The forms of dative displacement: From Basauri to Itelmen

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This article offers comparative notes on "dative displacement", whereby a dative controls canonically absolutive agreement. The comparison is both dialectal across Basque and cross-linguistic with Itelmen and Georgian, discussing interaction with split person and number agreement, ergative displacement, dedicated dative agreement, and applicative morphology.

1 Dative displacement

In most dialects of Basque, an agreeing dative controls a dedicated suffix reflecting its person and number, henceforth canonically dative agreement. It does not interact with the morphemes controlled by the absolutive in clauses without a dative, or canonically absolutive agreement, which remain under the control of the absolutive when a dative is present: \(^1\) the "person" prefix and an affix indicating plurality of diverse shapes and positions, the pluralizer.\(^2\) Thus, using underlining to undicate target-controller relationships:

\[(1) \text{ Intransitive ABS-(DAT)} \quad (2) \text{ Transitive ABS-(DAT)-ERG} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \underline{goaz} \quad \text{"we (abs) go"} & \text{a. } & \underline{gakartza} \quad \text{"he (erg) brings us (abs)"} \\
\text{b. } & \underline{doakigu} \quad \text{"he (abs) goes to us (dat)"} & \text{b. } & \underline{dakarkigu} \quad \text{"he (erg) brings us (dat) it (abs)"} \\
\text{c. } & \underline{doazkigu} \quad \text{"they (abs) go to us (dat)"} & \text{c. } & \underline{dakarzkiugu} \quad \text{"he (erg) brings us (dat) them (abs)"}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^*\) I am grateful to the participants in a 2006 UPV/EHU seminar at Gasteiz for discussion; among them I met Patxi Goenaga, and it is a pleasure to participate in this volume for him. Additional thanks go to Aritz Irurtzun and Julen Agirre. This article is mostly drawn from Rezac (2006), whose empirical basis is the Basque verb morphology volumes of Pedro de Yrizar (e.g. 1992, 1997); unless specified, dialect names refer to these. That work was supported by SSHRC grant #756-2004-0389 and UPV-EHU grant #9 UPV 00114.130-160.09-2004 U.

\(^1\) Except insofar as the presence of dative agreement blocks (agreement with) a 1\(^{st}\)/2\(^{nd}\) person absolutive: the "Person Case Constraint" (Albizu 1997, Ormazabal & Romero 1998), as in Georgian but not in Itelmen.

\(^2\) "Person" in this sense distinguishes 1SG \(-n\), 1PL \(-g\), 2\(^{nd}\) respectuous / 2PL \(-z\), 2\(^{nd}\) familiar \(-h\), 3SG/PL \(-\varnothing\). Similar "person" distinctions hold for Itelmen (1SG, 1PL, 2SG, 2PL, 3) and Georgian (1SG, 1PL, 2, 3).
In these examples dative agreement also brings along an additional element, *ki* (also *tz*, etc.), the "dative flag", and for auxiliary verb roots it may affect the selection of the root allomorph (Lafon 1961, Albizu 2002). The Bermeo form *dxasku* 'it (abs) is to us (dat)' reflects both: *s* is the dative flag (*tz*), and the shape of the root as *dxa* rather than *(s)a* is also due to the dative.

Some varieties present a different picture: some or all 1st/2nd person datives control the canonically absolutive person prefix (px in the glosses) and pluralizer (glossed PL). This is *dative displacement*, illustrated for different dialects in (3). The forms in square brackets give regular dative agreement forms in the same dialect. Worth noting are the different position and shape of the morphemes that the dative controls canonically on the one hand, and under dative displacement on the other, e.g. -*ta*- and *n*- in (3c). 3rd person datives are not affected.4

(3) a. Guri sagarrakj eman g_r-a-it_1-u-zki-j-(guj) [vs. d-a-u-zkik-guj]
us.DAT apples.ABS given 1PL(px)-TM-PL-√-PL2-1PL(sx)
You gave us the apples. (based on Sara, St. Pée and Ahetze, Yrizar 1997: 93, 119)
b. Guri bokatakj gustatzen g_r-a-tt_1-u-ztej [vs. zai-zkij-guj]
us.DAT sandwiches.ABS liking 1PL(px)-TM-PL-√-PL2
We like the sandwiches. (Errenteria, Aritz Irurtzun p.c.)
c. Harek neri sagarra(k)i emun n_r-o-s-ta_1-n [vs. d-o-s-ti]
he.ERG me.DAT apple(s).ABS given 1SG(px)-√-DF-1SG(sx)-PAST
He had given me the apple(s). (Oñate, Collective 2005: 5)

Fernández (2001) introduces the phenomenon to theoretical inquiry, names it, and draws a parallel with the more familiar *ergative displacement*. In the latter, exemplified in (4) (cf. esp. (3a)), a 1st/2nd person ergative controls the canonically absolutive person prefix if the absolutive is not itself 1st/2nd person, while also sometimes in some varieties retaining its own person + number suffix. Ergative displacement presents a systematic and pan-dialectal contrast with dative displacement: the ergative gains control of the person prefix only, and not of the pluralizer PL, even if its canonical absolutive controller is singular and does not trigger it.5 The dative in dative

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4 Thus *die* 'he has it to them (dat)' is never expressed as *ditu* 'he (erg) has them (abs)', *dizki* 'he has them to them'.
5 The ergative seems to control its own plural affix in ergative displacement, PL* (Albizu 2002: 15, Rezac 2006).
displacement, by contrast, takes over both, and if the absolutive is itself plural it controls an extra morpheme, here called the second plural \((PL2\) in \((3ab)\)). A particular configuration may allow either ergative or dative displacement, as in Sara (Urdax) \(ginatzun\) beside \(zintugun\) ‘we (erg) had it to you (dat)’. However, the two cannot combine: it is not possible to have in Basque multiple person prefixes, and moreover it is not possible for the dative to control just the pluralizer PL and the ergative to control the person prefix, giving \(*gintu(\text{zu})n\) for the preceding. All these properties of the two phenomena will persist in Itelmen and Georgian; parochially in Basque, ergative but not dative displacement is limited to the non-present tenses.

\[(4)\]  
\begin{align*}
\text{Askak}_j & \text{ guk}_i \text{ bodegan } g_i-\text{-en}-\text{-it}_j-u-(\text{gu}_i)-n. \\
\text{throughs.the.ABS} & \text{ we.ERG} \text{ store.room.in } 1\text{PL(px)}-\text{PL}^*-\text{-PL-√}-1\text{PL(sx)}-\text{PAST} \\
\end{align*}

The troughs, we had them in the store-room (based on Fernández and Albizu 2006).

The most conspicuous aspect of dative displacement is the control of control absolutive agreement by a DP that retains dative case. This seems to be a rare phenomenon, between two better-studied options for adding an indirect object to a transitive or an unaccusative to form an "applicative construction" (Ormazabal & Romero 1998). One type, standard Basque, codes the added object in a special way for case and agreement, as a dative, and the direct object / subject is treated in the same way as in a plain transitive / unaccusative (thus Greek or Yimas). The other type, English, codes the indirect object in the same way as the direct object / subject of a plain transitives / unaccusatives, leaving various options for the remaining theme (thus English, Mohawk, Chimwiini, or Kinyarwanda). Dative displacement is at the crossroads of these two strategies, and should have much to tell us about the relationship of case and agreement (Fernández 2001, Rezac to appear). The rest of this article surveys the morphology of the phenomenon across and outside Basque, underlining the similarities and differences.

2 Basque

Dative displacement assumes a variety of forms across Basque, exemplified in Table 1. These show that it does not generally collapse the ABS-DAT-ERG paradigm with the ABS-ERG
paradigm for the same $\phi$-features of dative and absolutive. The dative controls canonically absolutive person and number agreement, (5ab), but other differences may subsist, (5c-g).

Table 1: Dative displacement formations\(^6\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>$\phi$, tense</th>
<th>Dative displacement</th>
<th>Dative undispl.</th>
<th>Plain transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern, mostly Lab</td>
<td>1PL pres.</td>
<td>G-$a$-IT-(u)-zk(i)(-GU)</td>
<td>d-$a$-$u$-zk(i)-GU</td>
<td>G-$a$-IT-(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern, mostly Gip†</td>
<td>1PL pres.</td>
<td>G-$a$-IT-(u)-zk(i)‡</td>
<td>d-$i$-tt/zk(i)-GU</td>
<td>G-$a$-IT-(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lekeitio (Biz)</td>
<td>1PL pres.</td>
<td>G-$a$-ITT-(u)-s</td>
<td>d-$e$-$u$-$\hat{z}$-KU-s</td>
<td>G-$a$-ITT-(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burunda (Gip)</td>
<td>1PL pres.</td>
<td>G-$e$-R-(u)-zk-(u)?/(u)?</td>
<td>d-$e$-zk(i)-(G)U</td>
<td>G-$e$-R-(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echarri-Aranaz (Gip)</td>
<td>1PL pres.</td>
<td>G-$i$-zk(i)</td>
<td>d-$uu$-zk(i)-G(U)</td>
<td>G-$i$-z(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oñate (Biz)</td>
<td>1PL past</td>
<td>G-$o$-$\hat{z}$-KU-n</td>
<td>o-$\hat{z}$-KU-n</td>
<td>G-$in\dd$-(u)-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basauri (Biz)†</td>
<td>1PL pres.</td>
<td>N-$o$-$\hat{z}$-TE-s</td>
<td>d-$o$-$\hat{z}$-TE-s</td>
<td>N-$a$-$u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1PL pres.</td>
<td>G-$a$-T-$u$-S-$s$ (ss &gt; s)</td>
<td>d-$o$-$\hat{z}$-KU-s</td>
<td>G-$a$-T-$u$-S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Morphological properties of dative displacement (dative limited to 1\(^{st}\)/2\(^{nd}\) person)

a. Person displacement: The dative controls the person prefix (e.g. 1PL $g$-), canonically controlled by the absolutive, and by the ergative in ergative displacement.\(^7\)
b. Number displacement: The dative controls the canonically abs. pluralizer (e.g. -\(it\)-).
c. Second plural: If there is a (3)PL absolutive, a new pluralizer may appear (e.g. zk\(i\)).
d. Dative doubling: The dative may remain coded by its canonical suffix (e.g. 1PL gu).
e. Interaction with ergative displacement: incompatible.

\(^6\) Lab - Labourd, Gip - Gipuzkoa, Biz - Bizkaia. CAPS = absolutive-type person prefix (g 1PL, n 1SG), pluralizer (-\(it\)-, -s PL); SMALL CAPS = dative-type person+number suffix (gu 1PL, te 1SG). Other: root; dative flag; theme marker; second plural; -(a)n = past; ? = analysis unclear. †: Dative displacement affects the ABS-DAT paradigm as well. ‡: In ABS-DAT, second plural is also te *they are to me* Nausk\(i\), naute = zaizkit.

1PL dative is chosen because it illustrates both person and number control, and happens to be instantiated in each group, although 1SG dative is more susceptible to the phenomenon everywhere save Echarri-Aranaz. Basauri has two modes of formation, see below. Oñate dative displacement is restricted to the past, elsewhere the present is most affected. In Basauri, nostes is implied by the description; cf. nastas/yastas = zaizkit beside nasta/yasta = zait. Oñate belongs to dialects that do not distinguish 3SG/PL.ABS in the presence of a dative, i.e. dosku = ditzk\(i\)gu.

\(^7\) There is also some partial 1PL > 1SG dative displacement, Oñate var. $g$osku &c. for $g$osku &c. 'he has it to us'.
f. Base: In Gipuzkoan and in Lekeitio, dative displacement uses the ABS-ERG base rather than the ABS-DAT-ERG one; in Bizkaian and Labourdin (see below), it uses the ABS-DAT-ERG base with its special "dative flag" or distinctive root.

g. Dative displacement depends systematically on the following parameters: φ-features of the dative (e.g. 1SG only in Hernáni, 1PL in Burunda, 1SG and 1PL in Oñate, all 1st/2nd person in Sara); tense (e.g. present in Ainhoa, past in Oñate); transitivity (rare in the ABS-DAT paradigm); plurality of the absolutive.

Tables 2 and 3 furnish some concrete paradigms (partial for brevity). Ahetze has dative displacement for all 1st/2nd person datives (and no 3rd person ones), beside the undisplaced dauzkigu. The displacement forms exemplify both the second plural zki, and dative doubling in gaituzkigu, zaizkitzu. The base of the displacement forms looks at first sight like the ABS-ERG base u, not the ABS-DAT-ERG i appearing with undisplaced 3rd person datives; the last column compares the ABS-ERG forms. In Oñate, dative displacement occurs for 1st person datives in the past. Here the displacement forms contrasts strikingly with the plain transitive ABS-ERG ones because they use the ABS-DAT-ERG base, seen in the undisplaced form oskuen, with its dative flag s, canonically dative suffix ku, and the absence of the past theme marker iñdd.

Table 2: Present ERG : DAT : 3.PL.ABS in Sara, Ahetze (Yrizar 1997: 121)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>3SG.ERG</th>
<th>3PL.ERG</th>
<th>1SG.ERG</th>
<th>1PL.ERG</th>
<th>2R.ERG</th>
<th>ABS</th>
<th>3SG.ERG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>diozka</td>
<td>diozkate</td>
<td>diozkat</td>
<td>diozkau</td>
<td>diozkatu</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>nauzki</td>
<td>nauzkite</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nauzkitzu</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>nau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>gaituzkigu</td>
<td>gaituzkigute</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gaituzkitzu</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>gaitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2R</td>
<td>zaizkitzu</td>
<td>zaizkitzute</td>
<td>zaizkitzut</td>
<td>zaizkitzugu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2R</td>
<td>zaitu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Past ERG : (DAT) : ABS in Vergara, Oñate (Yrizar 1992: 469)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>3.SG.ERG</th>
<th>3.PL.ERG</th>
<th>2R.ERG</th>
<th>ABS</th>
<th>3SG.ERG</th>
<th>3.PL.ERG</th>
<th>2R.ERG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>nostan</td>
<td>nostaiñ</td>
<td>nostatzun</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>niñdun</td>
<td>niñduen</td>
<td>niñdusun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>goskun</td>
<td>goskuen</td>
<td>goskutzun</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>giñduan</td>
<td>giñduen</td>
<td>giñdusun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some differences among the groups in Table 1 are simply a matter of the origin of dative displacement and its gradual spread: in 1SG or 1PL dative, in the present or past, and whether it has spread to ABS-DAT intransitives. The "second plural" recruited to agree with 3PL absolutive when the regular plural PL is taken over by the dative seems to reflect the most unmarked plural allomorph of the regular ABS-DAT-ERG paradigm: Bizkaian z/s, elsewhere zki, but also te for intransitives. On the remaining differences, some light is shed by a comparison of the groups.

Two groups stand out from the others: Oñate (generally) and Basauri (for 1SG). As elsewhere the dative controls canonically absolutive agreement, but the similarity to the plain ABS-ERG paradigm stops there, and the dative displacement forms use the base of undisplaced ABS-DAT-ERG forms. Ostan 'he had it to me', oskun 'he had it to us', become nostan, goskun in Oñate, retaining both the canonically dative suffixes 1SG ta, 1PL ku, and the dative flag s. This does not occur in the other groups, and some distinctive property of these two dialects would be welcome. It is suggested by the limitation of Oñate dative displacement to the past. Oñate and Basauri share the Bizkaian characteristics of having no "default" prefix when the absolutive is 3rd person (the only absolutive permitted in forms with dative agreement, note 1), while other dialects use z/s-: Oñate ostan 'he had it to me' beside Salinas (s)-ustan, Labourdin z-autan, Gipuzkoan z-idan. To yield dative displacement for all 1SG/PL datives, Oñate only needs to tack 1SG n, 1PL g onto this base, because of two additional properties of this variety. First, it belongs to a small group where 1PL/2PL do not control the pluralizer PL: Oñate gau 'he has us (abs)' beside the gaitu, gaitus, gaus elsewhere with PL it, s. Second, it participates in the more widespread phenomenon of not agreeing with 3PL absolutes in the presence of (even undisplaced) dative agreement, so no second plural is needed.8

8 The "theme marker" iñdd found between the root and the person prefixes in the ABS-ERG past in Oñate is not extended to dative displacement, perhaps a testimony to the fossil status of this morpheme. Since agreement with 1st/2nd person absolutes is impossible in Basque in the presence of dative agreement (note 1), there is no way to see
The presence of a default prefix is not an insurmountable obstacle to the Oñate type formation. Basauri deploys it for 1SG datives in the present as well as the past, where the undisplaced type *d-oste* 'he has it to me (dat)' has the default prefix *d-* as in Basque generally. *Doste* becomes *noste* under dative displacement. Similarly, Basauri extends dative displacement to the consonant-initial ABS-DAT paradigm, transforming *yasta(n)* 'he is (was) to me (dat)', where *y* is part of the root allomorph found in the context of dative agreement, to *n-asta(n)*.

Basauri also indicates the plurality of 3PL absolutes in the presence of a dative, displaced or not; the displaced forms adopt the earlier ones' pluralizer *s* as their "second plural".⁹

In the other groups, dative displacement looks quite different. To a first approximation, it seems as if it basically adopts the ABS-ERG forms in consequence of the dative's control of the absolutive-type person and number agreement: *gaitu* 'he has *us* (abs)' comes to be used for 'he has it to *us* (dat)', beside undisplaced *digu/dauku*. The *gaitu*-type forms are then sometimes enriched with pieces coming from the undisplaced ABS-DAT-ERG forms, namely the second plural (*zki, s*, but often ∅: 'he has them to *us*') undisplaced *dauzki ←→* displaced *gaitu(zki)*, and the canonical dative suffixes (*gaituzki/gu*). The distribution of dative displacement suggests why this might be so and how it relates to the Oñate mode of formation.

Dative displacement is earliest recorded, most widely spread, and most often discussed for the Northern Group of Table 1.¹⁰ This seemingly contiguous region splits into two areas as regards the (older) forms with undisplaced dative agreement. The geographically mostly Gipuzkoan area differentiates the ABS-DAT-ERG base *i* from the ABS-ERG base *u*, giving *dio* 'he (erg) has it (abs) to him (dat)' vs. *du* 'he (erg) has it (abs)', *digu* 'he has it to *us* vs. *gaitu* 'he has *us*': the dialects of Irún and Hernani, and the Urdax variety of Sara. However, the majority of the Labourdin area of this group, namely Ainhoa, Arcangues, St. Jean de Luz, and some Sara

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what this theme marker would look like if there were a 1ʳᵗʰ/2ⁿᵈ person-controlled prefix in the ABS-DAT-ERG or ABS-DAT paradigms, unless dative displacement occurs. It is thus of great interest that the theme marker proper to ABS-ERG is not extended here. In the northern group it sometimes is and sometimes is not, so that dialects with ABS-ERG type *ginjuan* 'he had *us* (abs)' have dative displacement 'he had it to *us* (dat)' either as *ginjuan &c.* or as *gattuen* (Hondarribia). (Basauri has little to say about the theme marker: *nosten* does not use *iudd* or its variants, but such forms are also gone from its ABS-ERG paradigm because of "leismo", Arretxe 1994: 159 note 83.)

⁹ Only 1SG datives use this formation in Basauri, so plural + second plural combinations cannot be investigated.

¹⁰ Bonaparte's attention to the phenomenon in the mid-19C permits its evolution to be tracked during more than a century between his study and Yritzar's. For other works, see Sagarzazu (1994), Fernández (2004).
varieties, has the peculiarity of appearing to use the ABS-ERG base for the undisplaced ABS-DAT-ERG formations, with 1st/2nd person datives. Thus in Ainhoa, beside the same dio - du contrast for 3SG dative as for Gipuzkoan, we get for 1PL dative the form dauku 'he (erg) has it (abs) to us (dat)', to be compared to gaitu 'he (erg) has us (abs)'.

This identity of bases seems to be only superficial. The dative-controlled suffixes of Basque are generally drawn from the same set as the ergative-controlled suffixes. In these Labourdin varieties however, a dative-controlled suffix assumes a special form, if it is contiguous to the root u. Consider the 1PL-controlled suffix: gu when the controller is ergative, dugu 'we have it', diogu 'we have it to him', and when the controller is dative and the suffix is separated from the root u, dauzki gu 'he has them to us', but ku when the controller is dative and the suffix is right-adjacent to the root, dauku 'he has it to us' (beside other varieties' uniform gu in dugu, diogu, dizkigu, digu, respectively). This reveals the influence of an underlying morpheme identifiable as the "dative flag", the special morpheme that in many varieties shows up overtly between the root and a dative-controlled suffix, often with the phonetic effect found in the gu/ku alternation. Thus in Bizkaian the dative flag takes the form s before gu, which it devolves to ku: Biz. deusku (dosku) for Lab. dauku 'he has it to us', versus dogu = Lab. dugu 'we have it'. So dauku is really da-u-X-gu: the root u, shared with ABS-ERG forms, followed by the dative flag X (Lafon 1961).

In turn, it follows that the dative displacement form gaitu 'he has it to us' need be only superficially identical to the ABS-ERG form gaitu 'he has us'; it may reflect gaituX with the dative flag X, and thus correspond partly to Oñate gosku with its dative flag s.11 gaituX still differs from gosku in missing the canonically dative-controlled suffix doubling the newly dative-controlled prefix, i.e. gosku = *gaituku < gaituXgu. However, Labourdin varieties do sometimes show the expected doubling: mostly when some material intervenes between the prefix and the suffix, like the second plural zki in gaituzki gu 'he has them to us', but also in Trask's (1981: 294) eman arazi nauta k 'thou (erg) madest me (dat) give it to him'. Here nauta = na-u-X-da-, with the dative flag X revealed by devoicing the 1SG suffix da, parallel to Oñate nosta- = n-a-u-s-da-.

11 With the irrelevant difference noted above that in Oñate 1PL generally fails to control the plural it, and au > o.
12 The intervening material that enables dative doubling plays the same role in ergative doubling of the type genitugun (4), and "sufficient" for this purpose favours the second pluralizer zki or non-auxiliary roots (Azkue 1923-5: 709/§948, Fernández 2002, Rezac 2006 noting the same condition on doubling in other languages).
Interestingly, it is in these Labourdin varieties with *dauku - gaitu* that dative displacement is by far the most entrenched in Basque, affecting sometimes all ABS-DAT-ERG forms with 1st/2nd person datives (as in Ainhoa propia, Artola, Yrizar 1997). The neighbouring Gipuzkoan varieties have less of the phenomenon, essentially for 1SG datives in the present and variable spread to 1PL, past, and some 2nd person (they innovate in extension to the ABS-DAT intransitives). This suggests that dative displacement started out in Labourdin, and spread out to the Gipuzkoan varieties. Now, the latter do not have *dauku* for 'he has it to us'; they have *digu*, that is, they use the special root *i* throughout the ABS-DAT-ERG paradigm, in contrast to the *u* of ABS-ERG *gaitu* 'he has us'. If in spreading, the Labourdin forms themselves were adopted along with the phenomenon, identical as they were on the surface to the independently existing ABS-ERG forms, there would come into being a previously non-existent conflation of dative displacement forms with ABS-ERG forms. The Lab. *gaitu* 'he has it to us', which in Lab. = *gaituX*, spreads to a zone using *digu* rather than *dauku = dauXgu* for 'he has it to us', and it is identified with plain ABS-ERG *gaitu* 'he has us', with no *X*, because the *digu* variety has no *X*. This creates a situation where on the surface, dative displacement is basically using ABS-ERG forms and bears no relationship to the ABS-DAT-ERG base.\(^\text{13}\)

On this story, there is nothing essential to dative displacement that has it relate to the ABS-ERG forms, beyond the elementary fact of controlling the same person and number morphemes. It does not characterize the phenomenon in what seem to be its hearths, like the Labourdin area of the Northern Group and Oñate, and occurs elsewhere through the spread of actual forms along with the abstract phenomenon. The same tale of importation might be told of the other groups in Table 1 that build dative displacement on the ABS-ERG rather than clearly distinct ABS-DAT-ERG base. Best documented is the situation for the sea-port of Lekeitio, where the incipient phenomenon is noted by Azkue (1923-5: II:539/§770, 576/§810), along with a re-making of the past tense on the basis of the present, and documented seventy years later in careful detail by

\(^{13}\) An analysis keeping the dative flag or dative doubling at an abstract level may be motivated even in its new area, because there do remain various small differences between the regular ABS-ERG and dative displacement paradigms (Rezac 2006). Thus Sara, Urdax 1PL.ABS-ERG *gintuen, gintuzten, gintutzun, gintutzuen*, are also dative displacement forms for 1PL.DAT, except for *gintuzten* where there is a gap. Other differences are in the theme marker (note 8), or allomorphy of the type *gattuzia* 'you have us' vs. *gattuzue* 'you have it to us'.

Hualde et al. (1994), Fernández (2001). In Basauri the two modes of formation coexist, the Oñate type for 1SG datives, and the probably newer Gipuzkoa / Lekeitio type for 1PL datives.\(^{14}\)

The following sections seek to cast a wider net, looking at dative displacement in other languages whose agreement systems have many commonalities with Basque, in particular split person and number control and "ergative displacement", with an eye on some of the questions that the Basque variation brings to the fore: which datives are the controllers; how dative displacement interacts with the split control of person and number; whether it uses the regular dative-agreement base or whether the dative behaves agrees completely like an absolutive.

3 Itelmen

The relevant properties of Itelmen agreement are given in (6), using EA for the external argument of transitives, O for the object of transitives, and S for the argument of intransitives:\(^{15}\)

\[(6) \text{ Itelmen agreement} \]
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. Prefixal agreement (AgrPx): controlled by the person (note 2) of EA/S, not O.
  \item b. Suffixal agreement (AgrSx): controlled by the person+number of O/S, except that if O is 3\(^{rd}\) person, AgrSx codes the person of EA.
\end{itemize}

Table 4 is exemplifies this system (the rightmost IO column is to be ignored for a moment). The generalizations about the distribution of person and number control among arguments are virtually the same as in the Basque ergative displacement system, if AgrPx is treated as the suffix series and AgrSx as the person prefix + the pluralizer PL. In the combination 1PL EA > 2SG O, \(nt-\text{-}f\text{ygin}\), AgrPx and AgrSx are fully independent, as in Basque \textit{hinderamagun} 'we carried thee', where the person prefix \(h = \text{AgrSx}\) is controlled by O, and the suffix \(gu = \text{AgrPx}\) is controlled by EA. In the combination 1PL EA > 3SG O, \(nt-\text{-}\tilde{c}\text{en}\), the AgrPx = gu remains the same. However, here O does not contribute a person feature to AgrSx because it is 3\(^{rd}\) person, and EA person takes over, so that the form of AgrSx varies according to the person of the EA:

\(^{14}\) The spread is dative displacement is small in Burunda and Etxarri-Aranaz, but Burunda imparts an important lesson: the phenomenon begins with 1PL datives, not as in all other groups it seems, 1SG.

\(^{15}\) The analysis of Itelmen is derives from Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2001), henceforth BW, except as noted.
the suffixes vary going down third column. At the same time, the number of the EA does not influence AgrSx even if O is 3SG: regardless of the number of the EA, the suffixes of the third column remain distinct from the fourth column, and only a plural O can contributed the pluralizer ? This is exactly like ergative displacement + dialectal ergative doubling in Basque generamagun 'we carried him': the suffix = AgrPx is unaffected, the person prefix = AgrSx gets its person value from the EA since O is 3rd person, but the pluralizer PL tza is not triggered and only a plural O can contribute it, generamatzagun 'we carried them'.

Table 4: Itelmen agreement (partial; realis mood, class I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>EA+3SG.O</th>
<th>EA+3PL.O</th>
<th>EA</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>IO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>t-__-k(ičen)</td>
<td>t-__-čen</td>
<td>t-__-čen?n</td>
<td>t-βum</td>
<td>-βum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>nt-__-k(iče?n)</td>
<td>nt-__-čen</td>
<td>nt-__-čen?n</td>
<td>nt-βu?m</td>
<td>-βu?m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>__-č</td>
<td>__-on</td>
<td>__-o?n</td>
<td>-[γ]in</td>
<td>-[γ]in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>__-n</td>
<td>__-nen</td>
<td>__-ne?n</td>
<td>nen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>n-?n</td>
<td>n-__-nen</td>
<td>n-__-ne?n</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>-pe?nen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike in Basque, dative indirect objects (IO) in Itelmen lack their own agreement morphology. However, BW show that they can optionally take control of AgrSx from its canonical controller, O/S, and when they do so, they remain dative: dative displacement. In (7a), the controller of AgrSx is the unmarked O, but in (7b) it is the dative IO. It seems possible that the optionality of dative displacement reflects the difference between applicative and prepositional constructions, with the dative controlling AgrSx only if it is applicative.

16 The most salient difference with Basque is that all intransitive subjects (i) control AgrPx in the same way as EA (exception in 3PL), and (ii) both their person and number features count for AgrSx, plural S triggering the pluralizer just like O but the person of S triggering different allomorphs than the same person of O. As if Basque had *goatzagu 'we go' rather than goatza, cf. Lekeitio giišikgun = leikigun (Hualde et al. 1994: 119-120).

17 This is not BW's proposal. A hint in this direction is that the language lacks the Basque agreement restriction of note 1, the "Person Case Constraint": AgrSx is not restricted to 3rd person O/S in the presence of a dative (necessarily non-agreeing, since it is not controlling AgrSx). It seems to be generally the case that where "applicative" constructions are affected by the said agreement constraint, the corresponding prepositional
The principal difference between Itelmen dative displacement and the Basque one is that 3rd person datives participate in it in Itelmen. Yet they also show themselves thereby not to be the same unmarked 3rd person as are O and S. When a dative is not 3rd person, its control of AgrSx gives the same result as the control of AgrSx by a direct object; not so when it is 3rd person. A 3rd person O/S contribute no person features to AgrSx, which looks to EA à la "ergative displacement", as discussed. In (8a), this is indicated by the gloss 1>3 under AgrSx (cf. Table 4). Remarkably, a 3rd person dative blocks this reference of AgrSx to EA, and provides it with a unique person feature: this is the rightmost column of Table 4 and the AgrSx in (8b).

construction is not (Ormazabal & Romero 1998). The class of datives capable of controlling AgrSx in transitives is limited and of variable membership, e.g. the obligatory goal of 'give', the optional goal of 'bring', 'tell', the affected theme of 'watch', the causee of the lexical causative 'make wear'. BW investigate the conditions under which IO vs. O/S control AgrSx: when both are 3rd person, the more topical of the two does; when both are 1st/2nd person either can; and when one is 1st/2nd person, it tends to control AgrSx but, the other can also even though 3rd person. These facts might be related to applicativity as follows: topicality = non-new information, so if new information is VP-peripheral, it will be IO rather than O in the prepositional construction, and O rather than IO in the applicative one.
BW propose that 3rd person datives differ from 3rd person O/S in being specified for some variety of person (cf. their note 14). This idea appears in various guises in the literature, e.g. a specification on the dative for [local], [participant], or [-person], vs. its absence on O/S (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 271-2). So the first-look contrast between Basque and Itelmen dative displacement yields a deeper commonality: the phenomenon crucially refers to some person specification. The reason why Basque does not displace 3rd person datives might be localized either in the features of the dative, which in Basque could be person-less like O/S, or in the "cut-off" point for dative displacement: just as Oñate displaces only 1st person datives while Ainhoa displace both 1st and 2nd person, Itelmen might go farther still and displace all DPs specified for person. The second suggestion allows the supposition that even Basque datives are more person-like than 3rd person O/S, perhaps as a universal fact about agreeing datives or datives in the "applicative construction" with its familiar animacy / possessor effects (Ormazabal & Romero 1998: 422). Indeed, Basque indicates as much in surface morphology: its ( undisplaced) 3SG datives control the suffix o, unlike the ∅ of 3SG ergatives and absolutes, and o is revealed as a person marker by comparison with 3PL dative o-te (e, etc.), 3PL ergative ∅-te.

Intransitives may also participate in dative displacement in Itelmen. The control of AgrSx then falls not to S, as in a plain intransitive (S column in Table 4), but to IO. S retains its normal control of AgrPx, for which it behaves just like EA (note 16). However, the oblique controller in the intransitive examples is not dative, but a possessor (9a) or a locative (9b). BW suggest a covert affected dative of the type in My child was crying on me all night.

(9)  a. ənan p'eč kəma-nk k'ol-it-əs-kinen
    his son me-DAT come-DISTRIB?-PRES-3.OBL
    His son keeps coming to me. (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001: ex. 31c)

  b. nt-čaja-kinen ənna-nk
     1PL-drink.tea-3SG.OBL him-nk
     We had tea at/by him (i.e. 'at his place'). (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001: ex. 33)

A striking commonality between Itelmen and Basque is the interaction of dative displacement with the splittable person-number control of canonically absolutive agreement. In each language's version of "ergative displacement", EA provides the person feature to
canonically O-controlled agreement if O is 3rd person, but it does not provide number even if O is singular. Itelmen differs from Basque in that S both controls AgrPx like EA, and provides person and number to AgrSx like O (note 16, S column in Table 4). In dative displacement in both languages, the dative provides both the person and the number features canonically provided by O, and this forestalls all influence on AgrSx by EA/S. Thus in (9b), the 3SG dative is the sole controller of AgrSx (ki)nen, and the 1PL S influences it neither for person (expected to = 1PL.EA + 3SG.O in Table 4), number (no pluralizer ?), or both (expected to = 1PL.S).

To this last generalization, BW note an anomaly in the data. In examples like (10), the 3SG dative (covert, corresponding to possessor his of the subject) controls AgrSx as in (9a), except that the plural marker ? turns up. The two examples with this property involve a singular possessor and plural S, which suggests that S is providing the plural feature. One might propose that in dative displacement, the pluralizer ? is triggered by whichever of the IO or O/S is plural, which seems consistent with the examples in BW. In Basque when the dative controls the canonically absolutive person and number in dative displacement, as in gattu 'he is to us' (1PL g-, PL -tt-), nau 'he is to me' (1SG n), a plural absolutive controls a second plural marker, gattuzte 'they are to us' (3b), nauzki/nauze 'they are to me'. This second plural is drawn from the same stock of basic pluralizers as the ordinary plural. In the Basauri and Lekeitio varieties, both the normal and second plural can be s: Basauri gatu(s) 'he has it/them to us', where -s tracks both controllers (Arretxe 1994: 152 note 65). It may be that in Itelmen ?is serves as the second plural for S/O in dative displacement, as well as the ordinary plural controlled by the dative.

(10) ana?n ?qzanom t?q-az-al-kine?n
    his traces be-ASP-FUT-3.OBL
    there should be traces of him (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001, ex. 31a, cf. also 31b)

There is a further point shared by dative displacement in the two languages: dialectal and diachronic variation. Basque dative displacement varies chiefly according to the φ-features of the dative and the transitivity of the construction. BW report that their consultants have the dative control AgrSx easily for 1st/2nd person as well as 3rd person in transitives, but in intransitives allow it only for 3rd person possessors/obliques. Earlier sources however had found that dative
control of AgrSx was limited to 2PL and 3.SG/PL in transitives, while on the other hand it included 2PL for intransitives (BW, note 16 and ex. 34).

4 Georgian

In Georgian, datives also control absolutive-type agreement, obligatorily. The agreement markers of the Georgian verb are given in Table 5. The relevant element is the prefix, a unique position of person exponence (see note 2). The absolutive and ergative compete for its control according to the pattern of Basque ergative displacement: the absolutive controls it if it is 1st/2nd person, otherwise the ergative does if it is 1st/2nd person (Béjar 2003). The dative behaves like the absolutive, and obligatorily controls the prefix if it is present, in which case the direct object controls no agreement: dative displacement. As in Itelmen, 3rd person datives control a prefix marker that is missing for 3rd person absolutes and ergatives, s/h/∅ in Table 5, indicating that they have a special person specification beyond plain 3rd person (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 271).

18 Georgian has a case-marking split according to tense: an ergative-absolutive system beside a nominative-accusative one, where absolutive = nominative. The agreement facts are identical in both, e.g. a direct object controls the same agreement whether nominative/absolutive or accusative. The accusative and the dative happen to be syncretic, but they can be told apart by the fact that the indirect object always retains this "dative-accusative", while the direct object changes it to the absolutive/nominative in the ergative system and under detransitivization. In the text, I speak in terms of the ergative-(dative)-absolutive system for brevity.

19 In intransitives the subject controls it, but unlike in Basque the morphemes are those controlled by the subject of transitives, i.e. under "ergative displacement" (cf. Itelmen, note 16): as if Basque had noan for ni undoan 'I went'.

20 As for the number suffixes, any plural 1st/2nd person plural controls them, including the dative. For 3PL matters are complicated and variable, depending on subjecthood, case, etc.: see Tuite (1998).

21 It is not in fact clear that 3rd person datives undergo dative displacement. On the one hand, in ABS-DAT structures, the dative beats out the absolutive for the control of person agreement whether 1st/2nd or 3rd person: m-i-nd-od-i 'I wanted you (pl).', g-nd-od-i-(t) they wanted you (pl).', where u = the 3rd person prefix h of Table 4 + the "version" marker i. In both cases 2nd person g- is blocked by m-, contrast g-i-nd-od-i 'you wanted me' (examples from Hewitt 1995: 366, with ginondi constructed, cf. subjunctive gindode; for u = h+i, see Harris 1981: 90). On the other hand, the interaction 3rd person datives with 1st/2nd ergatives is not straightforward (Hewitt 1995: 133). In Itelmen, Basque, and Georgian, a 1st/2nd O under under dative displacement the IO (so always in Georgian if there is an IO), pre-empts the external argument: in 1.EA > 2.O or 2.O > 1.EA, O wins over EA. This is so for Itelmen 3rd person datives under dative displacement as well. For Georgian 3rd person datives, overtness of the exponence of EA seems to matter: 2.EA > 3.IO > 3.O, where 2.EA person is ∅, the dative-controlled s appears (Itelmen pattern), mi-s-.
The particular interest of Georgian, beyond Itelmen, lies in the "object version" marker. This is its analogue of the Basque "dative flag", a morpheme that correlates with a dative added to a plain (in)transitive in the applicative construction (Harris 1981: chapter 6). (11a) shows the person prefix \textit{m-} controlled by the direct object \textit{me} in a plain transitive. In (11b), this prefix is controlled by the indirect object \textit{me} in an applicative transitive, and the agreement complex includes also the version marker \textit{i}. Thus Georgian dative displacement co-occurs with the version marker, just like Basque dative displacement does in the Oñate mode of formation (but with no "doubling", since there is no dedicated dative agreement in Georgian).\footnote{1st/2nd person pronouns do not distinguish ergative, dative, and nominative/absolutive case morphology, but a 3\textsuperscript{rd} person in their place would -- hence the bracketed indications NOM, DAT in the gloss of \textit{me}.}

\begin{table}[!h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & \textbf{EA} & \textbf{S} & \textbf{O} & \textbf{IO} \\
\hline
\hline
\textbf{Person} & \textbf{SG} & \textbf{PL} & \textbf{SG} & \textbf{PL} & \textbf{SG} & \textbf{PL} \\
\hline
\textbf{1\textsuperscript{st}} & \textit{v-}\_ & \textit{v-}\_t & \textit{m-}\_ & \textit{gv-}\_ & \textit{m-}\_ & \textit{gv-}\_ \\
\hline
\textbf{2\textsuperscript{nd}} & \textit{∅} & \textit{\_}\_t & \textit{g-}\_ & \textit{g-}\_t & \textit{g-}\_ & \textit{g-}\_t \\
\hline
\textbf{3\textsuperscript{rd}} & \textit{\_}\_\_a/o & \textit{\_}\_\_en/es/etc. & \textit{∅} & \textit{∅} & \textit{s/h/∅}\_ & \textit{s/h/∅}\_t \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Georgian agreement (Harris 1981: 29, Hewitt 1995: 128)}
\end{table}

(11) a. \texttt{nином me da-m-xat-a}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{ Nino.ERG me(NOM) PV-1SG.OBJ-paint-AOR}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{Nino painted me (= a picture of me). (Nash 1995: 199)}

\hspace{1cm} b. \texttt{ваžam da-m-i-xat-a šeni tav-i (me)}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{Vazha.ERG PV-1SG.OBJ-VER-paint.AOR your self-NOM me(DAT)}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{Vazha painted you for me. (Harris 1981: 92).}

5 Concluding notes

c'er 'you will write to them', but in 1.EA > 3.IO > 3.O, the 1.EA \textit{v} wins out, \textit{mi-\_\_c'er} 'I will write to them'. Until the mid-twentieth century the latter was \textit{mi-\_\_c'er} 'I will write to them', with both arguments agreeing, which suggests that 3\textsuperscript{rd} person datives occupy a different slot from the 1\textsuperscript{st}/2\textsuperscript{nd} person exponence.
Taking stock across Basque, Itelmen, and Georgian, dative displacement has the properties in (12). I speak in terms of the EA (external argument of transitives) and O (direct object of transitives), with the understanding that the subject of intransitives is included under one or both of these whenever it behaves in the same way for agreement.

(12) Dative displacement cross-linguistically.
   a. Basic agreement: The dative takes control of both person and number from O, and also from EA that would control it when O is 3rd person ("ergative displacement").
   b. Contrast with ergative displacement: The dative's control of person and number O-type agreement contrasts with EA's potential control of person alone, not number.
   c. Second plural: 3PL O may continue to control plural agreement, using an extra pluralizer in Basque, possibly the regular O-type one in Itelmen.
   d. Dative flag: may be retained (Georgian, some Basque), perhaps underlying always is.
   e. Personhood: 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person datives can participate in dative displacement; participating 3rd person datives are more person-like than non-dative 3rd person (perhaps associated with being a dative generally).
   f. Parametrization: Two parameters that systematically govern dative displacement are the transitivity of the construction and the φ-features of the dative (Basque, Itelmen), the last possibly underlying the non-participation of 3rd person in Basque.

Examples of (12c), the second plural, have so far been only hinted at in Itelmen, and it is worth adding to the picture second plurals from systems where the indirect object of applicatives behaves fully like the direct object of plain transitives (subject of unaccusatives), as in English (he baked them a cake, they were baked a cake). Such languages sometimes provide an extra agreement for the direct object (subject) whose agreement the indirect object assumes (Baker 1996: 194-5): Wichita, Nahuatl, and Southern Tiwa, beside other rich-agreement languages that do not, like Mohawk. The extra agreement is in all cases impoverished with respect to regular agreement, for it reflects only number (and noun class in Southern Tiwa), not person: that is, it is a second plural. (13) shows the second plural im in Nahuatl. In Wichita, 3PL indirect + 3PL direct object use the same morpheme ʔak, giving ʔak-ʔak (Rood 1978: 188), as with Basque that recruits both plurals from the same stock, sometimes re-using the same morpheme (see above).
The bundling of properties across unrelated languages in (12) suggests that dative displacement is a cross-linguistically coherent phenomenon, like the complex but recurring pattern of target-controller relationships exhibited by ergative displacement. It seems justifiable to add it to the typological repertoire of applicative structures, between the type that treats the indirect object in a fully accusative / absolutive manner, and the type that treats it in a fully dative / oblique manner. Placing dative displacement at their intersection, bundling its properties, and providing the necessary loci of parametric variation, is the task of the theory of the phenomenon. Steps in this direction are the generative treatments in Fernández (2002, 2004), Rezac (2006, to appear). Both for example start out with the same applicative structure as the one underlying non-displaced dative agreement, leading to the expectation that the "dative flag" should appear in both, if it is itself a reflex of applicativity. On such approaches, the patterns of agreement might derive from the general conditions on agreement dependencies that also underlie ergative displacement, the second plural from the need to Case-license the direct object, and variation according to the datives' \( \varphi \)-features from the interaction of case and agreement.

The different cross-linguistic settings of the phenomenon might also shed light on its links to other parts of the grammar, synchronically or diachronically. The French and Spanish 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} person clitics are syncretic for dative and accusative case, and in Spanish non-clitic pronouns are as well (both are preceded by \textit{a}). Holmer (1964: 87) sees here a connection to dative displacement. Such syncretism is absent from the morphology of standard Basque itself, as it is from Itelmen, although it fits Georgian. Some Basque dialects do go partly towards creating this syncretism for direct objects through an analogue of the Spanish "leismo" phenomenon, by which animate direct objects are treated as dative for \textit{both} case and agreement: \textit{Kepari ikusi dio} 'she (erg) saw \textit{Kepa} (dat), \textit{le vió a Kepa}' for \textit{Kepa ikusi du} 'she (erg) saw \textit{Kepa} (abs), \textit{lo vió a Kepa}'. The origin and distribution of leismo and dative displacement are distinct in Basque, with the latter but not the former found in Labourdin for example, but they do overlap in dialects like Lekeitio, Basauri, Irún, and Hernáni, and they can interact in such a way as to nearly cobble
together a single paradigm for all combinations of ERG-α.ABS / ERG-α.DAT-3SG.ABS out of the distinct ones proper to each. In the neighbouring Basque Spanish, leismo is common (le vi a Kepa), but an analogue of dative displacement belongs to distinct varieties. This is laismo and loismo, whereby some 3rd person datives (depending on gender and number) are coded by the clitic-doubling system as accusatives: *A esa camisa la quite el cuello* 'I removed the collar from this shirt', *No lo doy ninguna importancia a eso* 'I give this no importance' (Fernández-Ordóñez 1999). These datives evidently retain the dative case marker *a*, which here it cannot be the *animate* accusative marker *a*. If clitics can be treated as agreement markers (Franco 1994), this resembles dative displacement, though an analysis in terms of a surface le-lo/la syncretism might be tenable. This is not a possibility for Basque: its canonically dative and canonically absolutive agreement exponents use radically different positions, forms, and patterns of person-number splitting, and dative displacement can be doubled by canonically dative agreement.

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