

Differential Object Marking in ditransitive constructions in Basque

Klaus von Heusinger, Georg A. Kaiser & Alazne Arriortua

klaus.vonheusinger<at>uni-koeln.de

georg.kaiser<at>uni-konstanz.de

alazne.arriortua<at>ehu.eus

1. Introduction*

Many modern Basque varieties are characterized by a phenomenon which has been called ‘dative over-marking’ (Austin 2006, Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2013) or referred to as the use of ‘quirky dative’ (Fernández & Rezac 2010). Instead of using the absolutive case for the direct object, which is morphologically unmarked in the singular, as illustrated in (1), speakers of these varieties tend to mark the direct object by the dative suffix *-(r)i*, as shown in (2) (Mounole 2012: 363):

- (1) Nik zu ikusi zaitut.
I.ERG you.ABS see AUX
‘I have seen you.’
- (2) Nik zuri ikusi dizut.
I.ERG you.DAT see AUX
‘I have seen you.’

It has been noted that this ‘dative over-marking’ depends on properties of the direct object. For instance, in Bizkaian varieties of Basque spoken in Lekeitio or Gernika, speakers mark the direct object with the dative case when it is human, but always use the absolutive case in combination with a non-human object (Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994:89, Austin 2006, Mounole 2012:366f, Odria 2014, Fernández & Rezac 2016, Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2017:320, Odria Tudanca 2017):

- (3) (a) Pedrori ikusi dotzat.
Peter.DAT see AUX
‘I have seen Peter.’
- (b) Etxie ikusi dot.
house.ABS see AUX
- (b’) *Etxieri ikusi dotzat.
house.DAT see AUX
‘I have seen the house.’

Given this difference, the use of the dative form in (3a) has been interpreted as an instance of Differential Object Marking (DOM). Generally, it is assumed that this differential marking of

* We would like to thank the audience of the 8th *Nereus Workshop on referential properties of the Romance DP in the context of multilingualism*, Cambridge University, December 2-3, 2016, in particular Teresa Parodi for organizing the event and editing this volume as well as for commenting our paper. We also like to thank an anonymous reviewer for very helpful comments. Our thanks also go to the participants of the *Workshop on language variation in the Basque Country*, Palma de Mallorca, December 4, 2017, in particular to the organizer of this event, Maria del Mar Vanrell. The research conducted by Klaus von Heusinger and Alazne Arriortua for this paper was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) as part of the SFB 1252 “Prominence in Language” in the project B04 “Interaction of nominal and verbal features for Differential Object Marking” at the University of Cologne.

the direct object is due to the influence of Spanish, in particular to the Spanish variety spoken in the Basque Country (or Basque Spanish in the following, see Austin 2006, Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2013, 2016, 2017). Spanish is a DOM language which marks human direct objects with the marker *a* if they are introducing a discourse referent (Leonetti 2004, Bleam 2005, von Heusinger & Kaiser 2005). The DOM marker *a* is a homophone of the marker for the indirect object and the preposition *a* ‘to’ (Torrego 1999, Laca 2006, Fábregas 2013):

- (4) (a) Vi a Pedro.
 saw.1SG DOM Pedro
 ‘I saw Peter.’
 (b) Vi la casa.
 saw.1SG the house
 (b’) *Vi a la casa.
 saw.1SG DOM the house
 ‘I saw the house.’

In addition, Basque Spanish displays a further ‘dative over-marking’ phenomenon. It exhibits ‘animated leísmo’ which consists of the fact that the (etymologically) dative clitic pronoun *le* – and (less often) also its plural counterpart *les* – is used instead of the accusative masculine clitic pronoun *lo(s)* – and (less often) also the feminine form *la(s)* – when referring to a human direct object ((5a)). In contrast, non-human and inanimate direct objects are usually referred to by accusative clitic forms ((5b)) (Fernández-Ordóñez 1999):

- (5) (a) (A Pedro) le he visto esta mañana.
 DOM Peter CLIT.DAT.3SG have.1SG seen this morning
 ‘I saw Peter this morning.’
 (b) (El coche) lo he comprado esta mañana.
 the car CLIT.ACC.3SG have.1SG bought this morning
 ‘I bought the car this morning.’

It is assumed that the use of the dative clitic pronoun *le* for the direct object likewise triggers DOM as a contact phenomenon in the Basque dialects, as we have two structural elements that are parallel and might motivate the development of DOM in Basque: (i) the DOM marker *a* in Spanish, which is a homophone of the dative case marker *a* and which corresponds to the dative suffix *-(r)i* in Basque that is used for DOM, (ii) the (etymologically) dative clitic pronoun *le* which cliticizes to the verb and may co-occur with the *a*-marked direct object and which corresponds to the verbal suffix for the dative in the auxiliary in Basque. See (6) for a comparison.

- (6) (a) A Pedro le he visto esta mañana.
 DOM Peter CLIT.DAT.3SG have.1SG seen this morning
 (b) Pedrori gaur goizean ikusi dotzat.
 Peter.DAT today morning see AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.3SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I saw Peter this morning.’

Thus, the data suggest a close structural similarity between transitive sentences in Basque Spanish and the neighboring Basque dialects: the DOM marker *a*, which is a homophone of the dative marker *a* in Spanish, corresponds to the dative suffix *-(r)i*, which is used as a DOM

marker in Basque. The etymologically dative clitic *le(s)* in Spanish corresponds to the agreement marker for the dative in the auxiliary in Basque.¹

Extending these corresponding features to ditransitive constructions, it has been argued that in Basque DOM varieties a human direct object is blocked from DOM in constructions where two internal (case-marked) arguments are present (Albizu & Fernández 2006:86, fn 18). This is illustrated by the contrast in (7): While in (7a) the DOM-marked direct object *Aneri* may co-occur with an animate goal argument when this is marked with allative case (*amona-rengana* ‘grandma-ALL’), DOM is blocked or at least less accepted when the other argument is an animate indirect object marked with dative (*amona-ri* ‘grandma-DAT’), as in (7b).

- (7) (a) Martak Aneri eramán dio amonarengana.
 Marta.ERG Ana.DAT carry AUX grandmother.ALL
 ‘Marta has carried Ana to (her) grandmother.’
 (b) */??Martak Aneri eramán dio amonari.
 Marta.ERG Ana.DAT carry AUX grandmother.DAT
 ‘Marta has carried Ana to (her) grandmother.’

A similar contrast exists in Spanish. As shown by Comrie (2013:42), nothing prevents DOM for a human direct object in constructions with a prepositional phrase marked by *a* ‘to’. However, this is less accepted when the direct object co-occurs with a human indirect object:

- (8) (a) Marta envió a Ana a la escuela.
 Marta sent DOM Ana to the school
 ‘Marta sent Anne to school.’
 (b) */??Marta (le) envió a Ana a la abuela.
 Marta CLIT.DAT.3SG sent DOM Ana to the grandmother
 ‘Marta sent Anne to (her) grandmother.’

In this paper, we examine in a more detailed manner the conditions for DOM in Basque dialects, and in particular the blocking effects for DOM in Spanish and Basque and discuss whether these effects are identical or whether there are differences with respect to DOM constraints. We first describe the distribution and the use of DOM in Basque varieties in transitive constructions by contrasting them with Spanish (section 2). Second, we do the same for ditransitive constructions in Spanish by discussing the results from a recent questionnaire-based study on DOM in ditransitive constructions in Spanish (section 3). Third, we present original data from a recent questionnaire of speakers in Soralue (Deba Valley, Gipuzkoa). The results show interesting similarities, but also very crucial contrasts to the constraints, as described for Spanish (section 4).

2. DOM in transitive constructions: Contrasting Basque and (Basque) Spanish

Differential Object Marking denotes the phenomenon of languages marking their direct objects in different ways. The most common and best-investigated type of DOM is that a language

¹ An anonymous reviewer has pointed out to us two additional arguments for this view:

1. As noted above, in Basque Spanish *le(s)* is generally used not only instead of masculine *lo(s)*, but also instead of feminine *la(s)*. In other words, ‘animate léismo’ in Basque Spanish does not make any gender distinction as it is the case in Basque too.

2. An important specificity of Basque Spanish among all other Peninsular Spanish varieties is that clitic doubling is also possible (and frequent) with direct (animate) objects in postverbal position. In other words, accusative *le(s)* behaves in a similar way as dative *le(s)* which is often analyzed as agreement marker since it almost obligatorily doubles the indirect object (cf. e.g. Franco 2000, Enrique-Arias 2005, Ormazábal & Romero 2013; but see also Baker & Kramer 2018 for important arguments against this assumption).

shows an alternation between no overt marking and some kind of overt case marking, such as a prenominal lexeme *a* in Spanish or *et* in Hebrew, or a case suffix as in Turkish or Hindi (Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003, de Hoop & Narasimhan 2005, Fernández & Rezac 2016). DOM languages show obligatory marking, optional marking and obligatory non-marking of their direct objects. Various parameters have been identified that determine this alternation: The most important parameters are animacy and referentiality, but topicality and affectedness have also been shown to be relevant for DOM.² The parameters can have two or more values, aligned on a scale or hierarchy. Languages differ in which parameters are crucial for DOM and at what point on a scale they make the cutoff point. In the following, we focus on animacy and referentiality, and argue that the Basque dialects – like Spanish – show (at least) two-dimensional DOM – depending on animacy and referentiality.³

As for animacy, it is assumed that there is a scale with three values, as in (9) (Silverstein 1976): human, animate and inanimate which can be subdivided either in +human vs. -human (comprising non-human animate and inanimate) or in +animate (comprising human and non-human animate) vs. inanimate. DOM in Spanish is generally assumed to depend on the \pm animate contrast, but in some cases the \pm human contrast also plays a role (see von Heusinger & Kaiser 2005).⁴ As already shown in (4), repeated here as (10), the human direct object in (10a) must have DOM, while the inanimate direct object in (10b) cannot be marked.

- (9) Animacy Scale:
human > animate > inanimate
- (10) (a) Vi *(a) Pedro.
 saw.1SG DOM Pedro
 ‘I saw Peter.’
- (b) Vi (*a) la casa.
 saw.1SG DOM the house
 ‘I saw the house.’

The second parameter is the referentiality of the direct object, which is broken down to different values according to the type of nominal phrase, from personal pronouns to indefinite noun phrases, including the distinction between specific and non-specific noun phrases (Aissen 2003:437). We have extended this Definiteness Scale or Referentiality Scale (11) by the additional value of ‘non-referential nouns’, i.e. direct objects that do not introduce discourse referents and behave like non-referential or weak referential terms such as bare nouns or weak definites.⁵ We need this additional value in order to account for the cutoff point in Spanish,

² See von Heusinger & Kaiser (2003, 2005) or Leonetti (2004, 2008) for the discussion of the role of specificity and topicality for DOM in Spanish.

³ Topicalized direct objects in Spanish are always DOM-marked, even if they are not marked in the non-topicalized position (Leonetti 2004:86):

- (i) (a) *(A) muchos estudiantes, ya los conocía.
 DOM many students, already CLIT.ACC.3PL.M knew.1SG
 ‘Many students I already knew.’
- (b) Ya conocía muchos estudiantes.
 already knew.1SG many students
 ‘I already knew many students.’

Furthermore, we have argued elsewhere (von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011) that affectedness also influences DOM in Spanish. In this paper, we cannot extend the analysis to these two factors, but rather confine ourselves to animacy and referentiality in Basque.

⁴ See Krause & von Heusinger (2018) for a gradient analysis of animacy in the DOM language Turkish.

⁵ In earlier work, we termed this value ‘non-argumental’, which might be misleading, as the direct object is filling in the theme argument or the grammatical role of the direct object. However, the noun phrases do not introduce a discourse referent, but rather refer to a predicate or property (see Bleam 2003 for Spanish). In this view, we distinguish between non-specific referential noun phrases and non-referential noun phrases. The

As far as DOM is concerned, standardized Basque (*Euskara Batua* ‘Unified Basque’, in the following: Standard Basque) does not show any effect of it. DOM only occurs in dialects and in colloquial speech. It is highly stigmatized and often corrected by teachers of Basque or by parents (Ezeizabarrena 1996:112, Austin 2006:140, Fernández & Rezac 2016:102, fn.8). This explains why many speakers, when asked, strongly reject the use of dative objects in transitive constructions. In Spanish, in contrast, DOM is not restricted to dialectal or other varieties. It is part of the grammar of every native speaker of Spanish, even though some differences exist with respect to some specific conditions of its use. On the other hand, *leísmo* is a dialectal phenomenon in Spanish. However, it is widespread in European Spanish and considered to be correct in Standard Spanish when the pronoun refers to a masculine (singular) person (*leísmo de persona masculina*) (Real Academia Española 2009:1215).⁶

According to Fernández & Rezac (2016), DOM occurs to different degrees in many dialects of Western Basque varieties. It is attested in dialectal varieties of Bizkaian Basque (B), Gipuzkoan Basque (G) and High Navarrese (HN). It does not occur, however, in the eastern varieties of Basque, namely in Lapurdian (L), Low Navarrese (LN) and Zuberoan (Z). In other words, as one can draw from figure 1, DOM is absent from the varieties spoken in the French part of the Basque Country.

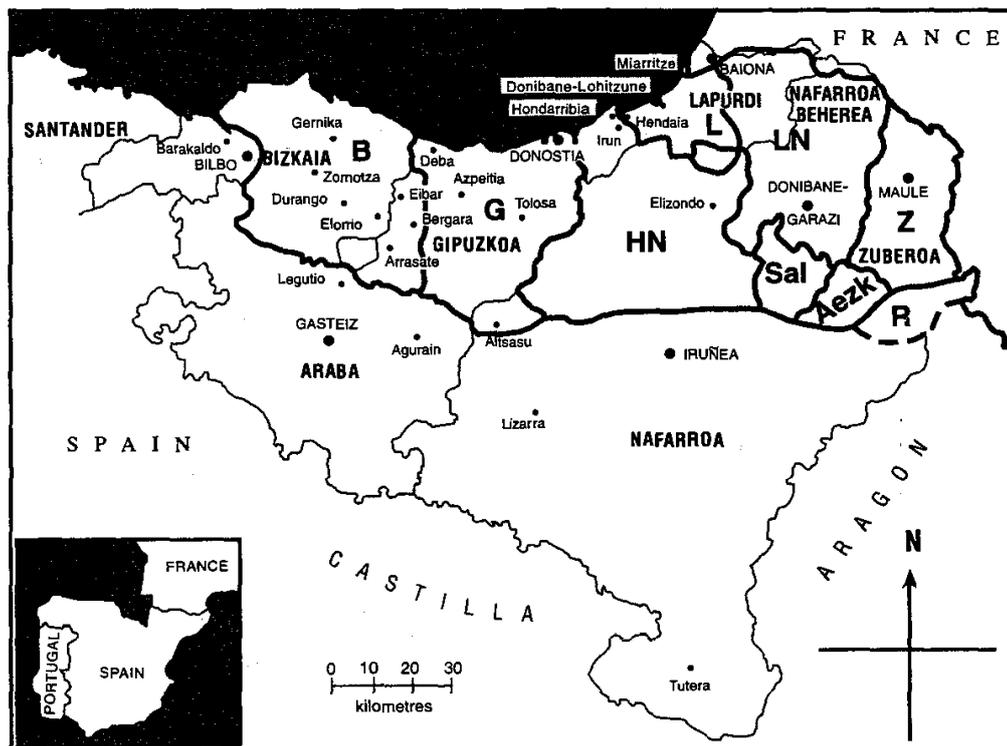


Figure 1: The main dialectal varieties of Basque (Trask 1997:6)

This distribution strongly supports the assumption that DOM in Basque is due to language contact. In contrast to Spanish, both contact languages for Basque in France, namely French and Occitan (Gascon), are not DOM languages, since they only exhibit DOM in very limited contexts (Rohlf 1971, Roegiest 1979, Iemmolo 2010). Furthermore, they have not developed

⁶ It is interesting to note that, in comparison to other varieties of Spanish, *leísmo* is used in the Basque Country in one of its most extended forms (Fernández-Ordoñez 1999:1349-1355). In addition to masculine pronouns, it is also widely employed with feminine animate pronouns and it may also occur with non-animate pronouns among speakers of Basque Spanish with both low and high sociocultural levels (Urrutia Cárdenas 1995).

a personal pronoun system with dative overmarking as is the case in Basque Spanish with *leísmo*.⁷

In Basque DOM varieties, the conditions for DOM are different, but all depend on the referentiality and animacy scales. Fernández & Rezac (2016) report that most Basque DOM dialects show DOM with 1st and 2nd person pronouns, while only some exhibit DOM with 3rd person objects. In those varieties exhibiting DOM with 3rd person objects, DOM is rather more frequent with 1st and 2nd person direct objects (Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994:125f). In many varieties, DOM is only obligatory or optional for 1st and 2nd object pronouns, but completely excluded for 3rd person objects even if they are [+human] (pro)nouns or proper nouns. This is the case of the Bizkaian variety from Arratia, as illustrated in (16) (Fernández & Rezac 2016:105):

- (16) (a) (Zuk) (neri) ikusi dostesu.
 you.ERG I.DAT see AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.1SG.ERG.2SG
 ‘You have seen me.’
- (b) (Nik) (suri) ikusi dotzut.
 I.ERG you.DAT see AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.2SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I have seen you.’
- (c) (Nik) Jon ikusi dot.
 I.ERG John.ABS see AUX.TR.PRES.ABS.3SG.ERG.1SG
- (c’) (Nik) *Joneri ikusi dotzat.
 I.ERG John.DAT see AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.3SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I have seen John.’

For those dialects that allow DOM for full descriptive nouns, i.e. proper names, definite and indefinite noun phrases, animacy can be a further crucial condition for marking. This is illustrated by data from Gernika Basque where the dative marking of 3rd person direct objects is only possible with human nouns, as in (17a), but not with inanimate nouns, as in (17b) (Rodríguez Ordóñez 2017:320):

- (17) (a) Nik Mikeleri ikusi dotsat.
 I.ERG Michael.DAT see AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.3SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I have seen Michael.’
- (b) Nik etxie ikusi dot.
 I.ERG house.ABS see AUX.TR.PRES.ABS.3SG.ERG.1SG
- (b’) *Nik etxieri ikusi dotsat.
 I.ERG house.DAT see AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.3SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I have seen the house.’

Those varieties showing DOM with 3rd person pronouns and definite and indefinite noun phrases generally may also exhibit a definiteness or specificity constraint. Mounole (2012:369) reports a specificity contrast in DOM in Gipuzkuan Basque. The absolutive on the indefinite *idazkari bat* ‘a secretary’ in (20a) allows only for a non-referential reading, while the dative

⁷ As noted by Austin (2006:140), some dialects of Northern Basque are characterized by a phenomenon that is called ‘dative undermarking’. Speakers of these dialects make use of transitive auxiliary forms instead of ditransitive ones in ditransitive constructions, using for instance the auxiliary *nau* ‘PRES.ABS1SG.ERG3SG’ instead of the auxiliary *daut* ‘PRES.ABS3SG.ERG3SG.DAT1SG’. Austin (2006:140) notes that there are also speakers of Southern Basque who make use of this kind of dative undermarking.

case on the indefinite *idazkari bati* ‘a secretary-DAT’ in (18b) forces a referential and specific reading. Compare the Spanish examples in (12c-d).⁸

- (18) (a) *Idazkari bat bilatzen det.*
 secretary one.ABS looking-for AUX.TR.PRES.ABS.3SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I am looking for a secretary.’ (in general)
- (b) *Idazkari bati bilatzen diot.*
 secretary one.DAT looking-for AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.3SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I am looking for a secretary.’ (= one particular who is working in my office)

Further conditioning features for DOM in Basque are tense, finiteness and agreement. Fernández & Rezac (2016:107) point out by referring to Sagarzazu (2005:82) that in some Basque DOM varieties, as in the dialects of Hondarribia and Irun, DOM is restricted to past tense only. They further report that in the Navarrese dialect of Araitz-Betelu, for some speakers DOM is optional in the present tense, while it is obligatory in the past:

- (19) (a) *Nik zu ikusi zattut.*
 I.ERG you.ABS see AUX.TR.PRES.ABS.2SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I saw you.’
- (a’) *Nik zui ikusi dizut.*
 I.ERG you.DAT see AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.2SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I see you’
- (b) **Nik zu ikusi zintudan.*
 I.ERG you.ABS see AUX.TR.PAST.ABS.2SG.ERG.1SG
- (b’) *Nik zui ikusi nizun.*
 I.ERG you.DAT see AUX.DITR.PAST.ERG.1SG.(ABS.3SG).DAT.2SG
 ‘I saw you.’

In addition, Fernández & Rezac (2016:108) note that in the Bizkaian dialect spoken in Dima, DOM is obligatory with the 1st and 2nd persons if the direct object agrees with the finite auxiliary, as in (20a), while it is optional for non-agreeing objects of non-finite clauses, as in (20b):

- (20) (a) *Seuri eroan gure dotzut.*
 you.DAT carry want AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS.3SG.DAT.2SG.ERG.1SG
 ‘I want to bring you.’
- (b) *Seu ikusten etorri nes.*
 you.ABS seeing come AUX.INTR.PRES.ABS.1SG
- (b’) *Seuri ikusten etorri nes.*
 you.DAT seeing come AUX.INTR.PRES.ABS.1SG
 ‘I am coming to see you.’

Another factor influencing DOM in Basque seems to be the presence or absence of the external and internal arguments of the verb (Austin 2006). Basque, being a language with a morphologically rich inflectional verbal system which encodes person and number for subject, direct and indirect object, allows omitting up to three arguments, as illustrated in (21) for a ditransitive construction with the verb *eman* ‘to give’:

⁸ Fernández & Rezac (2016:106) quote Mounole (2012) for Lekeito Basque, where indefinite (human) direct objects cannot take DOM, and for Tolosa Basque, where indefinites and reciprocals are barred from DOM.

- (21) (a) Nik zuri hori emango dizut.
 I.ERG you.DAT that.ABS give.FUT AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS3SG.DAT2SG.ERG1SG
 (b) Emango dizut.
 give.FUT AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS3SG.DAT2SG.ERG1SG
 ‘I will give it to you.’

The relevant point here is that in DOM-marked contexts, Basque obligatorily resorts to the ditransitive auxiliary form. As a consequence, the absolutive marker *d-* in the auxiliary does not have any corresponding argument in such a clause, but refers to an obligatory empty (direct) object.⁹

- (22) Nik zuri Ø ikusi dizut.
 I.ERG you.DAT Ø.ABS see AUX.DITR.PRES.ABS3SG.DAT2SG.ERG1SG
 ‘I have seen you.’

Due to this behavior, Austin (2006:143) conjectures that the omission of arguments in DOM Basque dialects may lead to a ‘confusion’ as to whether the dative marker in the auxiliary refers to a direct object or an indirect object and facilitates dative marking of animate direct objects in transitive constructions. In an experimental study, Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2013:243) confirms this hypothesis by observing that in clauses with null objects, DOM (on the auxiliary) was rated significantly higher than when an overt object was present.¹⁰

Summarizing our observations with respect to DOM in transitive constructions of Spanish and Basque, we state the following:

1. DOM is a special marking of a specific subgroup of direct objects; it is a general property of Spanish and a property which exists in a number of Basque dialects, except in the eastern ones, i.e. those spoken in the French part of the Basque Country;
2. Both in Spanish and in Basque dialects, this marking underlies typical restrictions for Differential Object Marking in general; in particular, DOM is marked in accordance with the referentiality and animacy parameters;
3. DOM in Basque dialects differs from DOM in Spanish in that
 - i. all Basque DOM dialects allow DOM for the 1st and 2nd personal pronoun, but vary considerably with respect to the conditions of marking 3rd person pronouns and noun phrases;
 - ii. in some Basque dialects, DOM further depends on tense, finiteness and agreement patterns;
 - iii. in Spanish, DOM is morphologically realized by the prenominal marker *a* – and sometimes additionally by clitic doubling of the marked object –, while in Basque, DOM is morphologically indicated by a dative case suffix at the noun and a dative agreement morpheme in the auxiliary.

⁹ Note that here Basque does not allow the use of the auxiliary form for bivalent intransitive clause (see (13b)) which would exclude the presence of an additional empty object:

(i) *Ni zuri ikusi natzaizu.
 I.ABS you.DAT see AUX.INTR.PRES.ABS1SG.DAT2SG
 ‘I have seen you.’

The reason for this lies in the ergative-absolutive system of Basque which requires the subject of a transitive action to be marked by the ergative. As a consequence, when the intransitive auxiliary form is used, the subject cannot be marked by the ergative although the action is transitive. Therefore, (i) is ruled out.

¹⁰ Note that there is convincing evidence that DOM-marked objects in Basque are indeed direct objects, and not indirect objects. Fernández & Rezac (2016:109-126; partly based on the work of Odría 2014) provide broad evidence of the behavior of DOM objects in (i) secondary predication, (ii) exceptional case marking, (iii) concomitantly, i.e. the requirement of agreement, (iv) the dependency on tense marking.

3. DOM in ditransitive constructions: Contrasting Basque and (Basque) Spanish

As just noted in footnote 8, a fundamental peculiarity with respect to DOM in Basque is that the auxiliary used in these constructions obligatorily bears the ditransitive form. Thus, a crucial question is what happens to the marking of a (human) direct object in Basque DOM varieties when it co-occurs with an overt indirect object in ditransitive constructions. In particular, the question is whether DOM may be blocked or disfavored in these contexts as is the case in Spanish and if so, whether there are similar parameters for DOM in ditransitive constructions as has been observed for Spanish.

We already noted in the introduction that there are some blocking effects for DOM in ditransitive constructions in both languages. This has been illustrated in examples (7b) and (8b), repeated here as (23) and (24), respectively, which show that speakers hesitate to accept DOM of the human direct object in constructions containing an internal (dative-marked) indirect object:

- (23) */??Martak Aneri eramán dio amonari.
 Marta.ERG Anne.DAT carry AUX.DITR.ABS.3SG.DAT.3SG grandmother.DAT
 ‘Marta has carried Anne to (her) grandmother.’
- (24) */??Marta (le) enbrió a Ana a la abuela.
 Marta CLIT.DAT.3SG sent DOM Anne to the grandmother
 ‘Marta sent Anne to (her) grandmother.’

However, the situation is more complicated since judgements strongly differ with respect to the grammaticality of the use of a DOM-marked direct object in ditransitive constructions. As for Spanish, we have already discussed this extensively in von Heusinger, Romero, Kaiser (2016) and von Heusinger (2018) and showed that DOM is determined by a number of parameters in these constructions. These parameters are, among others, the respective order of direct and indirect object, the presence or absence of a doubling dative clitic pronoun and the (semantic) class of the finite verb. There is, in particular, a controversy as to the effect of clitic doubling of the indirect object. According to certain grammatical conditions, indirect objects can or must be doubled by a clitic (pronoun) form that agrees in case and number with the indirect object (Campos 1999). There are at least three positions in the literature on the effect of clitic doubling in ditransitive constructions: (i) it facilitates DOM of the direct object, (ii) it favors blocking of DOM, or (iii) it makes DOM ungrammatical. As for (i), Company Company (1998, 2002) claims that the clitic *le* in (25) facilitates the DOM of the direct object. As regards (ii), Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007:216) claims that “[...] clitic-doubled IOs seem to allow the dropping [of the DOM marker] more easily than their non-doubled counterparts, at least for some speakers [...]”. As for (iii), Fábregas (2013:31) reports that *a*-marking of the direct object is more grammatical without clitics than it is with clitics, as in (26). Ormazábal & Romero (2013:224) also assume that clitic doubling bans *a*-marking of the direct object.

- (25) El maestro le presentó a su mujer a Juan.
 the teacher CLIT.DAT.3SG introduced.3SG DOM his wife to Juan
 ‘The teacher introduced his wife to Juan.’
 (judgement according to Company Company 2001:20)
- (26) *Le enviaron a todos los heridos a la doctora.
 CLIT.DAT.3SG sent.3PL DOM all the injured to the doctor
 ‘They sent all the injured to the doctor.’
 (judgement according to Fábregas 2013:31)

Judgements on such subtle differences may easily become controversial. Therefore, in von Heusinger, Romero & Kaiser (2016) and von Heusinger (2018), we performed our own empirical study and investigated DOM in ditransitive constructions in Spanish with two questionnaires, which will be summarized in the next two sections.

3.1. The design of the study

We tested the conditions presented in the previous sections both in Spanish and in Basque.

The Spanish test was a forced-choice task based on the presence or absence of the (doubling) clitic pronoun *le* and on the respective order of the direct object and the indirect object, as shown in Table 1 below.

A	SUBJECT > Ø VERB > DO > IO
B	SUBJECT > Ø VERB > IO > DO
C	SUBJECT > CL VERB > DO > IO
D	SUBJECT > CL VERB > IO > DO

Table 1: Four conditions for each context

We distributed the critical items according to a Latin Square on four versions of the test, such that each participant saw each context once and each condition 4 times. Each questionnaire had 16 critical items and 36 filler items, in total 52 times. The participants were 40 students of the University of Alcalá in Spain (situated in Alcalá de Henares, near Madrid). They were all monolingual speakers of Spanish. The participants were asked to read a comprehensive context introducing the particular sentence. The participants had to decide by a forced-choice task whether the direct object is *a*-marked or not (Ø). We collected the answers of 10 participants for each of the four lists. In total, we had 640 judgments of the 2x2 design.

We categorized the 16 verbs in three classes: (i) verbs of caused perception (e.g. *presentar* ‘to present’), (ii) verbs of caused possession, where the indirect object realizes a secondary possessor (e.g. *vender* ‘to sell’), (iii) verbs of caused motion (e.g. *mandar* ‘to send’). In order to illustrate how we proceeded in our study, we will provide one example for each verb class from our questionnaire. We will indicate the presence or absence of DOM by ‘*a/Ø*’, but only provide the gloss ‘DOM’. We will also highlight the direct object and the clitic pronoun for the indirect object in bold.

We used four verbs of caused perception: *presentar*, *mostrar*, *proponer*, *enseñar* (‘to introduce’, ‘to show’, ‘to propose’, ‘to show’). They take the agent as subject, the theme as direct object (theme) and a secondary experiencer as the indirect object. (27) represents an example from the questionnaire for the verb *presentar*.

(27) Todo el mundo en la comisaría esperaba la llegada del nuevo policía. Cuando este por fin llegó, se dirigió al despacho del comisario. Pasado un rato, el comisario mandó llamar al agente López. Entonces ...

‘Everybody at the police station was awaiting the arrival of the new policeman. When he arrived, he went to the superintendent’s office. Afterwards, the superintendent ordered that agent López be called. Then ...’

- (a) el comisario presentó **a/Ø su nuevo compañero** al agente.
the superintendent introduced.3SG DOM his new colleague the.DAT agent
- (b) el comisario presentó al agente **a/Ø su nuevo compañero**
the superintendent introduced.3SG the.DAT agent DOM his new colleague
- (c) el comisario **le** presentó **a/Ø su nuevo compañero**.
the superintendent CLIT.DAT.3SG introduced.3SG DOM his new colleague
al agente.
the.DAT agent

- (d) el comisario **le** presentó al agente
 the superintendent CLIT-DAT-3SG introduced-3SG the.DAT agent
a/Ø su nuevo compañero.
 DOM his new colleague

We used four verbs of caused possession: *vender*, *encomendar*, *incorporar*, *devolver* ('to sell', 'to entrust sth. to sb.', 'to incorporate', 'to return'). The semantics of these verbs is that the agent moves the theme (direct object) towards the recipient (indirect object) and, at the end of the event, the recipient possesses the theme. The indirect object of *devolver* ('to return') is also a secondary possessor, but the verb expresses a presupposition that this possessor must have been a possessor before – however, it is not the same as a primary possessor. See (28) for an example from the questionnaire for the verb *encomendar*:

- (28) Manuel y Elena salen de viaje mañana hacia Estados Unidos. Tienen un niño de apenas un año y es muy pequeño aún para llevarlo de viaje con ellos. Por ello, mientras ellos están fuera, ...
 'Manuel and Elena are going to travel to the United States tomorrow. They have a child of just one year and he is still too young to take on the road with them. Therefore, while they are out, ...'
 (a) Manuel ha encomendado **al/Ø** el **niño** a su hermana.
 Manuel has entrusted.3SG DOM-the child DAT his sister

For the verbs of caused motions we used *llevar*, *mandar*, *enviar*, *acercar* ('to carry', 'to send', 'to send', 'to come close'). The event described by these verbs contains an agent (subject), a theme (direct object) and a goal or recipient (indirect object) such that the agent causes the theme to move towards the recipient. (29) is an example with the verb *llevar*:

- (29) Carlos se pasaba el día comiendo chucherías. Siempre que podía compraba chokolatinas o caramelos. De tanto comer dulces se le acabaron picando los dientes y, cuando se dio cuenta, ...
 'Carlos spent the whole day eating candy. He bought chocolate or sweets whenever he could. Eating so many sweets gave him cavities, and when his mother noticed it, ...'
 (a) su madre llevó **al/Ø** el **niño** al dentista
 his mother took.3SG DOM-the child DAT-the dentist
 para que le hiciese una revisión.
 for that him make.3SG an examination

3.2 The results of the study

The results show that there are overall more *a*-marked direct objects than unmarked ones. About 60% are marked and 40% are unmarked. This is quite a surprising result, since the literature suggests a much higher rate of DOM blocking.

	DOM	no-DOM	total
Clitic	50%	50%	100%
no clitic	65%	35%	100%
Total	58%	42%	100%

Table 2: Overall results of DOM vs. no-DOM depending on clitic doubling of the IO

We can state that for the verbs of caused perception, as well as for the verbs of caused possession, DOM is distributed almost randomly and that there is no effect of clitic doubling. However, for the verbs of caused motion we see two effects: First, the whole group clearly

favors DOM with and without clitic doubling (80% DOM). Second, clitic doubling has a very strong effect: with clitic doubling we find 66% DOM.¹¹ But without clitic doubling we have 92% DOM.

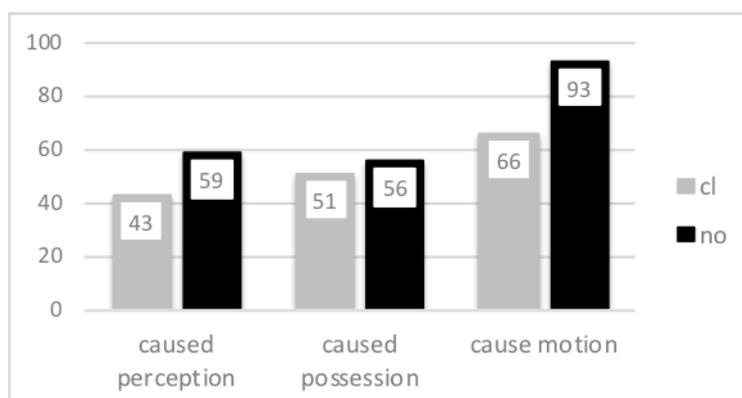


Figure 2: Percentage of DOM with and without the clitic of the indirect object by verb class (von Heusinger, Kaiser, Romero 2016)

We can now speculate that for verbs of caused motion clitic doubling is not just an additional way to mark the indirect object, but rather that it shows us that we are dealing with two different constructions. In one construction with clitic doubling, we have a recipient that competes with the human theme with respect to *a*-marking. In the construction without clitic doubling, the *a*-marked noun phrase is a goal, which, like other prepositional phrases, does not block DOM of definite human noun phrases. If we are on the right track, then this would mean that clitic doubling itself does not enhance or block DOM, but that the underlying construction of verbs of caused motion provides two very different argument structures, and that these argument structures are providing the relevant properties to enhance or block DOM. Needless to say, more research is necessary. To summarize our findings for Spanish: (i) overall, there is no clear blocking effect of DOM in ditransitive constructions with DOM-marked indirect objects. (ii) For most verbs, DOM does not depend on the clitic doubling of the indirect object; (iii) but for verbs of motion, clitic doubling has a clear effect on DOM: no clitic doubling licenses DOM, while clitic doubling clearly reduces the rate of DOM, but for many speakers DOM is still grammatical.

4. Testing DOM in Basque ditransitive constructions

Following the recent literature on DOM in Basque dialects and our observations with respect to Spanish, we can formulate the following hypotheses:

- (30) Hypotheses about DOM in Basque dialects
- H1: Basque dialects allow for DOM in transitive and ditransitive sentences
 - H2: DOM in Basque dialects depends on the Referentiality Scale.
 - H3: DOM in Basque dialects depends on the verb class.
 - H4: DOM in ditransitive constructions is blocked by the dative-case-marked indirect object

¹¹ The results of a follow up questionnaire in von Heusinger (2018) with the same design and verbs, but definite and indefinite noun phrases, are very similar. There is no clear contrast for clitic doubling for verbs of caused perception (with clitic doubling: 31% DOM, without clitic doubling: 43% DOM), but a stark contrast for verbs of caused motion (with clitic doubling: 37% DOM, without clitic doubling: 81% DOM)

In order to confirm these hypotheses, we undertook the first systematic questionnaire on DOM in a Basque dialect. The results of this questionnaire will lead to a better understanding of language contact between Spanish (or Spanish dialects) and Basque, but also contribute to a general theory of ditransitive constructions. It will also provide additional evidence for the underlying principles of DOM.

4.1 Experimental conditions

The Basque test was an acceptability judgement that included transitive and ditransitive sentences. The experimental stimuli consisted of two blocks with short sentences. Block A contained short transitive sentences, and Block B ditransitive sentences. Block A with the transitive sentences should provide a baseline for the range of the acceptance of DOM in general, and Block B should provide data on the acceptance of DOM in ditransitive sentences or its blocking.

4.1.1 Transitive test items

The experimental stimuli of the transitive sentences consisted of a definite human subject and the direct object (always human and in 3rd person). The test items varied according to the dependent variable, i.e. DOM on the direct object and DOM agreement on the auxiliary vs. no case marking and no auxiliary marking. We had two independent experimental conditions: (1) referentiality of the direct object: (a) proper names (PN), (b) (possessive) family names (FN), (c) definite noun phrases (DEF), and (d) indefinite noun phrases (IND); (2) verb classes: (a) highly affected, and (b) non-affected.

- (31) Verb list of the two verb classes according to the affectedness of the direct object
- (i) (highly) affected: *altxatu* ‘to lift’; *hil* ‘to kill’; *atera* ‘to take out’; *jo* ‘to hit’,
harrapatu ‘to run over’; *bortxatu* ‘to rape’
- (ii) non-affected: *agurtu* ‘to greet’; *maite izan* ‘to love’; *ikusi* ‘to see’;
salatu ‘to report’; *ezagutu* ‘to meet’; *zaindu* ‘to take care of’

Each verb appeared in two different sentences, such that we had 24 transitive test sentences. We had 6 test sentences for each of the 4 referentiality conditions. Each of the 24 test sentences had a DOM version with marking on the direct object and agreement morphology on the auxiliary, and a no DOM version with the direct object in the absolutive case and the appropriate agreement on the auxiliary. We distributed these sentences over two lists such that each participant saw each sentence only in the DOM or no-DOM condition. Examples for each condition are presented below.

- (32) Sample test item for transitive sentences ([IND, affected, DOM])
 Gaur goizian terroristak kazetari bati hil
 Today morning.INESS terrorist.the.ERG journalist ART.INDEF.DAT kill
 dotsa
 AUX.DITR.ABS3SG.DAT3SG.ERG3SG
 ‘This morning the terrorist killed a journalist.’
- (33) Sample test item for transitive sentences ([IND, affected, no-DOM])
 Gaur goizian terroristak kazetari bat hil
 Today morning.INESS terrorist.the.ERG journalist ART.INDEF.ABS kill
 dau
 AUX.TR.ABS3SG.ERG3SG
 ‘This morning the terrorist killed a journalist.’

- (34) Sample test item for transitive sentences ([DEF, non-affected, DOM])
 Kaseruak auzokuari salatu dotsa
 Farmer.the.ERG neighbor.the.DAT report AUX.DITR.ABS3SG.DAT3SG.ERG3SG
 barazkixak lapurtziagaitxik
 vegetables.ABS.PL steal.for
 ‘The farmer has reported the neighbor for stealing vegetables.’
- (35) Sample test item for transitive sentences ([DEF, non-affected, no-DOM])
 Kaseruak auzokua salatu dau
 Farmer.the.ERG neighbor.the.ABS report AUX.TR.ABS3SG.ERG3SG
 barazkixak lapurtziagaitxik
 vegetables.ABS.PL steal.for
 ‘The farmer has reported the neighbor for stealing vegetables.’

4.1.2 Ditransitive test items

The experimental stimuli of the ditransitive sentences consisted of a definite human subject, a definite indirect object and the direct object (both direct and indirect objects human and in 3rd person). The test items varied according to the dependent variable, i.e. DOM on the direct object and DOM agreement on the auxiliary. We had three independent experimental conditions: (1) referentiality of the direct object (a) (possessive) family names and (b) definite noun phrases; (2) verb classes (a) verbs of caused perception, (b) verbs of caused possession, and (c) verbs of caused motion, and (3) finite vs. non-finite verb forms.

We reduced the different values of referentiality to two values, family names and definite noun phrases, as we assumed that the higher values support DOM. We sorted the 12 verbs into three classes according to type. Here, we expected some also some contrast for Basque, following the observations reported for Spanish and other languages, about a difference between caused motion verbs and other verbs.

The verbs of group (a) are those of caused perception, such as *aurkeztu*, *gomendatu*, *proposatu*, *deskribatu* (‘to introduce’, ‘to recommend’, ‘to propose’, ‘to describe’). They take the agent as subject, the theme as direct object (theme) and a secondary experiencer as the indirect object. The verbs of group (b) are those of caused possession: *saldu*, *eman*, *bueltatu*, *lapurtu* (‘to sell’, ‘to give’, ‘to return’, ‘to steal’). The semantics of these verbs is that there is a change of possession of the theme (direct object). For the first three verbs, the possession changes from the agent to the experiencer realized in the indirect object, while for *to steal* it changes from the indirect object to the subject. The indirect object of *bueltatu* (‘to return’) is also a secondary possessor, but the verb expresses a presupposition that this possessor must have been a possessor before – however, it is not the same as a primary possessor. Group (c) covers verbs of caused motions such as *eraman*, *bidali*, *hurbildu*, *bota* (‘to carry’, ‘to send’, ‘to bring (closer)’, ‘to throw’). The event described by these verbs contains an agent (subject), a theme (direct object) and a goal or recipient (indirect object) such that the agent causes the theme to move towards the recipient. The agent does not accompany that theme and the recipient does not become the possessor of the theme which becomes clear(er) by adding a final clause with *-t(z)eko* (‘so that’), with the subject of that clause being the recipient.

- (36) Verb list of the three verb classes
- (a) caused perception: *aurkeztu* ‘to introduce’; *gomendatu* ‘to recommend’;
proposatu ‘to propose’; *deskribatu* ‘to describe’
- (b) caused possession: *saldu* ‘to sell’; *eman* ‘to give’; *bueltatu* ‘to return’; *lapurtu*
 ‘to steal’
- (c) caused motion: *eraman* ‘to carry’; *bidali* ‘to send’; *hurbildu* ‘to bring
 (closer)’; *bota* ‘to throw’

Finally, we added the parameter of finiteness in order to see whether we would find a different sort of behavior from the situation in non-finite clauses, where DOM is only marked on the direct object but not on the verb or the auxiliary, if DOM is marked on the direct object and the auxiliary in the finite clauses. We had four verbs per verb class and each of these 12 verbs appeared once in a finite and once in a non-finite clause. We distributed family names and definite noun phrases equally over the 24 ditransitive test items. We also distributed these sentences over two lists so that each participant saw each sentence only in the DOM or no-DOM condition.

See below the four realizations of the verb *eraman* ‘to carry’ in the conditions finite vs. non-finite and DOM vs. no-DOM:

- (37) Sample test item for ditransitive sentences ([FN, caused motion, finite, DOM])
 Osatzeko aukeraren bat euki ahal dabelakuan, aitxitxak
 recover.to chance some have can AUX.TR.ABS3SG.ERG3SG.COMP grandpa.ERG
 amamari herriko sorginari eruan dotsa
 grandma.DAT town.the.of witch.the.DAT carry AUX.DITR.ABS3SG.DAT3SG.ERG3SG
 ‘Hoping she has a chance of recovering, (my) grandfather has taken (my) grandmother
 to the town’s witch doctor.’
- (38) Sample test item for ditransitive sentences ([FN, caused motion, finite, no DOM])
 Osatzeko aukeraren bat euki ahal dabelakuan, aitxitxak
 recover.to chance some have can AUX.TR.ABS3SG.ERG3SG.COMP grandpa.ERG
 amama herriko sorginari eruan dotsa
 grandma.ABS town.the.of witch.the.DAT carry AUX.DITR.ABS3SG.DAT3SG.ERG3SG
 ‘Hoping she has a chance of recovering, (my) grandfather has taken (my) grandmother
 to the town’s witch doctor.’
- (39) Sample test item for ditransitive sentences ([DEF, caused motion, non-finite, DOM])
 Ospitaleko arduradunek erabaki dabe pailazuari
 hospital.the.of managers.the.ERG decide AUX.TR.ABS3SG.ERG3PL clown.the.DAT
 ume gaixuei hilero eruatia
 child sick.DAT.PL every.month carry.NOMIN
 ‘The managers of the hospital have decided to take the clown to sick children every
 month.’
- (40) Sample test item for ditransitive sentences ([DEF, caused motion, non-finite, no-DOM])
 Ospitaleko arduradunek erabaki dabe pailazua
 hospital.the.of managers-the.ERG decide AUX.TR.ABS3SG.ERG3PL clown.the.ABS
 ume gaixuei hilero eruatia
 child sick.DAT.PL every.month carry.NOMIN
 ‘The managers of the hospital have decided to take the clown to sick children every
 month.’

We merged the first and second list of 24 transitive sentences with the first and second list of the 24 ditransitive sentences, respectively, which yielded two lists of 48 test items each. We did not add filler items or control items as we were wary of influencing the participants with such grammatical or ungrammatical items.

test item	transitivity	verb class	lexicalization	finiteness	DP type
1-12	transitive	affected	6 verbs twice	finite	IND, DEF, FN, PN
13-24	transitive	non-affected	6 verbs twice	finite	IND, DEF, FN, PN
25-32	ditransitive	caused perception	4 verbs twice	finite, non-finite	DEF, FN
33-40	ditransitive	caused possession	4 verbs twice	finite, non-finite	DEF, FN
41-48	ditransitive	caused motion	4 verbs twice	finite, non-finite	DEF, FN

Table 3: design of the test items

4.2 The participants and their dialect

The study was conducted with 44 Basque speakers, all of whom have Basque as their mother tongue, more specifically, speakers of the dialect of Soraluze. All but one (born in Soraluze but living in Bilbao for the last 18 months) were residents in Soraluze. 20 of them were older than 56 and 24 of them were between 20 and 56 years old.

4.3 The dialect of Soraluze (Deba Valley, Gipuzkoa).

Soraluze is located towards the west of Gipuzkoa, in the region of the Lower Deba. According to EUSTAT, 3949 people live here (data from 2017) and in 2016 59.39 % and 15.38% of the population were Basque speakers and quasi-Basque –people who understand but have difficulties speaking Basque–, respectively, whereas 25.23% were Spanish speakers. However, the *Street Measurement of Basque Use* carried out in Soraluze by the *Sociolinguistic Cluster* in 2017 shows that only the 31% of the street conversations are in Basque. Thus, Spanish has a great impact on, at least, the streets of Soraluze.

The Basque variety spoken in Soraluze is included in Zuazo's (2003, 2008, 2013, 2014) classification of the Western Basque dialect, more precisely in the Eastern sub-dialect. The Eastern sub-dialect is divided into varieties. Soraluze Basque, together with the varieties spoken in Antzuola, Bergara, Eibar, Elgeta and Ermua, constitutes what we know as Central Deba Valley variety (Zuazo 2006, 2017).



Figure 3: Western Basque (Zuazo 2017:67) and Central Deba Valley variety

4.4 Participants and experimental method

The experiment had three parts: the first part consisted of a bilingualism test – based on Weber-Fox and Neville (1996) and Munarriz (2015) – whereby we could get to know the participants' sociolinguistic profile, i.e. their language background and characteristics. Three sets of questions can be distinguished in this test: The first eight questions were related to personal

information such as age, gender, place of birth and residence, level of education, etc. The aim of the second group of questions was to gather data about the participants' acquisition of Basque and Spanish (at what age they acquired each language, their parents' mother tongues, whether they have ever learnt Basque in a formal context – i.e. at school, language schools, whether they have ever lost Basque – etc.). Finally, participants were asked to provide information about their language use (how often they read and wrote in Basque and Spanish, what language they tended to speak in some specific situations and which language they felt more comfortable in), in order to know whether they are balanced bilinguals or, on the contrary, one of the languages predominates over the other).

The second part provided detailed instructions explaining the experimental procedure. The whole procedure of the questionnaire was explained orally to the participants to avoid any misunderstandings. The third and main part consisted of the experimental items. A six-point scale was used to measure the perceived acceptability of the isolated short sentences in which the above-mentioned five conditions and the presence/absence of DOM are systematically manipulated. '1' represented 'unacceptable' and '6' represented 'acceptable', with the numbers between 1 and 6 ranging between these two in their acceptability level. The participants were instructed to select a value on this scale depending on 'how natural they find the sentence they hear'. Lexicon being the most variable part of the grammar, they were instructed to ignore vocabulary differences when giving their judgements. The participants were free to select any number they wanted and were also not forced to respond to the experimental items within a certain time limit, but were encouraged to provide the first response that occurred to them in order to obtain intuitive judgments.

Though the test items were originally composed in standard Basque, they were translated into the local variety by a speaker of the Soraluze variety due to several reasons: 1) Soraluze Basque differs from Standard Basque and we wanted experimental items to be as natural as possible for participants and 2) we aimed to avoid the influence the standard norm could have on the speakers' judgement. Therefore, test items were read aloud by the experimenter in the local variety, as in appendix 1. The experimenter also wrote down the answers.

On average, the experiment lasted about 15 minutes for each participant (usually somewhat longer for the oldest participants). Throughout the test, participants could ask for further information and instructions orally.

In order to get reliable results, four participants had to be excluded for the following reasons: one did not understand the exercise and instead of giving grammatical judgements, provided their opinion of the semantic content of the test items. Another one clearly answered following the standard norm. Finally, we had to exclude two participants since they did not accept ditransitive constructions when objects are human, whether the direct object is DOM-marked or not. In fact, in Basque there are specific constructions of the form of (41) and (42) with a postposition phrase instead of the indirect object:

- (41) Construction with human allative
 Aititek amama sorginarengana eraman du
 grandpa.ERG grandma.ABS witch.the.ALL carry AUX.TR.ABS3SG.ERG3SG
 'Grandpa has taken grandma to the witch doctor.'
- (42) Construction with human allative and DOM
 Aititek amamari sorginarengana eraman dio
 grandpa.ERG grandma.DAT witch.the.ALL carry AUX.DITR.ABS3SG.DAT.3SG.ERG3SG
 'Grandpa has taken grandma to the witch doctor.'

We therefore categorized all the 42 informants according to their acceptance of ditransitive constructions (without DOM). As related above, we eliminated two speakers who did not accept ditransitive constructions from further analysis, which gave us 40 participants.

4.5 Results

Initial inspection of the results suggested that there is one group of speakers who do not accept DOM and another group of speakers who do accept DOM in their Basque dialect. Since we were interested in the parameters of DOM in Basque dialects, we had to look at the group that accepts DOM. Therefore, we created two groups of 20 participants each according to their acceptance rate for DOM with ditransitive sentences. As we see in the table below, we have 240 judgements for each of the cells, and 1920 judgements in total.

Inspection of the mean rate of these two groups show that (i) both groups rate transitive sentences without DOM equally very good (5.68 and 5.81), ditransitive sentences without DOM in the high group are better rated than in the low group (5.03 vs. 4.06). DOM for transitive and ditransitive sentence in the high group are nearly as good as the no-DOM version; however, in the low group, both DOM in transitive as well as ditransitive sentences are rated badly.

	Participants	transitive		Ditransitive	
		no-DOM	DOM	no-DOM	DOM
high group	20	5.68	5.11	5.03	4.56
low group	20	5.81	2.80	4.06	1.61
Total	40	5.74	3.95	4.55	3.09

Table 4: Acceptance of DOM and no-DOM between groups

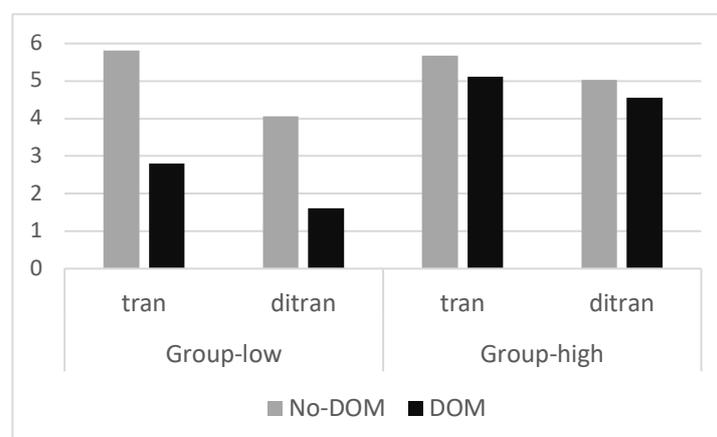


Figure 4: Acceptance of DOM and no-DOM between group-low and group high for transitive and ditransitive constructions

The results clearly indicate that there is a group of speakers that accept DOM as optional for transitive and ditransitive sentences. The other group – more similar to Standard Basque – does not accept DOM. We can only speculate whether the participants speak a different dialect or whether they are simply too heavily influenced by their metalinguistic knowledge of the situation in Standard Basque. The somewhat lower acceptance of the no-DOM ditransitive construction may be caused by some speakers dispreferring ditransitive constructions, preferring the postpositional alternative, as illustrated in (41) and (42).

4.5.1 Effect of age, sex, location, bilingualism and Basque literacy

There is no effect of age, sex or the location on the division onto the judgements of DOM transitive or intransitive sentences. As expected there is an effect of language dominance and literacy in Basque.

4.5.2 Language dominance

Language dominance shows statistical effects, though there is no effect on the no-DOM condition (see appendix 2). In other words, all speakers accept both, transitive and ditransitive sentences with the direct object in the absolutive case, even if the latter are less well-reviewed than those in transitive sentences. Likewise, DOM ditransitive sentences are less well-reviewed than DOM transitive sentences. Nevertheless, the DOM condition clearly depends on language dominance, since those speakers whose predominant language is Spanish tend to accept more easily DOM sentences than the other speakers do. Speakers whose dominant language is Basque show the lowest level of acceptance of DOM sentences:

	participants	transitive		Ditransitive	
		no-DOM	DOM	no-DOM	DOM
Basque dominant	23	5.81	3.58	4.39	2.36
Balanced	13	5.68	4.03	4.60	3.32
Spanish dominant	4	5.85	4.71	4.73	4.15

Table 5: Acceptance of DOM according to language dominance

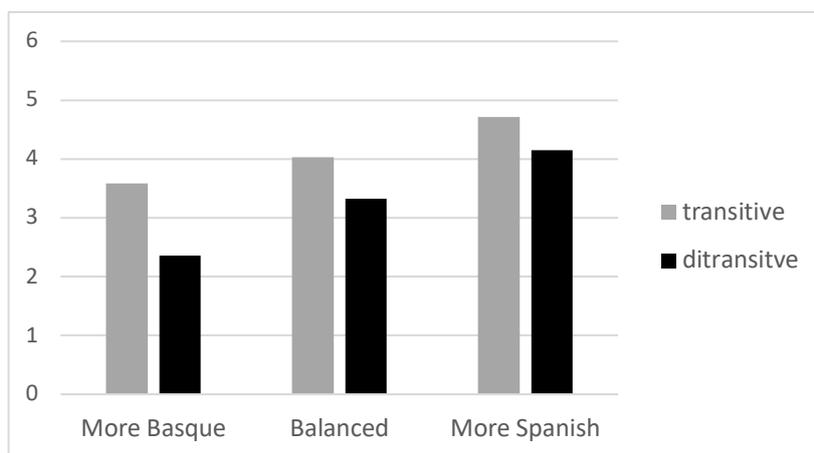


Figure 5: Acceptance of DOM according to language dominance for transitive and ditransitive constructions

4.5.3 Literacy in Basque

There is no statistical effect of the literacy in Basque (see appendix 2). Inspection of the mean values, however, seem to show a tendency that literacy in Basque reduces the acceptability of DOM in transitive as well as in intransitive sentence.

literacy in Basque	participants	transitive		Ditransitive	
		no-DOM	DOM	no-DOM	DOM
Unclear	1	5.92	5.83	5.42	6.00
No	9	5.94	4.21	4.42	3.20
Yes	30	5.68	3.81	4.56	2.96

Table 6: Acceptance of DOM and no-DOM for transitive and ditransitive constructions according to literacy in Basque

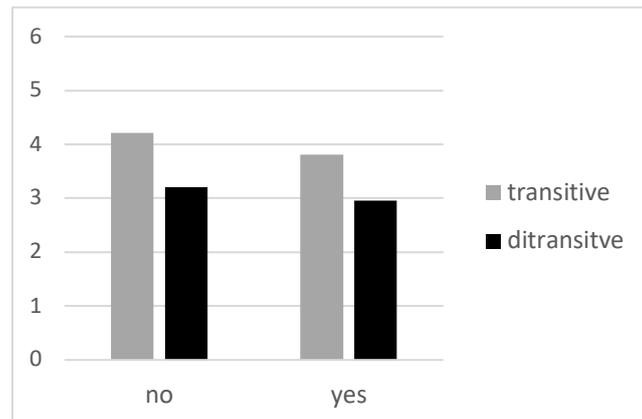


Figure 6: Acceptance of DOM for transitive and ditransitive constructions according to literacy in Basque

4.5.4 Transitive sentences and referentiality

We tested transitive sentences in order to get a baseline for DOM in this particular dialect. Additionally, we tested the parameter of referentiality (proper names, possessive family names, definite noun phrases and indefinite noun phrases) and the affectedness of the direct object. As shown in Table 4 and Figure 4 (above) participants of the group with higher acceptance of DOM rate DOM-marked constructions nearly as highly as transitive sentences with the absolute case. There is only a marginal effect of the type of referential expression. Indefinites are somewhat less acceptable than definites. Note that the rating for proper names and possessive family names should be higher according to the referentiality hierarchy. There was no effect of affectedness.

acceptance of	proper names	family names	definite NP	indefinite NP
no-DOM	5.77	5.71	5.88	5.62
DOM	3.90	4.06	4.10	3.76

Table 7: Acceptance of DOM according to DP type (referentiality) (both groups)

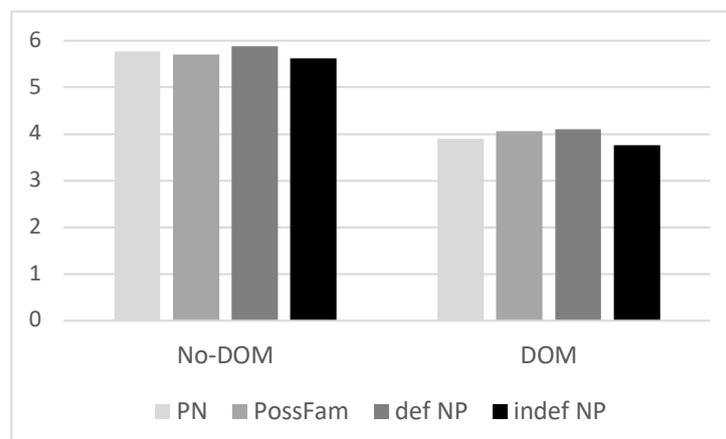


Figure 7: Acceptance of DOM and no-DOM according to DP type (referentiality) (both groups)

4.5.5 Ditransitive sentences and verb class

In the ditransitive sentences, we manipulated (1) referentiality, (2) finiteness of the clause and (3) verb class. We did not find any effect of referentiality. The finiteness of the clause also does not influence preference or dispreference for DOM. The table 8 below provides the mean values according to the two groups introduced above. We see that both finite as well as non-finite ditransitive sentences with DOM are very acceptable for group 1 and unacceptable for group 2:

Finiteness	finite		non-finite	
	no-DOM	DOM	no-DOM	DOM
high group	4.95	4.49	5.12	4.63
low group	3.60	1.50	4.52	1.73

Table 8: Acceptance of DOM and no-DOM for high group and low group according to finiteness

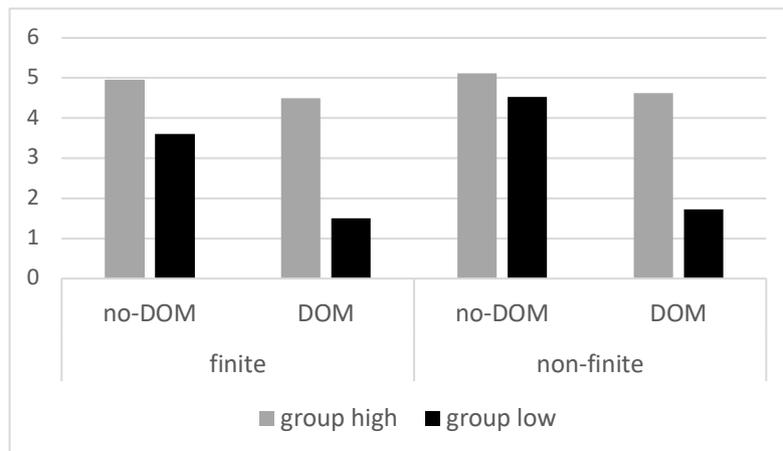


Figure 8: Acceptance of DOM and no-DOM for high group and low group according to finiteness

The final parameter is verb class. We compared three classes: (i) verbs of caused perception, (ii) verbs of caused possession, and (iii) verbs of caused motion. In section 3. we presented evidence that verb class influences the acceptability of DOM for Spanish. The experiments on Spanish were forced-choice experiments, where participants had to decide whether to use or to drop the DOM marker in different conditions. The results showed that clitic doubling of the indirect object does not influence the rate of DOM for the first two verb classes, but it did influence the class of verbs of caused motion. We interpreted this result as evidence that clitic-doubled indirect object in verbs of caused motion (*to send*, *to carry*) are indirect objects that compete with the direct object, while non-clitic doubled datives do not compete with the direct object. If Basque also shows a similar contrast between different dative arguments, we would expect to see some differences between the three verb classes.

The data from Basque do not show an effect of verb class for either group. It is obvious that speaker clearly have different judgements for DOM vs. no-DOM, which is much more dramatic in the second group. But there is at most a very marginal difference between verbs of caused perception and caused possession on the one hand and verbs of caused motion on the other. Ditransitive constructions with verbs of caused motion are in all conditions less acceptable than those with other verbs.

verb class	caused perception		caused possession		caused motion	
	no-DOM	DOM	no-DOM	DOM	no-DOM	DOM
high group	5.18	4.65	5.08	4.51	4.85	4.53
low group	4.56	1.69	4.18	1.76	3.44	1.39

Table 9: Acceptance of DOM and no-DOM for high group and low group according to verb class

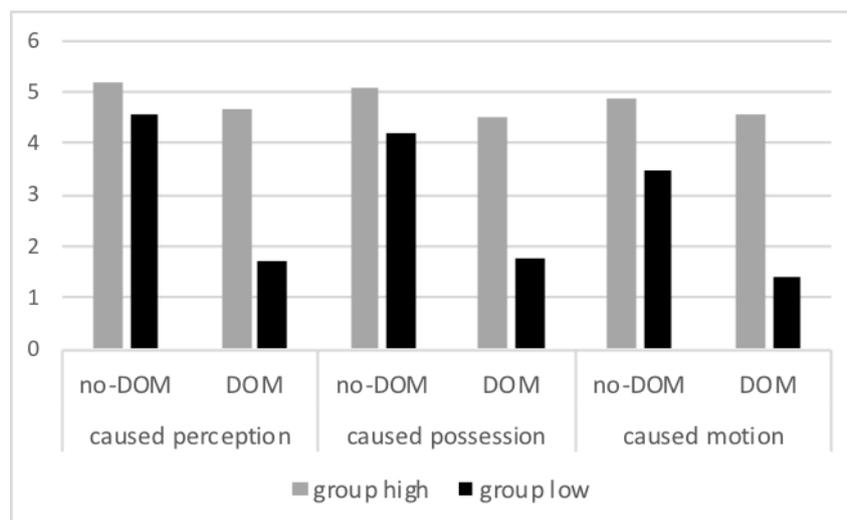


Figure 9: Acceptance of DOM and no-DOM for high group and low group according to verb class

To sum up: The data show that there are participants that disprefer DOM in transitive and ditransitive sentences, and that there are speakers of Basque that do accept them to a similar extent as they do the absolutive form. The only parameter we were able to identify that plays a role in a preference for DOM is language dominance. The more dominant Spanish is, the more acceptable DOM forms are. All other language-internal parameters were not significant: There is no effect on affectedness for transitive verbs, and only a very marginal one, if any, for referential forms; there is no effect of finiteness and no effect of verb class. Thus, all the data clearly support the observation that DOM is established in this Basque dialect. From what our data suggest, we can say that the effect is very similar for all verbs. The only difference is the level of acceptance for a speaker with respect to DOM.

5. Summary and outlook

We began the last section by formulating four hypotheses, repeated here:

- (30) Hypotheses about DOM in Basque dialects
- H1: Basque dialects allow for DOM in transitive and ditransitive sentences
 - H2: DOM in Basque dialects depends on the Referentiality Scale.
 - H3: DOM in Basque dialects depends on the verb class.
 - H4: DOM in ditransitive constructions is blocked by the dative case marked indirect object.

The results of our questionnaire for the dialect of Soraluze (Deba Valley, Gipuzkoa) provided the first in-depth study of DOM in a Basque dialect. For this dialect, we can formulate the following results: (i) The dialect has speakers that accept the marking of the direct object by the dative case marker (i.e. DOM) just as they accept marking it by the absolutive case – confirming H1. What is different from Spanish is that DOM is optional and that the no-DOM form is always acceptable. This optionality ranges across all parameters (i.e. all referential forms and all verb classes) – against H2 and H3. This is typologically rare and therefore we speculate that this behavior mirrors the sociolinguistic split between the dialect and Standard Basque taught in schools. We speculate that the acceptance of no-DOM is a reflex of Standard Basque, and not a genuine condition of the dialect.¹² (ii) DOM is facilitated by a higher level of knowledge of Spanish, while a high literacy in Standard Basque blocks DOM. This would correspond to the sociolinguistic split and awareness discussed above. (iii) DOM is equally

¹² For instance, Karlos Arregi informed us that his wife cannot use the no-DOM form in her dialect.

triggered by all investigated referential forms (proper names, family names, definite NPs, and indefinite NPs). This would mean that Basque dialects have a further developed system of DOM, where all referential forms trigger DOM in the same way. This would suggest that DOM in these dialects is not a recent innovation, but rather an old feature of their grammar. (iv) In ditransitive constructions, we cannot detect any blocking effect of the dative-marked indirect object on the dative case marker for DOM – against H4. Again, this is surprising as such constructions are systematically ambiguous as to which argument is the direct object and which is the indirect object. But we have seen in section 3 that in Spanish, the blocking effect is less effective than argued in the literature. (v) In contrast to Spanish, we could not detect any effect of the verb class on DOM in the Basque dialect. These original results provide additional empirical evidence for the discussion of DOM in Basque dialects and for DOM blocking in ditransitive constructions.

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Appendix 1: Transitive test items

test item	transitivity	verb class	lexicalization	finiteness	DP type
1-12	trans	i) affected	6 verbs twice	finite	IND, DD, FN, PN
13-24	trans	ii) non-affected	6 verbs twice	finite	IND, DD, FN, PN
25-32	ditran	i) caused perception	4 verbs twice	finite, non-finite	DD, FN
33-40	ditran	ii) caused possession	4 verbs twice	finite, non-finite	DD, FN
41-48	ditran	iii) caused motion	4 verbs twice	finite, non-finite	DD, FN

Table 10: Design of the test items

a: +DOM: DOM condition

b: -DOM: no-DOM condition

<p><i>Altxatu 'to lift' [INDEF, +DOM]</i> Egoitzako zaintzailiak agure bati ohetikan altxau dotsa Egoitzako zaintzaileak agure bati ohetik altxatu dio La cuidadora de la residencia ha levantado a un anciano de la cama The carer of the residence has lifted an elderly man from the bed.</p>	<p>Soraluze dialect test items Standard Basque Spanish English</p>
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Table 11: Soraluze Dialect test items and translations to Standard Basque, Spanish and English

Transitive verbs

i) Affected

(TI01a)	<p><i>Altxatu 'to lift' [INDEF, +DOM]</i> Egoitzako zaintzailiak agure bati ohetikan altxau dotsa Egoitzako zaintzaileak agure bati ohetik altxatu dio La cuidadora de la residencia ha levantado a un anciano de la cama The carer of the residence has lifted an elderly man from the bed.</p>
(TI01b)	<p><i>Altxatu 'to lift' [INDEF, -DOM]</i> Egoitzako zaintzailiak agure bat ohetikan altxau dau Egoitzako zaintzaileak agure bat ohetik altxatu du La cuidadora de la residencia ha levantado un anciano de la cama The carer of the residence has lifted an elderly man from the bed.</p>
(TI02a)	<p><i>Altxatu 'to lift' [FN, +DOM]</i> Nere amamak lurretikan altxau dotsa nere birramamari, jausi in da ta Nire amamak lurretik altxatu dio nire birramamari, jausi egin da eta Mi abuela ha levantado a mi bisabuela del suelo, pues se ha caído My grandmother has lifted my great-grandmother from the ground, since she fell down.</p>
(TI02b)	<p><i>Altxatu 'to lift' [FN, -DOM]</i> Nere amamak nere birramama lurretikan altxau dau, jausi in da ta Nire amamak nire birramama lurretik altxatu du, jausi egin da eta Mi abuela ha levantado mi bisabuela del suelo, pues se ha caído My grandmother has lifted my great-grandmother from the ground, since she felt down.</p>
(TI03a)	<p><i>Atera 'to take out' [DEF, +DOM]</i> Irakasliak berbetan zeuan ikasliari arbelera atara dotsa etxerako lanak zuzentzeko Irakasleak hizketan zegoen ikasleari arbelera atara dio etxerako lanak zuzentzeko La profesora ha sacado al alumno que estaba hablando a la pizarra para corregir los deberes The teacher has selected the student who was talking to come to the blackboard and go over the homework.</p>
(TI03b)	<p><i>Atera 'to take out' [DEF, -DOM]</i> Irakasliak berbetan zeuan ikaslia arbelera atara dau etxerako lanak zuzentzeko Irakasleak hizketan zegoen ikaslea arbelera atara du etxerako lanak zuzentzeko La profesora ha sacado el alumno que estaba hablando a la pizarra para corregir los deberes The teacher has selected the student who was talking to come to the blackboard and go over the homework.</p>

(TI04a)	<p><i>Atera 'to take out' [PN, +DOM]</i> Entrenatzailiak Messiri zelaira atara dotsa Entrenatzaileak Messiri zelaira atara dio El entrenador ha sacado a Messi al campo The manager has brought on Messi into the field.</p>
(TI04b)	<p><i>Atera 'to take out' [PN, -DOM]</i> Entrenatzailiak Messi zelaira atara dau Entrenatzaileak Messi zelaira atara du El entrenador ha sacado Messi al campo The manager has brought on Messi into the field.</p>
(TI05a)	<p><i>Bortxatu 'to rape' [INDEF, +DOM]</i> Kartzelan dauan gizon horrek neskato gazte bati biolau dotsa Kartzelan dagoen gizon horrek neskato gazte bati bortxatu dio Ese hombre que está en la cárcel ha violado a una chica joven That man who is in jail has raped a young girl.</p>
(TI05b)	<p><i>Bortxatu 'to rape' [INDEF, -DOM]</i> Kartzelan dauan gizon horrek neskato gazte bat biolau dau Kartzelan dagoen gizon horrek neskato gazte bat bortxatu du Ese hombre que está en la cárcel ha violado una chica joven That man who is in jail has raped a young girl.</p>
(TI06a)	<p><i>Bortxatu 'to rape' [FN, +DOM]</i> Maria triste dau jaixetatikan bueltan gazte batek bere alabari biolau dotalako Maria triste dago jaietatik bueltan gazte batek bere alabari bortxatu diolako Maria está triste porque al volver de las fiestas un joven ha violado a su hija Maria is sad because a young man has raped her daughter when she was returning from the town fair.</p>
(TI06b)	<p><i>Bortxatu 'to rape' [FN, -DOM]</i> Maria triste dau jaixetatikan bueltan gazte batek bere alabari biolau dabelako Maria triste dago jaietatik bueltan gazte batek bere alabari bortxatu dielako Maria está triste porque al volver de las fiestas un joven ha violado su hija Maria is sad because a young man has raped her daughter when she was returning from the town fair.</p>
(TI07a)	<p><i>Harrapatu 'to run over' [DEF, +DOM]</i> Goizeko zezenian zezenak toreruari harrapatu dotsa Goizeko zezenketan zezenak toreroari harrapatu dio En la corrida de esta mañana el toro ha pillado al torero During this morning's corrida, the bull has caught the torero.</p>
(TI07b)	<p><i>Harrapatu 'to run over' [DEF, -DOM]</i> Goizeko zezenian zezenak torerua harrapatu dau Goizeko zezenketan zezenak toreroa harrapatu du En la corrida de esta mañana el toro ha pillado el torero During this morning's corrida, the bull has caught the torero.</p>
(TI08a)	<p><i>Harrapatu 'to run over' [PN, +DOM]</i> Zebrabidia gurutzatzen zeuala, gidari mozkor batek Patxiri harrapatu dotsa Zebrabidea gurutzatzen zegoela, gidari mozkor batek Patxiri harrapatu dio Mientras cruzaba el paso de peatones, un conductor borracho ha atropellado a Patxi While he was crossing the crosswalk, a drunk driver has run Patxi down.</p>
(TI08b)	<p><i>Harrapatu 'to run over' [PN, -DOM]</i> Zebrabidia gurutzatzen zeuala, gidari mozkor batek Patxi harrapatu dau Zebrabidea gurutzatzen zegoela, gidari mozkor batek Patxi harrapatu du Mientras cruzaba el paso de peatones, un conductor borracho ha atropellado Patxi While he was crossing the crosswalk, a drunk driver has run Patxi down.</p>
(TI09a)	<p><i>Hil 'to kill' [INDEF, +DOM]</i> Gaur goizian terroristak kazetari bati hil dotsa Gaur goizean terroristak kazetari bati hil dio Esta mañana el terrorista ha matado a un periodista This morning the terrorist has killed a journalist.</p>
(TI09b)	<p><i>Hil 'to kill' [INDEF, -DOM]</i> Gaur goizian terroristak kazetari bat hil dau Gaur goizean terroristak kazetari bat hil du Esta mañana el terrorista ha matado un periodista This morning the terrorist has killed a journalist.</p>

(TI10a)	<i>Hil</i> 'to kill' [FN, +DOM] Krisialdi bat dala ta aitxak bere semiari hil dotsa Krisialdi bat dela eta, aitak bere semeari hil dio Debido a una crisis, el padre ha matado a su hijo Due to a mental breakdown, the father has killed his son.
(TI10b)	<i>Hil</i> 'to kill' [FN, -DOM] Krisialdi bat dala ta aitxak bere semia hil dau Krisialdi bat dela eta, aitak bere semea hil du Debido a una crisis, el padre ha matado su hijo Due to a mental breakdown, the father has killed his son.
(TI11a)	<i>Jo</i> 'to hit' [DEF, +DOM] Poliziak lurrian zeuan manifestarixari jo dotsa Poliziak lurrean zegoen manifestariari jo dio La policía ha pegado al manifestante que estaba en el suelo The police has beaten the protester who was on the ground.
(TI11b)	<i>Jo</i> 'to hit' [DEF, -DOM] Poliziak lurrian zeuan manifestarixa jo dau Poliziak lurrean zegoen manifestaria jo du La policía ha pegado el manifestante que estaba en el suelo The police have beaten the protester who was on the ground.
(TI12a)	<i>Jo</i> 'to hit' [PN, +DOM] Gabeko borrokan McGregorrek Mayweatherri jo dotsa Gaueko borrokan McGregorrek Mayweatherri jo dio En la pelea de esta noche McGregor ha pegado a Mayweather During tonight's fight, McGregor has hit Mayweather.
(TI12b)	<i>Jo</i> 'to hit' [PN, -DOM] Gabeko borrokan McGregorrek Mayweather jo dau Gaueko borrokan McGregorrek Mayweather jo du En la pelea de esta noche McGregor ha pegado Mayweather During tonight's fight, McGregor has hit Mayweather.

ii) Non affected

(TI13a)	<i>Agurtu</i> 'to greet' [INDEF, +DOM] Peruk ezagutzen ez zeban pertsona bati agurtu dotsa kalia Peruk ezagutzen ez zuen pertsona bati agurtu dio kalean Peru ha saludado a una persona que no conocía en la calle Peru has greeted in the street a person he did not know.
(TI13b)	<i>Agurtu</i> 'to greet' [INDEF, -DOM] Peruk ezagutzen ez zeban pertsona bat agurtu dau kalia Peruk ezagutzen ez zuen pertsona bat agurtu du kalean Peru ha saludado una persona que no conocía en la calle Peru has greeted in the street a person he did not know.
(TI14a)	<i>Agurtu</i> 'to greet' [FN, +DOM] Amamak lobiari agurtu dotsa autobusera igotzerakuan Amamak bilobari agurtu dio autobusera igotzerakoan La abuela ha despedido al nieto al subir al autobús The grandmother has said goodbye to her grandson while getting into the bus.
(TI14b)	<i>Agurtu</i> 'to greet' [FN, -DOM] Amamak lobia agurtu dau autobusera igotzerakuan Amamak bilobari agurtu du autobusera igotzerakoan La abuela ha despedido el nieto al subir al autobús The grandmother has said goodbye to her grandson while getting into the bus.
(TI15a)	<i>Ezagutu</i> 'to meet' [DEF, +DOM] Gaur batzar batian nere lagunak Berri Txarrakeko abeslarixari ezagutu dotsa Gaur batzar batean nire lagunak Berri Txarrakeko abeslariari ezagutu dio Hoy, en una reunión, mi amigo ha conocido al cantante de Berri Txarrak Today, during a meeting, my friend has met the singer of 'Berri Txarrak'.

(TI15b)	<p><i>Ezagutu 'to meet'</i> [DEF, -DOM] Gaur batzar batian nere lagunak Berri Txarrakeko abeslarixa ezagutu dau Gaur batzar batean nire lagunak Berri Txarrakeko abeslaria ezagutu du Hoy, en una reunión, mi amigo ha conocido el cantante de Berri Txarrak Today, during a meeting, my friend has met the singer of 'Berri Txarrak'.</p>
(TI16a)	<p><i>Ezagutu 'to meet'</i> [PN, +DOM] Donostiako Zinemaldixan nere amak Angelina Jolieri ezagutu dotsa Donostiako Zinemaldian nire amak Angelina Jolieri ezagutu dio En el Zinemaldia de Donostia mi madre ha conocido a Angelina Jolie During the Donostia Film Festival, my mother has met Angelina Jolie.</p>
(TI16b)	<p><i>Ezagutu 'to meet'</i> [PN, -DOM] Donostiako Zinemaldixan nere amak Angelina Jolie ezagutu dau Donostiako Zinemaldian nire amak Angelina Jolie ezagutu du En el Zinemaldia de Donostia mi madre ha conocido Angelina Jolie During the Donostia Film Festival, my mother has met Angelina Jolie.</p>
(TI17a)	<p><i>Ikusi 'to see'</i> [INDEF, +DOM] Gaur goizian nere semiek futbol jokalaria ospetsu bati ikusi dotse Gaur goizean nire semeek futbol jokalaria ospetsu bati ikusi diote Esta mañana mis hijos han visto a un famoso jugador de futbol This morning my children have seen a famous football player.</p>
(TI17b)	<p><i>Ikusi 'to see'</i> [INDEF, -DOM] Gaur goizian nere semiek futbol jokalaria ospetsu bat ikusi dabe Gaur goizean nire semeek futbol jokalaria ospetsu bat ikusi dute Esta mañana mis hijos han visto un famoso jugador de futbol This morning my children have seen a famous football player.</p>
(TI18a)	<p><i>Ikusi 'to see'</i> [FN, +DOM] Playan nere aitak zure lehengusuari ikusi dotsa Hondartzan nire aitak zure lehengusuari ikusi dio En la playa mi padre ha visto a tu primo On the beach, my father has seen your cousin.</p>
(TI18b)	<p><i>Ikusi 'to see'</i> [FN, -DOM] Playan nere aitak zure lehengusua ikusi dau Hondartzan nire aitak zure lehengusua ikusi du En la playa mi padre ha visto tu primo On the beach, my father has seen your cousin.</p>
(TI19a)	<p><i>Maite izan 'to love'</i> [INDEF, +DOM] Nere auzokuak/bezinuak gazte afrikar bati maitxe dotsa Nire auzokoak gazte afrikar bati maite dio Mi vecino ama a una joven africana My neighbor loves an African girl.</p>
(TI19b)	<p><i>Maite izan 'to love'</i> [INDEF, -DOM] Nere auzokuak/bezinuak gazte afrikar bat maitxe dau Nire auzokoak gazte afrikar bat maite du Mi vecino ama una joven africana My neighbor loves an African girl.</p>
(TI20a)	<p><i>Maite izan 'to love'</i> [FN, +DOM] Ume horrek bere aitxari asko maitxe dotsa Ume horrek bere aitari asko matie dio Ese niño quiere mucho a su padre That boy loves his father a lot.</p>
(TI20b)	<p><i>Maite izan 'to love'</i> [FN, -DOM] Ume horrek bere aitxa asko maitxe dau Ume horrek bere aita asko matie du Ese niño quiere mucho su padre That boy loves his father a lot.</p>
(TI21a)	<p><i>Salatu 'to report'</i> [DEF, +DOM] Kaseruak auzokuari salatu dotsa barazkixak lapurtziagaitxik Baserritarrak auzokoari salatu dio barazkiak lapurtzearren El casero ha denunciado al vecino por robarle verduras The landlord has sued the neighbor for stealing vegetables.</p>

(TI21b)	<p><i>Salatu 'to report'</i> [DEF, -DOM] Kaseruak auzokua salatu dau barazkixak lapurtziagaitxik Baserritarrak auzokoa salatu du barazkiak lapurtzearren El casero ha denunciado el vecino por robarle verduras The landlord has sued the neighbor for stealing vegetables.</p>
(TI22a)	<p><i>Salatu 'to report'</i> [PN, +DOM] Josunek Mikeli salatu dotsa tratu txarrak diala ta Josunek Mikeli salatu dio tratu txarrak direla eta Josune ha denunciado a Mikel por malos tratos Josune has reported Mikel for maltreatment.</p>
(TI22b)	<p><i>Salatu 'to report'</i> [PN, -DOM] Josunek Mikel salatu dau tratu txarrak diala ta Josunek Mikel salatu du tratu txarrak direla eta Josune ha denunciado a Mikel por malos tratos Josune has reported Mikel for maltreatment.</p>
(TI23a)	<p><i>Zaindu 'to take care of'</i> [DEF, +DOM] Erizainak gurgildun aulkixan dauan gaixuari zaindu dotsa urte askuan Erizainak gurgildun aulkian dagoen gaixoari zaindu dio urteetan zehar La enfermera ha cuidado al enfermo que está en silla de ruedas durante años The nurse has taken care of the sick who is on a wheelchair for years.</p>
(TI23b)	<p><i>Zaindu 'to take care of'</i> [DEF, -DOM] Erizainak gurgildun aulkixan dauan gaixua zaindu dau urte askuan Erizainak gurgildun aulkian dagoen gaixoa zaindu du urteetan zehar La enfermera ha cuidado el enfermo que está en silla de ruedas durante años The nurse has taken care of the sick who is on a wheelchair for years.</p>
(TI24a)	<p><i>Zaindu 'to take care of'</i> [PN, +DOM] Aitorrek Maiderrri zaindu dotsa gaixorik egon danian Aitorrek Maiderrri zaindu dio gaixorik egon denean Aitor ha cuidado a Maider cuando ha estado enferma Aitor has taken care of Maider whenever she has been sick.</p>
(TI24b)	<p><i>Zaindu 'to take care of'</i> [PN, -DOM] Aitorrek Maider zaindu dau gaixorik egon danian Aitorrek Maider zaindu du gaixorik egon denean Aitor ha cuidado Maider cuando ha estado enferma Aitor has taken care of Maider whenever she has been sick.</p>

Appendix 2: Ditransitive test items

i) Caused perception

(TI25a)	<p><i>Aurkeztu 'to introduce'</i> [FIN, DD, +DOM] Antzerkixa amaitxu ostian zuzendarixak aktoriari presentau dotsa ikusliari Antzerkia amaitu ostean zuzendariak aktoreari aurkeztu dio ikusleari Al finalizar la obra de teatro el director ha presentado al actor a los espectadores When the play finished, the director introduced the actor to the audience.</p>
(TI25b)	<p><i>Aurkeztu 'to introduce'</i> [FIN, DD, -DOM] Antzerkixa amaitxu ostian zuzendarixak aktoria presentau dotsa ikusliari Antzerkia amaitu ostean zuzendariak aktorea aurkeztu dio ikusleari Al finalizar la obra de teatro el director ha presentado el actor a los espectadores When the play finished, the director introduced the actor to the audience.</p>
(TI26a)	<p><i>Aurkeztu 'to introduce'</i> [NON-FIN, FN, +DOM] Nere lehengusuak erabaki dau tiori bere irakasle daneri presentatzia Nire lehengusuak erabaki du osabari bere irakasle guztiei aurkeztea Mi primo ha decidido presentar a mi tío a todos sus profesores My cousin has decided to introduce my uncle to all his teachers.</p>
(TI26b)	<p><i>Aurkeztu 'to introduce'</i> [NON-FIN, FN, -DOM] Nere lehengusuak erabaki dau tio bere irakasle daneri presentatzia Nire lehengusuak erabaki du osaba bere irakasle guztiei aurkeztea Mi primo ha decidido presentar mi tío a todos sus profesores My cousin has decided to introduce my uncle to all his teachers.</p>

(TI27a)	<p><i>Deskribatu 'to describe'</i> [FIN, FN, +DOM] Literatura tallerrian nere semiak bere anaixari deskribidu dotsa lagunari Literatura tailerrean nire semeak bere anaia deskribatu dio kideari En el taller de literatura, mi hijo ha descrito a su hermano al compañero During the literature workshop, my son has described his brother to the schoolmate.</p>
(TI27b)	<p><i>Deskribatu 'to describe'</i> [FIN, FN, -DOM] Literatura tallerrian nere semiak bere anaia deskribidu dotsa lagunari Literatura tailerrean nire semeak bere anaia deskribatu dio kideari En el taller de literatura, mi hijo ha descrito su hermano al compañero During the literature workshop, my son has described his brother to the schoolmate.</p>
(TI28a)	<p><i>Deskribatu 'to describe'</i> [NON-FIN, DD, +DOM] Umiari eskatu dotse entrenadoriari bere amari deskribitzeko Umeari eskatu diote entrenatzaileari bere amari deskribitzeko Al niño le han pedido que describa al entrenador a su madre The kid was asked to describe the manager to his mother.</p>
(TI28b)	<p><i>Deskribatu 'to describe'</i> [NON-FIN, DD, -DOM] Umiari eskatu dotse entrenadoria bere amari deskribitzeko Umeari eskatu diote entrenatzailea bere amari deskribitzeko Al niño le han pedido que describa el entrenador a su madre The kid was asked to describe the manager to his mother.</p>
(TI29a)	<p><i>Gomendatu 'to recommend'</i> [FIN, FN, +DOM] Hutsik zeuan lanposturako lehendakarixak bere lobiari gomendatu dotsa lantegiko nagusixari Hutsik zegoen lanposturako lehendakariak bere ilobari gomendatu dio lantegiko nagusiar Para el puesto vacante, el presidente ha recomendado a su sobrino al jefe For the job vacancy, the president has recommended his nephew to the boss.</p>
(TI29b)	<p><i>Gomendatu 'to recommend'</i> [FIN, FN, -DOM] Hutsik zeuan lanposturako lehendakarixak bere lobia gomendatu dotsa lantegiko nagusixari Hutsik zegoen lanposturako lehendakariak bere iloba gomendatu dio lantegiko nagusiar Para el puesto vacante, el presidente ha recomendado su sobrino al jefe For the job vacancy, the president has recommended his nephew to the boss.</p>
(TI30a)	<p><i>Gomendatu 'to recommend'</i> [NON-FIN, DD, +DOM] Herriko abesbatzako zuzendarixak erabaki dau bere taldeko bakarlarixari Donostiako Orfeoari gomendatzia Herriko abesbatzako zuzendariak erabaki du bere taldeko bakarlarari Donostiako Orfeoari gomendatzea El director del coro del pueblo ha decidido recomendar al solista de su grupo al Orfeón Donostiarra The director of the town's choir has decided to recommend the lead singer of his group to the Orfeón Donostiarra.</p>
(TI30b)	<p><i>Gomendatu 'to recommend'</i> [NON-FIN, DD, -DOM] Herriko abesbatzako zuzendarixak erabaki dau bere taldeko bakarlarixa Donostiako Orfeoari gomendatzia Herriko abesbatzako zuzendariak erabaki du bere taldeko bakarlarria Donostiako Orfeoari gomendatzea El director del coro del pueblo ha decidido recomendar el solista de su grupo al Orfeón Donostiarra The director of the town's choir has decided to recommend the lead Singer of his group to the Orfeón Donostiarra.</p>
(TI31a)	<p><i>Proposatu 'to propose'</i> [FIN, DD, +DOM] Behin castinga amaitxuta arduradunak dantzariari proposatu dotsa musikalaren zuzendarixari Behin castinga amaituta arduradunak dantzariari proposatu dio musikalaren zuzendariari Una vez finalizado el casting, el encargado del casting ha propuesto al bailarín al director del musical Once the casting was over, the casting director has recommended the dancer to the musical director.</p>
(TI31b)	<p><i>Proposatu 'to propose'</i> [FIN, DD, -DOM] Behin castinga amaitxuta arduradunak dantzaria proposatu dotsa musikalaren zuzendarixari Behin castinga amaituta arduradunak dantzaria proposatu dio musikalaren zuzendariari Una vez finalizado el casting el encargado del casting ha propuesto el bailarín al director del musical Once the casting was over, the casting director has recommended the dancer to the musical director.</p>

(TI32a)	<p><i>Proposatu 'to propose' [NON-FIN, FN, +DOM]</i> Alkatiak laguntzaile bat biar dabenez kultura zinegotzixari bururatu jako bere semiari alkatiari proposatzia Alkateak laguntzaile bat behar duenez kultura zinegotziari bururatu zaio bere semeari alkateari proposatzea Como el alcalde necesita un ayudante, al concejal de cultura se le ha ocurrido proponer a su hijo al alcalde Because the mayor is in need of a helper, the councillor of culture has come up with the idea to propose his son to the mayor.</p>
(TI32b)	<p><i>Proposatu 'to propose' [NON-FIN, FN, -DOM]</i> Alkatiak laguntzaile bat biar dabenez kultura zinegotzixari bururatu jako bere semia alkatiari proposatzia Alkateak laguntzaile bat behar duenez kultura zinegotziari bere semea alkateari proposatzea bururatu zaio Como el alcalde necesita un ayudante, al concejal de cultura se le ha ocurrido proponer su hijo al alcalde Because the mayor is in need of a helper, the councillor of culture has come up with the idea to propose his son to the mayor.</p>

ii) Caused possession

(TI33a)	<p><i>bueltatu 'to return' [FIN, FN, +DOM]</i> Atzo Jonen aitxixa galdu in zan ta gaur goizian poliziak aitxixari onik bueltatu dotsa familixari Atzo Joneren aitita galdu zen eta gaur goizean poliziak aititari onik bueltatu dio familiari Ayer el abuelo de Jone se perdió y esta mañana la policía ha devuelto al abuelo a la familia en buenas condiciones Yesterday, Jone's grandfather got lost and this morning the police brought the grandfather back to the family safe and sound.</p>
(TI33b)	<p><i>bueltatu 'to return' [FIN, FN, -DOM]</i> Atzo Jonen aitxixa galdu in zan ta gaur goizian poliziak aitxixa onik bueltatu dotsa familixari Atzo Joneren aitita galdu zen eta gaur goizean poliziak aitita onik bueltatu dio familiari Ayer el abuelo de Jone se perdió y esta mañana la policía ha devuelto el abuelo a la familia en buenas condiciones Yesterday, Jone's grandfather got lost and this morning the police brought the grandfather back to the family safe and sound.</p>
(TI34a)	<p><i>bueltatu 'to return' [NON-FIN, DD, +DOM]</i> Adopzinuan arazuak diala ta nere lagunak erabaki dau mutikuari bere gizarte laguntzaileei bueltatzia Adopzioan arazoak direla eta nire lagunak erabaki du mutikoari bere gizarte laguntzaileei bueltatzea Por problemas en la adopción mi amiga ha decidido devolver al niño a sus asistentes sociales Because of problems during the adoption process, my friend has decided to return the child to his social workers.</p>
(TI34b)	<p><i>bueltatu 'to return' [NON-FIN, DD, -DOM]</i> Adopzinuan arazuak diala ta nere lagunak erabaki dau mutikua bere gizarte laguntzaileei bueltatzia Adopzioan arazoak direla eta nire lagunak erabaki du mutikoa bere gizarte laguntzaileei bueltatzea Por problemas en la adopción mi amiga ha decidido devolver el niño a sus asistentes sociales Because of problems during the adoption process, my friend has decided to return the child to his social workers.</p>
(TI35a)	<p><i>eman 'to give' [FIN, FN, +DOM]</i> Tia ta tio hil in dia ta epailiak/juezak nere lehengusuari amamari emon dotsa Izeko eta osaba hil dira eta epaileak nire lehengusuari amamari eman dio Mis tíos se han muerto y el juez le ha dado a mi primo a la abuela My uncles have died and the judge has given my cousin to the grandmother.</p>
(TI35b)	<p><i>eman 'to give' [FIN, FN, -DOM]</i> Tia ta tio hil in dia ta epailiak/juezak nere lehengusua amamari emon dotsa Izeko eta osaba hil dira eta epaileak nire lehengusua amamari eman dio Mis tíos se han muerto y el juez le ha dado mi primo a la abuela My uncles have died and the judge has given my cousin to the grandmother.</p>

(TI36a)	<p><i>eman</i> 'to give' [NON-FIN, DD, +DOM] Etixerik ez zekanez, poliziak erabaki dau nerabiari tutore bati emotia Etixerik ez zuenez, poliziak erabaki du nerabeari tutore bati ematea Como no tenía casa, la policía ha decidido dar al adolescente a un tutor Because he did not own a house, the police have decided to give the teenager to a tutor.</p>
(TI36b)	<p><i>eman</i> 'to give' [NON-FIN, DD, -DOM] Etixerik ez zekanez, poliziak erabaki dau nerabia tutore bati emotia Etixerik ez zuenez, poliziak erabaki du nerabea tutore bati ematea Como no tenía casa, la policía ha decidido dar el adolescente a un tutor Because he did not own a house, the police have decided to give the teenager to a tutor.</p>
(TI37a)	<p><i>lapurtu</i> 'to steal' [FIN, DD, +DOM] Mercedeseko jefiak ingenieruari ostu dotsa Ferrariko jefiari Mercedeseko nagusiak ingeniariari lapurtu dio Ferrariko nagusiari El jefe de Mercedes ha robado al ingeniero al jefe de Ferrari Mercedes' CEO has stolen the engineer from Ferrari's CEO.</p>
(TI37b)	<p><i>lapurtu</i> 'to steal' [FIN, DD, -DOM] Mercedeseko jefiak ingenierua ostu dotsa Ferrariko jefiari Mercedeseko nagusiak ingeniaria lapurtu dio Ferrariko nagusiari El jefe de Mercedes ha robado el ingeniero al jefe de Ferrari Mercedes' CEO has stolen the engineer from Ferrari's CEO.</p>
(TI38a)	<p><i>lapurtu</i> 'to steal' [NON-FIN, FN, +DOM] Urte askoren ostian Loreak lortu dau senarrari bere lagunik onenari ostutzia/lapurtzia Urte askoren ostean Loreak lortu du senarrari lapurtzea bere lagunik onenari Después de mucho tiempo, Lorea ha conseguido robarle al marido a su mejor amiga After a long time, Lorea has managed to steal away the husband from her best friend.</p>
(TI38b)	<p><i>lapurtu</i> 'to steal' [NON-FIN, FN, -DOM] Urte askoren ostian Loreak lortu dau senarra bere lagunik onenari ostutzia/lapurtzia Urte askoren ostean Loreak lortu du senarra lapurtzea bere lagunik onenari Después de mucho tiempo Lorea ha conseguido robarle el marido a su mejor amiga After a long time, Lorea has managed to steal away the husband from her best friend.</p>
(TI39a)	<p><i>saldu</i> 'to sell' [FIN, DD, +DOM] Dirua biar ginuanez aitxak gure etxeko morroiari saldu dotsa herriko jauntxoari Dirua behar genuenez gure aitak gure etxeko morroiari saldu dio herriko jauntxoari Como necesitábamos dinero, mi padre ha vendido a nuestro esclavo al señor del pueblo Because we were in need of money, my father has sold our slave to the town's lord.</p>
(TI39b)	<p><i>saldu</i> 'to sell' [FIN, DD, -DOM] Dirua biar ginuanez aitxak gure etxeko morroia saldu dotsa herriko jauntxoari Dirua behar genuenez gure aitak gure etxeko morroia saldu dio herriko jauntxoari Como necesitábamos dinero, mi padre ha vendido nuestro esclavo al señor del pueblo Because we were in need of money, my father has sold our slave to the town's lord.</p>
(TI40a)	<p><i>saldu</i> 'to sell' [NON-FIN, FN, +DOM] Gerra garaian ez da bape rarua pertsona batek bere anaixari etsaiari saltzia Gerra garaian ez da batere arraroa pertsona batek bere anaixari etsaiari saltzea En tiempos de guerra no es nada raro que una persona venda a su hermano al enemigo During wartime, it is not rare that some people sell their brother to the enemy.</p>
(TI40b)	<p><i>saldu</i> 'to sell' [NON-FIN, FN, -DOM] Gerra garaian ez da bape rarua pertsona batek bere anaixa etsaiari saltzia Gerra garaian ez da batere arraroa pertsona batek bere anaixa etsaiari saltzea En tiempos de guerra no es nada raro que una persona venda su hermano al enemigo During wartime, it is not rare that some people sell their brother to the enemy.</p>

iii) Caused motion

(TI41a)	<p><i>bidali</i> 'to send' [FIN, DD, +DOM] Eskolako egoeria konpontzeko zentroko zuzendarixak inspektoriari bidali dotsa irakasliari Eskolako egoera konpontzeko zentroko zuzendariak inspektoreari bidali dio irakasleari Para solucionar la situación de la escuela, el director del centro ha mandado al inspector al profesor To solve the school's situation, the principal has sent the school inspection to the teacher.</p>
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(TI41b)	<p><i>bidali</i> 'to send' [FIN, DD, -DOM] Eskolako egoeria konpontzeko zentroko zuzendarixak inspektoria bidali dotsa irakasliari Eskolako egoera konpontzeko zentroko zuzendariak inspektorea bidali dio irakasleari Para solucionar la situación de la escuela el director del centro ha mandado el inspector al profesor To solve the school's situation, the principal has sent the school inspection to the teacher.</p>
(TI42a)	<p><i>bidali</i> 'to send' [NON-FIN, FN, +DOM] Klasian txarto portau danez irakasliak erabaki dau nere ahizpari zuzendarixari bidaltzia Klasean txarto portatu denez, irakasleak erabaki du nire ahizpari zuzendariari bidaltzea Como se ha portado mal en clase, la profesora ha decidido mandar a mi hermana al director Since she was misbehaving in class, the teacher has decided to send my sister to the principal.</p>
(TI42b)	<p><i>bidali</i> 'to send' [NON-FIN, FN, -DOM] Klasian txarto portau danez irakasliak erabaki dau nere ahizpa zuzendarixari bidaltzia Klasean txarto portatu denez, irakasleak erabaki du nire ahizpa zuzendariari bidaltzea Como mi hermana se ha portado mal en clase, la profesora ha decidido mandar mi hermana al director Since she was misbehaving in class, the teacher has decided to send my sister to the principal.</p>
(TI43a)	<p><i>bota</i> 'to throw' [FIN, FN, +DOM] Sutean ama leihora hurbildu da eta alabari aitxari bota dotsa ez erretzeko Sutean ama leihora hurbildu da eta alabari aitari bota dio erre ez zedin En el incendio, la madre se ha acercado a la ventana y ha tirado a su hija a su padre para que no se quemara During the fire, the mother has gotten close to the window and has thrown her daughter to her father so she would not burn.</p>
(TI43b)	<p><i>bota</i> 'to throw' [FIN, FN, -DOM] Sutean ama leihora hurbildu da eta alabia aitxari bota dotsa ez erretzeko Sutean ama leihora hurbildu da eta alaba aitari bota dio erre ez zedin En el incendio, la madre se ha acercado a la ventana y ha tirado su hija a su padre para que no se quemara During the fire, the mother has gotten close to the window and has thrown her daughter to her father so she would not burn.</p>
(TI44a)	<p><i>bota</i> 'to throw' [NON-FIN, DD, +DOM] Negar besterik itxen ez zebanez, medikuak jaioberrixari erizainari botatzia erabaki dau Negar besterik ez zuenez egiten, medikuak jaioberriari erizainari botatzea erabaki du Como no hacía más que llorar, el médico ha decidido lanzarle al niño a la enfermera. As she kept crying, the doctor decided to throw the baby to the nurse.</p>
(TI44b)	<p><i>bota</i> 'to throw' [NON-FIN, DD, -DOM] Negar besterik itxen ez zebanez, medikuak jaioberrixa erizainari botatzia erabaki dau Negar besterik ez zuenez egiten, medikuak jaioberria erizainari botatzea erabaki du Como no hacía más que llorar, el médico ha decidido lanzarle el niño a la enfermera. As she kept crying, the doctor decided to throw the baby to the nurse.</p>
(TI45a)	<p><i>eraman</i> 'to carry' [FIN, FN, +DOM] Osatzeko aukeraren bat euki ahal dabelakuan aitxixak amamari herriko sorginari eruan dotsa Sendatzeko aukeraren bat izan dezakeelakoan aititek amamari herriko sorginari eraman dio Pensando que pudiera tener alguna opción de curarse, mi abuelo ha llevado a mi abuela a la bruja del pueblo Hoping she would have a chance of recovering, my grandfather has taken my grandmother to the town's witch doctor.</p>
(TI45b)	<p><i>eraman</i> 'to carry' [FIN, FN, -DOM] Osatzeko aukeraren bat euki ahal dabelakuan amama herriko sorginari eruan dotsa Sendatzeko aukeraren bat izan dezakeelakoan aititek amama herriko sorginari eraman dio Pensando que pudiera tener alguna opción de curarse mi abuelo ha llevado mi abuela a la bruja del pueblo Hoping she would have a chance of recovering, my grandfather has taken my grandmother to the town's witch doctor.</p>
(TI46a)	<p><i>eraman</i> 'to carry' [NON-FIN, DD, +DOM] Ospitaleko arduradunek erabaki dabe pailazuari ume gaixuei hilero eruatia Ospitaleko arduradunek erabaki dute pailazoari ume gaixoei hilero eramatea Los responsables del hospital han decidido llevar al payaso a los niños enfermos todos los meses The managers of the hospital have decided to take the clown to the sick children every month.</p>

(TI46b)	<p><i>eraman</i> 'to carry' [NON-FIN, DD, -DOM] Ospitaleko arduradunek erabaki dabe pailazua ume gaixuei hilero eruatia Ospitaleko arduradunek erabaki dute pailazoa ume gaixoei hilero eramatea Los responsables del hospital han decidido llevar el payaso a los niños enfermos todos los meses The managers of the hospital have decided to take the clown to the sick children every month.</p>
(TI47a)	<p><i>hurbildu</i> 'to bring (closer)' [FIN, DD, +DOM] Galtzagorritz jantzitako laguntzailiak umiari hurbildu dotsa Olentzerori Galtzagorritz jantzitako laguntzaileak umeari hurbildu dio Olentzerori El ayudante vestido de duendecillo ha acercado al niño a Olentzero The helper dressed as an elf has brought the kid closer to Olentzero.</p>
(TI47b)	<p><i>hurbildu</i> 'to bring (closer)' [FIN, DD, -DOM] Galtzagorritz jantzitako laguntzailiak umia hurbildu dotsa Olentzerori Galtzagorritz jantzitako laguntzaileak umea hurbildu dio Olentzerori El ayudante vestido de duendecillo ha acercado el niño a Olentzero The helper dressed as an elf has brought the kid closer to Olentzero.</p>
(TI48a)	<p><i>hurbildu</i> 'to bring (closer)' [NON-FIN, FN, +DOM] Kontzertuan Mirenek anaixa besoetan hartu dau baina ez dau lortu bere anaixari abeslarixari hurbiltzia Kontzertuan Mirenek neba besoetan hartu du baina ez du lortu bere nebari abeslariari hurbiltzea Miren ha cogido a su hermano en brazos en el concierto, pero no ha conseguido acercar a su hermano al cantante Miren has held her brother in her arms during the concert, but she has not managed to get her brother closer to the singer.</p>
(TI48b)	<p><i>hurbildu</i> 'to bring (closer)' [NON-FIN, FN, -DOM] Kontzertuan Mirenek anaixa besoetan hartu dau baina ez dau lortu bere anaixa abeslarixari hurbiltzia Kontzertuan Mirenek neba besoetan hartu du baina ez du lortu bere neba abeslariari hurbiltzea Miren ha cogido a su hermano en brazos en el concierto pero no ha conseguido acercar su hermano al cantante Miren has held her brother in her arms during the concert, but she has not managed to get her brother closer to the singer.</p>

Appendix 3: Statistics¹³

Statistical analyses were conducted in R version 1.0.136 using the lme4 package (Bates et al. 2015) to perform linear mixed-effect models (LMEM) with the score as outcome variable. As fixed effects, we entered DOM, Language Dominance and Group into the model. As random effects, we had intercepts for subjects and items. The DOM *yes* condition, the Language Dominance *balanced* (*b*) condition and the Group *high* condition were mapped onto the intercept. To identify the best model fit we performed likelihood ratio tests. This revealed that the full model with a three-way interaction affected the acceptance rate ($\chi^2(7) = 300.04, p < .001$).

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value
(Intercept)	4.8622	0.1825	26.649
DOM <i>no</i>	0.4643	0.1685	2.756*
Group <i>low</i>	-2.7205	0.2403	-11.321*
Language Dominance <i>mB</i>	-0.6124	0.3283	-1.865
Language Dominance <i>mS</i>	0.6238	0.3666	1.702
DOM <i>no</i> : Group <i>low</i>	2.2720	0.1662	13.670*
DOM <i>no</i> : Language Dominance <i>mB</i>	0.5910	0.2282	2.590*
DOM <i>no</i> : Language Dominance <i>mS</i>	-0.3510	0.2540	-1.382
DOM <i>no</i> : Language Dominance <i>mS</i>	-0.9420	0.3017	-3.123*
Group <i>low</i> : Language Dominance <i>mB</i>	0.8688	0.4199	2.069*
Group <i>low</i> : Language Dominance <i>mS</i>	-1.5992	0.7033	-2.274*
Group <i>low</i> : Language Dominance <i>mS</i>	-2.4680	0.7472	-3.303*
DOM <i>no</i> : Group <i>low</i> : Language Dominance <i>mB</i>	-0.7029	0.2909	-2.416*
DOM <i>no</i> : Group <i>low</i> : Language Dominance <i>mS</i>	0.9961	0.4873	2.044*
DOM <i>no</i> : Group <i>low</i> : Language Dominance <i>mS</i>	1.6990	0.5191	3.273*

Factors: DOM: yes vs. no; Language Dominance: b vs. mB vs. mS; Group: high vs. low (due to acceptance of DOM). * t-values greater than 2 and less than -2 are considered significant. For the comparison between Language Dominance mB and mS the intercept was mapped onto the mB condition (in bold).

¹³ We gratefully acknowledge that Elyesa Seidel provided us with the statistics.