

## ***A new morphosyntactic approach to Basque affixes: Describing complex PPs***

There has been no consensus when it comes to determine the items that are part of the adposition category in Basque (an isolate language in south-western Europe). Spatial information is expressed by two morphologically different categories of adpositions. In one hand, there has been a common agreement to identify a well delimited paradigm of suffixed morphemes, known as “locative cases” or “nominal-inflection”, in several descriptive works (Laffite 1944, Villasante 1978, Hualde 2003a, de Rijk 2008).

However, there have been more difficulties to define the suffixes outside this paradigm. Spatial information can also be expressed by importing referential elements from the nominal domain. These elements differ from suffixed morphemes since they are morphologically closer to nouns. Typically, a division between referential nouns (e.g., *behe*, ‘bottom’ *aurre*, ‘front’, *atze*, ‘back’) and invariable postpositions (e.g., *-tik kanpo* ‘outside from’, *-tik barna* ‘along’) has been proposed (Hualde 2003, de Rijk 2008, Etxepare & Oyharçabal 2012), but the morphological composition, the syntactic status and the semantics of the items from each group remain unclear.

In this sense, the aim of this work is to better define the subgroups within spatial suffixes. After considering the most relevant morphosyntactic and semantic properties, I establish three main subgroups for Basque suffixation, simple locative adpositions (e.g. *-ra*, ‘to’ *-tik* ‘from’), axial parts (e.g. *azpi* ‘under’, *gain* ‘over’, *barren* ‘inside’) and Complex Path PPs (e.g. *-ra arte* ‘up to’, *-tik zehar* ‘through’). These Complex Path PPs differ from referential axial parts in three points. They are more complex in composition terms since Complex Paths are formed by the combination of a primary adposition and an axial part. Further morphological complexity implies further syntactic complexity, in this sense; Complex Path PPs require more syntactic projections. Semantically, Complex Paths are dynamic postpositions, thus, this set does not encode a referential point in the Ground, but a change in motion. This subgroup allows lexicalising semantic nuances of the direction of the motion that otherwise cannot be expressed by a simple locative adposition from the paradigm.

In addition, I have proposed a grammaticalization chain that connects these subgroups among each other. Most of the referential axial parts in Basque derive from the grammaticalization of body part elements (e.g. *bizkar* ‘back’; *gibel* ‘liver’ > *bizkar*, *gibel* ‘back’; *aur* ‘palm’ > *aurre* ‘front’) (Lakarra, 2016). In this sense, I propose that the following grammaticalization pattern takes place for spatial adpositions: (*body part terms*) > *Axial Parts* > *Complex Adpositions* > *Simple Adpositions*.

At last, I have adopted the nanosyntactic approach (Svenonius 2006, Fábregas 2007, Pantcheva 2011, Romeu 2014) to shed the divergences between complex adpositions and axial parts. Following Pantcheva’s (2011) Decomposition of Path model, I propose that in order to lexicalize complex adpositions a further number of syntactic terminals is needed. For example, BoundP allows lexicalising complex Terminative paths (such as *-ra arte*), while RouteP and ScaleP lexicalise complex Route paths (such as *-tik zehar*, *-tik barna*).

**Keywords:** Basque, locative adposition paradigms, complex adpositions, grammaticalization, historical development, morphosyntax nanosyntax.

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