren liburutik 'from the book of the priest' with a postpositional phrase such as apaizarengatik 'because of the priest'.

A reasonable structure for apaizaren liburutik is shown in diagram (3). Postulating the exact same structure for apaizarengatik we obtain diagram (4).

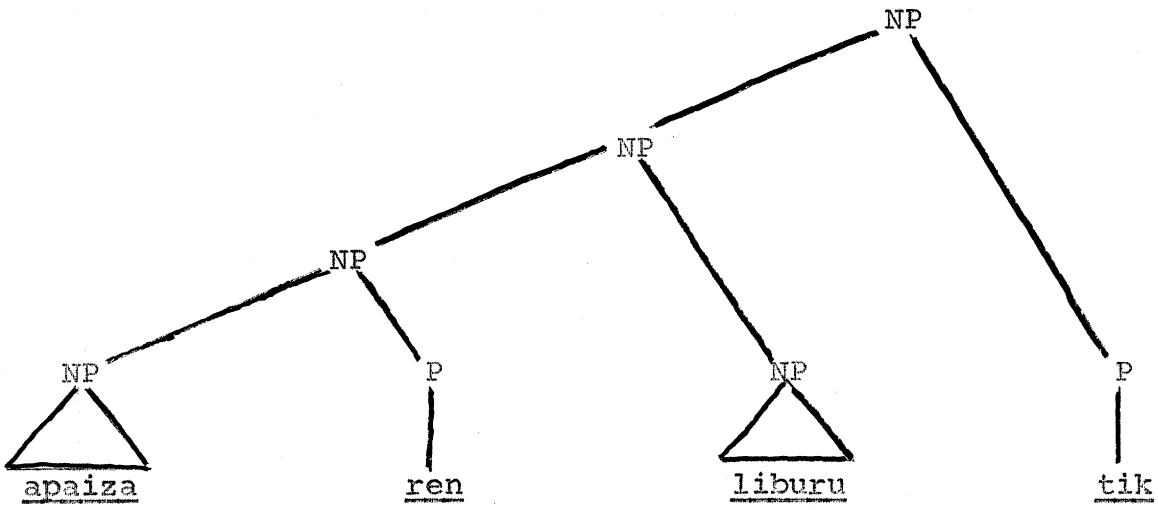


Diagram (3).

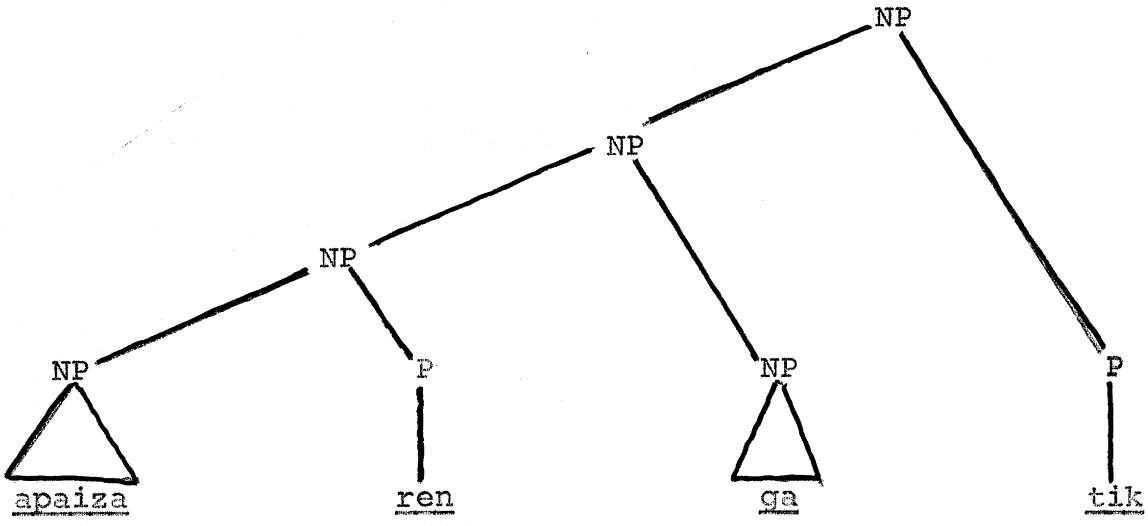


Diagram (4).

Diagram (4) as a representation of apaizarengatik 'because of the priest' is not without some justification. There is a noun gai 'matter' and the Bizcayan form of gatik is -gaitik. All by itself, the postposition -tik can, in certain contexts, mean 'because of' as in:

(75)a Ura etortzetik ni etxean gelditu nintzan.
'Because of his coming, I stayed at home.'

(75)b Onera etorri naizenetik Donostira joango naiz.
'Since I have come here, I will go to San Sebastian.

(Both examples have been taken from D.J. de Alzo, Estudios sobre el Euskera hablado (p.23), who lists por 'because' among the possible meanings of the postposition -tik.)

Thus, deriving apaizarengatik 'because of the priest' from apaizaren gaitik 'from the matter of the priest' does not seem altogether unreasonable.

Of course, for a postpositional phrase like apaizarentzat 'for the priest', which is also a non-relativizable postposition based on the genitive, there is no justification of this sort for an analysis like that given in diagram (4).

In fact, even for apaizarengatik, the analysis of diagram (4) cannot stand. There are significant syntactic differences between genitive constructions such as apaizaren liburutik

and complex postpositional phrases such as apaizarengatik which demolish the credibility of diagram (4).

To start with,the segmentation of gatik into ga(i) and tik may or may not be correct from an etymological point of view, it is totally unjustifiable from a synchronic point of view. There is no noun ga, and the second syllable of gatik is not a morpheme, in particular it is not the postposition -tik. Two observations are sufficient to show this:

From Apaizaren liburutik eta ijitoaren liburutik 'from the book of the priest and from the book of the gypsy' we can derive Apaizaren liburu eta ijitoaren liburutik 'from the book of the priest and the book of the gypsy', in which the postposition -tik attaches to the whole conjoined noun phrase: (Apaizaren liburu ta ijitoaren liburu)tik.

But, from Apaizarengatik eta ijitoarengatik 'because of the priest and because of the gypsy' we never get a phrase like *Apaizarenga ta Ijitoarengatik. This, now, could simply be dismissed as a consequence of the fact that there is no surface noun ga. The following observation is therefore more important.

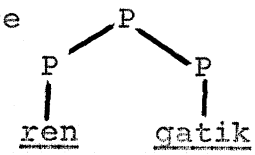
In Apaizaren liburutik eta ijitoaren liburutik 'from the book of the priest and from the book of the gypsy' we can pronominalize the second occurrence of the noun liburu 'book' and derive: Apaizaren liburutik eta ijitoarenetik 'from the book of the priest and from the one of the gypsy'.

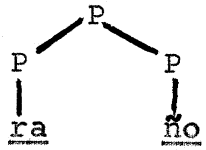
But from Apaizarengatik eta ijitoarengatik we cannot derive *Apaizarengatik eta ijitoarenetik by pronominalization of the second occurrence of ga.

We must thus conclude that gatik is a single constituent. It is also clear that gatik is not a noun phrase; it has none of the properties of noun phrases: it cannot take determiners, postpositions or adjectives etc.
Moreover, the whole construction apaizarengatik 'because of the priest' behaves quite differently from a genitive construction:

Alongside Apaizaren liburua eta ijitoaren liburua 'the book of the priest and the book of the gypsy', we also have Apaizaren eta ijitoaren liburua 'the book of the priest and of the gypsy'.
But alongside Apaizarengatik eta ijitoarengatik 'because of the priest and because of the gypsy' we do not have *Apaizaren eta ijitoarengatik 'because of the priest and of the gypsy'.

Since the postpositional phrase apaizarengatik acts in no way like a genitive construction, I conclude that it can not be analyzed like one, in spite of the presence of the genitive marker ren. Ren and gatik are both single postpositions and no further structure can be justified at the level that I am working on. What then is the structure of apaizarengatik?

We can discard the structure  on the same ground

as we discarded the structure  and we are left

with only one possibility: the one shown in diagram (5).

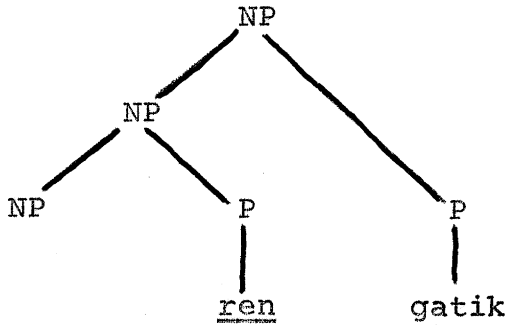


Diagram (5).

Gatik requires the presence of the postposition ren, and it requires it to occur in precisely the above configuration, although, as we have seen, Possessive Deletion may remove it from the surface structure. This explains why *Apaizaren eta ijitoarengatik (see page 121) is impossible, since the structure of this conjoined noun phrase, shown in diagram (6), does not satisfy the requirement because of the intervening circled NP.

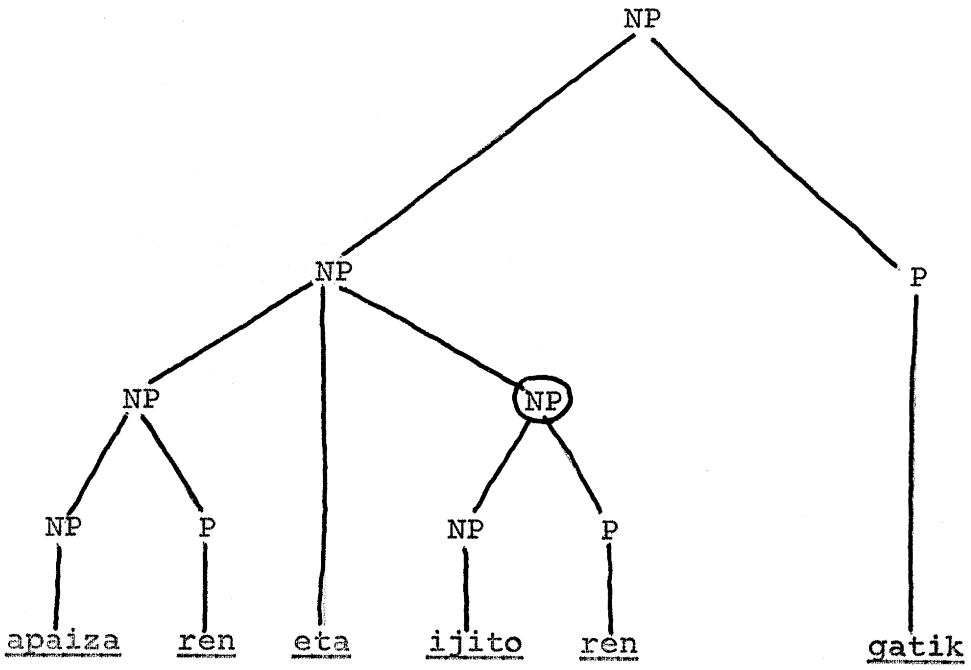
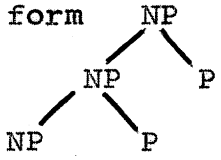
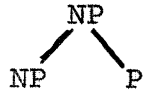


Diagram (6).

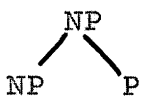
Noting the identity in structure between diagram (2) and diagram (5), which together take care of all non-relativizable postpositions, we have arrived at characterization (IV), basically a restatement of characterization (II) in syntactic terms.

Characterization (IV):

Relativization cannot apply to postpositional phrases of the form  but only to those of the form  .

This can be formulated in an even simpler way:

Characterization (IV)a:

Only postpositional phrases of the form  where

the lower of the two NP's does not immediately dominate a P can undergo relativization.

There are two special cases that our characterizations do not cover: Special case (A) and special case (B).

Special case (A):

When the postposition on the postcedent (i.e. the head noun phrase) is the same as the underlying postposition on the procedent (i.e. the deleted lower noun phrase), relativization is always possible, even when that postposition is otherwise non-relativizable.

This, of course, was the reason why we added a special provision against just this situation in our definition of relativizable postposition on page 86. Had we not done that, all postpositions would, strictly speaking, be relativizable.

We have seen that -(<u>re</u>)<u>kin</u> 'with' is a non-relativizable postposition. Accordingly, (76)a is impossible. Unexpectedly, however, (76)b is grammatical:

(76)a *Mendian ibili naizen emakumea ederra da.
'The woman with whom I have walked in the mountains is beautiful.'

(76)b Mendian ibili naizen emakumearekin ezkondu nai det.
'I want to marry [with] the woman with whom I have walked in the mountains.'

Diego J. de Alzo in his work Estudios sobre el Euskera hablado (p.81) cites an example of just this type:

(77) Joan naizen gizonekin eraman det.
'I have suffered with the men with whom I have gone.'

The matrix sentence is here:

(77)a Gizonekin eraman det.
'I have suffered with the men.'

The constituent sentence is:

(77)b Gizonekin joan naiz.
'I have gone with the men.'

Normally, a noun phrase carrying the postposition -(re)kin cannot be a procedent for a well-formed relative clause.

But because the postcedent carries the same postposition, relativization goes through according to special case (A).

A last example of this special case involves the non-relativizable postposition -(ren)gatik 'because of'.

(78)a *Pello'k bere burua il zuen emakumea ederra da.
'The woman because of whom Pello killed himself is beautiful.'

(78)b Pello'k bere burua il zuen emakumearengatik Andres'ek ere bere burua il nai du.
'Andres too wants to kill himself because of the woman because of whom Pello killed himself.'

Special case (A) provides an argument for deriving relative clauses from coordinate sentences. To see why, let us consider the conjoined sentence (78)c.

(78)c Pello'k emakumearengatik bere burua il zuen eta Andres'ek ere emakumearengatik bere burua il nai du.
'Pello killed himself because of the woman and Andres too wants to kill himself because of the woman.'

In this sentence, there is complete identity in structure between the two occurrences of the noun phrase emakumearen-

gatik 'because of the woman'. If something like (78)c underlies (78)b, and if the Structural Description of Relative NP Deletion is able to refer to a sufficiently early stage in the derivation, the complete identity between the two occurrences of emakumearengatik will allow the transformation to apply, taking for the identical noun phrases in its Structural Description the noun phrases emakumea together with their postpositions -rengatik.

(Cf. p.50)

In a structure like that of diagram (1), however, there can be no structural identity between the two occurrences of emakumearengatik, since the postposition -rengatik on the second occurrence of emakumea will modify the whole relative clause construction Pello'k (emakumearengatik) bere burua il zuen emakumea rather than just the noun phrase emakumea. In other words, in the structure given in diagram (1), the topmost NP may have a postposition associated with it, but the two coreferential noun phrases NP_i must be noun phrases that do not immediately dominate a non-zero postposition, for, otherwise, they could not be structurally identical.

As this is the only argument specific to Basque that I have been able to find for deriving relative clauses from conjoined sentences,[9] and as the details of such a derivation are rather unclear, I will not pursue this matter any further.

I now leave special case (A) and pass on to special case (B).

Special case (B):

When the head noun of a relative clause is "semantically related" to a non-relativizable postposition, relativization on this postposition is possible. An example will make clear what I mean by "semantically related":

(79)a Arrazoi onengatik nere burua il nai nuen.
'For this reason I wanted to kill myself.'

(79)b Nere burua il nai nuen arrazoiaz ez naiz gogoratzen.
'I don't remember the reason why I wanted to kill myself.'

Here the head noun of the relative clause, arrazoi 'reason', is semantically related to the postposition (ren)gatik . (79)b, then, is a good sentence, although (79)a shows that the procedent arrazoi must have had the non-relativizable postposition (ren)gatik in the constituent sentence. I have no explanation to offer for this fact.

Ignoring the complications introduced by special cases (A) and (B), we can state the transformation of Relative NP Deletion as follows:

W	-	[NP	[S	X	-	NP	-	(P)	-	Y	-	V	] S	-	COMP	-	NP	-	(P)	] NP	-	Z
1				2		3		4		5		6			7		8		9			10
1				2		Ø		Ø		5		6			7		8		9			10

Conditions: 1). 3 = 8 ,

2). 3 does not immediately dominate a P.

3). 5 does not begin with a P.

Conditions 2). and 3). are merely there to ensure that characterization (IV)a is satisfied, so that relativization is possible.

The variable Y in the Structural Description is an essential variable. Relativization in Basque, as in English, can go indefinitely far down in the tree:

(80) Zoroa dala guztiak dakitela esan zizutela idatzi zenidala uste dedan ijitoak musu eman zidan.
'The gypsy I believe you wrote me they told you everybody knows is crazy kissed me.'

The suffix -la that we find here added to the finite verb forms da '(he) is', dakite '(they) know', zizuten '(they) had (to you)', zenidan '(you) had (to me)' is comparable in function to the English complementizer that. Unlike its English counterpart, however, -la never occurs in the function of a relative marker. The relativizer is always -n, as in uste dedan 'who I believe', or -neko (see pages 23-24), an extended version of -n.

Diagram (7) pictures the structure of sentence (80) immediately before Relative NP Deletion applies.

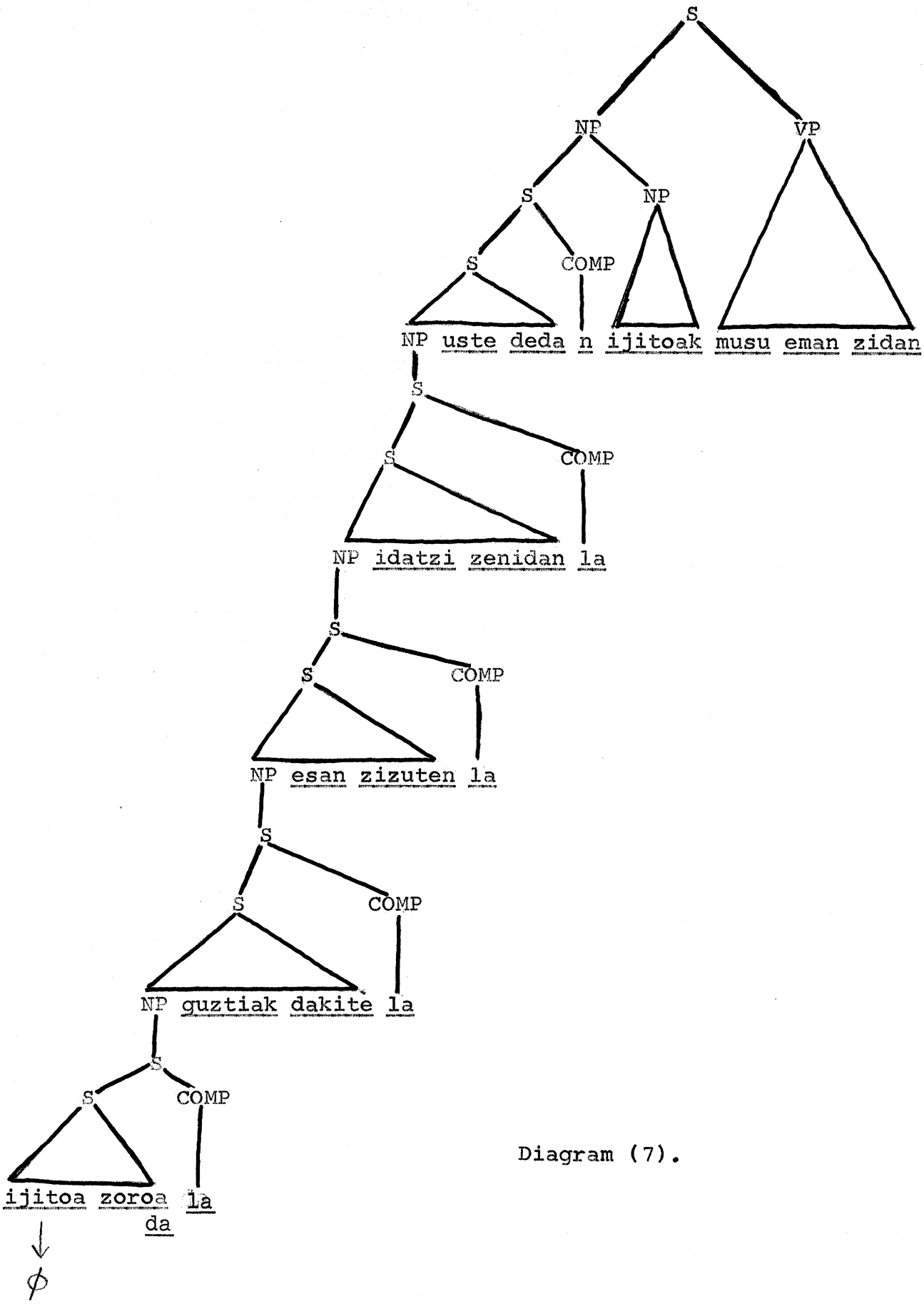

S
NP
VP
S
NP
S
COMP
NP uste deda n ijitoak musu eman zidan
S
S
COMP
NP idatzi zenidan la
S
S
COMP
NP esan zizuten la
S
S
COMP
NP guztiak dakite la
S
S
COMP
ijitoa zoroa la
da
↓
φ

Diagram (7).

THE ISLAND CONSTRAINTS.

As sentence (80) demonstrates, when a procedent has a relativizable postposition, the clause containing the postcedent need not be the next higher clause in order for relativization to be possible. Sentence (80) was an extreme example of this kind of situation; a few more examples will be useful to illustrate the kind of relative clause constructions that are grammatical and also easily accepted -and sometimes used - by native speakers.

(81)a Ara non dezuten gaur etorriko ez zala ziozuten gizona!
(From I Lopez Mendizabal, Manual de Conversación, p.353)
'There is the man who you said would not come today!'

(81)b Franco'ren alde dala dakigun legegizonak zurekin itz egin nai du.
"The lawyer who we know is on Franco's side wants to talk to you.'

(81)c Zeukan guztia ostu ziotela aitak esan zigun esnekaria alargun aberats batekin ezkontzera doa.
'The milkman Father told us they had stolen all he had from, is going to marry a rich widow.'

(81)d Geienik etxeko andrea naizela iruditzen zaidan tokia oillotegia da.
'The place where it seems to me that I am most the lady

of the house is the chicken-run.'

(81)e Etorri ez zitezela nai nukean gizon asko etorri ziran.
'*Many people came who I would have liked that would not come.'

(81)f Franco'ren alde ote dan ez dakidan apaiz batek zure galdera egin du.
'*A priest who I do not know if he is on Franco's side has asked for you.'

At times, the English version of such sentences is extremely awkward or even ungrammatical; yet the Basque sentences are quite natural and easily understood by any native speaker of the Guipúzcoan dialect.

It is not possible to relativize when the procedent is in a coordinate structure. The Coordinate Structure Constraint as formulated by J.R. Ross (Constraints on Variables in Syntax, 1967, §4.2) holds for Basque. Examples:

Take the conjoined sentence (82):

(82) Andres'i dirua prestatu nion eta bere semea Ameriketara zijoan.
'I lent Andres money and his son went to the Americas.'

This sentence cannot be turned into a relative clause on dirua 'the money'.

(82)a *Andres'i prestatu nion eta bere semea Ameriketara zijoan dirua bear det.

'*I need the money that I lent Andres and his son went to the Americas.'

It is not possible either to relativize out of conjoined structures other than sentences. Procedents can never be conjoined with other noun phrases, although the procedent as a whole may be a conjoined noun phrase. From a constituent sentence like (83)a and a matrix sentence like (83)b, there can be no relative clause on the procedent Zamudio : (83)c is ungrammatical.

(83)a Aitak Zamudio'n eta Bilbo'n igaro zuen gaztaroa.

'My father spent his boyhood in Zamudio and in Bilbao.'

(83)b Aitak Zamudio'n bezela itz egin zuen.

'My father talked like (they do) in Zamudio.'

(83)c *Aitak gaztaroa eta Bilbo'n igaro zuen Zamudio'n bezela itz egin zuen.'

'*My father talked like in Zamudio, where and in Bilbao he spent his boyhood.'

Inverting the two conjuncts does not make the sentence any better:

(83)d *Aitak gaztaroa Bilbo'n eta igaro zuen Zamudio'n bezela itz egin zuen.

'*My father talked like in Zamudio, in Bilbao and where he spent his boyhood.'

The reason I gave this particular example is that the native Basque grammarian R.M. de Azkue does allow himself to violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint in Spanish, in a sentence with the meaning of (83)c:

(83) Mi padre, aunque nació en Lekeitio, hablaba como en Zamudio, donde y en Bilbao pasó su adolescencia. (Azkue, Morfología Vasca, I, p.300, note (3))

'My father, though he was born in Lekeitio, talked like in Zamudio, where and in Bilbao he spent his boyhood.'

Although Azkue was an absolutely fluent speaker of Spanish and has composed dozens of volumes in that tongue, his native Basque may have produced some occasional interference in his practically native command of Spanish. But how can his Basque substratum be responsible for this violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, which we have seen is just as operative in Basque as in Spanish?

I think the answer to this puzzle is that Spanish relative clauses should not be compared to Basque relative clauses, to which they bear little or no similarity in surface structure, but rather to Basque Wh-questions. Spanish relative clauses contain relative pronouns, which have the same form as the interrogative pronouns. These relative pronouns are also distributionally similar to the interrogative pronouns: they both tend to take the position directly in front of the verb. This, of course, is exactly the position of the interrogative pronouns in Basque: since an interrogative word is ipso facto focus in its sentence, it has to occupy focus position, that is, the position immediately preceding the verb.

Therefore, if, for some individual speaker, the syntactic system of Basque is going to affect the syntax of Spanish in this domain, we should not be surprised if Spanish relative clauses are influenced by Basque Wh-questions; the differences in structure between Spanish relative clauses and Basque relative clauses being too fundamental for any influencing one way or the other to be possible.

Now, as was mentioned on page 54, Basque Wh-questions do not undergo Wh-movement, and, hence, are not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint. The following are all perfectly natural Basque sentences:

(84)a Atzo aita ta zein joan ziran Donosti'ra?

'Yesterday who went to San Sebastian with Father?'

Lit.: Yesterday, Father and who went to San Sebastian?'

(84)b Berrogei ta zenbat urte dituzu?

'*You are forty and how many years old?'

(84)c Apaizak txapela ta zer geiago galdu zituen Bayona'n?

'What besides his beret did the priest lose in Bayonne?'

Lit.: The priest lost his beret and what else in Bayonne?

Only the rightmost constituent of a conjoint noun phrase can be questioned; perhaps because of the constraint that restricts interrogative words to the position immediately in front of the verb. Thus, the following sentences are ungrammatical:

(85)a *Atzo zein eta aita joan ziran Donostira?

'*Yesterday who and Father went to San Sebastian?'

(85)b *Zenbat eta berrogei urte dituzu?

'*You are how many and forty years old?'

(85)c *Apaizak zer eta txapela galdu zituen Bayona'n?

'*The priest lost what and his beret in Bayonne?'

Sentences (86)a, (86)b and (86)c have a surface structure similar to (85)a, (85)b and (85)c but are characterized by a highly typical intonation and have meanings quite different from those of (84)a, (84)b and (84)c.

(86)a Atzo zein eta aita joan zan Donosti'ra!
'Yesterday, Father, of all people, went to San Sebastian!'

(86)b Zenbat eta berrogei urte dituzu!
'How absolutely remarkable that you are 40 years old!'

(86)c Apaizak zer eta txapela galdu zuen Bayona'n!
'The priest lost his beret, of all things, in Bayonne!'

These sentences do not contain true conjoined noun phrases, as can be seen e.g. from the verb form zan in (86)a which is marked for a singular subject, while the corresponding form in (84)a ziran is marked for a plural subject. Likewise, the verb form zuen in (86)c indicates a singular direct object, while the corresponding verb form in (84)c zituen indicates a plural direct object.

I take it that these sentences are derived by a form of conjunction reduction applied to a question - answer pair, such as those given in (87)a, (87)b and (87)c, which I consider likely sources for (86)a, (86)b and (86)c.

(87)a Atzo zein joan zan Donostira? Atzo aita joan zan Donostira.

'Who went to San Sebastian yesterday? Father went to San Sebastian yesterday.'

(87)b Zenbat urte dituzu? Berrogei urte dituzu.

'How old are you? You are forty years old.'

(87)c Apaizak zer galdu zuen Bayona'n? Apaizak txapela galdu zuen Bayona'n.

'What did the priest lose in Bayonne? The priest lost his beret in Bayonne.'

Conjunction reduction can apply to these pairs, apparently, because through the absence of Wh-movement, the surface structures of the question and the answer match each other exactly.

The peculiar exclamative force of (86)a, (86)b and (86)c can also be explained from (87)a, (87)b and (87)c. In the latter, the speaker provides an answer to his own question, immediately following this question. This is a typical rhetoric device, the effect of which strikes me as quite similar to the effect provoked by (86)a, (86)b and (86)c.

To return now to the matter at hand, the following question is grammatical in Basque:

(88) Aitak Bilbo'n eta nun igaro zuen gaztaroa?
'Where besides Bilbao did Father spend his boyhood?'
Lit.: Where and in Bilbao did Father spend his boyhood?

This fact, then, explains in my opinion Azkue's use of the strange construction ... Zamudio, donde y en Bilbao pasó su adolescencia '... Zamudio, where and in Bilbao he spent his boyhood.'

Relativization in Basque is not possible out of a complex noun phrase. The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint, as given by J.R. Ross (Constraints on Variables in Syntax, §4.1.) holds for Basque. It covers two cases: (1) no relativization out of a relative clause, and (2) no relativization out of a complement clause on a noun. Thus we do not get:

(89)a *Bost aldiz irakurri duen apaiz bat ezagutzen dedan liburua irakurri nai det nik ere.
'*I, too, want to read the book that I know a priest who read five times.'

(89)b *Eramaten zuen emakume bat ikusi nuen soiñekoa emazteak erosi nai du.
'*My wife wants to buy the dress that I saw a woman who wore.'

And with a sentential complement on a noun:

(89)c *Burutik egiña dalako seiñalea ikusi dedan poliziak jo egin nau oso gogor.
'*The policeman who I saw a sign that was insane has beaten me very badly.'

We do get, however:

(89)d Burutik egiña dalako ustean nagoen poliziak jo egin nau.
'*The policeman who I am of the opinion that is insane has beaten me.'

Here too we have a case of a sentential complement on a noun, namely uste 'opinion','belief', as evidenced by the definite locative ending -an on uste and by the presence of the suffix -ko which serves to connect the whole preceding clause together with its complementizer la to the governing noun uste: burutik egiña da-la-ko uste-an, literally, 'in the belief of that he is insane'.
Yet, sentence (89)d is all right. The reason that the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint is relaxed here is probably that the expression ustean egon 'be of the opinion', which is used in (89)d, is equivalent to uste izan 'to believe' (Literally, 'have belief'). Uste in uste izan no longer take complements as nouns do, but only as verbs do: Burutik egiña dala uste det. 'I believe that he is insane.'

Ustean egon, being semantically equivalent to uste izan, is then allowed to enter into the same syntactic constructions that the latter enters into, despite the presence of the suffix -ko.

Questioning of a constituent inside a complex Noun Phras is, of course, possible, since no movement is involved. Examples of such questions are:

(90)a Zeiñekin zijoan emakumea ikusi zenduen?
'You saw a woman who went with whom?'

(90)b Zeiñen adiskidea dan ijitoa ikusi dezu?
'You have seen a gypsy who is whose friend?'

(90)c Nola jantzita zegoen apaiza ikusi dezu?
You have seen a priest who was dressed how?'

Such sentences are especially appropriate as echo questions. But, unlike their English counterparts, the Basque questions of (90)a, (90)b and (90)c are not restricted to such a function.

The Sentential Subject Constraint does not hold for Basque:

(91)a Amorratuak dirala bixtan dagoen zakur oiekin ez det ibili nai.
'I don't want to walk with those dogs that it is obvious

are rabid.'

(91)b Pello'k irabaztea gerta diteken diru guztia aitari emango dio.
'Pello will give Father all the money that it may happen that he earns.'

In the English versions of these two sentences Extraposition has applied to the sentential subjects. In Basque, however, it has not. There is no extraposition in Basque, apart from the regular scrambling of sentence constituents. Yet (91)a and (91)b are fully grammatical.

STACKED RELATIVE CLAUSES:

There are still a few topics that I want to discuss in this section on relativizability. The first of those is the issue of stacked relative clauses.

When the noun phrase relativized is itself a relative clause construction, the result is a stacked relative clause. Native speakers differ in their judgements on the acceptability of some of these sentences. Spontaneous examples are occasionally heard and can be found in texts as well. This example is probably acceptable to everyone:

(92)a Irakurri ditugun idatzi zituen liburu batzuek oso interesgarriak dira.
'Some books that he wrote that we have read are very interesting.'

Example (92)b occurred in an improvised comment made by the Basque academician Zelata during a session of the Basque Academy in 1959:

(92)b Eta au esaten det urte asko daramazkidalako euskal aldizkari zabaltzen eta askotan aurkitu naizelako euskaltzale ta euskaltzale ez diran euskera irakurtzeko zaletasuna duten irakurleekin.

(Transcribed in Euskera 5 (1960) page 140)

'And I say this because I have been distributing Basque magazines for many years, and because I have often met readers who like to read Basque who are Bascophile, and who are not Bascophile.'

As this example is a little too complicated to discuss, (the editor of Euskera stigmatized it with a sic) I have constructed a slightly simpler example which has exactly the same structure as far as the stacking of relative clauses is concerned. The example clearly shows the difficulty of understanding that some of these sentences present.

(92)c Askotan arkitu naiz baserritarrak diran eta baserritarrak ez diran beientzako Fanderiko pentsuak onenak dirala dioten gizonekin.

'I have often met men who say that Fanderi's fodder is the best for cows, who are farmers and who are not farmers.'

Since, normally, relative clauses cannot be separated from their heads (there is no extraposition of relative clauses in Basque), there is a strong tendency to interpret the clause baserritarrak diran eta baserritarrak ez diran 'who are farmers and who are not farmers' as a relative clause on bei 'cow'. A heavy pause between ... ez diran and beientzako 'for the cows' will help arrive at the correct interpretation.

The upshot of this seems to be that stacked relative clauses are grammatical in Basque, but that many speakers have a stylistic constraint that rules out as unacceptable any sentence containing a relative clause that immediately precedes a noun phrase that is not its head. For such speakers, (92)a is acceptable, but (92)b and (92)c are not.

RELATIVE CLAUSES ON PROPER NOUNS AND NON-RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES:

Another topic that I must touch upon in this section is that of relative clauses on proper nouns. Many Basque grammar books contain statements to the effect that relative clauses on proper nouns are not allowed. F.I. de Lardizabal, for instance, in his important work of 1856 Gramática Vascongada makes the following claim (page 60):

"Cuando el nombre que viene con relativa de persona que hace, es nombre proprio de hombre o muger, no se hace en Vascuence la oración por relativo, sino por otros modos equivalentes..."

"When the noun that carries a relative clause of the personal agent type is a proper name of a man or woman, in Basque, the sentence will not be constructed as a relative clause, but put in some other equivalent form..."

In his book Sintaxis del Idioma Euskaro (San Sebastian, 1912), I.M. Echaide writes: (page 55)

"ADVERTENCIA IMPORTANTE. - Los nombres proprios de persona nunca van acompañados del relativo, sino que se acude a otro giro para expresar la idea en cuestión. Ej.: Supongamos que tenemos que traducir la frase:

Pedro, que tiene tanto dinero, quiere más.

Por medio del relativo se diría:

(Orrenbeste diru due)n Pedro-k geyago nai du.

Pero, como llevamos dicho, esto no se usa; he aqui algunos giros que se pueden usar en este caso para sustituir al relativo:

Pedrok orrenbeste diruba dauka, bañan geyago nai du =
'Pedro tiene tanto dinero, pero quiere más.

Pedrok orenbeste diruba izan arren, geyago nai du =
' Aunque Pedro tiene tanto dinero, quiere más.

Pedro oso dirutsuba da, bañan diru geyago nai du =
'Pedro es muy adinerado, pero quiere más dinero.

Etc., etc."

"IMPORTANT NOTICE: Proper nouns referring to persons never go with relative clauses, rather, to express the idea in question other locutions must be resorted to. Ex.: Suppose we have to

translate the sentence:

Pedro, who has so much money, wants more.

By means of a relative clause, one would say:

(Orrenbeste diru due)n Pedro'k geiago nai du.

But, as we have already said, this is not used; here are a few locutions that can be used in this case to substitute for the relative clause:

Pedro'k orrenbeste dirua dauka, baiñan geiago nai du. =
'Pedro has so much money, but he wants more.'

Pedro'k orrenbeste dirua izan arren, geiago nai du.
'Pedro, though having so much money, wants more.'

Pedro oso dirutsua da, baiñan diru geiago nai du.
'Pedro is very wealthy, but he wants more money.'

Etc,, etc. "

Echaide, although at one time he became president of the Basque Academy, was not a native speaker of Basque. In the preface to the work from which I just quoted, he admits having learned Basque only recently: "luchando con el inconveniente de ser novicio en la materia, pues hace pocos años que aprendio el vascuence." (page 6)

The examples he gave in the paragraph I quoted are nearly identical to the ones Lardizabal used. (E.g., Lardizabal (orthography modernized): Pedro'k ainbeste izanik, zertako nai du geiago? 'Pedro, having so much, why does he want more?)

I suspect therefore that Lardizabal is the source of

Echaide's "Important Notice", so that we do not have here two independent testimonies against the admissibility of relative clauses on proper names of persons.

At any rate, none of my informants objected to (93)a :

(93)a Egunero kilo erdi bat txokolate jaten duen Beobide'tar Pantxika ez da bat ere gizentzen.
'Francisca Beobide, who eats a pound of chocolate every day, does not get fat in the least.'

Moreover, a very reputable text book (I. Lopez Mendizabal, Manual de Conversación) contains the expression (page 222) : Nik asko maite zaitudan Andone, 'Antonia, whom I love very much'.

Lardizabal, but not Echaide, stipulates that the forbidden relative clause must be of the personal agent type, that is, the postcedent must carry the ergative postposition -k. However, (93)b, where that is the case, is no worse than (93)a :

(93)b Egunero kilo erdi bat txokolate jaten duen Beobide'tar Pantxika'k txokolategille batekin ezkondu nai du.
'Francisca Beobide, who eats a pound of chocolate every day, wants to marry a chocolate manufacturer.'

Furthermore, an example comparable to (93)b occurs in the book Oroitzak ta beste ipui asko by B. Iraola Aristiguieta (page 15):

(93)c ... esan zion erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek...
'... Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle, said to him ... '

Relative clauses on proper nouns are, of course, generally non-restrictive. This brings us to the last topic I want to include in this section: What about the distinction between restrictive and appositive relative clauses, so important in the grammar of English and other Indo-European languages?

I can be quite brief here: I am unaware of any syntactic differences in Basque between these two types of relative clauses, except for the obvious universal cooccurrence restrictions between either type of relative and certain types of head noun phrases. In Basque, like everywhere else, a relative clause that modifies a noun phrase with an underlying (i.e. deictic) demonstrative element must be non-restrictive. When certain quantifiers, like guzti 'all' and bakoitz 'each' occur associated with the head noun phrase, the relative clause can only be restrictive. Apart from this, however, my investigations have failed to show any differences in syntactic behavior between the two. In particular, there is no difference in intonation between restrictive and appositive relative clauses in Basque. In this essay we have seen a great many examples of restrictive as well as non-restrictive relative clauses.

This concludes this section on relativizability. We can now go on to section 4.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 3.

Chapter 3 was concerned with constraints on relativizability. No constraints were found on the syntactic function of the postcedent in the matrix sentence, but there are heavy constraints on the syntactic function of the procedent in the constituent sentence. This is probably due to the fact that any postposition that the procedent may have had in the constituent sentence is deleted together with the procedent itself in the process of relativization, so that the surface structure cannot indicate the syntactic function of the procedent in its clause.

Two dialects (i.e. two sets of idiolects) were found with respect to relativization: a rather restrictive dialect that accepts a relative clause only when there is morphological agreement between the procedent and the verb of the relative clause; and a less restrictive dialect, for which I proposed four characterizations of relativizability. Characterization (IV) : Relativization cannot apply to postpositional phrases of the form $\underset{NP}{[}\ \underset{NP}{[}\ NP\ P\ ]\underset{NP}{P}\ ]$, but only to those of the form $\underset{NP}{[}\ NP\ P\ ]\underset{NP}{}$. seems to be the most satisfactory one of all the characterizations consistent with the facts.

Two special cases ((A) and (B)) overriding these characterizations have been noted, but could not be explained.

The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint and the Coordinate Structure Constraint were found to hold, but not so the Sentential Subject Constraint.

Stacked relative clauses are grammatical, though often stylistically very awkward.

No structural differences could be found between restrictive and non-restrictive (appositive) relative clauses.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3.

1). The form naizkizu here, instead of the more common ezazkidazu is an interesting example of what is known as the "solécisme de la Côte". It consists in treating indirect objects morphologically as direct objects: peseta bat zor nazu 'you owe me one peseta' instead of: peseta bat zor didazu 'you owe to me one peseta'. For those innocent of the solecism, the form naizkizu of (25)b does not even exist, since its n- marks the direct object as a first person singular, but its -zki- marks the same direct object as a third person plural. This solecism was already mentioned by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte and it was also discussed by Hugo Schuchardt in his introduction to the new edition of Leiçarraga's New Testament Version (first edition, La Rochelle 1571, new edition, Strassburg 1900) p. LXXXI - there are several instances of the solecism in Leiçarraga's text - and later at much greater length in his article: Zur Kenntnis des Baskischen von Sara, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, No. 1, p. 3 - 39, (see especially p. 13-15).

2). Vocabulary: ezin 'impossible', bizi 'live', emakume 'woman', ere 'also', ez 'not', 'no', nai du '(he)wants(it)'.

3). The contrast here is between dator 'he is coming' and datoz 'they are coming'.

4). The contrast is between darabil 'he is using' and darabilte 'they are using'.

5). The contrast is between dakar 'he is bringing it' and dakarzki 'he is bringing them'.

6). The contrast is between dakarkiot 'I am bringing it to him' and dakarkiet 'I am bringing it to them'.

7). The contrast is between azaldu zaio 'he has appeared to him' and azaldu zaie 'he has appeared to them'.

8). This sentence refers to the current controversy in Basque intellectual circles about whether or not h should be part of the future standard written language. In the three dialects spoken in the Northern Part of the Basque Country (to wit: Labourdin, Low-Navarrese and Souletin) h occurs and is distinctive, but in all other parts of the Basque area h is unknown, even phonetically.

9). As Prof. D.M. Perlmutter has noticed, the reasoning given here is an argument for a derivation in which the procedent and the postcedent originate in separate sentences, but, no inference can be drawn as to the way in which these two sentences are connected to each other, by conjunction, or otherwise.

CHAPTER 4. PRONOMINAL HEADS AND FREE RELATIVES.

Demonstrative pronouns (au 'this', ori 'that, ura 'yon' and their respective plurals auek, oiek, aiek) can function as surface structure heads of relative clauses:

(94)a Eskuan ikusten dizudan ori zer da?
'What is that, which I see in your hand?'

(94)b Eskuan ikusten didazun au bonba da.
'This, which you see in my hand, is a bomb.'

(94)c Arantza'ri eskuan ikusten diogun ura bonba al da?
'Is that, which we see in Arantza's hand, a bomb?'

Demonstrative pronouns can also have human referents, as in:

(95) Berandu etorri dan {au / ori / ura} goseak dago. [1]

'He {here / there / yonder}, who has come late, is hungry.

Personal pronouns (ni 'I', i 'you (fam.)', zu 'you (pol.)', gu 'we', zuek 'you all') cannot function as heads of relative clauses in surface structure, as we already mentioned on page 16. Thus, the following sentences are ungrammatical:

(cf. zere, zeure 'your own') meaning 'you yourself' :

(99)a Nerau goseak nago.
'I am hungry myself.'

(99)b Zerori goseak al zaude?
' Are you hungry yourself?'

Therefore, the demonstrative pronouns in (97)a and (97)b seem to be reductions of the intensive personal pronouns of (99)a and (99)b.

According to I.M. Echaide (Sintaxis del Idioma Euskaro, 32), the intensive personal pronouns appear on the surface just in case the relative clause is based - by virtue of Special case (A) - on a non-relativizable postposition. Let us recall here that for animate noun phrases, and hence for personal pronouns, the only relativizable cases are the absolutive, the ergative, and the dative. Echaide gives the following examples (page 55):

(100)a Malkoak arkitu dituzuten neronengan parrak ere izandu dira.
'In me, in whom you have found tears, there have been laughs too.' 2)

(100)b Malkoak arkitu diran zerorrengan parrak ere izandu dira.
'In you, in whom tears have been found, there have been laughs too.'

(96)a *Berandu etorri naizen ni goseak nago.
'I, who have come late, am hungry.'

(96)b *Berandu etorri zeran zu goseak al zaude?
'Are you, who have come late, hungry?'

Instead of the expected personal pronouns we get the demonstrative ones:

(97)a Berandu etorri naizen au goseak nago.
'I, who have come late, am hungry.'

(97)b Berandu etorri zeran ori goseak al zaude?
'Are you, who have come late, hungry?'

Yet, in general, demonstrative pronouns only allow third person verb forms: (98)a and (98)b are ungrammatical.

(98)a *Au goseak nago.
'*This one am hungry.'

(98)b *Ori goseak al zaude?
'*Are that one hungry?'

But we do get (99)a and (99)b with the intensive personal pronouns nerau (cf. nere 'my') meaning 'I myself' and zerori

The occurrence of the intensive personal pronouns as heads may be explained by our earlier observation (see page 91) that the procedent must be focus in the constituent sentence. Since the intensive forms are the forms pronouns take when they are focussed upon, the procedent will have the form of an intensive personal pronoun. The identity condition obtaining between the procedent and the postcedent, then, will have to be such that it requires, at least in the case of pronouns, that the postcedent be also in the intensive form.

Not just demonstratives, but any determiner can serve as the head of a relative clause in surface structure. In particular, bat 'a', 'one', and -a 'the' can occur as such. E.g.:

(101) Berandu etorri dan bat goseak dago.

This example can be interpreted as either + Specific or - Specific:

(101)a 'One, who has come late, is hungry. (+Specific),

(101)b 'One who has come late is hungry. (-Specific).

And with the definite article -a we have:

(102) Berandu etorri dana goseak dago.

(102)a 'The one who has come late is hungry.' (+Specific),

(102)b ' Who(ever) has come late is hungry.' (-Specific).

(102)b is called a free relative in English grammar. I will call the Basque sentence (102) a free relative, regardless of whether its interpretation is specific or non-specific. Free relatives should not be confused with indirect questions, as C. Leroy Baker in his article "Notes on the Description of English Questions (Foundations of Language 6 (1970) p. 197-219) has warned us. In Basque, there is little danger of confusing them: the surface structures are quite different:

(103)a Ez dakit zuk dakizuna.
'I don't know what you know.'

(103)a contains a free relative: zuk dakizuna 'what you know'. The meaning of the sentence can be paraphrased as 'My knowledge does not include yours".

(103)b Ez dakit zuk zer dakizun.
'I don't know what you know.'

(103)b is an indirect question. zer is the interrogative pronoun 'what', and the -n of dakizun is the Wh-complementizer. The sentence can be paraphrased as 'I have no idea what you know' . This paraphrase is unambiguously a question, apparently because preposition deletion is restricted to questions in these cases. Compare : 'I have no idea of what you know'.

Just in case the surface head of a relative clause is the determiner -a, the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint does not hold. Of course, according to Ross's original formulation, we should not expect it to hold here: "No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation." (J.R. Ross, Constraints on Variables in Syntax, §4.1.3) Certainly the Basque article -a is not a lexical noun. Compare now sentence (104)a with sentence (104)b:

(104)a Beartsuari dirua ematen diona luzaro biziko da.
'Who gives money to the poor will live long.'

(104)b Dirua ematen diona beartsuari luzaro biziko da.
'Who gives money to the poor will live long.'

In (104)b the indirect object noun phrase beartsuari 'to the poor' has been scrambled out of the relative clause.[3] This is not possible when the head of the relative clause is a full noun phrase, as in (105)a, or a demonstrative pronoun, as in (106)a, or an intensive personal pronoun, as in (107)a.

(105)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dion gizona luzaro biziko da.
'The man who gives money to the poor will live long.'

Here we cannot scramble beartsuari out of its clause:

(105)b *Dirua ematen dion gizona beartsuari luzaro biziko da.

(106)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dion ori luzaro biziko da.
'That one there who gives money to the poor will live long'.

(106)b *Dirua ematen dion ori beartsuari luzaro biziko da.

(107)a Beartsuari dirua ematen diozun ori luzaro biziko zera.
'You, who give money to the poor will live long.'

(107)b *Dirua ematen diozun ori beartsuari luzaro biziko zera.

The presence of a case postposition on the determiner a does not interfere with the process:

(108)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dionak bere saria artuko du.
'Who gives money to the poor will receive his reward.'

(108)b Dirua ematen dionak beartsuari bere saria artuko du.
'Who gives money to the poor will receive his reward.'

There are many examples of this type in Leiçarraga's New Testament Version and also in Axular's classic work Gero (Bordeaux, 1643). I will quote just one example from the latter. The interest of the example is that scrambling out of the clause

takes place despite the presence of the dative postposition -ri on the postcedent.

(109)a Egiten derakunari gaizki, zergatik egin behar diogu ongi? (Gero, p. 422, Villasante's edition)
'Towards him who acts badly towards us, why should we act nicely?'

Here the adverb gaizki 'badly' which normally precedes the verb: gaizki egiten derakunari 'to(wards) him who acts badly to(wards) us' has been scrambled to the right of the phrase egiten derakuna 'he who acts towards us'. This phrase carries the dative postposition -ri 'to' (here I have translated it as 'towards', which is more idiomatic in English). Here again, the process could not take place when we have a lexical noun as a postcedent:

(109)b *Egiten derakun gizonari gaizki, zergatik egin behar diogu ongi?

In such a situation, gaizki should occupy its normal position in front of the verb:

(109)c Gaizki egiten derakun gizonari, zergatik egin behar diogu ongi?
'Towards the man who acts badly towards us, why should we act nicely?'

In all the preceding examples, the reference of the free relative clause was generic, or, at least, non-specific. However, this is not a necessary condition for scrambling something out of a free relative clause. In B. Iraola Aristiguieta, Oroitzak ta beste ipui asko (published Tolosa,1962) I found the following example: (page 15)

(110) Ala, batian, nere gantzontzilluak jartzera dijuela, esan zion erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek, egunian bi peseta pagatzen dituenak ardorik gabe: Bañurá al zuaz?
'So, one time, while he was going to put on my underpants, Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle, the one who pays two pesetas a day, not including wine, said to him : Are you going to the bathroom?'

Here the free relative clause is egunian bi peseta pagatzen dituenak 'he who pays two pesetas a day'. The adverbial ardorik gabe 'not including wine' (literally 'without wine') originates as part of this free relative clause. It has been scrambled to the right of pagatzen dituenak 'he who pays'. The -k of dituenak is the ergative postposition, required by the verb esan 'say'. The reference of the free relative clause is, of course, unambiguously 'Melchior'.

Therefore, it is immaterial whether the reference of a free relative clause is specific or non-specific, as far as scrambling constituents out of it is concerned.

PSEUDO-EXTRAPOSITION.

Free relative clauses are quite frequent in Basque texts, because they provide a substitute for extraposition. Extraposition of relative clauses is not possible in Basque, but the existence of free relatives allows one to put sentential and other modifiers after their head nouns. In this way, one achieves the effect of extraposition. An example will make this clear:

(111)a Bein ba zan zazpi sema-alaba zituen errege bat.
'Once upon a time, there was a king who had seven sons and daughters.' [4)]

(111)a shows the normal form. The noun phrase errege bat 'a king' is modified directly by the relative clause zazpi seme-alaba zituen 'who had seven sons and daughters'.
Now the pseudo-extraposed form (111)b:

(111)b Bein ba zan errege bat, zazpi seme-alaba zituena.
'Once upon a time there was a king, one who had seven sons and daughters.'

Here we have a free relative clause: zazpi seme-alaba zituena 'one who had seven sons and daughters'.

If the relative clause is very long, the pseudo-extraposed form is more acceptable than the normal form.

The free relative clause used with an antecedent must have the same case, i.e. the same postposition, as this antecedent:

(112)a Au errege batek, zazpi seme-alaba zituenak,esan zidan.
'A king, one who had seven sons and daughters, told me this.'

(112)b Au errege bati, zazpi seme-alaba zituenari, egin nion.
'I did this to a king, to one who had seven sons and daughters'.

(112)c Au errege batez, zazpi seme-alaba zituenaz, maitemindu zan.
'She here fell in love with a king, with one who had seven sons and daughters.'

(112)d Au errege batentzat, zazpi seme-alaba zituenarentzat oso erreza zan.
'This was very easy for a king, for one who had seven sons and daughters.'

In all these examples, the postpositions on the antecedent (ergative -k, dative -ri, instrumental -z , benefactive -rentzat) must be repeated on the free relative clause.

This use of a free relative with a full lexical antecedent - I will call this phenomenon "pseudo-extraposition" - is a welcome device that can serve to eliminate unacceptable stacking of relative clauses.

We have already seen one example of this effect in sentence (110). Without the use of pseudo-extraposition this sentence would have had to be:

(113) Ala, batean, nere gantzontzilluak jartzera dijoela, esan zion ardorik gabe egunean bi peseta pagatzen dituen erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek: Bañura al zoaz?
'So, one time, while he was going to put on my underpants, Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle, who pays two pesetas a day, not including wine, said to him: Are you going to the bathroom?'

(113) is certainly less elegant than (110), moreover, (113) will be unacceptable for those speakers who have the constraint on stacking stated on page 144, since the relative clause ardorik gabe egunean bi peseta pagatzen dituen 'who pays two pesetas a day not including the wine', immediately precedes the noun phrase erdiko gela 'the room in the middle', which is not the head of the relative clause.

A much more extreme example of the same situation can be found in a book by Pedro Miguel Urruzuno "Euskalerritik Zerura" There we read on page 13:

(114)a Ainbeste maite zuan amona, beretzat amarik onena izandu zana, ainbeste laztan gozo eman zizkana, zerurako bidea ain ondo erakutsi ziona, ill zan larogeita amaika urterekin.

'Grandmother, whom he had loved so dearly, who had been for him the best of mothers, who had given him so many sweet embraces, who had shown him so well the road to heaven, had died at the age of ninety-one.'

If the device of pseudo-extraposition were not available, the sentence would take on this shape:

(114)b Zerurako bidea ain ondo erakutsi zion ainbeste laztan gozo eman zizkan beretzat amarik onena izandu zan ainbeste maite zuan amona ill zan larogeita amaika urte-rekin.

Though (114)b may be grammatical, it is utterly unintelligible to the native listener.

With this, enough has been said about pseudo-extraposition, and we now turn to the next topic. DIMINUTIVE RELATIVES:

An interesting property of free relative clauses is that they admit the diminutive suffix -txo just like nouns and adjectives do:

Nouns:

lan-a	'the job',	lantxo-a	'the little job',
liburu-a	'the book',	liburutxo-a	'the little book',
gizon-a	'the man',	gizontxo-a	'the little man'.

Adjectives:

zuri	'white',	has the diminutive form	zuritxo ,
txiki	'small',	has the diminutive form	txikitxo ,
apal	'humble'	has the diminutive form	apaltxo .

Note that the noun phrases etxetxo zuria 'the white little house' and etxe zuritxoa 'the little white house', or, biotxo apala 'the humble little heart' and biotz apaltxoa 'the little humble heart' are not semantically equivalent. (The English translations I have given here do not exactly reflect the value of the Basque diminutives.)

In the same way, -txo can be added to free relative clauses. This, of course, proves that the -a of free relative clauses is indeed the article a , as we have been assuming from the beginning.

So: dakidan-a 'what I know', dakidantxo-a 'what little I know',
degun-a 'what we have', deguntxo-a 'what little we have'.

Examples of their use in sentences:

(115)a Ez dakit ondo zer gertatu zan , baina dakidantxoa esango dizut.
'I don't know very well what happened, but what little I know I will tell you.'

Example (115)b is doubly diminutive; it also contains the word pixka 'a little bit', cf. esne pixka bat 'a little milk'.

(115)b Deguntxo pixkaren lotsa gera.

'We are ashamed of the little bit that we have.'

REPETITION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES.

Another interesting fact about free (and also ordinary) relative clauses is that they can be repeated for expressive purposes. Repetition is, in Basque, a systematically used device to increase the force of an expression, or its preciseness. Examples:

arro	'proud',	arro-arro	'real proud',
bete	'full',	bete-bete	'brimfull',
goiz-ean	'in the morning',	goiz-goizean	'early in the morning',
gau-an	'at night',	gau-gauan	'late at night',
alde-an	'near',	alde-aldean	'right near'.

(116)a Etxeraiño etorri ziran ijitoak.

'The gypsies came up to the house.'

(116)b Etxe-etxeraiño etorri ziran ijitoak.

'The gypsies came right up to the house.'

(117)a Lautan etorri ziran.

'They came at four o'clock.'

(117)b Lau-lautan etorri ziran.

'They came at four o'clock sharp.'

Relative clauses too can undergo this process:

(118)a Zerana zeralako maite zaitut.

'I love you because you are the one you are.'

(zera 'you are', hence zerana 'who/what/the one you are.')

(118)b Zeran-zerana zeralako maite zaitut.

'I love you because you are just the one you are.'

In the oldest Basque book, Etxepare's Linguae Vasconum Primitiae (1545), we find an example just like (118)b. The language of the book is the Low-Navarrese of the region of St.Jean Pied de Port. The example occurs in the poem Potaren Galdatzia, line 10:

(119) Ziren-zirena baitzira, zutzaz pena dizit nik.

'I am aching for you because you are just the one you are.'

Examples (118)b and (119) contain free relatives; it is also possible to have a lexical head noun here:

(120)a Zeran emakumea zeralako maite zaitut.

'I love you because you are the woman you are.'

(120)b Zeran-zeran emakumea zeralako maite zaitut.

'I love you because you are just the woman you are.'

RELATIVES TO SENTENCES:

A last observation about relative clauses in Basque: there are no relative clauses referring back to sentences (sentential relatives). The closest equivalent to the English construction (121) is not the ungrammatical (121)a, but (121)b:

(121) Arantza called me a dummy, which made me cry.

(121)a *Kaikua deitu ninduen Arantza'k, negar eragin zidana.5)

(121)b Kaikua deitu ninduen Arantza'k, onek negar eragin zidan.
"Arantza called me a dummy, this made me cry.

Japanese, Tamil and Turkish, all S.O.V. languages, do not allow sentential relatives, either. I therefore conjecture that the absence of sentential relatives is a general property of S.O.V. languages.

DEBILE PRINCIPIUM MELIOR
FORTUNA SEQUATUR.

(d'Etxepare, 1545)

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4.

1). Vocabulary: berandu 'late', etorri 'come', gose 'hunger'.

2). Vocabulary: malko 'tear', arkitu 'find', par 'laugh', izan, izandu 'be'.

3). Prof. K.L. Hale has pointed out that "scrambling out of the relative clause" is not the correct way of speaking about the phenomenon exemplified by sentences such as (104)b. If the constituent beartsuari 'to the poor' had been truly scrambled out of the relative clause, we would expect it to be possible for material from the main clause (other than a) to intervene between it and the relativized verb form (dion). However, this is not possible. Consider the adverb geienetan 'in most cases':

(104)c *Dirua ematen diona geienetan beartsuari luzaro biziko da.
'He who gives money to the poor will, in most cases, live long.'

In (104)c, the adverb geienetan 'in most cases' cannot be taken as part of the main clause. If it is part of the main clause, we must have:

(104)d Dirua ematen diona beartsuari geienetan luzaro biziko da.
'He who gives money to the poor, will, in most cases, live long.'

4). Vocabulary: bein 'once', zazpi 'seven', seme 'son', alaba 'daughter', errege 'king' (Cf. Latin rex, regem).

5). Vocabulary: kaiku 'wooden pail, dummy', deitu 'call', negar egin 'cry', negar eragin 'make cry', onek is the ergative form of au 'this'.

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