



# Complex Attribution in Basque

## A sketch

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# Gliederung

- 1 The phenomenon
- 2 Theoretical Approaches to Attribution
  - von Prince 2007
  - Struckmeier 2007
- 3 -ko as attributive linker
- 4 Conclusion



# “Relational” -ko in Basque

- used in adnominals (i.e. for attribution)
- to the right of its complement
- wide range of applications, cf. following examples from Hualde & de Urbina (2003:144-148)



## with lexical adverb

- (1) atzo-ko        egunkaria  
yesterday-KO newspaper.DET  
“yesterday’s newspaper”
- (2) hemen-go giro-a  
here-KO    atmosphere-DET  
“the atmosphere here”



## with adverb made by *-la(n)*

- (3) a. ze-la  
INTERROG-ADV<sub>la</sub>
- b. zela-ko pertsona?  
how-KO person.DET  
“what kind of person?”



## with morphologically complex adverb

(4) hitz-ez hitz *literally, word for word*

- a. hitz-ez            hitz-e-ko            itzulpen-a  
word-INST.PL word-LINK-KO translation-DET  
“a word-for-word translation”



## with a PP

- (5) lotsa gabe *without shame*
- a. lotsa-gabe-ko      emakume bat  
 shame-without-KO woman    INDEF  
 “a shameless woman”
- (6) gerra ondoan *after the war*
- a. gerra-ondo-ko mundu-a  
 war-after-KO world-DET  
 “the post-war world”



## with NP marked for any local case

- (7) *mendi-etan in the mountains*  
 a. *mendi-eta-ko                    haitzulo-a-k*  
     *mountain-LOC.PL-KO cave-DET-PL*  
     “the caves in the mountains”
- (8) *ordu-an then, at that time*  
 a. *ordu-∅-ko                    ahitur-a-k*  
     *time-LOC.SG-KO custom-DET-PL*  
     “the customs of that time”
- (9) *Bilbo-ra to Bilbao*  
 a. *Bilbo-ra-ko            bide-a*  
     *Bilbao-ALL-KO road-DET*  
     “the road to Bilbao”



## with NP marked for comitative case

(10) gu-rekin *with us*

a. gu-reki-ko ume-a-k

1PL-COM-KO child-DET-PL

“the children (who are/were) with us”



## with NP marked for instrumental case

- (11) euskara-z-ko hitzaldi-a  
Basque-INST-KO lecture-DET  
“a lecture (given) in Basque”



## with an adverb constructed from NP by *-ka*

- *-ka* forms adverbs from nominals (cf. Trask 2008:245)

(12) esku-hus-ka-ko      pilota partida  
hand-bare-ADV-KO pilota game.DET  
“a game of bare-handed pilota”



## with an adverbial participle in *-ta* or *-(r)ik*

- the only way in western varieties for adjectival participles to take arguments and adjuncts

- (13) a. *erosi-ta*  
 buy-PTC  
 “having (been) bought”
- b. *atzo ni-k erosi-ta-ko liburu-a*  
 yesterday 1SG-ERG buy-PTC-KO book-DET  
 “the book I bought yesterday”



## with an adverbial participle in *-ta* or *-(r)ik*

- the only way in western varieties for adjectival participles to take arguments and adjuncts

- (14) a. ekarri-rik  
bring-PTC  
“having (been) brought”
- b. txori-a-k                      kabi-ra-∅                      ekarri-ri-ko  
bird-DET.SG-ERG nest-ALL-ABS bring-PTC-KO  
abarr-a  
branch-DET.SG  
“the branch brought to the nest by the bird”



## with (mostly temporal) finite adverbial clause

- (15) a. izarr-a agertu zitzaiene-an  
 star-DET appear AUX.(COMP<sub>en</sub>)-LOC  
 “when the star appeared to them”
- b. izarra agertu zitzaiene-ko garai-an  
 AUX.(COMP<sub>en</sub>)-KO time-LOC  
 “at the time when the star appeared to them”



## with finite complement clause

- only before certain head nouns meaning “story, report, rumor” etc.

- (16) a. hil dute-la  
 kill AUX-COMP<sub>la</sub>  
 “that he has been killed”
- b. hil dute-la-ko kontun-a  
 AUX-COMP<sub>la</sub>-KO report-DET  
 “the report that he has been killed”



## -ko and adverbials

- any adverbial constituent can be used adnominally in phrase headed by *-ko*
- only exception: adverbs of manner derived from adjectives with *-ki*:
  - *gaitz* “bad”
  - *gaiz-ki* “badly”
  - \**gaiz-ki-ko*



## bare NP

- Hualde & de Urbina (2003:147f.) present association with bare NPs as a distinct possibility
- no adverbial complement
- at least two words
- must express quality/characteristic
- “obscure semantic restrictions”

- (17) a. bihotz on  
heart good
- b. bihotz on-eko neska bat  
heart good-KO girl INDEF  
“a good hearted girl”



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# Complements to *-ko*

adverb	{	lexical adverbs
		adverbs made by suffix <i>-la(n)</i>
		morphologically complex adverbs
		adverbs constructed from NPs by <i>-ka</i>
PP(cf. Eguzkitza 1993)	{	NPs marked for any local case
		NPs marked for comitative case
		NPs marked for instrumental case
		“classical” PPs
infinite clause	{	adverbial participles with <i>-ta/- (r)ik</i>
finite clause	{	finite adverbial clauses
		finite complement clauses
bare NP		



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- classically analyzed as “locative genitive” case ending
- Eguzkitza (1993) treats *-ko*-Phrases as derived PP adjuncts to  $\bar{N}$
- de Rijk (1993:149) views them as “linking to a following NP any syntactic phrase enjoying PP status, including even complementizer-bearing clauses”



- von Prince (2007) treats attributive linkers in Mandarin Chinese, Hindi and Swahili
- analyzes them as C-heads, differentiating between Complementizer and ALs with different sets of features

(19) vi-faa<sub>i</sub>      vy-a —<sub>i</sub> ku-tosha      vy-a PRO<sub>i/\*i</sub>  
 equiment(8) 8-AL      INF-be.enough 8-AL PRO  
 ku-fany<i>a —<sub>i</sub> utafiti      w-a kisayansi  
 INF-do<APP>      research(11) 11-AL science  
 “sufficient equipment to do scientific research”

von Prince (2007:51f.; 54)



## von Prince's analysis

- (20) [NP vi-faa<sub>i</sub> [CP<sub>1</sub> op<sub>i</sub> vy-a [TP —<sub>i</sub> ku-tosha]] [CP<sub>2</sub>  
 equipment(8) op 8-AL INF-be.enough  
 op<sub>i</sub> vy-a [TP PRO<sub>j</sub>/<sub>\*i</sub> ku-fany⟨i⟩a —<sub>i</sub> utafiti w-a  
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 kisayansi] ] ]  
 science  
 “sufficient equipment to do scientific research”

adapted from von Prince (2007:51f.; 54)



## von Prince's analysis

- (21) [NP vi-faa<sub>i</sub> [CP<sub>1</sub> op<sub>i</sub> vy-a [TP —<sub>i</sub> ku-tosha]] [CP<sub>2</sub>  
 equipment(8) op 8-AL INF-be.enough  
 op<sub>i</sub> vy-a [TP PRO<sub>j/\*i</sub> ku-fany⟨i⟩a —<sub>i</sub> utafiti w-a  
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- CP<sub>1</sub> involves infinite complement and subject *op*  
 → feature set on AL: [-finite, + case] (and [*uQ\**])



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- CP<sub>2</sub> involves infinite complement and subject PRO, *op* is argument to applicative head  
 → feature set on AL: [-finite, - case] (and [*uQ\**])



## von Prince's typology of C-heads

- (23) *that* [+finite, -case] (von Prince 2007:60, (114ab))
- I don't like [<sub>NP</sub> the fact [<sub>CP</sub> *that*<sub>AL</sub> she's always late]].
  - My parents liked [<sub>NP</sub> the book [<sub>CP</sub> *that*<sub>AL</sub> I gave them]]
- (24) *of* [-finite, +case] (von Prince 2007:62, (117ab))
- the house of my parents
  - the idea of him getting married
- (25) *of* [-finite, -case] (von Prince 2007:62, (117c))
- his plans of getting married



# von Prince's typology of C-heads

		[+finite, -case]	[-finite, +case]	[-finite, -case]
Chinese	AL	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>
	Comp	∅	-	∅
Swahili	AL	<i>amba-</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>
	Comp	<i>kwamba</i>	-	∅
Hindi	AL	∅?	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>
	Comp	<i>ki</i>	-	-
English	AL	<i>that/∅</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>of</i>
	Comp	<i>that</i>	<i>for</i>	∅



# infinite categories

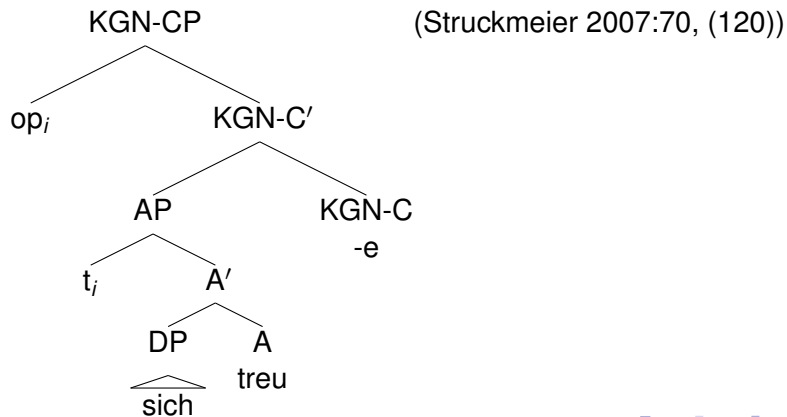
- for non-T complements von Prince suggests some feature [infinite]

	NP	Adv	PP	NUM
Chinese	+	+	+	-
Swahili	+	+	-	+
Hindi	+	+	-	-

**Figure:** Distribution of the [infinite] feature after von Prince (2007:58, Table 4)



- Struckmeier (2007) proposes that attribution in German is effected by the *case-gender-number-suffixes* (KGN)
- analysed as C heads





## two key differences to von Prince

**movement to Spec** triggered by EPP feature on a probe (instead of uQ\*), *Maximize Merging Effects* demands that *Agree* operate on maximum set of features - KGN is a probe, *op* the appropriate goal

**case assignment** KGN does not license case on *op*, gets case from the same probe as head noun by defective feature agreement

- *op* lacks a person feature just as participles under discussion
  - no uninterpretable features left inside
  - case valuing probe is not discharged (allowing full agreement with head noun)



# Struckmeier's typology of C/R-heads

	<u>Reference to indices</u>	<u>Reference to individuals</u>
<u>Independent</u>	R1: $R^0 = V_{fin}$	R3: $R^0 = Det$
<u>Restrictive</u>	R2: $R^0 = Compl$	R4: $R^0 = CGN$

Figure: Struckmeier's (2007:169) R heads



# Struckmeier's typology of C/R-heads

	<u>Reference to indices</u>	<u>Reference to individuals</u>
<u>Independent</u>	EPP, finite selection EPP, infinite selection no EPP, finite selection no EPP, infinite selection	EPP, finite selection EPP, infinite selection no EPP, finite selection no EPP, infinite selection
<u>Restrictive</u>	EPP, finite selection EPP, infinite selection no EPP, finite selection no EPP, infinite selection	EPP, finite selection EPP, infinite selection no EPP, finite selection no EPP, infinite selection

(translated from Struckmeier 2007:103, (167))



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- *-ko* modifies nouns → qualifies as  $R_4$  in Struckmeier's terms
- but note that his term of “restrictive reference” may be problematic

How does *-ko* figure in the context of von Prince's and Struckmeier's theories?



# Participles

- (26) [op<sub>i</sub> [atzo      ni-k      ⟨op<sub>i</sub>⟩ erosi-ta ]<sub>TP</sub> -ko ]<sub>R<sub>4</sub>P/CP</sub>  
*op*    yesterday 1SG-ERG      buy-PTC      R<sub>4</sub>  
 liburu-a<sub>i</sub>  
 book-DET  
 “the book I bought yesterday”

- difference from “typical” (e.g. German or English)  
 participles: abstraction not necessarily of highest argument



- (27) atzo ikusi-ta-ko gizon-ak  
 yesterday see-PTCP-KO man-DET.ABS.PL  
 “the men who saw X yesterday / who X saw yesterday”
- a. [  $op_i$  [ atzo  $pro_{ERG}$   $\langle op_i \rangle$  ikusi-ta ]<sub>TP</sub> -ko ]<sub>R\_4</sub> gizon-ak  
*object gap*
- b. [  $op_i$  [ atzo  $\langle op_i \rangle$   $pro_{ABS}$  ikusi-ta ]<sub>TP</sub> -ko ]<sub>R\_4</sub> gizon-ak  
*subject gap*
- (28) a. atzo ni-k ikusi-ta-ko gizon-ak  
 yesterday I-ERG see-PTCP-KO man-DET.ABS.PL  
 “the men I saw yesterday”
- b. atzo ni ikusi-ta-ko gizon-ak  
 yesterday I[ABS] see-PTCP-KO man-DET.ABS.PL  
 “the men who saw me yesterday”



(28a) atzo ni-k ikusi-ta-ko gizon-ak  
 yesterday I-ERG see-PTCP-KO man-DET.ABS.PL  
 “the men I saw yesterday”

- supports von Prince’s proposal about case assignment
- supposedly infinite T cannot license subject case
- if licenser for subject and head noun were the same as in Struckmeier’s model, they should presumably bear the same case, but cf. (28a)
- hence [-finite, +case, EPP]
- ... *but note the possibility of significant difference between ergative and nominative assignment*



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# adverbials, plain NP

- infinite along the lines of von Prince's [infinite] feature (cf. table 1)
- AdvP and PP may not agree with a case feature:  
-ko with [-finite, -case]
- NP needs a valued case feature  
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## What about EPP?

- simple predication via *op* of some internal argument to head noun seems implausible, hence no need for an EPP feature
- cf. e.g. *bihotz oneko neska bat* “a good hearted girl”  
→ PRED(good heart, girl)
- discussing the predicativity of ALs von Prince (2007:30, (69)) tentatively suggests a more complex semantics for Mandarin AL *de*

(29)  $[[de]] = \lambda P \lambda Q \lambda x [ P(x) \wedge Q(y) \wedge y \text{ belongs to/is characterized by/associated with } x ]$



## finite clauses

(15) izarr-a agertu zitzaiene-ko garai-an  
 star-DET appear AUX.(COMP<sub>en</sub>)-KO time-LOC  
 “at the time when the star appeared to them”

(16) hil dute-la-ko kontun-a  
 kill AUX-COMP<sub>la</sub>-KO report-DET  
 “the report that he has been killed”

- no element corefers with head noun
- hence no reason to assume *op*
- hence no motivation for [EPP] or [+case]



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- Eguzkitza (1993:180, fn. 20) suggests that *-la* heads a PP
- would be infinite (cf. above)
- but P to select finite T?



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one hypothesis might be: [-finite, -case]



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- *-ko* realizes a head (a class of heads) restricting reference to individuals (i.e. Struckmeier's  $R_4$ )
- *-ko* does not take [finite] complements

[-finite]	[+case]	[-case]
EPP	participles	?
no EPP	bare NP	AdvP, PP; CP

Figure: Instances of *-ko*



R <sub>4</sub>	[+case]	[-case]
[+ finite]	∅	-an
[- finite]	-ko	-ko

**Figure:** Relation of -ko to the relative marker - finiteness and case

R <sub>4</sub>	EPP	no EPP
[+ finite]	-an	∅
[- finite]	-ko	-ko

**Figure:** Relation of -ko to the relative marker - finiteness and EPP



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