

Historical Changes in Basque Dative Alternations: evidence for a derivational analysis*

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Abstract

The properties and internal chronology of various dative changes in the history of the Labourdin dialect of Basque are shown to be fully incompatible with the basic tenets of standard non-derivational approaches to dative alternations (both P_{have} and “Low Applicative projection” types), and support the presence of an underlying P in applicative constructions. A derivational approach based on the incorporation of an adpositional head accounts naturally for important generalizations on the distribution of the changes and conforms to the properties of dative variation crosslinguistically. The paper also proposes a revision of the “High/Low Applicative” distinction that approaches applicative constructions to the situation of subjects, where elements of a very different origin end up occupying the same structural position.

1. Introduction

Regarding the expression of internal arguments most languages of the world exhibit an alternation between a PP (Pre-/Postposition Phrase) construction and an applicative one. The existence of lexical locative PPs is remarkably stable, but the applicative/PP distribution experiences, at least superficially, a great crosslinguistic, dialectal and historic variation that affects word order, semantic relations, movement, etc. Dative constructions in Labourdin Basque (a Continental dialect, spoken in the French side of the Basque Country) undergo a series of changes in historical times that emphasize an important distinction between their semantic extension and the syntactic nature of the alternation itself, two questions that standard works on dative alternations tend to mix up.

The chronology of diachronic changes show that, although interacting, these questions are very different both with respect to the way they occur and in their extension in time. Semantic spreading is a slow and steady extension of the dative's conceptual space with no syntactic changes associated to it: applicative semantics extends in this dialect way beyond standardly assumed change-of-possession contexts to a variety of structures covered under the umbrella of unbounded path relations (Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2012). On the other hand, a cluster of very sudden and general changes that occurred late at the end of XVIII Century result in the birth of an agreementless dative PP construction with virtually the same semantic extension as the agreement one. We are careful to show that we are dealing with a genuine dative alternation, where agreement dative constructions corresponds structurally to the applicative construction (the Double Object Construction in English and equivalent structures in other languages) and the agreementless dative is a PP structure (English *to*-construction, etc.).

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The paper is organized as follows: the next two sections present a description of the phenomena to be analyzed. Section 2 briefly presents the general properties of dative constructions in Standard and Peninsular dialects of Basque (the dialects spoken in the Iberian Peninsula, in the Spanish side of the border). Since Labourdin shared these common properties in earlier stages, the properties presented in that section are also to be considered, minimal details aside, as the initial stage of the dialects on which the diachronic changes have operated. Section 3 presents the main changes that occurred in the Labourdin dialect; we base our description on Etxepare (2014) and, especially, Ormazabal (2016a,b). Section 4 shows the impossibility of accounting for the linguistic changes from a non-derivational approach to dative alternation. We also show that these explanations run into serious problems precisely because of the general assumption that applicative constructions are basic, non-derived ones, which makes the proposal fail to explain many important correlations. In section 5 we argue that the distribution of changes in Labourdin favors a derivational connection between agreementless dative PPs and agreement dative DPs, and we present the details of our analysis following Ormazabal & Romero's (2015) general proposal, framed within a cross-linguistic perspective on applicative constructions. To finish, section 6 briefly sketches a possible way to reconsider the "high applicative"/"low applicative" dichotomy that postulates two types of dative objects involving different agreement mechanisms and different structural positions in different terms. Adapting an hypothesis originally due to Odria (2014, 2015), we propose a derivation in which indirect objects are generated in different positions--hence, have fundamental differences in origin--but converge in the same final agreement position. In other words, we propose to extend to applicatives what is the standard analysis of subjects in Generative Grammar, where a wide range of syntactic constituents of very different origin may end up occupying the same structural position, which yields the properties associated to that grammatical function. For the ease of exposition, we have reduced the presentation of historical data to the minimum necessary to follow the theoretical argumentation. We refer the interested reader to Ormazabal (2016a, b) and references there for a more detailed discussion of the changes and some consequences for the theory of linguistic parameters.

2. Datives in Peninsular dialects

2.1. Types of verbs

Dative marking appears in a variety of contexts in Basque (see Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010 and references for a throughout description of datives in Basque and for discussion of some of the prominent issues under discussion). That includes ditransitive constructions encoding different θ -relations, especially goal, benefactive and source (1), and unaccusatives denoting "movement to[wards]" (2). Furthermore, as in many languages of the world, dative also appears in possessor

raising constructions (3a), causees in causative constructions (3b), and subjects of psychological predicates of the *piacere* ('please') class (3c), as well as with some non-participant roles such as ethical datives and datives of interest (3d), allocutives, etc.⁴

- (1) a. Jon-ek Mikel-**i** eskutitza bidali dio
Jon-ERG Mikel-**DAT** letter(ABS) sent AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
'Jon sent Mary a letter'
- b. Jon-ek Mikel-**i** autoa konpondu dio
Jon-ERG Mikel-**DAT** car(ABS) fixed AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
'Jon fixed the car for Mikel'
- c. Jon-ek Mikel-**i** euskara irakatsi dio
Jon-ERG Mikel-**DAT** basque(ABS) taught AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
'Jon taught Mikel Basque'
- d. Jon-ek Mikel-**i** pilota kendu dio
Jon-ERG Mikel-**DAT** ball(ABS) take away AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
'Jon took away the ball from Mikel'
- (2) a. Egunero joa-ten zaizkie galdezka emakumeak soldadue-**i**
everyday go-HAB AUX[(3pA)-**3pD**] asking women(ABS) soldiers-**DAT**
'Every day the women go to the soldiers asking'
- b. Bidaia-n zehar hainbat lagun batu zaizkie
Trip-INN through many friend(ABS) join AUX[(3plA)-**3plD**]
'Many friends joined them through the trip'
- (3) a. Jon-ek Mikel-**i** besoa hautsi dio
Jon-ERG Mikel-**DAT** arm(ABS) break AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
'Jon broke Mikel's arm'
- b. Jon-ek Mikel-**i** liburua irakur-arazi dio
Jon-ERG Mikel-**DAT** book(ABS) read -CAUSE AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
'Jon has made Mikel read the book'
- c. Jon-i liburuak gustatzen zaizkio
Jon-**DAT** books(ABS) like-HAB AUX[(3plA)-**3sD**]
'Jon likes books'
- d. Semea joan zait
Son(ABS) go AUX[[(3sA)-**3sD**]
'My son went away (and it affected me)'

As illustrated in (1)-(3), in Peninsular dialects of Basque datives trigger obligatory verbal agreement.

⁴ ERG / DAT / ABS = ergative/dative/absolute case-marking; E, D, A = ergative/dative/absolute agreement; AUX = auxiliary, DET = determiner ; 1 / 2 / 3 = 1st / 2nd / 3rd person agreement; s / pl = singular, / plural agreement; ALLOC = allocutive agreement; S = Subject, IO = Indirect Object, DO = Direct Object, PST/PRES = past /present tense; IMP = imperative; HYP = hypothetical mood; ASP = aspect; HAB / PROG / FUT = habitual / progressive / future aspect marker; APPL = applicative marker/applicative head; DFLAG = dative flag (pre-dative marker); GER = gerund marker; COMP = complementizer; REL = Relative complementizer; NOM = nominalization; ALL = allative marker; INESS = inessive marker; GEN = genitive marker; CL = clitic; INCH = inchoative; DOM = Differential Object Marking. To help the reader interpret the examples, we mark agreement datives in blue both in the auxiliary and, if overt, in the argument, and agreementless datives in red. When relevant for the discussion, we also mark locative adpositions (inessive, allative, etc.) in bold type.

2.2. Structural and semantic properties: “dative constructions”

There is plenty of syntactic and morphological evidence that the dative argument agreeing with the verbal complex is a DP and not a PP (Elordieta 2001, Oyharçabal 2010, Etxepare 2014, Odria 2014, and references there). There is also general consensus that the canonical hierarchy among the three arguments agreeing with the verb in ditransitive constructions is the one observed in (4a). In particular, quite a lot of arguments have been presented in the literature showing that the dative indirect object in ditransitive constructions c-commands the absolutive direct object (Fernández 1997, Montoya 1998, Elordieta 2001, Arregi 2003a, Oyharçabal 2010, Odria 2014, among others). Thus, for instance, the anaphoric direct object in the subordinated clause may be bound by the silent pronominal IO in (4b) but not the reverse (Oyharçabal 2010):

- (4) a. **Subject**_{ERGATIVE} > **Indirect Object**_{DATIVE} > **Direct Object**_{ABSOLUTIVE}
- b. Jon_i ez zen ohartu pro_i **bere.burua**_i aipatzen niola
 Jon(ABS) not AUX realize REFLEX(ABS) mention AUX[(3sA)-3sD-1sE]-comp
 Lit.: ‘Jon_i didn’t realize that I was mentioning him_i himself_i’
- c. * Jon_i ez zen ohartu pro_i **bere.burua-ri**_i aipatzen niola
 Jon(ABS) not AUX realize REFLEX-DAT mention AUX[(3sA)-3sD-1sE]-comp
 Lit.: ‘Jon_i didn’t realize that I was mentioning himself_i him_i’

Concerning semantic effects traditionally discussed in the literature associated to applicative constructions, with verbs of the SEND- (5a), THROW- (5b), GIVE- (5c) and TEACH-types (5d) dative DPs show animacy effects in Basque, as in other languages.

- (5) a. * Jon-ek Kutxi kalea-**ri** eskutitz bat bidali dio
 Jon-ERG Kutxi street-DAT letter one(ABS) sent AUX[(3sA)-3sD-3sE]
 ‘Jon sent Kutxi street a letter’
- b. * Jonek Kutxi kalea-**ri** zakarra bota dio
 Jon-ERG Kutxi street-DAT garbage(ABS) throw AUX[(3sA)-3sD-3sE]
 ‘Jon throw Kutxi street the garbage’
- c. * Jonek Kutxi kalea-**ri** etxea eman dio
 Jon-ERG Kutxi street-DAT house(ABS) give AUX[(3sA)-3sD-3sE]
 ‘Jon gave Kutxi street the house’
- d. * Jonek Kutxi kalea-**ri** euskara irakatsi dio
 Jon-ERG Kutxi street-DAT basque(ABS) taught AUX[(3sA)-3sD-3sE]
 ‘Jon taught Basque to Kutxi street’

However, as we have argued elsewhere (see Ormazabal & Romero 2010, 2015 and references there for a more extensive discussion), this animacy restriction is a property of a certain subset of dative-taking predicates only. Typically the beneficiary and the goal must be animate, but languages with a richer range of applicative constructions than English, including Basque, often include predicates that allow non-animate datives:

- (6) a. Udaletxea-k Kutxi kalea-**ri** argiak aldatu dizkio
 City Hall-ERG Kutxi street-DAT lights(ABS) change AUX[(3plA)-3sD-3sE]
 ‘The city hall changed the lights in Kutxi street’

- b. Jon-ek aulkia-**ri** hanka konpondu dio
 Jon-ERG chair-**DAT** leg(ABS) fix AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
 ‘Jon fixed the the chair’s leg’
- c. Jon-ek liburua-**ri** hitzaurrea kendu dio
 Jon-ERG book-**DAT** preface(ABS) take out AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
 ‘Jon took away the preface from the book’

2.3. Morphological properties: “applicative constructions”

As described in many previous works (Trask 1997, Albizu 1998, Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2004, Rezac 2008, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2012, Ariztimuño 2013, Etxepare 2014, among others), the presence of a dative argument in a Basque finite sentence is associated to three morphological characteristics: (i) a **dative suffix** shows up in the agreeing DP; (ii) person and number **agreement** appears in the auxiliary or the synthetic (conjugated) verb, and (iii) in the case of synthetic verbs a **dative flag** is inserted, a morpheme in the position immediately preceding dative agreement that indicates the presence of an applied argument.⁵

- (7) a. Zuek txapela da- -kar -zue
 You-ERG bonet(ABS) (3ABS)-bring-2p ERG
 ‘You are bringing the bonet’
- b. Zuek gu-**ri** txapela da- -kar **-ki -gu** -zue
 You-ERG we-**DAT** bonet(ABS)(3ABS)-bring-**DFLAG -1pDAT**-2p ERG
 ‘You are bringing us the bonet’

That is the general situation in Peninsular dialects of Basque, as well as in Standard Basque, and it is also the basic state of affairs in previous stages of the Labourdin dialect in the Northeast of the Basque Country we analyze in the following section. These dialects undergo a series of syntactic changes that have brought some amount of attention in recent Basque studies. Specifically, Labourdin makes four basic innovations: i) new semantic relations are assigned to applicative constructions, ii) dative agreement becomes optional in most contexts, iii) there is a concomitant change in c-command relations and word order, and (iv) there is a process of specialization pragmatically driven.

3. Datives in the Labourdin Dialect

In this section we present the historical changes related to dative constructions that occurred in the Labourdin dialect. Section 3.1. describes the expansion of the dative suffix to include the marking of spatial functions of different sorts that are not possible in the other dialects of Basque. Contrary to what has been assumed in the literature (Pikabea 1993, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2014), this expansion is argued to be a slow process that initiated earlier than the other changes discussed in

⁵ As is usually the case in many languages, auxiliary verbs (e.g. (1)) are irregular and do not show the dative flag morphologically in a clear way, although there are some remains of its historical presence in all the forms (see Ariztimuño 2013, and references there).

this paper and extends up to our days.⁶ As a result of this expansion, there is a semantic reorganization of the space between locative adpositions, mostly the allative, and new locative (unbounded path) and aspectual uses of the dative. But this new distribution of the cognitive space has no associated effect on the morphological or syntactic behavior of the applicative construction (the agreeing dative construction) and the locative postpositions of the language.

In section 3.2, we discuss the other changes, which behave as a cluster of which the optional loss of dative agreement in the auxiliary is the most salient one. As will be shown, this change occurs very fast, extending to the old dative contexts, including change of possession ones, as well as to the new unbounded path datives that resulted from the previous semantic expansion. Concomitantly, the hierarchical structure and the linear order, as well as the categorial status of dative arguments also change. The resulting picture is a dative alternation where the agreeing applicative and the PP dative constructions have the same semantic extension but different structural properties: agreeing datives are clear DPs and show the standard unmarked order and the IO_{DATIVE} > DO_{ABSOLUTIVE} c-command relations; in contrast, in the agreementless construction the absolutive DO c-commands, and tends to precede, the dative-marked element, which is a PP.

Section 3.3. briefly discusses a more recent innovation in these dialects that reduce the appearance of applicative constructions in some information structure driven contexts, and section 3.4. wraps up the main descriptive results.

3.1. Extensions of the dative to new contexts

In Labourdin the dative expands to mark spatial goal of the event where only spatial postpositions or complex postpositional phrases are possible in Peninsular dialects (see references in footnote 6). Compare, for instance the use of dative in Labourdin examples like (8) with the use of allative or complex postpositions in Peninsular Basque in the same contexts (9):

- (8) a. Eta hiri-ko portalea-**ri** hurbildu zaion bezala...
 And city-GEN door **-DAT** approach AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**] as
 And as he approached the door of the city..." [Leizarraga 1571]
- b. Alemanen tankak oldartzen zirela Maginot harresia-**ri**
 German-GEN tank(ABS) charge AUX[(3pIA)]-COMP Maginot fence-**DAT**
 ‘As the German tanks charged against the Maginot line’ [Larzabal 1991-98]

⁶ Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2012) and Etxepare (2014) described the main contexts where the changes occur. Most of their examples are from XIX and XX Labourdin authors and from Oyharçabal's native speaker judgments of the same dialect. We follow Ormazabal (2016a), who makes a detailed dating of the changes, analyzing the progressive spreading of the dative in locative contexts and the relative chronology in connection with the other changes to be discussed next. The study is based on a systematic analysis of the relevant verbs mentioned by Etxepare & Oyharçabal in all Labourdin texts included in the *Euskal Klasikoen Corpusa* (<http://www.ehu.eus/ehg/kc/>)--the most complete corpus on Basque classical texts to date--, completed with examples from Pikabea (1993) and from Fernández & Landa (2009) and Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa (2009), as well as some observations in Mitxelena/Sarasola's (1987-2005) *Diccionario General Vasco-Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*, the closest to a Basque historical dictionary to our date. See these references for more detailed description of the changes and discussion of the text sources.

- (9) a. Eta hiri-ko portale-**ra** hurbildu den bezala...
 And city-gen door -ALL approach AUX[(3sA)] as
 ‘He slowly approaches the beret’
- b. Alemanen tankeak oldartzen zire -la Maginot harresia-**ren kontra**
 German-GEN tank(ABS)charge-HAB AUX[(3plA)]-COMP Maginot fence -GEN **against**
 ‘As the German tanks charged against the Maginot line’

The change consists in a reorganization of the semantic field of spatial adpositions and the dative construction, a process that is common to many other languages. In particular, Etxepare (2014) proposes a partition in the set of Path exponents in Labourdin Basque dialect between the allative and this directional dative, roughly as in (10):⁷

- (10) a. Allative -> Bounded Path (Spatial Goal, TO)
 b. Dative -> Unbounded Path (Oriented Path, TOWARDS)

A careful analysis of the changes shows that this extension of the dative to new semantic contexts is not associated to any change in the syntactic and morphological properties of the dative construction in these dialects: i) dative agreement with the auxiliary is still obligatory: in ‘old’ applicative constructions (1) and in ‘new’ unbounded path ones (8) agreement is treated alike in all texts from XVI to middle XVIII centuries. Moreover, (ii) the dative morphology of the language, in the nominal argument or in the auxiliary, is not affected by the extension of the dative to new semantic contexts. (iii) The category of the new unbounded path datives in agreement contexts is the same as in the ‘older’ ones: they are DPs. And (iv) the general Case and agreement relations in the language are not affected by the new lexical extensions either. In conclusion, they all uniformly behave as applicative constructions. On the other hand, the restricted allative *-ra* (bounded path ‘to’) continues to show the same postpositional properties as in previous stages of the language.

With respect to the chronology of the changes, contrary to what has been suggested in the literature (Pikabea 1993, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2013, Etxepare 2014), the extension of the dative does not co-occur with the optional loss of agreement, the second change that will be introduced in the next section, but it begins much earlier and constitutes a slow and progressive process of lexical/semantic extension that was already in progress by the time of the first Classical Labourdin texts (XVII century) and continued to expand to new semantic contexts (almost) until our days

⁷ Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2012) and Etxepare (2014) present a considerable number of minimal pairs that confirm this semantic partition. So, for instance, the predicate *erori* has a different meaning depending on whether it appears with dative or with allative: *erori* + *allative* means ‘fall accompanied by a PP that denotes the location of the physical space where the falling ends (1a); in contrast, *erori* + *dative* means ‘fall under’ or ‘be inclined to/towards’ with no motion entailed (1b).

- (i) a. Lurre-ra erori da
 floor-ALL fallen AUX[(3sA)]
 ‘He/she fell on the floor’
- b. Jainkoa-ren nahi saindua-ri erortzen diren arima jenerosak
 god -GEN will holly-DAT fall-HAB AUX[(3plA)]-COMP spirit generous(PL)
 ‘Those generous spirits who are inclined towards god’s holly will’ [J.B.Etcheberry,1980]

[see Ormazabal 2016a for a detailed chronology and discussion]. Thus, lexical directional verbs like *hurbildu* ('approach'), *itzuli* ('turn towards'; (11)), and atelic verbs in their aspectual use with event-denoting dative complements [*lotu* ('start'); *jarraiki* ('continue to'), *abiatu* ('begin'), etc.] (12), are already attested with inanimate dative arguments in XVI and XVII century texts respectively.

- (11) a. Eta hiri-ko portalea-**ri** hurbildu zaion bezala...
 And city-GEN door -**DAT** approach AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**] as
 And as he approached the door of the city..." [Leizarraga 1571]
- b. Gibelaz itzul-tzen **zaika** Iainkoa-**ri** eta begitartez kreatura-**ri**.
 Back-instr turn-ASP AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**] God-**DAT** and facing--INSTR creature-**DAT**
 "[He] turns back on God and facing towards the devil" [Axular 1643]
- (12) a. [...] nola or hauta-rik bata, bere hazkuntza-ren arauaz, lothu zaikan
 haragia-**ri**, eta berriz bertzea, iarraiki zaikan ihizia-**ri**
 [...] how dog these-PART one, its education-GEN rule-INSTR, attack AUX(3sA-**3sD**)
 meet--**DAT**, and instead other, follow AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**] hunt-**DAT**
 "How one of the dogs, according to its education, attacked the meat, and yet the
 other, kept on/continued hunting" [Axular 1643]
- b. Egundaino bezala lothu nahi izan zitzaion bigarren gudu bat-**i**
 Today.until as [again] tie want be AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-past] second war one-**DAT**
 'Once again, he wanted to start a new war' [Larregi 1777]

On the other extreme, complex postpositions with dative complements (13) start to appear in middle XVIII century, not all at the same time, and ergative and semelfactive verbs of the *pentsatu* ('think'), *jo* ('hit') (14), which originally had inessive or instrumental complements, are the last ones to take dative arguments [Fernández & Landa 2009, Ormazabal 2016a,b], not earlier than the second quarter of XIX century.

- (13) a. ... habituda gaixtoe-**i** kontra dohaz -en bertuten akzioneak egitea
 ... habit evil-**DAT** against go[3plA]- REL virtues-GEN actions[ABS] do-NOM
 '... to do virtuous actions that go against [...] bad habits' [Haraneder 1740]
- b. Bada, populua Jerikor-**i** buruz zihoan
 then, people(ABS) Jericho-**DAT** head-INSTR go[(3sA)-past]
 'The people headed to(wards) Jericho' [Duvoisin 1859-1865]
- (14) a. Ez zioten deus bertze-**ri** pentsatzen
 Not AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3plE] nothing other -**DAT** think-ASP
 "They weren't thinking about anything else" [Jauretche 1840: 187]
- b. Huntan ohart gaizkon erran xaharra-**ri** [Zaldubi 1828: 765]
 this-loc AUX[1pA-**3sD**] saying old-**DAT**
 'Let's pay attention, in that matter, to the old proverb'

As will be discussed readily, this relative chronology shows that lexical reorganization is previous and independent from the other main dialectal changes that will be introduced in the next subsection. Consequently, the semantic extension of the dative to unbounded path and aspectual

contexts occurs directly in the agreeing applicative construction first, and not in an alternating adpositional construction (contra previous analyses).

3.2. *Optional agreement, word order and hierarchical relations*⁸

Unlike the applicative's semantic extension, the other changes observed in the the Labourdin dialect come together, and very rapidly extend virtually through the entire range of dative constructions. Contrary to Peninsular dialects, where agreement was--and still is--obligatory, in Labourdin dative agreement becomes optional. Consequently, while (15a) is grammatical in all dialects, (15b) is only available in Continental ones.

- (15) a. Ama -k semea-**ri** ogia igorri dio
mother-ERG son -**DAT** bread(ABS) sent AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]
'The mother sent (the) bread to the son'
- b. Ama -k ogia igorri du semea-**ri**
mother-ERG bread(ABS) sent AUX[(3sA)-3sE] son-DAT
'The mother sent (the) bread to the son'

Morphologically, agreementless constructions involve loss of the entire dative-marking system: verbal dative agreement, dative flag in synthetic verbs, and finally the non-dative auxiliary is selected. Agreementless constructions (15b) resort to the same auxiliary form *du* as regular transitive verbs such as *ikusi* ('see') in (16):

- (16) Ama -k ogia ikusi du
mother-ERG bread(ABS) see AUX[(3sA)-3sE]
'The mother saw the bread'

Concerning their structural hierarchy, the two structures show the opposite hierarchical relation: in agreement dative constructions the IO is higher than the DO, as it is the case in Peninsular Dialects (see sec. 2.2). However, in the non-agreeing dative construction, the dative is c-commanded by the absolutive DO. The minimal pair in (17) and the examples in (18) illustrate this important point:⁹

⁸ The system to be described in this section corresponds to the historical changes that occurred in the Labourdin dialect, the Westernmost Continental dialect, spoken in the French side of the Basque Country. In Low-Navarrese and Souletin dialects, also in the French side, agreementless datives appear since the beginning of the written records. There is broad consensus among both diachronists and generative grammarians that the system described in our paper for Labourdin and the case of agreementless datives in Low-Navarrese and Souletine constitute two independent systems and processes, both structurally and chronologically. Some of the main differences were already described by Ortiz de Urbina (1995), and the philological work in the last decade has incorporated very relevant information and deeper analysis. A comparison of the two systems is way out of the scope of this paper., however. See Ortiz de Urbina (1995), Mounole (2011), Ulibarri (2015), Ormazabal (2016a) and references there for relevant details and discussion.

⁹ Examples (17a-b) constitute a minimal pair provided to us by Maia Duguine and Beñat Oyharçabal, speakers of the dialect, and examples (18a-b) are both from *Euskal Klasikoen Corpusa*. Ormazabal (2016a) conducted a systematic analysis of all the occurrences of *elkar* ('each other') and its variants in the Labourdin dialect, and binding of the dative by the object is quite common--very especially in nominalized structures, but also in temporal clauses such as (18a-b)--, but absolutely all the attested cases involve agreementless datives, an important result. See reference for examples and detailed discussion.

- (17) a. * Jon eta Miren_i ez ziren ohartu pro_i **elkarri** lotu nizkio(n) -la
 Jon and Mary_i(ABS) not AUX realize RECIPROCAL(DAT) tie AUX[(3pA)-**3sD**-1sE]-comp
 ‘Jon and Mary_i didn’t realize that I was tying them together (lit. ‘to each other’)
- b. Jon eta Miren_i ez ziren ohartu pro_i **elkarr-i** lotu nitue(n) -la
 Jon and Mary_i(ABS) not AUX realize RECIPROCAL(DAT) tie AUX[(3pA)-1sE]-comp
 ‘Jon and Mary_i didn’t realize that I was tying them together (lit. ‘to each other’)
- (18) a. Nork uste duzu **elkharr-i** iratxiki dituela bi gauza horiek?
 Who-ERG think AUX[2sE-3sA] each other-DAT join AUX[3sE-3pA] two thing those
 ‘Who do you think that put these two things together’ (lit. ‘joined/pasted these two
 things to each other’) [Arbelbide 1895]
- b. [harra-k] lotzen ditu **elgarr-i** bortz sei ogi bihi [...]
 worm-ERG tie-ASP AUX[3sE-3pA] each other-DAT five six bread seed
 ‘The worm tightens five or six bread seeds together’ (lit. ‘to each other’)
 [Abbadie 1887-1903]

As some examples will illustrate later, quite often this hierarchical change also correlates with a change in the linear order with the indirect object in postverbal position (Albizu 2001, Etxepare and Oyharçabal 2009, 2012). In sum, the new structure has all the properties of a PP construction.

As for the animacy effects, the same group of predicates that show animacy effects with agreeing datives also show the same effects with agreementless ones, an important observation:

- (19) a. * Ama- -k merkatua-**ri** ogia eman dio
 mother-ERG market-DAT bread(ABS) give AUX[3sE-**3sD**-(3sA)]
 ‘The mother gave the market (the) bread’
- b. * Ama- -k ogia eman du merkatua-**ri**
 mother-ERG bread(ABS) give AUX[3sE-(3sA)] market-DAT
 ‘The mother gave bread to the market’

From a diachronic perspective, some of the properties of this change will also be important for our discussion: the new agreement/agreementless alternation initiates much later than the reorganization of the semantic fields, and systematically expands to the entire spectrum of dative constructions, old as well as new ones, in a very short period of time. Concerning “old” datives, ditransitive and unaccusative constructions appear in agreementless contexts since the late XVIII century. The pairs in (20a-b) and (21a-b) show that both agreement and agreementless constructions coexist, a situation maintained until our days:

- (20) a. Ez **duzu** nihor-**i** eginen, bertze-k zu-ri egi-tea nahi ez
 zinduke-nik
 not AUX[(**3sA**)-**2pIE**] anybody-DAT do-FUT others-ERG you-DAT do-NOM want not
 AUX[(2plA-3sE-HYP)-COMP
 ‘You won’t do to others what you wouldn’t have them do to you’ [Lapeire 1891]
- b. Ez **diote** soldaduek minik eginen
 not AUX[(**3sA**)-**3sD**-**3pIE**] soldiers pain--PART do-FUT
 ‘The soldiers will not cause pain to her’ [Daskonagerre 1870]
- (21) a. ... ta berrogoi egun he -tan agertu **zen** Maria Madalena-**ri**
 and forty day those-INN appear AUX[(**3sA**)] Mary Magdalene-DAT
 ‘And in those forty days he revealed himself to Mary Magdalene’ [Joanategi 1890]

- b. Erraten diote, gau hartan agertu **zaiola** Andre Dena Maria
 tell AUX[(3sA)-3sD-3plE] night that-INN appear AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**] LadyMary
 'They tell him that that night Our Lady Mary revealed herself to her' [Zaldubi 1877]

Similarly, the following examples show that the new “unbound path” locative datives also alternate, appearing in agreementless contexts but also continuing to appear in agreement ones; in particular, (22b) presents the two options with the same verb in a single sentence:¹⁰

- (22) a. aldarea-**ri** hurbiltzen dire -nean
 altar-**DAT** approach AUX[(3plA)]-when
 'When they approach the altar' [Duvoisin 1859-1865]
- b. Otoi, ate hor**ri** hurbil zaitte, ni hurbil-tzen nitzaion bezala
 Please, door that-**DAT** approach AUX[(2plA-INP)], I approach-HAB AUX[(1sA)-**3sD**-past] as
 Please, approach that door as I approached it' [Larzabal 1930-1964]

Examples in (23) illustrate the case of atelic aspectual verbs mentioned in section 3.1.

- (23) a. lot zaitte lana-**ri** lehen-bai-lehen eta zin-zinez
 tie AUX[3plA] work-**DAT** as-soon as-possible and true-truly
 'Take to work as soon as possible and seriously' [Duvoisin 1859-1865]
- b. Otso gazte baten gosea-rekin ausiki-an lotu zitzaion filosofia -**ri**
 wolf young one-GEN hunger-WITH bite-INN clung AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**] philosophy-**DAT**
 'He clung to philosophy with the hunger of a young wolf' [Laffite 1934-67]

Moreover, as mentioned in the previous section, semelfactive and unergative stative verbs were the last ones to shift to dative. But when they finally do, they also alternate, showing in both agreement and agreementless contexts:

- (24) a. Ez zioten deus bertze-**ri** pentsatzen
 Not AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3plE] nothing other -**DAT** think-ASP
 "They weren't thinking about the other at all" [Jauretche 1840: 187]
- b. Lagun batzue-**ri** pentsatzen zuen
 Friend some-**DAT** think-ASP AUX[(3sA)-3sE]
 "He was thinking about some friends" [J-B Etchepare 1963]

There are a few exceptions to the agreement/agreementless alternation. Among newly created datives, complex postpositions like (13), repeated in (25) do not alternate.

- (25) a. ... habituda gaixtoe-**i** kontra dohaz -en bertuten akzioaneak egitea
 ... habit evil-**DAT** against go[3plA]-REL virtues-GEN actions[ABS] do-NOM
 '... to do virtuous actions that go against [...] bad habits' [Haraneder 1740]
- b. Bada, populua Jerikor-**i** buruz zihoan
 then, people(ABS) Jericho-**DAT** head-INSTR go[(3sA)-past]
 'The people headed to(wards) Jericho' [Duvoisin 1859-1865]

From a descriptive point of view, this is an expected result, since the dative is internal to the complex PP-construction and, consequently, there is no possible auxiliary that could host

¹⁰We use different sources in this section. We borrow from Ormazabal (2016a,b) most of XVI-XIX examples, who mostly uses the sources listed in footnote 6. Most of XX century agreementless examples are cited from Etchepare & Oyharçabal (2012) who, in turn, use different sources. See these works for more details and discussion.

agreement morphology. A different issue, to which we return readily, is how proposals about dative alternations accommodate these structures.

The other group of exceptions are obligatory agreement contexts, very specially, experiencer (26a) and possessor (26b) datives, as well as ethical datives, which never ever show up in the agreementless construction (Fernández & Landa 2009, Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2012, Odria 2014, and references there):

- (26) a. Jon-**i** liburuak gustatzen zaizkio /*dira
 Jon-**DAT** books(ABS) like-HAB AUX[(3plA)-**3sD**]/AUX[(3plA)]
 ‘Jon likes books’
- b. Jon-ek Mikel-**i** besoa hautsi dio /*du
 Jon-ERG Mikel-**DAT** arm(ABS) broken AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**-3sE]/AUX[(3sA)-3sE]
 ‘Jon broke Mikel's arm’

For these authors, the structures in (26) correspond to "high applicatives", in the sense of Pykkänen (2008). We will keep the term as a descriptive umbrella, and postpone the discussion of these structures until the last section of the paper.

3.3. Information-structure oriented specialization

This cluster of changes is completed with a process of “specialization”, the well observed fact that whenever the agreement/agreementless alternation holds--and only in those contexts-- dative constructions show important restrictions constraining the presence of low referentiality elements (e.g., anaphora, Negative Polarity Items) in applicative structures. As Etxepare observes, these element "tend (overwhelmingly) not to agree" (examples from Etxepare (2014: ex. (86)):

- (27) a. Bakea eman dezagun elgar**r-i**
 Peace(ABS) give AUX[(3sA)-1plE] each.other-**DAT**
 ‘Let's give a break to each other’ [Larzabal 1991-1998]
- b. Nehor-**i** aipatu duzuia gure artekoa?
 anyone-**DAT** mentioned AUX[(3sA)-1plE] our in.between
 ‘Have you mentioned our thing to anyone?’ [Larzabal 1991-1998]

This *specialization* mechanism, which Etxepare attributes to a "third factor" in language design, has been observed to affect dative alternations in a large range of languages, and has important theoretical consequences. Two important properties must be observed in relation with this condition. First, that it only restricts applicative constructions (agreement datives in Basque, DOCs in English, etc.) when there is a genuine alternating dative PP construction in the language. This is clearly shown by the fact that in those dialects of Basque where agreement is obligatory, including in stages of Labourdin previous to the appearance of agreementless dative PPs, NPs or anaphoric elements show up in agreeing dative position naturally. The second important fact is that the condition does not induce ungrammaticality and anaphora and NPIs may show up as

agreement dative DPs also in Labourdin. However, the referentiality effect affects speakers' preferences depending on pragmatic contexts, with drastic statistical consequences in the number of occurrences each alternate presents, an important factor that might be the trigger to new diachronic changes in the future. See, among many others, *op. cit.* as well as Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2012), and Bresnan et al. (2004), Bresnan & Nikitina (2008), Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (2008), Ormazabal & Romero (2010, 2015), Antilla et al (2010), Levin (2015), and references there for details and discussion.

3.4. Summary

Summarizing the properties of the changes:

- i) The reorganization of the semantic field of paths with the resulting spreading of the datives is a slow process that extends the dative domain to locative, semelfactive and aspectual contexts, semantically very distant from the initial change of possession contexts and the like. This semantic change is not accompanied with a structural difference and, consequently, the extension to the new contexts has no effect on the inflectional properties, the syntax or the morphology of the dative construction itself, which remains structurally the same: an applicative construction.
- ii) The rest of the phenomena constitute a cluster of changes that occur later and extend very fast to all dative contexts (with the notorious exception of "high applicatives").
- iii) The result of these changes is a genuine dative alternation, an applicative/PP alternation similar to the DOC/*to*-construction of English and their equivalents in other languages.
- iv) Like DOC/*to*-constructions and other dative alternations in many other languages, the agreement/agreementless distinction correlates with two different categorial and c-command structural relations.
- v) Crucially, the syntactic distribution of the two alternates does not correspond in any way to any semantic difference: both structures cover virtually all the same semantic contexts, and the same animacy effects show up with the same predicates in both agreement and agreementless constructions equally.

In the next two sections, we argue that these results strongly support a derivational analysis of dative alternations over a non-derivational one. Section 4. is dedicated to argue that this state of affairs is at odds with the two most prominent non-derivational analyses of dative alternations proposed in current linguistic research in general and in Basque syntax in particular: the P_{have} analysis and the "Low Applicative projections" one. In section 5. we argue that (neo-)derivational analyses are well fitted to cover the main properties of the changes in dative constructions described so far in a natural way.

4. *Alternate Underlying Configuration Hypothesis (AUCH!) approaches do not work*¹¹

This section revises the two main non-derivational analysis of dative alternations, and shows how they cannot deal with the changes in Labourdin Basque. First we show in section 4.1. that a Harley (2002)-type *P_{have}* analysis is incompatible with the facts, because the changes are not about semantically dedicated structures, but about syntactic configurations. A Pytkänen (2008)-type *Applicative Phrase* analysis void of any semantic content, on the other hand, would not yield contradictory results, but even in that case it runs into problems and fails to even accommodate the central properties of the changes involved (section 4.2.).

4.1. *Dative Alternations are not about semantically dedicated structures*

A long tradition in the analyses of dative alternations in many languages (Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Jackendoff 1989, Pinker 1989, Harley 2002, 2004, Krifka 2004, Bleam & Lidz 2014, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2012, Harley & Lee 2015, among many others) claim that agreement and agreementless datives not only correspond to two different syntactic frames, but they also have different semantic interpretations: the dative PP-construction would correspond to a “caused motion”, as in (28b), while the applicative structure would be interpreted as a “caused possession” schema in (29b), both from Krifka (2004):

(28) **Caused motion schema:**

- a. Ama -k ogia igorri du semea -ri
mother-ERG bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE-(3sA)] son-DAT
‘The mother sent bread to her son’
- b. $\exists e \exists e'$ [AGENT(e, mother) \wedge THEME (e, bread) \wedge CAUSE (e, e') \wedge MOVE (e') \wedge THEME (e', (the) bread) \wedge GOAL(e', the son)]

(29) **Caused transfer of possession schema:**

- a. Ama -k semea-ri ogia igorri dio
mother-ERG son-DAT bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE-3sD-(3sA)]
‘The mother sent bread to his son’
- b. $\exists e \exists s$ [AGENT(e, mother) \wedge THEME (e, (the) bread) \wedge CAUSE (e, s) \wedge s: HAVE (the son, (the) bread)]

As argued elsewhere (Rappaport-Hovav & Levin 2008, Ormazabal & Romero 2010), this proposal is highly implausible not only for Basque but in more general terms. To begin with, *GIVE-*, *TELL-* or *PROMISE-* type Vs do enter the alternation, despite the fact that they are never found in the caused motion event schema. The pair in (30) shows that the same transfer of possession may be realized in the dative agreementless and agreement structures:

- (30) a. Sos guziak emaiten baitzituen pobree-ri
money all-pl(ABS)give-HAB cause-AUX[3plA-3sE] poor.PL-DAT
‘...because he used to give all the money to the poors’ [J.B. Etcheberry 1966]

¹¹ The term was introduced by Bleam & Lidz (2014) to refer to analyses of dative alternations that postulate different syntactic base-structures for dative constructions and PP-constructions, as opposed to derivational approaches (see next section).

- b. De Gondi jaun andere-ek eman ziozkaten 45 mila libera urhetan
 De Gondi mr - mrs -ERG give AUX[3plA-3sD-3plE] 45 thousand francs gold-INN
 "Mr. and Mrs. De Gondi gave him 45.000 francs in gold" [J.B. Etcheberry 1966]

Remember, in the same vein, that the mentioned groups of verbs show the same animacy effects in both agreement and agreementless datives (examples in (19), repeated here in (31):

- (31) a. * Ama- -k merkatua-ri ogia eman dio
 mother-ERG market-DAT bread(ABS) give AUX[3sE-3sD-(3sA)]
 'The mother gave the market (the) bread'
 b. * Ama- -k ogia eman du merkatua-ri
 mother-ERG bread(ABS) give AUX[3sE-(3sA)] market-DAT
 'The mother gave bread to the market'

In fact, the distribution of allative *-ra* and dative-assigning P₁ in Basque constitutes indirect support for Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (2008) and Ormazabal & Romero's (2010) argument that the English *to*-construction corresponds to both the "caused transfer of possession" and the "caused motion" frames. In particular, all the verbs that enter the DOC/*to*-PP alternation in English (Gropen et al 1989, Levin 1993), including *GIVE*-, *THROW*- and *SEND*-type verbs enter the agreementless dative construction in Basque, alternating with dative agreement constructions with the same meaning. However, only a subset of these verbs--those that are really compatible with a "caused motion" frame--allow complements headed by the allative postposition *-ra*. As we might expect, the complement of these verbs show the same animacy requirement when they are datives—in both agreement and agreementless contexts--, but not when they are allative PPs.¹²

- (32) a. * Ogia merkatua-ri igorri diot
 bread(ABS) market-DAT send AUX[(3ABS)-3DAT-1ERG]
 'I sent the market (the) bread'
 b. * Ogia igorri dut merkatua-ri
 bread(ABS) send AUX[(3ABS)-1ERG] MARKET-DAT
 'I sent (the) bread to the market'
 c. Ogia igorri dut merkatu-ra
 bread(ABS) send AUX[(3ABS)-1ERG] market-ALL
 'I sent (the) bread to the market'

Moreover, Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2012) present various fixed theme-type idiomatic expressions. That includes the minimal pair in (33)--both examples corresponding to the same author-- that clearly maintain the same idiomatic interpretation in both dative agreementless and agreement contexts:¹³

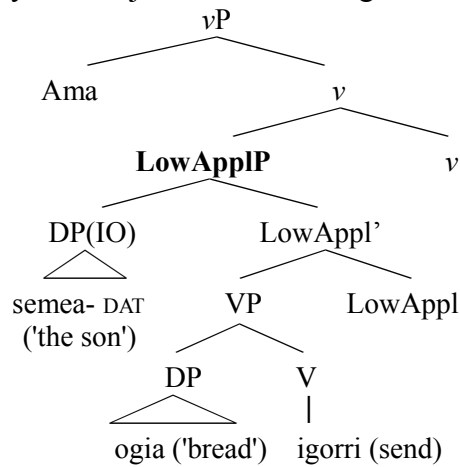
¹² Ormazabal (2016a) has conducted a systematic analysis of all the occurrences of the predicate *igorri* in the Labourdin texts in EKK. Out of 2656 occurrences of *igorri* ('send') in the corpus, not a single one of them has an inanimate dative--neither agreement dative nor agreementless one--, and all the cases of inanimates appear with the allative *-ra*. Similarly, our informants absolutely agree with that distribution. This is a particularly important result, given that inanimates do show dative-marked with other predicates, as discussed throughoutly in this paper. This strongly suggests that animacy must be associated to the selectional properties of the predicate types, not to one of the two alternating structures in dative configurations, as argued by Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (2008), Ormazabal & Romero (2010).

¹³ For discussion of idioms and their relevance for the analysis of the ditransitive alternation, see Ormazabal & Romero 2012 and references there. "Fixed theme idioms", where the empty element that may vary inside the idiom is

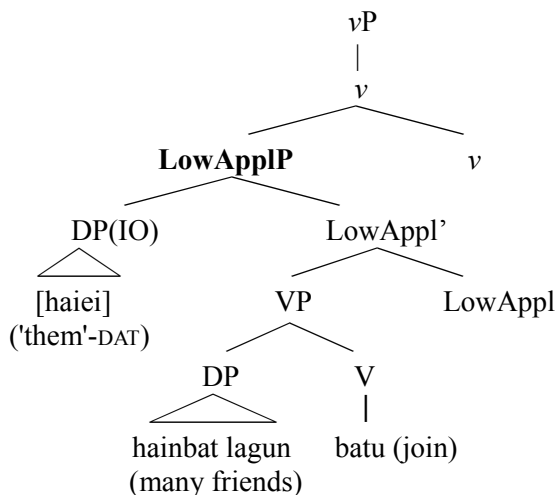
(35) *Low Applicatives*

- a. Ama -k semea-**ri** ogia igorri dio
 mother-ERG son-DAT bread(ABS) sent AUX[3sE-3sD-(3sA)]
 'The mother sent bread to her son'
- b. Bidaia-n zehar hainbat lagun batu zaizkie
 Trip-INN through many friend(ABS) join AUX[(3plA)-3plD]
 'Many friends joined them through the trip'

(36) a.



b.

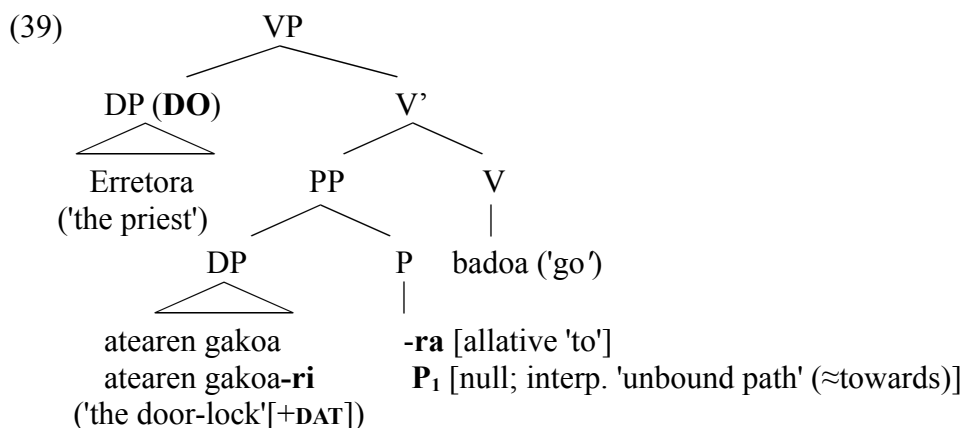


The first innovation in Labourdin would be the extension of this low applicative structure to cover new semantic fields--locative and aspectual constructions, semelfactives, etc.--, that were previously covered only by locative adpositions-- mostly allative, but also innesive, destinative, etc.--, and instrumental. As observed, this extension does not change the syntactic relations and agreement morphology in the structure, although some mechanism has to be provided to restrict the semantic scope of the construction. Thus, we may assume that such an analysis would maintain the same applicative structure in (36b) or similar for the newly created agreeing datives such as (8a), repeated in (37), and all the extensions discussed in (8)-(13) in section 3.1, above, with no substantial modification.

- (37) Eta hiri-ko portalea-**ri** hurbildu zaion bezala...
 And city-GEN door -DAT approach AUX[(3sA)-3sD] as
 And as he approached the door of the city..." [Leizarraga 1571]

The second innovation, agreementless datives, is the result of adding to the lexical inventory of Labourdin a new adposition modeled on the basis of the Romance dative preposition *à* ('to'), following Etxepare's (2014) insight.¹⁶ This new adposition exhibits a semi-functional nature to cover exactly the same semantic contexts as the "extended" applicative construction: unbounded path (\approx 'towards'), as proposed in Etxepare (2014), and all the uses of the dative in the language, including the goal in change of possession frames, etc. Restricting our attention to the projection of arguments in the verbal complex, the new agreementless datives in (38a) would have the same PP-structure as the allative in (38b), represented in (39) [modified from Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008]. Remember that the only difference between allative and dative structures in (39) is the postpositional head: a phonologically null postposition P_1 (\approx 'towards') that assigns dative to its complement DP in (38a), and an overt one *-ra* ('to') in (38b) that assigns allative:¹⁷

- (38) a. Erretora badoa eliza -ko atea -ren gako**a-ri**
 priest(ABS) go[(3sA)] church-GEN door-GEN lock-**DAT**
 'The priest goes to(wards) the door-lock of the church'
- b. Erretora badoa eliza -ko atea-ren gako-**ra**
 priest(ABS) go[(3sA)] church-GEN door-GEN lock-**ALL**
 'The priest goes to the door-lock of the church'



As said before, the same parallel structure would have to hold between the allative (*-ra*) and the dative assigning null P_1 in transitive pairs like (40), this time with the addition of an external argument in the vP . In this case, the null P_1 would be interpreted differently: in (38)-(39) it is

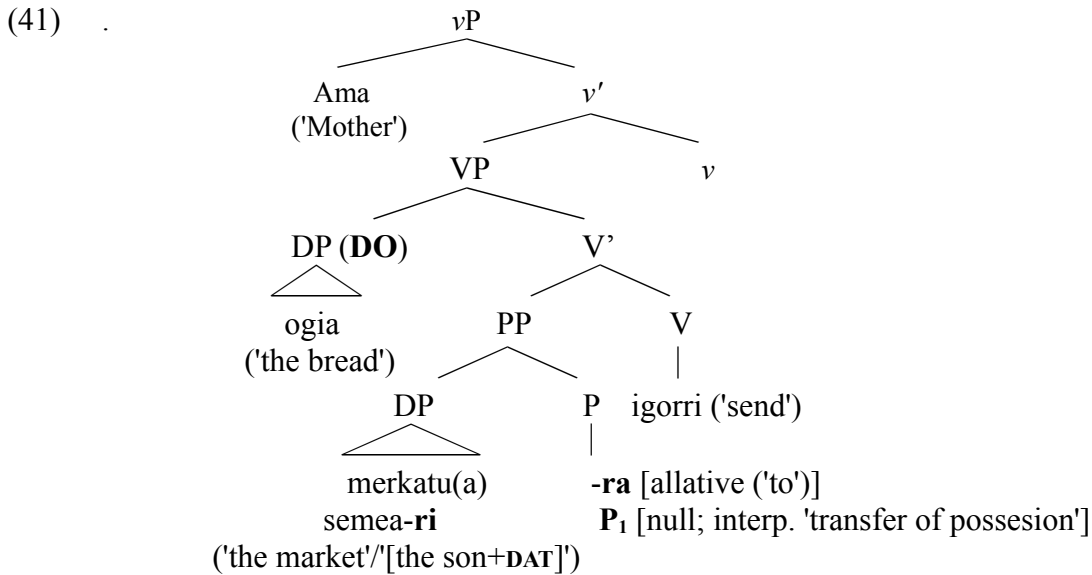
¹⁶ The extension of the semantic fields covered by the dative in these dialects has been attributed to language contact with continental Romance, either French (Pikabea 1993, Etxepare 2014) or, most probably, Gascon (Ormazabal 2016a,b). It is worth mentioning that if that influence is correct, in fact the new semantic fields are borrowed from a PP construction in the Romance language and projected as an agreeing *LowAppIP*-type structure in Basque, by hypothesis a very different structure. That is so because when the semantic extension occurs the agreementless dative PP is not available as a possible structure in the language.

¹⁷ Again, details of the internal structure of the PP are irrelevant for the discussion. That includes the issue of whether the direct object is projected as an argument of V, as represented in (38) and (40), or the two DP arguments constitute a small clause structure.

Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2012) and Etxepare (2014) extensively argue that the dative is not the prepositional element but the case assigned by the presence of a directional, unpronounced postposition. They also argue that the two PPs also differ in their internal structure, which is more articulated in the case of the allative adposition. We follow their analysis of the internal structure of the PPs, but nothing important depends on this assumption. See references for extensive discussion of axial parts in PP structures.

interpreted as "unbound path" ('towards'), while in (40)-(41) it receives a transfer-of-possession interpretation:

- (40) a. Ama -k ogia igorri du semea-ri
 mother-ERG bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE-(3sA)] son-DAT
 'The mother sent bread to her son'
 b. Ama -k ogia igorri du merkatu-ra
 mother-ERG bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE-(3sA)] market-ALL
 'The mother sent bread to the market'



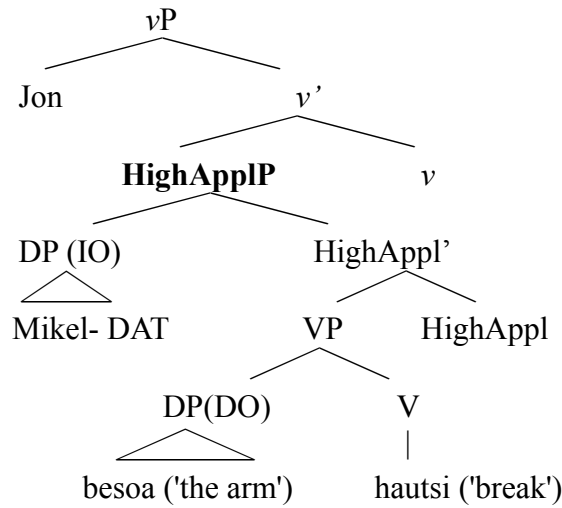
In this framework, the well-observed syntactic and morphological differences between agreement and agreementless dative constructions are structurally encoded in the two constructions proposed: the agreement asymmetry follows from the fact that an agreement relation is postulated in the applicative phrase in (36) but not PP-internally in (39) and (41). In addition, the two structures are also intended to reflect the differences in the categorial status of the two internal arguments (DP vs. PP) and in the hierarchical relation among them (IO > DO vs. DO > IO) discussed in section 3.2 and commonly observed in dative alternations in many languages since Barss & Lasnik's (1986) discussion of Double Object Constructions in English. What is not at all obvious is how the tight relation that the two constructions manifest both language internally and crosslinguistically may be captured in such a non-derivational approach, as we discuss below.

Together with these structures, ApplP analyses (as well as P_{have} ones) must also account for the lack of alternation in two other types of constructions: (i) experiencer, possessor and ethical datives, and (ii) dative assigning postpositions. Concerning the non-alternating experiencer and possessor datives, most authors in the literature follow Pylkkänen's (2008) and Cuervo's (2003) hypothesis and propose a third dative structure, the so-called High applicative constructions.

(42) *High Applicatives* (obligatorily agreeing datives)

- a. Jon-ERG Mikel-DAT arm(ABS) break AUX[(3sA)-3sD-3sE]/AUX[(3sA)-3sE] /*du
 'Jon broke Mikel's arm'

b.



In addition to their obligatory agreement properties, high applicatives are said to differ from low applicatives in several respects. For instance, they are said not to contribute to the event schema of the sentence (Pylkkänen 2008, Cuervo 2003, Fernandez 2010, 2014, Oyharçabal 2010, Etxepare 2014, among others; but see Larson 2010). Furthermore, it has been argued that High Applicatives allow secondary predication (idem; but see Ormazabal & Romero 2010, 2015, and, very specially, Odria 2014; also see section 6, below).

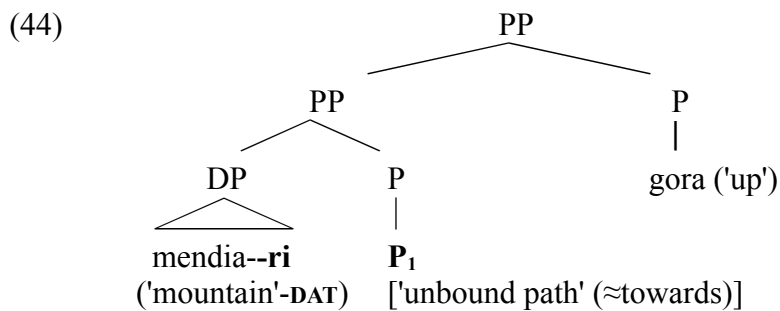
Regarding the case of complex postpositions (cfr. English *in front of*, *up to*, etc.), the minimal pair in (43) illustrates that in many such structures there is a slow process of substitution of the genitive, locative or instrumental postpositions by dative assigning ones.

- (43) a. Mendia-**n** go-ra Peninsular dialects and older Continental texts
 Mountain-LOC up+ALL
- b. Mendia-**ri** gora Modern Continental dialects
 Mountain-DAT up-ALL
 'Up (towards) the mountain' (lit. 'to up (in/-) the mountain')

As argued by Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2012), Etxepare (2014), all these constructions encode directional paths.¹⁸ Thus, (43b) and the like constitute natural extensions of the dative to unbounded path domains, but they are exceptions to the agreement/agreementless alternation: the dative has no possible way to show agreement internal to the complex PP-construction in Basque. The relevance of these structures is due to the fact that they appear when dative verbal agreement is still obligatory in the language, before the emergence of agreementless dative PPs of the type in (38)-(41). Consequently, an *AppIP* analysis has two ways to incorporate these changes in the system, both of them far from adequate. (i) A *LowAppIP* might be postulated within the complex PP, a rather implausible and stipulative move. (ii) Alternatively, what looks as a natural extension of the semantics of unbounded path datives already existing in the verbal system would be in fact

¹⁸ Complex postpositions are invariant postpositional complexes where the main element may be of different origin: "borrowings from Romance prepositions (Spanish *contra* "against") or nouns (Spanish *campo*; Gascon *land/lande* "open space"); most are derived from native locational nouns that have lost their autonomy as nouns, and mostly occur as a frozen part of the morphologically complex postposition. This is the case of *gora* "up", *behera* "down", *barna* "into", and *zehir* "across" in the sample. *Gora* and *behera* also function independently as adverbs." (Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2012). See this work for discussion of internal structure and properties.

the birth of a completely different PP headed by a dative assigning P within the complex PP structure (44). Notice, however, that this structure will not be generally available until a few generations later, when agreementless datives appear elsewhere in the dialect:



In addition to that, the system described in this subsection is not very suitable for theoretical reasons: even though the core three-way distinction described here could be taxonomically appropriate, it lacks explanatory power. Postponing the discussion of high applicatives until section 6, if we are dealing with different and independent structures, some obvious issues arise with *LowAppIP*-type answers to the main issues:

- (i) As mentioned above, the extension of the agreement dative construction far beyond caused-possession contexts to pure locative and aspectual ones diminishes Pylkkänen's semantic basis for the *LowAppIP* and requires a very lax interpretation of the functional *AppI* head, in clear contrast to similar heads such as *v*. At the same time, some mechanism that restricts the meaning of the applicative is necessary (see Wood 2012, Wood & Marantz 2015 for a possible way out). Interestingly, semantic interpretation would depend completely on the selecting lexical verb.
- (ii) The sudden birth of a dative PP, which appears later, and, especially, its quick extension through the entire system is a complete mystery also:

a) From a diachronic perspective, a big part of the dative's semantic extension to cover unbounded path contexts is chronologically previous to the optional loss of dative agreement, the opposite to what we would expect by combining a borrowing hypothesis perspective with a non-derivational view of dative alternations. That is, the use of datives in unbounded path contexts appears earlier in applicative (obligatory agreement) structures (35), than in dative selecting P_1 structures (38)/(40), in contradiction to the idea that the agreementless structure is motivated by the introduction of a new lexical item by influence of French preposition *à* ('to').

b) Moreover, what makes the move even more suspicious in this case is the fact that the agreementless dative encompasses exactly the same contexts where Low Applicative constructions were--and still are--an option. Both the agreement and the agreementless dative strategies, in principle two completely different structures, end up extending their semantic domain to exactly the same semantic fields. Again, the non-derivational analysis would have to abandon important theoretical positions generally assumed in these frameworks to accommodate the facts with little explanatory gain, beyond a simple statement of the facts.

Note that there is nothing strange in either (i) or (ii) as diachronic processes: throughout redistribution of the semantic landscape among adpositions and between adpositions and dative is very common in both directions in the languages of the world, many of them similar or even almost identical to the ones occurred in Labourdin. In fact, "emptying" of the dative in favor of existing or new adpositional elements or vice versa has been a well studied process in typological and diachronic studies. But AppIP/PP analyses have no saying on why and how that happens, other than stipulating their properties in the different structures.

The complementarity of the issues raised reinforce the position that there is a structural connections between the dative agreement and the agreementless PP strategy that the AUCH! hypothesis is unable to capture. The hypothesis that the changes we are discussing are the primary consequence of a borrowing from a continental Romance language may be correct given, among other things, the geographical distribution of the phenomenon.¹⁹ But, given the facts, that is only possible in a context where the two datives are structurally connected. In the next section, we present a derivational analysis based on P-incorporation, and discuss how they deal with the diachronic changes described. We first show in section 5 that a derivational P-incorporation approach accounts most naturally for the distribution of facts if "low applicatives" are interpreted as "derived " from underlying PP structures. Then, in section 6, we speculate on a different structural way to integrate so-called "high applicatives" into the system that could explain why they do not alternate.

5. A Derivational analysis of Dative Alternations: not birth of a new strategy, but recycling of an existing one

An important conclusion of our previous discussion is that we are dealing with two main changes, very different in time and nature:

- i) A steady process of semantic spreading of the agreement dative structure, which slowly extends to different locative and aspectual contexts throughout the entire historical records and, consequently, causes a reorganization of the semantic map of locative postpositions.
- ii) The cluster of changes that occurred in the last part of XVIII century --optional loss of dative agreement, inversion of c-command relations between the Direct Object and the Indirect Object, change in the categorial status of datives and in word order--, that must be the structural

¹⁹ Given that part of the borrowing has already taken place in the XVII century, there are more plausible candidates than French as the source language. Until XVIII century, with the French Revolution, French does not penetrate in a systematic way in these areas, not even as a *koiné language*, since Béarnese, a dialect of Gascon, was the general language for administrative purposes and most probably for trade relations. According to Coyos (2012), most Basque speakers of Continental dialects, at least in Soule, were bilinguals in this language as well. Moreover, the influence of Gascon extends further, since it may be tracked at least in one of the complex postpositions with dative in the construction *-ri buruz*, a calque of *(de) cap a La casa* "towards the house", lit. "(of/with) head to the house", as already pointed out by Mitxelena/Sarasola (1987-2005) and Hualde (2002). See [footnote 16](#), and references there for discussion.

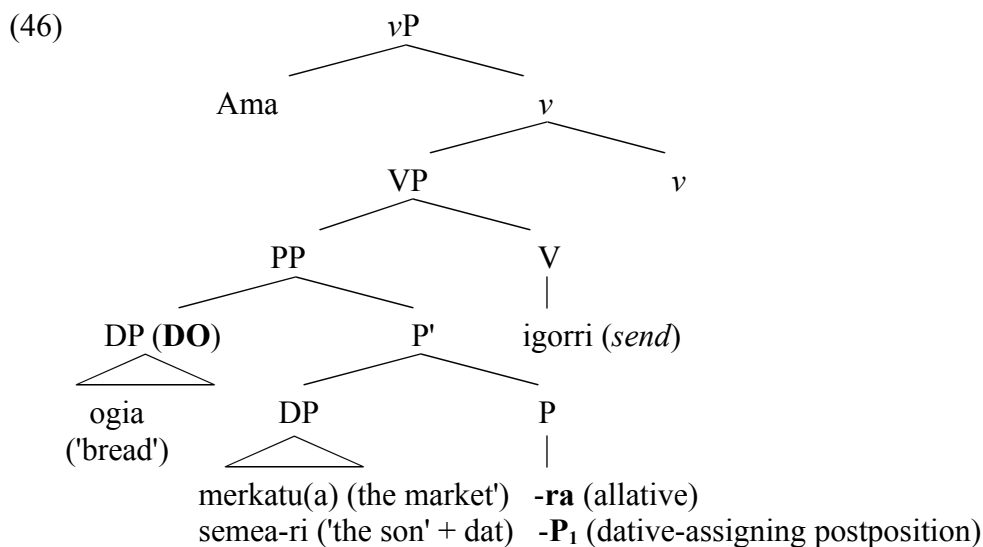
manifestation of a single, more basic, change in the system yielding the sudden appearance of a different, agreementless, dative construction. This new PP-construction creates a genuine dative alternation where both alternates cover virtually the same semantic fields, and compete with other lexical Ps in the distribution of the semantic space.

Our main point in this section is to show that the changes in (i) fit most naturally in a P-incorporation analysis of the type proposed in Ormazabal & Romero (2015), and that such an analysis accounts for the cluster of properties associated to the changes in (ii) and for the resulting state of affairs, conforming to the range of diachronic changes that we may expect in a derivational theory of dative alternations.

5.1. Theoretical frame: crosslinguistic variation in PP and applicative constructions.

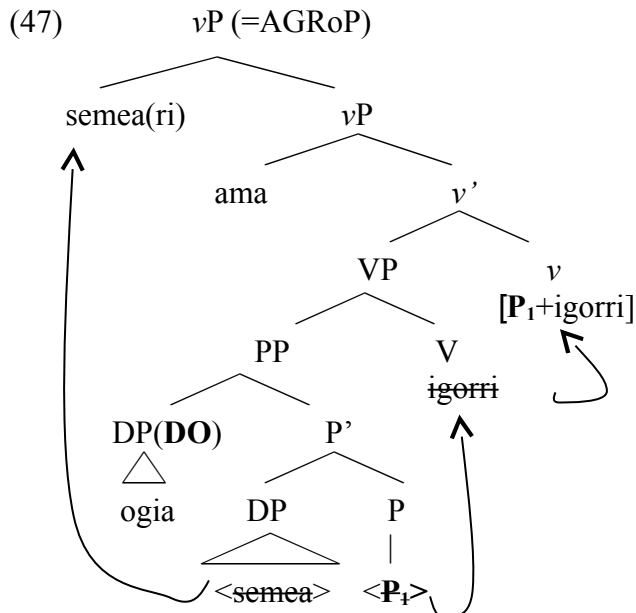
In Ormazabal & Romero (2015) we argue that a derivational analysis of PP and applicative alternations involving P-incorporation provides a general framework to explain the rich superficial variation in dative constructions, at the same time presenting a good model of how parametric variation may be formally constrained. We argue that PP and Dative constructions share the same basic structure, a small clause-type structure headed by a P element, where the DO c-commands the IO, as represented in (46) for (45b,c):²⁰

- (45) a. Ama- -k semea-**ri** ogia igorri dio
 mother-ERG son -**DAT** bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE- **3sD**-(3sA)]
 ‘The mother sent bread to her son’
 b. Ama -k ogia igorri du semea -**ri**
 mother-ERG bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE-(3sA)] son -**DAT**
 ‘The mother sent bread to her son’
 c. Ama -k ogia igorri du merkatu-ra
 mother-ERG bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE-(3sA)] market -ALL
 ‘The mother sent bread to the market’



²⁰ As in the previous sections, we will not consider issues concerning the internal articulation of a richer PP structure. As far as we can see, they do not affect our argumentation in any important way. See footnote 16 and references.

The second claim in Ormazabal & Romero (2015) is that applicative constructions²¹ share the same basic derivation crosslinguistically, and involve the incorporation of the P head, an operation that becomes the trigger of the “special” derivation of dative constructions and the motivation for the main surface differences in the agreement, word order and hierarchical structure.²²



It is important to note that our position is not that examples in (45) alternate, but that they share the same base-configuration (46). These PPs are headed by different postpositions, which have different lexico-functional specifications and different semantic properties, including their selectional features (see Ormazabal & Romero 2010, 2015 and references for discussion). In fact, strictly speaking there is no real dative alternation in Basque until the appearance of the agreementless dative. According to us, this is the new situation in which the incorporation of P becomes optional in these varieties, as we will see next.²³

The general answer--extensively motivated in Ormazabal & Romero (2015)-- to the great crosslinguistic variability in dative alternations is that the only variation specific to the dative constructions resides in the properties of the incorporated P. More specifically, we argue that this crosslinguistic variation reduces to i) whether the incorporated P₁ (the applicative head) is manifested morpho-phonologically in the verbal complex or not and, if so, how precisely; ii) the

²¹ That includes Double Object Constructions (e.g. English *I sent Peter a letter*), dative agreement constructions of the type discussed in this paper, dative clitic constructions (e.g. Spanish *le envié un libro a Peter*), and applicative constructions (e.g. Indonesian *saya mem-bawa-kan Ali surat itu*, 'I brought Ali the letter') of different sorts, among others.

²² Myler (2010) independently reaches an analysis almost identical to ours to account for a structure in North West dialects of England that looks to us as an interesting case of unaccusative dative constructions parallel to Labourdin path dative constructions ("John came the pub with me", etc). The author is reluctant to extend the analysis to regular DOC constructions, but such a restraint seems to us to be unfounded.

²³ In that respect, our proposal departs from classical derivational analyses (Larson 1988, Baker 1988), which we adopted in some previous analyses (Romero 1997, Ormazabal & Romero 1998, Arregi & Ormazabal 2003; also see Albizu 2001, 2009, Arregi 2003a and references therein). For a throughout motivation see discussion in Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (2008) and Ormazabal & Romero (2010).

obligatoriness /optionality of the incorporation; iii) the Case/agreement feature-specifications of P₁ and v and, perhaps, iv) the set of incorporating Ps in each language. We argue that these specifications interact with the particular mapping between the conceptual space and the linguistically relevant lexical entries--most characteristically in the verbal and adpositional domains--, and with regular Case and agreement resources in the system of the language. These combinations have the effect of making dative constructions look superficially very different across languages despite their common derivation and their well rooted similarities.

Considered from a synchronic point of view, Labourdin and Continental Basque are two dialectal varieties that conform to the narrow possibilities of parametric variation described above, and differ minimally in the lexical distribution of path postpositions and in the value of parameter (ii): P₁ obligatorily incorporates in CW dialects and optionally in NE ones. But the diachronic changes that yield this state of affairs is particularly helpful to clarify the syntactic articulation and the different locus of the parametric differences.

5.2. *The Changes in Labourdin Reconsidered*

Leaving minor changes aside, the initial stage in the Labourdin dialect corresponds to the current situation in more conservative Peninsular ones, where the semantic extension of the dative is already quite broad, as described in section 2.1, but it has not extended to the unbounded path contexts discussed in section 2. The latter is filled by lexical *path* postpositions such as the inessive *-ra* ('to'):²⁴ The Basque abstract postposition that yields the dative construction must incorporate obligatorily in Standard and Peninsular Basque up to our days, and that was also the situation in Labourdin. Consequently, dative agreement was obligatory (48a). In contrast, the allative postposition *-ra* ('to') never incorporates in any dialect and, consequently, never shows agreement with the auxiliary (48b):

- (48) a. Ama -k semea-**ri** ogia igorri dio / *du
 mother-ERG son-DAT bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE-**3sD**-(3sA)]/AUX[3sE-(3sA)]
 'The mother sent her son (the) bread'
- b. Ama -k ogia igorri du merkatu-ra
 mother-ERG bread(ABS) send AUX[3sE-(3sA)] market-ALL
 'The mother sent (the) bread to the market'

Chronologically, the first innovation in Labourdin is the redistribution of the semantic fields, in the direction proposed by Etxepare (2014): the dative extends to express "unbounded path" in contexts where previously the allative appeared.²⁵ We may assume that the change

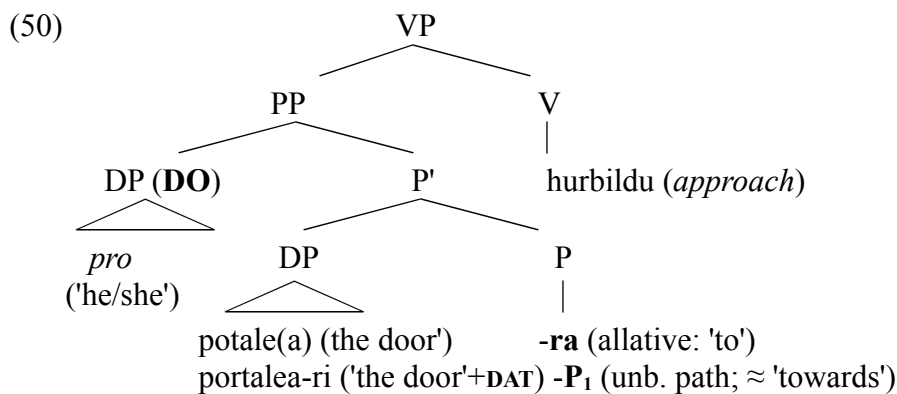
²⁴Minor differences aside, the distribution is very much like clitic doubled dative and locative preposition *a* ('to') in nowadays standard Spanish (see Ormazabal & Romero 2013).

²⁵Descriptively speaking, the process is the mirror image of the one attested in the change from Latin dative to Romance prepositional phrases headed by Lat. *ad* (Romance *a/à*); in that case, it is the directional preposition *ad* ('to') that expands to cover grammatical relations previously covered by the dative: goal, recipient, etc. (for a detailed analysis of the change from Latin to Romance see Fedriani & Prandi 2014, and references there).

basically reduces to a redistribution of semantic fields among lexical adpositions induced by external factors in a context of language contact. The distinguishing property of our derivational analysis, as compared to the AUCH! proposals discussed earlier, is that for us in that stage of the language the postposition already exists; it is the P_1 that incorporates obligatorily and induces dative agreement. And the semantic extension triggered on the basis of the Continental Romance functional preposition *a* ('to') operates on the lexical extension of that existing P_1 adposition. To see this, consider the derivation of the two examples in (49), the first one containing an agreementless allative PP in all dialects of Basque and (49b) with *an*, at that time, newly created locative dative of Classical Labourdin:

- (49) a. Eta hiri-ko portale-**ra** hurbildu den bezala...
 And city-GEN door -ALL approach AUX[(3sA)] as
 "And as he approached to the door of the city..."
 b. Eta hiri-ko portalea-**ri** hurbildu zaion bezala...
 And city-GEN door -DAT approach AUX[(3sA)-3sD] as
 "And as he approached the door of the city..." [Leičarraga 1571]

As observed, they both share the same basic structure, in (50); the only difference is the new extension of the dative assigning P_1 to unbounded path contexts (\approx 'towards') in the place of the allative postposition *-ra* ('to'):

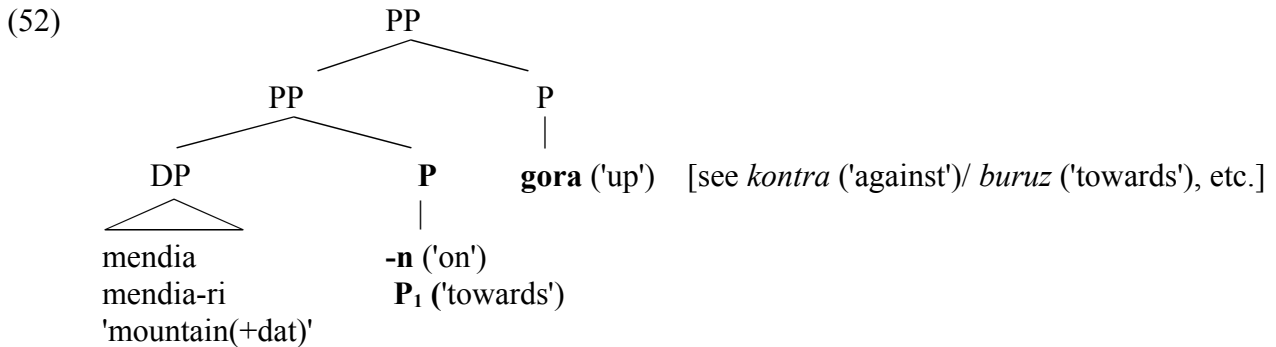


But the incorporation is obligatory in the case of P_1 ('towards') and impossible in that of *-ra* ('to') when these changes occur in Labourdin. This incorporation triggers obligatory dative agreement of the complement of P_1 with the verbal complex that hosts the incorporated postposition, a satisfactory outcome.²⁶

Let us consider now the contrast in (43), repeated in (51), with the structure in (52), where a lexical postposition *gora* ('up'), instead of a verb, selects for a locative PP complement; in both Peninsular and Continental dialects. Once again, the dialectal difference is that the embedded locative PP is headed by the inessive postposition *-an* ('in/'on') in Peninsular dialects and older Labourdin texts and by the dative assigning P_1 in modern Continental dialects (cfr. English *up to*, etc.):

²⁶See Ormazabal & Romero (2015) for details; also see Odria 2015 for an alternative proposal that combines a derivational approach with an *AppP* hypothesis for dative agreement.

- (51) a. Mendia-**n** gora Peninsular dialects and older Continental texts
 Mountain-LOC up-ALL
- b. Mendia-**ri** go-ra Modern Continental dialects
 Mountain-DAT up-ALL
 'Up the mountain'



This is just a natural extension of the same semantic spreading process that has expanded the dative assigning P₁ to unbounded path contexts, as argued by Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2012) and Etxepare (2014). It is worth remembering that these complex postpositions appear quite late in the chronology of unbound path datives, but earlier than agreementless datives (see sections 3.1., 4.2 and references there). Note also that in these structures, and only here, the lack of overt agreement is independent of whether P₁ incorporates to the higher postposition, since the incorporation into the lexical postposition is internal to the complex PP, a context where Basque does not have functional heads that could host agreement morphology. The desired result follows.

In contrast, the cluster of changes that occurred at the end of XVIII century is of a very different nature. If our approach is on the right track, all these structural changes reduce to a minimal parametric difference in the morphological feature specifications of the PPs involved. In this case, the shift from a stage of the language where dative agreement is obligatory to one where it becomes optional reduces to a change in the morphological properties of the incorporating P, which becomes optional, yielding a real dative alternation. Consider, in that respect, example (25), repeated in (53), with an agreement and an agreementless instance of the same verb:

- (53) Otoi, ate hor-**ri** hurbil zaite, ni hurbil-tzen nitzaion bezala
 Please, door that-DAT approach AUX[(2plA-INP)], I approach-HAB AUX[(1sA)-3sD-past] as
 Please, approach that door as I approached it' [(=25) Larzabal 1930-1964]

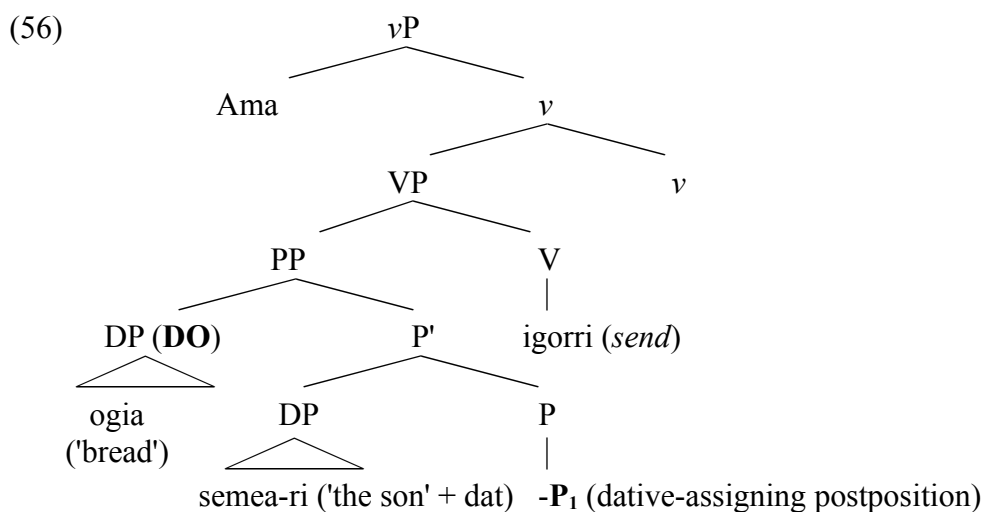
Assuming this change in the parameter value of P-incorporation, all the important properties of the phenomenon follow in a unified and natural way: i) the fact that the new construction extends to virtually the entire range of dative constructions that are possible with agreement datives in all dialects; ii) the fact that this spreading process takes place really fast, that is, that all the relevant dative agreement contexts become optional practically at the same time; iii) the cluster of radical morphological and syntactic changes that accompany the modification of the parameter value: c-command relations, categorial differences, (lack of) agreement. Let us consider them in more detail.

Once the incorporation of P₁ becomes optional, the fact that the totality of the contexts where dative agreement was obligatory begin to show optional agreement and quickly enter the dative alternation is a natural consequence of our proposal: the same P₁, in all its semantic extension, may or may not incorporate. We also predict that agreementless datives are not allowed in what Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2012) and Etxepare (2014) consider "bounded path" contexts, where agreement datives were not allowed either (55). This remains the realms of the non-incorporating allative postposition, as predicted (54):

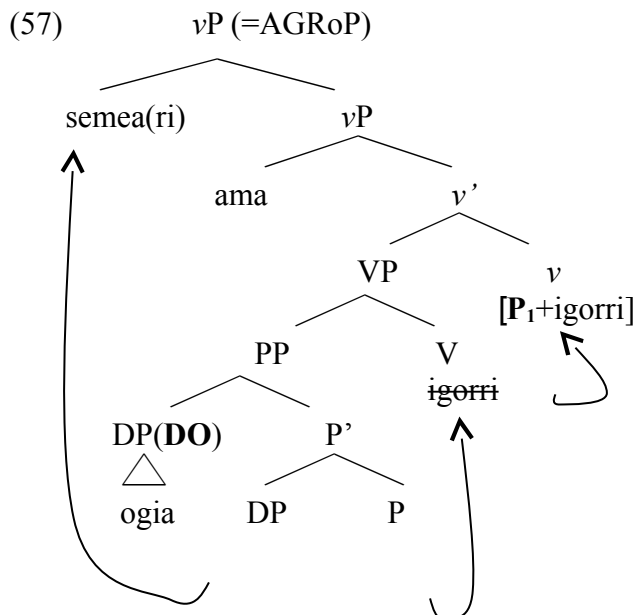
- (54) a. Mirenek pilota zelai-**ra** bota du
 Mary-ERG ball(ABS) field-**all** throw AUX[(3sA)-3sE]
 'Mary threw the ball to the field'
- b. Eskale bat etorri da etxe-**ra**
 beggar one(ABS) come AUX[(3sA)] house-**ALL**
 'A beggar came home/to the house'
- (55) a. * Mirenek pilota zelaia-**ri** bota dio/du
 Mary-ERG ball(ABS) field -**DAT** throw AUX[(3sA)-3sD-3sE]/AUX[(3sA)-3sE]
 'Mary threw the field the ball'
- b. * Eskale bat etorri da /zaio etxea-**ri**
 beggar one(ABS) come AUX[(3sA)] / AUX[(3sA)-**3sD**] house-**DAT**
 'A beggar came home/to the house'

Crucially, the alternation has no semantic basis, as expected: the shift from obligatory dative agreement to dative alternations extends across-the-board to all contexts, and only to them, because it is just the reflex of a morphological readjustment in P₁, whose incorporation becomes optional, and this process does not discriminate between "old" and "new" datives, which are affected equally by the change.

The surface morphological and syntactic differences between the agreement and the agreementless dative constructions also follow from the optionality of the incorporation. As mentioned in section 5.1, agreement and agreementless PPs both share the same basic structure in (56), where the direct object c-commands the indirect object:



Since P_1 incorporates optionally, when it does not incorporate the c-command and categorial properties are those in (56), similar to locative postpositions, where the DO c-commands the embedded dative PP and no agreement with the verb holds. If it incorporates, however, it triggers movement of the indirect object--generated as the DP complement of P_1 --to the agreement position in (57), a position where it not only agrees with the verb, but also c-commands the direct object.



In fact, the optionality of the incorporation and the appearance of a true alternation in Labourdin may be explained as a series of factors that coincide in these dialects but not in Peninsular ones. In particular, the extension of the unbounded path interpretation to complex postpositions such as *mendiari gora* ('up the mountain') discussed in (51)-(52) indirectly creates the first context where dative agreement is not available. Morphological reanalysis of the lack of agreement in these constructions as not involving P_1 incorporation, might be the trigger for further extension to the verbal domain, which makes the non-incorporation strategy available more generally. The external factor, where Spanish presents dative clitic doubling but Continental Romance languages do not, contributes to reinforce the agreementless strategy, yielding the system described in this paper.

Finally, as in many other cases of true dative alternation crosslinguistically (see references in footnote 14), the dative agreement structure underwent a process of specialization and, associated to this, a recent tendency to prime the non-incorporated version-- a phenomenon that occurs only when real dative alternations exist in the language--which is driving the progressive loss of locative applicative incorporation in some contexts, again most probably reinforced by the contact with the French prepositional structures, where *à* never incorporates (see Ormazabal 2016a for details).

It might be argued that our account stipulates the obligatoriness/optionality for each language. Indeed, that is the case, in the same sense non-derivational analyses must stipulate

whether a language has dative construction, *to*-constructions or both. But in our case, this is encoded in a more abstract way, restricted to the feature properties of adpositional heads, and conforms to a very restricted set of possible parametric possibilities. Importantly, the cluster of morphological and syntactic properties associated to each construction is not stipulated, encoded in each syntactic construction, but derived from the derivation itself. To finish, the changes conform to a series of i-language external circumstances that may be pinpointed and evaluated with standard tools of historical linguistics, as we have shown.

Given all the above, the only case that remains unexplained is the lack of alternation in so-called "high applicatives", that is, experiencer, possessor and ethical datives, which always show obligatory agreement. Extending a proposal by Odria (2014, 2015), in the next section we sketch a possible way to go.

6. Some observations on the *High/Low Applicative* distinction

Strictly speaking, no extra assumption is needed to deal with "high applicatives", other than a minimal adaptation of the "High/Low applicative" analysis to our proposal. Unifying agreementless PPs and low applicatives does not necessarily mean that high applicatives could not be a different structural relation altogether as proposed by Pylkkänen (2008), etc. However, the same conceptual arguments that motivated eliminating the ontological distinction between dative PPs and "low applicatives" in the first place also suggest that we might try to apply the same reductionist view to the special status of "high applicatives", and analyze them in terms more in accordance with our derivational approach. It is not our goal in this paper to present a detailed syntax of "high applicatives", but just to point at some directions that we think could help us reduce their special properties, sketching the general lines of an hypothesis in that direction.

As in the case of "low applicatives", a distinctive "high applicative" projection *per se* lacks explanatory power; moreover, even as a descriptive tool, the properties attributed to this group, as opposed to low applicatives, do not seem to make the right cut once additional evidence is considered in detail (see Ormazabal & Romero 2010, 2015, Odria 2014, 2015 for discussion).

Odria already opens a way for unification. She proposes that the ApplP locus for high and low applicatives is the same projection, but while "low applicatives" reach that position by internal merge, moving from lower structural positions, "high applicatives" are base-generated directly in the specifier of the applicative projection (also see Paul & Whitman 2010 for a related proposal). Odria presents extensive empirical evidence related to secondary predication, agreement restrictions of the Person-Case Constraint type, repair strategies in contexts of competing dative arguments, and the distribution of dative DOM (Differential Object Marking) in WC dialects

showing that dative arguments do not all share the same category, and that the standard criteria do not cut across the high/low line, but across categorial properties of the position of origin.

Our proposal is to go one step further. Theoretically speaking, the situation pictured by Odia is very similar to the analysis of subjects in the early and middle eighties, before the first VP-internal Subject Hypotheses were articulated (Kuroda 1988, Koopman & Sportiche 1991, etc.). At that time, the standard view was to assume that the subject of transitive predicates was base-generated in the Specifier of IP (Spec, TP), but the subject of unaccusatives, raising predicates, passives, etc. moved from a lower position to end up occupying the same specifier position. One of the innovative forces of the VP-internal hypothesis was that it generalized the derived nature of all subjects and associated them structurally to a functional projection where they all would end up at some point of the derivation, contributing to further dissociate the Case and agreement properties and the functional relations from properties related to argument structure and selection. A consequence of that was that the different structural properties different subject types show could be derived, not from their "subjecthood", but from their diverse origin, while the properties associated to "subjecthood" might be associated to them sharing the structural property of being in the (Spec, IP) position.

In the same vein, our proposal is that all applied/dative arguments might be derived, and that the distinction points to different base-positions from which dative shift occurs. In fact, the elements standardly classified as belonging to the class of "high applicatives", (i) possessor raising, (ii) experiencers and (iii) ethical datives of all sorts, constitute a very heterogeneous group, each of them presenting different and specific syntactic and semantic properties, what makes them hard to unify under a single "High Applicative" label, which would become a brick-a-brac.²⁷

This is already standard for causee datives in causative constructions, which are generally assumed to be generated in the external argument position of the verb embedded under the causative (Baker 1988 and much subsequent literature including most AUCH! approaches). This accounts, for instance, for the fact that causee datives, unlike PP-alternating ones, allow secondary predication. The same general strategy may be extended to high applicatives as well. Let us suppose, for instance, that some version of the raising analysis of possessor datives is on the right track. In that case, if the dative originates within some position internal to the object DP (see, e.g. Landau 1999, Arregi 2003b, and references), we would not expect it to ever show up in an agreementless dative frame, because there is no possible PP source in VP from which the non-incorporating P and the dative argument would originate. If the dative alternates at all, it would be

²⁷ In fact, apart from the fact that they do not alternate with the agreementless PP construction, there are no clear criteria to group them together. Thus, for instance, Pyllkkänen extensively argues that possessor datives are "reversed" low applicatives. If that is the case, the fact that they do not alternate while all the other low applicative do is even more mysterious.

with some genitive argument in the DP-internal position. On the other hand, experiencers are arguments selected by a specific set of verbs, they are universally associated to specific syntactic structure alternations and, in many languages, they are the only dative arguments that may act as subjects. However we account for their complex syntax, it is necessary to take into account the fact that they are subject to lexical selectional conditions (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Landau 2010, among many others). In a radically different situation, ethical datives are non-argumental items restricted to pronominal forms. They differ from the rest of the datives in important respects such as the fact that they do not trigger PCC effects, or that they cannot be doubled, what makes them clitic-like elements instead of agreement relations (see Romero 2014).

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