1. Introduction

The neo-performative view of speech-act roles (Speas and Tenney, 2003; Zamuttini, 2008; Miyagawa, 2015; Haegeman and Hill, 2013):

(1) [Skrip Speaker [Addressee TP ] ]

A key piece of evidence for an Addressee projection comes from “allocative” languages including Basque, as in (2). Here, we treat these forms as vocatives (Haddican 2014).

(2) a. Etor-tzen d-u-k/n
   come-IMPERF EXPL-AUX-2SG.FAM.M/F 'He/she/it comes.' [word-final]
   b. Etorri z-u-a/na-a
   come-FUT EXPL-AUX-2SG.FAM.M/F-PST 'He/she/it came.' [word-medial]

These forms also expone thematic addressees:

(3) a. Egin-go d-u-k/-n.
   do-FUT EXPL-AUX-2SG.FAM.M/F 'You (familiar) will do it.' [word-final]
   b. Egin-go d-i-n/na-n.
   give-FUT EXPL-AUX-2SG.FAM.M/F-1SG.ERG 'I will give it to you.' [word-medial]

Little work has addressed the morphology of allocutivity, despite its importance for (1) (Albizu (2002), Oyharçabal (1993)).

2. Two problems

2.1 Effects on auxiliaries roots. Basque has a have/be alternation (see (4a), (5a)). But, vocative clitics also trigger ‘have’ in unaccusatives (4a). In transitive contexts, vocative clitics trigger ‘i’ (5b). This root vowel also appears in non-vocative applicative contexts like (5a).

(4) Unaccusative auxiliaries: /a/ → /u/
      fall-PERF EXPL-AUX('be') 'It has fallen.' [without voc. clitic]
   b. Eror-i d-u-k.
      fall-PERF EXPL-AUX('have')-2SG.FAM.M 'It has fallen.' [with voc. clitic]

(5) Monotransitive auxiliaries: /u/ → /i/
      do-FUT EXPL-AUX(‘have’)-3PL.ERG ‘They will do it.’ [without voc. clitic]
   b. Egin-go d-i-te-k.
      do-FUT EXPL-AUX-3PL.ERG-2SG.FAM.M 'They will do it.' [with voc. clitic]

2.2 Effects on expletive morphemes. In third person absolutive contexts, the leftmost slot is filled by an expletive morpheme, d in present tense contexts and z in the past (1a,b). Vocative clitics also condition expletive exponence, subject to (6).

(6) Rebuschi’s (1984) generalization: In present tense contexts, the vocative clitic determines z rather than d- if it does not trigger a change in the root.

(7) Ditransitive auxiliaries: no vowel change
   a. Eman-go d-i-o-te.
      give-FUT EXPL-AUX-3SG.DAT-3PL.ERG ‘They will give it to him/her.’ [without voc. clitic]
   b. Eman-go e-i-o-te-k.
      give-FUT EXPL-AUX-3SG.DAT-3PL.ERG-2SG.FAM.M ‘They will give it to him/her.’ [with voc. clitic]

3. A clitic analysis

Auxmor phemes marking person are clitics (Laka, 1993; Albizu, 2002). Expletives satisfies an EPP property of Fin. The final -n in past forms (2b) is a past-complementizer in Fin (Arregi and Nevins, 2012).

(8) Clitic landing sites
    [FinP Abs/Expl Fin [AddP Voc Addr [TP Erg T [AuxP ...]]]

These heads and associated clitics will form auxiliaries through successive head adjunction (to the left). Clitics raise to the spec of their hosts and then undergo “n-merger”—adjoining to head (Matushansky 2006).

(9) Cliticisation & head movmt. derive morph. order

The Obligatory Case Parameter (for ergative languages) holds that if one source of structural case is needed, this will be the lower probe ‘-v’; if a second is needed, this will be ‘T’ (Bodalijk, 1993; Laka, 1993). This means T will be the source of case for the vocative clitic (probing after T raises to Addr). This now suggests:

(10) have/be in Basque: ‘have’ appears when T is a probe; ‘be’ appears otherwise (cf. D’Alessandro & Roberts 2010).

The fact that vocatives trigger ‘i’ in transitives suggests that Addr is a species of applicative head, capable of supplying an extra source of case when needed. Applicative ‘i’ inserted only in the presence of case-assigning T and Appl heads.

(11) Aux ↔ [i] [T*, Applicative*]

Vocative clitics determine expletive z when no root change is available. Assume probing of vocative clitic by T* or Addr/Addr* is blocked here, and it is instead probed by Fin. In past tense contexts, it presumably agrees with the past tense value on T. What the expletive z of past tense contexts and Rebuschi’s generalization contexts have in common, then, is that Fin is a probe. Thus:

(12) Expletives in spec, FinP spell out as z when Fin is a probe.

4. Ergative displacement

(13) Ikus-i n-uen.
    see-PERF 1SG.ERG-ROOT-PST
    'I saw him/her/it.'

(14) Ergative displacement

Ergative clitics move to first position: (i) in past contexts; (ii) when the ergative is first or second person, and (iii) there is no absolutive clitic. The past tense restriction suggests the relationship between Fin and T is important. Proposal: By virtue of agreement between Fin and T (in past tense contexts), Fin acquires the features that make it a potential clitic host for ergative clitics.

Conclusions

• An approach to Basque vocative morphemes as clitics helps model several morphological properties of these constructions.
• The analysis suggests a new approach to second position effects in Basque auxiliaries as well as ergative displacement.