

RESEARCH

Historical Changes in Basque Dative Alternations: Evidence for a P-based (neo)derivational analysis

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The properties and internal chronology of various dative changes in the history of the Lapurdian 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 neo-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.

Keywords: dative alternation; agreement; diachronic change; microparametric variation; P-Incorporation; Basque

1 Introduction

The expression of VP-internal arguments in general and applicative ones in particular shows, at least superficially, a great amount of crosslinguistic, dialectal and historic variation affecting virtually all areas of the syntactic derivation. Naturally, they have always been in the center of much theoretical debate. In Lapurdian Basque (a North-Eastern dialect spoken in the French side of the Basque Country), dative constructions undergo a series of changes in historical times that emphasize the difference between their semantic extension and the syntactic nature of the alternation itself, two questions that standard works on dative alternations usually mix up. The chronology of diachronic changes shows 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 2013). On the other hand, a cluster of very sudden and general changes that occurred later, during the second half of XIX Century, result in the birth of an agreementless dative PP construction with virtually the same semantic extension as the agreement one. The result are triplets like (1a–c) and (2a–c) in Lapurdian that do not exist in the other dialects of Basque, as will be discussed in detail:

- (1) a. Ama-k semea-ri ogia ekarri dio.
mother-ERG son-DAT bread.ABS bring AUX.(3sA).3sD.3sE
‘The mother brought the son (the/some) bread.’

- b. Ama-k ogia ekarri du semea-ri.
 mother-ERG bread.ABS bring AUX.(3sA).3sE son-DAT
 ‘The mother brought (the) bread to the son.’
- c. Ama-k ogia ekarri du parke-ra.
 mother-ERG bread.ABS bring AUX.(3sA).3sE park-ALL
 ‘The mother brought (the) bread to the park.’
- (2) a. Ate horr-i hurbil-tzen nintzaion.
 door that-DAT approach-HAB AUX.1sA.3sD.past
 ‘I approached that door.’
- b. Ate horr-i hurbil-tzen nintzen.
 door that-DAT approach-HAB AUX.1SG.A.past
 ‘I approached that door.’
- c. Ate horre-tara hurbil-tzen nintzen.
 door that-ALL approach-HAB AUX.1SG.A.past
 ‘I approached that door.’

In this paper we analyze the diachronic emergence of the alternation and its theoretical consequences for the different hypotheses on dative alternations. Although the intricacies of the historical data might complicate the discussion, the logic of the paper is rather simple. We are careful to show that in (1) and (2) we are dealing with a genuine dative alternation, where agreement dative constructions corresponds structurally to the applicative construction (the structural equivalent of the Double Object Construction in English and other dative constructions in many languages) and both the agreementless dative and the allative are PP structures (English *to*-construction, etc.). Originally, only (1a) and the allative constructions (1c) and (2c) existed. As we will show, the emergence of structures like (2a) shows that the (DOC-type) dative agreement (applicative) construction is not semantically restricted to *change of possession* contexts. On the other hand, the late emergence of (1b) and (2b) shows that neither the applicative construction nor the dative PP one are semantically dedicated structures: the (b) sentences systematically show the semantics of (1a) and (2a) but the syntactic structure of (1c) and (2c) respectively; moreover, the details of their emergence indicate that each (a-b) pair in (1) and (2) are derivationally connected.

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 Western dialects of Basque (the dialects spoken in the Iberian Peninsula, in the Spanish side of the border). Since Lapurdian shared these common properties in earlier stages, the general description presented in that section is 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 Lapurdian dialect; we base our description on Etxepare (2014) and, especially, Ormazabal (2017). 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 Lapurdian favors a derivational connection between agreementless dative PPs and agreement dative DPs, and we present the details of our analysis following Ormazabal & Romero’s (2017a) general proposal, framed within a cross-linguistic perspective on

applicative constructions.¹ 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 (2017), 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 (also see Michelioudakis 2012).

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 (2017) and references there for a more detailed discussion of the changes and some consequences for the theory of linguistic parameters (also see footnote 6 below).

2 Datives in Western dialects

2.1 Types of verbs

Dative marking appears in a variety of contexts in Basque (see Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2009 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/recipient (3a, c), benefactive (3b) and source (3d), and unaccusatives denoting ‘movement to[wards]’ (4). Furthermore, as in many languages of the world, dative also appears in possessor raising constructions (5a), causees in causative constructions (5b), and subjects of psychological predicates of the *piacere* (‘please’) class (5c), as well as with some non-participant roles such as ethical datives and datives of interest (5d), etc.

- (3) 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.’
- (4) 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.’

¹ Strictly speaking, what the results in this paper argue for is a P-based approach to dative alternations in general terms. Our analysis incorporates the results of recent research, very especially Rappaport Hovav & Levin’s (2008) seminal work and Ormazabal & Romero’s (2017b) extensions, which support a revision of classical derivational analysis (à la Baker 1988; Larson 1988; etc.) in the direction to be discussed in section 5, but alternative, more classical, derivational approaches might also work. The same results also suggest that we should restrict the domain of dative alternations to agreement/agreementless dative alternations and assume that other PPs discussed in classical derivational approaches (see Arregi 2003a for a classical description) do not freely alternate with datives, but they share the same base structure (see section 5 for details).

- b. Bidaia-n zehar hainbat lagun batu zaizkie.
trip-INES through many friend.ABS join AUX.(3PL.A).3pID
'Many friends joined them through the trip.'
- (5) 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 gusta-tzen zaizkio.
Jon-DAT books.ABS like-HAB AUX.(3PL.A).3sD
'Jon likes books.'
- d. Semea joan zait Ameriketa-ra.
son.ABS go AUX.(3sA).3sD America-ALL
'My son went away to America (and it affected me).'

As illustrated in (3)–(5), in Western dialects of Basque datives trigger obligatory verbal agreement.

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 (Hualde 1986; Elordieta 2001; Albizu 2001; Oyharçabal 2010; Etxepare 2014; Pineda 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 (6a). 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; among others). Thus, for instance, the anaphoric direct object in the subordinated clause may be bound by the silent pronominal IO in (6b) but not the reverse (Oyharçabal 2010):

- (6) 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
'Jon_i didn't realize that I was mentioning himi 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
'Jon_i didn't realize that I was mentioning himselfi him_i.'

Concerning semantic effects traditionally discussed in the literature associated to applicative constructions, with verbs of the SEND- (7a), THROW- (7b), GIVE- (7c) and TEACH-types (7d) dative DPs show animacy effects in Basque, as in other languages.

- (7) 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. *Jon-ek 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. *Jon-ek 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. *Jon-ek 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, 2017b 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:

- (8) a. Udaletxea-k Kutxi kalea-ri argiak aldatu dizkio.
City Hall-ERG Kutxi street-DAT lights.ABS change AUX.(3PL.A).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 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 2013; 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 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.²

- (9) a. Zuek txapela da-kar-zue.
you.PL.ERG bonet.ABS (3sA)-bring-2pE
'You are bringing the bonet.'
- b. Zuek gu-ri txapela da-kar-ki-gu-zue.
you.PL.ERG we-DAT bonet.ABS (3sA)-bring-DFLAG-1pDAT-2pE
'You are bringing us the bonet.'

That is the general situation in Western dialects of Basque, as well as in Standard Basque, and it is also the basic state of affairs in previous stages of the Lapurdian 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, Lapurdian 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,

² As is usually the case in many languages, auxiliary verbs (e.g. (3)) 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). To simplify the glosses, we do not mark the dative flag in the examples, but they are present in all dative-agreeing instances exemplified in the text in one way or other.

up to some point, word order, and (iv) there is a process of specialization pragmatically driven.

3 Datives in the Lapurdian dialect

In this section we present the historical changes related to dative constructions that occurred in the Lapurdian dialect.³ Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2013) and Etxepare (2014) describe the main contexts where the changes occur in detail, but they mistakenly analyze these changes as chronologically simultaneous processes that constitute a single change. The reason is that most of their sources are late examples from a period – late XIX and XX Lapurdian authors and Oyharçabal’s native speaker judgements of the same dialect – when all the main changes have already taken place. Other works do make some more accurate observations concerning historical aspects of the different processes involved but, as far as we know, none of them tries to make the relative chronology of the different (micro)changes explicit. As we argue in sections 4 and 5, the details of that chronology are central to the theoretical understanding of what dative alternations stand for crosslinguistically.

In this section, we follow Ormazabal (2017), where a detailed dating of the changes is made, and both the progressive spreading of the dative in locative contexts and the relative chronology in connection with the rest of the changes are analyzed. Ormazabal (2017) systematically studies all the relevant verbs and verb-classes mentioned by Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2013), and manually analyzes all their occurrences in all Lapurdian texts included in the *Euskal Klasikoen Corpora* (*Classic Basque Corpus*, <http://www.ehu.es/ehg/kc/>) –the most complete corpus on Basque classical texts to date–. We complete our analysis with examples from the references mentioned in footnote 3, 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.⁴

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 2013); this expansion is shown to be a slow process that initiated earlier than the other changes discussed in this paper and extends up to our days. 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, 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

³ The topic of agreementless datives has been relatively well studied among Basque grammarians. For the purpose of this paper see, especially, Pikabea 1993; Ortiz de Urbina 1995; Fernández & Landa 2009; Fernández, Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009; Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2013; Etxepare 2014; Ormazabal 2017, and references there.

⁴ To identify the source of the examples we follow the notation in the Classic Basque Corpus, followed by the page or the chapter, as specified there. See Ormazabal (2017) for a more detailed description of the changes and discussion of the text sources.

semantic extension but different structural properties: agreeing datives are clear DPs and show the standard unmarked order and the $IO_{\text{DATIVE}} > DO_{\text{ABSOLUTIVE}}$ c-command relations; in contrast, in the agreementless construction the absolutive DO c-commands, and tends to precede, the dative-marked element, as in other (spatial, path, etc.) PP constructions.

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 Lapurdian the dative expands to mark spatial goal of the event where only spatial postpositions or complex postpositional phrases are possible in Western dialects (Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2013; Etxepare 2014). Compare, for instance the use of dative in Lapurdian examples like (10) with the use of allative or complex postpositions in Western Basque in the same contexts (11):

- (10) a. Leizarraga (1571: *Lukas* VII 12)
 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’
- b. Larzabal (1991–98: VII 53)
 Aleman-en tankak oldartzen zire-la Maginot harresia-ri.
 German-GEN tank.ABS charge AUX.(3PL.A)-COMP Maginot fence-DAT
 ‘As the German tanks charged against the Maginot line.’
- (11) a. eta hiri-ko portale-ra hurbildu den bezala
 and city-gen door-ALL approach AUX.(3sA) as
 ‘and as he approached the door of the city’
- b. Aleman-en tankeak oldar-tzen zire-la Maginot
 German-GEN tank.ABS charge-HAB AUX.(3PL.A)-COMP Maginot
 harresia-ren kontra.
 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 Lapurdian Basque dialect between the allative and this directional dative, roughly as in (12):⁵

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

⁵ Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2013) 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 (ia); in contrast, *erori* + *dative* means ‘fall under’ or ‘be inclined to/towards’ with no motion entailed (ib).

- (i) a. Lurre-ra erori da.
 floor-ALL fallen AUX.(3sA)
 ‘He/she fell on the floor.’
- b. J.B. Etcheberry (1980: 109)
 Jainkoa-ren nahi saindua-ri erortzen diren arima jenerosak.
 God-GEN will holly-DAT fall-HAB aux(3pA).COMP spirit generous.PL
 ‘Those generous spirits who are inclined towards god’s holly will.’

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 (3) and in “new” unbounded path ones (10) agreement is treated alike in all Lapurdian texts from XVI to middle XIX 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 is the same as in the “older” ones: they are agreeing 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, allative *-ra* (bounded path ‘to’) continues to show the same postpositional properties as in previous stages of the language.

Before providing a chronology of the changes, it has to be noted that, 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, a change that will be introduced in the next section. Dative extension begins much earlier and constitutes a slow and progressive process of lexical/semantic spreading of the applicative construction. It was initiated in the XVI century, and it continued its expansion to new semantic contexts (almost) until our days (see Ormazabal 2017 for a detailed chronology and discussion). Thus, lexical directional verbs like *hurbildu* (‘approach’), *itzuli* (‘turn towards’) (13), and atelic verbs in their aspectual use with event-denoting dative complements *lotu* (‘start’); *jarraiki* (‘continue to’), *abiatu* (‘begin’) (14), are already attested with inanimate dative arguments in XVI and XVII century texts respectively.

- (13) a. Leizarraga (1571: *Lukas* VII. 12)
 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’
- b. Axular (1643: LVI. 365)
 Gibela-z itzul-tzen **zaika** Iainkoa-**ri** eta begitartea-z kreature-**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.’
- (14) a. Axular (1643: VII. 59)
 nola or hauta-rik bata, bere hazkuntza-ren araua-z, lothu zaikan
 how dog these-PART one, its education-GEN rule-INSTR, attack AUX.3sA.3sD
 haragia-**ri**, eta berriz bertzea, iarraiki zaikan ihizia-**ri**.
 meat-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, continued hunting.’
- b. Larregi (1777: CXXXVII)
 Egundaino bezala lothu nahi izan zitzaion bigarren gudu bat-**i**.
 today.until as tie want be AUX.(3sA).3sD.past second war one-DAT
 ‘Once again, he wanted to start a new war.’

On the other extreme, complex postpositions with dative complements (15) start to appear in mid-XVIII century, although not all at the same time. And, finally, not earlier than in the second quarter of the XIX century, dative spreads to ergative and semelfative

verbs like *pentsatu* ('think'), *jo* ('hit') (16), which originally had inessive or instrumental complements (Fernández & Landa 2009; Ormazabal 2017).

- (15) a. Haraneder (1740: XIII. 4)
 habituda gaixtoe-**i** **kontra** dohaz-en bertuten akzionateak egi-tea.
 habit evil-**DAT** **against** go.3PL.A-REL **virtues**.GEN actions.ABS do-**NOM**
 'to do virtuous actions that go against bad habits.'
- b. Duvoisin (1859–1865: *Josue* III. 17)
 Bada, populua Jeriko-**ri** **buru-z** zihoan.
 then, people.ABS Jericho-**DAT** **head-*INSTR*** go.(3sA).past
 'The people headed to(wards) Jericho.'
- (16) a. Jauretche (1840: 187)
 Ez zioten deus bertze-**ri** pentsa-tzen.
 not AUX.(3sA).**3sD**.3pE nothing other-**DAT** think-ASP
 'They weren't thinking about anything else.'
- b. Zaldubi (1828: 765)
 Hun-tan ohart gaizkon erran xaharra-**ri**.
 this-LOC realize AUX.1pA.**3sD** saying old-**DAT**
 'Let's pay attention, on that matter, to the old proverb.'

As will be discussed readily, this relative chronology shows that the lexical reorganization is previous to 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), an important fact.

3.2 *Optional agreement, hierarchical relations and word order*

Unlike the applicative's semantic extension, the other changes observed in the Lapurdian dialect come together, and very rapidly extend virtually through the entire range of dative constructions. Contrary to Western dialects, where agreement was – and still is – obligatory, in Lapurdian dative agreement becomes optional. Consequently, while (17a) is grammatical in all dialects, (17b) is only available in North-Eastern (NE) ones.⁶

⁶ In Low-Navarrese and Souletin dialects, also in the French side of the Basque Country, agreementless datives appear since the beginning of the written records. There is broad consensus among both diachronists and generative grammarians that the Lapurdian agreementless system and the Low-Navarrese and Souletine ones constitute two different processes, both structurally and chronologically (see Ortiz de Urbina 1995; Mounole 2011; Ormazabal 2017; and references there). For instance, an anonymous reviewer reports example (i) to us, in which c-command relations in early Low-Navarrese agreementless constructions are the opposite to the ones of Lapurdian to be discussed next in the text:

- (i) Etchepare (1545: 265) (reviewer's reference and translation)
 Eman dezan iujiak nor-i beria
 give AUX.SUBJUNCT.(3sA).3sE judge-ERG whom-**DAT** his.ABS
 'As for the Judge to give each one his due'

The chronological gap and structural differences, as well as Ulibarri's (2015) report of agreementless dative cases in early Araban/Biscayan texts (in the other extreme of the Basque Country), and Blanca Urgell's suggestion (p.c.) to treat them as syntactic archaisms, strongly support the existence of two independent systems. If all this is correct, the Low Navarrese case might be considered the remains of an older general system where no dative agreement morphology was present, in accordance with most diachronists' view nowadays that consider the development of agreement morphology in the verbal complex as a relatively late phenomenon in the prehistory of the language.

- (17) 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 selection of the non-dative auxiliary. Agreementless constructions (17b) resort to the same auxiliary form *du* as regular transitive verbs such as *ikusi* (‘see’) in (18):

- (18) Ama-k ogia ikusi du.
 mother-ERG bread.ABS see AUX.(3sA).3sE
 ‘The mother saw the bread.’

Concerning their structural hierarchy, non-agreeing dative construction exhibit the opposite hierarchical relation to the agreement dative one analyzed in section 3.1. The minimal pair in (19) and the examples in (20) show that in this construction the dative is c-commanded by the absolutive DO.⁷

- (19) a. *Jon eta Miren_i ez ziren ohartu *pro*_i elkarr-i_i lotu
 Jon and Mary.ABS not AUX realize RECIPIENT-DAT tie
 nizkio-la.
 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_i lotu
 Jon and Mary.ABS not AUX realize RECIPIENT-DAT tie
 nitue(n)-la.
 AUX.(3pA).1sE-comp
 ‘Jon and Mary_i didn’t realize that I was tying them together.’ (Lit.: ‘to each other’)
- (20) a. Arbelbide (1895: V)
 Nor-k uste duzu elkarr-i iratxiki dituela bi
 who-ERG think AUX.2SE.3sA RECIPIENT-DAT join AUX.3SE.3pA two
 gauza horiek?
 thing those.ABS
 ‘Who do you think that put these two things together?’ (lit. ‘who do you think joined/pasted these two things to each other?’)
- b. Abbadie (1887–1903: “Har ogi bi jaleak”)
 [harra-k] lotzen ditu elgarr-i bortz sei ogi bihi.
 worm-ERG tie.ASP.AUX.3sE.3pA RECIPIENT-DAT five six bread seed
 ‘The worm tights five or six bread seeds together.’ (Lit.: ‘to each other’)

⁷ Examples (19a–b) constitute a minimal pair provided to us by Maia Duguine and Beñat Oyharçabal, speakers of the dialect, and examples (20a–b) are both from *Euskal Klasikoen Corpusa* (Classic Basque Corpus). Ormazabal (2017) conducted a systematic analysis of all the occurrences of *elkar* (‘each other’) and its variants in the Lapurdian dialect, and binding of the dative by the object is quite common –very especially in nominalized structures, but also in temporal clauses such as (20a–b)–, but absolutely all the attested cases involve agreementless datives. See reference for examples and detailed discussion.

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.⁸ 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:

- (21) 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 from the second half of XIX century on. The pairs in (22a–b) and (23a–b) show that both agreement and agreementless constructions coexist, a situation maintained until our days:

- (22) a. Lapeire (1891: II)
 Ez **duzu** nihar-i egin-en, bertze-k zu-ri egi-tea
 not AUX.(3sA).2pIE anybody-DAT do-FUT others-ERG you-DAT do-NOM
 nahi ez zinduke-nik.
 wan not AUX.2pA.3sE.HYP-COMP
 ‘You won’t do to others what you wouldn’t have them do to you.’
- b. Daskonagerre (1870: 10. Ahukoa”)
 Ez **diote** soldadu-ek min-ik egin-en.
 not AUX.(3sA).3sD.3pE soldiers-ERG pain-PART do-FUT
 ‘The soldiers will not cause pain to her.’

⁸ Descriptively speaking, Basque is a “free word order” language and, as could be expected, both agreement and agreementless dative constructions show all possible S-DO-IO orders. In particular, an anonymous reviewer reports to us examples like (ia–b), both from Larzabal, where the word orders revert the ones corresponding to the ones in (22)–(23) [also see examples in (29), from the same author]:

- (i) a. Larzabal (1934–66: “Intzolako bidean”)
 Kartak emaiten dizkio Ganixi, Inbido!
 Cards give.part AUX[3pE-3sD-(3sA)] Ganix-DAT Bet.1SG
 ‘(He) deals cards to Ganix, I bet!’
- b. Larzabal (1956: “Herriko Botzak” III)
 Ez uste ... baitezpada gorrieri emango dudala ene botza
 Not think... just.in.case red.DAT give.fut AUX[(3sA)-1sE] my vote
 ‘Do not think I will give my vote to the reds just in case’

However, it has often been observed that agreementless datives do have a tendency that agreement datives do not show to appear in postverbal position (Albizu 2001; Etxepare and Oyharçabal 2009, 2013). It is not obvious how much could be concluded from that fact, because there are too many factors to control for and a systematic analysis would be needed to yield more substantial conclusions, but the word order tendency is consistent with all the other properties that show that the DO is structurally higher than the IO in these constructions.

- (23) a. Joanategi (1890: *J.K* “Gure Jauna” VI)
 ta berrogoi egun he-tan agertu **zen** Maria Madalena-**ri**.
 and forty day those-INESS appear **AUX.(3sA)** Mary Magdalene-**DAT**
 ‘and in those forty days he revealed himself to Mary Magdalene.’
- b. Zaldubi (1877: VII)
 Erraten diote, gau har-tan agertu **zaiola**
 tell AUX.3sA.3sD.3pE night that-INESS appear **AUX.(3sA).3sD**
 Andre.Dena Maria.
 Lady Mary
 ‘They tell him that that night Our Lady Mary revealed herself to her.’

Similarly, the following examples show that the new unbounded path locative datives also alternate, appearing in agreementless contexts but also continuing to appear in agreement ones; in particular, (24b) presents the two options with the same verb in a single sentence:

- (24) a. Duvoisin (1859–1865: *Exodoa* XXVIII. 43)
 aldarea-**ri** hurbil-tzen dire-nean.
 altar-**DAT** approach-HAB AUX.(3PL.A)-when
 ‘when they approach the altar.’
- b. Larzabal (c. 1955: III)
 Otoi, ate horr-i hurbil zaite, ni hurbiltzen
 please, door that-**DAT** approach AUX.2pA.IMP I approach
 nitzaion bezala.
 AUX.1sA.**3sD**.PAST as
 ‘Please, approach that door as I approached it.’

Examples in (25) illustrate the case of atelic aspectual verbs mentioned in section 3.1.

- (25) a. Duvoisin (1858: V)
 Lot zaite lana-**ri** lehen-bai-lehen eta zin-zinez.
 tie AUX.3pA work-**DAT** as.soon.as.possible and true-truly
 ‘Take to work as soon as possible and seriously.’
- b. Laffite (1934–67: “J. Etxepare Mirikua”)
 Otso gazte bat-en gosea-rekin ausikian lotu zitzaion
 wolf young one-GEN hunger-WITH bite.INESS clung AUX.(3sA).**3sD**
 filosofia-**ri**.
 philosophy-**DAT**
 ‘He clung to philosophy with the hunger of a young wolf.’

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:

- (26) a. Jauretche (1840: 187)
 Ez zioten deus bertze-**ri** pentsa-tzen.
 not AUX.(3sA).**3sD**.3pE nothing other-**DAT** think-ASP
 ‘They weren’t thinking about the other at all.’
- b. J.-B. Etxepare (1962: “Gauaz bidean”)
 Lagun batzue-**ri** pentsa-tzen zuen.
 friend some-**DAT** think-ASP AUX.(3sA).3sE
 ‘He was thinking about some friends.’

There are a few exceptions to the agreement/agreementless alternation. Among newly created datives, complex postpositions like (15), repeated in (27), do not alternate.

- (27) a. Haraneder (1740: XIII. 4)
 habituda gaixtoe-**i** **kontra** dohaz-en bertute-n akzionateak egi-tea.
 habit evil-**DAT** **against** go.3PL.A-REL virtues-GEN actions.ABS do-**NOM**
 ‘to do virtuous actions that go against [...] bad habits.’
- b. Duvoisin (1859–1865: *Josue* III. 17)
 Bada, populua Jerikor-**i** **buru-z** zihoan.
 then, people.ABS Jericho-**DAT** **head-*INSTR*** go.(3sA).PAST
 ‘The people headed to(wards) Jericho.’

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 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 (28a) and possessor (28b) datives, which never ever show up in the agreementless construction (Fernández & Landa 2009; Fernández; Ortiz de Urbina & Landa 2009; Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2013; Odría 2017, and references there):

- (28) a. Jon-**i** liburuak gustatzen zaizkio /**dira*.
 Jon-**DAT** books.ABS like.HAB AUX.3pA-**3sD** /AUX.3pA
 ‘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 most authors, the structures in (28) correspond to “high applicatives”, in the sense of Pyllkänen (2008). Following some authors (McFadden 2004; Fernandez & Ortiz de Urbina 2010 and refereces there) we will use the more neutral term “high dative” 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* in Etxepare’s term, 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 elements “tend (overwhelmingly) not to agree” (examples from Etxepare (2014: ex. (86)):

- (29) a. Larzabal (c.1966: IV)
 Bakea eman dezagun elgarr-**i**.
 Peace.ABS give AUX.(3sA).1pE **RECIP-*DAT***
 ‘Let’s give a break to each other.’
- b. Larzabal (1957: I)
 Nehor-**i** aipatu duzuia gure artekoa?
 anyone-**DAT** mentioned AUX.(3sA).1pE our in.between
 ‘Have you mentioned our thing to anyone?’

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 Lapurdian previous to the appearance of agreementless dative PPs, NPs or anaphoric elements show up in agreeing dative position naturally. Moreover, Lapurdian NPIs, etc. have no problem to show in the subject and direct object positions, where agreement is obligatory and, consequently, no alternation exists. 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 Lapurdian. 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 (2013); and Bresnan et al. (2004); Bresnan & Nikitina (2008); Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (2008); Ormazabal & Romero (2010; 2017b); Anttila, Adams & Speriosu (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 structural differences. 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 datives).
- 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

This section analyzes how the two main non-derivational analysis of dative alternations deal with the changes in Lapurdian Basque.⁹ 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 Pylkkänen (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 serious 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; Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2013; Bleam & Lidz 2014; Harley & Jung 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 (30b), while the applicative structure would be interpreted as a caused possession schema in (31b), both from Krifka (2004):

(30) 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)]

(31) Caused transfer of possession schema

- a. Ama-k semea-ri ogia igorri dio.
mother-ERG son-DAT bread.ABS sent 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, 2017b), 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 (32) shows that the same transfer of possession may be realized in the dative agreementless and agreement structures:

- (32) a. Webster (1877: "Soldadu pobre bat eta aberatsa")
gañerateko diruak ematen ditu pobree-ri.
remaining money.pl give.HAB AUX.3pA.3sE poor.PL-DAT
'he gives the rest of the money to poor people.'

⁹ The term "AUCH!" in the title 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 section 5).

- b. Hiriart Urruti (1891–1914: “Narrazio bat”)
 ni-k ez dautzut gehiago dirurik emanen ura-ri behera
 I-ERG not AUX.3sA.2pD.1pE more money give.fut water-DAT down
 arthiki-tzeko.
 throw-NOM
 ‘I won’t give you any money again to throw it down the drain.’

We may be sure that these predicates are in a caused transfer of possession frame, and not a caused of motion in some abstract sense, because in both agreement and agreementless dative constructions (examples in (21), repeated here in (33)) they show animacy effects, a diagnostic of cause of possession, according to AUCH! analyses:

- (33) 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 the dative-assigning P in Basque constitutes indirect support for Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (2008) and Ormazabal & Romero’s (2010) argument that the English to-construction corresponds to two different semantic frames: the “caused transfer of possession” and the “caused motion” ones. 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.¹⁰

- (34) a. *Ogia merkatua-ri igorri diot.
 Bread.ABS market-DAT send AUX.(3sA).3sD.1sE
 ‘I sent the market (the) bread.’
 b. *Ogia igorri dut merkatua-ri.
 Bread.ABS send AUX.(3sA).1sE market-DAT
 ‘I sent (the) bread to the market.’
 c. Ogia igorri dut merkatu-ra.
 Bread.ABS send AUX.(3sA).1sE market-ALL
 ‘I sent (the) bread to the market.’

Moreover, Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2013) present various fixed theme-type idiomatic expressions. That includes the minimal pair in (35) – both examples corresponding to

¹⁰ Ormazabal (2017) 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 up 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).

the same author – that clearly maintains the same idiomatic interpretation in both dative agreementless and agreement contexts:¹¹

- (35) a. J.B. Etcheberry (1980: 9)
Behako bat bota dezan ondoko lagunaren kopia-ri.
look one throw AUX.(3sA).3sE.SUBJ next.GEN friend.GEN copy-DAT
‘So that he may throw a look at the copy of the friend nearby.’
- b. J.B. Etcheberry (1980: 66)
Doi.doia-ko begi.ukaldia botatu nion liburu-ri.
minimum-GEN look.ABS throw AUX.(3sA).3sD.1sE book-DAT
‘I threw just a quick look at the book.’

As for the innovative unbounded path locative and aspectual contexts, no semantic difference has been described between the agreementless dative structure and the agreement one, as is clearly shown in examples like (24b), repeated in (36), where both agreement and agreementless constructions are paired together in the same sentence:

- (36) Otoi, ate horr-i hurbil zaite, ni hurbiltzen
please door that-DAT approach AUX.2pA.IMP, I.ABS approach
nitzaion bezala.
AUX.1sA.3sD.PAST as
‘Please, approach that door as I approached it.’ [= (24b)]

It is important to note that there is no doubt that we are dealing with a genuine dative alternation in these dialects. Remember that although the agreement and the ditransitive agreementless dative constructions structurally correspond to the DOC vs. *to*-construction – reversed c-command relations, etc. (see details in section 3.2, above) – they express exactly the same semantic content. In other words, the interpretation and historical evolution of agreement and agreementless dative constructions in Lapurdian Basque not only do not justify an approach in terms of semantically dedicated base structures but, in fact, they constitute a strong argument against that hypothesis.

4.2 “Applicative” analyses fail to capture the properties of the diachronic changes

The other main non-derivational family of analyses for dative alternations, the “Low Applicative” (LowAppl) vs. PP-structure proposal (Marantz 1993; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Cuervo 2003; Pykkänen 2008; Bruening 2010b; Fernandez 2010, 2014; Oyharçabal 2010; Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2013; Etxepare 2014, among many others), is somehow in a better shape to deal with Basque data. However, the LowAppl head must be void of the transfer-of-possession relational semantics that most applicative analyses attribute to it; otherwise, this approach runs into the same problems discussed in the previous subsection. Let us thus assume that to be the case.¹² Even in that case, the analysis fails to explain the properties of the changes altogether, as we show next.

¹¹ For discussion of idioms and their relevance for the analysis of the ditransitive alternation, see Ormazabal & Romero 2012, 2017b; Larson 2017 and references there. “Fixed theme idioms”, where the empty element that may vary inside the idiom is the indirect object (e.g. *give [somebody] a headache*) have been traditionally associated to DOCs, as opposed to “fixed goal idioms” (e.g. *send [somebody] to the wolfs*), which have been said to be associated to the *to*-construction exclusively (Bruening 2010a and references); but see Bresnan & Nikitina 2007; Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2008; Ormazabal & Romero 2010, 2012.

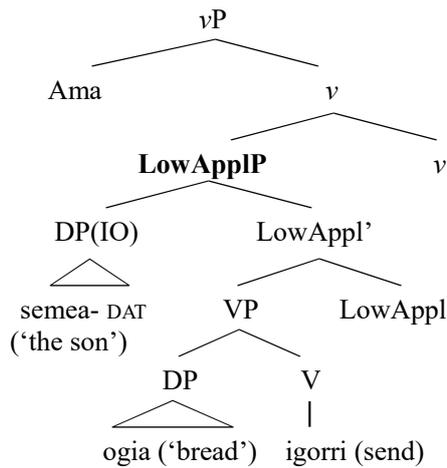
¹² Incidentally, a *LowApplP* analysis where the two structures are made independent of the semantic interpretation gets very close to a “compatible frame” approach of the type proposed by Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (2008) in the framework of lexical semantics.

Such an analysis postulates a general LowAppl strategy, common to all dialects of Basque, where general dative agreement takes place:¹³

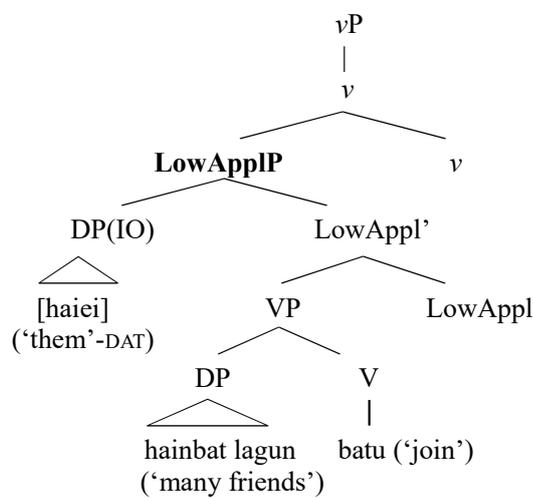
(37) Low Applicatives

- 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-INESS through many friend.ABS join AUX.(3pA).3pD
 ‘Many friends joined them through the trip.’

(38) a.



b.



The first innovation in Lapurdian, in consequence, would be the extension of this low applicative structure to cover new semantic fields – locative and aspectual constructions, semelfactives, etc. – that previously were covered only by adpositions – mostly allative, but also inessive, destinative, and instrumental. As observed, this extension does not affect syntactic relations or agreement morphology, although some ontology has to be provided to restrict the semantic scope of the construction to exactly those contexts previously specified only by means of adpositions. Thus, we may assume that such an analysis would maintain the same applicative structure in (38b) or similar for the newly created agreeing

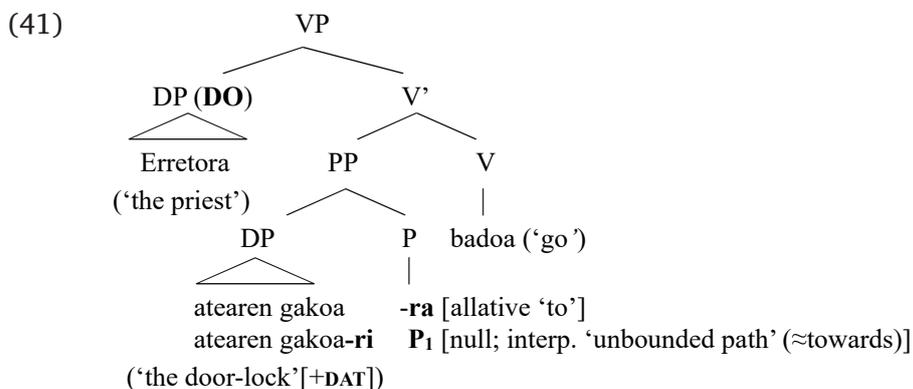
¹³ Structures adapted from Rezac (2008); other authors propose a slightly different structure (see e.g. Fernández 2010; Oyharçabal 2010), but the details are irrelevant for the discussion.

datives such as (10a), repeated in (39), and all the extensions discussed in (10)–(15) in section 3.1, above, with no substantial modification.

- (39) 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...’ [= (10a)]

The second innovation, agreementless datives, is the result of adding to the lexical inventory of Lapurdian a new adposition modeled on the basis of the Romance dative preposition à (‘to’), following Etxepare’s (2014) insight.¹⁴ This new adposition exhibits a semi-functional nature to cover exactly the same semantic contexts as the extended applicative construction: unbounded path (≈ ‘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 (40a) would have the same PP-structure as the allative in (40b), represented in (41) (modified from Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2008). Remember that the only difference between allative and dative structures in (41) is the postpositional head: a phonologically null postposition P₁ (≈ ‘towards’) that assigns dative to its complement DP in (40a), and an overt allative one -ra (‘to’) in (40b), with a bounded path semantics:¹⁵

- (40) a. Larzabal (1951: II)
 Jaun Erretora badoa eliza-ko atea-ren gako-ri.
 Mr. 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.’

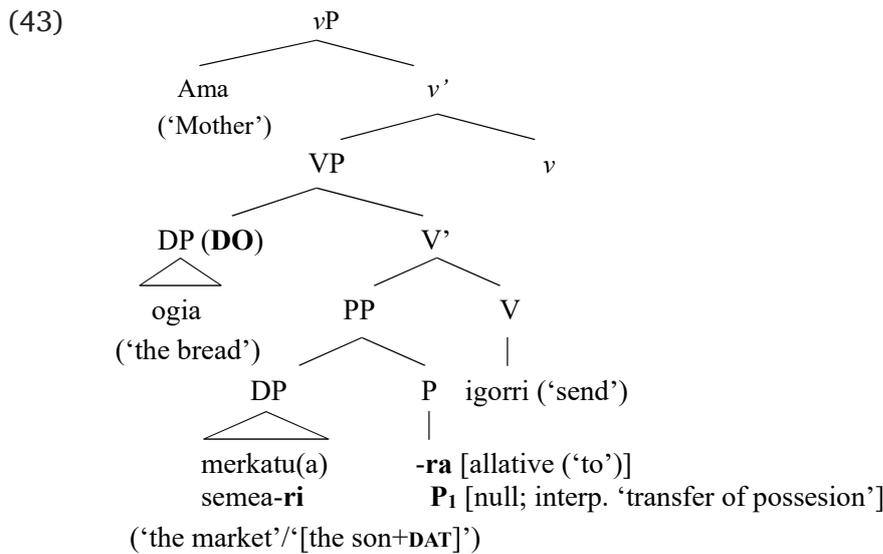


¹⁴ The extension of the semantic fields covered by the dative in these dialects has been attributed to language contact with continental Romance, either French (Pikabea 1993; Etxepare 2014) or, most probably, Gascon (Ormazabal 2017). It is worth mentioning that if that influence is correct, in fact the new semantic fields are borrowed from a PP construction in the Romance language and projected as an agreeing *LowAppP*-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. See footnote 17 below for a possible alternative within the *LowAppP* analysis.

¹⁵ 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 (40) and (42), or the two DP arguments constitute a small clause structure. Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2013) 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.

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 (42), this time with the addition of an external argument in the vP. In this case, the null P_1 would be interpreted differently: in (40)–(41) it is interpreted as “unbounded path” (‘towards’), while in (42)–(43) it receives a transfer-of-possession interpretation:

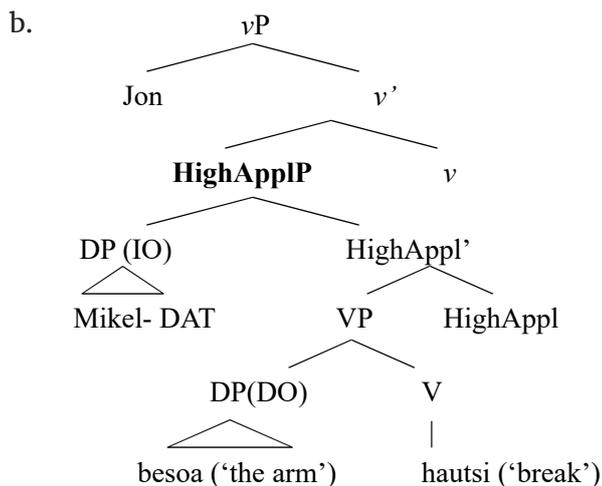
- (42) a. Ama-k ogia igorri du semea-ri.
 mother-ERG bread.ABS send AUX.(3sA).3sE son-DAT
 ‘The mother sent bread to her son.’
 b. Ama-k ogia igorri du merkatu-ra.
 mother-ERG bread.ABS send AUX.(3sA).3sE market-ALL
 ‘The mother sent bread to the market.’



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 (38) but not PP-internally in (41) and (43). 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) high datives (experiencer, possessor etc.), and (ii) dative assigning postpositions. Concerning the non-alternating high datives, most authors in the literature follow Pytkänen’s (2008) and Cuervo’s (2003) hypothesis and propose a third dative structure, the so-called High applicative constructions.

- (44) *High Applicatives* (obligatorily agreeing datives)
 a. Jon-ek Mikel-i besoa hautsi dio /*du.
 Jon-ERG Mikel-DAT arm.ABS break AUX.(3sA).3sD.3sE /AUX.(3sA).3sE
 ‘Jon broke Mikel’s arm.’



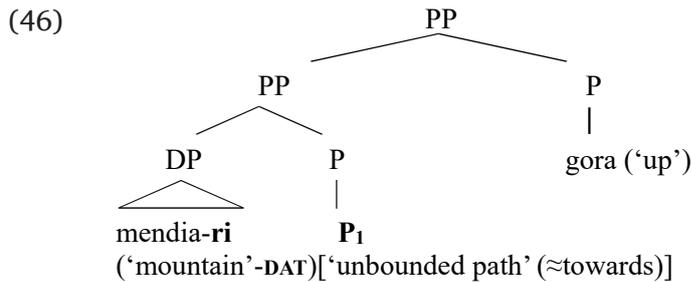
In addition to their obligatory agreement properties, high applicatives are said to differ from low applicatives in several respects. For instance, they are said not to contribute to the event schema of the sentence (Cuervo 2003; Pylkkänen 2008; Fernandez 2010, 2014; Oyharçabal 2010; Etxepare 2014, among others; but see Larson 2010). Furthermore, it has been argued that High Applicatives allow secondary predication (idem; but see Ormazabal & Romero 2010; and, very specially, Odria 2014; 2016; also see section 6, below).

Regarding the case of complex postpositions (cfr. English *in front of*, *up to*, etc.), the minimal pair in (45) illustrates that in many such structures there is a slow process of substitution of the genitive, locative or instrumental postpositions by dative assigning ones.

- (45) a. Mendia-**n** go-ra. Western dialects and older NE texts
 mountain-**LOC** up-ALL
- b. Mendia-**ri** go-ra. Modern NE dialects
 mountain-**DAT** up-ALL
 ‘Up (towards) the mountain.’ (lit. ‘to up (in/-) the mountain.’)

As argued by Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2013) and Etxepare (2014), all these constructions encode directional paths.¹⁶ Thus, (45b) 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 (40)–(45). Consequently, an *ApplP* analysis has two ways to incorporate these changes in the system, both of them far from adequate. (i) A *LowApplP* 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 the birth of a completely different PP headed by a dative assigning P within the complex PP structure (46). Notice, however, that this structure will not be generally available until a few generations later, when agreementless datives appear elsewhere in the dialect:

¹⁶ 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 *zehar* ‘across’ in the sample. *Gora* and *behera* also function independently as adverbs.” (Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2013). See this work for discussion of internal structure and properties.



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 questions posed by dative structures:

- (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, the semantic interpretation of the applied argument would still 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 (37), than in dative selecting P_1 structures (40)/(42), 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’).¹⁷
 - 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 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.

¹⁷ A possible alternative, suggested to us by Anna Pineda (personal communication) is that the *à*-construction in Gascon and other Romance languages correspond to English DOC rather than to the *to*-construction (see Fournier 2010; Pineda 2014 and references there). In that case, the Lapurdian borrowing would be a calque of the applicative strategy. If so, the semantic extension in the agreement dative system might be explained, but it is not obvious to us how the sudden and extensive appearance of agreementless dative would be possible. Remember that Lapurdian agreementless datives show structural properties of the *to*-construction, not those of the DOC.

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 Lapurdian. 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.¹⁸ But ApplP/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 connection between the dative agreement and the agreementless PP strategy that the AUCH! and the *LowApplP* hypothesis are 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. As far as we can see, that reduces the possible options to two basic ones: a derivational analysis based on P-incorporation and a “compatible frame” one based on an underlying PP-substructure common to the two alternating structures. In section 5 we argue 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. At the end of that section we briefly discuss a “compatible frames” alternative that also keeps the connection of the two structures but does not link them derivationally. 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 P-based analysis of dative alternations: Not birth of a new strategy, but recycling of existing ones

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 starting in the XVI century slowly extends to different locative and aspectual contexts throughout the entire historical record.
- (ii) A cluster of morphosyntactic changes – optional loss of dative agreement, inversion of c-command relations, and changes in the categorial status of datives and partially in word order – that occurred in the second half of XIX century. We assume these changes are the manifestation of a single, more basic, change

¹⁸ Descriptively 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, benefactive, etc. For a detailed analysis of the change from Latin to Romance see Fedriani & Prandi 2014, and references there. A similar process occurred also in other Indo-European languages (see, e.g. Eng. extension of the path preposition *to*). For a more general typological discussion, see Kahr (1975, 1976), Luraghi (2003); Creissels (2008); Lambert (2010) and references.

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 Eastern 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 footnotes 14 and 16, and references there for discussion.

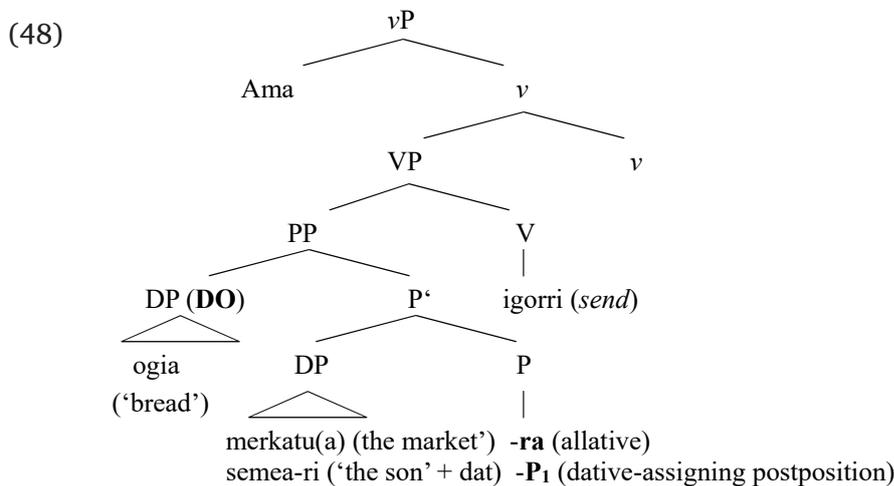
in the system yielding the sudden appearance of the agreementless dative construction. This new PP-construction creates a genuine, literal, dative alternation where both alternates cover virtually the same semantic fields, and compete with other lexical Ps in the distribution of the semantic space.

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 (2017a), and that such an analysis accounts for the cluster of properties associated to the changes in (ii) and for the resulting state of affairs.

5.1 Theoretical frame: Crosslinguistic variation in PP and applicative constructions

In Ormazabal & Romero (2017a) 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, and at the same time it constitutes 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 (48) for (47b, c):²⁰

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

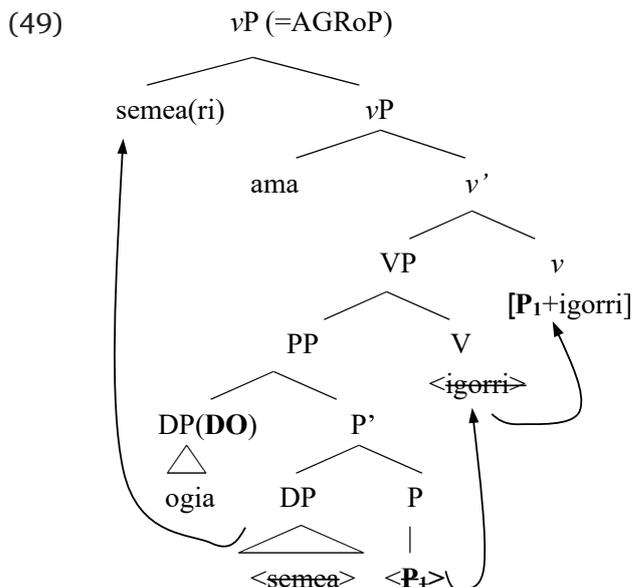


The second claim in Ormazabal & Romero (2017a) is that applicative constructions²¹ share the same basic derivation crosslinguistically, and involve the incorporation of the P

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, it does not affect our argumentation in any important way. See footnote 15 and references.

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 Pedro*, Demonte 1995; Romero 1997; Ormazabal & Romero 2013, among many others) and applicative constructions (e.g. Indonesian *saya mem-bawa-kan Ali surat itu*, ‘I brought Ali the letter’, Alsina & Mcombo 1990; Peterson 2007 among others) of different sorts.

head, an operation that triggers the derivation of the dative constructions and gives rise to the main surface differences in the agreement, word order and hierarchical structure.²²



It is important to underline that our position is not that examples in (47a–b) have a common derivation with the allative construction in (47c), but that they all share the same base-configuration (48). The PPs are headed by different postpositions, which have different lexico-functional specifications and different semantic properties, including their selectional features (see Ormazabal & Romero 2010, 2017a and references for discussion). In fact, from a derivational point of view 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, yielding (47a) and (47b) as we will see next.^{23, 24}

The general answer 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 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;²⁵ ii) the obligatoriness/optionality of

²² Myler (2013) 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 Lapurdian 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 (Baker 1988; Larson 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, 2017b).

²⁴ It should be also noted that we do not argue that all datives come from incorporated adpositions; that is clearly too strong in the light of the discussion in section 6 below and references there. We are making the weaker claim that what are generally referred as "Low Applicatives" correspond to a PP-construction. As convincingly shown by Odria (2016), there are independent criteria to determine whether a dative comes from a PP-structure or not.

²⁵ Concerning Basque, an anonymous reviewer asks for the connection between the incorporated P and the *dative flag*, the morpheme that appears in non-auxiliary verbs together with dative agreement (see example (9) in section 2). Diachronically, the origin of that morpheme is most probably an applicative morpheme – in our terms, the overt manifestation of the P element incorporated to V. And it would be very appealing for us to extend it to account for its distribution in synchronic terms. However, we do not think that may be maintained for contemporary Basque, precisely because there is no one-to-one correspondence between dative agreement and being originated in a PP-structure (see the previous footnote). The morpheme does not distinguish high and low applicatives either, a distinction that might have suggested that it is the morphological realization of a low applicative head. Postulating that it corresponds to the incorporated P would not solve the problem of the "missing" preposition either; remember that Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2013) argue that it is the silent P that assigns dative case to its complement also in (by all standards)

the incorporation; iii) the Case/agreement feature-specifications of P_1 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, Lapurdian and SW Basque are just 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): P_1 obligatorily incorporates in Western dialects and optionally in North-Eastern ones. But the diachronic changes that yield this state of affairs are particularly helpful to clarify the syntactic articulation and the different locus of the parametric differences.

5.2 Changes in Lapurdian reconsidered

Leaving minor changes aside, the initial stage in the Lapurdian dialect corresponds to the current situation in more conservative Western ones, where the semantic extension of the dative is already quite broad, as described in section 2.1, but has not extended to the unbounded path and other contexts discussed in section 2. The latter is filled by lexical path postpositions such as the inessive *-ra* ('to').²⁶ The Basque abstract postposition that yields the dative construction incorporates obligatorily in Standard and Western Basque, and that was also the situation in Lapurdian. Consequently, dative agreement was obligatory (50a). In contrast, the allative postposition *-ra* ('to') never incorporates in any dialect and, consequently, never shows agreement with the auxiliary (50b).

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

Chronologically, the first innovation in Lapurdian is the redistribution of the semantic fields, in the direction proposed by Etxepare (2014): the dative extends to express 'unbounded path'.²⁷ We assume that this change, induced by external factors in a context of language contact, basically reduces to a redistribution of semantic fields

non-incorporating agreementless datives. To finish, Differential Object Marked arguments, which are dative agreeing DPs, would also remain unexplained, as the reviewer observes.

All these factors make the role of the *dative flag* opaque in synchronic terms, and it does not seem that it may be accommodated well in any of the many hypotheses of dative alternation in competition. That is not the desired situation, but the dative flag is not the only morpheme in the conjugated verb that may be explained diachronically but whose grammatical function or correlate nowadays is difficult to pinpoint. As for the morphological exponent of the applicative head in the verb, it is well known that languages show great differences, varying from cases where the different incorporated Ps show up transparently, languages that have a single applicative morpheme for all semantically different relations, and languages that do not mark the applicative head in the verb at all. See Peterson 2007; Ormazabal & Romero 2017a, and references there for discussion. Clearly, historical processes are responsible of a great deal of the superficial variability in this respect.

²⁶ Minor differences aside, the distribution is very much like clitic doubled dative and locative preposition *à* ('to') in nowadays standard Spanish (see Ormazabal & Romero 2013).

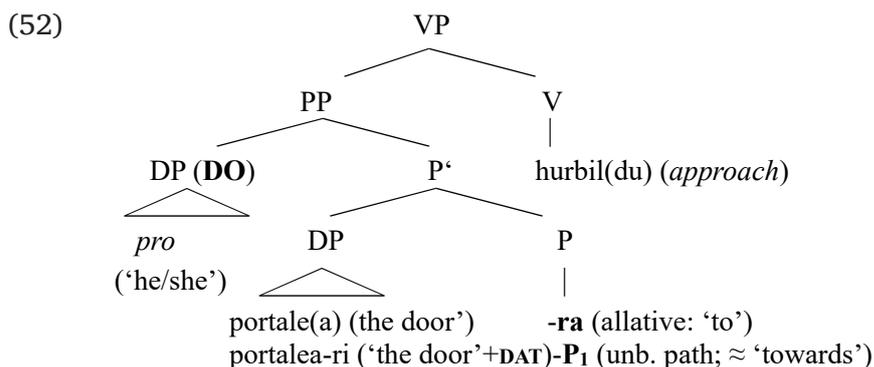
²⁷ As observed in footnote 18, similar processes have occurred in many languages of the world.

among lexical adpositions. 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. The semantic extension is based on the Romance functional preposition *à* ('to'), and it modifies the lexical value of the existing P_1 adposition.

Consider the derivation of the examples in (51). The first one contains an agreementless allative PP in all dialects of Basque and (51b) a newly created locative dative of Classical Lapurdian.

- (51) 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...' [= (10a)]

They both share the same basic structure in (52); 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'):

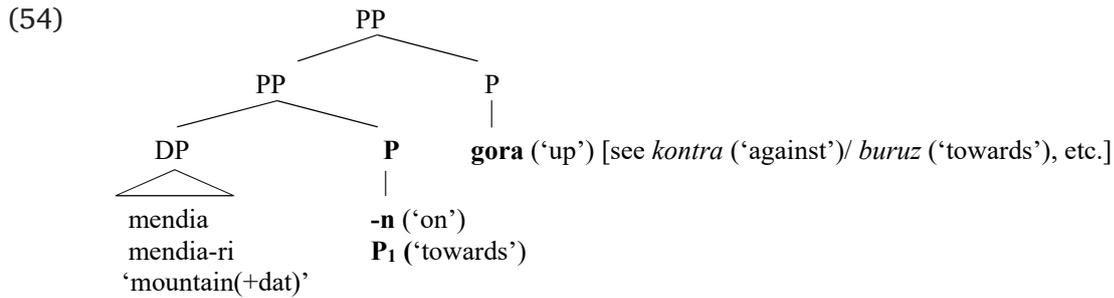


When these changes occur in Lapurdian incorporation is obligatory in the case of P_1 ('towards'), but impossible for *-ra* ('to'), and the incorporated preposition triggers obligatory dative agreement, a satisfactory outcome.²⁸

Let us consider now the contrast in (45), repeated in (53), with the structure in (54). In these examples it is a lexical postposition *gora* ('up'), instead of a verb, what selects for a locative PP complement in both Western and Eastern dialects. Once again, the dialectal difference is that the embedded locative PP is headed by the inessive postposition *-an* ('in'/'on') in Western dialects and older Lapurdian texts and by the dative assigning P_1 in modern NE dialects (cfr. English *up to*, etc.):

- (53) a. Mendia-n go-ra Western dialects and older NE texts
 mountain-LOC up-ALL
- b. Mendia-ri go-ra Modern NE dialects
 mountain-DAT up-ALL
 'Up the mountain'

²⁸ See Ormazabal & Romero (2017a) for details; also see Odria 2014 for an alternative proposal that combines a derivational approach with an *AppIP* hypothesis for dative agreement.



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 (2013) and Etxepare (2014). It is worth remembering that these complex postpositions appear quite late in the chronology of unbounded path datives, but earlier than agreement-less 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 in the second half of XIX 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 (36), repeated in (55), with an agreement and an agreementless instance of the same verb:

- (55) Otoi, ate horr-i hurbil zaite, ni hurbiltzen
 please door that-DAT approach AUX.2pA.IMP, I.ABS approach
 nitzaion bezala.
 AUX.1sA.3sD.PAST as
 'Please, approach that door as I approached it.'

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.

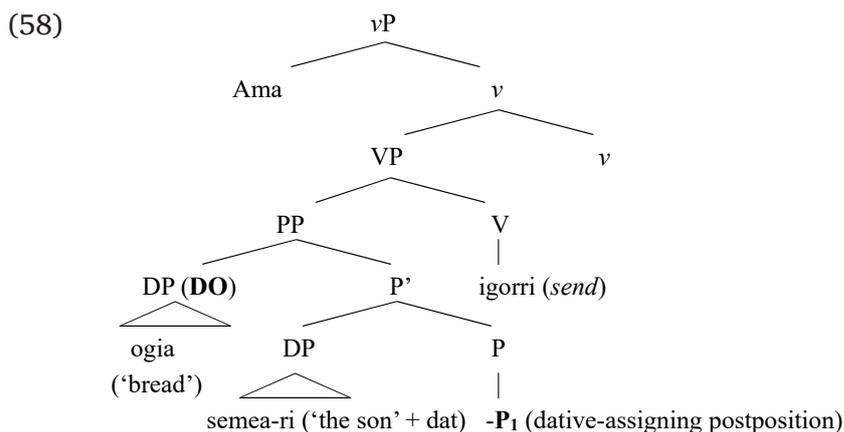
Once the incorporation of P₁ becomes optional, the fact that the totality of the contexts where dative agreement was obligatory begin to show optional agreement and quickly enter the dative alternation is a natural consequence of our proposal: the same P₁, in all its semantic extension, may or may not incorporate. We also predict that agreementless datives are not allowed in what Etxepare & Oyharçabal (2013) and Etxepare (2014) consider "bounded path" contexts, where agreement datives were not allowed either (57). This remains the realms of the non-incorporating allative postposition, as predicted (56):

- (56) a. Miren-ek pilota zelai-ra bota du.
 Mary-ERG ball.ABS field-all throw AUX.(3sA).3sE
 'Mary threw the ball to the field.'

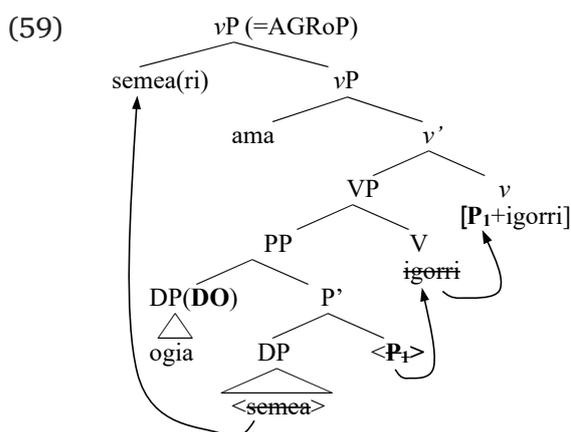
- b. Eskale bat etorri da etxe-ra.
 beggar one.ABS come AUX.(3sA) house-ALL
 ‘A beggar came home/to the house.’
- (57)
- a. *Miren-ek pilota zelaia-ri bota dio /du.
 Mary-ERG ball.ABS field-DAT throw AUX.(3sA).3sD.3sE /AUX.(3sA).3sE
 ‘Mary threw the field the ball.’
 - b. *Eskale bat etorri da /zaio 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 P_1 , whose incorporation becomes optional. In consequence, this process does not discriminate between “old” and “new” datives, all of them are equally affected 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 (58), 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 (58), 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 object agreement position in (59), 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 Lapurdian may be accounted for by a conspiracy of factors in these dialects that are absent in Western ones. In particular, the extension of the unbounded path interpretation to complex postpositions such as *mendiari gora* ('up the mountain') discussed in (53)–(54) 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, making the non-incorporation strategy available more generally. Furthermore, unlike Spanish, Continental Romance languages in contact with Lapurdian have not developed a dative clitic doubling strategy, a mechanism that may be analyzed as a dative agreement. This might have contributed to reinforce the obligatory vs. optional agreement split between Western and NE dialects, yielding the system described in this paper.

Finally, as in many other cases of true dative alternation crosslinguistically (see references in section 3.3), 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. This factor 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 2017 for details).

It might be argued that our account stipulates the obligatoriness/optionality for each language. Indeed, the information about whether P_1 incorporates or not must be codified somewhere among its lexical properties. Notice that non-derivational analyses, in turn, 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 conforming 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 results from the derivation itself. To finish, the changes conform to a series of i-language independent circumstances that may be pinpointed and evaluated with standard tools of historical linguistics, as we have shown.

5.3 A note on “compromise” approaches: Compatible frames

An anonymous reviewer suggests a possible alternative with a PP sub-structure common to both dative alternates – be it an applicative or an adpositional head, or a mixture of both – that merges in different positions: higher than the DO in the agreement construction and lower in the agreementless one. In both cases, this PP would have the appropriate semantic interpretation, capturing the non-accidental extensional relationship between the two structures, but without postulating a direct derivational connection between them. The reviewer mentions Rezac’s (2011) proposal to deal with repair strategies.

It is worth noting that, as far as we can see, Rezac’s proposal is not a general proposal meant to account for dative alternations in full. But even if extended, we do not see the advantage of such an approach over the derivational one. Instead, a reason to prefer a derivational approach is that the specific interpretation of the IO heavily depends on the combined contribution of the “bleached” P head together with the lexical specifications of the verb. Thus, the dative argument is interpreted as a goal/recipient under *igorri* ('send') in (60a–b) but as an unbounded path under *hurbildu* ('approach') in (61a–b) [repeated from the introduction], strongly suggesting that selection is playing a crucial role:

- (60) 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.’
- (61) a. Ate horr-i hurbil-tzen nitzaion.
 door that-DAT approach-HAB AUX.1sA.3sD.PAST
 I approached that door.’
- b. Ate horr-i hurbil-tzen nintzen.
 door that-DAT approach-HAB AUX.1sA.PAST
 ‘I approached that door.’

If we assume a syntactically compositional approach to argument structure (Hornstein 2001; Ramchand 2008, among others), this complex relation might be codified if created via head movement. But, leaving aside unimportant structural details,²⁹ we find it difficult to see how the two hypotheses could be efficiently distinguished empirically once V-to-I raising of the verbal heads occurs, and theoretically it seems to us that we would be dealing with notational variants of the same derivation after all.

Under the alternative assumption that thematic relations are obtained uniformly under the application of external merge (e.g. Chomsky 2014), a derivational analysis with a common basic structure where the selectional properties of V and P are uniformly represented would be preferred. Given all that, we do not see any advantage in postulating two different but compatible structures, not even circumventing the technical problems the incorporation analysis might have, to end up with the same semantic representation/interpretation.

Be it as it may, given all the above, the only case that remains to be considered is the lack of alternation in so-called “high applicatives”, that is, experiencer, possessor, etc., which always show obligatory agreement. Extending a proposal by Odria (2014, 2016), 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 datives, 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 Pykkänen (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 datives, and analyze them in terms more in accordance with our derivational approach. It is not our goal in this paper to present a detailed syntactic analysis, 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 datives, a distinctive “High Applicative” projection *per se* lacks explanatory power; moreover, even as a descriptive tool, the properties attributed to it, as opposed to the low applicative projection, do not seem to make the right cut once additional evidence is considered in detail (see Ormazabal & Romero 2010; Odria 2014 for discussion).

Paul & Whitman (2010) and Odria (2016) already open a way for unification. They propose that the ApplP locus for high and low datives is the same projection, but while low datives reach that position by internal merge, moving from lower structural positions,

²⁹ A difference would be the issues concerning the small clause structure postulated in our derivational account, which is incompatible with the “alternative frames” option, but that is not a crucial feature of the analysis.

high datives are base-generated directly in the specifier of the applicative projection. 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 Differential Object Marking in Western-Central dialects showing that agreeing dative arguments do not all share the same category in the base, and that the standard criteria do not cut across the high/low line, but across categorial properties of the position of origin.³⁰

Our proposal is to go one step further. Theoretically speaking, the situation pictured by these authors 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 the various subject types show could be derived, not from their subjecthood, but from their diverse origin, while the properties associated to subjecthood might be derived from the fact that they share the structural property of being in the same (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 (see Michelioudakis 2012 for a fully developed analysis in the same direction based on Greek). In fact, the elements standardly classified as belonging to the class of high datives, (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 label, which would become a bric-a-brac.³¹

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

³⁰ It is important to emphasize that we are referring to differences among dative agreeing DPs, not to the classical, and much more analyzed DP/PP distinction associated to the agreement/agreementless datives (section 3 and references). Odria's innovation is that she presents clear criteria to make a much more sophisticated distinction among dative agreeing DPs and, as said in the text, that this division does not correspond to the standard high/low dative cut, but to their categorial and configurational properties in the base position. Her important contribution not only provides objective criteria for classification but, more importantly, it presents an articulated proposal that captures these differences at the base level, subsumes the high/low dative distinction, and achieves a structural unification in terms of their "landing site". That analysis – not only the first articulated one Basque-internally but extremely relevant in more general terms (also see Paul & Withman 2010) – goes far beyond the intricacies of the particularly rich Basque data on dative constructions.

³¹ 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, Pylkkänen 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. Moreover, as an anonymous reviewer observes, the label "ethical datives" has been used to cover a very broad cluster of phenomena that look different pragmatically and in their structural properties (see Fernández 2010).

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 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 Fernández 2010; Romero 2014, among others).

7 Summary and final remarks

Summarizing, the historical changes occurred in Lapurdian Basque constitute an excellent showcase in which to look for the answer to important theoretical issues concerning the syntax and semantics of dative alternations. They show that the semantic extension of dative constructions is independent of the dative alternants themselves. On the one hand, we may see that the applied arguments are not semantically restricted to change-of-possession, but extend to other domains. That is clear in many languages of the world that show a dative construction richer than English, but the extension process is neatly documented in the case of Lapurdian Basque, where we can follow how the dative is gradually occupying other semantic fields as it extends to the conceptual domain of unbounded paths. It is a slow and progressive process that extends the domains of dative agreement to new contexts previously occupied by allative and locative postpositions, far beyond change of possession contexts. The mere extension to non-possession domains already poses serious problems for theories that associate the applicative construction to the semantics of change-of-possession. The fact that this semantic extension is completely dissociated from any syntactic change, as we have shown, makes theories that postulate a one-to-one relation between a specific syntactic construction and a corresponding interpretation untenable.

At the opposite end of the scale, Lapurdian also shows that PP-constructions are not restricted to path contexts either. We have shown that the dialect accommodates a non-applied PP strategy, from the second half of XIX century on. This strategy extends virtually through the entire semantic domain of dative DPs, independently confirming Rappaport Hovav & Levin's (2008) important results that the semantic extension of the PP-construction depends on the selecting predicate, and not on the construction itself. Moreover, the properties of this diachronic change, the way it generalizes, and the fast pace support a connection between the agreeing dative construction and the newly created agreementless PP. As we have shown, both structures differ radically in the same well known syntactic terms as Double Object Constructions and *to*-constructions do. However, the conceptual spaces they occupy mostly coincide – except for the case of high datives – strongly supporting a derivational relation between them.

In a more speculative vein, we have also suggested in the last section of the paper a possible analysis to deal with high datives – most clearly possessor and psychological datives – as well as causees in causative constructions, which do not have a PP-origin and, consequently, do not enter the dative alternation. We propose to apply what we

may call the “generalized (Spec, IP) landing site” analysis of subjects to applicative arguments, where they would differ in their base-generated position – with the differences associated to these diverse origins – but end up in the same agreement position.

Abbreviations

1/2/3 = 1st/2nd/3rd person agreement (we mark third person absolutive agreement in parenthesis, since it has no corresponding morpheme and there is a theoretical issue about whether in those cases there is agreement or not), A = absolutive agreement, ABS = absolutive case-marking, ALL = allative marker, APPL = applicative marker/head, ASP = aspect, AUX = auxiliary, CAUSE = causative morpheme, CL = clitic, COMP = complementizer, D = dative agreement, DAT = dative case-marking, DET = determiner, DFLAG = dative flag, DO = Direct Object, DOM = Differential Object Marking, E = ergative agreement, ERG = ergative case-marking, FUT = future aspect marker, GEN = genitive marker, GER = gerund marker, HAB = habitual aspect marker, HYP = hypothetical mood, IMP = imperative, INCH = inchoative, INESS = inessive marker, IO = Indirect Object, LOWAPPL = Low applicative, NOM = nominalization, P = plural agreement, PRES = present tense, PROG = progressive aspect marker, PST = past tense, REFLEX = reflexive, REL = Relative complementizer, RECIP = reciprocal, S = Subject, S = singular agreement, SUBJ = subjunctive. To help the reader interpret the examples, we mark dative agreement in the auxiliary and dative marking in the DPs, as well as locative adpositions (inessive, allative) when relevant for the discussion, in bold type.

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Competing Interests

The authors have no competing interests to declare.

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