0. INTRODUCTION

Basque is an ergative language showing split intransitivity: ABS/ERG case variation and auxiliary selection.

MAIN AIM: to capture these two aspects of the split in a unified account.

ERG case and HAVE auxiliary have a P source

- P is of many natures. It introduces INITIATORS, HOLDERS and EXPERIencers
- ERG case is structurally assigned by a complex T
- P incorporates onto BE and it is spelled out as HAVE

1. GENERAL PICTURE

1.1. BASQUE

- Subject case variation in intransitive verbs.
  (1a) Ametsak esnea da. (3sgIMPR)
  ‘Jon eats apples’
  (1b) Ametsak esnea da. (3sgIMPR)
  ‘Jon believes in God’
  (1c) The dish burns/is burning
  ‘The dish is burnt’
- Synthetic and analytic verbal form: in the analytic: V-asp + AUX
- Auxiliary alternation: BE and HAVE (similar to German and Italian)

1.2. ERG case and AUX selection

- PROPOSAL
  - External arguments are introduced by P
  - ERG case assigned by T
  - ABS case in intransitives by T
  - Difference between T and T
  - In T P has been incorporated onto T
  - In T T remains simple
  - In analytic forms, P first incorporates onto BE
  - It spells out as HAVE (a la Kayne 1993)

2. THE COMBINED NATURE OF ERGATIVE CASE: P + T

2.1. Ergative case is not inherent

Inherent approaches to ergativity: ERG theta related to AGENT role

- In Basque, ergative DPs are not always agent-like

2.1.1. Holder ergative DPs in state verbs

- Verbs of entity-specific modes of being (erre ‘burn’, labandu/irritatua ‘slip’, pikatu ‘burn, be spicy’)
- Middle like use of the verb (ixi ‘close’)
- Non-eventive: they describe a property of the subject
- Perceived by some speakers as newer uses of the language, influenced by Romance

2.1.2. State verbs

(1) Don labandu da. Jon ABS slip PRF 3sgABS.be ‘Jon has slipped’
(2) Kremailera honek ez du onto iaten zip. THIS ERG no have.3sgERG well close.IMPR ‘This zip doesn’t close properly’
(3) Jon labandu da. Jon ABS slip PRF 3sgABS.be ‘Jon has slipped’
(4) Lurrak labantu den floor.IMPR 3sgIMPR have.3sgERG ‘The floor is slippery’
(5) Lurrak labantu den floor.IMPR 3sgIMPR have.3sgERG ‘The floor is slippery’

2.2. P as the source of ERG and HAVE

- ERG DP is introduced by an adposition (P)
  - The relation between ERG and P has been stated in many works
  - This P is also involved in the selection of HAVE auxiliary

- HAVE = BE + P (Kayne 1993) P is incorporated onto BE

2.2.1. BASQUE: DPBE vs. DPABEP HAVE

(13) Zonua irristatun da floor.IMPR 3sgABS.have have.3sgIMPR ‘The floor is slippery’
(14) Pastelak esnea falta zaio cake.IMPR milk.IMPR lack have.3sgIMPR ‘The cake is short of milk’
(15) (N) hori damu zait. I.ABS that ASS regret 3sgABS.IMPR ‘I regret that’

- Non-eventive nature of state verbs
- In Basque, ergative DPs are not always agent-like
- Non-eventive: they describe a property of the subject

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3. CONCLUSIONS

- ERG case and HAVE auxiliary have a P source
- P is of many natures: INITIATOR/Voice (Torrego 2012), passive T or High Appl (Pilxakoa 2008)
- P is incorporated (onto BE, and onto T)
- In PROCESS (+RESULT) verbs, the argument is not introduced by P
- Ergative case is structural and has a combined nature: the argument introduces P and T

4. REFERENCES


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