

A Grammar of Basque

✓✓



A 2004/ 3870

H Ling
505

edited by

José Ignacio Hualde

Jon Ortiz de Urbina

2003

Mouton de Gruyter

Berlin · New York

Contents

1	Introduction (J.I. Hualde)	1
1.1.	The Basque language and its name	1
1.2.	The Basque language today: number of speakers, geographical distribution, official status, sociolinguistic aspects	2
1.2.1.	Standard Basque and Basque dialects	3
1.3.	Brief overview of the external history of the Basque language	7
1.3.1.	The Basque language in antiquity and in the Middle Ages	7
1.3.2.	The Basque language after the Middle Ages	9
1.4.	Purported relatives	12
1.5.	This grammar and other grammars	13
2	Phonology	15
2.1.	Segmental phonology (J.I. Hualde)	15
2.1.1.	Phoneme inventory and orthography	15
2.1.2.	Description of phonemes and allophones	18
2.1.2.1.	Stops	18
2.1.2.1.1.	Palatal stops	18
2.1.2.1.2.	Voiced and voiceless stops	19
2.1.2.1.3.	Aspirated stops	21
2.1.2.2.	Voiceless sibilant fricatives and affricates	22
2.1.2.3.	Aspiration	24
2.1.2.4.	Other voiceless fricatives	25
2.1.2.5.	Voiced fricatives	26
2.1.2.6.	Dialectal developments of *j-	27
2.1.2.7.	Nasals	28
2.1.2.8.	Laterals	29
2.1.2.9.	Rhotics	29
2.1.2.10.	Vowels and glides	31
2.1.3.	Syllable structure and phonotactic restrictions	33
2.1.3.1.	Onsets	33
2.1.3.2.	Nuclei	33
2.1.3.3.	Codas	33
2.1.3.4.	Syllable contact	35
2.1.3.5.	Word-initial restrictions	37
2.1.4.	Main phonological alternations affecting consonants	37
2.1.4.1.	Nasal assimilation	37

2.1.4.2. Conditioned palatalization	37
2.1.4.3. Affective palatalization	39
2.1.4.4. Reduction and deletion in heterosyllabic consonantal sequences	40
2.1.4.5. Assimilation in voice	41
2.1.4.6. Spirantization, deletion of voiced obstruents and related processes	44
2.1.4.7. Affrication of postsonorant sibilants	45
2.1.4.8. Simplification in sibilant + affricate sequences	45
2.1.5. Main phonological alternations affecting vowels	46
2.1.5.1. Low vowel assimilation	46
2.1.5.2. Mid vowel raising	47
2.1.5.3. Consonant epenthesis: Glide/consonant insertion after high vowels	48
2.1.5.4. Deletion and raising of stem-final low vowels	49
2.1.5.5. Second vowel deletion	50
2.1.5.6. Unrounding	50
2.1.5.7. Gliding	50
2.1.5.8. Long vowels: complete assimilation and gliding with compensatory lengthening	51
2.1.5.9. Patterns of vowel interaction	52
2.1.5.10. Regressive vowel assimilation across consonants	56
2.1.5.11. Unstressed vowel reduction and deletion in High Navarrese	56
2.1.5.12. Final vowel epenthesis	57
2.1.6. Restricted morphophonological processes	58
2.1.6.1. Dependent-stem formation processes	58
2.1.6.2. Alternations affecting the negative particle	59
2.1.6.3. Epenthesis in nominal inflection	60
2.1.6.4. Other processes applying only in very restricted morphological contexts	61
2.1.7. Reduplicative processes	61
2.1.8. Processes in the adaptation of borrowings	61
2.1.8.1. Productive adaptations	61
2.1.8.2. Main changes in old borrowings from Latin and early Romance	63
2.2. Accentuation (J.I. Hualde)	65
2.2.1. Northern Bizkaian	65
2.2.2. Western Gipuzkoa	69

2.2.3. The central accentual type	71
2.2.4. Zuberoan	71
2.3. Intonation (G. Elordieta)	72
2.3.1. Lekeitio	73
2.3.1.1. Accented and unaccented words	73
2.3.1.2. Intonational division of an utterance	76
2.3.1.2.1. Main prosodic and pragmatic prominence	76
2.3.1.2.1.1. Restrictions on the assignment of main prominence	83
2.3.1.2.1.2. Internal intonational organization of phrases with main prominence	89
2.3.1.2.2. Phrases preceding the preverbal phrase	91
2.3.1.3. Intonational contours of nondeclarative sentences	93
2.3.1.3.1. Absolute interrogative sentences	93
2.3.1.3.2. Pronominal (or Wh-) interrogative sentences	94
2.3.1.3.3. Echo-questions	96
2.3.1.3.4. Continuative intonation	98
2.3.1.3.5. Exclamatives	101
2.3.1.3.6. Exhortatives	101
2.3.2. Tolosa	102
2.3.2.1. Realization of stress	102
2.3.2.2. Restrictions on the assignment of main prosodic prominence	103
2.3.2.2.1. Internal intonational organization of phrases with main prominence	104
2.3.2.2.2. Phrases preceding the preverbal phrase	105
2.3.2.3. Intonational contours of nondeclarative sentences	105
2.3.3. Baztan	108
2.3.3.1. Realization of stress	108
2.3.3.2. Intonational division of an utterance	108
2.3.3.3. Non-declarative sentences	110
3 Morphology	113
3.1. The Noun Phrase: nouns, determiners and modifiers; pronouns and names (R.L. Trask)	113
3.1.1. Introduction	113
3.1.1.1. The basics	113

3.1.1.2. Animacy	115
3.1.1.3. Sex-marking	116
3.1.2. Determiners	118
3.1.2.1. General	118
3.1.2.2. Articles	118
3.1.2.2.1. The definite article	119
3.1.2.2.2. The proximate plural article	122
3.1.2.2.3. The indefinite article	122
3.1.2.3. Demonstratives	123
3.1.2.3.1. Ordinary demonstratives	123
3.1.2.3.2. Intensive demonstratives	123
3.1.2.4. The partitive	124
3.1.2.5. Numerals	126
3.1.2.5.1. Cardinal numerals	126
3.1.2.5.2. Distributive numerals	128
3.1.2.5.3. Ordinal numerals	129
3.1.2.5.4. Fractions and percentages	129
3.1.2.5.5. Measure noun phrases	130
3.1.2.5.6. Time of day	130
3.1.2.6. Quantifiers	131
3.1.2.7. Indefinite and interrogative determiners	132
3.1.2.8. Noun phrases without determiners	133
3.1.2.8.1. Translatives and essives	133
3.1.2.8.2. Predicate nominals	134
3.1.2.8.3. Instrumentals	134
3.1.2.8.4. Proverbials	135
3.1.2.8.5. Miscellaneous	135
3.1.2.9. Noun phrases with two determiners	136
3.1.3. Adjectives	136
3.1.3.1. Lexical adjectives	136
3.1.3.2. Preposed adjectives	138
3.1.3.3. Adjective comparison	140
3.1.3.4. Degree modification	141
3.1.3.5. Adjectival participles	142
3.1.3.6. Predicate adjectives	142
3.1.4. Complex modifiers	143
3.1.4.1. Genitives	143
3.1.4.2. <i>-ko</i> phrases	144
3.1.4.3. Relative clauses	149
3.1.4.4. Participles	149

3.1.5. Noun phrases lacking head nouns	149
3.1.6. Pronouns	150
3.1.6.1. Personal pronouns	150
3.1.6.1.1. Ordinary personal pronouns	150
3.1.6.1.2. Intensive personal pronouns	152
3.1.6.1.3. Interrogative pronouns	154
3.1.6.1.4. Indefinite pronouns	155
3.1.6.1.5. Reflexives	159
3.1.6.1.6. Reciprocals	160
3.1.7. Proper names	161
3.1.7.1. Personal names	161
3.1.7.2. Place names	164
3.1.8. Appositives	166
3.1.9. Nominalized verbs	167
3.2. Case and number inflection of noun phrases (J.I. Hualde)	171
3.2.1. The nature of nominal inflection	171
3.2.2. Inflectional suffixes for case and number	171
3.2.2.1. Basic morphological paradigms	171
3.2.2.2. Epenthetic segments in nominal inflection	174
3.2.2.3. Other alternations and irregularities	175
3.2.2.4. Animate local case endings	176
3.2.3. Proper nouns	177
3.2.4. Demonstratives	178
3.2.5. Personal pronouns	179
3.2.6. Functions and dialectal variants of inflectional suffixes	179
3.3. Postpositions (J.I. Hualde)	187
3.3.1. Locational nouns	187
3.3.2. Invariable postpositions	188
3.4. Adverbs (J.I. Hualde)	190
3.4.1. Time adverbs	190
3.4.2. Place adverbs	192
3.4.3. Manner adverbs	193
3.4.4. Proposition-level adverbs and adverbial expressions	194
3.4.5. Comparison of adverbs	195
3.5. Verbs (J.I. Hualde, B. Oyharçabal and J. Ortiz de Urbina)	195
3.5.1. Nonfinite forms (J.I. Hualde)	196
3.5.1.1. Nonfinite forms used in analytical verbal expressions	196
3.5.1.1.1. Perfective participle	196

3.5.1.1.2. Radical	199
3.5.1.1.3. Future participle	200
3.5.1.1.4. Imperfective participle	200
3.5.1.2. Other nonfinite forms	202
3.5.1.2.1. Verbal noun	202
3.5.1.2.2. Predicative participle	204
3.5.2. Finite forms	205
3.5.2.1. The structure of finite forms	205
3.5.2.1.1. Agreement markers	205
3.5.2.1.2. Other affixes	210
3.5.2.2. Intransitive auxiliary <i>izan</i> 'be'	212
3.5.2.2.1. Indicative	212
3.5.2.2.2. Conditional	215
3.5.2.2.3. Potential	217
3.5.2.2.4. Subjunctive	218
3.5.2.2.5. Imperative	220
3.5.2.3. Transitive auxiliary <i>*edun/*ezan</i> 'have'	221
3.5.2.3.1. Indicative	221
3.5.2.3.2. Conditional	225
3.5.2.3.3. Potential	228
3.5.2.3.4. Subjunctive	231
3.5.2.3.5. Imperative	232
3.5.2.4. Synthetic verbs	
3.5.2.4.1. Synthetic verbs: present indicative	233
3.5.2.4.2. Synthetic verbs: past indicative	236
3.5.2.4.3. Synthetic verbs: Conditional	238
3.5.2.4.4. Synthetic verbs: subjunctive and impera- tive	240
3.5.2.4.5. Other synthetic verb with more re- stricted usage	240
3.5.2.5. Allocutive forms	242
3.5.3. Structural analysis of basic verbal paradigms (J.I. Hualde)	246
3.5.4. Tense, aspect and mood (B. Oyharçabal)	249
3.5.4.1. Imperfective present and synthetic present	251
3.5.4.2. Perfective present (present perfect)	257
3.5.4.2.1. Remote perfective present	258
3.5.4.2.2. Perfect of result	259
3.5.4.3. Prospective present or future tense	260
3.5.4.4. Imperfective past	263

3.5.4.5. Perfective past	265
3.5.4.6. Prospective past or future in the past	267
3.5.4.7. Hypothetical conditional constructions	268
3.5.4.7.1. Hypothetical past conditional in protases	268
3.5.4.7.2. Hypothetical past conditional in apodoses	269
3.5.4.7.3. Hypothetical non-past conditional in protases	270
3.5.4.7.4. Hypothetical present-future conditional in apodoses	272
3.5.4.8. Potential	274
3.5.4.8.1. Present potential	274
3.5.4.8.2. Past potential	275
3.5.4.8.3. Hypothetical potential	276
3.5.4.9. Subjunctive verb forms	277
3.5.4.9.1. Present subjunctive	277
3.5.4.9.2. Past subjunctive	278
3.5.4.9.3. Hypothetical subjunctive	278
3.5.4.10. Imperative	279
3.5.4.10.1. Jussive forms used as imperatives	281
3.5.4.10.2. Contracted imperative forms	281
3.5.4.10.3. Remarks on some archaic imperative forms	282
3.5.4.11. Jussive	282
3.5.5. Periphrastic constructions (J. Ortiz de Urbina)	284
3.5.5.1. Progressive periphrases	285
3.5.5.1.1. The <i>ari</i> construction	285
3.5.5.1.2. Other progressive periphrases: <i>egon</i> 'be', <i>jardun</i> 'be engaged in', <i>ibili</i> 'walk', <i>joan</i> 'go'	290
3.5.5.2. Future periphrases with <i>joan</i> 'go', <i>egonlizan</i> 'be' and <i>*edun/eduki</i> 'have'	293
3.5.5.3. Habitual periphrases	296
3.5.5.4. Modal periphrases with absolutive/partitive nominalizations	296
3.5.5.5. Resultative periphrases	297
3.5.6. Semiauxiliary verbs (J. Ortiz de Urbina)	300
3.5.6.1. The semiauxiliaries <i>nahi</i> 'want' and <i>behar</i> 'need'.	301

3.5.6.1.1. <i>Nahi/behaz</i> as main and semiauxiliary verbs	301
3.5.6.1.2. Transparency effects in like-subject complements	303
3.5.6.2. Potentiality: <i>ahal</i> 'can' and <i>ezin</i> 'cannot'	309
3.5.7. Modal particles	316
3.5.7.1. Independent uses of <i>ote</i> and <i>omen</i>	317
3.5.7.2. Conditional <i>ba</i>	319
3.5.7.3. Interrogative <i>-a</i>	320
3.5.7.4. The case of habitual <i>ohi</i>	321
3.6. Conjunctions and connectors (J.I. Hualde)	323
3.6.1. Coordinating conjunctions	323
3.6.2. Subordinating conjunctions	324
3.6.3. Sentential connectors	325
3.6.4. Expressions with <i>ere</i> 'also; even'	325
3.7. Derivation (J.I. Hualde)	328
3.7.1. Diminutives	330
3.7.2. Derived nouns	332
3.7.2.1. Denominal noun-deriving suffixes (N+suf =N)	333
3.7.2.2. Deadjectival noun-deriving suffixes (ADJ+suf = N)	340
3.7.2.3. Deverbal noun-deriving suffixes (V+suf = N)	341
3.7.3. Derived adjectives	344
3.7.4. Derived verbs	347
3.7.5. Derived adverbs	347
3.7.6. Prefixation	349
3.8. Compounds (J. I. Hualde)	351
3.8.1. Co-compounds (dvandva)	351
3.8.2. N+N sub-compound nouns	354
3.8.3. V+N sub-compound nouns	355
3.8.4. N +ADJ exocentric compounds	355
3.8.5. N+ADJ endocentric noun compounds	356
3.8.6. Compound verbs	357
3.8.7. Other types of compounds	359
3.8.8. Morphological reduplications	360
4 Syntax	363
4.1. Valency and argument structure in the Basque verb (R. Etxepare)	363
4.1.1. Valency and the auxiliary system: an outline	363
4.1.2. Intransitive monovalent structures	364

4.1.2.1. Simple existence	364
4.1.2.2. Copular constructions	365
4.1.2.2.1. Stage and individual-level predications	365
4.1.2.2.2. Physical and mental states	366
4.1.2.3. Existential sentences	368
4.1.2.4. Verbs of location and directional motion	368
4.1.2.4.1. Purely intransitive predicates	368
4.1.2.4.2. Aspectual structure and transitivity alternations with motion and location verbs	369
4.1.2.5. Verbs of occurrence and appearance	372
4.1.2.6. Verbs of change of state	375
4.1.2.7. Weather verbs	377
4.1.2.8. Aspectual and control verbs	378
4.1.2.8.1. Aspectual verbs	378
4.1.2.8.2. Control verbs: the <i>try</i> class	380
4.1.2.9. Reflexives and reciprocals	380
4.1.3. Intransitive Bivalent Structures (dative-absolutive constructions)	385
4.1.3.1. Motion verbs	385
4.1.3.2. Alternating verbs	386
4.1.3.3. An aspectual verb: <i>lotu</i> 'tie; engage in'	388
4.1.4. Transitive Structures	388
4.1.4.1. Unergatives	388
4.1.4.2. Causative/Inchoative alternation	391
4.1.4.3. Locative alternation	392
4.1.4.4. <i>Pit-</i> verbs	393
4.1.4.5. Complex predicates	394
4.1.4.5.1. Complex predicates with <i>egin</i> 'do'	394
4.1.4.5.1.1. Basic pattern	394
4.1.4.5.1.2. Syntax	397
4.1.4.5.1.3. Simple counterparts of complex predicates	399
4.1.4.5.2. Other complex predicates	402
4.1.4.5.2.1. Noun + <i>hartu</i> 'take'	402
4.1.4.5.2.2. Noun + <i>eman</i> 'give'	402
4.1.4.6. Psychological predicates	403
4.1.4.6.1. Purely transitive constructions (ergative-absolutive)	404

4.1.4.6.2. Transitive-intransitive psych-verbs (ergative-absolutive and absolutive)	406
4.1.4.6.3. Noun + auxiliary constructions	407
4.1.5. Ditransitive Structures	411
4.1.5.1. Trivalent ditransitive	411
4.1.5.2. Bivalent ditransitive verbs	411
4.1.5.3. Alternating verbs	412
4.1.6. Possessive constructions	414
4.1.6.1. Attributive	414
4.1.6.1.1. Individual-level attributions	414
4.1.6.1.2. Stage-level attributions	417
4.1.6.2. Lexical verbs	418
4.1.7. Verbs of saying, thinking and judging	422
4.1.7.1. Intransitive	422
4.1.7.2. Transitive verbs	423
4.1.7.3. Ditransitive verbs	425
4.2. Nominal Predication: copulative sentences and secondary predication (I. Zabala)	426
4.2.1. Basic copula verbs	426
4.2.2. Syntactic instantiation of nominal predicates with the basic copula verbs <i>izan</i> and <i>egon</i>	432
4.2.3. Opinion verbs with predicative complements	438
4.2.4. Eventive verbs with predicative complements	441
4.2.5. Change and duration verbs	443
4.2.6. Secondary predicates	446
4.3. Word order (J. Ortiz de Urbina)	448
4.3.1. Neutral order	448
4.3.2. Heavy constituents	452
4.3.3. Neutral order and focalization	454
4.3.4. Non-focalized material in marked contexts: topics	455
4.4. Focalization (R. Etxepare & J. Ortiz de Urbina)	459
4.4.1. General remarks	459
4.4.2. Wh-questions and non-verbal focalization	464
4.4.3. Yes/no questions and verb focalization	467
4.4.3.1. Direct yes/no questions	467
4.4.3.2. Verb Focalization	469
4.4.3.2.1. Event focalization	470
4.4.3.2.2. Positive polar emphasis	471
4.4.4. Subconstituent questions and focalization	473
4.4.4.1. Questions and foci inside noun phrases	473

4.4.4.2. Questions and foci inside adjective and adverb phrases	477
4.4.5. Embedded questions and foci	479
4.4.5.1. Embedded focalization and indirect questions	479
4.4.5.1.1. Embedded focalization	479
4.4.5.1.2. Indirect questions	482
4.4.5.1.2.1. Indirect yes/no questions	482
4.4.5.1.2.2. Indirect wh-questions	484
4.4.5.2. Displaced wh-words and foci	485
4.4.5.3. Clausal pied-piping	486
4.4.5.3.1. Restrictions on the class of pied-piped elements	490
4.4.5.3.2. Restrictions on pied-piping elements	492
4.4.5.3.3. Recursive pied-piping	493
4.4.5.3.4. Pied-piping vs. embedded clause focalization	494
4.4.6. Wh- and focus compatibility	495
4.4.6.1. Clausemate operators	495
4.4.6.1.1. Wh-questions and foci	495
4.4.6.1.2. Yes/no questions and foci	496
4.4.6.2. Operators in different clauses	496
4.4.6.3. Multiple questions and multiple foci	497
4.4.6.3.1. Multiple clausemate operators	497
4.4.6.3.1.1. Multiple clausemate foci	497
4.4.6.3.1.2. Multiple clausemate wh-words	499
4.4.6.3.1.3. Multiple wh-word complexes from different clauses	500
4.4.6.3.2. Multiple operators in different clauses	501
4.4.7. Focalization and interrogation in negative clauses	503
4.4.7.1. Negative questions	503
4.4.7.2. Focalization in negative clauses	505
4.4.7.2.1. Foci following negation	507
4.4.7.2.2. Further differences and similarities between negative foci and quasifoci	512
4.4.8. Non-preverbal foci?	515
4.5. Negation (R. Etxepare)	516
4.5.1. The category of negation	516
4.5.2. The position of negation in the structure of the clause	518
4.5.2.1. Finite clauses	518
4.5.2.1.1. Matrix finite clauses	518

4.5.2.1.1.1. Declaratives	518
4.5.2.1.1.2. Imperatives	520
4.5.2.1.1.3. Interrogatives and exclamatives	521
4.5.2.1.2. Finite embedded clauses	522
4.5.2.1.2.1. Declaratives	522
4.5.2.1.2.2. Interrogatives	523
4.5.2.1.2.3. Factive complements	524
4.5.2.1.2.4. Subjunctive complements	526
4.5.2.1.2.5. Adverbial clauses	527
4.5.2.2. Non-finite clauses	529
4.5.2.2.1. Matrix non-finite clauses	529
4.5.2.2.1.1. Imperatives	529
4.5.2.2.1.2. Interrogative and exclamative forms	530
4.5.2.2.2. Embedded non-finite clauses	531
4.5.2.2.2.1. Nominalized clauses	531
4.5.2.2.2.2. Participial clauses	536
4.5.2.2.2.2.1. Non-interrogative participial clauses	536
4.5.2.2.2.2.2. Indirect questions	537
4.5.2.2.2.2.3. Bare contexts	537
4.5.3. Negation and emphatic affirmation	537
4.5.4. Negative constituents	540
4.5.4.1. Negative polarity items	540
4.5.4.2. The syntactic distribution of negative words	544
4.5.4.3. Negative quantifiers	548
4.5.4.4. Partitive <i>-(r)ik</i>	549
4.5.4.5. Minimizers	555
4.5.4.5.1. Idiomatic minimizers	555
4.5.4.5.2. <i>Ere</i> 'even/also'	556
4.5.4.6. The syntactic domain of polarity licensing	557
4.5.5. Constituent negation	559
4.5.6. Expletive negation	561
4.5.7. Negative coordination	562
4.6. Exclamatives (R. Etxepare)	564
4.6.1. Finite and non-finite exclamatives	564
4.6.1.1. Wh-exclamatives	564
4.6.1.2. Demonstrative exclamatives	566
4.6.1.3. Relative clauses	568
4.6.1.4. Exclamative particles	569

4.6.1.5. Other exclamatives with verbs	570
4.6.2. Verbless exclamatives	571
4.7. Impersonal clauses (J. Ortiz de Urbina)	572
4.7.1. Impersonal interpretation of personal marking	572
4.7.1.1. Semantic interpretation of impersonal subjects	576
4.7.1.2. Impersonal predicates	577
4.7.2. Detransitivization	579
4.7.2.1. Impersonal interpretations of intransitives	582
4.7.2.2. Synthetic verbal forms and impersonal clauses	583
4.7.3. Impersonal interpretations in tenseless clauses	585
4.7.4. Some properties of impersonal subjects	587
4.7.5. Long impersonals	590
4.8. Causatives (J. Ortiz de Urbina)	592
4.8.1. Lexical, morphological and analytical causatives	592
4.8.1.1. Lexical causatives	592
4.8.1.2. Morphological causatives	593
4.8.1.3. Analytical causatives	595
4.8.2. Causee marking in morphological causatives	596
4.8.2.1. Intransitive causees	596
4.8.2.1.1. Unaccusatives	596
4.8.2.1.2. Unergatives	600
4.8.2.2. Monotransitive causees	601
4.8.2.3. Ditransitive causees	602
4.8.2.4. 'Impersonal' causatives	604
4.8.3. Direct and indirect causation	605
4.9. Reciprocal and reflexive constructions (X. Artiagoitia)	607
4.9.1. Reciprocals	607
4.9.1.1. <i>Elkar</i>	607
4.9.1.2. <i>Bata bestea</i>	611
4.9.1.3. Valency change and reciprocity	617
4.9.1.4. Other reciprocal pronouns: <i>bakoitza</i>	618
4.9.2. Reflexives	620
4.9.2.1. <i>X-en burua</i>	620
4.9.2.2. Reflexive possessives	624
4.9.2.3. Valency change and reflexivity	629
4.9.3. A note on psychological verbs	630
4.10. Subordination (X. Artiagoitia, B. Oyharçabal, J.I. Hualde & J. Ortiz de Urbina)	632
4.10.1. Complementation (noun clauses) (X. Artiagoitia)	634
4.10.1.1. Finite clauses	634

4.10.1.1.1. The declarative complementizer- <i>ela</i>	635
4.10.1.1.2. The interrogative complementizer- <i>en</i>	637
4.10.1.1.3. Subjunctive clauses headed by <i>-en</i> and <i>-ela</i>	640
4.10.1.1.4. The negative complementizer <i>-enik</i>	643
4.10.1.1.5. Factive complements headed by <i>-ena</i>	646
4.10.1.1.6. <i>bait-</i> and complementation	648
4.10.1.1.7. Finite complement clauses and argument positions	648
4.10.1.1.8. Finite complement clauses and word order	651
4.10.1.1.9. Raising verbs and finite complements	653
4.10.1.2. Non-finite structures	656
4.10.1.2.1. Nominalizations or nominalized clauses	657
4.10.1.2.1.1. Nominalizations based on the verbal noun <i>-t(z)e</i>	661
4.10.1.2.1.2. Nominalizations based on the perfective participle	666
4.10.1.2.2. Other non-finite structures based on the verbal noun	670
4.10.1.2.2.1. <i>-t(z)eko</i> complements	671
4.10.1.2.2.2. <i>-t(z)en</i> complements	674
4.10.1.2.2.2.1. Semiauxiliary verbs: <i>ari izan, egon, ibili</i>	675
4.10.1.2.2.2.2. Aspectual verbs	678
4.10.1.2.2.2.3. Verbs of knowledge	680
4.10.1.2.2.2.4. Perception verbs	682
4.10.1.2.2.2.5. Triadic verbs: the <i>utzi</i> 'allow' class	683
4.10.1.2.2.2.6. The <i>saiatu</i> 'try' class	684
4.10.1.2.2.2.7. Movement verbs in western Basque	686
4.10.1.2.2.2.8. Tough constructions	687
4.10.1.2.2.2.9. Some <i>-t(z)en</i> / <i>-t(z)ea</i> alternations	688
4.10.1.2.2.3. <i>-t(z)era</i> complements	689
4.10.1.2.3. Other non-finite structures based on the participle	694
4.10.1.2.4. Tenseless indirect questions	698

4.10.1.2.5. Subject obviation in non-finite complement structures	701
4.10.2. Adjunct subordination (X. Artiagoitia)	710
4.10.2.1. Finite clauses	710
4.10.2.1.1. Adjunct clauses based on the complementizer <i>-ela</i>	711
4.10.2.1.1.1. Temporal and modal clauses headed by <i>-ela</i>	711
4.10.2.1.1.2. Temporal and modal clauses headed by <i>-elarik</i>	712
4.10.2.1.1.3. Causal clauses headed by <i>-elako</i>	714
4.10.2.1.2. Adjunct clauses based on the complementizer <i>-en</i>	715
4.10.2.1.2.1. Purposive clauses headed by <i>-en</i>	715
4.10.2.1.2.2. Adverbial clauses headed by <i>-enez (gero)</i>	717
4.10.2.1.2.3. <i>-en</i> and the local case endings: <i>-enean, -enetik, -ene(ra)ko, -eno /-ino</i>	719
4.10.2.1.2.4. <i>-en</i> + other elements: <i>arren, arte, bitartean, moduan, ...</i>	721
4.10.2.1.3. Adjunct clauses headed by the complementizer <i>bait-</i>	723
4.10.2.1.4. Adjunct clauses based on complementizer <i>ba-</i>	724
4.10.2.1.5. Non-affixal subordinators	727
4.10.2.1.5.1. Subordinates headed by <i>eta</i> (and <i>baina</i>)	727
4.10.2.1.5.2. Causal and illative <i>zeren, zergatik, ezen, ze</i>	729
4.10.2.1.5.3. Adverbial clauses introduced by <i>ezen, non, noiz, nola</i>	733
4.10.2.1.5.4. Adverbial clauses introduced by <i>nahiz (eta)...</i>	735
4.10.2.2. Non-finite structures	737
4.10.2.2.1. Adjunct structures based on the verbal noun	737
4.10.2.2.1.1. Nominalized clauses and the spatio-temporal case-endings	737

4.10.2.2.1.2. -t(z)eko adjuncts and related forms	739
4.10.2.2.1.3. Nominalized clauses and the comitative case-ending -ekin	740
4.10.2.2.1.4. Nominalized clauses and the postpositions arren/gatik	741
4.10.2.2.2. Adjunct structures based on the perfect participle	743
4.10.2.2.2.1. Participle + some major case-endings or postpositions (-(e)z -gatik, arren)	743
4.10.2.2.2.2. Participle + suffixes -ta/(r)ik	745
4.10.2.2.2.3. Other adverbial structures based on the participle	747
4.10.2.3. A final note on negation in subordinate structures	752
4.10.3. Relatives (B. Oyharçabal)	762
4.10.3.1. Ordinary relatives	763
4.10.3.1.1. Main characteristics of ordinary relatives	763
4.10.3.1.1.1. Definition	763
4.10.3.1.1.2. Embedding of ordinary relatives	764
4.10.3.1.1.3. Gapping of the relativized NP	764
4.10.3.1.1.4. Left- and right-branching	765
4.10.3.1.2. Word order within the relative clause	766
4.10.3.1.3. Modifier and relative stacking	767
4.10.3.1.4. Relativization of deeply embedded NPs	771
4.10.3.1.4.1. Relativized NP within a complement clause	771
4.10.3.1.4.2. Relativized NPs within an adjunct clause	772
4.10.3.1.4.3. The Complex NP constraint	773
4.10.3.1.5. Accessibility	774
4.10.3.1.5.1. Accessibility hierarchy	774
4.10.3.1.5.2. Conditions on relativization of adverbial phrases	778
4.10.3.1.5.3. Conditions on relativization of genitive phrases	779
4.10.3.1.5.4. Case parallelism	780

4.10.3.1.6. Morphosyntactic secondary effects linked to relativization hierarchy	781
4.10.3.1.6.1. <i>-ko</i> insertion	781
4.10.3.1.6.2. Resumptive pronouns	782
4.10.3.1.6.3. Non-grammatical number agree- ment	783
4.10.3.1.7. Question-words within relative clauses	785
4.10.3.1.8. Restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses	786
4.10.3.1.9. Relatives describing proper nouns	787
4.10.3.1.10. Subjective relatives	789
4.10.3.2. Non-finite relative clauses	790
4.10.3.2.1. Adjectival participial relatives	790
4.10.3.2.2. Adverbial participial relatives	791
4.10.3.2.3. Infinitival relatives	792
4.10.3.3. Headless relative clauses	795
4.10.3.3.1. Relatives with a deleted but recover- able lexical head	796
4.10.3.3.2. Generic relative clauses	796
4.10.3.3.2.1. Properties of generic relatives	796
4.10.3.3.2.2. Constraints on accessibility in generic relatives	797
4.10.3.3.2.3. Generic relatives and indirect questions	798
4.10.3.3.3. Predicative relative clauses	799
4.10.3.3.3.1. Predicative relatives and per- sonal pronouns	800
4.10.3.3.3.2. Predicative relatives with a rela- tivized predicate	800
4.10.3.3.3.3. Accessibility within predicative relatives	801
4.10.3.3.4. Appositive relative clauses	802
4.10.3.3.4.1. Case concord between the ap- positive relative and the NP it refers to	803
4.10.3.3.4.2. Appositive relatives as non- restrictive relatives	804
4.10.3.3.5. Extraposed relatives	806
4.10.3.3.6. Ordinary headless relatives as senten- tial relatives	807

4.10.3.3.7. Some characteristics of headless relative clauses	807
4.10.3.3.7.1. Word order within headless relative clauses	807
4.10.3.3.7.2. Diminutive suffixes in headless relatives	808
4.10.3.4. Other kinds of relatives	809
4.10.3.4.1. Appositive relative clauses constructed with relative pronouns	809
4.10.3.4.1.1. The relative pronoun	810
4.10.3.4.1.2. Form of the complementizer	813
4.10.3.4.1.3. Word-order within the relative	813
4.10.3.4.1.4. The antecedent of the relative pronoun	814
4.10.3.4.1.5. Extraposed relatives with a relative pronoun	815
4.10.3.4.1.6. Sentential relatives with relative pronouns	815
4.10.3.4.2. <i>Bait</i> -relative clauses with facultative resumptive pronouns	816
4.10.3.4.3. Correlatives	818
4.10.3.4.4. Special constructions with non correlated <i>wh</i> -words	821
4.10.4. Comparative constructions (J.I. Hualde & J. Ortiz de Urbina)	823
4.10.4.1. Comparative constructions of inequality	824
4.10.4.1.1. Inequality of quality and quantity	824
4.10.4.1.2. Comparative emphasizees	826
4.10.4.1.3. Other constructions involving comparatives	827
4.10.4.2. Comparative constructions of equality	830
4.10.4.3. Superlatives	835
4.10.4.4. Word order in comparative constructions	838
4.10.4.5. Ellipsis in comparative constructions	839
4.11. Coordination (I. Amundarain)	844
4.11.1. Coordinating conjunctions	844
4.11.1.1. Copulative coordination	845
4.11.1.2. Adversative coordination	846
4.11.1.3. Disjunctive coordination	848
4.11.1.4. Distributive coordinators	850

4.11.2. Characteristics of Basque coordination	851
4.11.2.1. Placement	851
4.11.2.2. Agreement	856
4.11.3. Coordinated constituents	859
4.11.3.1. Coordination in noun phrases	860
4.11.3.2. Coordination in complex words	868
4.11.4. Sentence coordination and ellipsis	872
4.11.4.1. Gapping structures	872
4.11.4.1.1. Forward and backward gapping	872
4.11.4.1.2. Characteristics of gapping	874
4.11.4.2. Auxiliary ellipsis	881
4.11.5. Nonconstituent coordination	887
5 Texts	893
5.1. Text 1	893
5.2. Text 2	897
5.3. Text 3	903
5.4. Text 4	906
5.5. Text 5	912
Sources of examples	915
References	922
Index	935