A note on Basque vocative clitics

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Abstract

This article proposes an analysis of "allocutive" morphemes in Basque, which are taken to be a species of vocative expression. This article focuses on two properties of vocative clitics: the fact that their morpheme order inside the auxiliary is sensitive to ergative person; and the way vocative clitics condition exponence of auxiliary roots. These reflect the first-merged position of vocative morphemes in the left periphery, and different ways that vocative clitics may receive case.

0. Introduction*

Recent generative work has taken new interest Ross' (1970) "performative hypothesis" —in its essence, the idea that Speaker and Hearer speech act roles are encoded syntactically (Speas & Tenny 2003; Hill 2007, 2014; Bianchi 2006; Baker 2008; Zanuttini 2008; Miyagawa 2012; Haegeman & Hill 2013). Particularly influential in this literature has been Speas and Tenny's (2003) proposal that Speaker and Hearer pragmatic roles are introduced by dedicated Speech Act heads high in the left periphery of the clause. A phenomenon frequently cited as evidence in favor of this proposal is "allocutivity" —overt agreement with non-thematic addressees in some languages— which seems to provide direct morphological evidence for an addressee-related position. I illustrate this phenomenon in (1) from Basque, where the *-k* morpheme agrees with a familiar masculine addressee, and *-n* agrees with a familiar feminine addressee, where the addressee is not an argument of the verb.

(1) Kotxea   garestia   izan-go   d-u-**k/n**.
     car.ABS   expensive   be-FUT   EPENTH-HAVE -**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**
     '*The car is going to be expensive.*'

Despite the importance of this phenomenon for the neo-performative position, such "allocutive" constructions have received relatively little attention in the formal literature. Apparently similar phenomena have been reported in a handful of languages other than Basque including Galician (Uriagereka 1995; Huidobro 2009), Magahi (Bhattacharya 2010; Verma 1991) and Mupun (Frajzyngier 1989), however the literature on these constructions is not extensive, and Basque remains the best studied such language.[1] Importantly, while a considerable body of work has focused on the clausal syntax of Basque allocutive constructions, including especially clause-type restrictions (Oyharçabal 1993; Alberdi 1995; Miyagawa 2012, 2013; Torrego 2013; Alcazar and Saltarelli 2014), little work has focused on the syntax of allocutive markers at a finer level–that is, the morphology of addressee agreement morphemes inside finite verbs (though see Albizu 1997; Albizu 2002 and Arregi & Nevins 2012 for some discussion).

This paper outlines an account of several morphological properties of such "allocutive agreement" morphemes, which I will take to be a species of vocative expression, and refer to henceforth as "vocative clitics". In particular, this paper focus on two main properties not previously analyzed extensively in previous literature: (i) the fact that their placement inside the auxiliary is sensitive to ergative person; and (ii) the way vocative clitics condition exponence of auxiliary roots. I take these to reflect the first merged position of vocative morphemes in the left periphery of the clause, and different ways that vocative clitics may receive case.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 1 outlines the two sets of facts that the discussion will focus on: the position of vocative clitics inside the auxiliary and the way they condition exponence of auxiliary root vowels. Section 2 proposes an account of these facts.[2]

1. **Two properties of vocative clitics**

1.1. *The position of the vocative clitic*

The basic Basque auxiliary template is given in (2) (Laka 1993; Cheng & Demirdache 1993; Albizu 1997, 2002; Arregi & Nevins 2012). This template has no theoretical status in the proposal to follow, and is rather used here as a descriptive tool, intended to represent the fact that these morphemes, when

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[1] Another possibly related phenomenon is the Quebec French *tu* morpheme (homophonous with the 2sg. informal nominative clitic) that appears in root interrogatives (Vinet 2000).

[2] There is considerable cross-dialectal variation in the behavior of vocative clitics. I will generally restrict the discussion to vocative agreement in the standard dialect, and to informal clitics setting aside formal (-*zu*-) vocatives available in some northern dialects. I also focus on analytic verb forms rather synthetic verbs.

present, must appear in the order given.[3] Examples of auxiliary forms illustrating this ordering are given in (3) and (4). Following Albizu (2002) and Arregi & Nevins (2012), I assume that there are no 3sg. absolutive clitics and that the morphemes that spell out in "absolutive position" in 3sg. absolutive contexts are epenthetic, to shield the auxiliary root from the left edge of the word.

(2) Absolutive person - Root - Dative person - Ergative person - Ergative number - T/C.

(3) Ikusi-ko   na-u-zu-la.
    see-FUT   1SG.ABS-ROOT-2.ERG-C
    '*That you will see me.*'

(4) Eman-go   d-i-o-zu-te.
    give-FUT   EPENTH-ROOT-3SG.DAT-2.ERG-ERG.PL
    '*You all will give it to him/her/it.*'

The vocative clitic occupies one of two slots in the template in (2), depending on the context. In third person plural ergative contexts, the vocative clitic appears to the right of the ergative plural morpheme (-*te*), as in (5). Third person ergative morphemes are silent.

(5) Egin-go   d-i-te-**k**.[4]
    do-FUT   EPENTH-ROOT-ERG.PL-**2SG.FAM.MASC**
    '*They will do it.*'

In first person contexts, where ergative person marker is overt, the vocative clitic appears to the left of this morpheme, as illustrated in (6). In first person plural contexts, which have a portmanteau ergative morpheme marking person and number (-*gu*), the ergative clitic appears to the left of this morpheme. The only person/number combination in which ergative person and ergative number are overtly realized as separate morphemes are second person plural contexts, which do not co-occur with vocative clitics (Oyharçabal 1993).

(6) a. Egin-go   d-i-**a**-t.
       do-FUT   EPENTH-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-1SG.ERG
       '*I will do it.*'
    b. Egin-go   d-i-**a**-gu.
       do-FUT   EPENTH-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-1PL.ERG
       '*We will do it.*'

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[3] For convenience, I abstract away from dative plural and absolutive plural morphemes and from conditional forms with the verb **edin*.

[4] Throughout this paper masculine forms for vocative clitics are used. Masculine forms are much more widely used in the relevant dialect areas than feminine forms and many informants have better intuitions about such forms.

In addition, the vocative clitic always appears to the left of the *-(e)n* morpheme traditionally taken to be a past tense marker (Laka 1993). For speakers that allow vocative clitics in embedded contexts, the clitic always appears to the left of the complementizer. These facts are illustrated in (7) and (8) respectively.

(7) Egin-go z-i-te-**a**-n.
     do-FUT   EPENTH-ROOT-ERG.PL-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-PST
     '*They were going to do it.*'

(8) %Esa-n d-i-k   [etorr-i   d-u-**k**-ela]
     say-PERF EPENTH-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC come-PERF EPENTH-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-C
     '*He/she/it said it he/she/it has come.*'

A well-described property of Basque auxiliaries is that they appear to exhibit a Mirror Principle effect (Baker 1985), whereby the canonical order of morphemes mirrors their merged order on standard assumptions about argument structure and the functional sequence (Laka 1993). From the perspective of Speas & Tenny's (2003) proposal, whereby morphemes marking nonthematic addressees are merged high in a C-field position, and if, indeed, the *-(e)n* morpheme truly corresponds to a T head, then placement of the vocative clitic in past tense contexts is surprising in that it suggests a merged position below T. I return to these facts below.

1.2. *The effect of vocative clitics on auxiliary root vowels*

Basque is traditionally described as having a *have-be* alternation. In intransitive contexts without vocative morphology, the auxiliary takes the corresponding form of the copular verb *izan*, 'be', and in transitive contexts the auxiliary takes the form of possessive `have', **edun*.

As several sources have noted, vocative clitics in (non-applicative) intransitive contexts like (1) behave like ergative clitics in determining 'have' rather than 'be', as indicated by the [u] root vowel (Albizu 2002; Arregi 2004; Arregi & Nevins 2012; Torrego 2013). In applicative intransitive contexts, however, the [u] root is blocked, and [ai] appears —the same form that appears in non-vocative applicative intransitives:[5]

(9) a. Gusta-tzen   z-ai-da-**k**.
         like-IMPERF   EPENTH-ROOT-1SG.DAT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**
         '*I like it.*'   [with vocative clitic]

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[5] A more standard approach is to decompose [ai] in (9) into separate morphemes –a verb root *a*+dative/applicative morpheme *i*. The choice between these approaches has no conseqences for the analysis of person effects addressed here and we set aside these issues for space reasons. See Fernández (2014ab) for two recent approaches to /i/.

    b. Gusta-tzen   z-ai-t.
       like-IMPERF   EPENTH-ROOT-1SG.DAT
       '*I like it.*'   [without vocative clitic]

As Albizu (2002) notes, however, the vocative clitic in intransitive contexts does not behave like a true ergative clitic in that, in most dialects, the vocative clitic does not undergo "ergative displacement", that is repositioning of first and second person ergative clitics in the absolutive slot in past tense contexts with 3rd person absolutive contexts (Laka 1993; Bejar and Rezac 2009; Arregi & Nevins 2012). In (10a), the vocative clitic appears in its usual position between the verb root and the *-(e)n* of past tense contexts. In (10b), however, the second person ergative clitic appears in the place of the epenthetic morpheme, *z-*.

(10) a. Egin-go   z-u-**a**-n.
       do-FUT   EPENTH-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC.VOC**-PST
       '*He/she/it was going to do it.*'   [with vocative clitic]
   b. Egin-go   h-u-en.
       do-FUT   **2SG.FAM.MASC** -ROOT-PST
       '*You were going to do it.*'   [with 2sg. fam ergative clitic]

An additional problem concerns the root vowel in transitive contexts. We have so far seen that in monotransitive contexts without a vocative clitic, the auxiliary root vowel is [u], as illustrated in (10b). However, as shown in (5)-(7), in the presence of the vocative clitic, however, the [u] root does not appear in monotransitives, but rather [i], which in non-vocative contexts co-occurs with dative clitics.

Vocative clitics in such contexts differ from true dative clitics, however, in several ways. The first concerns morpheme order. As noted above, vocative clitics appear to the right of ergative plural morphemes in 3sg plural ergative contexts as in (5). True datives appear to the left of this morpheme as shown in (11).

(11) Eman-go   d-i-**o**-te.
      give-FUT   EPENTH-ROOT-**3SG.DAT**-ERG.PL
      '*They will give it to him/her/it.*'

Second, in vocative clitic contexts, the absolutive plural marker is *-ti-* in most dialects as in (12a). In the case of true dative clitics, this marker is standardly *-zki-* as in (12b).

(12) a. Ikus-i   d-i-**ti**-k.
        see-PERF   EPENTH-ROOT-**ABS.PL**-2SG.FAM.MASC
        '*He/she/it has seen them.*'   [with vocative clitic]

b. Eman-go   d-i-zki-o.
   give-FUT   EPENTH-ROOT-**ABS.PL**-3SG.DAT
   '*He/she/it will give them to him/her/it.*'   [with dative clitic]

Finally, as Albizu (1997) notes, vocative clitics, unlike true datives do not trigger Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects. As several authors have noted, Basque is a PCC language (Albizu 1997; Rezac 2008; Arregi & Nevins 2012). In the presence of a recipient dative, agreement with non-third person absolutive themes is blocked.

(13) *Azpisapoe-k ni etsaia-ri   sal-du   na-i-o-te
     traitors-ERG   me enemy-DAT sell-PERF 1SG.ABS-ROOT-3SG.DAT-3PL.ERG
     '*The traitors have sold me to the enemy.*'   (adapted from Albizu (1997))

As shown in (14), however, vocative clitics trigger no such effect.

(14) Peru-k   kalea-n   ikus-i   na-i-**k**
     Peru-ERG   street-in see-PERF 1SG.ABS-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**
     '*Peru has seen me in the street.*'   (adapted from Albizu (1997))

These facts and those in section 1.2, indicate that vocative clitics behave in certain ways like ergative and dative clitics in conditioning exponence of the auxiliary root, but differ from true ergative and dative clitics in other crucial ways. I return to these facts below.

2. **The syntax of vocative clitics**

A well-described property of these morphemes is that for most speakers, they are restricted to root contexts, a characteristic of vocative expressions cross-linguistically (Oyharçabal 1993; Hill 2014). In addition to vocative clitics on the auxiliary, some Basque dialects maintain vocative pronouns. These morphemes share with vocative clitics the property that a gender distinction is made in informal contexts. This is illustrated in (15), where *to* and *no* agree with informal masculine and feminine interlocutors, respectively. These pronouns and the addressee agreement morphemes discussed above are the only two contexts in which Basque has grammatical gender. These morphemes are obligatorily separated from clausal material to the right by an intonational break, suggesting that these pronouns may be extra-sentential. As Oyharçabal (1993) notes, unlike clitics cross-referencing arguments, vocative clitics never co-occur with overt doubles in the absence of such an intonational break.

(15) **To/no**, #   etorri-ko d-u-**k/n**   ala?
     2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM COME-FUT EPENTH-ROOT-3SG.DAT-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM** or
     '*Hey you, is he/she/it going to come?*'

The similar distribution of allocutives and vocatives in Basque (and beyond), suggest that "allocutive" morphemes are a species of vocative morpheme. Specifically, I take several properties of vocative morphemes in auxiliaries to follow from their relationship of these elements to an addressee-related head merged in the left periphery of the clause (Ross 1970; Speas & Tenny 2003; Hill 2007, 2014; Bianchi 2006; Zanuttini 2008; Miyagawa 2012; Arregi & Nevins 2012; Haegeman & Hill 2013).

In particular, one way of understanding this relationship is that the vocative morphemes described above are the reflex of an Agree relation between the addressee-related head and some silent nominal. Indeed, given the existence of vocative case, and from the perspective of the standard view of case and agreement as different morphological manifestations of phi-agreement, one might expect "vocative agreement" to be manifested overtly in natural language. Such a view is close to Miyagawa's (2012) analysis of Basque vocative morphemes, which treats "allocutivity" as a morphological reflex of phi-agreement.[6] Miyagawa's analysis adapts Speas & Tenny's (2003) "speech act shell" proposal, which likens the structure of speech act roles to that of thematic arguments in a Larsonian (1988) VP shell. On Miyagawa's (2012) approach, (adapted from Haegeman & Hill (2013) approach to vocatives), this "shell" more closely resembles a high applicative structure (Pylkkänen 2008). Here, the Hearer role is introduced in the spec of the lower SpeechActP, with the utterance as its complement. The Speaker role —structurally parallel to the external argument in vP— is merged in a higher projection. Miyagawa proposes that agreement comes about via agreement with an allocutive probe merged on C and the Hearer goal merged in a higher Speech Act phrase. C raises into the SpeechAct Shell where it probes Hearer, as in (16).

(16) ***Miyagawa's (2012) structure for allocutive agreement***
    $[_{\text{SpeechActP}}$ Speaker $[_{\text{SpeechAct'}}$ C$_{\text{alloc}}$-SpeechAct $[_{\text{SpeechActP}}$ Hearer $[_{\text{SpeechAct'}}$ ~~C~~$_{\text{alloc}}$-SpeechAct $[_{\text{CP}}$ ~~C~~$_{\text{alloc}}$

Such an analysis is in keeping with a tradition of work on Basque agreement that views person morphemes cross-referencing arguments as reflexes of Agree+feature valuation (Etxepare 2006; Rezac 2008; Béjar & Rezac 2009). An alternative approach, however, is that these person morphemes are rather clitics that double a possibly silent argument (Laka 1993; Oyharçabal 1993; Preminger 2009; Arregi & Nevins 2012). A principal advantage of the clitic approach vs. the agree approach for the purposes of modeling morpheme order aux-internally has to do with constraints on head movement and the locus of case on internal arguments. Assume, more or less standardly for Basque, the structure in (17), showing the first-merged positions

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6 Miyagawa does not refer to these morphemes as vocatives but rather allocutives, following Oyharçabal (1993).

of arguments and their respective case loci. T is the locus of ergative case, v the source of absolutive, and Appl assigns dative case to the argument introduced in its spec (Rezac 2008, a.o.). On the Agree approach to auxiliary construction, the phi-probes agreeing with these arguments, presumably head adjoin to T and higher heads.

(17) $[T_{[Case:Erg]}$ [Modal [Asp [**EA** $v_{[Case:Abs]}$ [**IO** Appl$_{[Case:Dat]}$ [V **DO**]]]]]]]

As described in section 1, morphemes cross-referencing dative, absolutive and ergative arguments appear on the auxiliary. Aspect markers and some modal morphemes, however, do not appear on the auxiliary. Rather, aspectual morphemes are affixed to the main verb (as with the future morpheme in (1) and (3)), and modals morphemes corresponding to English 'want' and 'need' appear as free morphemes, generally to the right of the main verb, as in (18).

(18) Eman   nahi   d-i-**o**-te.
      give   want   EPENTH-ROOT-**3SG.DAT**-ERG.PL
      '*They want to give it to him/her/it.*'

If the morphemes on the auxiliary cross-referencing dative and absolutive person are reflexes of Agree, and if the phi-probes responsible for this agreement are merged below the aspect and modal morphemes (as typically assumed), then for them to adjoin to the auxiliary, they will need to cross over intervening aspect morphemes in violation of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) (Travis 1984). If, on the other hand, dative and absolutive morphemes on the auxiliary raise as clitics, then the absence of HMC effects is expected. The foregoing is an argument for viewing clitics cross-referencing dative and absolutive arguments as clitics. Given the similar behavior of vocative and absolutive morphemes in terms of exponence, I will treat the latter as clitics, as well.

Specifically, I will assume that argumental clitics are introduced vP-internally in the positions shown in (22), with the case loci shown here as well. I assume clitics are heads of category D, merged in a "big DP" structure with the arguments they double. Specifically, let us follow Nevins (2011), in taking this constituent to be a KP with the structure shown in (19).

(19) $[_{KP}$ D$_{Clitic}$ $[_{K'}$ K DP]]

Recall from previous discussion that vocative clitics never co-occur with an overt double. I assume that these clitics differ from argumental clitics in not being merged in a "big DP" structure like (19), but rather in being merged as DPs. Following Matushansky (2006), I assume that clitics raise to the spec of their hosts and then undergo m-merger —post-syntactic adjunction to their host heads.

With these assumptions in mind, let us turn to the first property of vocative clitics described in section 1, namely, the effect of ergative person on vocative placement. Let us assume, following Speas and Tenny (2003), that

heads corresponding to Speaker and Addressee speech act roles sit at the top of the relevant functional sequence, and call these heads Fin and Addressee, respectively. (I use the label *addressee* rather than *hearer* in view of the fact that non-addressee hearers —even ones ratified in the discourse context— do not trigger this agreement.) Following Bianchi (2003), let us take Fin also to be the locus of several speech act-deictic properties including speech act time and participants —see also Sigurðsson (2004). The fact that exponence of epenthetic clitics is sensitive to such speech act anchoring —tense and the presence of vocative clitics— suggest they are in FinP, plausibly inserted post-syntactically. Following Laka (1993), I take T to be the locus of ergative case and the host for third person ergative clitics. (First person ergative clitics are discussed below.) In addition, the auxiliary must include hosts for dative and absolutive clitics. Again, I take these positions not to be the heads responsible for case on dative and absolutive arguments —Appl and v, respectively— for head movement locality reasons. Instead, I assume that the hosts for Abs is Aux, (following Laka 1993), and that the dative clitic is hosted by a P head, a prepositional tense/aspect head. Finally, I assume that the addressee clitic is introduced in spec, Addressee, to which it m-merges. These assumptions are summarized in (20), which shows the relevant functional sequence and clitic landing sites (clitics in bold).

(20) [Fin [**2.Fam.** Addressee [**Erg.3** T [**Dat** P [**Abs** Aux …]]]]]

I assume that auxiliaries are formed by successive head adjunction and that clitics "tuck in" (Arregi & Nevins 2012:56, fn. 10). For a given clitic host X, m-merger will adjoin the clitic below the node formed by adjunction of the head of X's sister.

Now let us consider how these assumptions help express the clitic placement facts introduced above. We first consider an example with a third person plural ergative clitic, as in (5).

(21) *"Tucking in" of clitics*
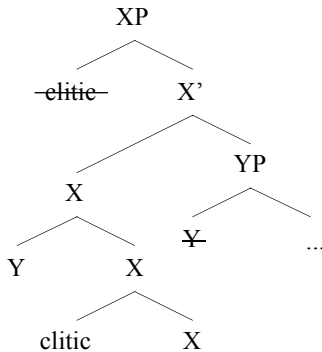
The functional sequence in (20), together with successive head movement and the tucking in operation in (21) will produce the structure in (22), yielding the correct morpheme order.

(22) ***Head movement and cliticization with a 3.Pl Erg. clitic.***
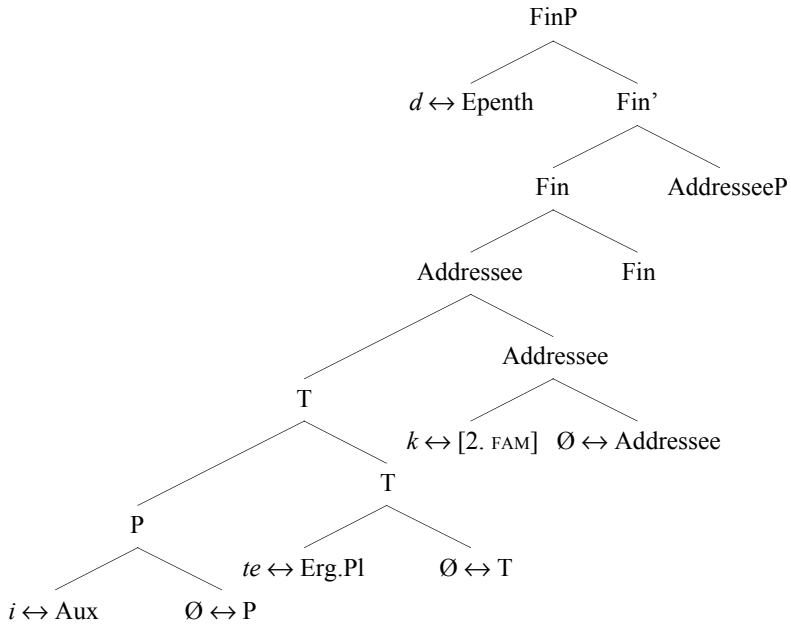
As discussed in section 1, in contexts with a first person ergative clitic, the vocative clitic appears to the left of the ergative morpheme as in (6b). The morpheme order contrast between (5) and (6) suggests that first person ergative clitics adjoin to a different position than third person ergative clitics. On the approach developed so far, the fact that first person ergative morphemes appear further to the right in the auxiliary suggests that they adjoin to a higher position. Let us take this landing site to be the position associated with Speaker roles, namely Fin.

(23) ***Head movement and cliticization with a 1.Pl Erg. clitic.***
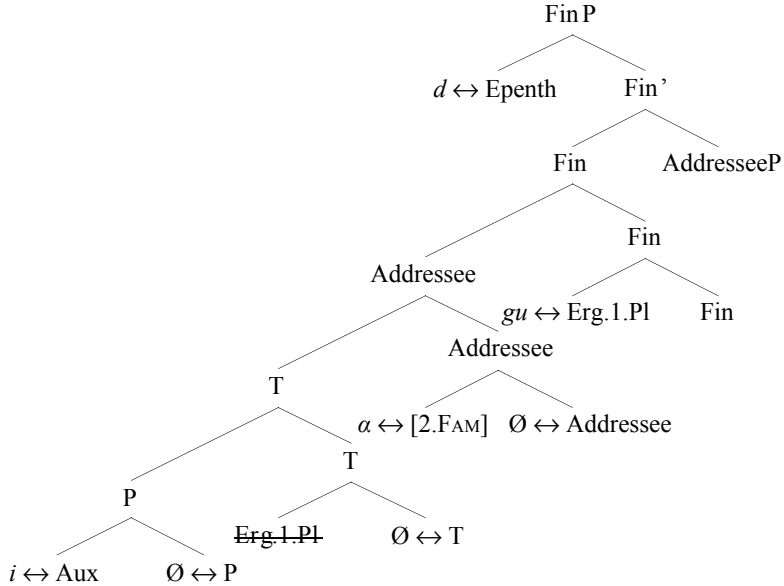
The *-(e)n* morpheme at the right edge of the auxiliary in past tense con-
texts —traditionally taken to be a past tense morpheme merged on T—
presents a special challenge for the analysis. As illustrated in (7), vocative
clitics always appear to the left of *-(e)n*, indicating a *lower* merged position
(assuming a structure derived by left head-adjunction). Arregi & Nevins
(2012) propose that the *-(e)n* morpheme in (7) is a complementizer speci-
fied for tense merged in C, just like the homophonous element traditionally
taken to be a complementizer in relative clauses, embedded interrogatives,
and a few other clause types. As Arregi & Nevins (2012) note, these two el-
ements are in complementary distribution. Let us adopt the essence of Ar-
regi and Nevins' (2012) proposal that *-(e)n* in (7) is a C-field head specified
for tense and merged above Fin. Something more though, needs to be said
to account for the fact that past tense *-(e)n* and interrogative/relative com-
plementizer *-(e)n*, trigger different word boundary-sensitive allomorphs in
some dialects, as in (24) and (25). This suggests that the latter *-(e)n,* but not
the former in many dialects sits across a morpho-phonological boundary
from the rest of the auxiliary. I do not propose a solution to this problem,
here.

(24) Ez daki-t   bidal-i   d-i-**t**-en
     NEG know-1SG   send-PERF   EPENTH-ROOT-**1SG.DAT**-C
     'I don't know if he/she has sent it to me.'   (Oiartzun)

(25) Bidal-i   z-i-**da**-n. (>zin, *ziten)
     sent-PERF   EPENTH-ROOT-**1SG.DAT**-C.PAST
     'He/she sent it to me.'   (Oiartzun)

As described in section 1, an additional challenge for the analysis is to explain the exponence of the root, as *edun `have' or *izan*, `be' and with the [i] root typically found in the presence of a dative clitic. The vocative clitic facts introduced above —and in particular the fact that 'have' is determined in intransitive contexts with vocative clitics— indicate that the *have/be* alternation is not conditioned directly by argument structure, but rather by the kinds of person clitics attaching to the auxiliary (Arregi 2004; Arregi & Nevins 2012). In this respect, Basque *have/be* is reminiscent of the person-sensitive *have/be* systems in some Romance varieties including Abbruzese, as described by D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010). The remaining discussion develops this intuition.

Let us begin by introducing our assumptions about the sources of case on the arguments cross-referenced on the auxiliary. I assume the Obligatory Case Parameter of Bobaljik (1993) and Laka (1993). For ergative languages, this will mean that if one locus of structural case is needed, it will be v (assigning absolutive), and if a second is needed it will be T (assigning ergative). I assume dative is inherent in Basque (Rezac 2008). A straightforward application of this principle to vocative clitics will mean that, in intransitive vocative clitic contexts, T will be the source of licensing for the higher nominal, namely the vocative. T is merged below the first-merged position of the vocative, in AddresseeP, and I assume that T can delay agreement with the vocative until it adjoins to Addressee. In such contexts, *edun*, `have' appears, and from this perspective, the effect of Basque vocative clitics on *have/be* selection recalls D'Alessandro & Roberts' (2010) analysis, where 'have' appears only where T agrees exhaustively with a goal. For Basque, the distribution of *have/be* can be stated as follows.[7]

(26) *edun* 'have' appears when T* has its phi-features valued; *izan*, 'be' appears otherwise.

In ditransitive contexts with a vocative clitic, an additional source of case is needed. From the perspective Miyagawa's and Haegeman & Hill's (2013) analysis likening the speech act shell with an applicative structure, one might expect it to include, in some contexts, a source of case on the non-thematic elements that it introduces (as do "lower" applicative structures). Let us

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[7] This is close to analyses by Albizu (2002) and Arregi & Nevins (2012) whereby exponence of 'have' is triggered by the presence of an ergative clitic.

therefore assume that Addressee is a species of applicative head, capable of providing the "extra" source of case in transitive contexts (Torrego 2013). As such, it triggers the [i] root characteristic of other applicative contexts, as shown in (5)-(7).

Importantly, the analysis so far mispredicts exponence of the root in applicative intransitives like (9a), where [ai] appears. If, as just suggested, T assigns ergative case where two sources of structural case are needed, then why is 'have' not triggered in applicative intransitives like (9a)? This is plausibly related to the fact that realization of *edun, in such contexts (together with a change in the epenthetic morpheme) would produce forms homophonous with transitives as in (5)-(7). I propose that such a state of affairs is blocked by a vocabulary insertion rule:

(27) Root ↔ *izan*/ __ [+absolutive, +applicative, -ergative]

3. **Conclusion**

A question that arises immediately from the perspective of the foregoing analysis is why only ergative clitics should move to Fin and not absolutive or dative clitics. Perhaps relevant to this question is how the behavior of ergative clitics just described relates to a better studied person hierarchy effect on ergative clitic placement, namely ergative displacement, where first and second person ergative clitics are realized in the position where absolutive morphemes typically appear (Ortiz de Urbina 1989; Laka 1993; Fernández & Albizu 2000; Albizu 1997, 2002; Rezac 2003; Béjar & Rezac 2009; Arregi & Nevins 2012). One possibility is that the clitic position for first and second person absolutive clitics on the left edge of the auxiliary does not reflect cliticization low in the IP field, as proposed here, but rather higher in the speech act field. Ergative displacement might, similarly, reflect movement of first and second person ergative clitics to the speech act field. Whether ergative displacement might be related to the ergative person facts focused on here might usefully be considered.

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