

### The antisymmetry of Basque DPs\*

Paola Crisma  
Università of Trieste

Giuseppe Longobardi  
University of York

#### 1 The Basque article: the basics

In Basque nominal arguments, all common nouns not accompanied by a numeral, a demonstrative or an indefinite quantifier, end in a morpheme which takes the form sg. *-a*, plur. – *ak*, which is ambiguous between definite and indefinite

- (1) a. Gu sagarr-**a** jaten ari dira  
we apple-ART.SG eating PROGR are  
'We are eating the/an apple'
- b. Gu sagarr-**ak** jaten ari dira  
we apple-ART.PL eating PROGR are  
'We are eating (the) apples'
- c. \* Gu sagar jaten ari dira
- (2) a. Jon-ek etxe-**a** erosi du  
Jon-ERG house-ART.SG bought has  
'Jon bought the/a (red) house'
- b. Jon-ek etxe gorri-**a** erosi du  
Jon-ERG house red-ART.SG bought has  
'Jon bought the/a (red) house'
- (3) a. Ion a citit nou-**l** articol al lui Chomsky  
Ion has read new-the article A his Chomsky
- b. Ion a citit articol-**ul** nou al lui Chomsky  
Ion has read article-the new A his Chomsky  
'Ion has read Chomsky's new article'

#### 2 Basque and French: Number marking

- (4) a. Nous avons acheté le / un livre  
we have bought the.M.SG a book  
'We have bought the/a book'
- b. \* Nous avons acheté livre  
we have bought book  
'We have bought a book'
- c. Nous avons acheté les / des livres  
we have bought the.PL of-the.PL book  
'We have bought (the) books'

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\* Basque data from Laka (1996), Trask (2003), Artiagoitia (2012), Etxeberria (2012), and from judgements kindly provided by Ricardo Etxepare.

- d. Nous avons acheté le / du lait  
we have bought the.SG of-the.SG milk  
'We have bought (the) milk'
- e. \* Nous avons acheté livres / lait  
we have bought book milk  
'We have bought books / milk'
- (5) a. Jean est médecin  
Jean is doctor  
'Jean is a doctor'
- b. Jean et Marie sont médecins  
Jean et Marie are doctors  
'Jean and Marie are doctors'
- (6) a. Gu sagarr-**ak** jaten ari dira (repeated from (1)) BASQUE  
we apple-ART.SG/PL eating PROGR are  
'We are eating (the/an) apple(s)'
- b. \* Gu sagar jaten ari dira
- (7) a. Bada ogi-**a** mahai gainean  
there-is bread-ART.SG table top-in  
'There is bread on the table'
- b. \* Bada ogi mahai gainean
- (8) a. Ameriketara joan zen artzai  
Americas.to go AUX shepherd  
'He went to America as a shepherd'
- b. Otso bihurtu zen  
wolf become AUX  
'He turned into a wolf'
- (9) *Parameter 1: [± Number exponence on N]* (cf. Delfitto and Schrotten 1991)  
Italian, English, .... [+]; Basque, French [-]

### 3 Basque and Polish: definiteness

- (10) a. kupił książki POLISH  
bought books  
'He/She bought (the/sm) books'
- b. kupił trzy książki  
bought three books  
'He/She bought (the) three books'
- c. kupił moje książki  
bought my books  
'He/She bought my books / books of mine'
- d. kupił nowe książki  
bought new books  
'He/She bought (the/sm) new books'

(11) *Parameter 2*: [ $\pm$  grammaticalized definiteness]

Italian, English, French ... [+]; Basque, Polish, Latin ... [-]

*Parameter 1* + *Parameter 2*  $\Rightarrow$  Basque *-ak* = French *les* and *des*  
Basque *-a* = French *le, du* and non-specific *un*  
(or their feminine counterparts)

#### 4 Basque and Wolof: D headedness

(12) a. jàng naa tééré b-i WOLOF  
read 1SG.PERF book CLASS-DEF  
'I read the book'

b. jàng naa tééré b-ii / b-ee / b-ale  
read 1SG.PERF book CLASS-this CLASS-that CLASS-yonder  
'I read this/that book'

(13) a. kruasan hau / hori / hauek / horiek BASQUE  
croissant this / that / these / those  
'this/that croissant' / 'these/those croissants'

b. ikasle asko / gutxi  
student many few  
'many/few students'

c. te asko / gutxi  
tea much / little  
'much/little tea'

d. Jonek etxe bat erosi du  
Jon-ERG house one bought has  
'Jon bought one/a certain house'

(14) *Parameter 3*: [ $\pm$  D-NP]

Italian, English, French ... [+]; Basque, Wolof [-]

#### 5 Long-distance reference

##### 5.1 Romance vs. Germanic

(15) a. Roma antica t era una città potente ITALIAN  
Rome ancient was a city powerful

b. \* Antica Roma era una città potente

c. L' antica Roma era una città potente  
the ancient Rome ...  
'Ancient Rome was a powerful city'

(Longobardi 1994, 2005)

(16) a. Maria misma será muy feliz SPANISH  
Maria same be.FUT.3SG very happy

b. \* Misma Maria será muy feliz

c. La misma Maria será muy feliz  
the same Maria ...  
'Maria herself will be very happy'

(17) a. Mardi prochain sera un grand jour  
 Tuesday next be.FUT.3SG a great day

b. \* Prochain mardi sera un grand jour  
 ‘Next Tuesday will be a great day’

(18) a. \*(i) dinosauri sono estinti  
 the dinosaurs are extinct  
 ‘(The) dinosaurs are extinct’

ITALIAN

b. Mme Curie ha scoperto \*(il) radio  
 Mme Curie has discovered the radium  
 ‘Mme Curie discovered radium’

(19) a. \* Rome ancient was a powerful city

b. \* The ancient Rome was a powerful city

c. Ancient Rome was a powerful city

(20) a. (%The) dodos went extinct in 1662 thanks to predation by humans

b. Madame Curie discovered (\*the) radium

### 5.2 Basque and Romance

(21) a. Azula andre-a La Vergine Maria  
 Azula lady-ART.SG the virgin Mary  
 ‘Mrs. Azula’

BASQUE / ITALIAN

b. andre Mari \* Vergine Maria  
 Lady Mari  
 ‘the Virgin Mary’

c. \* Mari andre Maria Vergine

(22) a. Jon gure-a il nostro Gianni  
 Jon our-ART.SG the our Gianni

b. gure Jon \* nostro Gianni  
 our John

c. \* Jon gure Gianni nostro  
 Jon our

(23) b. \* gure liburu \* nostro libro  
 our book our book

c. \* liburu gure \* libro nostro  
 book our

(24) a. Edur\*(r-a) zuri-a da  
 snow-ART.SG white-ART.SG is  
 ‘Snow is white’

b. Txakur\*(r-ak) ugaztun-ak dira  
 dog-ART.PL mammal-ART.PL are  
 ‘Dogs are mammals’

### 5.3 Wolof and Germanic

- (25) Yaakaar naa ne \*(ay) muus dañu doon dàq sama xaj démb WOLOF  
 Think 1SG that (INDEF.CLASS) cat 3PL PAST chase my dog yesterday  
 ‘I think that (some) cats chased my dog yesterday’
- (26) Gótik y-i yàq nañu Rome b-u jëkk  
 Goths CLASS-DEF destroy 3PL.PERF Rome CLASS-LK ancient  
 ‘The Goths ravaged ancient Rome’
- (27) a. Dinosoor jeex nañu ci àddina b-i  
 Dinosaurs finish 3PL.PERF in world CLASS-DEF  
 ‘Dinosaurs have become extinct’
- b. Madam Kuri moo feeñal rajom  
 Mme Curie 3SG discover radium  
 ‘Mme Curie discovered radium’
- (28) *Parameter 4*: [ $\pm$  Long-distance reference to D] ([ $\pm$  strong Person] in Longobardi 2008)  
 Germanic, Wolof ... [+]; Basque, Romance ... [-]

## 6 Basque vs. IE: numerals

- (29) a. I miei tre vecchi amici sono venuti a trovarmi ITALIAN  
 the my three old friends are come to visit-me  
 ‘My three old friends came to visit me’
- b. I tre miei vecchi amici sono venuti a trovarmi  
 same meaning *but* numeral emphasized: TRE informationally marked
- c. Tre miei vecchi amici sono venuti a trovarmi  
 ‘Three old friends of mine came to visit me’
- d. \* Miei tre vecchi amici sono venuti a trovarmi (Crisma 1991, 2012)
- (30) a. The staff ignored the other three/few customers  
 b. The staff ignored the three/few other customers  
 c. The staff ignored three/few other customers  
 d. \* The staff ignored other three/few customers
- (31) a. The subsequent three events surprised me  
 b. Three subsequent events surprised me  
 c. \* Subsequent three events surprised me
- (32) a. Nous avons acheté les autres trois livres  
 we have bought the other three books  
 ‘We have bought the other three books’
- b. Nous avons acheté trois autres livres  
 ‘We have bought three other books’
- c. \* Nous avons acheté autres trois livres  
 ‘We have bought three other books / (the) other three books’
- (33) a. moje trzy książki  
 my three books  
 ‘my three books’ (definite *and* informationally unmarked)

- b. trzy moje książki  
 i. ‘my THREE books’ (definite *but* numeral emphasized, see (29)b)  
 or  
 ii. ‘three books of mine’ (indefinite *and informationally unmarked*)

(34) hiru etxe gorri haiek  
 three house red yonder  
 ‘those three red houses’

BASQUE

(35) hiru ikasle  
 three students  
 ‘three students’

(36) a. gure etxeko liburu-a  
 our home-LK book-ART.SG

b. etxeko gure liburua  
 home-LK our book-ART.SG  
 ‘our book at/from home’

(37) a. hiru etxeko liburu  
 three home-LK book  
 ‘three books at/from home’

b. etxeko hiru liburu-ak  
 home-LK three book-ART.PL  
 ‘the three books at/from home’

c. etxeko hiru liburu

d. \* hiru etxeko liburu-ak

(38) zein (hiru) etxe gorri ... ?  
 which (three) house red  
 ‘which (three) red houses ... ?’

(39) a. zein etxeko hiru liburu ... ?  
 which home-LK three book

b. etxeko zein hiru liburu ... ?

c. \* zein hiru etxeko liburu  
 ‘which three books at/from home ... ?’

## 7 Basque vs. IE: proper names with articles

(40) a. Jon gure-a  
 Jon our-ART.SG

b.\* gure Jon-a  
 our Jon-ART.SG  
 ‘our Jon’

(41) a. \* liburu gure-a  
 book our-ART.SG

d. gure liburu-a  
 our book-ART.SG

## 8 Basque vs. IE: pronouns

- (42) a. \* gu hiru  
we three
- b. \* hiru gu  
three we
- (43) a. gu hiru-ak  
we three-ART.PL  
'we three/the three of us'
- b. \* hiru gu-ak  
three we-ART.PL
- (44) a. hiru ikasle-ak  
three student-ART.PL  
'the three students'
- b. \* ikasle hiru-ak  
student three-ART.PL

## 9 D as a split checking domain

(45) Categories interpretively connected to D fronted to the left edge in Basque:

- a. numerals as indefinite quantifiers
- b. proper names with articles
- c. modified pronouns (with articles)

(46) Two possible symmetric approaches: wrong predictions

a. Mirror image

|                      |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| IE                   | Basque                    |
| [ Spec [ D Compl ] ] | [ [ Complement D ] Spec ] |

b. Head-Compl parameter theory

|                      |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| IE                   | Basque                    |
| [ Spec [ D Compl ] ] | [ Spec [ Complement D ] ] |

\* Rome the ancient

(47) An approach in terms of Antisymmetry (Kayne 1994):

the phrase-final position of D is derived via movement of its complement to its Spec

Tentative assumption:

only the edge position of the complement raised to Spec,D can establish an interpretive relation with D