# ANUARIO DEL SEMINARIO DE FILOLOGIA VASCA "JULIO DE URQUIJO"

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# Fokalizazioa: hurbilpen teorikoa eta zenbait aplikapen euskal narratiban

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## Abstract

*The objective of this article is basically two-fold. In the first place to highlight the evolution that has taken place in, what has been so far called, "the narrative point of view" (or Focalization) within the Theory of literature and literary Criticism and, in the second place, after studying different relevant works in the present Basque Literature, to apply it to* 100 meter *(1976) by Ramón Saizarbitoria, one of the novels considered to be original and breaking away from the trend in our too young Basque narrative literature.*

*As for above mentioned first objective, the abundance of terminologies used to describe this aspect of the narrative text and the amount of different existing approaches to the subject have strongly induced the descriptive nature of this article. In this sense, we can say that from the "Critical prefaces" by Henry James to the latest criticism written, after* Figures III *(1972) by Gérard Genette in the field of present day narrative literature, have enabled a more rigorous and systematic approach to the subject. However, as we have stressed all along the article, all these approaches to the problem of Focalization have "focused" on the problem with too an "inherent" point of view without considering the pragmatic aspect of all literary work. That is why, as a conclusion, it would be interesting to consider the contributions by S. Rimmon-Kenan, S. Sniader Lanser, and path-markers such as Boris Uspensky, who, basing their approach on the semiotic nature of Focalization, have tried to propose a model which takes into account the different characteristics of narrative literature.*

## 0. Sarrera*

> "Gauzak hola, kontua ez duk, hainbeste, istorio bat asmatzea",
> —borobildu zuen nire lagunak—. "Egia esan, istorioak sobera ere
> bazeudek. Kontua duk egilearen begirada, bere ikuspundua".
> (*Obabakoak* 1988: 222)

Aipu horretan dakusagunez liburuko azken atalean protagonista (iloba) "bapatean" ikuspuntuak istorioak kontatzerakoan duen pisuaz jabetzen da. Alabaina 'ikuspuntuaz' hitzegitea bai eguneroko bizitzan edo bai literatur teoria-kritikaren espa-

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rruan adiera gehien eduki dezakeen kontzeptu batez hitzegitea da. Argi dago, lehe-
nik eta behin, "kokagune" bat adierazten duela, zerbait ikusterakoan hartzen dugun
posizioa.

Baina "ikustea" pertzeptzio modu bat denez, aldezaurretikako gure mundu-ikus-
kerak, eta errealiateaz eduki ditzakegun ezagutza desberdinek baldintzatzen dute.
Konplexutasun hori hizkerak, eta gure kasuan Literaturak bereganatzen ditu.

Genette-ren iritziz, arazo tekniko hau "...la plus fréquement étudiée depuís la fin
de XIX siécle..." izan da baina lan honetan azaltzen saiatuko garenez, egin diren sail-
kapen eta ikerketa desberdinek arazo berak hartu dituzte kontutan.

Bibliografia ugaritasun horren arrazoia kontzeptu beraren nolakotasunean legoke-
ela uste dugu. Zentzu honetan, narrazio testuetan bereiz ditzakegun beste elemen-
tuak (istorioa, pertsonaiak,...) askoz ere zehazgarriagoak eta horregatik finkagarria-
goak dira (nahiz eta jakin badakigun nobelagintza modernoan elementu guzti horiek
auzitan jartzen direla). "Ikuspuntu" edo "fokalizazioak" erlazio bat adierazten du, en-
titate bat baino gehiago, eta hau dela eta "helgaitzagoa" dela ere esan daiteke.

Gehienetan "narratzaileak narratzen duenarekiko duen erlazio-mota" gisara defi-
nitu izan den kontzeptu honen azterketak XIX. mendean nobelaren inguruan sortuko
diren zenbait eztabaida literariotan du bere hasiera. Narrazio perspektibaren arazoa
errealismo-objetibismoaren arazoarekin loturik zekusaten zenbait kritikarik (H. Ja-
mes, P. Lubbock, Spielhagen,...) eta kontaketa mota "dramatikoa" deitu izan zenaren
defentsa bortitza agindu bilakatu zen garaiko nobelagile askorentzat.

Aristotelerengandik zetorren "mimesi" kontzeptu horren babesean XIX. mendeko
kritikari gehienek "errealitatearen ilusio"aren izenean 'hirugarren pertsonan kontatu-
tako kontzientzia' teknikaren alderdi onak erakusten saiatu ziren.

Alabaina "showing/telling" bikotearekin zerikusia duen eztabaida honetako par-
taideak dogmatikoegiak izan ziren eta iritzi hauen kontrako jarrerak laster agertu zi-
ren (W. C. Booth, E. M. Forster, Käte Friedemann,...).

Horrelako sorrera zalapartatsu baten ondoren gauzak gehiago baretu dira eta ara-
zo honi buruzko ikerketak beste esparru batean egiteari ekin zaio. Zentzu honetan,
deigarri suertatzen da sailkapenek edukiko duten indarra aztertzea. Batzu aipatzeko-
tan, N. Friedman, Brooks & Warren, F. K. Stanzel,... eta hainbatek arazo tekniko ho-
netatik abiatuz egindakoak gogora ditzakegu.

Baina esan daiteke Frantzian 60. hamarkada inguruko kritikarien lanek bultzada
handia emango diotela arazoari. Kritika estrukturalistaren esparru honetan 1972an
Gerárd Genette-k argitaraturiko *Figures III* liburuak aurrerapausu handia emango
du. Ordurartean egindakoaren laburpena egin ondoren sailkapen guztiek oinarrian
zuten nahasketa salatuko du: narratzaileari zegozkion arazoak ('Nork kontatzen du
istorioa?' galderari erantzuten diotenak) eta zehazki ikuspuntuari zegozkionak
('Nork dakusa?' galderari erantzuten diotenak) ez bereiztetik zetorrena.

Horrekin batera "ikuspuntua"ren definizio zehatz bat ematen saiatuko da, jada-
nik kontzeptu honen adiera murriztuagoa definitzeko fotografia eta zinematik dato-
rren "fokalizazioa" terminua egokiagotzat joaz. Ondorioz, narratologia (narrazioen
azterketa estruktural gisara definitua) deiturikoan Genette-ren lanaren oihartzuna
itzela izango da, eta bertan sortuko diren eztabaidek frantziarraren teoriaren berri-

kustapen interesgarriena egingo duen Mieke Bal kritikari holandarraren lana sortuko dute.

Gauzak horrela, aipatu bi kritikarien teorien aldeko/kontrako lanak ugarituz doaz, "fokalizazioa" aztertzeko dauden bi paradigma desberdinetan ondorengo lanak sortuz. Gaur egun, Mieke Bal-en planteiamenduen pisua nabarmenagoa bada ere (Cordesse 1988, Vitoux 1982, Rimmon 1988, Reisz de Rivarola 1986), Genette-ren teoriak indarrean dirau beste askorentzat (hala nola, "fokalizazio"aren teoria zinemagintzara aplikatu denean Jost 1983 eta hainbatek egindako lanetan).

Alabaina, eta gure lanean azaltzen saiatuko garenez, narratologiaren esparruan egindako lan horien emaitzen kritikaririk ere sortu da, eta kritika hauen sorrera "ikuspuntu" hitzaren haserako definizioan bertan legoke: ikuspuntua gauzak perzibitzerakoan hartzen dugun kokaguneaz gain, pertzeptzio hori baldintzatzen duten gure aurreusteek (munduarekiko ezaguerek, sinesmenek, aurreko esperientziek,...) osatzen dute.

Hori horrela izanik ere, aipatu ditugun narratologo horien lanetan "ikuspuntu" edo "fokalizazioa" alderdi tekniko soil batetik ikusten zen: pertzeptzio gunea definitzen duen fokoaren mugimendu desberdinak azaltzen saiatzetik zetorrenetik, eta hau dela eta kritikari askok abiapuntu berrien beharra aldarrikatuko dute.

Boris Uspensky (1973) kritikari errusiarraren lanaren berrikuspena izan da, seguraski, narratologiaren eremu estutik irteteko aukerarik oparoena. Bere lanean ikuspuntua (ez du *fokalizazio* hitza erabiltzen) alderdi psikologiko, pertzeptibo (berak denbora-espaziozko ikuspuntua deituko duena) fraseologiko eta ideologiko batetik aztertzen da. Rimmon (1983), Pozuelo Yvancos (1988a) eta hainbat kritikariren lanek errusiarraren teoriek gerora eduki duten pisua adierazten digute.

Luze bezain korapilatsua izan da arazo hori buruzko lanetan jorratutako bidea. Dena dela, bada gure ustez arazo honetan oraindik gehiegi aztertzeke dagoen abiapuntu berririk, eta maila batean 1961ean W. C. Booth kritikariak hasi zuena: ikuspuntu zehatz baten erabilerak irakurlearen testu-jabetze prozesu horretan duen eragina. Wolfgang Iser-ek noizbait "testu estrategia interesgarrienetakotzat" hartu zuen arazo honek "efektu estetikoa" delakoaren zehaztapenean duen eraginak azaltzeke dirau (S. Lanser-en 1981eko lana bideak urratzen saiatzen bada ere). Baina hurbilpen honen beharrari buruz azken kapituluan arituko garenez, lanaren norabidearen eskema izan nahi duen Sarrera hau amaitutzat jotzen dugu.

## I. Ikuspuntuari dagozkion lehenengo azterketak.
### Garaian ematen diren Filosofia eta Literaturgintzarekiko loturak.

XIX. mendean, 1870 inguruan emango den leherketa intelektual eta filosofikoak islada zuzena edukiko du literaturan Naturalismoa sortuz. Giro horretan sortutako nobelagintzaren eredu Zola izango da bere nobela esperimentalarekin.

Baina laster, XX. mendearen haseran positibismoak eta arrazionalismoak lur jotzearekin batera, nobelagintza dezimononikoak behea joko du. Errealitate berri honen aurrean denbora narratiboaren linealtasuna eta argumentu zehatz baten beharra hausten doazen bezala, narratzaile guztiahalduna desagertuz doa. Nietzsche-k iragarritako Jainkoaren heriotza nobelaren baitara hedatzen denean zenbait kritikarik

(Stanzel 1988: 125) "ikuspuntuaren sekularizazioa" deitu duena ekarriko dute ondoriotzat. Zentzu honetan adierazgarria da beranduago, 1939an Sartre-k Mauriac-i buruzko artikuluan zioena:

> [Mauriac] Ha elegido la omnisciencia y la omnipresencia divinas. Pero una novela la escribe un hombre para los hombres. Para la mirada de Dios, que atraviesa las apariencias sin detenerse en ellas, no existe la novela, no existe el arte, puesto que el arte vive de apariencias. Dios no es un artista, Mauriac tampoco.
> (Sartre 1985: I, 49)

Aurreko sinesmenekin apurtzen duen Erlatibismo berri hau maila guztietara hedatuz doa, eta horrela, zientzia mailan ere XIX. mendeko oinarri "sendoak" zalantzan jarriko dira. Joan den mendean zuten unibertsuaren irudia eta hau aztertzeko metodoak erabat aldatuko dira XX. mendean matematika eta logikan egingo diren ikerkurtza eta aurrerapenekin (Cantor, Frege, Russell, Gödel,...); baina, batez ere, fisika mailan emango da iraultzarik nabariena unibertsuaren kontzeptzio newtoniarra baztertzean. Einsteinek 1905-15 artean egingo dituen ikerkuntzen ondorio den erlatibitatearen teoriak mekanika klasikoaren oinarriak ikutuko ditu. Une honetatik aurrera zientziak bere baieztapen seguru eta tinkoa galduko du, aldagarria den zerbait izatera pasatuz; indeterminazioak ziurtasun positibista ordezkatuko duela esan daiteke.

Jadanik ezin da baieztatu teoria bat egia ala gezurra den, esan daitekeen gauza bakarra, Poincaré kimikoak dioenez, "baliagarria" zaigun ala ez da.

Halaber filosofiari dagokionez. Erlatibismo hori, "egia" bakar baten ukapen hori, korronte filosofiko desberdinetan gauzatzen da:

a) Marxismoa: gizarte bateko instituzio eta moralak ez dira berezkoak agintean dagoen klase sozialaren irudi baizik.

b) Fenomenologia: Disziplina deskriptiboa da. Espiritu kartesiarrak finkatutako arrazonamendu prozesuen kontrakoa. Sinesmen ororen aurretik ipiniz, emandakoa bakarrik du aztergai. Intuizioa ezaguerabide zilegizkotzat dauka.

d) Existentzialismoa eta Jaspersen bitalismoak sujetuaren garrantzia azpimarratzen dute.

e) Freud eta psikoanalisiak ordurarte ezezagunak ziren mundu eta grinak erakusten dizkigute.

Erlatibismoak dakarren jarrera epistemologiko berri honek XIX. mendeko sinesmen guztiak baztertzen ditu, eta literatura bere garai konkretuarekin loturik dagoenez (lotura horretan inongo morrontasun edo islada zuzenik baztertuz, alegia), XX. mende haseako literaturgintzan lehenago iragarritako aldaketak sortuko ditu. Albérès-ek dioen bezala,

> No existen un "Mundo real", ni psicológico, ni social ni de cualquier otra clase del que podamos sacar a fuer de fotógrafos expertos ciertos "clichés" objetivos e instructivos; lo único que hay en cada uno de nosotros es una especie de concurso de imágenes de las cuales iremos extrayendo mitos —individual o colectivamente— es decir, bandadas de representaciones caleidoscópicas, constantemente cambiantes, de una "realidad" imposible de captar. Esto supuesto, el arte consiste en barajar esas imágenes, en contrastarlas, en agitar el caleidoscopio...
> (Albérès 1971: 94)

Norberaren mundu "pertzeptzio"aren berezkotasunaren garrantzia dugu nobela-gintzan isladatuko dena, eta bereziki ikuspuntuari buruzko eztabaidak hasten dituen Henry James (1843-1916) idazle ifarramerikarraren lanetan. Honek, 1907-1909 ar-tean "Critical Prefaces" (*Hitzaurre kritikoak*) direlakoak egingo dizkie bere nobelei, eta hauetan "Post of observation" (*ikuspuntua*) delakoaz arituko da. Ikuspuntuaren garrantzia esplikatzerakoan "House of Fiction" (*Fikziozko Etxea*) irudia darabil *The Portrait of a Lady* (1880) nobelari egindako hitzaurrean: etxearen leihoetan pertsonaia desberdinak kanpoko gertaera bati begira daude. Bakoitza bestearengandik desberdi-na den heinean, eta kokagune guztiak ere berdinak ez diren neurrian, gauza desber-dinak dakuskite.

Halaber, H. James-ek bere "The art of Fiction" (1884) artikuluan nobelak litera-turan duen lekua definitu nahiko du. Artikulu honetan esaten digunez, tradizio "vic-toriar" batetik ihes egin nahi du Dickens eta Thackeray-k nobelaren formaz zuten kontzeptua "Näif" (mozoloa) bezala definituz. James-entzat nobela bizitzaz dugun inpresioa da, eta horregatik, inpresio hori sinesgarriagoa izan dadin narratzaileak pertsonaia baten ikuspuntutik kontatu behar du istorioa. "Kontzientzia gunea"k na-rratzaile orojakilea baztertuko du eta errealitatea gure begien bidez eskuratzen du-gun bezala, nobelan pertsonaiak bere begien bidez atzeman behar du errealitatea.

Horren arauera, errealismoa ez dago nobelaren gaian, tratamendu berezi batean baizik. René Wellek-ek dioen bezala (1983: 212-213) James-ekin "errealismo" kon-tzeptu aldaketa bat ematen da. Errealismo berri hau indibidualistagoa da, eta he-mendik aurrera, "Nobelagintza dezimononikoaren" ezaugarri zen narratzaile guztia-haldunak zuen jarrera boteretsua sinesgaitza gertatuko zaio irakurleari. Objetibismo-aren izenean inpertsonalitate osoa eskatuko zaio kontalariari, desagertzea, eta horregatik kontateknika desberdinen artean "showing" deiturikoa (kontaketa drama-tikoa) "telling" delakoa baino (kontaketa narratiboa) egokiagotzat joko da. Azken batean, Flaubert-en nobelagintza hobetsi egingo da (eta ez Balzac, Dickens,..... eta hainbatena).

Nobelagintzan "hirugarren pertsonan kontatutako kontzientzia gune" gisara defi-nituko den teknikaren erabilera dugu teoria horren ondoriorik zuzenena. Bestalde, planteiamendu hauen fruiturik interesgarrienak sortu zituen jarraitzaile (Percy Lub-bock, Friedrich Spielhagen) eta kontrakoen arteko (F. M. Forster, W. C. Booth) ezta-baidak izan ziren.

Dena dela, esan dezagun H. Jamesen lanek oihartzun eta ezagutza handiagoa lor-tuko dutela Europan 1943an bere jaiotzaren mendeurrena ospatzen denean.

Idazle konkretu bat gogoratzekotan aipa dezagun Proust. Jakina da Proust-ek Ja-mes ezagutu zuela, baina ezin daiteke esan elkarrekiko eragina zein mailatakoa izan zen. Hori horrela izanik ere, argi dago biek oinarri teoriko bera dutela sakonean: bi-zitza eta errealitatea kontzientzi baten arauera kontatzearen egokitasuna.

Puntu honekin bukatzeko H. Jamesen artikuluen ondorioz nobelagintzan gizaba-nakoaren perspektibak hartzen duen indarra arte mailan, eta bereziki pinturan ema-ten den garapenarekin alderatu nahiko genuke. Arte historiagileen eritziz XIX. men-de bukaerako Inpresionismoarekin perspektiba subjetiboranzko bira adierazgarria ematen da. E. H. Gombrich-ek dioenez, Inpresionismoa heltzearekin batera pintura-pertzeptzio eredu klasikoek porrot egiten dute, perspektiba indibidualagoa sortuz.

## Objetibismo berri baterantz: Behaviorismoaren isladak.

Frantziara itzuliz, jakina da Proust eta gero nobelagintza nahiko tradizionala egiten dela, argumentuaren indarrean oinarritutako nobelagintza, alegia. Nobela errealitatea isladatzeko bide bezala ulertzen dute honako idazle ezagun hauek: Gide, Colette (intimista eta kostunbristak), Mauriac eta Bernanos (katolikoak), Saint-Exupery, Malraux,...

Baina egoera horren aldaketa Bigarren Mundu Gerraren ondoren ifarrameriketako "Lost Generation" delakoaren barruan sartzen diren idazleen lanak itzultzen direnean hasten da. Aipatu taldeko idazleek 1920 inguru Europara emigratu zuten Parisen geldituz Gertrude Stein idazle amerikarraren inguruan. Ernest Hemingway eta John Dos Passos-i buruz ari gara batipat.

Idazle horiek errealitate berriak azalduko dizkigute beren obretan, hizkuntza oso kaletarra erabiliz zinearen eragina beren nobeletara barneratuko dute (plano aldaketak, travelling, flash-back, cross-up,... direlakoen erabileraz baliatuz).

Esan bezala, Bigarren Mundu Gerra eta gero aipatu idazle ifarramerikarren lanak itzultzearekin batera Frantzian literaturari buruzko, eta konkretuki teknika berriei eta ikuspuntu narratibo desberdinen baliabideari buruzko ikerlanak sortuko dira. Interesgarrienak aipatzekotan: C.E. Magny-ren *L'âge du roman américain* (1948), Sartre-ren *Situations I* (1947) eta *Situations II* (1948) eta Jean Pouillon-en *Temps et roman* (1946).

Aipatu liburuetan "ikuspuntu"aren garrantziaz eztabaidatzen da, baina batez ere idazle ifarrameriketarren nobeletan deigarriena gertatzen den ikuspuntu berriaz, "kontaketa behaviorista" deiturikoaz, azalpen ugari egiten da. Mende hasieran ematen zen aldaketa nabariena kontzientzia gune batetik abiatuz eraikitako fikzioaren idazketa bazen, orain, autore hauek idatzitakoaren bidetik, objetiboki behagarriak diren gertakizunak azalduko zaizkigu nobelan. Geroago "zine-kamara" edo "narrazio objetiboa" deitu izan den teknika honen oinarrian teoria konduktistaren ideiak ditugula ezin ukatu.

Dakigunez, psikologiako korronte honen oinarriak John B. Watson-ek (1878-1958) zehaztu zituen "Konduktismo Klasikoa" deiturikoa sortuz. Psikologismo guztiak baztertuz gizakion jokabide hutsa aztertuko du. Psikearen barrubizitza ukatzen du, eta gure jokabide guztiak estimulo batzuri emandako erantzun gisara ulertzen ditu. Orainartekoa Sartre-ren hitzetan laburbilduz:

> El novelista puede mostrarnos el curso íntegro de los acontecimientos a través de los ojos de sus personajes y, de esta forma, hacernos compartir sus límites de visión, la imperfección de sus puntos de vista, como sucede, por ejemplo, en el caso de Joyce o de Henry James, o puede retener por completo esta realidad subjetiva y psicológica, y ofrecernos tan sólo las acciones externas, las palabras y los gestos de sus personajes, a la manera de la novela "conductista" estadounidense de los años treinta, la novela de Hemingway o de Dashiel Hammet. (Simon 1984: 212)

Nobelaren baitan ematen den aldaketa hau J. Pouillon-en hitzetan azalduz: "Vision avec" (Narratzailea=Pertsonaia) batetik "Vision par dehors" (narratzailea<pertsonaia) batetara pasa garela esango genuke.

*"Ez dago objetibismorik objetibatze ekintza baino" (Heidegger)*

Ikuspuntuaren bilakaeran zehar egiten ari garen ibilbide honetan objetibismoaren hurrengo adibide nabarmeneraino iritsi gara: 'Nouveau Roman' deituriko mugimendura (nahiz eta jakin badakigun talde honetako partaide den J. Ricardou-k talde honetako idazleei buruz hitzegiterakoan ez duela "mugimendu" ez eta ere "eskola" izena inoiz onartu; horrelatsu Nathalie Sarraute-k ere bere *L'ere du soupçon* (1956) liburuan)[1].

Nouveau Roman-ek gutxi iraun bazuen ere (1954-60 arteko epea Albérès-en ustez) nobelagintzaren planteiamendu berri honek etekin izugarriak eman zituela esan behar. Merleau-Ponty-ren fenomenologiazko ideiak bere eginez, gizakiok munduan "egote" hori adierazi nahiko du nobelak. Sujetua ez dago berak dakusan munduaz bananduta. Sujetua-mundua arteko erlazioa ezinbestekoa da. Zentzu honetan ulerturik, "objetibitatea" (=inpartzialtasun osoa) ezinezkoa da:

> La objetividad en el sentido corriente del término —impersonalidad absoluta de la vista— es, a todas luces una quimera. Pero la libertad por lo menos debería ser posible, y tampoco lo es. A cada instante, retazos de cultura (psicología, moral, metafísica,... etc.) vienen a añadirse a las cosas, confiriéndoles un aspecto menos extraño, más comprensible, más tranquilizador. (Robbe-Grillet 1973: 24).

Nolanahi ere, ordurartean "objetibitate"az ulertzen genuenaz aldendu egiten garela onartu behar, erabateko objetibotasuna ukatuz.

Hori horrela izanarren, idazleak ahal duen "objetiboki"en jokatu behar du, horretarako bere esku dituen tresnez baliatuz. Ez du mundua esplikatu behar, azaldu baizik eta ondorioz "egote" huts hori eskeini behar dio irakurleari honek gero interpreta dezan:

> En lugar de ese universo de "significados" (psicológicos, sociales, funcionales) habría pues que intentar construir un mundo más sólido, más inmediato. Que sea ante todo por su presencia por lo que se impongan los objetos y los gestos, y que esa presencia siga luego dominando por encima de toda teoría explicativa que tratara de encerrarlas en un sistema cualquiera de referencia, sentimental, sociológico, freudiano, metafísico, etc. (Robbe-Grillet 1973: 27).

Objetuez inguraturiko mundu honetan objetuekiko gure erlazioaren bidez definituko gara. Ortegak nobelari buruz zituen ideiak errepikatuz "objetuak dauden lekuan, beraiei buruz hitzegitea alferrikakoa da". Mende erdialdeko nobelagintza berri honek, mende hasierako ifarramerikarren teknikak (kontaketa behaviorista, denbora aldaketak,...) bereganatuz, kontzientzia fenomenikoa isladatuko digu behin eta berriz beren nobeletan. Nathalie Sarraute, Michel Butor, Claude Simon-ekin batera talde honetako partaideetako den Alain Robbe-Grillet-ek Descartes-en baieztapena eraldatuz "banakusate beraz banaiz" baieztatuko du.

Horrela, kontzientzia fenomenikoaren luzapena eman dadin *begirada* izango da idazleek beren esku edukiko duten baliabidea (ez dezagun ahaz lehenengo momentu-

(1) Objetibismoaren kontzeptutik abiatuz nobelagintza desberdinen azalpen honetan alde batera utzi nahi izan dugu objetibismoa "filosofikoki" ulertzen duen nobelagintza mota bat: "errealismo sozial"a deiturikoa. Testimoniozko nobela hauetan (edo nobelagintza "konprometitua" ere deitu izan zaion honetan) nobelaren xedea salatu beharreko egoera sozial bat agertzea denez, mezuak berak duen pisuarengatik alderdi teknikoak, eta bide batez guri interesatzen zaiguna, ikuspuntuarena, bigarren maila batera pasatzen dira, eta zentzu honetan ez diote orain artean esandakoari berrikuntzarik eransten.

ko Nouveau Roman-i, hots, 50eko hamarkadan ematen denari "ècole du regard" dei-
tu zitzaiola).

Begiradak hutsunea ezabatzen du eta objetuak (*objectum*-en etimologia jarraituz,
kanpora botatakoa) bereganatzen ditu. Begirada beharrezkoa zaigu munduan gure
egoera definitzeko: "La relativa subjetividad de mi mirada me sirve precisamente pa-
ra definir mi situación en el mundo. Sencillamente, evito contribuir yo mismo a ha-
cer de esa situación una servidumbre" (Robbe-Grillet 1973: 87).

Alabaina bada kontutan hartu beharreko beste ezaugarri bat: objetu horiek nobe-
la tradizionalean barruko izaera baten adierazle baziren jadanik ez direla beste ezeren
ispilu izango. Horregatik narratzaileari ez dagokio errealitatearen mezu ezkuturik
aurkitzea, objetuen egoera hori azaltzea baino.

Azken finean, guzti honen ondoriorik bortitzena begiradaren, kontzientziaren he-
dapena dugu. *La Jalousie* (1957) nobelan dakusagunez, garrantzitsuena etengabe he-
datzen den begirada horren egonkortasuna dugu, ez sujetu beraren identitatea (na-
rratologoek arazo handiak dituzte nobela honetan fokoaren kokagunea, edo Bal-en
terminologian *fokalizatzailea* delakoa zehazteko).

Bestalde deigarriena, seguraski begirada sortzaile horren onarpenak suposatzen
duen bira dugu. Izan ere, begirada horren nolakotasuna, beste ezer baino lehenago
linguistikoa da. Hasera batean objetuetara iristeko bide gisara definitzen genuen
hau, azken batean dena bateratzen duen kontzientzia bilakatzen zaigu. Objetuekiko
hurbilpen horretan idazleak asmo horren ezintasuna isladatu digu nobelan. Hori ho-
rrela izanik, NR-eko nobeletan objetuak baino gehiago, objetu horiek bereganatzen
dituzten subjetibitateen presentziak somatzen ditugu. Sujetu/objetu binomioa gain-
dituz dena kontzientzia (=hizkuntza) bilakatu da:

> "(...) más allá del lenguaje no hay ya probablemente nada. El mundo "se hace
> en nosotros" y "se completa mediante la palabra, pues la palabra es Verdad: "Ver-
> dad cuando del acto de nombrar un objeto ella extrae el advenimiento del hom-
> bre" (Robbe-Grillet 1973: 122).

Hizkuntza, hizkuntzaren mugetatik ezin ateratzea, dena hizkuntza dela baiezta-
tzea, planteiamendu wittgensteiniarraren ondoriorik bortitzenera iritsi gara. Eta Vie-
nako homosexuala inoiz ixildu ez zen moduan, nobelan narratzaileak "begiratzen" ja-
rraituko du. Ez begiratuz "munduaz", "errealitate objetiboaz" jabe daitekeela pen-
tsatzen duelako (izan ere hizkuntzaren ahalmen "erreferentziala" aspaldian jarri bait
zen zalantzan), baizik eta etengabe isladatzen den kontzientzia horretan "izaten" se-
gitzen duelako[2].

Bukatzeko, esan dezagun "objetibismo" kontzeptuaren inguruan XIX. mende bu-
kaerako eztabaidetatik hasita XX. mendeko nobelagintzan zehar egin dugun ibilbide
honetan ikuspuntuaren auziak izan duen garrantzia azpimarratzen saiatu garela (no-
lanahi ere Bruce Morrissette-k esandakoa "Chaque modalité du point de vue renvoie
à une ontologie" (1962: 163) azaldu nahian). Ondoren alderdi tekniko honetaz kriti-

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(2) Errepresetazio modu klasikoaren kritika hau pintura mailan ere ematen da. Maila honetan oso interes-
garria da Michel Foucault-ek (1984) liburuaren lehenengo kapituluan Velazquez-en *Las meninas* (1656) koa-
droari buruz egiten duen gogoeta. Margolaria ez da jadanik bere koadroaren bidez ikusleon begietara zerbait
irudikatzen duena. Koadroa bera da errepresentazio horren muga bakarra.

kan ulertu izan dena azaltzen eta bere inguruan sorturiko teoria desberdinak aurkezten saiatuko gara.

## II. Ikuspuntuari buruzko teoria pre-genettiarrak.

Lehenago iragarri dugun bezala, Ikuspuntuari buruzko teoria desberdinen aurkezpena egin nahi genuke orain, bigarren kapitulu honen muga tituluan bertan adierazten dugularik: funtsean *Figures III* (1972) azaldu aurretiko lanez ihardungo garela esan behar.

Banaketa honen arrazoia dagoeneko sarreran ematen genuena litzateke: gaur egun onartua dago eta kritikari gehienek behin eta berriro hala azpimarratu dute (Culler 1986: 10, Rimmon 1988: 72 hh) Genette-ren hurbilpenak edukitako garrantzia.

Garrantzi hori ez datorkio ikuspuntuari buruzko azterketak eredu edo paradigma metodologiko sendoago batetan egiteagatik (estrukturalismoaren ildotik) bakarrik, ordurartean esandakoaren laburpen bat egin ondoren sailkapen guztiek oinarrian zuten nahasketa salatzeagatik baizik. Izan ere, Genette dugu lehenengoa *modua* eta *ahotsa,* hau da, ikuspuntuari dagozkion arazoak ('nork dakusa?' galderari erantzuten diotenak) eta narratzaileari dagozkionak ('nork narratzen du?) bereizten[3].

Bereizketa hori funtsezkoa bilakatuko da ondorengo ikerketetan eta ondorio zuzenena ikuspuntuari berari dagozkion arazoen azterketa serio eta sistematikoagoa litzateke.

Bestalde, ondoren aurkeztuko ditugun ikerlanen eskema argitzearren, esan dezagun beren jatorrizko lurraldea kontutan harturik banatu ditugula. Horrelako banaketa batek hasiera batetan zilegi ez badirudi ere, arrazoi desberdinen artean XIX. mende bukaeran eztabaidak hasi zirenetik mende honetako lehenengo hamarkaden bitartean tradizio bakoitzak bestearekin edukitako harreman urria aipa dezakegu (Rossum-Guyon 1970: 476). Halaber, azpimarragarria da tradizio guztiak ez direla neurri berean ezagutzera eman, eta batzuei buruzko (tradizio angloamerikarra, esate baterako) datu aberastasuna, besteekiko informazio urritasuna bihurtzen da.

### a) *Tradizio alemaniarra.*

Lehenengo eta behin, tradizio hau ezezagunegia zaigula esan behar dugu, eta horregatik, ondoren egingo dugun laburpen hau burutu ahal izateko Rossum-Guyon-en artikuluaz (ikus bibliografian) baliatu garela.

(3) Desberdintze honi buruz ohartxo bat egin beharrean aurkitzen gara. Izan ere jadanik Todorov-ek 1966ko artikuluan diskurtsuaren barruan hiru alderdi bereizten zituen: *denbora* (diskurtsuaren denboraren eta historiaren denbora arteko erlazioak), *aspektuak* (narratzaileak historia pertzibitzeko dituen modu desberdinen azterketa) eta *modua* (narratzaileak historia kontatzeko dituen "modu" desberdinen azterketa, edo beste hitzetan esateko pertsonaien/narratzailearen hitzen arteko harremana). Honi dagokionez Todorov genuke lehenengoa ikuspuntu/kontaketa moduak arteko desberdintasuna egiten. Baina autore honek beranduago idatziriko *Literatura y Significación* liburuan narrazio ororen alderdi hirukoitza: hitzezkoa, sintaktikoa eta semantikoa bereizi ondoren, lehenengoaren barruan (hitzezkoan) sartzen du ikuspuntuaren azterketa. Alabaina, Todorov-en bigarren lan honetan ikuspuntuaren barruan "narratzaile errepresentatua/narratzaile ez-errepresentatua" bereizketatik hasita narratzaile/pertsonaia arteko erlazioak (kanpo/barru) aztertu behar direla dio, ondoren narratzaileak narrazioaren unibertsuan duen presentzia handia/txikia neurtuz. Ikusi bezala, azken planteiamendu honetan ez dira esplizitoki ikuspuntuari eta narrazioari dagozkion alderdiak bereizten. Horregatik diogu, Genette dela 1972an ordurarteko oinarrizko nahasketa honen salakuntza egingo duen lehenengoa.

Ikuspuntuari buruzko lehenengo iruzkinak Friedrich Spielhagen-ek 1848-1898 urteetan argitaraturiko idazkietan aurki ditzakegu. Planteiamendu teoriko batetik abiatuz, nobelaren "Poetik"ari dagozkion ezaugarri desberdinak eztabaidatuko ditu kritikari honek, eta tradizio angloamerikarrean H. James bezala, objetibismoaren defendatzaile sutsu gisara agertuko da bere lanetan, "nobela poetikoa" izendatuko duena bilakatuz objetibismo hori aurrera eramateko kontamolderik egokiena.

Aipatu " nobela poetikoa"n autorea guztiz ezabatzen da, ez du inongo iruzkin eta aurkezpenik egiten eta pertsonaiei uzten die "hitzegiten" eta beren eritziak aurkezten (cf. James-en "showing" delakoa).

Kontamolde horri esker, nobelak "ilusio dramatiko"a lortzen du. Ondorengo autoreek (Friedmann, O. Walzel eta Käte Hamburger-ek batez ere) "ilusio" horren nolakotasuna definitu nahiko dute epiko/dramatiko kontzeptuen arteko desberdintasunetik abiatuz.

Bi kontzeptuen erkaketa horren bilakaera hemen aurkeztea luzeegia denez, bere ondorioak bederen azalduko ditugu. Horrela, narrazioaren ezaugarririk berezkoena "zeharkakoa" izatearena dela baieztatuko dute. Zeharkako izaera hori narratzaile batek kontatua izatetik datorkio.

Alde horretatik, ondorengo ikerlariek narratzailearen "agertze" mailak aztertzeari ekingo diotela esan behar. Funtsean W. Kayser-en lana interesgarria izango bada ere ez du "ikuspuntuari" buruz hitzegingo, narratzailea bilakatuko da bere ikerketen eginkizun bakar eta fikziozko izaera duen kontalari honi buruzko azterketa serioa aldarrikatuko du.

Narratzailearen "agertze" maila horiekin lotuz F. K. Stanzel-ek "egoera narratibo" desberdinak definitzeari ekingo dio 1955eko *Die typische erzahlsituationem im roman* liburuarekin.

Liburu horrek geroragoko argitalpenetan berrikuntza eta eranskin ugari ezagutu baditu ere (1979ko *Theorie des Erzälens* liburuan, 1982an bigarren argitalpenean berriro zuzendurik agertu zena) "egoera narratibo" desberdinen sistematizazio sujerentea egiten du.

Dorrit Cohn ikerlariak autore honen aportazioa ez dela inoiz kontutan hartu salatu du eta Genette-k berak 1983ko *Nouveau discours du récit* liburuan autore honen sailkapena interesgarritzat joko du, handik abiatuz aldaketa desberdinak proposatuz.

Stanzel-ek bere lehenengo liburuan hiru "egoera narratibo" desberdin bereiziko ditu:

a) 'Die auktoriale erzalhsituation' (kontaketa autoriala). Narratzaile orojakilea duten nobeletakoa (Norman Friedman-en orojakitasun editoriala-ren parekoa)

b) 'Die ich erzahlsituation', kasu honetan narratzailea pertsonaia bat da.

d) 'Die personale erzahlsituation": pertsonaia baten ikuspuntutik hirugarren pertsonan kontatutako errelatoak osatzen duena.

Dakusagunez, sailkapen hau ez dagokio ikuspuntuari hertsiki. Bestelako elementuak hartzen dira kontutan: narratzailea/pertsonaia-k kontatzen duen istorioa, narratzaileak dakiena,... Genette-k geroago kritikatu zuen bezala 2. eta 3. sailaren arteko desberdintasuna ez dagokio ikuspuntuari, narratzaileari baizik.

Lehenago aipatu dugun 1979ko liburuan egoera narratiboak hiru izatetik sei izatera pasatzen dira, ikuspuntuaren bereiztasun esplizitoagoa eginez. Baina bere teo-

rian kanpo/barru perspektibak besterik bereizten ez dituenez, eta bereizketa hau batipat Bal-en "kanpo/barru fokalizazioaren" pareko denez (Ikus Bal-i buruzko puntua) gehiegi ez luzatzea erabaki dugu.

### b) *Tradizio angloamerikarra*:

"Ikuspuntu" hitza goiz azaltzen bazaigu ere, (1866ko Uztailean, *British Quartely Review* delakoan XLIV. zenbakian, 43-44 orrialdeetan) Henry James idazlea izango da hitza teknikoki erabiltzen hasten dena.

Lan honen lehenengo kapituluan idazle honen ideien laburpena egin dugunez, ez gara bere planteiamenduen ondorio den "kontzientzia dramatizatua" kontzeptua errepikatzen hasiko. Alabaina bere ideien mezu nagusia gogora dezagun: narratzaile dezimononikoak istorioak kontatzerakoan ikuspuntu zeharo "artifiziala" zuen Jainko baten kokagunea hartzen zuela salatuko du. Horregatik, sinesgarritasunaren izenean, egokiagoa izango da fabulako pertsonaia baten ikuspuntutik istorioa kontatzea.

Esan bezala, Percy Lubbock izango da James-en teorien defendatzaile sutsuena. Honela dio 1921eko *The Craft of Fiction* liburuan:

> The whole intrincate question of the method in the Craft of fiction, I take to be goberned by the question of the point of view — the question of the relation in which the narrator stands to the story. (Lubbock 1921: 251)

Autore honek bi kontaketa mota bereizten ditu bosgarren kapituluan: modu *eszenikoa* ("Drama" James-en sisteman) eta modu *panoramikoa*. Lehenengoa hobetsiko du nobela ongien definitu eta mugatzen duen teknika dela kontsideratzeagatik:

> It is a question, I said, of the reader's relation to the writer; in one case the reader faces towards the story-teller and listens to him [kontaketa panoramikoa], in the other he turns towards the story and watches it. (Lubbock 1921: 111)

Esan dezagun interesgarria iruditzen zaigula aipu horretan irakurleari egiten zaion erreferentzia hori. Liburuaren zahartasuna kontutan harturik, gerora ikuspuntuari buruzko eztabaidetan maizegi ahaztu den alderdia izan bait da. Dena dela, erreferentzia horretaz gain dagoeneko ohartuak gara Lubbock-en baieztapen horietan ikuspuntua "narratze modu" desberdinei loturik azaltzen dela kontzeptuaren azterketari iluntasuna emanez.

Lubbock-en liburuari kronologikoki E. M. Forster-en *Aspects of the novel* (1927/1985: 84-88) darraikio, eta fikzioaren metodoan aztertu beharreko gauzarik garrantzizkoenetzat jotzen du ikuspuntu narratiboaren arazoa. Forster-en eritziz nobelagileak "perspektiba" desberdinak har ditzake:

– Pertsonaiaren kanpotik obserbatzaile partzial edo inpartzial modura jokatu.
– Orojakilea izan eta pertsonaiaren barrutik deskribatu gertaera guztiak.
– Pertsonaia batean bakarrik zentratu
– Erdibidea

Dakusagunez, berriro ere narratzaileari buruzko ezaugarriak (nor den narratzailea: pertsonaia/narratzailea, zein mailatan kokatzen den narratzaile hori, intradiegetikoa/extradiegetikoa den Genette-ren formulazioan, pertsonaia baten ikuspuntua ba-

du (barru fok.) finkoa ala anitza den....) hertsiki ikuspuntuari dagozkienekin nahastu egiten dira.

Nahasketa horretatik abiatuz "ikuspuntua" nobelagileak irakurlea harritzeko duen ahalmena dela adieraziko du. Ahalmen hori da Forster-entzat nobegileak bere esku duen baliabiderik interesgarriena, eta horregatik James eta Lubbock-ek narratzaileari eskatzen dioten etengabeko objetibotasun horren atzean dogmakeria dakusa. Forster-en eritziz, baliabide guztien artean momentuan interesgarriena iruditzen zaiona aukeratzeko askatasuna eduki behar du nobelagileak (jarrera bera defendatuko du 1961ean W. C. Booth-ek).

Ikuspuntuaren azterketan hurbilpen sistematikoagoa "New Criticism" delako korronte kritikoaren partaideen eskutik etorri zen. 30eko hamarkadan Estatu Batuetako hegoaldean (Vandervilt-eko Unibertsitatearen inguruan) sorturiko kritika berri hau ordurarteko kritika amerikarraren moralkeriaren aurka egongo da, ikerketa literarioetan objetibotasunaren beharra aldarrikatuz.

Zenbaiten eritziz korronte honen islada eta hedapena oso laburra izan bazen ere (Garcia Berrio 1973: 87) beren lanetan literatur testuekiko azaltzen duten hurbilpen inmanentea aurrerapausu garrantzitsua izango da garaiko kritikan. Zenbait izen aipatzekotan: J. C. Ramson, Allen Tate, Cleanth Brooks, Robert Penn Warren, K. Burke,... ditugu gogoragarrienak (Aullón de Haro 1984: 167). Aipaturiko idazleetatik bik, Cleanth Brooks eta Robert Penn Warren-ek, 1943an *Urderstanding Fiction* argitaratu zuten, eta bertan, ikuspuntu desberdinak azaltzen zituen taula hau proposatu zuten (ik. Genette 1972: 204).

|                                                      | Barrutik ikusitako ekintzak            | Kanpotik ikusitako ekintzak          |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Narratz. Fikzio barruko pertsonaia                   | a-heroiak bere hª kontatzen du         | b-lekuko batek heroiaren hª kontatzen du. |
| Narratz.ez da Fikzio barruko pertsonaia              | d-autore orojakile batek historia kontatzen du. | e-autoreak historia kanpotik kontatzen du |

Itxuraz honelako sailkapen egokiaren atzean erizpide desberdinak ezkutatzen dira (aurreko sailkapenenetan salatu dugun gisara), eta funtsean, sail bertikalak bakarrik legozkioke ikuspuntuaren arazoari. Dena dela, gure eritziz aipatu sailkapenean lehenengo aldiz planteiatzen den kanpo/barru dikotomia hori aurrerapausu handia izango da geroko sailkapenetan ardura gehiagoz aztertu ahal izateko.

Banaketa horiei kronologikoki Norman Friedman-en "Point of view in fiction" (1955) artikulua darraikie. Bertan fikzio barruan narratzailearen presentzia zein mailatakoa den zehazteko ikuspuntua zilegizko baliabidea dela baieztatuz (Friedman 1955: 1163).

Hortik abiatuz, eta James-ek "esan" (narratu:"telling") eta "adierazi" ("showing") artean nabarmendutako desberdintasuna kontutan hartuz, sailkapen zortzikoitza proposatuko du subjetibitate maila handienetik objetibitate maila handieneraino.

1) Orojakintza editoriala (iruzkinak egiten dituen narratzaile orojakilea)

2) Orojakintza neutrala (iruzkinik gabeko orojakintza)

3) Ni-lekukoa

4) Ni-protagonista

5) Orojakintza mugatu anitza (historia pertsonaia desberdinen ikuspuntutik abia- tuz antolatua dago, narratzailearen presentzia antzematen ez delarik).

6) Orojakintza mugatua (aurrekoaren berdina baina pertsonaia bakar baten ikuspuntura mugatua).

7) Kontaketa dramatikoa (eskenifikazioa)

8) Kamara (erabateko objetibotasuna).

Sailkapenaren aberastasuna begibistakoa da eta nobelagintza modernoaren konta- teknika desberdinen azalpen bat egiterakoan guztiz errentagarria izan daitekeela du- darik ez. Hori horrela izanik, adierazkorra da N. Friedman-en sailkapen honek egun oraindik duen onarpena eta, adibide bat aipatzekotan, Darío Villanuevak 1989an ar- gitaraturiko liburuan eredu honetaz baliatuz egiten duen azterketa aipa dezakegu.

Baina orokorki baliagarria den eredu honen atzean, zenbait kritikarik hala adiera- zi duen bezala, (Genette 1972: 205; Gnutzmann 1984: 120) abiapuntua ez da "ikus- puntu" desberdinen sailkapen bat eskeintzea, Stanzel-ek "egoera narratibo" deituri- koaren adibide desberdinak eskeintzea baizik (horretarako erizpide desberdinak era- biliz: pertsona gramatikala 1goa ala 3.a den, narratzailea pertsonaia bat den ala ez,...). Bestalde, Friedman-en 6. puntuan ikuspuntu kontzeptuari dagokion kontrae- sana ikusi izan da "orojakitasun" hitza erabiltzeagatik.

Eskuartean dugun arazoari hurbilpen berria eskeintzen diguna W. C. Booth dugu 1961eko *The Retoric of the Fiction* bere liburuarekin. Aipatu kritikari hau "Chicago- Critics" deituriko talde neoaristotelikoaren partaide dugu eta talde honetako partai- de askok bezala, ordurarteko ikerketen ez nahikotasuna salatuko du (talde honi bu- ruz ikus Aullón de Haro 1984: 167).

Aipatu liburuan, W. C. Booth-ek fikzioaren teknikaren berri eman nahi duela dio Sarreran. Ordurarteko sailkapenek deskribapenetan erabiltzen diren baliabide des- berdinen azalpena egiten bazuten ere, Booth-en eritziz ez zuten gauza garrantzitsu bat kontutan hartzen: baliabide guzi horiek idazleak irakurlearekin harremanetan jartzeko bere esku dituen tresna boteretsuak direla.

Bere emari interesgarrienetakoak bi kontzeptu berrien inguruan egindako oha- rrak izango dira. Batetik, autoreak narrazioaren aurrean duen *distantzia* (denboraz- koa, morala, intelektuala, fisikoa,...) aztertzeari ezinbestekoa deritzo, bestetik, horre- tarako lagungarri gertatuko den *autore inplizitoaren* kontzeptua proposatuko du (*ha- rreraren estetika*-n funtsezko bihurtuko den kontzeptua, hain zuzen). Autore errealaren "bigarren NI-a" gisara definitzen den hori ez da literatur testuan "gauza- tzen" (iruzkin edo honelako zati metanarratiboetan ezik), testuan gorpuzten den ins- tantzia bakarra narratzailea bait da, aitzitik, obra zehatz baten irakurketa gauzatu ahala irudikatzen dugu bigarren imajin hori.

Booth-ek zenbait nobelatan (Friedman-ek "orojakitasun autoriala" izendatutakoa) autoreak egiten dituen iruzkinen funtzioaren azterketa egiten du. Bere ustez honela- ko iruzkinetan "autore inplizito"aren "arauak" zeintzu diren isladatzen da. Aipatu kasuetan narratzailearen gainetik ipintzen den ahots batek (autore inplizitoarenak)

zenbait sujerentzia egiten dizkio gehienetan irakurleari ("irakurle inplizitoari" esango du beranduago W. Iser-ek) eta honelako iruzkinak ez direla gaitzetsi behar esango du. Adibide bat jartzekotan gogora dezagun Txomin Agirreren *Garoa*-n (1912) aurki daitekeen "autore inplizitoaren" iruzkinetako bat:

> Irakurlea: nik eztitut gauzatxo auek Ana Josepa makurtzeagatik ipintzen. Eztira orrenbesteko akatsak, etxekoandrea zan, ta etxekoandre danak egiten diote diruari ongietorri andia; ama zan, ta ama guztiak nai dute beren semeak gallurrik gallurrenean ikustea. (1966: 96)

Argi dago horrelako ohar baten bidez Txomin Agirreren itzala den "autore inplizitoak", irakurleak pertsonaia batez (Ana Josepaz hain zuzen) eduki dezakeen irudi eta eritzia berak nahi duen lekutik bideratu nahi duela. Etxekoandreei egozten dizkien "berezko" ezaugarri horiek alde batera utziz, horrelako pasarteak komenigarriak direla esango du Booth-ek obraren beraren ulergarritasuna edo irakurlearen "harrera" (kontzeptu berriago bat erabiltzekotan) auzitan dagoenean.

Ildo beretik, Booth-ek James eta bere jarraitzaleek "objetibotasunaren" izenean planteiatzen dituzten arauei desegokiak derizkie. Bere ustez, "pertsonaia baten ikuspuntutik" kontatutako istorioetan ("kontzientzia dramatizatua" delakoan) objetuak ez dira "naturalki" azaltzen, fikziozko lan batean dena, eduki guztiak, "narratzailearen" eskutik pasatzen bait dira. Horrezaz gain, "objetibotasun" hori azken muturrera eramaten denean ere beti dago narratzailearen ikutuaren beharra, "erretorika"ren (Booth-en hitzetan) beharra. Erretorikaren beharra ukatzea, irakurlea laberinto batean galtzera bultzatzea da:

> Todas las complicaciones de juicio que vimos en el último capítulo se combinan cuando el autor siguiendo el deseo de James de "gradaciones y superposiciones de efecto" que produzcan "una cierta abundancia de verdad" procura darnos la "visión turbia" de un pasaje "reflejada en la visión también bastante turbia" de un observador. (Booth 1974: 321)

Distantzia/autore inplizitoa dikotomia kontutan harturik narratzaile mota desberdinen sailkapen hau proposatzen du:

1) Narratzaile Dramatizatua: narratzailea istorioko pertsonaia bat denean:
    1.a Egilea (= protagonista denean)
    1.b Obserbatzaile edo lekukoa
2) Narratzaile ez-dramatizatua
3) Kontzientzi-gunea (James)
4) Narratzaile dramatizatu fidagarria (autore inplizitoaren arauekin bat datorrena)
5) Narratzaile dramatizatu ez-fidagarria (autore inplizitoaren arauekin ez datorrena bat)
6) Narratzaile konszienteak/ez konszienteak

Sailkapen honetan "ikuspuntua" kontutan hartzen ez bada ere, narratzailearen "ahotsak" har ditzakeen modu desberdinak antolatzen saiatu dela dio Booth-ek (1961: 142).

Hala eta guztiz ere, Booth-en sailkapen hori hemen ipini nahi izan dugu, objetibismoaren kontra gorago aipaturiko kritikez gain James-en aginduak jarraituz idaz-

leek "ez dutela moralki jokatu" salatzen duelako. Izan ere, kontateknika desberdinez ihardutean "morala" kontutan hartu beharreko puntua dela aldarrikatuko bait du:

> La narrativa impersonal ha creado dificultades morales demasiado a menudo para poder descartar las cuestiones morales como irrelevantes para la técnica (Booth 1974: 358).

Bukatzeko, esan dezagun aipatu baieztapenek Booth gaur egun onargarri ez diren zenbait ondoriotara eramaten badute ere (zenbait nobela moderno, adibidez, Joyce-ren *Portrait of an artist*, irakurlearen ulermena zailtasunez betetzen duten forma esi-bizio hutsa direla baieztatuz) gure ustez autore honen hurbilpenaren interesa dudae-zinezkoa da. "Kontzientzia dramatizatu" teknikaz egiten duen interpretapenari es-ker, ikuspuntu zehatz baten erabilerak irakurketan eduki dezakeen islada neurtzen saiatzen denean ordurarteko "sailkapen deskriptiboek" kontutan hartzen ez zuten al-derdi bat bere egiten duelako, ondorengo zenbait kritikariren lanetan berreskuratu-ko den joera bati hasera emanez (adibidez Lanser 1981, Rimmon 1988).

Tradizio angloamerikarraren barruan kapitulu honetako azken puntu bezala Ber-til Romberg-ek 1962an *Studies in Narrative Technique of the First Person Novel* liburuan eginiko sailkapena gogoratu nahiko genuke. Honek Stanzel-en 1955eko sailkapenari bat erantsiko dio, ondorioz kontaketa mota desberdinak honela gelditzen direlarik:

a) Autore orojakiledun narrazioa

b) Ikuspuntu baten arauera antolaturiko kontaketa

d) Kontaketa objetiboa

e) Lehenengo pertsonan eginiko kontaketa.

Laugarren atalak aurrekoekiko agertzen duen desegokitasunaz gain, sailkapen ho-nek aurrekoekiko gauza berririk ekartzen ez duela esatea besterik ez zaigu geratzen.

### d) *Tradizio frantsesa*

Lan honen lehenengo kapituluan esan bezala, Frantzian berandu sortzen da ikus-puntuarekiko ardura eta II. Mundu Gerraren bukaerak emango die hasiera ikerketa hauei. Rossum Guyon-ek (1970: 491) hiru aldi bereizten ditu:

a) M. Raimond-en *La Crise du Roman. Des Lendemains du naturalisme aux anées vingt* (1966)-ekin hasten dena

b) Jean Paul Sartre-k Mauriac-i eginiko kritikek osatzen dutena (lehenengo kapi-tuluan aipatua)

d) Kritika estrukturalistaren barruan sorturiko ikerlanek gauzatzen dutena.

Baina badira sailkapen horretan aipatzen ez diren beste hainbat autore eta ikus-puntuaren arazoarekin erlazio zuzena eduki dutenak. Maila honetan lehenengo kapi-tuluan aipaturiko C. E. Magny-ren liburua (zinemagintzak nobelan eduki duen era-gina aztertzen duena) edo 1954ean Georges Blin-ek idatziriko *Stendhal et les problè-mes du roman* liburua gogora daitezke. Azken honek "restrictions de champ" izena erabiliko du "ikuspuntuaren" pareko, pertsonaia baten ikuspuntuaren arauera taxu-tutako kontaketa eta narratzaile orojakiduna bereiziz.

Alabaina lan horiek interesgarriak badira ere, ideia berak ez errepikatzeagatik (Raimond-ek adibidez James-en tesien errepikapen bat besterik ez du egiten "pertso-naia baten ikuspuntutik" kontatutako istorioari objetiboagoa eritziz), une honetan

egokiago deritzogu beste autore baten lanaren ondorioak azaltzeari. Konkretuki Jean Pouillon-en *Temps et roman* (1947) liburuaz ari gara. Psikologo honek ikuspuntu desberdinen sailkapena egiten du ordurarteko ekarpen guztiak sistematizatuz. Bertan eskeintzen duen sailkapena gerora (ikusiko dugunez) kritikari estrukturalistek bereganatuko dute, lan honen balioa defendatuz.

Pouillon-ek nobela guztiek duten honako alderdi bikoitza bereiziko du:

a) Alderdi psikologikoa

b) Iraupen baten azalpena

Teatroan gertatzen ez den legez, nobelan era desberdinetan jabetzen gara pertsonaiez: barrutik ala kanpotik ikusiz, esate baterako. Horrela izakiok errealitateaz dugun pertzeptzioa eta nobelan pertsonaia desberdinekiko azaltzen dena baliokideak direla esango du, pertzeptzio horren arauera definituz ikuspuntua. Zentzu honetan nobela objetiboa izakiok ingurunea ulertzeko eta beraz jabetzeko dugun modua errespetatzen duen nobelagintza da, kontrakoa nobela subjetiboa litzateke, pertzeptzio bide "normaletatik" at dagoena, beraz.

Pouillon psikologo ez-konduktista denez gizakiek "barru" bat, errealitate psikiko bat dutela onartuko du. Errealitate hau "kanpoaldera" agertzen da, agertze hau izanik barru bizitza horren gauzatze objetiboa.

Hemendik abiatuz, hiru "ikuspuntu" (edo "ikuskera" [vision] bere hitzetan) bereiziko ditu nobeletan:

a) "*Vision avec*" delakoa: Pertsonaia bat hautatzen da nobelan eta barrutik deskribatzen. Segituan bere jokabidea ulertzen dugu geurea izango balitz bezala. Pertsonaia honetatik abiatuz ikusiko dugu nobela barruko errealitate guztia.

> Por lo tanto, estar "con" alguien, no es tener una conciencia reflexiva de él, no es conocer, es tener "con" él la misma conciencia irreflexiva de sí mismo. (1970: 66)

b) "*Vision par derrière*": Ikusmen mota hau dugu XIX. mendeko nobelagintza "dezimononikoan" erabiliena. Kasu honetan narratzaileak dena daki pertsonaiaz, bere erreakzio txikienak ere ezagutza horretatik ondorioztatzen ditu,

> ...estos novelistas no están detrás de sus personajes, sino por arriba, como un Dios omnisciente y que regula a su parecer la historia de sus criaturas. A esto le falta naturalidad. (1970: 79)

Jainko baten ikuspuntutik dakusan narratzaile honekiko kritikak lan honetan zehar behin eta berriro azalduz joan dira, H. James geroztik ohizko jarrera izanik (cf. Sartre 1985: 49)

d) "*Vision par dehors*": Kasu honetan behagarriak diren jokabideak bakarrik aurkezten ditu narratzaileak. Baina lehen esan bezala Pouillon konduktista ez denez, ez dago oso ados ikuspuntu honen erabilerarekin. Bere eritziz jokabide bat adierazkorra izango da, baldin eta "barru" baten islada gisara jokatzen badu. Azken finean Nouveau Roman-en nobelagintzaz hitzegiterakoan azpimarratzen genituen eritziekin bat dator,

> ... el sujeto no está separado del mundo que ve, hay un complejo mundo-sujeto o lo que después de Heidegger los fenómenologos han llamado una "situación". (1970: 95)

Sailkapen hirukoitz hori geroago Tzvetan Todorov-ek 1966an "Aspektuak" deituriko sailean honela bir-planteiatuko du:

a) NARRATZAILEA > PERTSONAIA (Vision par derrière)

b) NARRATZAILEA = PERTSONAIA (Vision avec)

d) NARRATZAILEA < PERTSONAIA (Vision par dehors)

Azken iruzkin gisara, Pouillon-ek nobelan pertsonaien "sentimendu"en isladari buruz eritzi batzu ematen ditu. Funtsean bi nobelagintza bereiziko ditu:

1) Nobelagintza klasikoa: gizakiok sentimenduak ditugu eta beraiek ematen digute esistentzia,

2) Nobelagintza modernoa: sentimenduek beraiek sentitzen dituela pentsatzen duen pertsonaiarekiko bakarrik dute zentzua.

Frantziako tradizioarekin bukatzeko Rossum-Guyon-ek bereiziriko 3. aldia: Kritika estrukturalistarena alegia hurrengo kapituluan azalduko dugunez, gera bedi beraz gerorako.

## e) Bukatzeko: beste zenbait hurbilpen.

*Figures III* aurreko azterlanei emandako begirada honetan azken puntu bezala Espainia mailan egindako ikerlan desberdinei buruz zerbait esan nahiko genuke.

Hasteko, aipa dezagun J. M. Castellet kritikariaren *La hora del lector* (1957) liburua. Garaiko nobelagintzaren ezagutza sakona erakusteaz gain kontaketa objetiboa aztertzen du, fenomenologia, fisika eta zinemak kontaketa mota honengan edukitako eragina azalduz. Azpimarratzekoa da liburuaren tituluan isladatzen den bezala, XX. mendeko nobelagintzak berarekin dakarren ondoriorik zuzenenetakoaren aipamena: irakurlearen aldetik partehartze aktiboagoa, alegia.

Ramón Buckley-en *Problemas formales en la novela española contemporánea* (1968) liburuan Castellet-en aipuak ugariak dira. Bertan, Buckley-k ordurarteko kritika lanen ildotik (besteren artean C. E. Magny, H. James, P. Lubbock,... aipatzen ditu) objetibismoa (batez ere zinemagintzaren eragina eta Nouveau Roman-en hartzen duen tratamendu berria), subjetibismoa (narrazaile orojakilearena, James-en "kontzientzia-gunea" delakoa) etab. aztertu ondoren garaiko nobelagintza espainiarraren azterketa bat eskeintzen digu.

Baina aurrekoei baino garrantzi gehiago eman diote zenbait kritikarik Mariano Baquero Goyanes-en *Estructuras de la novela actual* (1970) liburuari. J. Pozuelo Yvancos-en eritziz (1988b: 119). Baquero Goyanes-ek jarrera ortegiar nabarmen batetik "Perspektibismoa"ren azterketa serio bat eskeintzen digu gorago aipatu liburuan, James, Friedman,... eta hainbat-en ikerlanetatik abiatuz, nobela modernoaren azterketa aberatsa eskeiniz.

Halaber esan dezakegu Oscar Tacca-ren *Las voces de la novela* (1970) liburuaz. Honek "begirada, kontzientzia, ahotsa" puntuan nobelaren historia antzeko bat aurkezten du, nobelagintzaren garapena gorago aipatu hiru kontzeptu horien bidez azalduz. James-etik hasita Nouveau Roman-eraino ikuspuntu "subjetiboa", behaviorismoa, eta "école du regard" delakoaren "begirada garbi"ranzko bilakaera moduan uler daiteke XX. mendeko nobelagintza.

Tacca-rentzat "ikuspuntua" nobelaren eduki narratiboa modu batetan ala bestean agertu ahal izateko baliabide bat da, baina narratzailea da garapen guzti hori kontro-

latzen duena, berari dagokio narrazio egite guztien bateratzaile izatea. Bere ustez nobela bat ezin da ikuspuntu bakarrera mugatu, narrazioa hizkuntzazko egite bat den neurrian "hizkera" desberdinak bateratzen dituelako. Ildo honetatik, Tacca-rentzat "ikuspuntua" pertzeptzio gune hutsa baino gehiago "mundu-ikuskera" desberdinen adierazle da, hizkuntzan gauzatzen den pentsakera desberdinen adierazle (cf. Uspensky-ren "ikuspuntu ideologikoa"), hain zuzen.

Ikusi dugunez, aipatu liburuetan ikuspuntuari dagozkion eztabaida desberdinen azalpena egiten zaigu. Planteiamendu berririk eskeintzen ez badute ere (Tacca-ren hurbilpenaz gain) lan interesgarriak dira nobelagintza modernoaren baitan eskuartean dugun arazoari buruz eman diren jarrera desberdinak ulertzeko.

Hemendik aurrera Espainia mailan ikuspuntuari buruzko bibliografia ugariagoa izango da, nahiz eta ez den lan monografikorik agertuko, eta bibliografia gehienak Frantziako kritika estrukturalistaren edo eta semiotikaren esparruan egindako ekarpen desberdinen laburpena egingo dute. Dena dela, Bibliografia orokorrean aipatu ditugun liburu guztien artean nabarmentzekoak dira Jose M.ª Pozuelo Yvancos-enak (1988a, 1988b) zeinetan ikuspuntuari buruzko azken ikerketen ezagutza eta bibliografia berria eskeintzen bait da.

## III. Ikuspuntuaren azterketa kritika estrukturalistaren barruan:
### *Figures III*-k irekitako bidea.

Ondoren azaltzera goazen ikerketa guzti hauen ezaugarri amankomuna, izenburuan iragarri dugunez, literatur kritikaren esparruan eta, zehazki, estrukturalismoaren ildotik egindakoak izatearena da. Orain artean azaldutakoan behin eta berriro nabarmendu nahi izan dugu *Figures III* liburuak ikuspuntuari buruzko ikerketetan suposatu zuen aurrerapausua.

Gaur egun dudarik ez dago Genette-k aipatu liburuarekin irekitako bidea, ikerlariek "narratologia-modala" deiturikoan, eztabaida eta bibliografia ugariaren sortzaile dugula. Begiratu besterik ez dago Frantzian hasitako azterketa hauek egun herrialde desberdinetan ezagutzen duten bibliografia oparoa: Estatu Batuetan, Herbehereetan, Israel-en...

### III.A. *Testu-narratiboen alderdi hirukoitza*

Errusiar Formalistez geroztik ezaguna da testu narratibo guztietan bereiz dezakegun alderdi bikoitza: *fabula* (testuan kontatzen zaizkigun gertaerak kronologikoki aurkeztuak) eta *"sjuzet"* delakoa (fabulako eduki narratiboak testuan ezagutzen duen taxutze konkretua, edo beste hitzetan esateko, guk irakurtzen dugun testua dagoen dagoenean). Bi alderdi horiek, gerora Todorov-ek (1966) "histoire"/"discours" izendatuak, narratologiaren historiaurreari dagozkiola esango du Genette-k (1983).

Testu narratiboetan sujetu linguistiko batek (narratzaileak) historia bat kontatzen du, eta kontaketa ekintza horrek ematen dio narrazio testuari bere ezaugarririk adierazkorrena.

Ondorioz, testu narratiboek hiru alderdi erakusten dizkigute: gertakizunak (historia), gertakizun horien adierazpen linguistikoa (kondaketa [=récit]) eta kontaketa (idazketa) ekintza bera (narrazioa). Banaketa hau ondorengo kritikariek onartuko du-

te eta horrela, Bal-ek (1985) eta Rimmon-ek "historia, testua, narrazioa" hirukotea erabiliko dute[4].

Genette-k berak adieraziko duenez, (1983: 11) "historia, testua, narrazio" bereiztasun horrekin ez da sorketa garaian ematen den ordenu edo hierarkiarik adierazi nahi. Narratzaileak bere kontaketa ekintzaren bidez {historia, testua} aldi berean sortzen ditu, ez dago batetik besterako progresiorik.

Ikuspuntuaren azterketa testu mailari dagokio. Maila honetan historia-testu, testu-narrazio eta historia-narrazio arteko harremanak aztertzen dira. Ikuspuntuak historia mailako edukiak (gertakizunak, egileak, lekuak,...) zein pertzeptzio-gunetik aurkezten diren azaldu nahiko du.

Dena dela, gorago aipatu ikerlarien artean badago desberdintasunik maila bakoitzean (batez ere testu mailan) aztertu beharrekoa zehazterakoan. Eskema bat egin beharko bagenu Genette-rentzat (1972, 1983), Todorov-ek 1966an proposaturiko eskematik abiatuz, "récit" (=testua guretzat) delakoaren azterketa hiru azpisailetan banatuko lizateke:

a) Denbora: historia eta testu arteko denbora erlazioak (ordena, iraupena eta maiztasuna).

b) Modua: "Errepresentazio" edo adierazpen moduak aztertzen dituena. Honen barruan ikuspuntua (pertzeptzio modu desberdinak) eta distantzia (narratzailearen/pertsonaiaren diskurtsu moduak).

d) Ahotsa: narrazio ekintza historian agertzen den moduaren azterketa (pertsona, narrazio mailak,...).

Baina Bal (1977) eta Rimmon-ek (1988) kritikatuko duten bezala, testu mailan narratzailearen presentzia maila aztertzeari ekiten dionean hasera batean definitutako testuen alderdi hirukoitz hori ilundua geratzen da. Batez ere "distantzia" mailan narrazio-modu desberdinak aztertzen dituenean "fokalizazio"/"narrazio" arteko ohizko nahasketari bide ematen dio. Horrela, autore hauen iritziz, testu mailan aztertu beharrekoa hau lizateke:

a) Denbora: iraupena, maiztasuna, jarraipena (ordena).

b) Karakterizazioa: egileetatik pertsonaietaraino aldaketa.

d) Espazioa: historia mailako "lekuak" nola bilakatzen diren "espazio".

e) Fokalizazioa: historia pertzibitzeko modu desberdinak.

Azken banaketa honi egokiagoa erizten diogula esan ondoren (hiru mailekiko atxekimenduarengatik) argi dago ikuspuntu (edo "fokalizazioa" izendatuko duguna) testu mailan kokatzen den arazo teknikoa dena.

### III.B. *Ikuspuntuaren azterketa Narratologian. Narratologia desberdinak.*

Tzvetan Todorov-ek 1969an 'narratologia' hitza lehenengo aldiz erabili zuen. Hitz honen bidez kritika estrukturalistaren barruan testu narratiboen azterketara bideratzen diren ikerlan multzoa adierazi nahi da.

(4) Banaketa hirukoitz honi dagokionez Genette hartzen badugu ere aintzindaritzat aipagarria da gure iritziz C. Segre-k (1976: 14) eginikako beste banaketa hirukoitza. Kritikari italiarrak hiru maila bereizten ditu: "Discurso (texto narrativo significante), Intriga (contenido del texto en el mismo orden), Fábula (contenido, o mejor sus elementos esenciales colocados en orden lógico y cronológico)". Funtsean lehenengoa testuaren taxuketa bereiziari dagokio (Todorov-en "discours" delakoa) eta beste biak, testuaren edukiari (Todorov-en "historia") dagozkiola esatera ausartuko ginateke.

Dena dela, Genettek (1983: 12) baieztatu duen bezala, narratologia desberdinak daudela bereizi behar da. Jakina da testu-narratiboaren azterketa modernoa Proppekin hasi zela, ondoren aipatu kritikariak urratutako bidetik azterketa ugari sortu zelarik. Lan hauen xedea testu-narratiboaren edukia, "historia", aztertzea litzateke (azterketa gramatikalak, logikoak,... eginaz) eta ikerlarien artean Claude Brémond, Greimas, eta *Grammaire du Décaméron*-eko Todorov aipa ditzakegu.

Joera horrek narratologia tematikoa deiturikoa definituko luke. Bigarren narratologia batek (narratologia modala) testu-narratiboa historia desberdinen "errepresentazio" modu gisara aztertuko luke eta berau litzateke Genette-k *Figures III* liburuan lukeen azterkizuna (dikotomia honen azalpena eta Genette-ren lanaren norabide honetaz dihardu Culler-ek, 1986: 8). Bi narratologien tartean leudeke Genette-ren eritziz Roland Barthes-en "Introduction à l'analyse des récits" (1966) artikulua eta Todorov-en *Poétique* (1968).

Beraz, ikuspuntuaren arazoaren azterketak narratologia modal horretan duke bere lekua.

### III.D. *Figures III* (1972) eta *Nouveau discours du récit* (1983): unibertsu genettiarra.

Lehenago esan dugun bezala, *modua* deituriko atalaren barruan aztertzen du Genette-k ikuspuntua. Littré-k ematen duen definiziotik abiatuz, informazio narratiboaren erregulazioa da modua. Informazio narratiboa erregulatzeko bi baliabide ditu narratzaileak bere esku: distantzia eta perspektiba, eta azken hau "ikuspuntu bat aukeratzetik datorren informazio erregularpena" dela esango du Genette-k.

Ikuspuntuari buruz ordurartean egindako azterketa desberdinen laburpena egin ondoren (bigarren kapituluan sartu ditugun autore desberdinen sailkapenak batipat) Pouillon-ek eginikako sailkapen hirukoitza (eta esan bezala Todorov-ek 1966an birplanteiatua) bere egingo du.

### III.D.1. *Ikuspuntutik/Fokalizaziora.*

Arazoaren azterketara pasa baino lehen kritikari frantsesaren eritziz bada haseratik gainditu beharreko arazo bat: terminologiarena, alegia. Zentzu honetan ordurartean eginikako sailkapen desberdinetan "ikuspuntu" hitzak hartu izan dituen adierazi desberdinengatik egokiago deritzo *fokalizazioa* erabiltzeari (cf. Brooks & Warrenen 1943 "focus of narration"), izan ere, jatorriz argazkigintza eta zinemagintzatik datorren hitz honek adiera zehatzagoa bait du.

### III.D.2. *Fokalizazioa: Definizioa.*

Bal (1977) eta Rimmon-ek (1988) salatu izan duten bezala, Genette-ren *Figures III*-n ez da fokalizazioaren definiziorik ematen. Horregatik, *Nouveau Discours du Récit* (1983) liburuko definiziora jotzea ezinbestekoa zaigu:

> Par focalisation, j'entends donc bien une restriction de "champ", c'est-à-dire
> —en fait une sélection de l'information narrative par rapport à ce que la tradition nommait l'omniscience, terme qui en fiction pure, est, littéralement, ab-

> surde (l'auteur n'a rien à "savoir", puisqu'il invente tout), et qu'il vaudrait mieux remplacer par information complète (...). L'instrument de cette (éventuelle) sélection est un foyer situé, c'est-à-dire una sorte de goulot d'information, qui n'en laisse passer que ce qu'autorise sa situation (Genette 1983: 49)

Planteiamendu honen lehenengo ondorioetakoa Ahotsa Modu-tik bereizten zuen "nork dakusa?" galdera "non dago pertzeptzio gunea?" galderaz ordezkatzea izango da, neultraltasun handiagoa lortuz. Foku hori pertsonaia baten barruan /kanpoan egon daiteke, zenbait nobela modernoren kasuan foko-gune hori non dagoen zehazteko zailtasun ugari ditugularik (adibidez Robbe-Grillet-en *La Jalousie* (1957) nobelan).

Bestalde, definizio horretan ikusi dugunez, abiapuntua informazio gradua da (Bal eta bere ondorengoek kritikatuko dutena hain zuzen), eta hori dela eta oso hurbil dago Pouillon eta Todorov-en planteiamenduetatik (gogora dezagun Todorov-en eskema hirukoitza: narratzailea>pertsonaia; narratzailea=pertsonaia; narratzailea<pertsonaia).

### III.D.3. *Fokalizazio mota desberdinak*

Hiru fokalizazio mota bereiz daitezke:

a) *Kontaketa ez fokalizatua edo Zero Fokalizazioa*

Kasu honetan narratzaileak ez du inongo informazio murrizpenik (orojakilea da) eta horregatik Genette-ren eritziz ez dago fokalizaziorik zentzu estuan. Fokalizazio mota hau ematen da nobela dezimononikoan, eta orainartean azaldu dugun legez, narratzaile mota honen aurkako kritika bortitzenak H. James-en eskutik hasi ziren.

Narratzaile honen ezaugarri nabarienetakoa orojakintza osoaz gain bere eritzi eta usteak ematearena izaten da (Friedman-en "orojakintza editoriala" deiturikoa. Ikus narratzaile honi buruz Baquero Goyanes, 1970: 124hh). Gure literaturgintzaren barruan adibideak aipatzekotan gogora ditzagun Txomin Agirreren *Garoa* (1912) eta *Kresala* (1906) nobelak.

b) *Barru-Fokalizazioa*:

Kasu honetan fokoa unibertsu diegetikoko pertsonaia baten barruan kokatzen da. Fokalizazio mota honekin ez da bakarrik pertsonaien "barrubizitza" nabarmentzen dela adierazi nahi, baizik eta pertsonaia horrek bere inguruneaz duen "pertzeptzioa" gureganatzen dugula (cf. Pouillon-en "vision avec" delakoaren definizioa):

> En focalisation interne, le foyer coïncide avec un personnage, qui devient alors le "sujet" fictif de toutes les perceptions, y compris celles qui le concernent lui-même comme objet: le récit peut alors nous dire tout ce que ce personnage perçoit et tout ce qu'il pense (...) (Genette 1983: 49)

Genette-rentzat barru-fokalizazioa (zentzu hertsian) gutxitan ematen da (barnebakarrizketa izango litzateke salbuespen eskasetakoa). Fokalizazio honen arauera ezingo litzateke pertsonaiaren kanpo-deskriziorik eman, eta narratzaileak ezingo luke bere mugimenduen berri adierazi. Horregatik, eta paradigma honetatik abiatuz barru-fokalizaziodun testu bat zehazteko topa ditzakegun zailtasunengatik Roland Barthes-ek (1966: 34) proposaturiko kontzeptu bati heltzen dio: "modo personal del

relato" delakoari hain zuzen. Honen arauera kontaketa "pertsonala" da baldin eta le-
henengo pertsona gramatikalean berridatz badaiteke (jadanik horrela idatzia ez bada-
go behintzat). Berridazketa honek diskurtsuan aldaketarik sortzen ez badu (pertsona
gramatikal berriaren erabilerarena ez bada) kontaketa hori "pertsonala" da, eta Ge-
nette-rentzat "barru-fokalizazioa".

Barru-fokalizazioa hiru mota desberdinetakoa izan daiteke:

b.1 *Finkoa*: testu osoan zehar fokalizazio bera aurkitzen dugunean, hau da, fokoa
beti leku berean dagoenean. Adibide gisara Genette-k H. James-en *The Ambassadors*
aipatzen du. Beste adibiderik aipatzekotan Txillardegiren *Leturiaren egunkari ezkutua*
(1957), edo narrazio homodiegetiko bat ez aipatzekotan Jon Miranderen *Haur besoe-
takoa* (1970) gogora dezakegu: 3.pertsonan eta lehenaldian kontaturiko historian
(narratzaile extradiegetiko-heterodiegetikoa) fokoa pertsonaia heldu horretan, aita-
besoetakoan, kokatua dago, bere maitasun eta sentimenduak, eta orokorki Theresa-
rekiko pertzeptzio guztiak berarengandik abiatuz azaltzen zaizkigularik:

> Gauerdiko ixiltasun istunean, gauko illunpe izarniatuan, gogoratzen zituen
> gizonak alaba besoetakoaren gorputz txikiaren atal guztiak, ikusten zituen berriz
> ere haren arpegi-marra fiñak, haren ille-motots leporaino eroria, ezti bat aorako,
> urre dirdaitsu bero bat eskurako, eta haren larru malgu epela hain laztangarria
> (...) (Mirande 1970: 51)

b.2 *Aldagarria*: Testu berean fokoa pertsonaia batetik bestera aldatuz doa, barru-
fokalizazio desberdinak eskeiniz. Ad. Flaubert-en *Madame Bovary*.

Halaber esan dezakegu A. Lertxundiren *Hamaseigarrenean aidanez* (1983) nobelaz.
Bertan (batez ere lehenengo partean) Martzelina eta Domingoren bizitzako pasadizo-
ak ikuspuntu desberdinetatik azaltzen zaizkigu. Adibide gisara Martzelina eta Kor-
neliok tabernan duten elkarrizketarena aipa dezakegu:

> (25.or.) Ikusi nuen [Martzelinak] Kornelio ere baina ez ikusia egin zidan eta
> Txoko tabernara sartu zen. Atzetik joan nintzaion. (...) Tabernan salda hartzen
> zegoen jende guztiak niregana begiak zuzendu zituen. Isiltasun ikaragarriak ha-
> rrapatu zuen ilunpe keetua.

> (26.or.) Tabernara sartu zenean begiak apartatu nituen [Korneliok] atetik.
> Banekien nire atzetik zetorrela, usaindu nuen zer atera nahi zidan baina zer
> erantzun behar nion nik?, salda beroegia zegoen tabernara sartu zenerako eta era-
> bat hoztuta aldegin zuenean.

Gertaera berari dagokion foko aldaketa hau nabariagoa da hirugarren partean Do-
mingoren heriotza Korneliok edo narratzaile heterodiegetiko-extradiegetikoak kon-
tatzen dutenean.

b.3 *Anitza*: Historia pertsonaia desberdinetatik abiatuz azaltzen denean. Fokoa
pertsonaia askotan kokatzen da. Hau "nobela epistolarrean" ematen da batipat, baina
beste adibide hurbilago bat gogoratuz B. Atxagaren *Bi anai* (1985) egokia litzateke.
Kasu bitxia gure nobelagintzan narratzaile intradiegetiko-heterodiegetikoak abereak
direla kontutan hartuz. Katagorriak, txoriak, sugeak, antzarrak,... bakoitzak beren
"ikuspuntutik" dakusate Daniel eta Paulo anaien bizitza. "Fokoa" "Mintzoa"k gida-
turiko izaki hauetan kokatzeak abereek "dakusatenarekiko" atxikimendu osoa du on-
doriotzat:

> Beltzez jantzitako gizonaren pentsamendua geroz eta motelagoa zen, eta arrai erdi hila bezala egiten zituen bere ibilerak, uhin honen mende orain, zurrunbilo haren mende gero, alde batera nekez eta beste aldera nekez, eta trabatuz ere bai batzutan arrai erdi hila hondarrean trabatzen den bezala (*Bi anai:* 31)

Noski, txori batek ezin jakin "beltzez jantzitako gizona" apaiza zatekeela.

d) *Kanpo fokalizazioa*

Kasu honetan fokoa pertsonaietatik kanpo kokatuta dago, eta hori horrela izanik, sentimenduak, pentsamenduak, usteak,... "psikearen barrua" delakoa perzibiezinez-koak dira. Todorov-ek "Narratzailea<pertsonaia" gisara irudikatu zuena "kontaketa behaviorista"ri dagokio. Lehenengo kapituluan azaldu dugunez, *Lost Generation* dela-koaren partaideek eta beranduago Nouveau Roman-ekoek erabilitakoa.

> En focalisation externe, le foyer se situe en un point de l'univers diegétique choisi par le narrateur, hors de tout personnage, excluant par là toute possibilité d'information sur les pensées de quinconque d'où l'avantage pour le parti pris "behavioriste" de certains romanciers modernes. (Genette 1983: 49)

Azken fokalizazio mota honen azterketan Claude-Edmonde Magny-ren liburuak edukitako garrantzia azpimarratzen du. Genette-k dioenez, liburu hori maila askotan narratologiaren ikerketei hasiera eman zienetakoa kontsidera daiteke (Genette 1983: 44, oinoharra). Aipatu idazle amerikarrez gain, teknika honen erabilera aberatsa da-kusagu *100 metro* (1976) edo *Egunero hasten delako*-n (1969), edo betiko adibideak ez aipatzeko J. M. Iturralde-ren *Dudular*-eko pasarte honetan:

> Pertsianak, leihoak, gortinak itxita, nekez sar daiteke argizpi bat gelara, ma-haigaineko iratzargailuan 2-25 direla doi-doi sumatzeko. Besaulki gris batean eta aulki banatan hiru gazte eserita, bi irrikaz erretzen eta sabai kontrako ke iru-diei begira, bestea, gazteena, eskuartean daukan pipa garbitzen (1983: 32).

Dena dela, kontutan hartzekoa da fokalizazio mota bat ez dagokiola testu guzti-ri, segmentu narratibo bati baizik, eta hau horrela izanik, testu berean fokalizazio mota desberdinak egon daitezke.

Horrezaz gain, kritikari frantsesaren eritziz pertsonaia batekiko kanpo fokaliza-zioa beste pertsonaia batekiko barru-fokalizazio gisara uler daiteke:

> Une focalisation externe par rapport à un personnage peut parfois se laisser aussi bien définir comme focalisation interne sur un autre: la focalisation externe sur Philéas Fogg est aussi bien focalisation interne sur Passepartout médusé par son nouveau maître, et la seule raison pour s'en tenir au premier terme es la qua-lité de héros de Philéas, qui réduit Passepartout au rôle de témoin. (1972: III, 208).

Eritzi guztiz labainkorra gure ustez. Izan ere fokalizazio egite orotan beti suposa dezakegu beste lekuren batean kokatutako foko bat, dena dakusan fokoa. Nahasketa hau konpontzeko (Bal-ek kritikatuko dion bezala) fokalizatzaile/fokalizatu arteko desberdinketa derrigorrezkoa litzateke. Baina desberdinketa horretaz hitzegitea planteiamendu berri batez aritzea da: Mieke Bal-ek proposaturikoa alegia.

### III.D.4. Alterazioak.

Genette-k berak onartzen duenez (1983) fokalizazioaren azterketan bere teoriaren ekarpen handiena orain komentatutako ditugun "alterazioen" azterketa izan da.

Alterazioa "arau hauste" bat da. Esate baterako kanpo-fokalizazioan dagoen narrazio batean pertsonaiaren sentimendu edo pentsamenduen berri ematea "arau hauste"a litzateke. Bi alterazio mota bereizten dira:

1) Paralipsia: Fokalizazio mota horri dagokiona baino informazio gutxiago ematea. Baliabide hau askotan erabiltzen da nobela poliziakoetan pertsonaiaren pentsamendu garrantzitsu bat kontatzen ez denean "suspensea" sortzeko asmoz.

2) Paralepsia: hautatu fokalizazioari dagokion baino informazio gehiago ematea. Adibidez, kanpo-fokalizazioan antolatua dagoen narrazio batean pertsonaiaren kontzientziaren berri ematea.

### III.E. Mieke Bal: planteiamendu berri baten ondorio interesgarriak.

Kritikari holandar honek 1977an *Narratologie. Essais sur la signification narrative dans quatre romans modernes* liburua argitaratu zuenean seguraski ez zuen pentsatu bere teoriak eduki zezakeen eragina. Ez bakarrik ordurartean Bibliaren antzera sinestu eta defendatzen zen planteiamendu genettiarraren zutabeak ikutuko zituelako, narratologo askok bere teoria berriak Genette-renak zituen akatsak zuzentzen zituela pentsatu zuelako baizik.

Fokalizazioari dagozkion teoriak gorago aipatu liburuan azaltzen badira ere, *Poétique* eta *Poetics Today* aldizkarietan agertutako artikuluek zenbait kritikari erantzuteaz gain azalpen zehatzago bat egiten durenez, hirurak erabili ditugu Bal-en teoria azaltzeko. Dena dela, gure ustez aipatu bi artikuluetan desberdintasunik badagoenez kritikari honen lanaren garapena gainetik behintzat isladatzen saiatuko gara.

### III.E.1. Fokalizazioaren definizio berri bat.

Gertaera batzuren berri eman nahi denean beti "kontzeptzio" batetik abiatuz egiten da. Ikuspuntu bat, gauzak ikusteko modu bat, angelu zehatz bat aukeratzen da.

Ildo horretatik Bal-ek pertzeptzioaren nolakotasunetik abiatu nahiko du fokalizazioa definitzerakoan. Funtsean pertzeptzioa prozesu psikologiko bat izanik garrantzi handia du NORK pertzibitzen duen (sujetua) eta pertzibitzen duena, ZER hori, ezaguna zaion ala ez.

Fokalizazioa, beraz, aurkezten diren elementu eta hauek aurkezteko erabiltzen den kontzeptzioaren arteko erlazioa izango da. Ikusmenaren eta ikusten denaren arteko erlazioa alegia.

> Tout d'abord j'entends par ce concept le résultat de la *sélection*, parmi tous les matériaux possibles, du contenu du récit. Ensuite, il comporte la "vue", la *vision*, aussi dans le sens abstrait de "considérer quelque chose sous un certain angle", et finalement la *preséntation*. Le sujet et l'objet de ces trois activités réunies sont les instances du récit dont il s'agit ici. (Bal 1977: 110)

Bistan dago fokalizazioa ez duela informazio murrizpen gisara definitzen, aitzitik erlazio bat da batez ere, eta erlazio horretako bi muturrak *fokalizatzailea* (fokalizazio sujetua) eta *fokalizatua* (fokalizazio objetua) dira.

Bestalde Bal testu-narratiboen alderdi hirukoitzetik abiatuz (fabula/historia/testu narratiboa) historia (guk testua deiturikoa) mailan kokatzen du fokalizazioaren eragina. Honen bidez fabula mailako edukiak pertzeptzio modu batekin aurkezten dira eta hauek dira gerora narratzaileak linguistikoki aurkeztuko dituenak. Eskema batean azalduz:

| A- k dio | B-k dakusala | D-k egiten duena |
|---|---|---|
| TESTU NARRATIBOA | HISTORIA | FABULA |
| NARRATZAILEA | FOKALIZATZAILEA | GERTAKIZUNA |

(...) Focalization is not an independent linguistic activity but an aspect of its contents" (Bal 1981: 206), edo "Juntos, el narrador y la focalización determinan lo que se ha dado en llamar narración. De forma incorrecta, puesto que sólo el narrador narra, o sea: enuncia lenguaje que cabe calificar de narrativo puesto que se refiere a una historia" (Bal 1985: 126). Beraz argi dago zein den desberdintasuna: narratzaileari bakarrik dagokio fabulako (Genette-k "historia" deritzona) eduki hori linguistikoki adieraztea, baina hori baino lehenago "fokalizatuak" (nonbaitetik ikusiak, aurkeztuak) behar dute izan.

### III.E.2. *Fokalizatzailea/Fokalizatua.*

Fokalizatzailea fokalizazio sujetua dugu, eta hau, elementuak ikusten diren lekugune gisara definitzen da. Lekugune hori historia barruko pertsonaia bati (FP) edo historiaz kanpoko bati (FE) dagokio. Lehenengoari *barru fokalizazioa* deritzo, bigarrenari *kanpo fokalizazioa*. Hortaz, diegesiarekiko mailak, kokaguneak, definitzen du kanpo/barru oposizioa (cf. Stanzel, Rimmon, Uspensky, Lanser) eta ez ezaguera horrek bere gain hartzen duen eduki mota (Genette).

Fokalizatzaileak edozer gauza fokaliza dezake,

> No tiene por qué ser a un personaje. Los objetos, los paisajes, los acontecimientos, en resumen: se focalizan todos los elementos, ya lo haga un FE o un FP. (Bal 1985: 112)

Fokalizatzaile/fokalizatu dikotomiak Genette-ren sailkapen hirukoitzak agertzen dituen nahasketak salatzera ahalbidetzen du Bal, ohar hauek eginaz:

a) Lehenengo fokalizazio mota (zero fokalizazioa) eta bigarrenaren (barru fokalizazioa) arteko diferentzia *nork* dakusan kontutan harturik ezartzen da. Lehenengoaren kasuan narratzaileak dakusa (pertsonaiak dakusana baino gehiago ikusiz) eta bigarrenean narratzaileak pertsonaiarekin batera ("avec") dakusa, berak dakiena bakarrik jakinaz.

b) Bigarren fokalizazio motaren eta hirugarrenaren (kanpo fokalizazioa) arteko diferentzia beste maila batekoa da. Bigarrenaren kasuan pertsonaia fokalizatuak aldi berean badakusa (bera ere fokalizatzailea da) eta hirugarrenaren kasuan berak ez dakusa, ikusia da. Kasu honetan desberdintasuna ez dago ikusmen horren sujetuan, ikusten denaren nolakotasunean baizik.

Banaketa honi esker Genette-ren arazoa erraz konpontzen da (1972: 208): lehenago aipatu adibidean Passepartout fokalizatzailea litzateke eta Phileás Fogg fokalizatua.

Fokalizatzailea bi modutakoa izan daitekeen legez (FE, FP) fokalizatua perzibigarria edo perzibigaitza izan daiteke. Horrela, objetu bat perzibigarria da baldin eta historiako beste pertsonaiaren batek perzibi badezake, alderantzizko kasuan, perzibigaitza litzateke. Zehazkiago esanez,

> J'entends par cette distintion la différence entre ce qui peut être perçu, par la vue, la ouïe, l'odorat, le toucher, le goût, par un spectateur hypothétique, et ce qui ne peut pas l'être. C'est la distinction genettiene entre focalisation interne et focalisation externe, mais alors strictement réservée au focalisé. (Bal 1977: 120)

### III.E.3. *Fokalizazio mailak.*

Narratzailea bi mailatakoa izan daitekeen bezala, lehenengo mailakoa edo extradiegetikoa, ala bigarren mailakoa edo intradiegetikoa, fokalizazioa ere maila desberdinetan koka daiteke. Arazo honi "fokalizazio maila" deritzo Bal-ek.

> Suponemos, por lo tanto, un primer nivel de focalización (F1) en el que ésta es externa. El focalizador externo delega su función en uno interno, el focalizador del segundo nivel (F2). En principio son posibles más niveles. (...). La forma verbal "vio" la indica. Llamamos a estos marcadores de cambios de nivel "señales de acoplamiento" (...). Los verbos como "ver" y "oír", en suma, todos los verbos de percepción, pueden operar como señales de acoplamiento explícitas. (Bal 1985: 118)

Adibide gisara azter ditzagun perpaus hauek:

1) *Pello bakarrik zegoela ikusi nuen*
   Fokalizazioari dagokionez= "Nik"= FP
   Fokalizatua= Pello= perzibigarria
   FP1 (Nik) (ep FP2 (Nik) - p)
   FP=Pertsonaia fokalizatzailea (barru fokalizazioa)
   ep=ez-perzibigarria, p=perzibigarria

"Nik", narratzaileak, denbora pasa eta gero gogoratzen dut Pello (objetu perzibigarria) ikusi nuela. Perpaus konposatua dugunez, fokalizazioa bikoitza da.

2) *Pello bakarrik zegoela ikusi zuen Koldok*
   FE1 -(ep FP2 (Koldo) - p (Pello))

Fokalizatzaile ezezagun batek, edo behintzat testuan esplizitoki agertzen ez den batek Koldo fokalizatzen du, lehenengo maila batean Koldo fokalizatu perzibigarri bihurtzen delarik. Hau segituan fokalizatzaile bihurtuko da, eta historia barruko pertsonaia denez, FP izango da, Pello (fokalizatu perzibigarria) fokalizatzen duelarik. Beraz, lehenengo maila batean Koldo objetu fokalizatu bat bada (FE batek fokalizatzen duena), gero maila intradiegetikoan Koldo fokalizatzaile bihurtzen da. Aldaketa honi Vitoux-ek (1982) "glissement" deritzo eta honako marratxo hauen bidez adierazten da:

FE1- p (Koldo)——(→ FP2 (Koldo)- p (Pello)) zenbaki desberdinek fokalizazio maila bakoitzaren berri ematen dute.

### III.E.4. *Fokalizazio mailak / fokalizatu arteko erlazioak.*

Hurrengo pausua fokalizazio maila batek fokalizatu mota zehatz bat (somagarria/somagaitza) baldintzatzen duen ikustea izango da. Hauek dira Bal-en ondorioak:

1) Fokalizatu *somagaitz* bat fokaliza dezake:

a - lehenengo mailako fokalizatzaile batek (FE)

b - Bigarren mailako fokalizatzaile-narratzaile batek, homodiegetikoa baldin bada (ametsak ere hemen sartzen dira).

d - Lehenengo mailako narrazio batean kokatutako bigarren mailako fokalizatzaile batek, homodiegetikoa bada eta fokalizatuaren parte bada ere.

2) Fokalizatu *somagarri* bat edozein mailatan fokaliza daiteke.

### III.F. *Genette / Bal: kritika desberdinak.*
### *Fokalizatzailea instantzia narratiboa ote?*

Bi kritikari hauen teorien azalpen honetan dagoeneko argi geratu da bataren eta bestearen artean desberdintasun ugari dagoela. Fokalizazioaren definiziotik hasita Genette-k informazio erregulazio gisara ulertzen duen bitartean, Bal-ek erizpide horri desegokia erizten dio, bi elementuen arteko erlazio gisara definitzen duelarik: fokalizatzaile/fokalizatu artekoa hain zuzen.

Gauzak horrela, bi planteiamendu hauen artean eztabaidarik espero bazitekeen ere, nolanahi ere kritika desberdinak onartuz hurbilpen batera eraman zezakeena, ez da horrelakorik gertatu eta Bal-en kritikei Genette-k 1983ko liburuan emandako erantzunek bi kritikarien arteko desberdintasun eta distantzia areagotu egin dute.

Bi kritikarien desberdintasun nabarmenena fokalizatzailea instantzia narratiboa den ala ez baieztatzean dago. Gonbara ditzagun bi autoreen ikuspuntuak:

> À un moment décisif de l'histoire de la théorie du récit, on a découvert l'importance essentielle de ce délègué, l'autonomie de celui que l'auteur a délibérément investi de la fonction narrative dans le récit: le narrateur. À un autre moment, aussi décisif bien que plus récent, on a découvert la présence de celui à qui ce narrateur délègue à son tour une fonction intermédiaire entre lui-même et le personnage: le focalisateur (Bal 1977: 116)

Hortik abiatuz honako eskema hau proposatzen du:
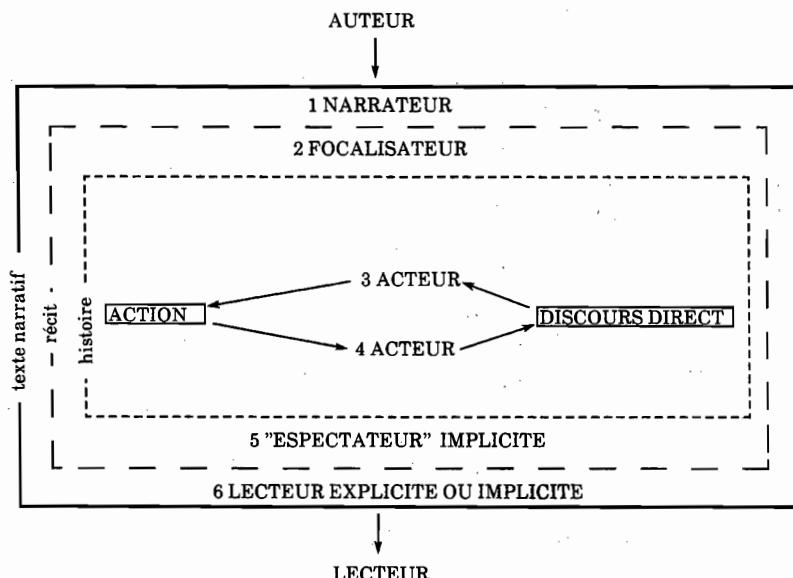
> La définition des types de focalisation a été critiquée et révisée par Mieke Bal
> à partir de ce qui m'apparaît comme una volonté abusive de constituer la focali-
> sation en instance narrative. (...) Pour moi, il n'y a pas de personnage focalisant
> ou focalisé: focalisé ne peut s'appliquer qu'au récit lui-même, et focalisateur, s'il
> s'appliquait à quelqu'un, ce ne pourrait être qu'à celui qui focalise le récit, c'est-
> à-dire le narrateur ou, si l'on veut sortir des conventions de la fiction, l'auteur
> lui-même, qui délègue (ou non) au narrateur son pouvoir de focaliser, ou non.
> (Genette 1983: 48)

Desberdintasuna nabaria da, eta gure eritziz fokalizatzailea "instantzia narratibo"
kontsideratzea gehiegizkoa da, ez bakarrik sortzen zaigun "instantzia oparotasuna-
rengatik" (autore inplizitoa, narratzailea, narratarioa, irakurle inplizitoa.... *fokaliza-*
*tzailea/fokalizatua*), baizik eta instantzia bat izatekotan "ez linguistikoa" zatekeelako
eta guztiz helgaitza. Bestalde, badirudi testu narratiboen mailaketa hirukoitza erres-
petatuz, hirugarren mailan (testu narratiboari dagokionean) gorpuzten dela aurreko
guztian posibilitate multzo ugari bat beterik ez zena. Hau da, narratzaileak bakarrik
duela Todorov-ek "diskurtsu" deiturikoa testu narratibo bilakatzeko aukera kontake-
taren bidez.

Guztiarekin ere, badirudi Bal bera, eskuartean dugun azken artikuluaren arauera,
instantzia narratibo ez kontsideratzearen aldeko agertzen dela, nahiko era harriga-
rrian ordurartean esandakoari kontrajarriz:,

> (...) , I never give the concept of focalization an ontological status and I never
> assign to the focalizing subject an independent existence. (Bal 1981: 206)

Hori horrela bada, lehen kopiatu dugun koadroan fokalizatzailea, irakurle-inpli-
zitoa, narratzailea eta hainbat instantzia narratiborekin batera aurkeztearen desegoki-
tasuna salatu behar da.

Honezaz gain, badirudi bi kritikarien beste eztabaida puntu nagusiena fokaliza-
zio mailei dagokiena dela. Genette-ren eritziz (1983: 51) funtsean foku desplaza-
mendu hutsak direnak fokalizazio maila gisara ulertzean gehiegikeriaz jokatzen du
Bal-ek. Fokalizazioa narratzaileari, edo eta pertsonaiari dagokiola onartuz, batetik
bestera alda daiteke baina ezin daiteke bi lekuetan egon aldi berean.

Ondorio bezala, badirudi Genette-k Bal-en teoriari egotzitako kritikak jatorrizko
kontzeptzio desberdinen eztabaidak baino gehiago, norberaren planteiamenduen de-
fentsa direla. Zentzu honetan bitxi bezain esanguratsu deritzogu honako adierazpen
honi:

> Les défauts de la méthode de Mieke Bal me semblent heureusement corrigés,
> sur ce point et quelques autres, dans ce point et quelques autres, dans l'article de
> P. Vitoux. Mais on pense irrésistiblement à ce système de Ptolémée, qui finissait
> par exiger, pour fonctionner, de si coûteuses réparations qu'il devint plus expé-
> dient de s'en passer. *La question est maintenant, bien sûr, de savoir qui est ici Ptolé-*
> *mée-, et chacun se croit Copernic.* (Genette 1983: 51; azpimarra gurea da).

Dena dela, ondorengo kapituluetan ikusiko dugunez, azken azterlanetan "fede"
edo "sinismen" kontuak gaindituz, dagoeneko Bal-en teoriari etekin handiagoak ate-
ra zaizkio.

## IV. Boris Uspensky: Errusiar Semiotikatik eginikako hurbilpen desberdina.

Ondorengo laburpen honetan Moskuko Unibertsitate Nazionaleko irakasle den Boris Uspensky irakasleak (Fokkema & Ibsch 1981: 57) 1973ko *A Poetics of Composition* liburuan (orijinala 1970ekoa da errusieraz) semiotika sovietarraren planteiamenduetatik proposatzen digun ikuspuntuaren ("ikuspuntu" diogu autore honek ez baitu inoiz "fokalizazio" hitza erabiltzen) azterketa berria azaldu nahiko genuke.

Bere liburuan oinohar batean esaten digunaren arauera (Uspensky 1973: 5) ikuspuntuarekiko azterketak Mijail Bakhtin-ekin hasten dira Soviet Batasunean, gerora N. V. Voloshinov, V. V. Vinogradov, eta G. A. Gukovsky-k jarraitu bazituzten ere. Ondoren ikusiko dugunez, batez ere Mijail Bakhtin-en ideiek islada handia edukiko dute azterkizun dugun liburu honetan.

Gure iritziz, narratologiaren eremu hertsitik kanpora proposamen sujerikorra egiten digu Uspensky-k eta "fokalizazioa"ren azterketak eskeintzen dituen ondorio eta tresnak gaindituz, "ikuspuntu" hitzaren jatorrizko adierazian kontutan hartzen ziren zenbait alderdi (ideologia, emotibitatea) bereganatzen ditu. Ondorengo puntu hauetan bere teoriaren laburpen bat eskeiniko dugu, gure lan honen azken kapituluan egingo dugun proposamenean barneratzen dugunean ulergarria gerta dadin.

### Definizio berri bat. Abiapuntua.

Bere liburua literatura eta arte desberdinen artean ematen diren analogiak azpimarratuz hasten da. Zinemagintzan montaiaren arazoarekin, edo pinturan irudian aurkeztu beharreko elementuen perspektibarekin sortzaileari planteiatzen zaizkion posibilitate desberdinak ikuspuntuaren aukerari lotuta agertzen dira. Alabaina aipatu artean horietan arazo honi buruzko larridura amankomuna bada ere, badirudi literaturaren kasuan ikuspuntuaren auziak pisu handiagoa duela.

Literaturan idazleak historia horren aurrean har ditzakeen jarrera desberdinen konbinaziotik testu artistiko bat sortzen du, "egitura" zehatz bat duen testua, alegia eta zentzu honetan, ikuspuntuaren azterketa testu hori antolatua dagoen moduaren berri jakiteko (bere "egitura"ren berri jakiteko) tresna baliagarriena zaigula esan behar.

> It is assumed that the structure of the artistic text may be described by investigating various points of view (different authorial positions from which the narration or description is conducted) and by investigating the relations between these points of view (their concurrence and nonconcurrence and the possible shifts from one point of view to another, which in turn are connected with the study of the function of the different points of view in the text). (Uspensky 1973: 5)

"Ikuspuntuak" testu narratiboen idazketa prozesuan ukaezinezko pisua duela baieztatu ondoren, arazo hau alderdi desberdinetatik azter daitekeela esango du Uspensky-k,

> (...) several approaches are possible: we may consider point of view as an ideological and evaluative position; we may consider it as a spatial and temporal position of the one who produces the description of the events (that is the narrator, whose position is fixed along spatial and temporal coordinates); we may

> study it with respect to perceptual characteristics; or we may study it in a purely linguistic sense (...); and so forth (...). For our purpose, these planes will be designated as the plane of *ideology*, the plane of *phraseology*, the *spatial and temporal* plane, and the *physichological* plane. (1973: 6) [azpimarra geurea da]

Beraz, lau alderdi desberdin horietatik ikertuko du ikuspuntua (hots, narratzaileak kontatzen duen historiarekiko hartzen duen posizioa). Pasa gaitezen bakoitzaren bereiztasunak azaltzera.

### IV.1. *Ikuspuntua maila ideologikoan.*

Kasu honetan kritikariaren zeregina autoreak nobelan aurkezten digun mundu narratibo hori ideologikoki noren ikuspuntutik ebaluatzen eta perzibitzen duen finkatzea litzateke.

Kasurik sinpleena ideologia oso konkretu eta bakar baten arauera taxututako testu-narratiboa dugu. Kasu hauetan, autorearen ikuspuntua denean ideologia mailan nagusiena, ideologia desberdinekoa gerta litekeen fabulako beste pertsonaia bat, aipatu ideologia nagusi horren menpeko bilakatzen da.

Beste zenbait kasutan, autoreak bere jarrera ideologikoa behin eta berriro alda dezake, ikuspuntu ideologiko anitzeko testua sortuz.

Baina ikuspuntu ideologiko desberdinak ideologia nagusi baten menpean agertzen ez badira, baizik eta denak elkarrekiko askatasun osoz aurkezten badira *testu polifoniko* baten aurrean egongo ginateke.

Mijail Bakhtin-en "polifonia" kontzeptuaren arauera nobela estilo, hizkera eta ahots aniztuneko osotasuna da. Nobelaren baitan gizarte hizkera desberdinak (dialektu historiko-geografiko desberdinak, belaunali edo talde diferenteen hizkuntzak, agintarien mintzaira,...) agertzen dira. Nolanahi ere, gizarte ezberdintasunaren islada den estilo aberastasun horren atzean, funtsean errealitateari buruzko sinesmen eta ikuskera desberdinak daude, guztiak garai bateko "kontzientzia dialektikoa" isladatzen duelarik (Villanueva 1989: 21). Polifonia hori, beraz, ikuspuntu ideologiko desberdinen gauzatze testuala genuke. Bakhtin-en beraren hitzetan:

> All languages of heteroglossia, whatever the principle underlying them and making each unique, are specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizying the world in words, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings, values. As such they all may be yuxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another and be interrelated dialogically. [...] They are all able to enter into the unitary plane of the novel, which can unite in itself parodic stylizations of generic languages, various forms of stylizations and illustrations of professional and period-bound languages, the languages of particular generations, of social dialects and others (as occurs, for example, in the English comic novel). (apud Reyes 1984: 128).

Ikuspuntuaren azterketari dagokionez, polifonia hori ondorengo puntu hauen arauera definitzen du Uspensky-k:

a- Polifonia ematen da literatur testu baten barruan ikuspuntu ideologiko desberdinak agertzen direnean.

b- Narrazio polifonikoan ager daitezkeen ikuspuntu desberdinek fabulan parte hartzen duten pertsonaienak izan behar dute. Beste hitzetan esateko, testu barruan ez du azaldu behar pertsonaiez kanpoko posizio ideologiko abstrakturik.

d- Polifonia aztertzerakoan maila ideologikoan azaltzen diren ikuspuntu desberdinak, hau da, mundu ikuskera desberdinak bakarrik hartzen ditugu kontutan.

Dena dela, Uspensky-k berak onartuko duenez, testuaren azterketa formalari ekiten zaionean ikuspuntu ideologikoa suertatzen da alderdirik helgaitzena. Honela, ikuspuntu ideologikoa gehienetan ezaugarri estilistiko desberdinetan isladatzen bada ere, hau ez da nahitaezkoa.

## IV.2. *Ikuspuntua idazkera mailan.*

Ikuspuntu desberdintasuna ideologia mailan ezezik idazkera mailan (Uspensky-k "phraseological plane" deiturikoa) ere nabarmen daiteke. Zentzu honetan bai pertsonaia desberdinei ematen dizkien izenak, bai kontaketa modu desberdinetan (tradizionalki "estilo zuzena", "zehar estiloa" edo "zehar estilo askea" gisara definituak) narratzaileak pertsonaia bakoitzaren hizkerari dagozkion ezaugarriak nabarmentzeko dituen aukerak ugariak izango dira. Testu baten idazkeraren azterketari ekiten diogunean honako bi alderdi hauek hartu behar ditugu kontutan:

a) Testu barruan hitzek duten kokapena
b) Izendaketa ikuspuntu arazo bezala

a) Hurbilpen funtzional batetik perpaus batean informazio zaharra eta berria bereiz daitezke. Pragako Eskolaren terminologia erabiliz informazio zaharrari *tema* deritzo, eta berriari *rhema*. Biak esanguratsuak izango dira perpausean isladatzen zaigun ikuspuntua norena (narratzailearena, pertsonaia batena, irakurlearena,...) den zehazterakoan.

Hitzek perpausean duten lekua aztertuz bakarrik erabaki daiteke zein den informazio zaharra edo berria. Euskararen kasuan *galdegaia/mintzagaia* bikotearen bidez adierazten den oposizio horretan, bakoitzari kokagune bat dagokio perpausean (nahiz eta batzutan ahoskera izan perpauseko "galdegaia" zein den finkatzen duena). Adibide bat aipatzekotan pentsa dezagun Txanogorritxuren ipuinean amona bere gelan dagoela iloba noiz etorriko zain. Bapatean danbateko handiak jo ondoren otsoa etxean sartzen denean, narratzaileak esan zezakeen:

(i) Eta azkenean...otsoa etxera sartu zen
(ii) Eta azkenean...etxera otsoa sartu zen

Galdegaiari begiratuz, lehenengo perpausean adierazgarriena otsoa "etxera" eta ez beste inora sartu zela da. Bigarren kasuan aldiz, nabarmentzen zaiguna honako hau da: "otsoa" izan zela etxera sartu zena, eta ez Txanogorritxu adibidez. Uspensky-ri jarraituz lehenengo perpausean "autorearen" edo "kanpoko behatzaile" baten ikuspuntua da nabarmentzen dena: honek otsoaren berri edukiko luke eta ekintza horretan adierazgarriena etxean sartu izana litzateke berarentzat. Alabaina bigarren perpausa "amonaren" ikuspuntutik antolatua legoke honek ez bait daki etxera sartuko zaiona "otsoa" denik, eta zentzu honetan hori bait da berarentzat informaziorik garrantzitsuena.

b) Izendaketa ikuspuntu arazo bezala.

Pertsona, gauza edo lekuren bat modu batera ala bestera izendatzeak funtzio esti‐
listiko bat eduki dezake, nolanahi ere elementu horrekiko dugun jarreraren adierazle
izan daitekeena. Adibide gisara Uspensky-k 1815 inguru Parisko prentsak Napoleon
izendatzeko erabiltzen zituen izen desberdinak aipatzen ditu. Hasiera batean "usur‐
patzaile" edo "kanibal" izendatzen zutena, bere boterea edo agintea handitu ahala
"Bonaparte", "Napoleon" edo "Maiestate Inperiala" deituko dute.

Adibide gertuago bat aipatzekotan argi dago gaur egun Sadam Husein irakiar
agintariari buruz honako bi perpaus hauek entzungo bagenitu:

    (i)  Atzo goizean irakiar bahitzaileak arma kimikoak erabiliko zituela iragarri
       zuen

    (ii)  Atzo goizean irakiar agintari txit gorenak arma kimikoak erabiliko zituela
       iragarri zuen,

lehenengoa gertuago egongo litzatekeela Bush-en ikuspuntutik bigarrena baino.

Idazkerari dagokionez esanguratsuak dira orobat nahiz eguneroko elkarrizketa‐
tan, nahiz literaturan erabiltzen dugun zenbait espresio adierazkor. Adibide bat ai‐
patzekotan diminutiboen erabilera esanguratsua iruditzen zaigu: haur bati "etorri
amatxorekin" esaten diogunean argi dago bere ikuspuntutik hitzegiten dugula hur‐
biltasuna bilatu nahian. Halaber zenbait nobelatan pertsonaia bera izendatzeko era‐
biltzen diren izen derberdinei buruz: esate baterako, *Haur besoetakoa* nobelan zehar
protagonista izendatzeko narratzaileak "gizona" edo "aita besoetakoa" erabiltzen di‐
tuenean argi dago lehenengo kasuan bere ikuspuntutik, kanpotik dakusagunon ikus‐
puntutik alegia, ari dela, bigarrenean aldiz "Theresa"ren ikuspunturik ari delarik.

Idazkera maila honi dagokion azken puntu bezala narratzailearen diskurtsuaren
eta pertsonaiaren diskurtsuaren artean egon daitezkeen erlazioetan (Genette-k "dis‐
tantzia" deituriko puntuan "discours narrativisé", "discours transposé" eta "discours
rapporté" banaketa hirukoitzaren bidez azaltzen duena) idazkera edo espresio desber‐
dinek adieraz dezaketen ikuspuntu aldaketa aztertzen du Uspensky-k.

Uspensky-rentzat pertsonaiaren diskurtsuaren agerpenak (bere ezaugarri estilisti‐
ko guztiekin) narratzailearekiko ikuspuntu aldaketa adierazten du, pertsonaiaren
ikuspuntua azpimarratuz.

> Change in the authorial point of view becomes evident in the intrusion wit‐
> hin the authorial text of elements of someone else's speech — that is, elements of
> speech characteristic of one or another character. The inclusion of elements of
> someone else's speech is a basic device of expressing changes of point of view on
> the level os phraseology. (Uspensky 1973: 32)

Orduan, estilo zuzena erabiliz pertsonaia baten hizkera berezia errespetatzen de‐
nean (kanpotarra delako, ezjakina delako,...) narratzaileak kanpo ikuspuntu bat har‐
tzen duenaren adierazle da. Aitzitik narratzailearen eta pertsonaiaren diskurtsuen ar‐
teko banaketarik ematen ez den heinean distantzia gutxituz doa eta barru ikuspun‐
tua gailentzen.

> The less differentiation there is between the phraseology of the described
> (the character) and the describing (author or narrator), the closer are their phrase‐
> ological points of view. The two opposite poles are: the faithful representation of

the specifical of the character's speech (the case of maximum differentiation), and the narrated monologue (the case of minimal differentiation). (Uspensky 1973: 52)

### IV.3. *Ikuspuntua espazio-denbora mailan.*

Narratzaileak pertsonaiaren mugimenduak oso gertutik jarrai ditzake, edo oso urrutitik. Gertutik segitzen baditu pertsonaiak igarotzen dituen espazioen berri eman behar du, aldiz, urrutitik segitzen edo ikusten badu narratzaileak pertsonaiaren ikuspuntua segitzen ez duela esango dugu, bere ikuspuntua (narratzailearena) jarraituz.

Denborari dagokionez adierazgarria da aditzaren aspektua aztertzea. Orainaldiak (Sinkronia) pertsonaiaren ikuspuntuarekiko gertutasuna azpimarratzen duen bitartean, lehenaldiak narratzailearen ikuspuntua nabarmentzen du.

Beraz espazio-denborazko gertutasuna pertsonaiaren ikuspuntuaren adierazle dela esan badaiteke, urruntasunak narratzailearen ikuspuntua isladatzen du.

### IV.4. *Ikuspuntua maila psikologikoan.*

Uspensky-ren iritziz bi aukera dauzka narratzaileak: norbaiten kontzientziatik abiatuz subjetiboki taxutzea bere kontaketa, edo kanpotik ahal duen objetiboenik deskribatzea ekintza eta gertakizun desberdinak.

> In those cases where the authorial point of view relies on an individual consciousnees (or perception) we will speak about the phychological point of view. (1973: 81).

Beraz, bi kontaketa modu daude: bata *subjetiboa*, autoreak pertsonaia baten kontzientziatik abiatuz narratzen duenean (sinkronikoki); bestea *objetiboa*: narratzaileak bere ikuspuntutik kontatzen digunean historia (atzera begira). Beste hitzetan esateko *barru* ikuspuntua eta *kanpo* ikuspuntua (cf. Bal).

Ikuspuntu objetiboari dagokionez, bi motatakoa izan daiteke:

a) Zeharo objetiboa, "zerrenda gisara" aurkezten dira gertakizunak.

b) Obserbatzaile baten eritzien bidez emandakoa: "zirudien", "itxuraz" eta horrelako adierazpenen bidez. Kasu honetan ikuslearen ikuspuntua finkoa ala aldagarria izan daiteke.

Ikuspuntu subjetiboa, aldiz, beste bi mota hauetakoa izan daiteke:

a) Pertsonaia baten ikuspuntura mugatzen dena

b) Autore orojakile baten ikuspunturaren bidez gauzatzen dena. Kasu honetan "konturatu zen", "sentitu zuen", "pentsatu zuen",... bezalako aditzak ugariak dira.

Bestalde, barru ikuspuntu batetik kanpo ikuspuntu baterako aldaketa Uspensky-k "words of estrangement" deitzen dituenen bidez ematen da:, "...pentsatzen zuela zirudien", "Pellok nahiko zuela zirudien,...", hauei esker ordurartean barrutik, subjetiboki deskribatu izan den pertsonaia bapatean kanpotik dakusagu. Dena dela, badirudi gehienetan aldaketa hauen helburua Uspensky-k "Framing" deiturikoa (guk itxitura deituko duguna) dela.

Aipagarriak dira kapitulu hasiera nahiz bukaeretan kanpo ikuspegi zabal batetik ("bird's eye", edo "txoriaren begia" delakoa) barru ikuspuntu bateranzko aldaketak, nolanahiere kontakizun denarekiko "itxitura" funtzioa, egituraketa funtzioa betetzen dutenak.

Uspensky-ren ustez aipatu ditugun ikuspuntu mota desberdin guztiak *kanpo/barru* dikotomia horretara murriz daitezke, ezen funtsean narratzaileak narratzen digun mundu horrekiko bi jarrera erakuts ditzake: hurbiltasun batetik aurkeztu ala ahal duen guztia urrutiratuz alde batera gelditu. Horrela estilo zuzenaren erabilera, pertsonaiarekiko espazio urruntasuna, edo denborari dagokionez lehenaldiaren erabilera kanpo ikuspuntu baten adierazle direla esan behar.

## IV.5. *Ikuspuntu desberdinen arteko erlazioak. Ironia.*

Kritikari sobietarrak azken puntu honetan ikuspuntu mota desberdinen artean egon daitezkeen erlazioak aztertzen ditu. Horrela, narratzaile batek fabulako pertsonaia baten ikuspuntutik antolatzen duenean bere kontakizuna, maila desberdinetako ikuspuntuak bat etor daitezke: psikologiari dagokionez kontaketa subjetiboa izan daiteke pertsonaiaren "barru bizitza" isladatuz, espazio-denborari buruz aldiberekotasuna errespeta dezake, adierazpideari dagokionez pertsonaiaren espresatze modua errespeta dezake,... eta azkenik (baina ez ordenu honetan) ideologikoki pertsonaiarekin duen adostasuna ager dezake.

Baina horiek baino interesgarriagoak dira ikuspuntu desberdinak bat ez datozen narrazioak. Hauen artean Ideologia eta beste mailako ikuspuntuen ez adostasuna nabarmen dezakegu. Narratzaileak pertsonaia baten espresakera errespetatzen du baina *ironia* asmo batez, pertsonaia horren ideologiarekin ados ez dagoela adieraziz.

Gauza bera esan daiteke ideologia/psikologia oposaketari buruz. Zenbait pertsonaiaren deskribapen subjetiboa egin dezake ez hurbiltasun ideologikoa azpimarratzeko baizik bere distantzia azpimarratzeko (honen adibide gisara Uspensky-k Dostoyevski-ren *Karamazov anaiak* nobelan Fyodor Pavlovich Karamazov pertsonaiaren deskribapenak aipatzen ditu).

## V. Ondorioak. Gure proposamena.

## V.1. "Fokalizazioa" edo "ikuspuntua". Azterketa formalen ondorioak.

Lantxo honetan azaltzen saiatu garenez, fokalizazioa edo hasiera batean "ikuspuntua" deiturikoaren inguruan zeresan ugari sortu da.

Henry Jamesen artikuluetatik hasita Mieke Bal kritikari holandarraren lanetara urte askoren epeaz gain, arazo honi buruzko teoria desberdintasuna azaldu nahi izan dugu. Hasiera batean narratzaileari lotuta agertzen zaigun teknika hau, gerora estrukturalismoaren barnean testu narratiboetan bereiz daitekeen edukia ("historia" edo "fabula" deiturikoa) pertzeptzio gune batetik aurkezteko moduari egotziko zaio.

Baina, gure eritziz, aipatu hurbilpenen aberastasun horrek ez du ondorio joririk ezagutu. Izan ere, jadanik Sarreran adierazten genuen bezala, "ikuspuntua"ren arazoa ikusmenari edo hobeki esanda ikusmen pertzeptzioari lotuegia egon bait da.

Lotura horren zergatia kontzeptu honetara hurbiltzerakoan jarraitu izan diren paradigmen berezitasunean datza: estrukturalismoak, eta zehazkiago narratologiak des-

kripzio sistima egoki bat eskeini arren, ez digute arazo honi buruzko inongo inter-pretapenik ematen.

W. C. Booth-ekin ados gaude bere liburuaren bigarren argitalpenean (ikus Genette 1983: 104) Genette-ren *Discours du récit*-i eginikako kritikekin. Kritikari amerikarraren ustez, Genette-ren 1972ko liburuak, eta zehazki aipatu kapituluak narrazio proustiarraren nolakotasuna ongi esplikatzen badu ere, ez du bertan darabiltzan tekniken funtzioa zein den esaten, eta ondorioz, deskribapen hutsean geratzen da.

Azterketa deskriptibo hauen muga Bal-ek berak (1985: 17) bere liburuari egindako sarreran azaltzen digu:

> La Teoría que se presenta aquí es un instrumento para hacer descripciones y, como tal, inevitable, pero sólo indirectamente conduce a la interpretación.

Baina azterketa hauen murrizpen deskribatzailea literatur testu beraren berezkotasunaz ulertzen dutenetik dator. Bal-en aipu horretan literatur lanaren adierazkortasunari bide bat irekitzen bazitzaion, ez da horrelakorik gertatu errusiar formalisten abiapuntuen jarraitzaile izan diren estrukturalista frantsesen esparruan (noski, hemendik kanpo legoke Roland Barthes-en traiektoria, egun "post-estrukturalismoaren" ildoan sartzen dutena).

Jakina da literatur testuaren berezkotasuna literaturtasunean zekusatela errusiarrek. Hau da, testua egituratzen duten baliabide literarioetan, edo beste hitzetan esateko literatur testuek duten berezko taxuera horretan. Hortxe egongo da narratologiaren baitan egingo diren azterketen esparrua: betiere azterketa testubarneko bat eginik historia bat testu eta testu narratibo bilakatzen duten baliabide edo mekanismoen azalpena. Azalpen horren ondorioz, testuaren laborazio hori nola eman den agertuko genuke. Honekin lotuta, Genette-k (1983: 94) narratologiaren mugak testu barruan zeintzu diren argi eta garbi utziko du:

> (...) à mon sens, la narratologie n'a pas à aller au-dèla de l'instance narrative, et les instances de l'implied author et de l'implied reader se situent clairement dans cet au-delà. Mais si cette question n'est pas pour moi du ressort de la narratologie (...), elle est évidemment du resort plus vaste de la poétique, et peut-être convient-il de l'envisager pour finir, sur cette frontière où nous voici parvenus.

Horrela, muga horretan mugitu izan diren fokalizazioaren azterkek fokalizazio mota desberdinak eskeini ondoren, ez digute inongo adierazpiderik eman baliapide horiek duten adierazkortasunaren edo eta irakurlearengan eduki dezaketen eraginean.

Adierazkortasunaz edo irakurketaz hitzegitea literatur semiotikaren esparruan testu literarioetan bereizten diren hiru alderdietatik bi aipatzea da: maila semantikoa eta maila pragmatikoa, alegia.

Pragmatikari dagokionez, esan beharra dago azken maila honetan ikuspuntuaren arazoa zenbait eredutan ikutu izan bada ere (Todorov-ek maila "verbal"a zeritzonean adibidez) ez dela azterketa inmanente hori gainditu, eta ikuspuntu desberdinen deskriziora mugatu izan direla.

Baina literatura zerbait bada komunikazio egite bat da: igorle batek (idazleak) mezu (literaturtestu) bat igortzen dio hartzaile bati (irakurlea). Azken honi dagokio

irakurketaren bidez, testuak eskeintzen dion adierazi potentzial hori, "zentzu" hori gauzatzea. Wolfgang Iser-ek esan bezala, testuak duen adierazteko ahalmen hori irakurleak zentzu bat ematen dioenean gorpuztu egiten da, testua literatur-lan ("obra" Iser-en terminologian) bilakatuz.

Irakurlearen garrantziaranzko bira hau 60ko hamarkadan Constanzako Unibertsitatearen inguran sorturiko Harreraren Estetikaren baitan eman da batipat. "Liburua irakurtzeko makina bat da" (Sartre) edo eta "irakurtzen diren liburuak bakarrik esistitzen dira" (M. Blanchot) bezalako baieztapenak hurbilpen berri horri lotuta ikus ditzakegu.

Gure gaira itzuliz, aipagarria da Harreraren Estetikan ikuspuntuari buruz esandakoa; maila honetan, Wolfgang Iser-en *El acto de leer*-i buruz bi hitz esan nahiko genituzke.

Iser-ek dioenez, narratzaileak zenbait testu-estrategia erabiltzen ditu bere irakurle gertuenarengan, hots, irakurle inplizitoarengan, efektu edo eragin jakin batzu lortzeko. Estrategia hauen artean ikuspuntua aipatzen du. Baina ikuspuntua Iser-entzat ez da noski narratologoentzat bezala pertzeptzio modu batera mugatzen. Ikuspuntua narratzaile/narratarioaren arteko paktuaren adierazle da. Zentzu honetan, gehiago dagokio aipatu bi instantzia narratiboen erlazioaren nolakotasunari beste edozeri baino.

Dena dela, geure eritziz Iser-en definizio (ez esplizitoegia, bide batez) horretan ikuspuntua gauza orokorragoa dela dakusagu, eta testuaren antolakuntza osoari dagokionez, ez zaio gehiegi lotzen eskuartean dugun fokalizazio kontzeptuari.

## V.2. Pertzeptzio kontzeptutik abiatuz fokalizazioaren azterketa berri baterantz.

a) Pertzeptzioaren nolakotasunaz:

Orainartean kritika inmanente batetik fokalizazioari buruz egindako azterketak deskriptiboegiak zirela defendatu badugu hurbilpen berri baten beharra frogatzeko izan da.

Horretarako, fokalizazioaren kontzeptuari helduko diogu berriro. Esan bezala, fokalizazioak zerbait perzibitzen dugunean hartzen dugun kokagunetik abiatuz perzibitzen dugun horren (objetua) eta perzibitzen duen sujetuaren arteko erlazioa adierazten du. Beraz, kasu honetan pertzepzio egite guztietan bezala bi alderdi hartu behar ditugu kontutan:

1—Kanpoan dagoen objetuaren nolakotasuna, zein distantziatara dagoen, argia,... etab.

2—pertzeptzio ekintza horretan sujetuak duen eragina (bere mundu ikuskera, munduari buruzko ezaguerak, aurreko esperientziak,...)

Bi alderdi horietan bakoitzak duen eragin edo pisua neurtuz gero, argi dago garrantzi gehiago duela sujetuak, perzibitzen den objetuak baino. Hori dela eta, ezaguera zientzietan egin diren azken ikerketek zerbait ikusten dugunean kanpoko objetuaren ikusmenak sortzen dizkigun estimuluak %20-koak badira, sujetuaren sineskeren, ezagueren,... etab-en eragina %80-koa dela frogatu dute (ik. Varela 1990). Dena dela, aurrera jarraitu baino lehen, gogora dezagun Mieke Bal-ek fokalizazioaz

ematen duen definizioan (1985: 108) pertzeptzioaren alderdi bikoitz horren berri ematen duela, fokalizatzaileak eduki dezakeen pisua aipatuz. Baina gero bere teoriaren garapenean fokalizatzaile mota desberdinak bereizten dituen arren, ez du nabarmentzen eduki dezakeen pisu hori. Beraz, Bal-en teoria badugu orainartean egin den osoena, praktikara pasatzerakoan ez dira aipatu alderdiak (gure ustez interesgarriak direnak) kontutan hartuak izan.

Ondorioz, esan dezagun fokalizazioaren azterketa osotuago batek fokalizazio egite horren alderdi emotiboa, "kognitiboa", ideologikoa,... aztertu beharko lituzkeela.

b) Bestalde, literatur testu ororen alderdi pragmatikora itzuliz, argi dago fokalizazioak eragin zuzena duela irakurleak "historia" jasoko duen moduan. Fokalizazioaren bidez historia mailako gertakizun eta edukiak "modu" batetan aurkezten zaizkio irakurleari, "kontzientzia pertzeptibo" batetik iragazita, alegia.

Alderdi pragmatiko hori nolabait neurtzeko interesgarria izango litzateke fokalizazioaren bidez idazleak irakurleari igortzen dizkion edukien nolakotasuna aztertzea. Honi dagokionez, Bal-ek iragarri duen bezala (1985: 120), fokalizazioa "suspensea" lortzeko baliabide interesgarria da:

> (...) la imagen que se presenta al lector se halla manipulada. La imagen la da el focalizador. En principio coincidirá con la que el focalizador mismo tenga: al fin y al cabo se ha comparado con una cámara. Pero la imagen del focalizador puede ser incompleta. Este el caso cuando los personajes "saben" más que el focalizador.(...). El lector puede, por consiguiente, recibir una imagen tanto completa como incompleta, o más o menos completa que la que los personajes tienen de sí mismos. El focalizador es el que lo ha de determinar.

Guzti hori kontutan harturik, fokalizazioa ekintza semiotikoa dela baieztatzen dugu. Kontzeptu edo teknika honekiko hurbilpen osoago batek pertzeptzioari dagozkion xehetasunak hartu behar ditu kontutan. Pertzeptzio mota desberdin horietan alderdi emotiboak, ideologikoak,... duten pisua aztertu behar du, (hau da, pertzeptzio moduen adierazkortasunaz zerbait esan behar du) fokalizazio mota desberdinen hautaketak irakurlearengan eduki dezakeen eragina neurtzen saiatu behar du. Esan beharrik ez dago fokalizazioaren azterketa intratextualaz ari garela, hau da, testuak eskeintzen dizkigun fokalizazio mota desberdinen interpretapenetik abiatuz egiten denaz.

### V.3. Narratologiatik semiotikara eredu osotuago bat bilatuz.

Gorago aipatu helburu horiek betetzeko, lan honetan zehar ikusitako metodologia desberdinetatik interesgarrienak hauek direla esango genuke:

a) *Narratologia*: ordurarteko nahasketak salatuz arazoarekiko hurbilpen sistematikoago bat eskeintzen duelako, eta fokalizazioaren alderdi "pertzeptiboa" azaldu duelako.

b) *Semiotika errusiarra*: Boris Uspensky-ren hurbilpen berria "ikuspuntua"ren alderdi ideologikoa, psikologikoa,... kontutan hartzen saiatu delako.

Ondorioz, orain proposatzen dugun eredu osotu honek bietatik hartuko ditu puntu desberdinak. Nolanahi ere, hurbilpen honekin Shlomith Rimmon-ek (1988) proposaturiko bideari heldu nahiko genioke.

## V.4. *Fokalizazioaren azterketarako proposamena*:

### V.4.1. "Fokalizazioa" *ala* "ikuspuntua"?

Gure ustez "fokalizazio" hitza egokiagoa da, batez ere bere adiera teknikoagatik eta hitz eratorriak sortzeko ematen duen aukeragatik (fokalizatzailea, fokalizatua,... esan daitezke baina "ikuspuntu..." ez). Honezaz gain, hitz honek ez du "ikuspuntu" hitzak historian zehar eduki duen adiera multzoa ezagutu, eta gure helbururako "ze-hatzagoa" dela deritzogu. Beraz, bat gatoz Genette-k (1972) eta Bal-ek (1977) hitz hau aukeratzean emandako arrazoiekin.

### V.4.2. *Fokalizazioaren definizioa*:

Fokalizazioak erlazio bat adierazten du: aurkezten diren elementuen eta hauek so-matzen dituen sujetuaren artekoa. Beraz, fokalizazioaren funtsa ikusmenaren eta ikusten denaren arteko erlazioa litzateke.

Lehenengo eta behin, perzibituak diren elementuen aukera bat isladatzen du, bi-garren maila batean, pertzepzio ekintza horren ondorioz elementu horien aurkezpena testuan.

Beraz, honi dagokionez, Mieke Bal-en planteiamendua hobesten dugu. Gure us-tez Gérard Genette-k erabilitako erizpidea, hau da, "jakituriaren erizpidea" nahiko desegoki eta nahasgarria da. Kritikari frantsesak berak azken liburuan onartzen zuen bezala, narratzailearengan ez da "informazio murrizpenik" ematen, izan ere, berak "dena bait daki". Hori horrela izanik, eta batez ere bere zero fokalizazioa /kanpo fo-kalizazioa esplikatzeko jakituriaren erizpideak erakusten dituen desegokitasunenga-tik, Bal-en planteiamenduak jarraitzea erabaki dugu.

Bestalde, fokalizazioak erlazio bat adierazten badu ere, ez da egite linguistiko bat. Bere eragina historia (=fabula) mailara hedatzen delarik bertako gertakizunak "pertzeptzio gune" batetik iragaziz.

Baina narratzaileari bakarrik dagokio aurkezpen horren esplizitazio linguistikoa, ez fokalizatzaileari. Horrekin batera, fokalizazioa adierazkorra den heinean ekintza semiotikoa dela esango dugu (ikusmen edo pertzeptzio erlazio horrek kontzeptzio bat igortzen digulako. Hau da, "ikuste" hutsa baino gehiago "kontsideratu" delako).

### V.4.3. *Fokalizazioa versus narrazioa*.

Genette-z geroztik funtsezkoa bilakatu den banaketa honetan "ikusten" duenaren eta "ikusitako hori kontatzen duenaren" arteko desberdintasuna baieztatzen dugu. Beste norbaitek dakusana edo ikusitakoa konta dezakegun moduan, narratzaileak eta fokalizatzaileak ez dute zertan bat etorri behar nobelan.

Honen adibide bat aipatzearren, gogora dezagun B. Atxagaren "Post Tenebras spero lucem" ipuina. Bertan narratzaile heterodiegetiko-extradiegetiko batek (3. pertsonan) maistra batek Obaba herrian dituen pasadizo desberdinak kontatzen diz-kigu.

Gehienetan aipatu narratzaile extradiegetiko honek maistraren pentsamenduak,... etab. fokalizatzen ditu narratzaile orojakileen antzera. Baina zenbait kasutan maistra-ren barru bizitza hori azaltzeko pertsonaia honetan kokaturiko fokoa hartzen du abiapuntutzat, kasu hauetan maistra bilakatuz fokalizatzaile.

Alabaina, fokalizatzaile/narratzaile arteko desberdintasun hori lehenengo pertso-
·nan idatziriko narrazioetan ere posible da. Narrazio hauetan protagonista-kontalariak
(n. homodiegetikoa) atzera begiratzen du bere gaztaroko edo haurtzaroko edo eta
beste edozein momentutako gertaerak oroituz. *Obabakoak*-era itzuliz, gogora deza-
gun "Esteban Werfell" ipuina. Ipuin honetan, protagonista txikitan Obaba-n bizitu-
tako mementuak oroitzen hasten da, Hamburgora eginikako bidaia kaiera desberdi-
netan idatziz. "Memorandum" honetan honela gogoratzen du Werfell Jaunak Oba-
ban lehenengo aldiz Elizara sartu zenean sentitutako inpresioa:

> Garai hartan irakurtzen nituen liburu ilustratuen eraginez edo, barrendik
> hustutako mendi baten irudia etorri zitzaidan burura. Ni nengoen hutsune har-
> tan, ordea, ez zegoen airerik. Hala iruditzen zitzaidan behinik behin: ezin nuela
> arnasik hartu, ito egingo nintzela aldareko kandela hartaraino iritsi baino lehen.
> (Atxaga 1988: 85)

Argi dago narratzailea "Werfell Jauna" dugula kultura handiko gizona, bere "es-
critoirearen aurrean" eseririk letra dotorez idazten diharduena. Latinezko perpausak
eta gorago aipatu paragrafoan "liburu ilustratu" espresioa Werfell helduari dagozkion
bitartean eskenaren pertzeptzioa, fokalizazioa, Obaban bizi izan zen Werfell gazteari
dagokio, momentuan ikusmen hark sortutako inpresioa zehazki transkribatzen zai-
gularik. Aurrekoaren adibide ugari aurki ditzakegu "Hamaika hitz Villamedianako
herriaren ohoretan, eta bat gehiago" ipuinean ere, non lehenengo pertsonan (narra-
tzaile homodiegetikoa) Palentziako herri txiki horretan bizitutako esperientziak
"Hamaika hitz eta bat gehiagotan" kontatzen dizkigun narratzaileak. Narratzailea
egonaldi horretatik itzulitako pertsonaia badugu, fokalizatzailea Villamedianan ko-
katuriko pertsonaia dugu etengabe.

Guzti honen ondorioak laburtuz:

1—Fokalizazioa eta narrazioa bi ekintza desberdin dira

2—"3. pertsonako kontzientzia-gunea" deituriko narrazioetan narratzailea 3. per-
tsonari dagokiona da, fokalizatzailea aldiz "kontzientzia-guneari" dagokiona da.

3—Fokalizazioa eta narrazioa bereizten dira atzera-begira eginikako 1. pertsona-
ko kontaketetan ere.

4—Fokalizazioari dagokionez, "2" eta "3" artean ez dago desberdintasunik (bie-
tan diegesi mailako pertsonaia batean bait dago kokaturik fokoa). Desberdintasun
bakarra narratzailearena da.

## V.4.4. *Fokalizatzailea / fokalizatua.*

Bal-en bereizketari egokia deritzogu. Ez bakarrik Genette-ren banaketa hirukoi-
tzari argitasunik eskeintzen diolako, baizik eta pertzeptzio egite orotan bereiz dai-
tezkeen bi muturrak bereizgarri egiten dituelako.

Fokalizatzaileari dagokionez: historia barruko pertsonaia izan daiteke, ala historia
kanpokoa. Fokalizatua, aldiz, "perzibigarria" ala "ez-perzibigarria" izan daiteke (ikus
Bal).

V.4.5. *Fokalizazio mota desberdinak*:

V.4.5.A. Historiari buruzko kokagunea kontutan harturik:

*Kanpo fokalizazioa*: Fokalizatzailea historiatik kanpo kokaturik dagoenean (cf. Bal 1985, Stanzel 1988, Rimmon 1988).

*Barru fokalizazioa*: Fokoa diegesi mailako pertsonaia batean kokatua dagoenean.

Delako testu batean bi fokalizazio mota hauek bereizteko arazorik dagoenean, Rimmon, Genette... eta hainbatek azterkizun dugun paragrafoa edo zatia 1.go pertsonan berridaztea gomendatzen dute (berridatzi ondoren testuan aldaketa nabarmenik ematen ez bada, hau da, pertsona gramatikalaren aldaketa berarena ez bada, paragrafo hori "barru fokalizazioan idatzirik dago). Genette-ren "barru-fokalizazioa" definitzerakoan azaldu genuenez R. Barthes-engandik hartutako ideia hau ("Modo personal del relato" delakoa) errentagarria suertatzen da honelako kasuetan.

Lehenengo banaketa honek fokalizatzaileari egiten badio erreferentzia, fokalizazio horrek beregain hartzen duenari buruz, fokalizatuari buruz, honako bi aukera hauek ditugula esan behar: fokalizatu perzibigarria, fokalizatu ez-perzibigarria:

Bal-engandik hartu dugun bereizketa honen funtsa honako baldintza honetan egongo da: Fokalizatu bat ez-perzibigarra izango da fabula (edo historia) barruko beste pertsonaiek perzibi ez dezaketenean. Horrela: pentsamenduak, usteak, asmoak.... honen barruan leudeke. Fokalizatu perzibigarria aldiz edonork perzibi dezakeen "objetu edo ekintza multzoari dagokio".

Bukatzeko, esan dezagun fokalizazio mota batek ez duela fokalizatu mota bat baldintzatzen. Horrela, barru fokalizazioan fokalizatzaileak objetuak,... (fokalizatu perzibigarria) nahiz sentimenduak,... (fokalizatu ez-perzibigarria) fokaliza ditzake.

Azken ohar gisara, fokalizazio mailei buruz zenbait gogoeta egin nahiko genuke, gure proposamen honetatik kanpo uztea erabaki bait dugu. Batetik, Bal-ek proposatzen duen mailaketa hierarkikoak izugarri zailtzen duelako testuaren deskribapena, bestetik, Vitoux-en (1982) artikulutik ondorlozta daitekeenez, mailaketa horrek iluntasun handia ematen diolako "fokalizatu" izatetik "fokalizatzaile" izatera pasatzen den pertsonaiaren deskribapenari. Gure ustez, maila diegetiko desberdinei dagozkien fokalizatzaileak zehaztea egokia eta argigarria da, baina diegesi maila bereko bi fokalizatzaile dauzkagunean maila aldaketarik dagoela onartzea gehiegizkoa da. Baina hau, noski, gure eritzi bat besterik ez da.

V.4.5.B. Iraunkortasunari begiratuz. Hiru motatakoa izan daiteke:

a) Finkoa: Testuan zehar fokalizazioa beti bera denean. Ad: H. James-en *What Maisie Knew* (1897) aipa dezakegu, non estu osoa Maisie-rengan fokalizaturik dagoen edo *Leturiaren egunkari ezkutua* (1957)-n Leturia dugu fokalizatzailea.

b) Aldagarria: Bi fokalizatzaile desberdinen artean mugitzen denean fokoa. (Genette-ren "barru fokalizazioari" buruzko puntuan esandakoa baliagarria dugu hemen).

d) Anitza: fokalizazio gune derberdinak daudenean Faulkner-en *The Sound and the Fury* (1931) nobelan bezala.

Azkenik, banaketa hirukoitz hau fokalizatzaileari nahiz fokalizatuari egozten zaiola esan beharra dago.

## V.4.6. *Fokalizazioaren alderdiak*:

Azken kapitulu honetan askotan esan dugu fokalizazioari dagokion kanpo/barru arteko dikotomiaren deskribapena beste zenbait ezaugarrirekin osatu behar dela. Halaber, fokalizazio ekintza orotan sujetuaren berezkotasunak, kokaguneak,... duen garrantzia gogoratu nahiko genuke. Gauzak horrela, "Fokalizazioaren ezaugarriak" deitu dugun puntu honetan Boris Uspensky-k bere liburuan (1973) proposaturikoaren ildotik *kanpo/barru* bereizketa hori ezaugarri desberdinetan zertan gauzatzen den azaldu nahiko genuke.

### V.4.6.1. Espazio/denbora*ri dagozkien ezaugarriak*:

*Espazioa*: Kanpo/barru fokalizazioei dagokienez, fokoaren kokapen zehatz horrek espazio mailan ondorio batzu ditu. Horrela, kanpo fokalizazioan (hau da fabulako edozein pertsonaiaz kanpo kokatua dagoen fokoaren kasuan) fokoa urruti kokatua egon daiteke "bird's eye view" (txoriaren ikuspuntua) delakoa hartuz. Testu klasikoetan azaltzen zaigun fokalizatzaile mota honek *ikusmira panoramiko* zabal bat eskein diezaguke historiako gertaerak kokatzen diren lekuaren azalpen zabala (hau kapitulu hasera eta bukaeretan oso normala da, Uspensky 1973: 64), edo eta *aldibereko fokalizazioa* eskein diezaguke, historia mailan leku desberdinetan gertatzen diren ekintza desberdinak "aldiberean" erakutsiz.

Barru fokalizazioak, aldiz, fokalizatzaile horren inguruko espazio murriztua bakarrik azal dezake; *ikusmira murriztua* deituko diogu honi.

Espazioari dagokion fokalizazio hau ikusmira panoramiko batetik ikusmira murriztura alda daiteke (Uspensky 1973: 58-59)

*Denbora*: Kanpo fokalizazioa *pankronikoa* da fokalizatzailea pertsonaia bat ez denean, eta *atzeranzkoa* da fokalizatzailea pertsonaia bat denean.

Aldiz, barru fokalizazioak beti *sinkronia* adierazten du fokalizatzaileak igortzen dizkigun edukiei buruz. Beste hitzetan esateko, kanpo fokalizatzaileak historiaren denbora-dimentsio guztiak dauzka bere esku (lehena, oraina, geroa), baina historia barruko fokalizatzailea pertsonaien "orainaldira" bakarrik mugatzen da (Uspensky 1973: 67, 113).

### V.4.6.2. *Alderdi Psikologikoa*:

Ezaugarri psikologiko hauek fokalizatzaileak fokalizatuarekiko duen orientazio emotiboa eta kognitiboa azaldu nahi dituzte.

*Ezagutza*: Ezaguera, usteak, sinesmenak, memoria,... ezagutzarekin loturik azaltzen zaizkigu (Rimmon-ek "Cognitive component" deiturikoa). Kanpo/barru fokalizazioaren arteko desberdintasuna murrizketarik gabeko ezagutza /ezagutza murriztua bikotearekin esplika daiteke. Teorian kanpo fokalizatzaile batek (batez ere nobela dezimononikoetan dakusagunez) historia mailan gertatzen denari buruzko ezagutza zabal bezain sakona eduki dezake. Aldiz, barru fokalizazio batean fokalizatzaileak ezin du historia mailako gertakizun guztien horrelako ezagutzarik eduki.

*Emotibitatea*: Kasu honetan, tradizionalki onartu izan den *fokalizazio subjetiboa/fokalizazio objetiboa* arteko banaketa gogora dezakegu. Lehenengoa barru fokalizazioari badagokio, bigarrena kanpo fokalizazioari.

Subjetibitate/objetibitate bikoteari loturik azaltzen zaigu fokalizatu motaren arazoa. "Fokalizatu ez-perzibigarri"aren kasuan hauek genituzke fokalizazio subjetibo/objetibo bat isladatzeko aukera desberdinak:

a) Fabulaz kanpoko fokalizatzaile batek fokalizatu ez-perzibigarri bat fokalizatzen duenean. Kasu honetan narratzaileak "pentsatu zuen", "sentitu zuen", "iruditu zitzaion", "bazekien",... bezalako aditzak darabiltza testuan.

b) Kanpo fokalizatzaile horrek "fokalizatu ez-perzibigarri" horren berri eman dezake, baina zuzenki fokalizatu gabe. Adibide bat jartzeko nobelan pertsonaia bat urduri dagoela azaldu nahi denean, gorago aipatu moduan (a) narratzaileak "urduri zegoen" esan dezake, edo eta urduritasun hori igartzen den zenbait keinuren berri eman dezake "itxuraz urduri zegoela zirudien eskuak asko mogitzen zituelako".

Beraz, pertsonaia baten "barru-bizitzaz" informaziorik eman nahi denean, baina "barrutik fokalizatu gabe, hau da, kanpo fokalizazioak eskatzen duen fokalizatzailea errespetatuz "itxuraz", "...-bezala", "dirudi/zirudien",...etab. bezalako espresioak agertuko dira (Uspensky-k "Words of estrangement" deiturikoak, 1973: 85).

### V.4.6.3. *Alderdi ideologikoa*:

Askotan "testuaren arauak" delakoarekin lotzen den alderdi hau historiako gertakizun eta pertsonaiak aurkezten dituen "mundu ikuskera"ri lotuta agertzen zaigu (Uspensky 1973: 8).

Kasurik sinpleenean "ideologia edo sinesmen arauak" narratzaile-fokalizatzailearen perpektiba nagusitik aurkezten dira. Testuko beste pertsonaien ideologia edo baloreak perspektiba nagusi horrekin bat ez badatoz, narratzaile-fokalizatzaile honek meneratzen ditu, bere ideologia besteenaren gainetik ipiniz (Uspensky 1973: 8-9).

Baina beste kasuetan narratzaile-fokalizatzaile horren ideologiaren ondoan jarrera ideologiko desberdinak agertzen dira, zenbait kasutan adostasunik azaltzen ez dutenak, bestetan elkarren kontrakoak, guztiaren ondorioz nobela testu polifoniko bilakatuz (Uspensky-ren kapituluan azaldu bezala Mijail Bakhtin-i jarraitzen dio Uspensky-k puntu honetan).

Rimmon-ek (1988: 82) dioenez, pertsonaia batek bere jarrera ideologikoa historiaren barruan duen jokabidearen bidez erakuts diezaguke, edo eta testuan egin ditzakeen azalpen esplizitoen bidez. Halaber, narratzaile-fokalizatzaileari buruz: honek bere ideologia erakuts dezake nobelari ematen dion orientabidean, edo eta bertan aurkez ditzakeen eritzi desberdinetan. Dena dela, Uspensky-k alderdi honi ikusten zion zailtasuna onartu beharra dago: seguraski ideologiaren alderdi hau da formalki helgaitzena gerta litekeena fokalizazioaren azterketarako.

### V.4.7. *Alderdi desberdinen arteko erlazioak*:

Gorago ikusitako alderdiak (psikologikoa, ideologikoa,...) bat etor daitezke, baina litekeena da fokalizatzaile desberdinenak izatea. Aipatu "Esteban Werfell"en adibidean espazio/denbora ezaugarriak Esteban gazteari badagozkio, fokalizazio ideologikoa Esteban "Jaunarena" da. Edo eta gerta litekeena da pertsonaia batekiko fokalizazio subjetiboak pertsonaia berarekiko distantzia ideologikoa edukitzea. Puntu honetan Uspensky-k bere liburuan aipatzen zituen adibideak gogora ditzakegu.

V.4.8. *Fokalizazioaren adierazpen linguistikoa*:

Esan dugunez, fokalizazioa ez da egite linguistiko bat, testuaren eduki linguistiko guztia narratzaileari bait dagokio. Baina hori horrela izanik ere, litekeena da fokalizatzaileak narratzailearen zenbait adierazpenetan eraginik edukitzea. B. Uspensky-k "Phraseological Plane" deiturikoaz ari gara, hain zuzen.

Errusiarraren ideien laburpena egiterakoan, besteren artean bi adibide aipatzen genituen: *izendaketa*ren arazoa eta *ezaugarri estilistikoak*. Lehenengo alderdiari dagokionez (Napoleoni emandako izendaketa desberdinak aipatzen genituen), argi dago nahiz nobela osoan zehar, nahiz paragrafo edo esaldi soil batean pertsonaia bati emandako izen desberdinek fokalizatzaile aldaketa adieraz dezaketela. (Uspensky, 1973: 31).

Ezaugarri estilistikoei buruz, gogora dezagun *Haur besoetakoa* nobelaz geniona: bertan barru-fokalizazioan protagonistaren pentsamenduak (fokalizazio ez-perzibigarria) azaltzen zaizkigu. Alabaina pertsonaia hau izendatzeko erabiltzen diren: "gizona", "aita besoetakoa" bezalako espresioek fokalizatzaile desberdinak adierazten dizkigute. Halaber esan daiteke "Theresa" edo "alaba besoetakoa"ri buruz.

FOKALIZAZIOAREN AZTERKETARAKO ESKEMA:

A) Mailari dagokionez:

    KANPO FOKALIZAZIOA (Fabulatik kanpo kokaturiko fokalizatzailea)

    BARRU FOKALIZAZIOA (Fabula barruan kokaturiko fokalizatzailea)

    FOKALIZATUA: PERZIBIGARRIA EZ-PERZIBIGARRIA

B) Iraunkortasunari dagokionez:

    FINKOA

    ALDAGARRIA

    ANITZA

D) Fokalizazioaren alderdiak

D.1. ESPAZIO /DENBORARI DAGOZKIEN EZAUGARRIAK:

    ESPAZIOARI DAGOKIONEZ:

    Kanpo fokalizazioa: Panoramikoa, Aldiberekoa

    Barru Fokalizazioa: Murriztua

    DENBORARI DAGOKIONEZ:

    Kanpo fokalizazioa: PANKRONIKOA, ATZERUNZKOA

    Barru Fokalizazioa: SINKRONIKOA

D.2. ALDERDI PSIKOLOGIKOA:

    EZAGUTZAREN ALDETIK:

    Mugarik gabeko ezagutza / Ezagutza mugatua

    Normalean lehenengoa kanpo fokalizazioari eta bigarrena barru fokalizazioari badagozkio ere, ez da nahitaezkoa. Posibilitate desberdinak ikusi beharko lirateke.

    EMOTIBITATEAREN ALDETIK:

    Fokalizazio subjetiboa (barru fokalizazioa, gehienetan, baina ez derrigorrez)

    Fokalizazio objetiboa (kanpo fokalizazioa gehienetan)

D.3. ALDERDI IDEOLOGIKOA:

    Ideologia bakarreko testua

    Testu polifonikoa

D.4. ALDERDI DESBERDINEN ARTEKO ERLAZIOAK

D.5. FOKALIZAZIOAREN ADIERAZPEN LINGUISTIKOA:

IZENDAKETA

EZAUGARRI ESTILISTIKOAK

## VI. Fokalizazioa *100 metro*-n

Fokalizazioaren azterketarako eskema proposatu hutsarekin gelditzea ez zitzaigun oso egokia iruditzen. Horregatik, azken puntu honetan, gure eskematik abiatuz Ramon Saizarbitoriaren *100 metro* (1976)[5] nobela aztertzea deliberatu dugu.

Zergatik *100 metro?* Seguraski nobela hau bait da gure narratiban fokalizazioari dagokionez aberastasun handiena eskeintzen duena. Horretaz gain, nobela honek egungo irakurlegoaren baitan duen harrera, hautaketa honen arrazoietako bat suerta daiteke. Dagoeneko zortzi argitalpen ezagutu dituen nobela hau izan da gaztelerara itzuli den lehenengoa, eta honekin batera, itzulpen gehien ezagutu dituena (lau, alegia). Eta hori gutxi ez bada ere, 1985ean Alfonso Ungria-ren zuzendaritzapean eginikako filmearen oinarri dugu.

Gauzak horrela, eta testu honek "funtzionatzen duela" (Lasagabaster 1986) jakina bada ere, arrakasta horren arrazoiak liratekeenei buruz zenbait gogoeta egitea ez legoke soberan.

Lehenengo eta behin, esan dezagun arrakasta horren nolakotasunari begiratuz, nobela honek idazle beraren beste bi nobelen ondoan leku berezia merezi duela: lehenengo nobelak (*Egunero hasten delako* [1969]) bost argitalpen ezagutu baditu (azkenekoa 1989koa), hirugarrenak (*Ene Jesus*, [1976]) bi argitalpen besterik ez ditu ezagutu (azkena 1982koa delarik). Desberdintasuna nabarmena da autore beraren traiektoria narratiboaz ari garela kontsideratzen badugu.

Dudarik ez dago Saizarbitoriaren nobelagintzak euskal narratiban hasitako bidea eraberritzailea izan dela. Alabaina, idazle baten obraz hitzegitean bere produzio literarioaren atzean dagoen poetikaz hitzegitea ezinbestekoa zaigu. Maila honetan, idazle honen nobela desberdinen artean dagoen aldeak eta bilakaerak azken nobelak edukitako harrera eskasa azalduko liguke. Esan daiteke (hurrengo puntuan azalduko dugunez) literatura esperimentatzeko zerbait dela defenditu duen narratzaile honen lanak momentu batean euskal literatur irakurlegoarengan eduki zuen islada eta onarpena, gerora 1976ko bere azken nobelarekin eten egin zela (haustura horren adibide ugari topa dezakegu nobela honi buruz eginikako zenbait iruzkinetan, hala nola, Agirre 1983).

Eten hori bere nobelagintzan eman den laburpen prozedurak berak azalduko luke. Zentzu honetan, lehenengo bi nobelen irakurleari bertan kontatzen zitzaion "historia" (errusiar formalisten "historia"/"dirkurtsua" dikotomia erabiliz) ulerterraz bezain erakargarri suertatzen zitzaion bitartean, hirugarren nobelako irakurleak sorpresa handia hartu zuen nobela honetan idazketa bera gai nagusi bilakatu zela (cf. "metanobela" kontzeptua) ikustean.

Halere, arrazoi literario horiekin batera, esan dezagun garaiko euskal irakurleari "identifikagarria" suertatzen zitzaion eduki narratibo hori kalterako bihurtu zela ka-

(5) Azterketa honetarako nobelaren bigarren argitalpena erabiliko dugu, Kriseluk argitaratua, 1976an.

su askotan. Jon Juaristirekin (1987: 126) ados gaude nobela hau euskal literaturan gaizkien irakurritakoen artean dagoela esaten duenean. Izan ere, argitaratu zenean bai zentsuratu zutenek baita bertan "nobela nazionala" ikusi zutenek ere, narratzaileak kontatzen digun gertaera bortitz honen aurrean duen jarrera inpartziala ahaztu zuten.

Bestalde, argi dago, gorago aipatu interpretapen horiekin bakarrik nahiko gaizki esplikatuko genukeela gaur egun nobela honek oraindik orain duen oihartzuna. Gauzak horrela, gure literaturaren zirkuitu bitxian irakaskuntzak eta erakunde ofizialek eduki dezaketen eragin zuzena neurtzeke dagoen bitartean, zail da arrakasta horretan arazo extraliterarioek luketen pisua neurtzea.

Arrazoiak arrazoi, nobela honek "nobela handiak" deiturikoek duten ezaugarririk nagusienetakoa erakutsi digu: denbora gaindituz irakurgarri egiten dituen gaurkotasuna.

Narratzaileak bere begirada zabalaren bitartez heriotza baten kronika egiten digu, gure esku uzten duelarik irakurketaren bidez liburua osatzen duten puzzle desberdinei forma ematea. Azken hitza irakurleari dagokio, berak bakarrik berridatz bait dezake *100 metro*.

VI.a. *Saizarbitoriaren nobelagintzaren poetika: heroi konfliktibotik formaren eraberritzera*:
"L'être de la littérature n'est rien d'autre que sa technique".
(Roland Barthes).

Lan honen lehenengo kapituluan XX. mendean nobelagintzaren baitan emandako bilakaera fokalizazio edo ikuspuntuaren arazoarekin lotzen saiatu garenean, mende erdialdean Frantzian sorturiko "nouveau roman" delako mugimendu honek edukitako garrantzia azpimarratu dugu. Berez "talde" edo "mugimendu" izena inoiz onartu ez duten idazle hauek (Jean Ricardou-k 1971an Cerisy-n egin zen Kongresuan "lan hipotesi" gisara definituko du "nouveau roman" delakoa) nobelagintza berri bat defendatuko dute. Esan daiteke jadanik gaur egun klasiko bihurtu diren *Pour un nouveau roman* (1963) eta *L'Ere du Soupçon* (1956) liburuek ordurarteko nobelagintza esistentzialistarekiko etena markatuko dutela. Saizarbitoriak berak dioskunez:

> *Arrotza* mesanotxe gainetik aldendu berria genuelarik N. Sarraute eta A. Robbe Grillet azaldu zitzaizkigun. Hauentzat ez du sentidurik errealitateari sentidurik edo esplikaziorik bilatzeak. Irakurlea organikoki bizitzen den esperientziaren mailan jartzen dute, mundua dominatu gabe mudu beraren zati bat, prolongazio bat besterik ez den konzienziaren barnean. (1975: 10)

Ildo horretan ikusi behar dugu Saizarbitoriaren nobelek euskal nobelagintzan edukitako eragina. Forma/edukia dikotomia apurtuz, kontzientzia fenomenikoa bihurtuko da nobela hauetako protagonista. Kontzientzia honek, bere ingurunearekin etengabeko kenkan dagoelarik, begiradaren bidez bakarrik baieztatuko du bere izatea, "munduan egotea". Kontaketa "behaviorista" edo objetibistaz baliatuko dira horretarako: "La relativa subjetividad de mi mirada me sirve precisamente para definir mi situación en el mundo" (Robbe-Grillet 1973: 88).

Abiapuntu berri hau kontutan hartuz, gure artean hain hedaturik dagoen topikoa: "Txillardegik edukiaren eraberritzea ekarri bazuen, Saizarbitoriari dagokio for-

maren berrikuntza" baztertu egin behar da, aipatu poetika honekin kontraesanean bait dago (ik. Lasagabaster 1989).

## VI.b. 100 metro: *"historia/testua/narrazioa"*

Lan honen hirugarren kapituluan azaldu dugunez, errusiar formalistek testu narratiboetan bereizten zuten alderdi bikoitza ("historia/diskurtsua"), narratologiak, eta zehazki Genette-k, osotu egingo du bikoiztasun horri hirugarren maila bat erantsiz: *"Historia, testua, narrazioa"*.

Fokalizazioaren arazoa bigarren maila horretan sartzen bada ere (hots, "testu" mailan), testuen beste alderdiekin dituen loturak kontutan hartuz, maila honen azterketari ekin baino lehen azterkizun dugun nobelaren ezaugarri nagusiak aipatuko ditugu. Honako hau dateke, Gérard Genette (1972) eta Mieke Bal-en (1985) berrikuntzei jarraiki, gure azterketaren eskema nagusia:,

A) HISTORIA: A.1 "Fabula" (gertakizunak), A.2 Egileak, A.3 Lekuak, A.4 Denbora

B) TESTUA: B.1 Denbora, B.1.1. Hurrenkera, B.1.2 Iraupena, B.1.3 Maiztasuna,
      B.2 Egileetatik pertsonaietara, B.3 Fokalizazioa

D) NARRAZIOA: D.1 Denbora, D.2 Maila, D.3 Pertsona

## A) "HISTORIA" MAILA:

A.1 *"Fabula"* (gertakizunak):

Nobela honetan kontatzen zaigun istorioa honako hau litzateke: militante baten ihesaren azken ehun metroak. Ehun metro horietan ihesleari bere bizitzako oroitzapen desberdinak datozkio burura (hala nola, txikitan, 8-9 urterekin Kontxako paseabidean aitarekin gertatutakoa [1. kapituluan, 18-20]; Michèle-rekin edukitako harremana [2. eta 3. kapituluetan]; ihesleak ekintza batean Manuel bere laguna zauritu zutenean gertatutakoa eta zauri haren ondorioak [4. kapituluan, 66-69]; bere aitaren heriotzaren oroitzapena [5. kapituluan, 81-87]).

Narratiboki pisurik handiena duen kontaketa honen ondoan beste batzu aurkezten dira, guztiak (eskolako haurraren istorioa ezik) iheslearen heriotzan bere oinarria dutelarik:

1) Ihesaren lekuko suertatzen den gazteari eginikako galdaketa.

2) Iheslearen heriotza kontatzen duten egunkariko zatiek osatzen dutena.

3) Iheslearen heriotzaren inguruan kaleko pertsonaia anonimoek egiten dituzten iruzkinak:

3.1 Goizean egunkaria erosten; kafetegian; bulegoan [1.go kapitulua]

3.2 Autobus geltokian [2. kapituluan]

3.3 Eguerdian Bretxako merkatuan emakumeen iruzkinak [3. kapituluan]

3.4 Eskolara doazen gaztetxoen iruzkinak; Perla aurrean eseririk dauden jubilatuen iruzkinak [4. kapituluan]

3.5 Kontxako paseolekukoen, poteatzaileen iruzkinak [5. kapituluan]

Iruzkinen planoa osatzen duten gertaera guzti hauek Donostiako Konstituzio Plazaren deskribapen batekin amaitzen dira (hurrengo mailan gehiago azalduko dugu deskribapen hauen xede eta nolakotasuna).

4) Eskolako haurraren istorioak osatzen duen kontaketa. Leku berean (kapitulu bakoitzaren hasieran) azaltzen den planu bakarra izanik, tipografiaz ere desberdina dugu.

## A.2. *Pertsonaiak*:

Protagonista nagusiaren izena badakigu, zeharka bada ere ("Ba henkien penagarri izanen hintzela besteentzat eta eskola lagunek se ha muerto el padre de José esanen zutela boz isilean", 83). Horretaz gainera, zenbait datu "objetibo" eskeintzen zaizkigu: bere pisua 72 kg-takoa da, eta bere altuera 1,80 zmtakoa (98), baina dakusagunez deskribapen hauetatik ondoriozta daitekeen pertsonaia-irudia nobelagintza klasikoetan eskeintzen zitzaigunetik oso urrun dago. Pertsonaiaren "barru izaeraren bilakaera" alde batera uzten den neurrian, ezin daiteke jadanik Forster-en "pertsonaia laua/biribila" (round/flat characters) dikotomia erabili nobelagintza berri honetako protagonistak definitzeko, eta Kafka-ren nobelekin hasi zen "pertsonaiaren heriotza" nouveau roman delakoaren baitan ezaugarri nabarienetakoa bilakatu da.

*100 metro*-ra itzuliz, protagonista nagusiaz gain azaltzen diren beste pertsonaiekiko ezagutza eskasa nabaria da:

*Michele Manassé*: Fisikoki ezer gutxi dakigu beraz: ilea "rubioa" duela (46) soilik. Horretaz gainerako datuak pertsonaia "objetualizatu" besterik ez dute egiten: "21-IV-46 koa da, *Rh*, (44), aita judua (46),...

*Poliziak*: "Voz 1", "voz 2"... gisara aurkeztuak, guztiz anonimoak guretzat. Apenas dakigun ezer beraiez zenbait abizen (Vázquez, Díez...) ezik.

*Daniel, Manuel, Fittipaldi,...* ez dakigu "nolakoak" diren, beraien deskribapen zuzenik ez bait dago; orobat, protagonistaren familiakideei dagokienez.

*Ikaslea:* protagonistaren heriotzaren lekukoa bihurturik, ezer gutxi dakigu beraz: "Bestalde ez hukek bakarrik hil nahi, eta tipoaren *bizarrak, sudurrak, janzkerak,* jite osoak hire konfidantza merezi dik" (17). Anonimatoa indartu nahi du narratzaileak: "Liburuak besapean dituztelarik, kaleak, eskolak, tabernak betetzen dituztenetako bat gehiago duk" (36)

Bestalde, Greimas-en eredu estrukturala jairraiki, pertsonaiek nobelan betetzen duten funtzioaren arauera honako eskema hau bereiz dezakegu:,

Sujetua: iheslea (Jose)

Objetua: ihes egitea

Laguntzailea: ikaslea (aktiboki ezer egiten ez badu ere, protagonistarekiko elementu "lasaigarria"suertatzen da)

Aurkakoak: poliziak

Eragilea: egoera politikoa

Hartzailea: iheslea eta, azken batean, euskal gizarte osoa

## A.3. *Lekuak*:

Ugariak dira, baina nagusiena ihesa gertatzen den plaza dela esango dugu: plaza errektangularra da eta bertan Liburutegia dago (edifizio neoklasikoa), arkupe batez inguratua, adokinatua (24, 27, 60, 92,...).

Horretaz gain Donostia "turismoaren paradisu" bihurtzen duten lekuen aipamena: Kontxako pasealekua (59), (89); Parte Zaharra (91).

Eskolako haurraren kontaketan, leku nagusia ikasgela bera izango litzateke, eta bigarren maila batean eskolako patioa (jolaslekua) genuke.

A.4. *Denbora*:

Gertaera nagusienak (ihesa) goizeko 8etatik 9etara irauten du. Komisaldegiko galdaketa egun berean ematen dela suposa badaiteke ere, esplizitoki ez da esaten "noiz" ematen den.

Egunkariko berriak, aldiz, hurrengo egunekoak dira, baina eskolako haurraren kontakizuna ez dakigu noiz ematen den eta zenbat irauten duen.

Azkenik, kaleko iruzkinei dagokienez esan dezagun guztiak hurrengo egunean ematen direla: goizean goiz (autobusaren zain daudenenak, eskolako umeenak), eguerdian (Bretxan)...

**B) TESTUA:**

Aurreko mailan ikusitako edukiek nobelan hartzen duten taiutze bereziari deritzogu testua. Horrela, denbora, fokalizazioa eta pertsonaien karakterizazioa ditugu maila honetan kontutan hartuko ditugun alderdiak.

B.1. *Denbora*:

B.1.1. Hurrenkera: Historia mailako gertakizunak jazo diren ordena errespetatuz aurkez daitezke, edo eta, hurrenkera aldatuz, anakronikoki azaldu. Honi dagokionez, eskuartean dugun nobelan argi dago gertakizunen aurkezpena ez dela denborari dagokion bilakaera errespetatuz aurkeztu. Orden teorikoa apurtuz idazleak planu desberdinen txandaketa aurkezten digu kapitulu bakoitzean.

Demagun honela izendatzen ditugula nobelan azaltzen zaizkigun planu desberdinak:

A — Ihesaren kontakizuna
B — Ikasle gazteari eginikako galdaketa.
D — Egunkariko berriak
E — Kaleko jendearen iruzkinak
F — Eskolako haurraren kontakizuna.

Hauxe izango litzateke beraien hurrenkera:

Lehenengo kapitulua:   F B  D A D  E
Bigarren kapitulua:    F E  D A D  B
Hirugarren kapitulua:  F D  A D B  E
Laugarren kapitulua:   F E  B D A  D
Bosgarren kapitulua:   F B  D A D  E
Seigarren kapitulua:   F A B A B A B A B A E

Kontaketa nagusiari atxekiz, ihesaren narrazioa orainaldian dagoela dakusagu, historia mailako ekintzak gertatu ahala, sinkronikoki aurkezten zaizkigularik.

Ihesaren narrazioan tartekatzen diren oroitzapenak anakronia gisara kontsidera daitezke, atzeranzko anakroniak (Genetteren terminologian, 1972, "analepsiak"). Analepsi hauek (ikus A.1 puntua) ihesaren momentuan asoziazioa zilegi egiten duten zenbait elementuren bidez ematen dira: giltza (Michèle), odolaren beroa (Ma-

nuel), iheslearen heriotza (aitaren heriotza), korrikaldia (txikitako pasadizoa). Horretaz gainera, aldaketa hori aditz-laguntzailearen denbora aldaketak adierazten du esplizitoki: "Giltzan soldatutako M-aren antzeko, bezalako, berdin bat ikusten huen, ikusten duk..." (44); "Ez du, ez huen, ez duk jendez betetako..." (84); "Hotza sentitzen du, sentitzen duk, sentitu huen berriz ere..." (82).

Hurrengo eguneko gertakizunen tartekatzeari dagokionez (kaleko eskenak, egunkarietako iruzkinak....) aurreranzko anakroniak ditugu, prolepsiak, izan ere, gertakizun nagusia bukatu eta gero ematen diren arren, diskurtsu mailan lehenago aurkezten bait zaizkigu.

Puntu honekin bukatzeko, esan dezagun lehenago aipatu anakronia horietaz kanpo geratzen dela eskolako haurraren kontaketa. Zenbaitek (nobela honetan oinarrituz egin den filmean, adibidez) iheslearen haurtzaroko pasadizo gisara ulertu duten arren, zaila da noiz gertatzen den zehaztea. Hori horrela izanik ere, gure eritziz, orainaldiaren erabileragatik eta denboraren zehaztasun ezagatik, narratzaileak hemen "oraindik orain" gertatzen den egoeraren salaketa egin nahiko lukeela pentsa daiteke (hipotesi hau baieztatuko luke, bestalde, nobelan zehar plazan jolasean diharduten haurren "bata beltzen" aipamenak, edo protagonistaren anaia txikiak Salesianoetan hartzen duenak).

B.1.2 Iraupena: Istorio nagusiak (ihesarenak) ordubete irauten du. Lehenengo bost kapituluetan (99. orrialderarte) iheslearen korrikaldia kontatzen zaigu, eta korrikaldi honek 3 bat minutu irauten du. Azken kapituluan, aldiz 8:05etatik 8:58 artekoa da kontakizun (99 orrialdetik 105 orrialdera). Halaber, aipagarria da lehenengo bost kapituluetan kontatzen zaigun gertakizunaren epe labur horrek (3 minutu) erritmo guztiz motela duela *eskena*-ren gailentasunarengatik (narratzaileak denbora "gelditu" nahi duela dirudi iheslearen baitan gertatzen den guztia zehazki kontatzeko), eta *pausa* gisara jokatzen duten aipatu oroitzapenengatik.

Azken kapituluan, erritmoa izugarri azkartzen da eskenaren nagusigoa baztertuz, *laburpena* gailentzen delako: "Bost minutu pasa dira"(94); "Hamar minutu pasa dira", "Hogei minutu pasa dira..." (95)

Esandakoa eskema batetan aurkeztuz:

NARRAZIOAREN DENBORA

| 1 | 2 | 3. | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

HISTORIAREN DENBORA    8 a.m.                          9 a.m.
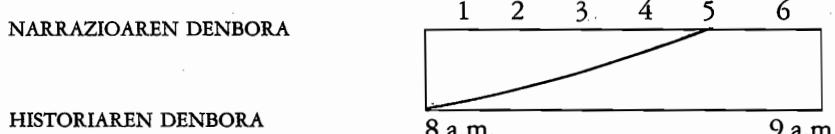
B.1.3. Maiztasuna: Historia mailako gertakizunek testu mailan agertzen duten maiztasuna kontutan hartzen du puntu honek. Gertakizun nagusienari begiratzen badiogu, hau da, ihesari, *banakako* kontaketa baten aurrean gaude: ihesa aurrera joan ahala behin bakarrik kontatzen zaigu jazotakoa. Dena dela bada deigarria suertatzen den gauza bat: aditz, adjetibo edo izen desberdinen sinonimoen pilaketa: "(...) airea jan, irentsi edo tragatu nahian." (36); "Lurrera pegatua sentitzen haiz, lotua" (21), "Segundoen ihestea, joatea, hiltzea, ikusten, entzuten, usaintzen duk." (78), "(...) zango hautsia, zulatua, hustua, inutila, (...)" (80). Guztiarekin ere, errepikapen hori lehenaldiko oroitzapenetan ere ageri da, narratzaileak iheslearengan iraganeko sentsazio bakoitzak duen pisu bortitza azaleratu nahiko baligu bezala: "Olatu hautsiek, lehertuek, puskatuek, zelai beltz batean dauden arkumeak dirudite" (18); "(...) ka-

dentzia, interbaloa, bitartea, erdiunea, lapsoa kalkulatu behar da..." (19); "Belarri ondoan jasotzen duan arnasa neurtzen, bijilatzen, kontrolatzen duk" (49).

Errepikapen horiezaz gain, badira beste motatakoak, batez ere oroitzapenen planuan:, "Irrifar batez agurtu hinduen - (...)- zer modu, ondo, dibertizen ari haiz, maitasunez, harrokeriaz beterikako irrifar zabalez.(...)- Zer modu, ondo? Dibertitzen ari haiz? (...) Aitaren ondoan edo aurrean banko ertzean geratzen da Dibertitzen ari haiz." (19-20). Edo Michèle-ri buruzko oroitzapenetan: "J'en fais cadeau seulement a mes grands amours" (30, gero 35. or. errepikatua)...

Aipatu errepikapenek iheslearen barru iharduera azpimarratu besterik ez dute egiten, ondorioz, erritmoa guztiz mantsotuz. Dena dela, puntu honekin bukatzeko esan dezagun badela nabarmenagoa gertatzen den beste datu bat: plaza errektangularraren etengabeko deskribapena, hain zuzen. Plaza hau 24 eta 27. orrialdeetan deskribatzen da erdaraz, ondorengo orrialdeetan berarekiko erreferentzia eta aipuak falta ez direlarik (56, 60, 91). Argi dago, xehetasun handiz deskribaturik dagoen plaza honek pisu semantiko handia duela heriotza emango den lekua izateagatik.

## B.2. *Egileetatik pertsonaietara*:

Puntu honetan nobelan azaltzen diren pertsonaia desberdinak irakurleari nork eta nola aurkezten dizkion azaltzen saiatuko gara.

Eskolako haurra: Ez zaigu bere deskribapenik ematen eta diegesi mailatik kanpo dagoen narratzaile batek aurkezten digu, "haurra" izena erabiliz (11). Beraz, objetibotasuna eta inpartzialtasuna nagusi direla esan dezakegu.

Poliziak: Ez da inoiz beraien deskribapenik azaltzen eta "Boz 1, 2, 3..." gisara aurkezten zaizkigu. Beraien arteko elkarrizketari esker, batzuen abizenak ezagutzen ditugu: Díez, Vázquez, Sánchez,.... Zeharkako aurkezpen honetan aipatu abizenen nolakotasuna (kanpotarrak/hemengoak dikotomia gogoratuz) da aipagarriena.

Ikaslea: kontalariak, hots, protagonistak aurkezten digu, eta beraz, lehen esan bezala, ezer gutxi dakigu:, bizarduna, eta batez ere "fidatzekoa" dela iheslearen begietara. Eritzi guztiz subjetiboa, beraz.

Kaleko jendea: beti lehenago aipatu narratzaile extradiegetikoak aurkezten ditu. Ez da beraien deskribapenik egiten, eta harrigarria suertatzen den distantzia batetik aurkezten zaizkigu. Adibide batzu aipatzekotan: geltokiko jendeek "xinaurriak dirudite" (22), "kargamentu" gisara definitzen ditu (26), ... Dena dela, ezin esan daiteke zenbait kasutan narratzaile honek guztiz "inpartzialki" jokatzen duenik. Honen lekuko Bretxako emakumeei buruzko hitz hauek jarriko genituzke: "Beren karteratxoak bular potoloen, bular agortuen, oraindik tente agertzen diren bulartxoen kontra herstutuz" (55). Bukatzeko, esan dezagun narratzaile honek pertsonaiaren bati buruzko ezaugarririk ematen duenean "pintzelada" moduko zenbait xehetasun aipatu besterik ez duela egiten: "Jubilatuek eguzkiari itxoiten diote (...). Perlako semaforo aurrean hasperenak, hortz deskoloken tarte beltzak, postizoen trasparentziak erakusten dituzte" (59).

Oroitzapenetan agertzen diren pertsonaien deskribapen fisiko-psikiko zuzenik apenas ematen zaigun, eta gehienetan beraiei buruzko datuak pertsonaia "objetu" gisara, modu ez-pertsonalean aurkezten digute: Michel-i buruz bere lepoko txapan

dioenaz aparte melena rubioa duela dakigu, gerrialdea "tersoa" duela; bere aitari buruz ezer gutxi dakigu: sudur zorrotza duela,.... Zertzelada guzti hauek diegesi mailako narratzaileak, hots, protagonistari esker dakizkigu (2.pertsonan), eta oroitzapenei dagozkien datuak direnez, logikoa da pertsonaia guzti hauei buruz itxura fisikoa baino gehiago protagonistarekiko berenːharremana, jokabidea, jakitea.

Jarraian, esan ditzagun bi hitz protagonistaz, hau da, ihesleaz. Berari buruzko ezagutza mugatua da: pisua, neurria, izena,... guztiak zeharka emanak, bigarren mailako narratzaileak, hain zuzen. Azken finean, nobela honek eraikitzen duen mundu-nobeleskoan narratzaileari ez zaio interesatzen bere ingurunea deskribatzea; alderantziz, "bizitutako" ingurunea aurkezten zaigun neurrian pertsonaiak, protagonistak berak ere bai, egiten dutenari esker definitzen dira.

## B.3. *Fokalizazioa*:

Lanaren azken atal honen xedea puntu hau aztertzea denez, eskema honen ondoren ipintzeari egokiago eritzi diogu.

## D. NARRAZIOA:

Azken maila honetan testu narratiboek duten ezaugarri nagusienetakoaz, hots, narratzaileaz, ihardungo dugu. Genette-ri jarraituz (1972), hiru alderdi hartuko ditugu kontutan: Narrazio denbora, maila eta pertsona.

## D.1. *Denbora*:

Gertakizun baten kontaketa ematen den momentuan gauza daiteke (*aldibereko kontaketa*), gertatu eta handik denbora batera (*geroagoko kontaketa*) edo etorkizunean gertatuko den zerbait lehenagotik konta diezaguke narratzaileak (*lehenagoko kontaketa*).

*100 metro*-ren kasuan kontaketa nagusia *aldiberekoa* da, dudarik gabe (orainaldian idatzia, nouveau roman-eko nobelagileek gustokoen duten denboran, alegia), bertan tartekatzen diren oroitzapenen kontaketa *geroagokoa* izan daitekeelarik aditza lehenaldian erabiltzen den pasarteetan.

Iruzkinen eta galdaketaren planoei dagokienez, kontaketa nagusia baino beranduagokoak badira ere, orainaldian aurkezten zaizkigu aldiberekotasuna azpimarratuz. Nolanahi ere, geroagoko kontaketa batek historiari ematen dion "kontu" kutsu hori gainfituz, narratzaileak leku guztietan dagoen kontalari objetibo bat aurkezten digu.

## D.2. *Narrazio Maila*:

Mailaren bidez narratzaileak unibertsu diegetikoarekiko duen erlazioa finkatzen dugu. Narratzailea kontatzen zaigun istorioaren barruan egon daiteke, partaide izanik (narratzaile intradiegetikoa), edo istorioaz kanpo (diegesi mailaz kanpo, alegia) egon daiteke (extradiegetikoa).

Nobela honetan ihesaren kontaketaren gehiengoa diegesi barruko narratzaile batek aurkezten digu (2. pertsonan), eta beraz, intradiegetikoa dela esan dezakegu. Na-

rratzailea diegesi mailaz kanpo kokatzen denean distantzia handiz narratzen du, ob-
serbatzaile "inpartziala" bihurtuz (honen frogarik adierazgarriena narratzaile edo
"egileak" 38. orrialdean ipintzen duen oinoharra litzateke). Beste planuetan narra-
tzaileak istorioaz kanpo kontatzen du, objetiboki (3. pertsonan); hemen sartuko lira-
teke: kaleko iruzkinen kontaketa, eskolako haurrarena eta galdaketarena (baldin eta
planu honetan narratzailerik dagoenik onartzen bada, izan ere Henry James-en "kon-
taketa dramatizatua" azken muturrera eramanez, ez bait dugu "zerbait" kontatzen
duen instantzia narratiborik topatzen, baizik eta, teatrolan baten moduan, akotazioak
besterik ez bait daude bertan).

Era berean, aipagarria da ihesaren planuan narratzaileak oroitzapenen kontaketari
ekiten dionean batzutan gertatzen diren "ahots" aldaketak. Batzu aipatzekotan: "Joa-
ten haizen, hoan, joaten doan bezala" (18); "Belaunetik behera busti da, busti zen,
busti hintzen bakarrik,..." (19); "Ilargia lokalizatzen saiatzen haiz, saiatu hintzen,
saiatzen da." (31); "Neskak seriotasun komiko batez begiratzen dio, hinduen,
hau,..." (35). Bigarren pertsonatik hirugarrenerako aldaketa horietan, narratzailea
diegesi mailatik atera egiten da distantzia handiago batez ekintza ikusirik. Normale-
an, 3. pertsonako narratzaile honek kanpo fokalizazio objetiboan dakusa istorioa.

## D.3. *Pertsona*:

Ihesaren planoa kontatzen digun narratzailea istorioko protagonista delako "Au-
todiegetikoa" dela esango dugu. Hirugarren pertsonan kontatzen duena "heterodie-
getikoa" istorioaren garapenean parte-hartze aktiborik ez duena.

D.4. Narratzaileari dagokion puntu hau bukatzeko, eta fokalizazioari dagokiona
aztertzen hasi baino lehen, azken ohartxo bat egin nahiko genuke 2. pertsonan aur-
kezten zaigun kontaketa modu honetaz.

Jakina da Saizarbitoria dugula, gure nobelagintzaren historia laburrean, bigarren
pertsona narratiboa erabili zuen lehena. Alabaina, bere lehenengo nobelan (*Egunero
hasten delako*, 1969) azaltzen zaigun bigarren pertsona hori aztertzen ari garen nobe-
lan aurkezten zaigunetik arras desberdina da. Lehenengoaren kasuan, 2. pertsona ho-
ri nobelan bertan gauzatzen den pertsonaia-entzuleari dagokio ("narratarioa" Prince-
ren terminologian), eta maila honetan, Camus-en *La chute* (1956) nobelan gertatzen
den legez, pertsonaia baten solasaldiaren hartzaile ixila bilakatzen da.

Bigarren nobelan aldiz, aipatu pertsona gramatikalaren erabilerak ez du pertso-
naia-entzule desberdin bat aurresuposatzen; aitzitik, bere buruari erreferentzia egiten
dion bigarren pertsona dugu hau.

Rita Gnutzmann-ek (1983) bere artikulu interesgarrian dioskunez, mende hone-
tako 60. hamarkada arte oso idazle gutxik erabili zuen pertsona narratibo hau; adibi-
de batzu aipatzekotan, Dos Passos-en *U.S.A.* trilogiako "The Camera Eye" izena du-
ten zenbait pasarte (1930-1936) edo Malcolm Lowry-ren *Under the Volcano* (1947)
nobelan kontsularen bakarrizketa gogora ditzakegu.

Gerora, 2. pertsona honen erabilera gehiago hedatu zen, batez ere Michel Butor-
en *La Modification* (1957) nobelak edukitako arrakastaren ondorioz. Butor-ek berak
argi ta garbi adierazi zuen baliapide narratibo honek berarekin zituen abantailak:

"Ainsi, chaque fois que l'on voudra décrire un véritable progrès de la conscience, la naissance même du langage ou d'un langage, c'est la seconde personne qui sera la plus efficace" (1964: 67)

Beraz, narratzen ari zaiguna bere barru egoeraz, pentsamenduez,... konsziente ez den neurrian 2. pertsona hori interesgarri suerta dakioke.

Gure literaturara itzuliz, bigarren pertsona narratiboaren erabilera gehiegi ez dela hedatu baiezta daiteke: J. A. Arrietaren *Abuztuaren 15eko bazkalondoa* (1979), J. Kortazarren *Bidean izan zen, rosapen* (1982), J. Zulaikaren *Zu zara...*, edo J. M. Iturralderen *Dudular* (1983) liburuetako pasarteak gogora ditzakegu urritasun horren salbuespen gisara.

Orobat, aipagarria da 2. pertsona horren erabilerak *100 metro* nobelan hartzen duen itxura: protagonista hil eta gero, bere "barru ahotsa" den 2. pertsona narratiboak aurrera darrai pertsonaiaren sentipen guztiak kontatuz. Baliabide benetan bitxia gure artean baina mende honetako literaturgintzan parekorik topa dezakeena; gogoratu bestela W. Faulkner-en *As I lay Dying* (1930) edo J. Rulfo-ren *El llano en llamas* (1953) liburuetako pasarteak.

## B.3. *Fokalizazioa 100 metro*-n

a) Kontaketa nagusia: ihesa.

Euskal narratiban fokalizazioak ematen dituen aukera desberdinak erakusteko testurik aukeratu beharko bagenu eskuartean duguna izango litzateke, dudarik gabe, interesgarriena. Jarraian ikusiko dugunez, ihesaren kontaketa honetan fokoaren etengabeko mugimenduak aberastasun eta dramatikotasun izugarria ematen dio nobelari.

Planu honen gehiengoa *barru fokalizazioan* dago, hau da, diegesi mailako pertsonaia dugu (iheslea) ekintza guztia fokalizatzen duena. Kasu honetan, gehienetan bezala, narratzaile mota zehatz baten aukerak baldintzatzen du fokoaren nolakotasuna: gorago aipatutako bigarren pertsonaren baliapideaz ari gara, hain zuzen ere.

Aipatu fokalizatzaile horrek bere gain hartzen duen fokalizazio objetua (fokalizatua, alegia) *ezperzibigarria* da gehienetan, eta honen frogagarri, gogora ditzagun zenbait adibide: "Atzean pausoen hots lehorra entzuten duk" (15); "(...) zerraldo eroriko haizela intuitzen duk. (...). Garbi garbi akordatzen haiz..." (30).

Alabaina, adibide horietan dakusagunez, barru fokalizazio horri dagokion alderdi psikologikoan badago berezitasunik. Gogora dezagun Rimmon-Kenan-ek "intuitzen duk", "sentitzen duk",... eta horrelako aditzak kanpo fokalizazioaren eragina fokalizatu ez-perzibigarrietan gauzatzen denean ematen diren adierazpideak direla baieztatzen duela bere liburuan. Hori horrela izanik, nobela honetako erabilera nolabait azaldu beharko bagenu, bigarren pertsona gramatikalari egotzi beharko geniokeela iruditzen zaigu. Badirudi iheslearen baitan "kontzienteak" ez diren pertsamendu horiek azaleratze nahia dela etengabeko ihardun hori. Ondorioz, alderdi psikologikoan genekusakeen distantzia hori, narratzaile intradiegetikoak baldintzatzen duela esango dugu.

Bestalde, ihesaren kontaketaren pisu handiena iheslearen baitan kokatua dagoen foko horrek eduki arren, zenbait kasutan "lekuz" aldatzen da, pertsonaiaren baitatik

beste guneetara mugituz. Halakoetan *kanpo fokalizazio* honek beregain hartzen duena *perzibigarria* da: (15) "Dena den, ez duk, ez du burua bueltatzen..." (32) "Mutila, blusa tartetik xilborretik behera intsinuatzen zaion itzal rubioaren kontenplazioetan galtzen da. Galtzen naiz. Laster ipurdia bistan joango dituk entzuten duk atzean".

Hortaz:

FE → Fo perzibigar.————————FP → Fo-ez perzi.

(Kanpoko fokalizatzaile batek objetu perzibigarria fokalizatzen du, ondoren narratzaile aldaketarekin batera, barru fokalizazio batera pasatuz, pentsamenduak,... etab. erakutsiz [fokalizatu ez-perzibigarria]).

Beste kasuetan, fokalizatzaile aldaketa ematen bada ere, honi ez darraikio fokalizatu aldaketa batek. Eta alderantziz, badira fokalizatua bakarrik aldatzen diren kasuak:

Fokalizatzaile aldaketak:

(84) "Tristura ematen dio beltzez jantziko dutela pentsatzeak. Imajinazioa entretenitzea lortu du osabari heldu gara entzuten dionean. Ez du, ez huen, ez duk jendez betetako bebarrua ezagutu, agian herori sentitzen haiz estrainoa."

(66) "Haren besoa sentitzen duk, sentitzen huen, sentitzen du bere ondoan etzanda lau baten forman doblatua atzea ematen dion gorputzari urreratzen zaionean".

Fokalizatu aldaketak:

(37) "Ezin identifikatu duen errebolber bat ikusten diok eskuartean. Kainoia oso laburra duen errebolber beltza. Ez zaik erreglamentozkoa iruditzen".

(45) "Hire besoaz libratuz begietara begiratzen dik.(...) galdetzen diok heure buruari".

*Espazio/denbora* alderdiei dagokienez, bada gauza interesgarririk. Horrela, planu honetan kanpo fokalizazioa gailentzen denean objetu pertzibigarria (fokalizatua) ikusmira zabal batetik aurkezten da, *panoramikoa* deiturikoa, alegia. Denboraren arazoari eutsiz, ihesaren kontaketan ematen diren fokalizazioak *sinkronikoak* direla esango dugu.

Ikusmira panoramikoaren adibideak:

(15) "Dena den, ez duk, ez du burua bueltatzen. Arkupetik gero eta gehaigo aldenduz —Aiuntamentua eskubialdera utziaz— "Zamudio"ren terrazerantz zuzentzen ditu pausuak. Atzekoak berriz basket-ekipo baten formazio eran abantzatzen dute (...)".

(37) "Hire, haren inguruan proiektatu bide zen semizirkuloa azkenean osatu egin da. Ezker eskuin, puntetan, edo hegaletan, korrika doazenak —pivotaren posiziora aurreratuz— ez dute inolako interesik gehiago abantzatuz zirkuloa osatzeko".

Adibideotan argi dago fokoa oso goian kokatuta dagoela. Halaber, esan dezagun basket-ekipoarekin eta pivot-ekin egindako konparaketa horiek kontaketari kentzen dioten dramatikotasuna dudaezinezkoa dela. Saskibaloiko terminologia horrek kanpo fokalizazio objetiboa azpimarratzen du. Gauza bera esan daiteke protagonista izendatzeko erabiltzen den "ihesle" hitzaz edo poliziei datxekien "jarraitzaile" terminoaz.

Azken batean, psikologia eta espazio/denbora mailetan isladatzen den objetibotasuna izendaketa mailara hedatzen dela baiezta daiteke.

Oroitzapenen planura pasatuz, lehenaldiko pasarte hauetan fokalizazioa barrukoa da batipat, eta fokalizatzen dena perzibigarria nahiz ez-perzibigarria izan daitezke.

Dena dela, oroitzapenekin jarraituz, kanpo fokalizazioa dagoen kasu batzutan narratzaileak zenbait laguntza eskeintzen dizkio irakurle inplizitoari, fokalizazio horren mugak errespetatuz beharrezkoa kontsideratzen duen informazio bat eskeiniz.

Laguntza hauek Gerald Prince-k "narratarioa" deitzen duen instantziaren presentzia salatzen dute, eta ugariagoak dira kaleko eskenen planoan, bertan azaltzen diren deskribapenak erabat objetiboak izanik laguntza horiek egoeraren ulermen osorako ezinbestekoak gertatzen bait dira.

> (18) "Iraila edo urria behar du izan(...). Irailan batez ere, baina Urrian ere haurrek olatuekin jolastu ohi dira "Concha"ko lehendabiziko ranpan"

> (27) "Lehenago ere ikusi den plaza errektangularra".

b) Poliziaren itaunketaren planoa:

Badirudi pertsonaia desberdinek hartzen duten izendaketatik abiatuz (Boz 1, Boz 2,...) planu honetan fokalizaziorik ez dagoela esatera bultzatuak gaudela. Izan ere, akotazio gehienak "entzumenari" loturik azaltzen dira, eta ez daukagu dena gainetik ikusiko lukeen pertsonaiarik.

Dudarik gabe, sinesgarritasun helburu batekin jokatu du hemen Saizarbitoriak. Galdaketa bat azaldu ezin daitekeela onartuz, "bizitu" soilik egin daitekeela esan behar. Horregatik, eta erdararen erabileragatik, suertatzen da hain txundigarria galdaketaren planua. Guztiarekin ere, interesgarria da filmean planu hau aurkezteko modua gogoratzea: etengabeko mugimenduan dabiltzan bi poliziak lekukoari galdaketa egiten ari diren bitartean, beste bi poliziek ispiluzko leiho baten atzetik eskena guztia dakusate, eta hau horrela izateak, lehenago aipaturiko gure iritzia indartu besterik ez du egiten: sinesgaitza izango litzateke eskena horretan obserbatzaile bat, hots, narratzailea, egotea.

d) Eskolako haurraren planoa:

Kontaketa honetan fokalizatzailea beti kanpoan kokaturik dago. Bestalde, fokalizatua beti da perzibigarria eta ez zaizkigu inoiz haurraren sentimenduak, usteak,... agertzen. Hortaz, iraunkortasuna finkoa dela esan behar.

Nolanahi den, bada kontutan hartzeko beste datu bat: fokoak etengabeko mugimenduan dihardu planu honetan, eta gehienetan ikasgela fokalizatzen bada ere (haurrarenganako hurbilpena lortuz), zenbait unetan foko horrek gelako hormak gainditzen ditu patioa fokalizatuz. Gure ustez, espazioari dagokion kanpo/barru (espazio murriztua/panoramikoa) aldaketa horrek gela barruko giro itogarria salatu besterik ez luke egingo:

> (11) "Haurrak gabardina erantzi ondoren (...). Patio atzean eguzkia laino artean ezkutatu da."

Azkenik, denbora mailan ematen den sinkroniak ezagutzaren muga baldintzatzen duela esango dugu, mugaketa hori narratzaileak umetxoa izendatzeko erabiltzen duen izenarekin indartzen delarik.

e) Egunkariko berrien planoa:

Maila honetan idazkerak berak erakusten duen alderdikeria da aipagarriena. Polizien txostenetatik oso gertu dagoen estilo honetan iheslea "fugitivo" den bitartartean, poliziak "patrulla de vigilancia" gisara izendatzen dira. Argi dago, beraz, iheslearengandik urruti dagoen fokalizazioaren aurrean gaudela.

f) Kaleko eskenen planoa:

Iheslearen heriotzaren inguruan egiten diren iruzkinez osaturik dago plano hau. Hauekin batera, liburuxka turistikoetatik hartutako Donostiaren deskribapenak tartekatzen dira, Konstituzio Plaza eta bere inguruen kanpo fokalizazioa biziki nabarmentzen delarik.

Betiere ikusmira panoramikoa erabiliz, iheslearen planoarekin erlaziotan jartzen gaituzten zenbait elementuren (guztiak perzibigarriak) aipamena balio semantiko handikoa bihurtzen da:, 108 zenbakiko balkoia, odol koagulatuz zikindutako adokina (2. eta 3. kapituluetan), adokin bustia (4. kapituluan) eta arkupeak (5. kapituluan).

Zernahi gisa, kaleko eskena hauen deskribapenean gailentzen den objetibotasuna, liburuxka turistikoetatik hartutako paragrafoetako hizkuntza erretoriko eta harrokeriaz betetakoak apurtu egiten du.

Bukatzeko, hona hemen deskribapen objetibo hauetan fokoak duen etengabeko mugimenduaren adibide bat: "Pescadería kaleko perspektiba gris axatua. Calle de la Pescadería esaten duen plaka zuri obalatua. Atzean arkupeak. Arkupeetatik zintzilik ageri diren kriseluak. (...). Plaza barrena. Lurrean mantal beltzez eseriak zeuden haur batzuk altxatu egiten dira." (56)

## B.3.1 *Alderdi ideologikoaz:*

Ideologiaren alderdiari dagokion puntu hau besteengandik berezirik aurkeztea fokalizazioaren alderdi honen berezkotasunari egozten diogu. Askoz ere egokiagoa iruditu zaigu nobelaren osotasunari dagokion ahots aberastasun horren atzean mundu ikuskera desberdinen aurkezpena egiten den aztertzeko, atal hau berezirik ipintzea.

Guztiarekin ere, esan beharra dago ezer gutxi esango dugula puntu honetan, horretarako Jesus M.ª Lasagabasterrek (1989) *100 metro*-ren izaera polifonikoaz argitasun ugari eskeintzen bait du.

Lasagabasterrek dioenez *100 metro* nobelaren izaera polifonikoa maila desberdinetan azaleratzen da: batetik, nobelan aurkezten zaizkigun sistima linguistiko desberdinetan (euskara/erdara), bestetik, sortutako eta erantsitako testuen konbinaketan (iragarkiak, irratiko berriak,...).

Polifonia aberastasun horrek mundu ikuskera desberdinak, ikuspuntu desberdinak isladatzen ditu testuan. Gehienetan elkarren aurka azaltzen dira mundu-ikuskera hauek eta ideologia desberdin hauen etsenplurik adierazgarrienetakoa euskara/erdara erabilera horrek irudikatzen duen komunitate soziolinguistiko horretako talde desberdinen arteko oposaketa dela esan dezakegu. Hori horrela izanik, eta hizkuntza desberdinen erabilerak duen pisu semantiko nabarmena kontutan harturik, harrigarria suertatzen da nobela honetan oinarriturik egindako filmean ikusi ahal daitekeena. Izan ere, filme honetan kaleko iruzkinak, Michele-rekin edukitako harrema-

nak,... euskara hutsean azaltzen bait dira, gazteleraren erabilera galdaketaren planora mugatuz. Ez dugu uste nobela-filmea arteko desberdintasun hauek eztabaidatzeko lekua-garaia denik, baina bi sistima artistiko hauek eduki ditzaketen berezitasun eta mugak gaindituz, desegokia erizten diogu filmean egiten den aldaketa horri.

## E. BUKATZEKO:

Fokalizazioari dagokion azken puntu honetan nobela honek duen aberastasuna azaltzen saiatu gara. Ikusi dugunez, iheslearen planoan ematen den fokalizazioa gehien batean barrukoa izateak nobela honetan heriotzak duen garrantzia azpimarratzen du. Pertsonaia nagusiari gerturatzen zaion bukaera triste horren azken uneak "camara lenta"n (cf. filmean) aurkezten zaizkigu bere buruarekin daukan etengabeko barru-solasaldiaren bidez "esan" ezin daitekeen hori literaturaren bidez adierazteko.

Ihesaren kontaketan azken mugetaraino eramaten den barneratze hori, inguruneaz eskaintzen zaigun azalpen objetiboari kontrajartzen zaio (barru fokalizazioa-kanpo fokalizazioa), eta, horregatik, fokalizazioaren beste alderdien (ideologikoa, linguistikoa,...) balio semantikoa indartu egiten da, ondorioz "heriotza" horren inguruan ematen den jarrera aniztasuna isladatuz.

Beraz, testu polifoniko honetan etengabeko gatazkan azaltzen zaizkigun funtsezko bi komunitateak, eta beraien iruzkinetan gehienetan soma daitekeen heriotzarekiko distantziak, bizitzak aurrera jarraitzen duela gogoratzen digu. Azken finean, iheslearentzat heriotzak duen alderdi misteriotsu/bortitza, inguruko pertsonaien jarrerek irudikatzen duten bizitzaren zurrunbiloan murgiltzen da. Bizitzak aurrera darrai, egunerokotasunean barneratzen gaitu, eta iheslearen patuak norbait gertutik ikutzen badu iheslea bera da. Heriotza dugu beraz, norberaren heriotzaren drama, *100 metro*-n keinuka ari zaiguna.

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## *Lan honetan erabilitako euskal nobelak:*

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# Negation in Syntax: On the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections*

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## 1. The tense c-command condition

### 1.0. Introduction

In this chapter, I explore certain syntactic phenomena induced by sentence negation in Basque and English, and I attempt to provide a unified account of them, based on a universal requirement on functional heads. This requirement, which I will refer to as the *Tense C-command Condition*, is stated in (1). It requires that all functional heads in the clause that are propositional operators be c-commanded by the head Tense at S-structure.

(1)  TENSE C-COMMAND CONDITION

Tense must c-command at S-structure all propositional operators of the clause.

The TCC is not a requirement on sentence negation only, but on the dominance relations holding between Tense and all other functional heads that operate on the clause. In this chapter, however, I will present evidence for the TCC based solely on sentence negation. More specifically, I will argue that apparently unrelated syntactic phenomena surfacing in sentence negation in languages like Basque, English and modern Hebrew are directly induced by the TCC, given the different parametric settings of these languages.

A second point to be argued for will be that there is a parametric choice regarding the placement of Negation at D-structure. I will argue that Negation can be generated TP (=IP)[1] internally or TP externally in different languages. Ultimately, then, I am claiming that (at least some) functional heads may vary in their selectional properties across languages.

(1) I will identify TP (Tense Phrase) with IP (Inflectional Phrase), following Pollock (1989). Distinctions between IP and TP will be made only when relevant in the discussion.

In particular, I claim that whereas in languages like English negation is generated below TP (as in Pollock 1987 and Chomsky 1989), there are languages like Basque where negation is generated above TP. This is schematized in (2):

(2)  ENGLISH                          BASQUE

        TP                              NEGP
    ⟵NEGP⟶                          ⟵ TP ⟶
      ⟵ VP ⟶                          ⟵ VP ⟶
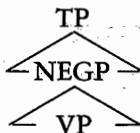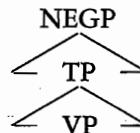
Given phrase structures like (2), Grammars rely solely on UG operations to arrive at the unique solution (1) imposed on them by UG. If this approach is correct, the only place where there is room for language variation is in the inherent properties of functional items, which will differ in their selectional properties in such a way as to generate different functional structures.

The material presented in this chapter, hence, strongly supports the view of parametrization put forward by Chomsky (1989) and references therein: parameters are reduced to the non-substantive part of the lexicon.

Based on these two premises, the Tense C-command Condition and the parametric choice given in (2), negation-induced phenomena in English and Basque are explained rather simply, given parametric differences independent of negation.

I will first present an analysis of Basque sentence negation, where the TCC forces movement of Infl to Neg, thus inducing the 'dislocated' word order characteristic of negative sentences in this language. Evidence from deletion and Negative Polarity Items will be presented, suporting the claim that NegP dominates TP in Basque, unlike in English or French (Pollock 1989). Next, I will discuss the asymmetry between main and embedded sentence negation in Basque. This asymmetry will be shown to involve movement to the head Comp in embedded sentences.

I will then turn to English and argue that the Tense C-command Condition provides a more satisfactory explanation for *do* support than previous analyses in the literature, particularly those of Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1989). I will first show how these analysis fail to account for the phenomena of *do* support, and I will then present the alternative analysis in terms of the TCC.

The case of sentence negation in Southern Romance and the distribution of negative morphemes in Modern Hebrew will also be discussed, and their relevance for the TCC hypothesis will be shown. Finally, I will discuss the nature of the TCC as a constraint on syntactic representations.

## 1.1 . Preliminaries: on Basque grammar.

Before discussing the data from Basque sentence negation, I will consider some general properties of Basque, with particular reference to those that are particularly relevant for our discussion.

### 1.1.1. On Maximal Projections.

*A. Case Marking.*

Basque has an ergative case marking system. Descriptively speaking, this means that subjects of one-argument verbs and objects of two-argument verbs share absolutive case, whereas transitive subjects display ergative case marking. All arguments that are complements of the verb at D-structure surface with absolutive case, whereas those arguments that are subjects already at D-Structure display ergative case marking[2].

Hence, subjects of unnacusative verbs like *etorri* 'arrive' or *erori* 'fall' have absolutive case, like the objects of transitives like *ikusi* 'see' or *jan* 'eat'. The subject of intransitive verbs like *hitz egin* 'speak' or *lo egin* 'sleep' shares ergative case with transitive subjects in Basque. This Case-marking system is illustrated in (3):

(3)  a. Ume-a etorri  da          b. Ume-a-k   sagarr-a   jan  du
        Kid-the arrived has           Kid-the-E apple-the eaten has
        'The kid has arrived'         'The kid has eaten the apple'

              c. Ume-a-k  hitz  egin du
                 Kid-the-E word make has
                 'The kid has spoken'

(3a) illustrates the unnacusative verb *etorri* 'arrive', the subject of which has absolutive case; (3b) shows the transitive verb *jan* 'eat', which marks the subject with ergative case (E), and the object with absolutive case[3]. Finally (3d) is an example of an intransitive verb, *hitz egin* 'speak', whose subject is again marked with ergative case[4].

It is well known that most languages morphologically marking ergativity do not display syntactic ergativity, in that syntactic processes or properties that make reference to 'subjects' or their structural correlates apply to the same set of arguments as in accusative languages (Cf. Anderson 1976, Levin 1983 and Ortiz de Urbina 1989) have argued convincingly that Basque is not syntactically ergative. Unlike languages like Warlpiri (Hale 1981, 1983) where arguments are marked in an ergative pattern but agreement markers follow an accusative system, Basque consistenly shows ergative morphology both on overt arguments and the agreement system.

*B. Agreement and Word Order.*

There are three grammatical cases: Ergative, Dative and Absolutive. They are marked on the arguments by the following morphemes: -*k* for the ergative, -*(r)i* for the dative and zero for the absolutive. The empty category *pro* is licensed in all three verbal arguments (Salaburu 1986, Ortiz de Urbina 1989), plausibly in relation to

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[2] For a detailed discussion of ergativity, unaccusativity and case marking in Basque, see Levin (1983) Ortiz de Urbina (1989), and Oyharçabal (1990).

[3] For a recent account of Case in Basque where absolutive is not taken to be a single case but rather two different cases (nominative in (3a) and accusative in (3b)), see Oyharçabal (1990).

[4] Uribe-Etxebarria (1989) presents a detailed discussion and analysis of intransitive verbs in Basque, deriving them from transitive structures that undergo noun incorporation.

the fact that Basque Inflection (henceforth Infl) shows agreement with all of them: ergative, absolutive and dative, as illustrated in (4)[5]:

  .(4)  a.  Irune-k Ibon-i etxe-a    eman dio
            Irune-E Ibon-D house-the given has(3A-3D-3E)
            'Irune gave the house to Ibon'
       b.  pro pro pro    eman dio
                    given aux(3A-3D-3E)
            's/he gave it to her/him'

It is the agreement morphemes encoded in the auxiliary verb which identify the empty pronominals; thus, a change in the morphemes of the auxiliary will convey a different meaning:

    (5)  a.  pro pro pro eman diguzu     b.  pro pro pro eman dizkidate
               give aux(3A-1pl-2E)            give aux(3plA-1D-3plE)
               'You gave it to us'              'They gave them to me'

Following Uriagereka (1986) and Laka & Uriagereka (1987), I will assume that it is the licensing of *pro* in these positions what makes it possible to generate left or right dislocated arguments, parallel to the way in which Romance languages that license *pro* in the Specifier of IP can right or left dislocate the subject. I will assume that the 'free word order' displayed by Basque is in fact a consequence of these multiple dislocations. Thus, consider the following sentences (6), and compare them to those in (1):

    (6)  a.  [$_{IP}$ pro$_i$ pro$_j$ pro$_k$ eman dio] Irunek$_i$ Iboni$_j$ etxea$_k$
        b.  [$_{IP}$ pro$_i$ pro$_j$ pro$_k$ eman dio] etxea$_k$ Iboni$_j$ Irunek$_i$
        c.  etxea$_k$ Iboni$_j$ [$_{IP}$ Irunek pro$_j$ pro$_k$ eman dio]
        d.  [$_{IP}$ pro$_i$ Iboni pro$_k$ eman dio] etxea$_k$ Irunek$_i$

The examples in (6) show only some of the possible combinations. In fact, all arguments can be combined freely among themselves, as well as with pro-dropped arguments, multiplying the number of possible sentences. The order variations are not semantically identical; for instance, the preverbal argument can be interpreted as focus under the right intonation pattern, and the right dislocated constituents are interpreted as topics (Altube 1929, Mitxelena 1981, Ortiz de Urbina 1989)[6].

Given the freedom displayed by maximal projections in Basque, arguments for clause structure and dominance relations cannot be straightforwardly based on the surface order of the verbal arguments. Rather, the relevant evidence must be drawn from processes or phenomena that exhibit ordering constraints.

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([5]) The conventions for the glosses are: E=ergative case; D=dative case; Absolutive agreement is only glossed in the auxiliary verb; its marker is empty in the argument. Agreement elements in the auxiliary verb are encoded by a number for the person (1=first person, 2=second person, etc...), followed by the case to which it corresponds.

([6]) Subject inversion in Romance isn't semantically inert either. See Contreras (1976) for Spanish, Calabrese (1985) for Italian, Raposo (1987) for Portuguese, and Bonet (1989) for Catalan.

## 1.1.2. On heads: Verb, Aspect, Inflection.

Contrasting sharply with the freedom of order of verbal arguments, the verb and Inflection have very strict ordering constraints in Basque. In declarative sentences, the inflected auxiliary must follow the lexical verb:

(7)  a. Etxea *erori da*      b. *Etxea *da erori*
     house fallen has           house has fallen
     'The house fell down'   ('The house fell down')

The first example, (7a), is a well formed declarative sentence, where the lexical verb precedes the inflected auxiliary. (7b), however, is not a licit order in a declarative sentence; a sequence like the one in (7b) is only acceptable in emphatic sentences (see chapter 2, sections 2.0 and 2.3 for an account of this emphatic construction).

On top of this precedence requirement, there is also a strict adjacency requirement: no constituent can intervene between the verb and the inflected auxiliary,[7] as illustrated in (8):

(8)  a. Etxea    *erori*     *da*      b. *erori* etxea     *da*
     house-the fall-down has           fallen house-the has
     'The house fell down'      ('The house fell down')

Considering these data, it could be argued that verb raising to Infl takes place at S-structure (as in Emonds 1976), thus yielding a single $X^0$ constituent.

I will not take this position for reasons that will become more clear when negation facts are discussed below. Instead, I will argue that V does not raise to Infl. Under this view, then, the reason why no constituent may intervene between V and Infl has to do with the impossibility of adjunction to VP (Mahajan 1990).

## 1.1.2.1. On Verb-raising.

Empirical evidence for the claim that there is no Verb raising to Infl in cases like (7a) and (8a) is found in a small set of verbs traditionally called synthetic, for which the description given so far does not hold completely.

Whereas most verbs in Basque consist of a lexical verb marked for aspect and an auxiliary that carries the inflectional morphology, as in (7a) and (8a), synthetic verbs are inflected as a single unit, where both the lexical verb and the inflectional morphology merge toghether.

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([7]) The only elements that can intervene are certain modal particles, which appear cliticized onto Infl:

  (i) Ibonek hori esan omen     zuen      (ii) Ibonek hori esan ohi zuen
     Ibon    that said allegedly had           Ibon    that said use had
     'Ibon had allegedly said that'           'Ibon used to say that'

Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (1987), argue that these particles are generated in Infl itself.

Thus, compare the verbal forms in (9): (9a) is a non-synthetic form, like the ones we have seen in previous examples; (9b) is a synthetic form of the same verb *ekar* 'to bring'[8]:

(9)  a. *ekarr*-i      na-u-zu                 b. na-*kar*-zu
        bring-perf me-have-you                me-bring-you
        'You have brought me'                 'You bring me'

The morphological difference between these two types of verbal forms cannot be left to a late Phonetic Forms readjustment, because certain syntactic phenomena (like negation, see section 2. in this chapter, or emphatics as shown in chapter 2) separate the verb and the inflection in (9a), but never in (9b). Hence, the difference illustrated in (9) is syntactic in nature, because syntactic phenomena are sensitive to it.

## 1.1.2.2 The Aspect Projection.

The contrast between synthetic (9b) versus non-synthetic (9a) verbal forms is very simply accounted for if we assume that Verb raising to Infl has taken place at S-structure in (9b), but not in (9a). Hence, the different morphological shape of synthetic verbs as opposed to non-synthetic ones is the result of raising versus non-rasing of the Verb to Infl.

The crucial factor determining when a verb of the synthetic class raises to Infl is the aspectual morphology. A verb of the synthetic class will display a synthetic form only when aspect is non-perfective and non-habitual. Perfective and habitual forms show an overt aspect marker attached to the lexical verb (9a); synthetic forms have a punctual aspect meaning, but no overt aspect marker (9b). Thus, the generalization is that an overt aspect marker prevents raising of the verb to Infl. If no overt aspect marker is present, the verb will raise to Infl[9].

[8] In the history of the language, the number of synthetic verbs and the usage of the synthetic forms has been declining significantly in favor of periphrastic forms. Thus, from approximately 60 verbs that were inflected synthetically in the XVI century (Lafon 1943), the grammar of *Euskaltzaindia* (1987) lists only 24. There does not seem to be any semantic or syntactic property that determines what verbs belong in the synthetic class; rather, this looks like a lexical idiosyncracy. For the benefit of the interested reader, the verbs nowadays subject to synthetic inflection are the following: *egon* stay, *etorri* come, *ibili* walk, *joan* go, *atxeki* hold, *erion* drip, *etzan* lie, *jarraiki* follow, *eduki* have, *ekarri* bring, *erabili* use, *eraman* bring, *eroan* take, *jakin* know, *entzun* hear, *eritzi* to seem to x, *erran* say, *ezagutu* meet, *ihardun* engage, *ikusi* see, *iraun* last, *irudi* look like.

[9] In the case of modals, we find non-incorporated forms that do not display any overt aspect marker:
       (i) ekar   na-za -ke -zu
           bring me-root-mod-you
           'you can bring me'
   There are also incorporated forms, (although they are quite literary and nearly archaic):
       (ii) na-+KAR+ -ke -zu
            me-bring-mod-you
            'You can bring me'
   Presumably, there are two ways to construct modals in modern Basque: one of them, the oldest one, nearly gone from spoken language, is the one illustrated in (ii), where the verbal root raises to Infl; the other one, more active in modern Basque, has an empty aspect marker preventing the verb from raising. This hypothesis is supported by western dialects of Basque, where modals do display an overt perfective aspectual marker on the verb:
       (iii) ekarri-i n -ei -ke -zu
            bring-perf me-root-mod-you
            'you can bring me'

These facts are accounted for under the hypothesis that Basque has an Aspect Phrase, headed by the aspectual morpheme itself:

(10)

```
              AspP
           ___/\___
         VP         asp
           \
            V
```
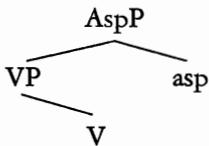
In non-synthetic forms, the verb raises to aspect and the morphological unit [verb-aspect] is created at S-structure; no futher raising to Infl takes place. This accounts for forms like (9a) where the lexical verb and aspect are distinct from the inflected auxiliary:

(11)

```
                    I'
                 __/\__
              AsP        INFL
           __/\__        nauzu
         VP     asp
          \    [ekarr]$_1$i
           t$_1$
```
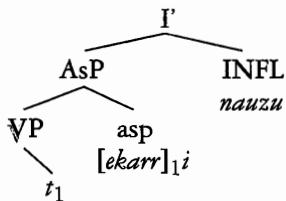
Let us assume that Basque lexical verbs are bound morphemes that need to attach to a base by S-structure[10]. In a case like (11), aspect is providing such a base. However, if the aspect head is empty, as in (12), the verb still lacks a morphological base after raising to it. Thus, the verb raises further to Infl, generating a single inflected unit in the overt syntax:

(12)

```
                    I'
                 __/\__
              AsP        INFL
           __/\__        na[kar]$_1$zu
         VP     t$_1$
          \
           t$_1$
```
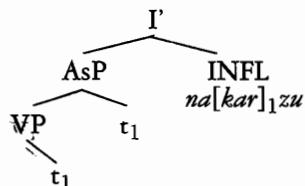
Whenever there is a process involving the inflected auxiliary but not the lexical verb, a synthetic form will show the same pattern as the auxiliary. This is expected under the analysis given above, since any syntactic process involving the head Infl will affect equally inflected auxiliaries and synthetic forms. In what follows, then, it should be kept in mind that when I refer to the inflected auxiliary, synthetic verbs are also included.

This aspectual projection is of course not particular to Basque; several independent works have claimed the existence of an Aspect Phrase, based on different kinds of evidence from a wide variety of languages. See, for instance Manfredi (1988), Cheng (1989) for Chinese, Demirdache (1989) for Egiptian Arabic, Iatridou (1989)

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([10]) Following the morphological filter in Lasnik (1981): 'A morphologically realized affix must be realized as a syntactic dependent at Surface structure.' See also Chomsky (1989), where *do* support in interrogatives is explained by the requirement that the affix Q in Comp be 'completed' in overt syntax by X° raising.

for English and French, Ihionu (1989) for Igbo and Hendrick (1990) for Irish and Breton. See also Laka 1991 for an AspP in Spanish, which accounts for the auxiliary-participle forms as opposed to the inflected forms lacking auxiliary verbs.

## 1.2. Basque sentence negation.

### 1.2.1. The Phenomenon

The occurrence of the sentence negation *ez* 'not' induces radical changes in the surface order of the sentence in Basque. First, the requirement that the verb precede the inflected auxiliary (7a) is reversed. In negative sentences, the inflected auxiliary must precede the lexical verb, as shown in (13):

> (13) a. *etxea     *erori* ez  *da*              b. etxea       ez *da erori*
>         house-the fallen no has                   house-the no has fallen
>         ('The house didn't fall down')             'The house didn't fall down'

Furthermore, the adjacency requirement, by which no constituent could intervene between V and Infl does no longer hold in negative sentences. The examples in (14a) illustrates this point: the subject *etxea* is intervening between the auxiliary and the verb.

> (14) *ez da* etxea       *erori*
>       no has house-the fallen
>       'The house didn't fall'

In fact, any kind and number of constituents can intervene between the inflected auxiliary and the verb when the sentence is negative, as illustrated in (15), where the subject *Irunek,* the dative argument *Iboni* and the direct object *etxea* all three appear in between the auxiliary and the verb:

> (15) *ez dio* Irunek Iboni     etxea      *eman*
>       no has Irune Ibon-to house-the given
>       'Irune hasn't given the house to Ibon'

The pattern that emerges in negative clauses is thus the exact opposite of the pattern followed by declarative clauses. In declarative clauses the verb must precede the auxiliary; in negative clauses the auxiliary must precede the verb. In declarative clauses the verb and the auxiliary must be strictly adjacent; in negative clauses there is no adjacency requirement at all, and any number of constituents can occur in between the auxiliary and the verb.

### 1.2.2. The Analysis.

Following recent work by Pollock (1989) on negation in English and French, I will assume that *ez* 'not' in Basque is a head projecting a Negative Phrase (henceforth NegP).

Unlike the unmarked case in this language, though, Neg is an initial head, instead of final, and unlike French and English, where NegP is the complement of I, Neg takes IP as a complement in Basque. That is to say, French and English have IP internal negation, whereas Basque negation is external to IP. We will later see that this different placement of negation has certain empirical consequences.

A negative sentence in Basque is generated in D-structure as in (16):

(16)
```
              NegP
             /    \
           ez      IP
                  /  \
                AP     I
               /  \
             VP    Asp
              \
               V
```
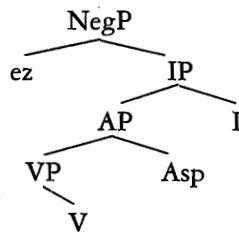
In this configuration, Negation and Infl sit at the two opposite edges of the Phrase Marker; however, as we have seen in previous examples, negation occurs attached to the left of the auxiliary. Hence, Negation and Infl must eventually merge toghether, at some level of representation.

I claim that the merging of Negation and Infl results from raising of Infl to Neg. This movement satisfies the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984):

(17) Head Movement Constraint (HMC)
An $X^0$ may only move into the $Y^0$ which properly governs it.

In the case under consideration, Infl is moving to the head immediately dominating it; in this configuration, the trace (t) left behind is governed by its antecedent (Baker 1988). In fact, it is a standard instance of head-to-head movement.

Let us assume, hence, that the merging of negation and the inflected auxiliary takes place in the mapping from D-structure to S-structure by raising of Infl to the Neg head. This movement results in the S-structure representation illustrated in (18)[11]:

(18)
```
               NegP
              /    \
      Neg[Infl]i     IP
                    /  \
                        I'
                      /   \
                   AsP      ti
                  /   \
                VP     [V]vAsp
                 \
                  tv
```

It is this head movement that causes the dislocated pattern of negative sentences illustrated in (13a) and (14), repeated here as (19a, b):

(19) a. etxea      ez da  erori              b. ez da  etxea      erori
        house-the no has fallen                 no has house-the fallen
        'The house hasn't fallen down'          'The house hasn't fallen down'

We can now account for this pattern: (19a, b) are both instances of adjunction of Infl to Neg, the only difference between the two sentences being the fact that the former has a left dislocated argument (Cf. section 1.1.).

The S-structure representation of (19b) is given in (20):

(20)
$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NegP} \\
\diagdown \\
\text{Neg} \qquad \text{IP} \\
\text{ez da}_1 \qquad \diagdown \\
\text{etxea} \quad \text{I'} \\
\diagdown \\
\text{AsP} \quad t_1 \\
\diagdown \\
\text{erori}
\end{array}
$$
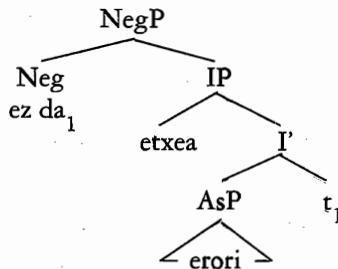
As discussed above, movement of Infl to Neg does not violate any principle of the Grammar, and it gives the desired results in terms of the data to be accounted for. It therefore appears to be the right analysis of the phenomena[12]. Note though that we haven't stablished yet whether this movement takes place at S-structure, as opposed to, say, Phonetic Form; and, so far, no explanation has been provided as to what in the Grammar induces a movement like this. The two main claims made in this analysis are:

    a)  Neg is generated above IP in Basque
    b)  Infl is forced to move to Neg by S-structure.

In the following sections, I will provide further evidence in favor of these two claims. First, I will argue for (a), based on comparative evidence from Deletion (section 1.2.3.) and Negative Polarity Item licensing (section 1.2.4.), both in English and Basque. Secondly, in section 1.2.5. I will argue that (b) is a direct result of the Tense C-command Condition, a universal requirement.

## 1.2.3. Evidence from Deletion.

The first piece of independent evidence suporting the claim that the relative position of the Negative Phrase with respect to Tense is different in Basque and English comes from deletion. The structure of Basque negative clauses proposed here is rep-

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[12] Although it is orthographically separated from the inflected verb, the negative element is a clitic on the auxiliary, and it induces a series of phonological changes in it (cf. Hualde 1988 and references therein).

eated in (21a), whereas (21b) illustrates the structure of an English negative clause (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1989):

(21)  a. Basque                    b. English
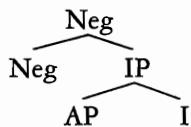
          Neg                                PIP
      ⟋ ⟍                            ⟋ ⟍
   Neg     IP                        I     NegP
         ⟋ ⟍                          ⟋ ⟍
     AP     I                  Neg    AP
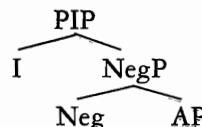
According to (21), it should be possible to delete IP in Basque, leaving NegP intact, but the same syntactic operation should be impossible in English, because NegP is 'nested' in between IP (=TP) and AP[13].

The prediction, therefore, is that in a case of conjunction-induced deletion, where one conjunct is declarative and the other one is negative, different results should obtain in Basque and English: in Basque, it should be possible to delete the IP and leave only the NegP, which would not be recoverable; in English, though, this strategy would not be available, because NegP is dominated by IP, and thus IP could not be deleted without deleting with it the non-recoverable NegP. This prediction is borne out.

A conjunction like the one just described has the following behaviour in English: it is not possible to leave undeleted *only* those elements that are not recoverable (22):

(22) *Mary bought a book and Peter not

Rather, it is necessary to leave undeleted the suporting *do* as well, as in (23a):

(23) a. Mary bought a book and Peter didn't
     b. Mary has bought a book and Peter hasn't

Similarly, auxiliary verbs (which do raise to Infl and thus do not trigger *do support* (Emonds 1976) cannot be deleted, as shown in (23b). The paradigm in (23) therefore illustrates the fact that IP cannot be deleted when sentence negation is not recoverable.

Note that this phenomenon does not follow from some general condition that disallows adverbs from occuring by themselves in conjunction structures, nor from some prohibition against deletion of Tense. Thus, it is perfectly possible to have sentences like (24):

(24) Mary bought a book, and Peter too.

Where Inflection has been deleted[14]. Now, if we turn to Basque, we find that the exact correlate of (22) is perfectly grammatical, as shown in (25):

(13) *AP* here is used as a cover term for the projection under IP/TP. Under the analysis of Basque presented here, AP stands for Aspect Phrase. However, under Pollock (1989) AP in English stands for Agreement Phrase, and under Chomsky (1989) it stands for Object Agreement Phrase. What the name or nature of that projection is will not affect, I believe, the conclusion of this argument. It has been argued that English AP is actually an Aspect Phrase (Iatridou 1988. For evidence that the AP in Basque could not be any king of Agreement Phrase, see Laka (1988) and Cheng & Demirdash (1990).

(14) It is also possible to have: (i) Mary bought a book and Peter did too.

Presumably, the adverb in (i) is modifying the proposition, but in the example in the text it only modifies the subject argument. As far as the point made in the text is concerned, it is enough to show that there is no prohibition against seleting Tense in English.

(25) Marik liburua erosi    du eta Peruk ez
     Mari   book-the bought has and Peter  no
     'Mary has bought the book and Peter hasn't'

The sentence in (25) is not a case of constituent negation on the subject. That is, it does not mean "Mary bought the book, not Peter". Constituent negation of the subject would place the negative morpheme preceding the subject, not following it[15].

The explanation of why English and Basque behave differently with respect to IP deletion in these cases is straightforward under the proposal presented here: in English, deletion of IP could not take place without deletion of NegP as well, under the assumption that deletion cannot affect discontinuous chunks of the Phrase Marker. However, nothing prevents deletion of IP in Basque in these cases, because NegP is not dominated by IP, and thus it can be left intact after deleting the entire IP.

Note finally that it cannot be argued that the English example in (22) is parallel to the Basque case in (25). That is, it cannot be the case that the negative *not* in (22) is the head of a NegP generated above TP. If this were the case, the *not* in (22) should behave like a sentence negation, not like a constituent negation on the subject. However, (22) is ungrammatical if the object *a book* is focalized (or alternatively, it would mean that Mary did not buy a book but she bought Peter instead). In the Basque example in (25), on the other hand, the object *liburua* can in fact be focalized and the sentence is perfectly grammatical, meaning 'Mary bought A BOOK, Peter didn't'. This contrast follows naturally from the fact that *not* is a constituent negation attached to the subject, whereas (25) is truly a case of sentence negation, where the negative element heads a NegP above TP.

### 1.2.4. Negative Polarity Item Licensing.

The second piece of evidence supporting the claim that NegP dominates IP in Basque comes from Negative Polarity Item (NPI) licensing by negation. NPI licensing is an extensively studied topic, and I do not intend to consider it in its whole here. Rather, I will be concerned with NPI licensing by negation; to be more specific, the cases to be discussed are those in which, as a result of a 'nearby' sentence negation, the NPI is interpreted as $no\{x\}$[16].

It is a well known fact that English displays a subject-object asymmetry with respect to NPI licensing, in that sentence negation does not license subject NPIs, but it licenses object NPIs:

(27) a. *Anybody didn't come       b. Mary didn't see anything

These facts are accounted for by assuming that negation licenses NPIs under c-command at S-structure. Early works on the topic took essentially this position. Thus, Klima (1964) proposed a suppletion rule deriving NPIs from underlying posi-

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([15]) The sentence would look like:  (i) MARIK erosi du liburua, ez PERUK
   Where both subjects are focalized. Constituent negation in Basque precedes the constituent it has scope over.
   ([16]) That is, cases like 'anybody could do that' or 'has anybody seen Mary?' where the NPI is not interpreted as $no[x]$ are not relevant to this discussion.

tive counterparts, which applied to expressions preceded and commanded by an overt negation[17]. In a configuration like the one proposed here for Basque (21a), negation c-commands all arguments in IP. This correctly predicts that Basque will allow NPIs in subject position, as illustrated in (27):

(27) a. Ez dio *inork*    Iboni    etxea    eman      b. Ez da  *inor*      etorri
       no has anybody Ibon-to house-the given       no has anybody come
       'Nobody has given the house to Ibon'        'Nobody came'
       (Lit: anybody hasn't given the house to Ibon)   (Lit: anybody didn't come)

The examples in (27a) and (27b) show ergative and absolutive subject NPIs respectively. In both cases negation licenses the Polarity Item; hence, the licensing has nothing to do with the position of the arguments at D-structure[18] The example in (28) shows that these lexical items are indeed Negative Polarity Items: in this example *inor* is not in the domain of a licenser, and thus the sentence is ungrammatical:

(28) *inor    etorri da
      anybody come has

That there is no adjacency requirement in the licensing is shown by the example in (29), where the ergative subject intervenes between negation and the NPI:

(29) Ez dio$_i$ [$_{IP}$ Ibonek inor$_i$     etxea     eman t$_i$]
      no has    Ibon   anybody-to house-the given
      'Ibon hasn't given the house to anybody'

There are two cases of negation in English that have the same effects that Basque sentence negation does, because they also c-command the whole IP at S-Structure.

The first case is the *no way* colloquial negation used in some registers and varieties of English[19]. This kind of negation does indeed license subject NPIs in English, as (30) illustrates:

(30) No way anybody is gonna tell me what to do

---

[17] Klima's rule applied if the item was 'in construction with' sentence negation. A constituent is 'in construction with' another constituent if the former is dominated by the first branching node that dominates the latter. The concept is thus the converse of the c-command notion.

[18] In this respect, NPI licensing differs from partitive case assignment. Partitive Case resembles NPIs in that it requires a licenser:

     (i)  *ez* du etx*erik* erosi            (ii)  *etxerik* erosi du
         no has house-part bought           house-part bought has
         'she hasn't bought any house'         (*she has bought any house)
     (iii) etx*erik* erosi du?               (iv) etx*erik* erosiko balu
         house-part bought has             house-part bought if-would
         'Has she bought any house?'          'If she bought any house'

However, partitive differs form NPI licensing in that only D-structure objects can be assigned this case (Levin 1983):

     (v) ez da ume*rik* etorri            (vi) *ez du ume*rik* hori egin
         no has kid-part arrived           no has kid-part this done
         'No kid has arrived'            ('No kid has done this')

This Case Theoretic restriction prevents partitive NPIs from appearing in place of ergative or dative arguments, thus make them unsuitable to determine purely the scope of Neg.

[19] Thanks D. Pesetsky for bringing these facts to my attention.

The negative adverb *no way* is in a presentential position, either adjoined to IP or at some higher position. For the purposes of this argument it is enough that it be c-commanding IP at S-structure, which I take to be uncontroversial, given that it precedes the subject of the sentence.

The second case is found in the phenomenon that Klima (1964) called "Neg-pre-posing": a negative constituent is fronted to sentence initial position, triggering aux-inversion. In cases of "Neg-preposing" also, subject NPIs are licensed in English, just like in Basque. The first sentence of Gould's *Wonderful Life* illustrates this fact:

(31) Not since the Lord himself showed his stuff to Ezekiel in the valley of dry bones had *anyone* brought such grace to the reconstruction of animals from disarticulated skeletons.

Negative Polarity Item licensing data, then, provide further empirical support for the analysis proposed: Negation is generated above IP in Basque. Moreover, it does not lower to Infl at S-structure; instead, it stays in a position where it c-commands the external argument of IP.

## 1.2.5. The Tense C-command Condition.

The only main point in the analysis of Basque negation presented here that does not have a principled explanation yet is why it is that Infl must raise to neg by S-structure. Notice that nothing in our Theory of Grammar would go wrong if negation and Infl stayed separate also at S-Structure, as they are at D-structure. The question, hence, is what rules out an S-Structure like (32), where Neg and Infl stay separate:

(32) *[$_{NegP}$ *ez* [$_{IP}$ Ibon etorri *da*]]
('Ibon hasn't arrived')

My claim will be that this S-structure representation does in fact violate a universal constraint: the Tense C-command Condition, presented at the beggining of this chapter.

Recent work on the nature of Inflection (Pollock 1989, Mahajan 1988, Ritter 1988, Laka 1988b among many others) indicates that what has standardly been assumed to be a unified syntactic category Infl is structurally more complex. In particular, the works mentioned follow the idea in Pollock (1989) that Tense heads its own syntactic projection.

In his analysis of English and French negation, Pollock (1989) suggests in a footnote a universal requirement stating that negation must be c-commanded by Infl at S-structure. I will take up this suggestion and make it more general: it is a broader constraint on the syntactic relations that must hold within the inflectional complex, which is constituted of as many projections as inflectional elements there are.

Higginbotham (1985) argues that verbs include in their grid an event argument (e) that must be saturated by the Infl head in the syntax. If the elements previously grouped under the category Infl do indeed have a more articulated structure than it has been assumed, one question that arises concerns the saturation of the (e) position in the syntax. Since the label "Infl" may refer to more than one syntactic projection,

the mechanism by which (e) is saturated must be reviewed. There are two possibilities: On the one hand, if only one of the inflectional heads is responsible for the saturation of (e), it must be determined which one it is. If the saturation is done by means of percolation of the (e) position up to last inflectional projection (similarly to the way in which subject-roles percolate outside VP), it is necessary to spell out the mechanisms of this percolation.

The position I want to take is that the role of Infl as the saturator of (e) in Higginbotham (1985) and (1987) is done by Tense. The (e) argument percolates up in the inflectional structure up to TP, where it is saturated.

The Tense C-command Condition can thus be thought of as the way to ensure that all inflectional elements that operate on a given clause are dominated by the element that saturates the event position of that clause. Thus the Tense C-command Condition holds of all functional heads that operate on the proposition, and that negation is just a particular case of this more general requirement[20].

Stating the condition in terms of Tense gives us a way of capturing the fact that this element tends to be the highest functional head among the inflectional projections, as well as for why modals, sentence negation and agreement markers occur generally as structurally lower inflectional heads or as particles adjoined to Infl. Under Pollock's Analysis of English and French negation, Tense is the highest inflectional projection; the same is true in Mahajan's (1988) work on Hindi agreement and in Ritter's (1988) work on Hebrew. Chomsky (1989) claims (following Belleti 1988) that subject Agr is projected higher than Tense. Nevertheless, he also assumes that Tense raises to it by S-structure. Basque inflectional morphology also provides strong evidence for Tense C-commanding all other inflectional heads (Laka 1988)[21].

Let us now recall our analysis of Basque sentence negation under a condition like the TCC. In a configuration like the one proposed for Basque (13), the c-command relation demanded by the TCC does not hold at D-structure, since the Neg is c-commanding IP. The only way in which Tns can c-command Neg at S-structure is by adjoining to it, as in (14).

### 1.2.6. Negation in embedded sentences.

The generalizations about Basque sentence negation presented in the previous sections hold of matrix negative sentences, but not of embedded ones. Thus, for example, relative clauses show the opposite pattern of (10), as illustrated in the following examples:

(33) a. [erori ez den]     etxea
        fallen no has-that house-the
        'The house that didn't fall-down'

   b. *[ez den     erori] etxea
        no has-that fallen house-the
        ('The house that didn't fall')

In these examples, the lexical verb must precede the negated auxiliary (33a), otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical (33b). This paradigm is exactly the opposi-

[20] Evidence that the Tense C-command condition holds if heads that are not negation will be presented in the second chapter of this work.

[21] There is one functional head that doesn't appear to obey the TCC: the complementizer. I assume that this head does not modify the event in Infl, but establishes a relation between that clause and some other clause.

te of matrix sentence negation, where the negated inflected auxiliary must precede the lexical verb (9a,b).

Appart from the negation facts just illustrated, the only overt difference between root and embedded clauses is the occurrence of a Comp marker in the latter. The Complementizer is a bound morpheme, and it occurs attached at the end of the inflected auxiliary. It is then natural to assume that it is the head of Comp that is making the difference in embedded sentence negation.

I will argue that in embedded clauses the same processes discussed in the previous section take place, and that what makes root and embedded clauses diverge with respect to negation is a further movement: the complex head [Neg-Infl] adjoins to Comp in embedded clauses[22]. The derivation is illustrated in (34) (ignoring X' levels):

(34)

```
                    CP
                      \
                       C'
                      / \
                 NegP     C
                 /  \     [[Neg[Infl]_i]_n Comp]
               t_n    IP
                        \
                         I'
                        / \
                     AsP   t_i
                      \
                       Asp'
                      /  \
                   VP     Asp
                    \     [[V]_v asp]
                     t_v
```
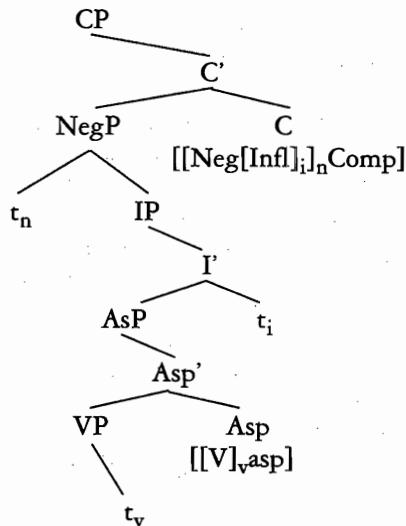
Two succesive movements are involved in (34):

(i) as in root clauses, and for the same reasons as in main clauses (that is, to satisfy the TCC), Infl raises to negation also in embedded clauses.

(ii) The head of C is filled by a bound morpheme that has to be attached to Infl at S-structure; therefore, the head [Neg-Infl] further raises to Comp.

Note that this latter movement does not alter the S-structure scope properties of the negation head, since from that position it still c-commands IP. That the scope of negation is not altered in embedded clauses is shown by the fact that Subject Polarity Items are also licensed in embedded clauses:

(35) [*inork*    eman ez dion]    etxea
     anybody given no has-that house-the
     'The house that nobody gave him'
     (Lit: the house that anybody didn't give him)

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[22] Not all embedded clauses behave alike with respect to negation. Some of them may optionally behave like matrix clauses. See Laka (1988a) for more detailed discussion.

Note that adjacency or precedence requirements play no role, since arguments can intervene between the Polarity Item and Neg without affecting the licensing[23]:

(36) [*Inork* Iboni eman *ez* dion] etxea
anybody Ibon-to give no has-that house-the
'The house that nobody gave to Ibon'

Under this analysis, both surface morpheme ordering and negative polarity licensing are accounted for straightforwardly, asuming standard c-command relations and head-movement. Thus, movement of the complex head [Neg-Infl] to Comp yields the surface order of negative embedded clauses illustrated in (33), and no further stipulation is needed to account both for surface constituent ordering and NPI licensing.

### 1.2.7. A Further Note on Polarity Licensing by Negation.

The subject NPI licensing test can be independently shown to be crucial when determining the position of negation and its S-structural relation with the external argument of IP.

Consider English sentence negation. Negation in English is generated inside IP. Under Pollock's analysis, for instance, it is a head projecting a NegP, complement of I. Whatever the particular instantiation, negation is structurally lower than Infl. This accounts for the fact that NPIs in the specifier of IP are not licensed by negation (Cf. examples 15a, b).

However, if negation cliticizes onto Infl and moves along with it to Comp, it will be placed in a position where it c-commands the external argument of IP. Crucially, it is precisely in these cases when subject NPIs are licensed by negation in English:

(37) a. Who doesn't anybody like     b. Who does anybody not like

In (37a), the question means 'Who is the person such that nobody likes that person', whereas this interpretation is not possible in (37b). It could be argued that the licensing of the Polarity Item in (37a) is due to the interrogative environment (presumably the head of C or the operator in its Specifier), and that the interpretation of *anybody* in conjunction with *not* is brought about independently, in Logical Form. But this would fail to explain why this interpretation of *anybody* is not available in (37b), where the Polarity Item is licensed by the interrogative environment.

The only difference between the two examples is the placement of negation, therefore it must be the fact that negation has moved (along with Infl) to Comp that accounts for the different interpretation. Note that if cliticization of Neg were to take place at Phonetic Form, we would expect no difference in interpretation between (37a) and (37b), given that this level of representation does not feed Logical Form. It must then be the case that the different configuration of the scope of Neg is stablished at S-structure for the facts to obtain.

[23] Ladusaw (1980) presents a scope principle for English where precedence is required, if licenser and NPI are clausemates. If we try to extend this scope principle to Basque, this precedende requirement is problematic. Even if we change the precedence requirement to a 'followed by' requirement according to the head parameter, the Basque case is still problematic, since both when preceded or when followed is the NPI licensed, provided that c-command is met.

There is a similar case which does not involve interrogative environments but displays the same effect. In a variety of Southern American English, modals may precede the subject, as in the following examples[24]:

(38) Can you do that
     'You can do that'

When the modal sentence is negative, subject polarity items are licensed only if negation cliticizes onto the modal, parallel to (37a). If negation does not cliticize, the negative licensing does not take place. The contrast is illustrated in (39):

(39) a. Can't anybody do that       b. Can anybody not do that
        'Nobody can do that'

The only available reading of (39b) is that of 'free choice' *any*, which is commonly induced by modals. Let us assume that modals in this particular dialect of English are placed in the head of Comp[25]; the only way to bring about the different interpretation between (39a) and (39b) is by assuming that Neg is also placed in the head of Comp by S-structure. Thus, the pairs in (37) and (39) illustrate the relevance of the interpretation of NPIs to determine S-structural relations; it also illustrates minimally that an S-structure requirement crucially governs negative NPI licensing[26].

## 1.3. English sentence negation: *do support*.

### 1.3.0. Introduction.

The most obvious syntactic effect induced in English by sentence negation is what is called *do support*: the insertion of a dummy auxiliary which supports the inflectional morphemes, as illustrated in (40a, b):

(40) a. Mary didn't go          b. *Mary not went

It is this phenomenon that I will focus on in this section. First, I will review two recent analyses of English negation, namely those of Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1989). These two proposals diverge on the question of what it is that forces *do* insertion in the presence of negation. Pollock (1989) attributes the phenomenon to the quantificational, operator-like properties of Tense, while Chomsky (1988) argues that it results from the interaction of the Empty Category Principle (ECP) and the Principle of Economy of Derivation.

I will discuss these accounts of *do* support and argue that both of them overgenerate. I will then provide an alternative account in which *do* support is argued to be a

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[24] The following sentences need a certain context and a certain emphatic intonation which is not relevant for the purposes of this argument (p.c. Jim Harris and Ken Hale).

[25] For the purposes of this argument, it is not crucial that the modals be in the head of Comp; it is enough that they be sitting in some place higher than the subject (if, for instance, one were to maintain that the subject remains within the VP, in the spirit of Pesetsky 1989), whereas the modal sits in Infl.

[26] Linebarger (1987) claims that for an NPI to be licensed by negation it suffices that the NPI occurs in the immediate scope of negation at LF. She assumes that negation raises at LF. Notice that in such a configuration the specifier of IP is in the immediate scope of negation; therefore, Linebarger (1987) predicts that an NPI in the specifier of IP should be licensed in English.

direct consequence of the Tense C-command Condition. Essentially, the argument to be presented is as follows: given that there is no verb raising to Inflection in English, and given that Tense is a bound morpheme, the Tense affix-hops onto the lexical verb in cases like (41):

(41) Mary left

When Neg is present, however, lowering of Tense would leave Neg not c-commanded. Insertion of the 'dummy' verb *do* is the strategy available in English to ensure that the Tense C-command Condition is satisfied.

### 1.3.1. Pollock (1989).

Pollock (1989) explores and discusses extensively the properties of verb movement in English and French. His comparative analysis relies crucially on two subtheories of Universal Grammar: Theta Theory and Quantification Theory. Theta Theory constrains verb movement, whereas Quantification Theory makes it mandatory. It is the tension between these two subtheories, Pollock argues, that induces a phenomenon like *do* support in English. Let us review his argument in more detail.

Based on comparative data on adverb placement in English and French, Emonds (1976), (1978) concluded that French has an obligatory rule of Verb-Raising to Aux (Infl), whereas in English this rule was restricted to auxiliary verbs (Jackendoff 1972, Emonds 1976). The presence versus absence of this rule accounted for adverb placement paradigms like (42), assuming that adverbs are generated in the same position in both languages:

(42) a. *Mary kisses often John
     b. Marie embrasse souvent Marie
     c. Mary often kisses John

Pollock (1989) provides a new formulation of Emonds analysis, which attempts to give a principled explanation of *why* all French verbs must raise to Infl, while only some of them do so in English. Pollock proposes a more articulated Phrase Structure, where Infl is split into two separate heads: Tense, heading its own projection TP, and Agreement, heading an AgrP, as illustrated in (43), where Specifier positions and one-bar levels are ignored for simplicity:

(43)
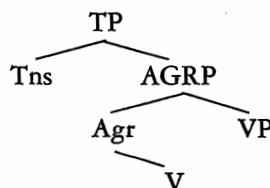


Verb-Raising to Infl consists now of two steps: first, movement of V to Agr, and second, movement from Agr to Tense. Pollock argues that it is the first step (V-Agr) that distinguishes French and English, due to the different nature of Agr in these languages. Pollock claims that there is a correlation between the strength of the

agreement and the ability of the verb to percolate its theta-grid through agreement once V to Agr movement has taken place. Thus, French agreement is strong enough as to allow the verb to percolate its Theta-grid down to its trace, after the verb has raised to Agr. That is, French agreement is transparent to theta marking. On the contrary, English agreement is not strong enough as to allow percolation of the Theta-grid of the raised verb: it is opaque to theta marking. This makes it impossible for any Theta-grid bearing verb to raise to Agr, since by doing so it would fail to satisfy the Theta Criterion. Only verbs that do not have theta-roles to discharge *(have/be)* will be able to raise to Agr in English.

Whereas Theta Theory and the nature of Agr constrain Verb movement, Quantification Theory makes it obligatory in tensed sentences. Pollock assumes that [+finite] (i.e. [+/- Past]) tense is an operator. Like any other syntactic operator, then, it must bind a variable. What constitutes a variable for [+finite] tense is defined as in (44):

(44) @ is a variable for [+/- Past] iff  @ = [$_v$ e] bound by [+/- Past]

Unlike other syntactic operators, which bind a variable left by their own movement to an A' position either at S-structure or at LF, Tense must bind a verbal variable; that is, a trace left by Verb movement. Thus, for instance, whereas in Wh-movement it is the operator itself which creates its variable via A' movement, in the case of Tense it is movement of V to Infl that provides the relevant trace. Under Pollock's analysis, Tense is strictly an S-structure operator. LF raising of Tense is therefore ruled out in this approach, since the relevant operator-trace configuration is already created by S-structure. This view of Tense as an operator makes Verb-Raising obligatory, and thus it accounts for the obligatoriness of verb movement to Tense in French. But, as Pollock notes, it seems to lead us to a dead end in the case of English, where Theta Theory bars movement of V to Agr.

Given the universal status of Quantification Theory, Pollock argues that UG leaves two ways out of this problem: either to get rid of the Agr entirely, or to allow an auxiliary verb generated beyond the VP barrier to count as a substitute for the immovable main verb in the VP. English, argues Pollock, has taken the later option. Thus, there is always an auxiliary verb higher than VP, which raises to Tense and creates the variable this operator needs in order to satisfy Quantification Theory.

Overt auxiliaries in English do raise to Tense, creating the required   Operator /-variable configuration (45a). When there is no auxiliary available, English resorts to the 'dummy' verb *do* (45b):

(45) a. Mary wouldn't do that        b. Mary didn't do that

Since this account of *do* insertion is not contingent on the occurrence of negation, but rather on the presence of a [+finite] Tense, Pollock must assume that in present tense indicative sentences like the ones in (46):

(46) a. Mary leaves              b. Mary left

There is a hidden auxiliary verb raising to Tense. Pollock claims that (46a, 46b) are essentially identical to (47a, 47b) respectively:

(47) a.  Mary does leave          b. Mary did leave

Under Pollock's account, English has a non lexical counterpart of *do* (henceforth @). This 'empty *do*' shares all properties of the phonologically realized one: it is generated under Agr and it raises to Tense. Thus, the S-structure of (46b) is claimed to be as in (48):

(48)

```
                    TP
              _____|_____
            Mary           T'
                      _____|_____
                 T[Agr[@]]₁       AGRP
                            _____|_____
                          t₁             VP
                                    _____|_____
                                        leave
```
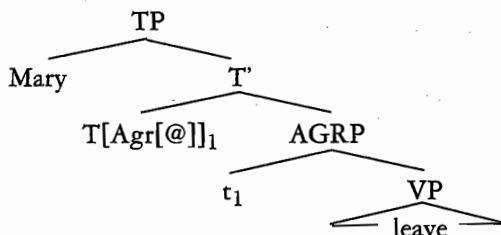
At some point in the derivation, Tense and Agreement morphemes must hop onto the lexical verb as in (49), in order to generate the morphological unit *left*:

(49)

```
                    TP
              _____|_____
            Mary           T'
                      _____|_____
                 t_T[t_Agr[@]]₁      AGRP
                               _____|_____
                             t₁            VP
                                      _____|_____
                                         V[T[Agr]]
```
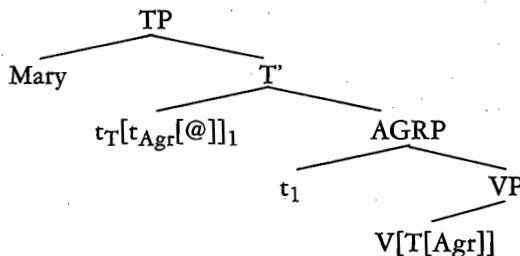
Note that if this affix hopping takes place at S-structure, it violates the ECP, since the traces left by Tense and Agr fail to be antecedent governed. Pollock does not discuss the level of representation at which this particular version of affix hopping would take place.

A more serious problem arises from the fact that *do* and @, being identical in all syntactic respects, alternate freely. We must then make sure that:

a) empty *do* (@) will independently be ruled out in negative environments;

b) lexical *do* in a non-negative (and non-emphatic) environments will also be independently ruled out.

Let us consider the first case. Pollock claims that NegP, unlike AgrP, is an inherent barrier for movement. Hence, it needs to be L-marked by *do*. Given that @ is not lexical, it cannot L-mark NegP once it has raised to Tense. A violation of the ECP results.

Let us now look at the second·case. We want to rule out a sentence like (50a), where an overt *do* has been inserted in a simple declarative sentence. The derivation of this sentence is illustrated in (50b):

(50) a. *Mary did leave    b.

TP
 / \
Mary  T'
     / \
 T[Agr[DO]]$_1$  AGRP
              / \
            t$_1$   VP
                   |
                 leave
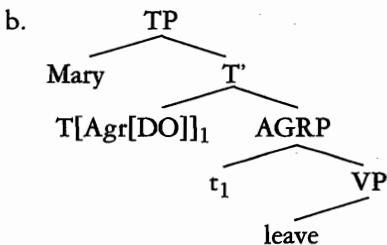
Quantification Theory is satisfied, in that Tense is binding a verbal variable left by [Agr+*do*]. ECP is not violated, given that no barriers intervene between the antecedents and their traces.

Thus, there is no independent principle of the Grammar that will rule this derivation out, therefore Pollock's account predicts it to be grammatical.

### 1.3.2. Chomsky (1989).

Chomsky (1989) argues that *do* insertion is forced by the ECP and the principle of Economy of Derivation (ED). This Principle states that there is a 'least effort' condition, by which UG principles apply wherever possible, favoring the shortest derivation, and that Language Particular devices are put to use only as a last resort. In this respect, Chomsky argues, move alpha is a UG operation, and *do* support is a language particular device. Thus, *do* support will only take place whenever move alpha is not enough to save a given D-structure. Based on this leading idea, Chomsky proceeds to reinterpret Pollock's analysis.

Chomsky (1989) follows Pollock in assuming that IP has an articulated structure, where Agreement and Tense head separate projections. He argues that in affirmative sentences like the ones illustrated in (46), the heads Tense and Agr lower onto the verb at S-structure. Subsequently, Agreement and the trace left by it are deleted at Logical Form, thus leaving the Agreement Projection empty. The trace left by Tense, on the other hand, satisfies the Empty Category Principle by means of raising of the inflected verb to the head Tense, creating a configuration where the trace is properly governed. This LF derivation is illustrated in (51):

(51)

TP
 / \
t$_T$[V[T]]$_1$   e(=AGRP)
              / \
            t$_1$   VP
                   |
                 t$_1$
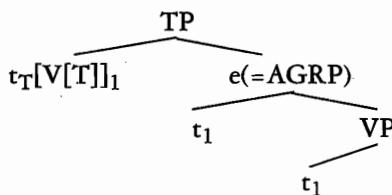
In the case of negative sentences, Chomsky follows Pollock in assuming the existence of a Negative Projection between AgrP and TP, headed by *not*. Given this structure, an attempt to proceed as in the declarative clause will induce an ECP violation, Chomsky argues. Let us see why: if Tense and Agr lower to V at S-structure; Agr deletes at LF, but Tense must raise all the way up to its original position in order to govern its own trace. This raising induces an ECP violation, because the head

Neg prevents the intermediate trace left by the verb from being antecedent governed, as shown in (52):

(52)

$$*TP$$

V+AGR+T        NEGP

NEG        e(=AGRP)

$*$

$t_v$        VP

$t_v$
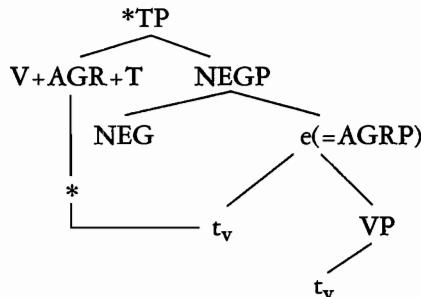
In order to salvage the derivation, Chomsky argues, English resorts to *do* insertion at S-structure. *Do* is inserted in the modal position[27] and then raises to Tense. This way, Tense, which is a bound morpheme in English, does not have to lower to the lexical verb, and thus LF raising from V to Agr is no longer necessary. Consequently, the ECP violation is avoided.

Consider now the account given by Chomsky to explain *do* insertion in matrix interrogative sentences. Assume that a phonologically empty Q morpheme (basically the same Q morpheme proposed originally by Katz & Postal 1964) sits in the head Comp; lowering of Tns/Agr to V, as in affirmative sentences, would leave the interrogative morpheme unattached at S-structure, as shown in (53):

(53)

$$*CP$$

Q        IP

$t_T$        AGRP

$t_{Agr}$        VP

V+AGR+T
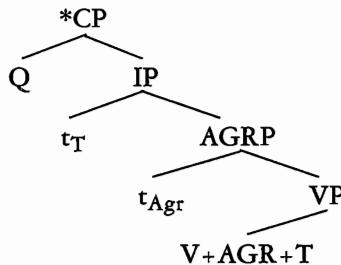
Chomsky assumes there is an S-structure requirement that affixes be attached to a base, which is violated in (53). This requirement is essentially that of Lasnik (1981): "a morphological affix must be realized as a syntactic dependent at surface structure."

The only way to rescue the D-structure, Chomsky argues, is to resort to *do* insertion, as in (54)[28]:

(54)

```
                          CP
              _____|_____
        Q+T+do+AGR                    IP
                              _____|_____
                            t_T               ModP
                                        _____|_____
                                      t_do            AGRP
                                                 _____|_____
                                              t_Agr          VP
                                                              |
                                                              V
```
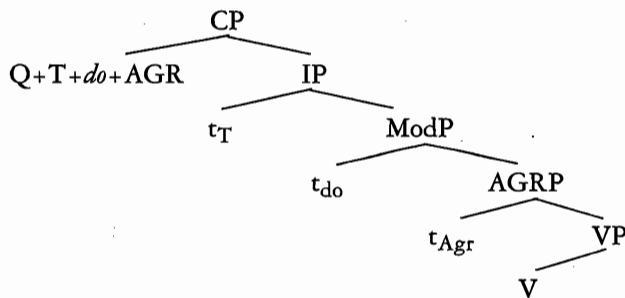
Notice, however, that it is left unexplained why it is not possible to have a derivation like the one in (55), where the interrogative morpheme, parallel to the Tense and Agr morphemes also lowers to the lexical verb:

(55)

```
                          CP
                 _____|_____
               t_Q                   IP
                             _____|_____
                           t_T               AGRP
                                        _____|_____
                                      t_Agr         VP
                                                     |
                                             V+AGR+T+Q
```
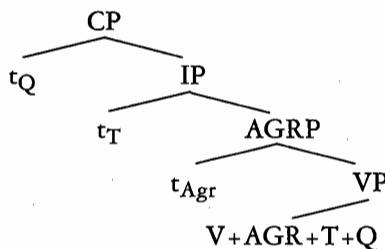
At the level of Logical Form, the verb would raise to Tns and Comp, parallel to the derivation given in (51), thus satisfying the ECP. In fact, following the spirit of the Principle of Economy of Derivation, a derivation like (55) is less costly than the one in (54), because it resorts only to move alpha (lowering at S-structure and subsequent raising at LF), and it does not involve any Language Particular device like *do* insertion[29].

This very same question arises in the case of the account given to explain *do* support induced by negation; in principle, no independent principle of Universal Grammar rules out a derivation like the one in (56), where Neg, along with Tense and Agr, lowers to V:

(56)

```
                       IP
              _____|_____
            t_T                NEGP
                         _____|_____
                       t_neg          AGRP
                                 _____|_____
                               t_Agr         VP
                                              |
                                      V+AGR+NEG+T
```
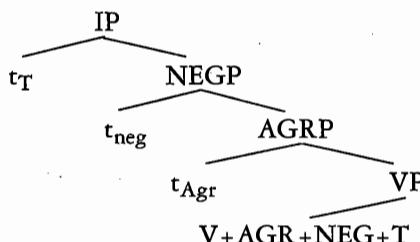
(29) I could be objected that, in an embedded clause, lowering of the morpheme Q would induce a violation of the selectional restrictions of the matrix verb, which demands there to be a [+wh] element in the head of the CP it selects. Although this fact could independently give a reason why Q cannot lower in these cases, the question still stands for the case of matrix sentences, and, moreover, for the case of negation, which is our focus here.

Once again, subsequent raising of the inflected verb at LF would ensure government of the traces left at S-structure.

The question of why Neg cannot undergo a lowering movement as Tense becomes even more interesting given the fact that, unlike French *pas*, Engish *not* does undergo head movement at S-structure. Thus, it moves along with Inflection to the head of Comp. One example of such a case is illustrated in the S-Structure representation in (57):

(57)

```
                    CP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
            what           C'
                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                [did[n't]neg]T    TP
                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                           you            T'
                                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                  tT            NegP
                                          ┌──────┴──────┐
                                        tneg           VP
                                                        │
                                                       buy
```
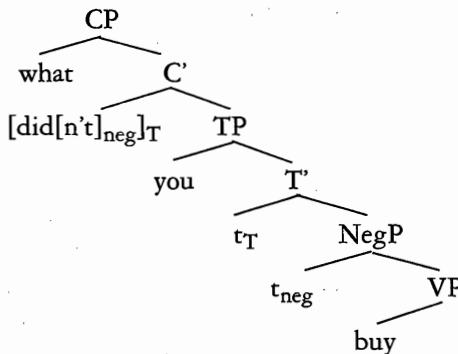
That this movement takes place at S-structure is shown by data on Negative Polarity Items. As we have seen before (cf. section 1.2.6.), the only cases where a Negative Polarity item in the Spec of IP may receive an interpretation under the scope of negation is precisely when negation moves to the head of Comp along with Inflection, as illustrated by the pair in (58):

(58) a. *anybody doesn't like him    b. who doesn't anybody like
     *no(x) [x likes him]              what(y) [no(x) [ x likes y]]

A possible account as to why negation cannot lower onto V at S-Structure could be constructed based on the distinction between the phonologically free standing form *not* and the phonologically dependant *n't* clitic. That only the cliticized form occurs when negation has moved to the head of Comp can be argued given the minimal pair in (59):

(59  a. What doesn't Mary like    b. *What does not Mary like

It is also true that not all inflected forms allow the clitic form of the negative marker, as illustrated by the following ungrammatical forms:

(60) a. * I amn't tired    b. *You mayn't go

Given these facts, then, it could be argued that negation could not lower onto the lexical verb because it would have to surface as the clitic *n't* and this would yield ill-formed outputs like *leftn't*, or *arrivedn't*.

However, this answer is not a sufficient one. Take a sentence whose main verb is do. The clitic *n't* is allowed to occur attached to auxiliary *do*. Since the restrictions on the clitic are not based on syntactic or semantic features but on morphophonological ones, under which both instances of *do* are identical (they inflect identically, for ins-

tance), nothing would prevent a sentence like (61) under the hypothesis we are considering:

(61) *I didn't a mistake

There are thus two main questions begged in the analysis:

(i)Why are negation and the Q morpheme incapable of lowering to V at S-structure and be rescued by LF?

(ii)Why is it that movement of the verb at LF must skip negation?

The second question becomes even more forceful when we recall that negation in English, unlike French *pas* does undergoe head movement at S-structure, as shown in (57).

The first question raised concerns both the interrogative morpheme and negation. In light of the data, it seems to be the case that there is a crucial difference between the head Tense and these two other heads, in that the former can lower at S-structure but the latter two cannot. I want to relate this to the fact that both Wh-movement and Negative Polarity Licensing are S-structure operations in English. Under the view that Wh-movement to the Specifier of CP provides the Wh-element of the required clausal scope, it is reasonable to think of the interrogative morpheme in the head of Comp as some sort of scopal element, signaling the scope of the question.

Given that Wh-movement in English takes place at S-structure, we can assume that the morpheme in the head of Comp must signal its scope also at S-structure, and that lowering of this morpheme would alter its scopal properties. Similarly, in the case of negation, there is a correlation between the fact that Polarity items are licensed by negation at S-structure, and the impossibility of lowering this head.

Both the interrogative morpheme and negation, then, have S-structure scopal requirements that make them unable to lower at this level of representation. In this respect, these two heads behave like other adverbs (Cf. *only*), or like floating quantifiers, whose scope is also determined by their S-structure position.

Assuming this to be correct, the first objection to Chomsky's analysis can be explained away. The reason why derivations like (55) and (56) are out is because they alter the S-structure scope of the morpheme Q and negation.

Let us now turn to the second question. Even if negation cannot lower to the verb at S-structure, I have presented evidence that it undergoes head movement to Comp along with Tense. If this is the case, then, we must explain what is it that prevents a derivation like the following, where:

a) At S-structure, Tense lowers onto V, skipping Neg;

b) At LF, the inflected V raises to Agr and then to Neg, and then to Tense.

A derivation like this would give us a sentence like (62a), where the lexical verb is inflected for tense and agreement, and negation is left in its place.

The LF representation of this derivation, where the inflected verb raises step by step through each of the available heads, including Neg, is shown in (62b):

(62) a. Mary not left          b.

```
                                        TP
                         t_T[[V[T]]Neg]_v        NegP
                                           t_v        e(=AGRP)
                                                   t_v        VP
                                                         t_v
```
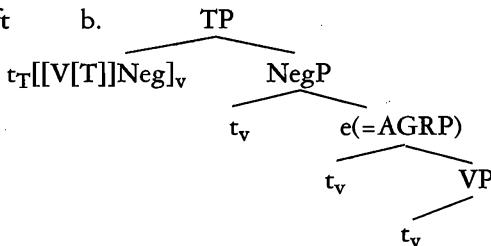
Let us consider this LF derivation in more detail. In the first step, the verb, which has Tense attached to it, raises to the empty projection e, left by the deleted Agr. From this place it can govern the trace left in the original position. In the next step, [V[T]] adjoins to Neg, and subsequently [[V]T]Neg] adjoins to the trace left by Tense. The trace left in the position of Neg is properly governed in this configuration. The question to be answered is whether the trace of Tense is governed in the last step of (62).

In this last step we have a complex head, created by $X^0$ movement. This complex head consists of three elements, and we want to know whether the deepest one (tense), is able to govern its trace, to which the complex head is adjoined. The configuration is as follows:

(63) [[[[x] y ] z ] t ]

Where the whole structure is a head ($X^0$), created by means of successive head movement. Let us consider in detail how the government relations work in this configuration. The definition of Government is stated in (64):

(64) A governs B iff A c-commands B and there is no category C such that C is a barrier between A and B. (Chomsky 1986).

As discussed by Baker (1987), the first requirement in the definition is met: a head A adjoined to a head B c-commands all elements that y *itself c-commands*[30]. This assumption is also made by Chomsky (1989), although no precise formulation of it is provided.

In a configuration like (63), then, all elements c-command each other, thus x in particular c-commands its trace *t*. Are there any barriers intervening between *x* and its trace? No, unless the other two segments of the head (*y* and *z*) are taken to be barriers.

Chomsky (1989) assumes that one intervening segment in a complex head does not constitute a barrier for government. That is, in (63), *y* is not a barrier for *x* and similarly z is not a barrier for *y*, or *t* a barrier for *z*. Given that barrierhood inheritance applies only to maximal projections, we can conclude that there are no barriers intervening between x and its trace.

[30] This result can be brought about in two different ways: either by assuming Aoun and Sportiche's (1983) definition of c-command in terms of maximal projections, as Baker (1987) does, or, alternatively, by assuming with May (1985), Chomsky (1986), that adjunction nodes do not count for c-command relations. Given that the head movements under discussion here involve adjunction, all elements in the head have the same c-command domain.

## 1.4. Do support as a consequence of the TCC.

I will now argue for an alternative account of *do* support that does not run into the overgeneration problems faced by Pollock (1987) and Chomsky (1988). In this account, *do* support is viewed as a direct consequence of the Tense C-command Condition.

I assume here Chomsky's (1989) analysis of affix hopping in English: Tense and Agr lower to the lexical verb in affirmative sentences where no auxiliary verb is present, and subsequent raising at LF satisfies the ECP. In negative sentences, lowering of Neg onto the verb is ruled out because the scope of Neg must not be altered at S-structure, as argued in the previous section.

The sentence we want to rule out is (62a), where Tense has lowered leaving Neg behind. If we consider this sentence in the spirit of the TCC, it is inmediately ruled out at S-structure since Neg, a functional head operating on the event, is no longer C-commanded by Tense:

(65)

```
                 TP
                /  \
              t_T   NegP
                   /   \
                 not    VP
                      [V[T]]
```
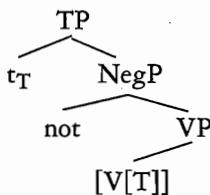
Verb raising is not available in the grammar of English, and LF raising will not rescue (65) because the requirement holds at S-structure. Therefore, the only way to salvage the derivation is the insertion of *do* at S-structure, in order to maintain the C-command relation.

By assuming the TCC to be the UG principle forcing *do* insertion, the correct set of data are predicted and the problematic cases in Pollock (1987) and Chomsky (1989) are explicitly ruled out. Further, the apparently unrelated effects induced by negation in both English and Basque find a unified explanation, rooted in Universal Grammar.

## 1.5. When tense is not there: infinitivals

The TCC is a requirement on Tense: It states that this syntactic category must c-command the inflectional heads that operate on the clause. It is this property of UG that explains why in Basque the auxiliary fronts, and in English *do* is inserted when negation is generated in Inflection. If it is the head Tense that is crucially involved in these syntactic phenomena, we expect that clauses lacking Tense may not display such phenomena. I will now argue that this prediction is indeed borne out. The relevant evidence is found in non-finite clauses.

Under the assumption that non-finite clauses lack Tense, we expect that no fronting will take place in Basque, and no *do* support in English, when negation is present in clauses lacking Tense.

Consider the following Basque infinitival sentences.

(66) a. *ez* gezurrik *esan*   b. mila  bider agindu dizut  [*ez* ardorik *edateko*]
       no lies-part say     thousand times ordered I-have-you no wine-part drink-to
       'do not say lies'     'I have told you one thousand times not to drink wine'

Notice that the object of the infinitival clause intervenes now between the negation *ez* and the infinitival *esan* in (66a) and *edateko* in (66b). Recall that *no element* could intervene between the negative morpheme and the auxiliary in finite clauses.

The examples in (67) illustrate that it is not only the object that can intervene between negation and the infitival verb: in (67a) we see a dative and the object, both in between *ez* and *esan*. In (67b) we see a time adjunct *igandean* 'on Sunday' and the object, placed between *ez* and the embedded infinitival *edateko*:

(67) a. ez umeari gezurrik *esan*
      no kid-to lie-part say
      'do not tell lies to the kid'
   b. izekok eskatu dit [*ez* igandean ardorik *edateko*]
      aunt asked has-me no sunday-on wine-prt drink-to
      'auntie has asked me not to drink wine on Sunday'

Non-finite clauses are the only cases in Basque where the sentence negation morpheme can surface unattached. Under the TCC hypothesis, why this is so is trivially explained: there is no Tense head in the clause, and thus there is no requirement to be met.

Note that this evidence shows that the effects induced by the TCC cannot be reduced to a morphological requirement governing inflectional morphemes. Negation could not be marked in as a bound morpheme in the lexicon. If that where the case, it would have to cliticize onto some other elements in the examples in (66) and (67), and it would not be able to occur as a free standing form. Its morphological status is therefore not marked in the lexicon. Let us assume that Neg is marked for its $X^0$ status. It is independent principles of UG, like the TCC, that determine whether some other element will move to that $X^0$ position.

Now consider English non-finite clauses. Recall that the account of *do*-support put forward here is crucially linked to the presence of Tense: because Tense must c-command negation at S-structure, it cannot lower onto V and it must remain in the head of TP. The dummy verb *do* is inserted to support Tense. In an infinitival clause, however, *do* support will not take place because there is no Tense, and hence the TCC does not apply in that clause. This expectation is indeed borne out: there is no *do*-support in English infinitival clauses:

(68) a. I told you not to go   b. Auntie asked me not to drink wine on Sundays

Whatever the syntactic status of the infinitival maker *to*, it is clear that it lacks temporal specification (Zagona 1988). Thus, it is not a Tense head. This is why it need not c-command the negative marker, as in (68).

Note that these examples are parallel to the ones in Basque: infinitival sentences differ considerably from finite sentences in their syntactic behavior when negated.

The negative head appears to be the same; the crucial difference is thus the presence versus absence of Tense.

Note also that the notion of Tense that the TCC refers to is strictly syntactic, not semantic. Thus, for instance, it is standardly assumed that imperative sentences lack a Tense interpretation. However, natural languages display both tensed and untensed commands, and whereas tensed imperatives must meet the TCC, untensed ones do not.

Both English and Basque provide relevant evidence that confirms this claim. Consider English first: imperatives in English behave exactly like any other tensed sentence, in that the presence of negation induces *do*-support, as illustrated in (69)[31]:

> (69) a. come here        b. *not come here        c. do not come here

In embedded context, imperatives change into infinitivals in English. As a result, they stop triggering *do* support, as the examples in (68) already illustrate.

Consider now the case of Basque: as shown in the examples in (67a) and (67b), infinitivals can be used to convey commands. There is, however, a specific imperative inflection, illustrated in (70):

> (70) a. etor hadi hona
>        come do-you here
>        come here (you)

When these imperative forms are negated, they again behave like indicative inflected sentences: the inflected auxiliary must raise to the head Neg, otherwise the result is ungrammatical:

> (71) a. ez hadi etor hona            b. *ez etor hadi hona
>        no do-you come here
>        'do not come here'

This contrast between (67) and (71) can be easily explained in the same way the English contrast is: imperative inflection involves a Tense head in the syntax, and therefore these sentences are subject to the Tense-C-command Condition. This is why inflected imperatives display the same phenomena that other tensed sentences do, whereas infinitival commands do not.

## 1.6. A corollary on the tense c-command condition: Hebrew

Under the assumption that the TCC holds universally, the prediction made is that no language will allow a non c-commanded sentence negation in a tensed sentence. However, a non c-commanded negation could be allowed in a non-tensed sentence.

---

[31] As for imperatives that display a *do* in non negative forms, like (i) (i) do come here
I assume that they have an emphatic element, just like emphatic indicative sentences like (ii):
        (ii) I did go there
I argue in chapter 2 that these cases are essentially identical to the negative case, except that the only phonological content of the emphatic morpheme is stress, as in Chomsky (1957). Chomsky (p.c.) points out that there is indeed a difference in meaning between imperatives like (i) and normal positive declaratives.

A possible counterexample for the TCC, then, would be a language allowing a structure like [Neg XP V/I] in a tensed clause. Hebrew sentence negation appears to be this case[32].

Hebrew has two different negation particles, *eyn* and *lo*, with the following distribution (examples from Ritter 1988):

(72) a. *Eyn* Dani *yodea* Ivrit     c. *\*Lo* Dani *yada* Ivrit
      neg Danny knows Hebrew       neg Danny knew Hebrew
      'Danny doesn't know Hebrew'       ('Danny didn't know Hebrew')
    b. *\*Eyn* Dani *yada* Ivrit     d. Dani *lo yada* Hebrew
      neg Danny knew Hebrew       Danny neg knew Hebrew
      ('Danny didn't know Hebrew')       'Danny didn't know Hebrew'

Example (72a) looks like a direct counterexample for the TCC. Interestingly, though, the distribution of *eyn* and *lo* is determined precisely by the presence versus absence of Tns in the sentence. The negative element *eyn* only occurs in infinitives, gerunds and what are called 'benoni' verbs.

Berman (1978) distinguishes Hebrew verbs in terms of the feature [Tense]: past and future finite forms are [+Tense], infinitives and gerunds are [-Tense], and 'benoni' verbs are [0 Tense]. Doron (1984) and Rapoport (1987) claim that the functional head (Infl) of benoni verbs contains Agr but not Tns.

Under an analysis along the lines of Pollock's work, where Agr and Tns are two different heads, Ritter (1988) argues that *eyn* occupies the head Tns as in (73):

(73)
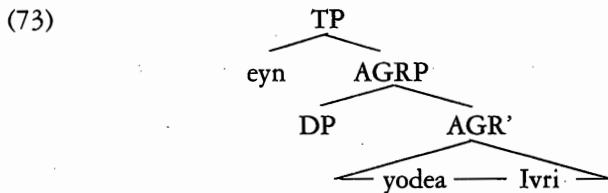


Therefore, the example in (72a) does not violate the TCC, since either there is no Tense in the sentence, or *eyn* itself bears the Tense features of the clause. The case of the negative element *lo* is more similar to negation in English: it is an adjoined particle c-commanded by Tense at S-structure, thus the ungrammaticality of (72c), where it is not c-commanded by Tense, in violation of the TCC.

## 1.7. On LF raising of Neg above Tense.

It is customary in the semantic literature to regard propositional operators like negation as taking scope over the entire proposition at Logical Form. Hence, any negative sentence like (74a) is represented at Logical Form in the form of (74b):

(74) a. Mary didn't leave       b. no [Mary left]

Where the negative operator has scope over the whole clause. Under this assumption, it is rather surprising that there should exist a syntactic requirement like the

---

[32] The following Hebrew paradigm was provided by Betsy Ritter, who pointed out its relevance for the TCC.

Tense C-command Condition, which requires not that Negation c-command Tense, but, rather, that Tense c-command Negation.

It is not logically impossible that natural languages are such that syntax and semantics simply do not conform to each other. Thus, it could certainly be the case that universal syntax must meet certain requirements that have absolutely no reflex in the semantic component.

The evidence presented in this chapter in favor of the existence of a syntactic requirement like the TCC is solely based on syntactic processes: it looks like some deep rooted property of our language faculty is such that it requires the TCC to be met. The kind of evidence and arguments presented are, I think, enough and self-contained, even if nothing in the semantics of Tense and propositional operators in natural languages seem to bear any relation to the properties of Tense and Neg as a syntactic objects.

Nevertheless, a second alternative is certainly worth wondering about. It could also be the case that a condition on the relative position of Tense and other propositional operators at S-structure bears some tight relation to the way in which they are mapped onto Logical Form.

It is well known that elements under the scope of negation that are focalized get a contrastive focus reading (Jackendoff 1972):

(75) a. Mary didn't BUY a book yesterday, she STOLE it
     b. Mary didn't buy A BOOK yesterday, she bought A HORSE
     c. Mary didn't buy a book YESTERDAY, she bought it TODAY

In these sentences, what is negated is that constituent that is focalized, somehow. Without entering into an analysis of this phenomenon (see Jackendoff 1972, Rochemont 1978), I want to consider some implications for the traditional way of representing negation in Logical Form.

Recall the semantic representation of a simple negative sentence like (74a), given in (74b), which is repeated in (76):

(76) NO [ PAST, Mary leave]

There is no reading of a simple negtive sentence where it is the Tense that is focalized and as a consequence acquires a contrastive focus reading. The sentence would be like:

(77) Mary DIDN'T leave

And the reading that we are considering would be something like: "it is not in the past that Mary left". But If something like (76) is the semantic representation of (77), it is not clear why this reading is not available. Notice that there is nothing implausible about this reading, and, further, that it is available in negative sentences that do not involve the head of NegP:

 · (78) a. Nobody HAS a car, we HAD it
       b. No student BOUGHT a book, they WILL buy it

The impossibility of contrastively focalizing Tense under Negation is rather surprising under the standard view of Negation as a propositional operator that takes scope over the entire proposition.

Let us consider an alternative that would predict the phenomena just considered. Let us assume that the LF representation of a negative sentence like (74a) is (79):

(79) PAST [NO [Mary leave]]

Here it is the Tense that has scope over the proposition, and also over the negative operator. The fact that one cannot make a negative sentence mean "It is not in the past that.." now follows from standard considerations about the scope of negation.

## 2. The Σ projection

### 2.1. Similarities between negation and affirmation.

Consider the following two parallel paradigms, from English and Basque respectively:

(1)  a.  Mary left

(2)  a.  Mari  joan da
          Mary left   has
          'Mary has left'

     b.  Mary didn't leave

     b.  Mari  ez  da   joan
         Mary not has left
         'Mary hasn't left'

     c.  *Mary did leave

     c.  *Mari da  joan
         Mary   has left
         ('Mary has left')

     d.  Mary *did* leave

     d.  Mari da  joan
         Mary has left
         '*Mary* has left'

Examples (1a) and (2a) both illustrate declarative sentences from English and Basque. The English sentence has a single inflected verb. The Basque sentence shows a non inflected lexical verb followed by an inflected auxiliary.

(1b) and (2b) are negative sentences. The English sentence displays *do support,* and the Basque sentence shows an alteration of the normal verb-auxiliary order given in (2a).

Examples in (1c) and (2c) show that it is not possible to have *do-support* in a declarative sentence, in the case of English, and that it is not possible to front the auxiliary in a declarative sentence in Basque.

In examples (1d) and (2d) we can see that, in the case of an emphatically affirmative sentence, both languages resort to the same mechanism they used in the case of sentence negation: *do-support* in English, and auxiliary fronting in Basque.

The particular strategies to which these two languages resort are very different in nature: English resorts to lexical insertion ("do-support"), whereas Basque appeals to syntactic movement (fronting of the auxiliary). Nevertheless, the fact that the same strategy is used both in negative and affirmative constructions and prohibited in

declarative sentences is rather striking, even more so given that Basque and English are typologically very different languages.

In the first part of this chapter, I will argue that the paradigm illustrated in (1) and (2) is not a coincidence. I will follow the idea put forward by Chomsky (1957) that there is a morpheme *Aff* (for affirmation) which induces *do-support* in the exact same way in which negation does. I will adapt this idea to the current theoretical framework and some recent proposals in the literature. In particular I argue here that, similarly to the way in which the head *Neg* can head its own functional projection (Kitagawa 1986, Pollock 1989), there is also a $X^0$ *Aff*, which projects an Affirmation Phrase. These two heads (Neg and Aff) are further argued to belong in the same syntactic category, which I will call $\Sigma^1$. Thus, both NegP and AffP are claimed to be different instantiations of a more abstract projection: the $\Sigma$ *Phrase*.

If this view is correct, Negation is not a syntactic category of its own in natural languages. Rather, that aspect of negation which is encoded by (at least some) natural languages as a functional head is an element of a broader syntactic category. Similarly, that aspect of emphatic affirmation that (at least some) natural languages build in as a functional head would belong in the same syntactic category as negation.

It should be kept in mind that this syntactic category that includes negation and affirmation doesn't cover the topic of negation and affirmation or emphasis in natural languages. It is well know that negation is a pervasive phenomena, and that its instantiations go beyond the case of sentence negation. Thus, in the following examples,

> (3)  a. I didn't read any book          b. I read no book

Only (3a) is an instance of sentence negation (NegP), although both examples have roughly the same meaning. The second example presents a negated DP, and thus it does not induce *do support*, for example, which is a clear symptom of the presence of sentence negation. In assuming that (3a) and (3b) have different D-structures, I depart from Klima (1964), who derives both from the same base structure. Similarly, emphatic affirmation can be instantiated by means other than the *aff* head, as (4a) and (4b) illustrate:

> (4)  a. I *did* read the book          b. I read *the book*

As in the case of negation, I do not assume that these two sentences share identical D-structures. Only some instances of emphatic affirmation involve the aff head.

## 2.2. Evidence from English.

The idea that (1b) and (1d) are intimately related constructions is an old one within the generative tradition, although it has not prevailed in the literature thereafter. It was first proposed by Chomsky (1957), who argued that there existed in the grammar of English a morpheme *A*, which was responsible for emphatic constructions like (1d):

---

($^1$) The name $\Sigma$ was suggested to me by Pesetsky, and it suggest the notion of *Speech Act* (affirmation and denial).

In treating the auxiliary verb phrase we left out of consideration forms with the heavy stressed element do as in "John does come", etc. Suppose we set up a morpheme A of contrastive stress to which the following morphophonemic rule applies.

(45)   ..V.. + A Æ ..V".., where " indicates extra heavy stress.

We now set up a transformation TA that imposes the same structural analysis of strings as does Tnot, and adds A to these strings in exactly the position where Tnot adds not or n't. Then just as Tnot yields such sentences as

(46)   (i)    John doesn't arrive (from John#S+n't#arrive,by(40))
       (ii)   John can't arrive (from John#S+can+n't#arrive)
       (iii)  John hasn't arrived (from John#S+have+n't#en+arrive)

TA yields the corresponding sentences

(47)   (i)    John does arrive (from John#S+A#arrive, by (40))
       (ii)   John can arrive (from John#S+can+A#arrive)
       (iii)  John has arrived (from John#S+have+A#en+arrive)

This TA is a transformation of 'affirmation' which affirms the sentences "John arrives". "John can arrive", "John has arrived", etc, in exactly the same way as Tnot negates them. This is formally the simplest solution, and it seems intuitively correct as well." (Chomsky 1957: 65)

Chomsky (1957) makes a clear parallel between the two elements *not* and the stress morpheme A: one of them negates the kernel sentence and the other one affirms it. They are identical operations with opposite semantic values.

Klima (1964), later argued for a similar idea: the existence of an empty morpheme *Emph*, which had the same distributional characteristics as the morpheme *Neg* and thus induced the same syntactic effects (i.e. *do-support*). The rule of Tense-attachment attached Tense to the immediately following verbal form; this verbal form could either be a modal, and auxiliary verb or a lexical verb, as shown in (5):

(5)    II. Tense-attachment (Klima 1964: 256)

$$
\text{Tense}
\begin{bmatrix}
[\text{will}]_M \\
\text{have} \\
\text{be} \\
[\text{sleep}]_V
\end{bmatrix}
\longrightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{will} \\
\text{have} \\
\text{be + Tense} \\
\text{sleep}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
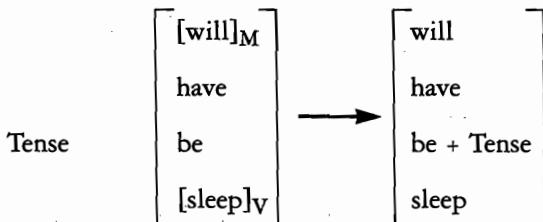
The particle *not* was generated immediately after *aux*, which did not include lexical verbs like *sleep*. When the *aux* consisted only of one element (Tense), the presence of *not* produced the string [Tense-not-V], which didn't satisfy the structural description required by the rule in (5), thus blocking its application. Any unattached Tense would then trigger insertion of *do* as a support. Thus Klima (1964), similarly to Chomsky (1957), also postulates the existence of a particle whose only phonological

content is stress. However, there is no specific claim about whether these particles and *not* belong in the same syntactic category.

What follows here takes up Chomsky's (1957) original idea and reinterprets it within the current framework; more specifically, in terms of X-bar Theory and head movement.

I will assume with Chomsky (1957) that there is a positive *Aff* morpheme, which is the counterpart of the negative head *Neg*.

What I will argue is that this positive morpheme *Aff* is a functional head, generated below Tense and Modals in English, and that it projects a functional phrase exactly like *Neg* does[2].

This is shown in (6a), which can be compared to a negative structure like (6b):

(6)  a.    TP              b.    TP
      ╱╲                    ╱╲
    T    AffP            T    NegP
         ╱╲                   ╱╲
       Aff   AP            Neg    AP
            ╱╲                   ╱╲
          A    VP             A     VP
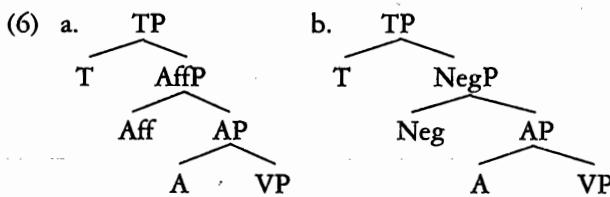
*Aff* is an inflectional head, which has its own syntactic projection. Therefore, *Aff* is subject to the Tense C-command Condition (TCC), in the same way *Neg* is.

As argued in the first chapter, in a configuration like the one in (6), the only way in which English can satisfy the TCC when there is no auxiliary or modal in the sentence is by inserting a dummy *do*. This prevents the Tense morpheme from lowering onto the Verb at S-structure, thus avoiding a violation of the TCC. Hence, the derivation of (1d) is identical to the derivation of (1b), as shown in (7):

(7)  a.    TP                       b.    TP
      ╱╲                             ╱╲
    Mary    T'                    Mary    T'
            ╱╲                            ╱╲
        T+do    AffP               T+do    NegP
                ╱╲                         ╱╲
              Aff    AP                  Neg    AP
                    ╱╲                         ╱╲
                  A    VP                    A     VP
                        ╱                           ╱
                     leave                        leave
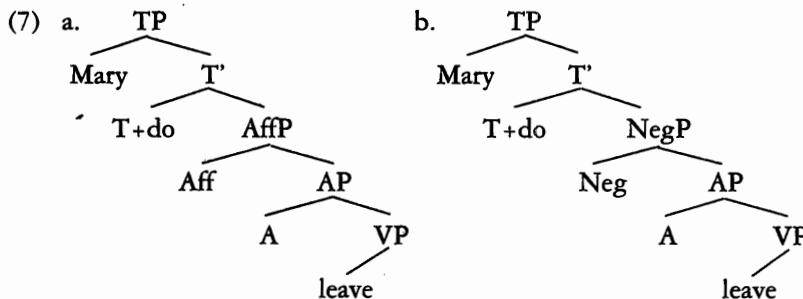
## 2.3. Evidence from Basque.

I will argue that the picture that arises in English also obtains in Basque, modulo language particular differences. The emphatic construction in (1d) involves an *Aff* head, which projects a Phrase, the same way *Neg* does. Similarly to *Neg*, the *Aff* head is initial instead of final, as illustrated in (8):

[2] Pollock (1989) speculates in a footnote on the existence os an Ass(ertion) Phrase headed by an 'emphatic *do*'. In sentences like (i) *He did so faint* the element *so* would be sitting in the Spec of this Assertion Phrase. In sentences like (ii) *He did faint* the specifier of the phrase would be null.

(8)  a.      AffP
           /    \
        Aff      IP
               /    \
             AP      I
            /  \
          VP    A
          |
          V

     b.       NegP
           /      \
        Neg        IP
                 /    \
               AP      I
              /  \
            VP    A
            |
            V
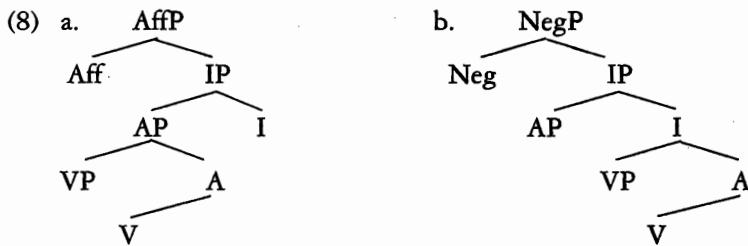
Given that the Affirmative Phrase is also generated above IP, it triggers raising of Infl as the only way to satisfy the Tense C-command Condition. The derivation of (1d) is illustrated in (9):

(9)

$$\text{AffP}$$

Mari$_k$     Aff'

Aff+Infl$_i$          IP
   da
            t$_k$          I'

                    AP          t$_i$

              VP      V$_j$+A
                       joan
                t$_j$
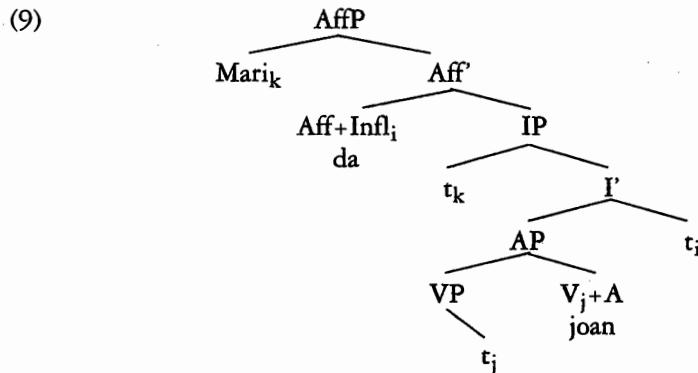
Thus, the paradigms in (1) and (2) are explained in a uniform way, under the assumption that Negation and Affirmation are generated in the same projection both in English and in Basque. Moreover, the behavior of these emphatic constructions provides further evidence for the Tense C-command Condition, and for the claim that this UG requirement does not only apply to negation, but to other functional heads as well.

## 2.4. Neg and Aff are in complementary distribution.

The two functional heads *Neg* and *Aff* are in complementary distribution, both in English and in Basque. That this is the case for English is shown by the following paradigm[3]:

(10) a.  I didn't, as Bill had thought, go to the store
     b.  I *did*, as Bill had thought, go to the store
     c.  *I *did* not, as Bill had thought, go to the store

The examples in (10) are all cases of sentence negation; the parenthetical phrase has been inserted between Infl and the verb in order to block constituent-negation readings where negation is attached to the lexical verb and does not take scope over the sentence.

(3) I am indebted to Michael Hegarty and Chris Tancredi for pointing out these facts to me.

(10a) is a case of sentence negation, where there is no special stress placed on the auxiliary verb. (10b) is an instance of the emphatic construction that involves the head *Aff*. The example (10c) has both toghether: the auxiliary verb is stressed and followed by sentence negation. The sentence results in ungrammaticality.

A similar paradigm obtains in Basque. In Eastern Dialects (where the type of positive declarative construction shown in (1d) is more frecuently used), there is a construction that involves both affirmative fronting and negation (Laffite 1944). This construction is illustrated in (11):

> (11) Nik diot Mariari trikota      ez  eman
>      I    *have* to-Mary sweater-the not given
>      'I have not given the sweater to Mary'

If it is true that the affirmative construction involves an empty *Aff* morpheme which is in complementary distribution with the morpheme *Neg*, then we expect that, similarly to the English examples in (10), the example in (11) involves constituent negation of the verb *eman* 'give', and not sentence negation as in (2b).

Recall that sentence negation in Basque has S-structure scope over the entire IP (cf. chapter 1). As a consequence of this fact, subject Negative Polarity Items are licensed by Neg in Basque (unlike in English, cf. section 1.2.3.). If the negative morpheme in (11) where an instance of sentence negation, we would expect it to license subject Negative Polarity items. However, this kind of negation is unable to do so, as shown in (12):

> (12) a. *Mariri dio *inork*     trikota ez  eman
>        to-Mary has anybody sweater not given
>        ('Nobody has given the sweater to Mary')
>      b. *Nik diot inori       trikota ez  eman
>        I    have anybody-to sweater not-given
>        ('I haven't given the sweater to anybody')

Negative Polarity Items in Basque are licensed in all verbal arguments, given that Neg has S-structure scope over the whole IP[4]. Thus, the data in (12) supports the claim that the examples in (11) and (12) are cases of constituent negation, and the negative morpheme is not heading a NegP.

Oyharçabal (1984) presents evidence that further distinguishes the constituent negation case in (11) from a sentence negation case like (2b). Sentence negation can take wider scope than a universal quantifier in subject position, but constituent negation cannot. Consider the following pair:

[4] There are examples where it would look like the negation is licensing a Negpol:

> (i) Nik diot deusik ez eman          (ii) Nik diot inori ez eman
>     I have anything not given              I have anybody-to not given
>     'I have given her/him nothing'         'I have given it to anyboydy'

But this illusion disappears when we introduce some element between the Negpol and the negation, as in (9). The reason why sentences like (i) and (ii) are good is because their structure is as in (iiia, b):

> (iii) a. Nik diot pro [deusik ez] eman     b. Nik diot [inori ez] pro eman
>       I have [not anything] given              I have [not to anybody] given.

(13) a. [$_{NegP}$ ez dira$_i$ [$_{IP}$ denak etorri t$_i$]
     not-have     all    come
     'All didn't come'
   b. [$_{NegP}$ denak$_i$ [$_{Neg}$ ez dira$_j$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ etorri t$_j$]
     all        not-have come
     'All didn't come'

Both (13a) and (13b) are instances of sentence negation: (13a) shows the auxiliary having moved to Neg at S-structure, in order to satisfy the TCC. (13b) is identical to (13a), except for the position of the subject: the subject *denak* is outside of IP, presumably sitting in the specifier of the NegP. Both these sentences have as their most salient (and for many speakers only) reading the equivalent to 'Not all came'.

Consider now (14), which is identical to (12) in all relevant respects:

(14) [$_{AffP}$ denak$_j$ dira$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t$_j$ [$_{VP}$ez etorri] t$_i$ ]
     all     have not-come
     'All did not come'

The only available reading for this sentence is 'All of them where such that they didn't come', where negation does not take scope over the universal quantifier. This further confirms the claim that the negative morpheme that occurs in emphatic sentences like (12) is not heading a Negative Phrase, and that it is not an instance of sentence negation[5].

The contrast noted by Oyharçabal (1984) for Basque also obtains in English: only sentence negation can take wider scope over a subject universal quantifier. Whereas (15a) can be interpreted as 'Not all of them went to the store', this reading is not available in (15b). The only interpretation available in the case of (15b) is 'All of them were such that they didn't go to the store'.

(15) a. All of them didn't go to the store.   b. All of them *did* not go to the store

Therefore, I conclude that *Neg* and *Aff* are in complementary distribution.

## 2.5. The Σ category and the Σ projection.

The material presented above strongly suggests that there is a deep syntactic similarity between Negation and Affirmation, which goes beyond the particulars of English or Basque Grammar. More specifically, the data discussed indicate that the functional head *Neg* and the functional head *Aff* have many properties in common: They head a separate functional projection, and this projection is generated in the same position in the Phrase Marker. Moreover, this position is subject to parametric variation: below Tense, as in English, or above Tense, as in Basque.

Similar syntactic behavior and complementary distribution are quite reliable symptoms when determining whether two given items belong in the same syntactic

(⁵) Pesetsky (p.c.) points out a problem posed by the mere existence of what we are here calling constituent negation. So far, nothing we know of prevents a sentence like (i): (i) Mary not left.
Where *not* is an instance of constituent negation. Note further that nothing prevents the following sentences either: (ii) that not [$_{IP}$ Mary left], (iii) not [$_{CP}$ that Mary left early] worries me.

category. Given that the heads *Neg* and *Aff* do exhibit both of these symptoms, we can conclude that they are elements of a broader set, rather than categories of their own.

I will conclude that both these heads belong in a more abstract category, which I will call Σ. This category projects a *Phrase*, as schematized in (16):
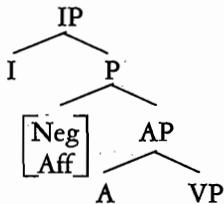
(16) a.  English                          b. Basque
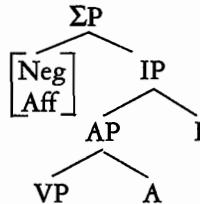


The claim made here is that natural languages do not have a separate syntactic category for negation, but rather include this element in a broader, more abstract category. One other element of this category, as I have argued, is emphatic affirmation.

### 2.5.1. Elements in Σ.

Are there more elements that belong in Σ? I will now argue that the answer to this question is affirmative: there is at least one more element, both in English and in Basque that belongs in this Σ category.

In English, the element to consider as a possible candidate for Σ is emphatic *so*. Klima (1964) notes that

> ...with certain minor differences as to permissible environments, the rules for describing the particle *so* duplicate those of *not*. Their placement in the finite verb chain is the same and both occasion a supporting *do* in the same way. (Klima 1964: 257)

This behavior of *so* is illustrated in the paradigm in (17), taken from Klima (1964):

(17) a.  The writers could so believe the boy
     b.  *The writers so believed the boy
     c.  The writers did so believe the boy

The meaning of this particle is tightly linked to negation and affirmation. Thus, the context in which emphatic *so* is one where the speaker whishes to deny a denial, as in the following interaction:

(18) A: Peter left early
     B: Peter didn't leave early
     C: Peter did *so* leave early

Where A, B and C stand for different speakers. The complementary distribution between *Neg*, *Aff* and *so* is again straightforwardly accounted for under the assumption that they head the same syntactic projection:

(19) a.  *The writers *did* so believe the boy
  b.  *The writers didn't so believe the boy

Also in Basque, there is one more candidate for the category $\Sigma$, which also involves emphatic affirmation of the event: the particle *ba*[6]. Ortiz de Urbina (1989) has already pointed out a number of similarities between the negative particle *ez* and this affirmative element *ba*, suggesting that the later may be subject to a treatment along the lines of negation. Indeed, I will argue that the syntactic similarities derive from the fact that both belong in the same category. Emphatic *ba* induces the leftwards movement of the auxiliary, like *neg* and *aff* do:

(20) a.  Jon *ez*  da   etorri    b.  Jon *ba* da  etorri
   Jon not has arrived     Jon so  has arrived
   'Jon hasn't arrived'     'Jon has so arrived'

Similarly to English *so*, the contexts in which the use of this particle is felicitous involves the denial of a denial, that is, a context like the one in (18). The particle *ba* is described as an affirmative marker in the Grammar edited by the Academy of the Basque Language, in opposition to the negative morpheme:

> The first set of elements that are placed next to the inflected verb is constituted by those that have to do with the *truth value* that the speaker attaches to the utterance, in particular the particles *ba* and *ez*.
> (Euskaltzaindia 1987: 488).

Both *ba* 'so' and *ez* 'not' are in complementary distribution; we have already argued that the empty *aff* cannot coocur with *neg* neither in Basque or English. Given the fact that the only phonological content of [$_{Aff}$] is stress, arguments for complementary distribution must be indirect, like the one presented above.

There is evidence in Basque showing that *aff* and *ba* are also in complementary distribution. Consider the sentences in (21):

(21) a.  Irune [Aff]da etorri   b.  Irune bada   etorri
   Irune [Aff]has arrived    Irune so-has arrived

There is a difference in interpretation between (21a) and (21b). In the case of the empty *aff* morpheme, the emphatic affirmation is placed on the element in the specifier of P, whereas in the case of *ba*, the emphatic affirmation remains on the inflected verb. If it were possible to have both [$_{Aff}$] and *ba* in a single sentence, the output would be something like 'MARY did read the book'. However, as noted in the Grammar of Euskaltzaindia (1987), the use of the particle *ba* precludes focalization of the preceding element. Under our proposal, this fact has a simple explanation: [$_{Aff}$], *ba* and *neg* cannot coocur because they belong in the same category:

[6] As noted by many traditional grammarians, this particle is in fact a contracted *bai* 'yes'. It is also possible to use the complete form *bai* instead of *ba*:

(i)  Jon baida   etorri
  Jon yes-has arrived
  'Jon has so arrived'

(22) a.  Basque                        English

```
        ΣP                              IP
       /\                              /\
        Σ'                              ΣP
       /\                              /\
   Σ        IP                          Σ'
  ┌    ┐                               /
  │ ez │                              Σ
  │[aff]│                        ┌     ┐
  │ ba │                         │ not │
  └    ┘                         │[aff]│
                                 │ so  │
                                 └     ┘
```
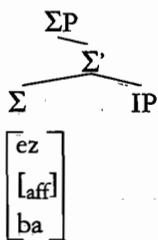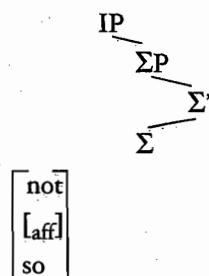
The picture that arises from the discussion of both Basque and English is hence that has a very sharply determined semantic nature: The type of elements that constitute the category Σ all relate to the truth value of the sentence: they either reverse the truth value (neg), or they affirm it (aff), or they deny that it is false (*so*, *ba*).

Alternatively, we could characterize the nature of in terms of the speaker's presuppositions: *Neg* cancels an affirmative presuposition, *Aff* cancels a negative presupposition, and *so/ba* cancels the cancelation of an affirmative presupposition.

### 2.6. Negative fronting in Romance.

The phenomenon I want to consider now is illustrated in (23):

(23) a.  no  vino nadie              c.  *vino nadie
         not came anybody                came anybody
         'Nobody came'                   ('nobody came')
     b.  nadie  vino                 d.  nadie  no vino
         nobody came                     nobody not came
         'Nobody came'                   'nobody didn't come'

The paradigm in (23) illustrates a very well-known phenomenon in Romance, which is not restricted to Spanish, from where the examples are taken; this phenomenon is present also in Standard Italian, Catalan, Portuguese, and many other Romance dialects.

What is puzzling about the paradigm in (23) is that the constituent *nadie* seems to behave as if it had a double nature: in half of the cases (23a) and (23c), it behaves like a standard polarity item (cf. *anybody*), in that it needs negation to be licensed. In the other half of the cases, however, it behaves like a universal negative quantifier (cf. *nobody*), carrying a negative meaning of its own.

There is a whole set of elements that behave in this fashion: *nadie* 'anybody', *nada*, 'anything', 'at all', *ningún* 'any', *nunca* 'ever', *ni* 'either'... Given that most of them begin with 'n-', I will refer to this set of elements as *n-words*[7].

(7) Not all of them do, however. There set of elements that behave like *nadie* in (15) also include *apenas* 'hardly', *en modo alguno* 'in any way' and *en la vida* 'in my life', as noted in Bosque (1980). It should also be noted that *nada* 'anything' and *nadie* 'anyone' do not originate from negative words, but from positive ones. Thus, *nada* has its origin in Latin *res nata* 'born thing', a phrase of very frequent use that eventually became a Polarity Item; similarly, *nadie* originates in *(homines) nati* 'born (men)' (cf. Corominas 1954-57).

The paradoxical behavior illustrated in (23) has led some authors to postulate the existence of two series of n-words: On the one hand, there would be a *nadie₁*, which would be the equivalent of English *anyone*, a polarity item with existential import that must be licensed by some other element. On the other hand, the lexicon of these Romance languages would have a second item, phonologically identical but quite different in its meaning and syntactic behavior. This item, let us call it *nadie₂*, would be a universal negative quantifier like the English *nobody*.

Under this view, the question to be answered when faced with the paradigm in (23) is how to determine the correct distribution of these two different lexical items. Put it differently, the task of the person acquiring the language is to figure out when to use each of the items. This task is by no means trivial in the case of Romance. For example, *nadie₂* is not allowed to occur in certain environments where its English equivalent is perfectly confortable, as shown in (24):

(24) a.  I ate nothing                 b. *Comi nada

The double-*nadie* hypothesis has been defended by Longobardi (1986) and Zannuttini (1989) in rather different analyses.

Here, I will defend the view that there is a single set of n-words, and that they are Negative Polarity items, that is, existential quantifiers. Before proceeding with the analysis, I will discuss the arguments put forward by the different defenders of the double-*nadie* hypothesis, in order to establish the nature of the n-words.

### 2.6.1. On the Nature of n-words.

Zannuttini (1989) argues that there are two types of n-words: The first type occurs in interrogative environments, and it is an existential quantifiers, equivalent to English Negative Polarity items (*anybody*). The second type occurs in declarative environments and it is a universal negative quantifier, equivalent to English *nobody*.

Hence, cases of n-words in question or conditionals, where the items are equivalent to English Polarities, are instances of the first type of n-words. (25) illustrates some examples:

(25) a. Ha telefonato nessuno
        'Has anybody phoned?'
     b. Voleva sapere se nessuno ha telefonato
        'She wanted to know whether anybody had phoned'
        (from Zannuttini 1989)

On the other hand, examples like those in (23), where the environment is declarative, are taken to be instances of the second type of n-word, that is, the universal negative one. Thus, what Zannuttini claims is that there is a correlation between interrogative environments and existential n-words in one hand, and declarative environments and universal negative n-words in the other. This is schematized in (26):

(26) interrogative _____   existential n-word
                               (*anybody*)

declarative _____ universal negative
                                    n-word (*nobody*)

The problems with this partition is that the wrong kind of n-word can occur in the wrong kind of environment. Thus, it is possible to have n-words with a universal negative meaning in questions, and it is possible to have n-words with an existential import in non-interrogative environments.

The first case is illustrated in (27)[8]:

(27) a. Me preguntaron si nadie sabía la respuesta
        'They asked me whether nobody knew the answer'
     b. quién derribó el nunca terminado puente de la Magdalena
        'Who demolished the never finished bridge of Magdalena?'

According to Zannuttini's partition, the *nadie* and *nunca* present in (27a) and (27b) respectively, should be of the existential kind. However, as can be deduced from the glosses, the meaning of these two items in each of the examples is not existential, but universal negative. That is, they do not translate as English 'anybody' or 'ever', but rather, as English 'nobody' and 'never'.

It is also possible to have existential n-words in non-interrogative environments. Consider (28):

(28) Pedro duda que venga nadie
     'Peter doubts that anybody will come'

The embedded clause contains a n-word, which nevertheless is not a universal negative, but an existential quantifier. That is, it is not equivalent to English *nobody*, but to English *anybody*.

Given this evidence, we can conclude that even if there were two sets of n-words, it would not be possible to distinguish them in terms of interrogative versus declarative contexts.

The data presented so far indicates that n-words behave like Negative Polarity items in all environments except in one: only when they occur preverbally do they seem to behave like Universal Negative Quantifiers. In fact, these items are licensed in all environments where English Negative Polarity items are licensed: questions (25a), (27a,b), conditionals (25b), and negative environments (23a,c), (28). They are also licensed in comparatives, as shown in (29):

(29) María canta mejor que ninguno de vosotros
     'Mary sings better than any of you'

And in all other predicates that typically involve Polarity licensers, as discussed at length in Bosque (1980). Some further examples are given in (30) (from Bosque 1980):

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[8] Actually, (27a) is ambiguous. The preverbal n-word can be interpreted as 'anyboydy' or 'nobody'. This ambiguity is explained in Laka 1991. Note that for the purposes of this argument, it is enough that (27a) *can* have an interpretation like the one given in the translation.

(30) a.  Antonio estaba en contra de ir a *ninguna parte*
     'Anthony was against going anywhere'
   b.  Perdimos la esperanza de encontrar *ninguna salida*
     'We lost hope of finding any way out'

We also find n-words inside DPs headed by a universal quantifier, a domain in which NPIs are licensed in English (Ladusaw 1980):

(31) En esta reunión, todo aquel que tenga *nada* que decir tendrá ocasión de hablar
    'In this meeting, everyone who has anything to say will have a chance to talk'

Zannuttini (1989) claims that the behavior of postverbal n-words in negative sentences is that of a universal negative quantifiers. The central test presented in support of this claim is the following: it is argued that Polarity items cannot be modified by *quasi* 'almost', whereas negative quantifiers can. The contrast is illustrated in (32) (from Zannuttini 1989):

(32) a.  *Quasi nessuno* ha telefonato    b.  Non ha telefonato *quasi nessuno*
     'Almost nobody has called'       'Almost nobody called'
            c.  *Ha telefonato *quasi nessuno?*
            ('Has almost anybody called?')

The point of the paradigm is to show that, whereas the *nessuno* in the interrogative (32c) cannot be modified by *almost*, both *nessuno*s in the negative sentences can (32a), (32b).

However, the validity of this test becames less clear when we consider Polarity Items licensed by negation. Thus, if we take cases with uncontroversial Polarity Items in other languages, the results of this test are not the ones expected. Consider for example English and Basque. Similarly to the Italian example in (32c), it is true that Polarity items licensed in interrogative environments yield ungrammatical results, as shown in (33):

(33) a.  *Ikusi duzu    *ea*    *inor?*    b.  *Have you seen almost anybody?
     seen have-you almost anybody

When the licenser is negation, however, the results of modifying the NPI with *almost* improve considerably, and the sentences are at most marginal. In fact, for most speakers, in these negative environments the Polarity Items can be modified by *almost* without inducing ungrammaticality, as (34) illustrates:

(34) a.  Ez dut    *ea*    *inor*   ikusi   b.  I haven't seen almost anybody
     neg-have-I almost anybody seen

Given these results, the fact that (32b) is well formed does not prove that it is a universal quantifier. What it shows is that, when licensed by negation, the behavior of Polarity Items is different that when the licenser is some other element.

Further evidence in support of the claim that n-word items are Negative Polarity Items is found when we examine their behavior after the preposition *sin* 'without'. In

English, Negative Polarities are licensed when they occur within PPs headed by *without* (35):

(35) a.  I have left without any money
     b.  Without anything to eat, the prisioners starved to death

On the other hand, negative quantifiers inside PPs headed by *without* induce a double-negation reading[9] (36):

(36) a.  I wanted to leave with nobody noticing, but I had to leave without nobody noticing

The behavior of n-words in this environment is parallel to NPIs, and unlike universal negatives, as illustrated in[10] (37):

(37) a.  He salido sin dinero
         'I have left without money'
     b.  Sin *nada* que comer, los prisioneros murieron de hambre
         'Without anything to eat, the prisioners died of hunger'

Moreover, the behavior of n-words in this context is identical to all other NPIs in Spanish, even those that are not allowed in preverbal position, like *un real* 'a red cent'. Thus, this NPI can occur postverbally in a negative sentence, but it cannot be placed preverbally without negation, as shown in (38)[11]:

(38) a.  No tengo un real             b.  *Un real tengo
         'I don't have a red cent'         ('I don't have ared cent')

These NPIs are licensed when they occur as complements of *sin* 'without':

(39) a.  He salido sin un real
         'I left without a penny'

---

([9]) The example presents the usual difficulty displayed by cases of double negation, but it factors out as 'with somebody noticing' after some effort.

([10]) Zannuttini (1989) notes this fact in Italian and claims that *senza* 'without' is not subject to the negative chain algorithm at play in Romance, whereby the semantic interpretation of several universal negatives 'factors out' the negative force of all negatives dominated by the one c-commanding IP, interpreting only their quantificational force. This preposition always starts a new negative chain. There are two problems with the 'negative chain' mechanism. The first one is that it predicts that a sentence like (i) should be a case of double negation, like (ii) is, given that there are two negative elements c-commanding IP:

     (i)  nunca nadie me ha tratado así       (ii)  nadie no ha venido
          'Nobody has ever treated me like that'     'Nobody hasnt't arrived'

Under Zannuttini's approach, sentence negation in these languages is c-commanding IP already at D-Structure. Both sentences are predicted to be cases of double negation, but only one of them is.

The second problem is that (iii) is predicted to be grammatical, since the negative *sin* is c-commanding IP, and should thus create a negative chain that includes the postverbal *nada*:

     (iii)  *sin dinero he comprado nada
            ('Without money have I bought anything')

([11]) The only available reading for (28b) is 'I have a cent', where it is no longer a NPI.

Therefore, it cannot be argued that the semantic properties of *sin* in Romance are different from the properties of Germanic *without*, in that only the later allows NPIs as its complements. Both prepositions are licensers of NPIs, and n-words behave like NPIs when c-commanded by it.

I will therefore conclude that there is only one set of n-words in the lexicon of Spanish, Catalan, Italian and Portuguese, and that these items are indeed Polarity Items (and therefore existential quantifiers).

Hence, there is no special task that the language learner has to complete in figuring out the distribution of the n-words. Their distribution is the same as other Polarity items in languages like English and Basque, and it doesn't involve any language particular strategy, but it conforms to whatever the universal requirements are on Polarity licensing: the set of possible licensers and the conditions under which licensing is obtained (Ladusaw 1980, Linebarger 1987).

### 2.6.2. On the Preverbal Position of *nadie* -words.

After having concluded that n-words are Polarity Items, the task now is to account for the case in which these elements behave like negative quantifiers. The environment in which n-words do not conform to the standard behavior of Polarity Items is the one illustrated in (23b,c), repeated here as (40a, b):

(40) a.  nadie ha venido                    b.  nadie no ha venido
         'nobody has arrived'                   'nobody hasn't arrived'

In (40a), n-word does not appear to be licensed at all, given the absence of any overt negative marker. In (40b), the negative marker is present, but it induces double negation; the sentence then means that 'everybody has arrived'[12].

The question to be addressed in what follows is what the position of n-word is in (40a) and (40b). I will argue that this position is not the Specifier of IP, but rather the specifier of a $\Sigma$P, generated above IP.

As discussed at the beginning of this section, there is a whole set of lexical items that share the same properties that n-word has. Some of them are illustrated in (41):

(41) a.  María nunca viene               e.  nada quiere María
         'Mary never comes'                  'nothing loves Mary'
     b.  María no viene nunca            f.  No quiere nada María
         Mary doesn't come ever              Mary doesn't want anything
     c.  *María viene nunca              g.  *Quiere nada María
         (Mary comes ever)                   (Mary wants anything)
     d.  María nunca no viene            h.  Nada no quiere Maria
         Mary never doesn't come             nothing doesn't want Mary

---

([12]) It must be pointed out that whereas this is true for Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, it is not so for Catalan. The equivalents of (15a) and (15b) in standard Catalan are synonymous:

(i)  ningú ha arribat              (ii)  ningú no ha arribat
     'nobody has arrived'                'nobody has arrived'

where the first choice is more common in spoken language (Lleó 1978).

The examples in (41) show that the preverbal quantifier need not be the subject of the sentence. The first column illustrates cases where the preposed element is an adjunct. The second column illustrates cases where the preposed element is the direct object. One of the series has preverbal subjects and the other one has postverbal subjects, and both orders of the subjects are possible[13].

Although the phenomenon at stake is not restricted to a particular syntactic category, and thus any argument or adjunct of the n-word set can occur preverbally, the position is very restrictive with respect to the number of elements that can precede the inflected verb, and with respect to the entonation attached to them.

As noted by Bosque (1980), only one n-word is allowed to occur preverbally[14]:

> (42) a. *Nadie en ningun lugar juega    b. *Nadie a nadie le dio dinero
> ('Nobody plays in any place')      ('Nobody gave money to anybody')
> c. *A nadie nadie le hace caso
> ('To nobody does anybody pay attention')

This restriction suggests that preverbal n-words are occupying a unique position, which is available only to one constituent[15]. Typically, positions displaying this kind of properties are Specifiers. Let us consider the two candidates that immediately come to mind: Specifier of IP and Specifier of CP.

Let us consider [Spec, IP]. The position occupied by the n-word in front of Infl is different from the subject position in a number of ways:

Unlike arguments sitting in the Spec of IP, n-words need not agree with Inflection, as shown in (26a), and (26e). Under a view of agreement that restricts it to a

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([13]) For a more detailed list of all elements that belong in this class see Lleó (1978) for Catalan and Bosque (1980) for Spanish.

([14]) There is one instance where all speakers agree that two *nadie* words can precede the inflected verb. This case involves the elements *nadie* 'anybody' and *nunca* 'ever':

(i) Nunca nadie afirmó tal cosa    (ii) Nadie nunca afirmó tal cosa
'Never did anybody assert such a thing'    'Noboby ever asserted such a thing'

These facts hold also for Italian, as noted by Zannuttini (1989):

(iii) Mai nessuno mi aveva parlato cosí    (iv) Nessuno mai me aveva parlato cosi
'Never had anyone talked to me like that'    'Nobody had ever talked to me like that'

The fact that it is only the combination of these two items that makes possible the occurrence of two elements before the inflected verbs suggests that some kind of absorption (Lasnik & Saito 1984) is taking place in these cases.

([15]) My judgments agree with those in Bosque (1980) as to the number of n-constituents that can occur preverbally, and thus I dont't accept sentences with more than one n-constituent precedes the verb, with the only exception mention in the previous footnote. However, I have found speakers whose judgments vary with respect to sentences that involve more than one *nadie* word preceding the verb. I haven't found a consistent characterization of what the restrictions on these cases are, and different speakers vary on this too, being more or less restrictive in the number and/or nature of the preposed n-constituents. Nevertheless, even in the most liberal cases, the entire string of n-constituents preceding the verb must be contained in a single intonational phrase, with no break and emphatic stress.

(i) a *ningún hijo mío nadie* le trata así    (ii) *a ningún hijo mío, nadie le trata así
'Nobody treats any son of mine like that'

This would seem to indicate that the entire string is behaving as a single constituent in the syntax, much in the fashion of what have been referred to as 'quantifier absorption' processes in Lasnik & Saito (1984).

SPEC-Head relation (Fukui & Speas 1986), if the preposed n-word were sitting in [SPEC,IP] we would expect either that it would agree with Infl, or that the subject would not.

Even under the view of Infl put forward by Pollock (1989), where this category splits into two different projections Tense Phrase and Agreement Phrase, the agreement facts are not automatically rendered irrelevant. Let us consider the possibilities:

Let us consider first a Phrase Structure like the one proposed by Chomsky (1989), where AgrP dominates TP, the possibility that the preposed element be sitting in the highest SPEC in the Inflectional system is automatically ruled out, given the lack of agreement between the preposed constituent and Infl. The n-word could not be sitting in [SPEC,TP] either, since this position would not be preverbal after head movement raises Tense to Agr, as shown in (43):

(43)

```
                        AgrP
                       /    \
                 María_j     Agr'
                 V_k+Agr+T_i      TP
                                 /  \
                            nada_i    T'
                                     /  \
                                  t_i    VP
                                        /  \
                                     t_j    V'
                                           /  \
                                        t_i    t_k
```
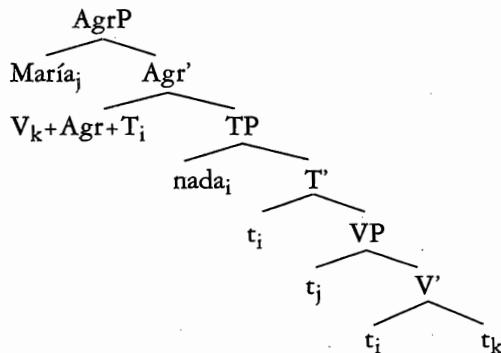
Let us consider a Phrase Structure like the one proposed in Pollock (1989), where TP is generated above AgrP, and let us assume that subject agreement is realized by movement of the argument to [SPEC, AGRP], as proposed by Mahajan (1989) for Hindi. Under this hypothesis, [SPEC,TP] is still available for movement. If we assume that in declarative sentences the subject moves there in order to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (Mahajan 1989), then we leave the possibility open for a constituent other than the subject to move to [SPEC,TP] in order to satisfy that Principle, similarly to the way in which the Ergative subject moves to [SPEC, TP] in Hindi, whereas the argument showing agreement sits in [SPEC, AgrP] (Mahajan 1990).

Adverb placement suggests however that this hypothesis is not the correct one. If subjects and preposed n-words were sitting in the same Specifier, we would expect that elements that intervene between the subject and the inflected verb should be able to intervene between the preposed n-word and the inflected verb. This prediction is not borne out. For instance, adverb placement distinguishes the preposed n-word from a standard subject. Thus, adverbs that occur confortably between the subject and the inflected verb are not possible between the preposed n-word and the inflected verb, as shown in (44):

(44) a. María frecuentemente canta en la   ducha
        Mary often                 sings in the shower
     b. *nadie   frecuentemente canta en la   ducha
        nobody often               sings in the shower
     c. Nadie   canta frecuentemente en   la   ducha
        nobody sings often               in  the shower

(44a) shows the adverb *frecuentemente* intervening between the subject *María* and
the inflected verb. In (44b), we see that this is not possible when we have a preverbal
n-word. There is no semantic incompatibility between n-word and the adverb, as
shown in (44c), were both appear and the sentence is grammatical. However, the ad-
verb must occur after the preverbal n-word and the inflected verb. Assuming the ad-
verb is in the same position both in (44a) and (44b), it must be the case that n-word
is placed in a position higher that Spec of IP, and that the inflected verb has moved
upwards too. Therefore, we can conclude that the fronted n-word is not sitting in
the Spec of IP/TP.

The next possibility to consider is that n-words occur in [SPEC, CP]. This cannot
be the case either, because fronted n-word words can always occur after overt com-
plementizers, as in (45)[16]:

(45) a. creo [cpque [nadie   ha venido]]   b. la mujer [cpque [nunca canta]]
        think-I that nobody has come           'the woman that never sings'
        'I think that nobody came'

The evidence presented so far indicates that the position at stake is higher than
[Spec, IP], but lower than [Spec, CP]. I will argue that n-words move to the Spec of
$\Sigma$P, and that this $\Sigma$P is generated above IP in Spanish. Thus, when they occur pre-
verbally, it is to the Specifier of the $\Sigma$ Phrase that n-words move to when preposed,
as illustrated in (46):

(46) [$_{\Sigma P}$ nadie [$_{\Sigma'}$ canta frecuentemente en la ducha]]

The P is headed by a phonologically empty negative morpheme, which licenses
the polarity item via a Spec-head agreement relation:

(47)                          $\Sigma$P
                          ⟋‾‾⟍
                   nadie      $\Sigma$'
                          ⟋‾‾⟍
                   [$_{neg}$]     IP

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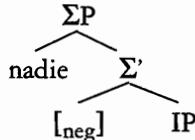
([16]) We could assume that CP is a recursive projection, following an idea put forward by Chomsky (Class
lectures 1989). However, this would leave unexplained why it is that the complementizer cannot follow the
preposed word, that is, why is it the recursive CPs are 'ordered'. Moreover, we would have to account for the
fact that whereas embedded CPs like *que* do not trigger I-to-C movement, embedded CPs like the one sup-
porting *nadie* always do, as shown in (i):

(i) a. Creo que Juan canta siempre      b.  *Creo que nunca Juan canta
       'I think that Juan always sings'        ('I think never that Juan sings')

### 2.6.3. Sources: Bosque's (1980) proposal.

The idea that preverbal n-words involve some non-overt negative morpheme is not a new one. To my knowledge, it was first proposed by Bosque (1980), in his extensive and insightful word about negation in Spanish. The analysis presented here is in fact similar to Bosque's in various respects.

Bosque (1980) also assumes that n-word words are always Polarity items that need an affective licenser. In the preverbal instances, argues Bosque, sentence negation *no* 'not' incorporates onto the n-word word (in the spirit of Klima 1964), thus yielding the negative meaning.

Bosque also assumes the old version of the VP internal hypothesis (McCawley 1970, Hudson 1973), and claims that the underlying word order in Spanish is VSO. From this underlying order, a transformational operation places one constituent in front of the verb.

Thus, preverbal subjects, questions and preverbal n-word elements are all handled in identical fashion[17]. In the case of preverbal n-word words, the input for the rule is a sentence like:

> (48) no tiene nadie hambre
>     'nobody is hungry'

To this sentence, a transformational rule applies, which Chomsky-adjoins the n-word words to the initial position:

> (49) *Nadie preposing* (Bosque 1980)
>     X-NEG [$_s$ V-Y-POLARITY-W] -Z
>     1   2    3 4    5     6    7
>     1  5+2   3 4    $\emptyset$    6    7

This transformational rule is followed by *Neg-deletion*, which erases the negative marker *no*[18].

The claim made here is that the relation of agreement that holds between the empty head [$_{Neg}$] and the polarity items sitting in the Specifier position licenses the n-word word[19].

### 2.6.4 Negative Fronting and Emphatic Fronting.

In the discussion of the properties of the category $\Sigma$ in the particular case of English and Basque, it was stablished that there is a tight connection between negation and emphatic affirmation. I have argued that n-word preposing in Romance involves

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([17]) Pesetsky (1989) has independently put forward a nearly identical proposal, which reduces Wh-movement and preverbal subjects to movement to the Specifier of IP.

([18]) Rizzi (1982) also assumes a similar account for n-words in Italian, by means of incorporation of negation onto the preverbal n-word.

([19]) If a relation of agreement enables a licenser to license a polarity item, as claimed here, then the condition on Polarity Item licensing starts looking more like government than strict c-command. Notice that allowing the licensing conditions to include SPEC-Head relations does not predict 'anybody didn't leave' to be grammatical, because the Polarity Item is sitting in the SPEC of Infl or Tense, not in the SPEC of NEGP.

the projection ΣP. Specifically, I have argued that certain Romance languages generate a ΣP above IP, much in the way Basque does. This ΣP is headed by an empty negative morpheme that licenses the NPI sitting in its Specifier by means of a SPEC-Head relation. In turn, the negative head and its projection can only be licensed in the presence of an over n-word element in its Specifier.

I will now provide evidence that this ΣP projection can also be headed by an empty affirmative morpheme, which similarly to the negative one also requires an overt element in the Specifier of its projection in order to be licensed.

Contreras (1976), in his extensive study of word order in Spanish, notes Spanish tends to place the rhematic constituent of the sentence in postverbal position:

> (50) Pedro viene MAÑANA
>     'Peter arrives TOMORROW'

Contreras calls this the *typical rhematic order*. However, he also points out that in addition to this strategy, 'there is an emphatic order, which is the reverse of the normal order'. In this later case, the rhematic constituent is placed immediately before the inflected verb, as in (51):

> (51) MAÑANA viene Pedro
>     'Peter arrives TOMORROW'

I will follow Contreras in assuming that the emphatic order in (51) is the consequence of a transformation[20]; more specifically, I will claim that the preverbal emphatic constituent in (51) has undergone move from its D-structure position to the specifier of ΣP.

The idea that this type of emphatic construction involves movement to a presentential position has already been put forward by Torrego (1984). The following example is taken from her (the postulated S-structure representation is not):

> (52) [p *Un viaje a las Canarias* [Σhizo [IpAntonio este verano]]
>     'A trip to the Canary Islands Anthony made last summer'

Notice that this fronting differs from another type of fronting available in Romance, which is usually referred to as 'left dislocation'. Contrary to left dislocation cases, this fronting to P does not allow clitic doubling:

> (53) a. *este vestido* compraría yo si tuviera dinero
>       this dress buy would I if I had money
>       'I would buy + this dress+ if I had money'

---

[20] Contreras (1976) calls this transformation THEME POSTPOSING, and defines it as an optional rule. The operation postposes all thematic constituents, leaving the rhematic one at the beginning of the string. There is a condition added to the rule: THEME POSTPOSING is applicable only if the sentence is an assertion. Given that this rule postposes all thematic constituents, there is no way to ensure that the inflected verb immediately follow the rhematic element. In order to achieve this result, Contreras must add one more rule that places the predicate immediately after the rhematic constituent. However, since it is also ungrammatical to have any thematic element preceding the predicate, and given that the rule of theme postposing is optional, a further condition is required which makes it obligatory to postpone all thematic arguments. As Contreras himself notes, though this condition would prohibit left dislocated thematic constituents, which are allowed to procede the rheme.

    b. *este vestido lo compraría yo si tuviera dinero
      ('I would buy this dress If I had money')
    c. este vestido, yo lo compraría si tuviera dinero

This preverbal focus position is also discussed by Bonet (1989). Bonet notes only one constituent is allowed in this position. The following are some of her examples:

(54) a. LES SABATES ha ficat a l'armari en Pere
      'Pere has put THE SHOES in the closet'
   b. A L'ARMARI ha ficat les sabates en Pere
      'Pere has put the shoes IN THE CLOSET'

This preverbal focus position, like in Spanish, induces a verb-second effect:

(55) a. *Un viaje a las canarias Pedro hizo este verano
   b. *Les sabates en Pere ha ficat a l'armari

And also in Catalan, this emphatic fronting is distinct from left dislocation: Whereas left dislocation leaves a clitic behind (when the clitic is available), this fronting does not allow cliticization:

(56) a. *LES SABATES les ha ficat a l'armari en Pere
   b. *A L'ARMARI hi ha ficat les sabates en Pere

## 2.7. Saying 'yes' and 'no'.

Given that the semantic values of the elements in the category $\Sigma$ have so far found involve affirmation and denial, it seems natural to look into the relation of the syntactic projection $\Sigma P$ on the one hand, and affirmative or negative replies to yes/no questions on the other. I will argue that $\Sigma P$ is involved in affirmative and negative replies to yes/no questions. The evidence I present in support of these claims is drawn from the three languages that are the main object of study in this work: Basque, English and Spanish.

To my knowledge, the syntax of yes/no answers has not been studied as a consistent topic within the generative syntax literature. It is often claimed in fact that there is little or nothing to be found out from such an inquiry, and that only semantics or pragmatics can find anything of interest to say about them[21].

In this section I would like to challenge this view, and show that there *is* something to say about answers from the syntactic point of view: there are grammatical and ungrammatical answers, and there is also parametric variation as to what a grammatical answer is.

First, I will examine the situation in Basque. It will be shown that relating affirmative replies to the $\Sigma P$ phrase provides not only an elegant account of the most ob-

[21] The issue of whether there is anything that syntax can contribute to in the study of answers doesn't even arise in most discussions I am familiar with (with the exception of Pope 1972). For instance: 'With what I have said I do not want to suggest that the semantics of questions and answers is less important that the inquiry into their pragmatic aspects. In fact, pragmatic presupposes semantics. A proper semantic account of questions and answers is a prerequisite for a proper pragmatic account.' (Kiefer 1983: 6) Note that it must also be the case that pragmatic presupposes syntax, and that a proper syntactic account of questions and answers is also a prerequisite for a proper pragmatic account.

vious facts regarding *yes/no* answers, but it is also the key to a puzzling problem that has so far resisted explanation, regarding sentences whose first overt element is an inflected verb.

Second, I will consider some aspects of the structure of yes/no answers in English, and discuss the meaning of *yes* and *no*, their syntactic nature, and the differences between *yes/no* on the one hand and [*Aff*]/*not* on the other. I will also present differences between English, Spanish and Basque regarding *yes/no* answers, and provide an account.

Finally, I will consider the case of Spanish. I will discuss the syntax of *sí* and *no* in relation to ΣP, and I will argue that other elements like *sí que* and *ya* also belong in this category.

## 2:7.1. Answering in Basque.

Under the assumption that direct answers to yes/no question always involve movement of Inflection to the head Σ, the behavior of inflected verbs in these environments is accounted for straightforwardly in Basque. Recall once again that inflected verbs are those where there has been movement of V to Infl, as in (57):

(57)

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{IP} \\ \diagup\!\!\!\diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{VP} \qquad \text{I} \\ \diagdown \qquad \text{daki}_v\,\text{T} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{t}_v \end{array}$$
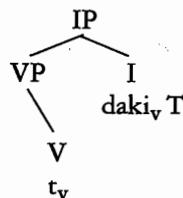
When the reply to a yes/no question involves an inflected verb, it *must* have the particle *ba* (yes) attached if the answer is affirmative, or the particle *ez* (no) if the answer is negative, as the examples in (58) illustrate:

(58) a.  (Bai,) *ba* dakit                      b.  (Ez,) *ez* dakit
        Yes   yes-it-know-I                          No   not-it-know-I
        '(Yes), I do know it'                        '(No,) I don't know it'

(58a) illustrates an affirmative answer: The uncontracted word *bai* 'yes' is optionally present, and separated by a pause from the inflected verb[22]. The verb has the particle *ba* attached to it. (58b) illustrates a negative answer: parallel to the affirmative case, there is a negative word *ez* 'no', optionally present, and after a pause, the inflected verb with the negative particle attached.

An answer without *ba* or *ez* attached to the inflected verb yields sharp ungrammaticality. Thus, compare (58) to (59):

[22] As mentioned in footnote 8 in this chapter, the particle *ba* is a contraction of the word *bai* 'yes'. It is possible to have a non-contracted form in slow and very emphatic speech, as in,

　(i) *bai*dakit!
　　　 yes-it-know-I
　　　 'Yes I know it!'

Conversely, eastern dialects use the contracted form *ba* also for the word 'yes' in isolation, and never use the form *bai*: (ii) Ba, badakit

(59) a. *Bai, dakit      b. *Ez, dakit      c. *dakit

Note that all the relevant information is present in the answers in (59): the presence of the words *bai* 'yes' and *ez* 'no' already tells us that the answer is affirmative or negative, and the inflected verb informs us of what it is that is affirmative or negative. However, (59a) and (59b) are sharply ungrammatical, and so is the attempt of giving and affirmative answer like (59c) were only the verb is present.

These data find a simple explanation under the ΣP hypothesis. Let us assume that in answering yes or no, the ΣP phrase is projected, headed by whichever value the answer has: affirmative (*ba*) or negative (*ez*)[23]. Given the Tense C-Command Condition, Tense must be c-commanding the head of Σ at S-structure, and thus, in the case of Basque, it must raise to that projection (Recall that ΣP is generated above TP in this language). The S-structure representations of (58a) and (58b) are illustrated in (60):

(60) a. Bai [$_{\Sigma P}$ badakit [$_{IP}$ δ]]      b. Ez [$_{\Sigma P}$ ez dakit [$_{IP}$ δ]]

Where δ indicates that IP is deleted (following the notation in Wasow 1972). This deletion, however, is not obligatory, and the rest of the sentence can also be part of the answer. What is crucial is that representations like (61), where the inflected verb stays in situ, and ΣP is not generated, are not an option:

(61) a. *[$_{IP}$ dakit [$_{VP}$ δ]   b. *Bai, [$_{IP}$ pro dakit [$_V$ δ]   c. *Ez, [$_{IP}$ pro dakit [$_V$ δ]

Even if no IP deletion takes place, an affirmative or negative answer that does not involve movement to ΣP yields ungrammaticality. Thus, if one were to ask 'Do you know English?', only a sentence with the particle *ba* or *ez* in attached to the inflected verb would constitute a grammatical answer.

Recall that there are three different elements that can head ΣP in Basque, as argued in section 2.4.1.: One element is negation *ez*, another one is *ba*, and the third one is the empty emphatic [$_{Aff}$]. We have just shown that both *ba* and *ez* occur in affirmative and negative questions respectively, but nothing has been said so far about the third value of Σ: [$_{Aff}$]. Let us consider this case.

There is a basic property of [$_{Aff}$] that distinguishes it from the other two values of Σ *ba* and *ez*. Whereas *ba* and *ez* do not require that the specifiers of their projections be filled by some element, [$_{Aff}$] does require that its specifier be filled by some constituent at S-structure. This follows from the fact that the only phonological content of [$_{Aff}$] is stress, since the heavy stress is placed in the element in the specifier of . ΣP. Hence, as we saw at the beginning of this chapter cases were ΣP is headed by [$_{Aff}$] always have some element in the specifier of that projection:

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[23] For a discussion of the status of the initial and optional *bai* and *ez*, see discussion below.

(62)
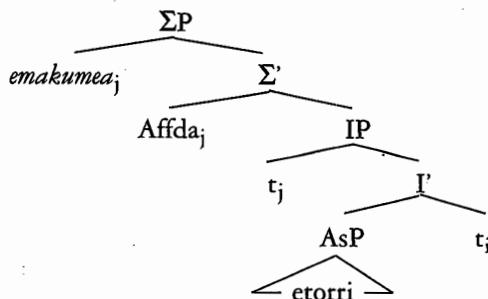


Thus, [$_{Aff}$] cannot be heading the ΣP when it is the inflection that is affirmed, given that its emphatic value is transmitted to its specifier via agreement. Note that this property of empty [$_{Aff}$] is not particular to Basque; this head present the same properties in Spanish as well (cf. section 2.5., and later in this section).

### 2.7.1.1. A result regarding verb initial sentences.

This analysis of yes/no answers in terms of ΣP leads us directly to a phenomenon of Basque grammar that looks quite puzzling at first sight.

Consider the following sentences, all of which are unexpectedly ungrammatical:

(63) a.  *pro$_i$ dator  emakumea$_i$       b. *[emakumea$_i$ [IP pro$_i$ dator]
              arrives woman-the                woman-the              arrives
          ('That woman arrives')                  ('The woman, she arrives')

                              c. *pro dator
                                   arrives
                              ('She arrives')

Basque is a pro-drop language that displays quite a free word order. However, the sentence in (63a), which shows a postverbal subject, is ungrammatical despite the fact that *pro* is licensed in subject position. (63b) is ungrammatical too, although left dislocations of subjects are normally allowed in Basque; and finally, (63c), where the subject has been dropped, is also ungrammatical.

That the ungrammaticality of the sentences above is not due to some restriction on pro-drop of subjects or some restriction on the verb *etorri* 'arrive' used in the example is shown by the following sentences in (64). They are all identical to (63) except for the fact that there is an adverb preceding the inflected verb:

(64) a.  berandu dator  emakumea        b. emakumea, berandu dator
          late      arrives woman-the         woman-the late      arrives
          'The woman arrives late'              'That woman, she arrives late'

                              c. berandu dator
                                   late      arrives
                              's/he arrives late'

What the examples in (64) show, when contrasted with (63), is that what makes the sentences in (63) ungrammatical is not the placement of the subject. Rather, it

seems that what is wrong about the paradigm in (63) is the fact that the first phono-
logically overt element within IP is the inflected verb. In fact, it is the case that Bas-
que rules out matrix sentences whose first overt element is an inflected verb or aux-
iliary. A phonologically based approach to this phenomenon cannot provide a satis-
factory answer, however, and this can be argued on the bases of two distinct pieces of
evidence. The first one concerns the behavior of embedded clauses. As an example, I
will consider relative clauses[24]. Relative clauses in Basque precede the noun, as
shown in (65):

> (65) [t$_i$ berandu datorren]    emakumea$_i$ Irune da
>      late       arrives-that woman-the Irune is
> 'the woman that arrives late is Irune'

In this environment, a bare inflected verb with no *ba* or *ez* particle attached to it
results in a grammatical sentence, as (66) illustrates:

> (66) [t$_i$ datorren]    emakumea Irune da
>      arrives-that woman-the Irune is
> 'The woman that arrives is Irune'

The inflected verb in (66) is in sentence initial position, both with respect to the
embedded and the matrix clause. The empty category preceding it is now a trace
instead of *pro*, and inflected verb has moved to C (cf. Chapter 1), as illustrated in
(67):

(67)

```
                        CP
                       /  \
                  IP        C
                 /  \
              t_i     I'      [datorren]_jen
                     /  \
                  VP      I
                 /  \     |
               V     t_j
               |
               t_v
```
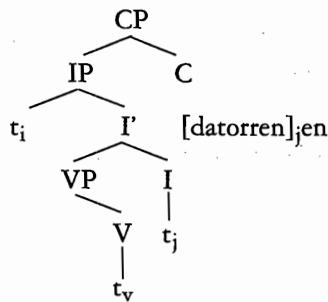
The fact that the prohibition against inflected-verb-initial sentences discrimin-
ates between different empty categories makes it very unlikely for it to be a restric-
tion applying in the Phonetic Form component. On the contrary, I will argue that
this is a syntactic restriction involving S-structure and Logical Form.

It is well known that word order variations in pro-drop languages are not seman-
tically inert different orders yield variations with respect to old and new informa-
tion, what is known and what is new, the theme and the rheme of the sentence. Let

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[24] The data I will present hold of relative clauses, indirect interrogatives, conditionals, and embedded
clauses where presumably some operator-movement has taken place. They do not hold of embedded clauses
that take the complementizer *-(e)la* 'that'. This later type of clause also behaves like matrix clauses do with
regard to other syntactic phenomena, like negation. In Laka (1989) I present a somewhat preliminary discus-
sion on the nature of this complementizer, which deserves further consideration.

me thus assume that, for any given sentence, there must always be a constituent that is interpreted as the rheme. The only exception would be a totally neutral sentences, were no pro-drop is involved and the arguments appear in their D-structure order. It seems uncontroversial to claim that *pro* cannot be rhematized.

Now, if some constituent must be the rheme of the sentence, and if *pro* cannot be the rheme ever, it follows that in a sentence like (63a), repeated again here,

(63) a. *[IP [IP pro$_i$ dator] emakume hori$_i$]
        arrives     woman     that
        ('That woman arrives')

either the inflected verb or the postverbal subject must be the rheme of the sentence. In southern Romance, postverbal subjects are focalized (Contreras 1976, Calabrese 1985, Bonet 1989), as illustrated in (68) for Spanish and Catalan:

(68) a. viene *Maria*         b. ve *la Maria*              '*Mary* arrives'

However, this focalization strategy is not available in Basque. Even when heavily stressed, postverbal elements in declarative clauses cannot be interpreted as rhemes[25]:

(69) *dator *Mari*
       ('Mary arrives')

The fact that this sentence is ungrammatical in Basque but grammatical in Southern Romance languages further supports the idea that constituents in these languages are not rhematized by attaching some kind of intonation to them, but rather, by placing them in some specific syntactic configuration, an idea that underlies much work done on focus in natural languages (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1989 and references therein)

All rhematic constituent in Basque must be preverbal (Altube 1929, Ortiz de Urbina 1989), and there is no possibility of rhematizing a postverbal constituent, despite intonation or stress. Given this state of affairs, the only candidate for rheme in (63a) is the inflected verb itself. However, for the inflected verb to be the rheme of the sentence, it must be the case that it has moved to $\Sigma$, since it is in this category that the emphatic elements are generated, as discussed in previous sections. Furthermore, in a sentence like (63a) $\Sigma$ could not be headed by [Aff], because this value of $\Sigma$ requires an overt element in its specifier at S-structure, as discussed in the previous section. Thus, the only value of $\Sigma$ that can rhematize inflection are *ba* (or *ez*), which are not present in (63a). Therefore, no element of (63a) can be a rheme, and the sentence is ill-formed.

In contrast with the paradigm in (63), the sentences in (70), where the inflected verb has moved to $\Sigma$, are grammatical:

(70) a. badator emakume hori    b. emakume hori, badator    c. badator
        yes-arrives woman that      woman that yes-arrives       yes-arrives
        ('That woman *arrives*')    'That woman, she *arrives*'  'She *arrives*'

---

(25) I am using the words *rheme* and *focus* interchangeably.

Thus, the prohibition against sentences whose first overt element is a bare inflected element is accounted for, under the assumption that $\Sigma$ is the position where the emphatic elements are generated.

### 2.7.1.2. On Non-Synthetic Verbs: A Promissory Note.

Note that nothing has been said here about the behavior of non-synthetic or periphrastic verbs. These verbs present what appears to be a very different behavior. I will present the basic data and what I believe are the issues to be addressed regarding this type of verb-inflection complexes, but by no means will this be a solution, since a complete answer must necessarily go into core issues of the Grammar of Basque whose discussion requires a deeper exploration than what I can offer here.

Recall that periphrastic verbs are those that present two separate elements: the lexical verb, inflected only for aspect, and the auxiliary verb, which carries all the inflectional morphology: agreement markers, tense, and modality. The structure of a periphrastic verb does not involve raising of V to Infl. Rather, there is raising of V to the head of AspP. This structure is illustrated in (71):

(71)
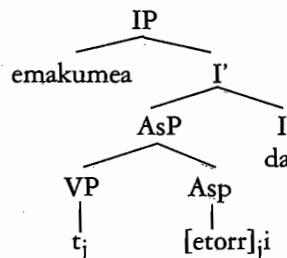


When replying to yes/no answers, the pattern found in periphrastic verbs partially correlates with the one already discussed in the previous section regarding synthetic verbs. Hence, the options we are by now familiar with are shown in (72):

(72) a. (Bai,) bada    etorri          b. (Ez,) ez  da  etorri
       (Yes)  yes-has arrived             (No,) not-has arrived
       'Yes, s/he has arrived'           'No, s/he hasn't arrived'

The S-structure representations of (72a) and (72b) hence also involve $\Sigma$Ps headed by *ba* and *ez*, as is illustrated in (73):

(73) a.
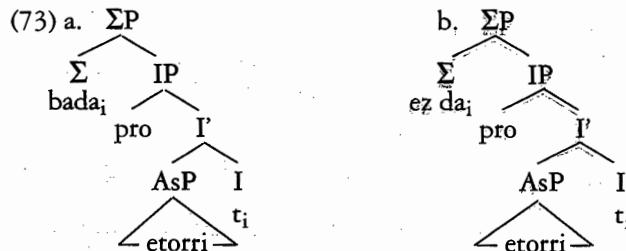
However, there is one more option available in the case of an affirmative answer, which is not possible for synthetic verbs. This third option is presented in (74):

(74) Bai, etorri da 'Yes, arrived has'

In correlation to this fact, it is also possible to have periphrastic verb sentence initially, an option that results in ungrammaticality in the case of synthetic verbs (recall section 4.5.1.1.). The complete paradigm, with synthetic and inflected forms, is given below:

(75) a. *dator          b. *da etorri          c. etorri da

(75a), as discussed in 4.5.1.1., is ungrammatical. For the same reason, (75b) also yields ungrammaticality. Recall that what rules out (75a) and (75b) is the fact that inflection cannot be the rheme of the sentence unless it is moved to a $\Sigma$P headed by *ba* (or *ez*). In contrast with these cases, (75c) is a grammatical sentence. Crucially, the verb is rhematized, that is, it has an emphatic reading. Under our assumptions, this fact means that the verbal complex has moved to $\Sigma$P.

I want to claim that in sentences like (75c) the $\Sigma$P is involved, as expected. The crucial difference between synthetic and periphrastic verbs is that the later have the option of moving to a $\Sigma$P headed by the morpheme [$_{Aff}$]. What I will argue is that the S-structure representation of (75c) is (76):

(76)
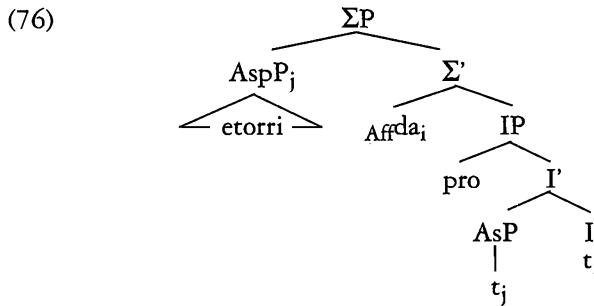


In this S-structure representation, $\Sigma$P is headed by [$_{Aff}$]; hence, some overt maximal projection must occupy the specifier of sigma. This maximal projection is the Aspect Phrase, which receives the stress from [$_{Aff}$], thus being emphasized. In this respect, then, the difference between synthetic and periphrastic verbs is not a deep one, but a rather shallow one, involving the value [$_{Aff}$] of $\Sigma$.

## 2.7.2. Answering in English.

In English also, we find evidence for the claim that yes/no replies involve the category $\Sigma$. Affirmative and Negative replies in English are illustrated in (77)[26]:

(77) a. (Yes) we did          b. (No) we didn't

[26] In the case of affirmative replies, there exists also the option of using the declarative form of the sentence, as in (i): (i) a. Yes I read it

However, this type of answer differs from the type in (11). Thus, for instance, there are two main restrictions that apply to this kind of answer. First, deletion is not allowed for any constituent:

Where $\Sigma$P is headed by [Aff] in the first case and by *Neg* in the second one. Under the hypothesis that $\Sigma$P is involved in the representation of the sentences in (77), the ungrammaticality of the following answers is straightforwardly accounted for:

(78) a. *we did yes           b. *we did no

Consider (77a) again. It could be argued that this sentence involves VP deletion, given that the content of the VP is recoverable from the content of the question. Thus, the S-structure representation of (77a) would be as in (79), where no $\Sigma$P is involved:

(79) (yes) [IP we $t_i$ [VP did ( $_i$ ) ] ]

(I assume that Tense/Infl has lowered to V, hence the trace in Infl) If the presence of dummy *do* in these cases where due to a 'VP-copy' process, we should expect 'the possibility of a parallel process in the case of a negative reply: the sentence initial no encodes the negativity of the sentence, and VP deletes leaving a dummy *do* as a copy. However, this strategy is not available. Hence, a negative answer like (80) is ungrammatical:

(80) *No [IP we $t_i$ [VP did]

The results so far are parallel to those we found in Basque (cf. examples in (59)). And, thus, we can conclude that the affirmative answers in (77) have a very definite S-structure representation; namely, the ones in (81a) and (81b):

(81)   a.       IP                    b.       IP
           /\                              /\
        we    I'                        we    I'
              /\                               /\
        did[Aff]$_i$  $\Sigma$P         didnt't$_i$  $\Sigma$P
                   /\                                /\
                $t_i$   VP                        $t_i$    VP
                        |                                 |
                        δ                                 δ
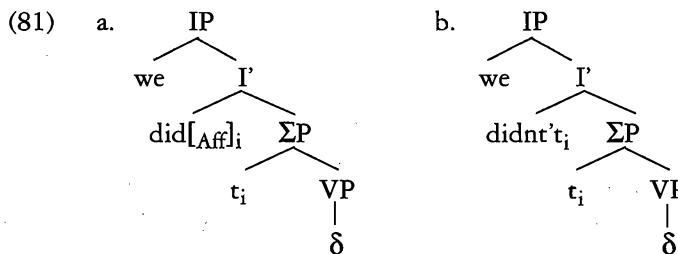
### 2.7.3. On the Meaning of *yes* and *no*.

Let us consider the elements *yes* and *no*. I will argue that they are not generated in $\Sigma$P, like [Aff], *not*, and *so* are. First, *yes* and *no* are not the ones at play in emphatic affirmation or negation of sentences, as seen in previous sections.

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(ii) Q. Did you find that book on the desk?
     a. Yes, I found it there          b. *Yes, I found it          c. *Yes, I found.
Deletion is ruled out even in cases where the verb allows null object anaphora:

(iii) Q. Did you eat cake?          a. *Yes I ate

Second, the presence of *yes* is mandatory, unlike in (11a):

(iii) Q. Did you read that book?          *(Yes) I read it

Although I have no account for these two properties, they support the idea that non-emphatic declarative sentences are not direct answers like the ones in (11).

If we consider their semantic status, it is clear that, as noted in Kiefer (1983), their meaning cannot be 'it is the case that' for *yes*, or 'it is not the case' for *no*. Thus, consider the examples in (82):

(82) Q. Do you sing?                     A. No, we sing

Where (82A) cannot mean 'it is not the case that we sing'. Similarly, in (83):

(83) Q. Doesn't Michael sing?            A. Yes, he doesn't sing

Where (83A) cannot mean 'it is the case that he doesn't sing'. The answers (82A) and (83A) are not devoid of meaning, however. Thus, (82A) is a fine reply to the question in (84):

(84) Q. Do you play piano?               A. No, we sing

And similarly, (83A) is a good answer in (85):

(85) Q. Is it true that Michael won't sing anymore?
     A. Yes, he won't sing anymore

What these cases (from (82) to (85)) show is that the words *yes* and *no* do not affirm or negate the sentences that follow them, but, rather, they affirm or negate the affirmative version of the question whose reply they are. Hence, in (82), the answer is wrong because *no* there means 'we don't sing', and then it is followed by 'we sing', resulting in a contradiction. Similarly, in (83), *yes* means that 'Michael sings', and the following sentence being 'He doesn't sing', it again results in contradiction. However, answers like the ones in (84) and (85) are good: (84A) is equivalent to 'we don't play piano, we sing' and (85) is equivalent to 'It is true; he won't sing anymore'[27].

Further support for the claim that the meaning of *yes* and *no* is to confirm or deny the truth of the declarative version of the question is found in examples like the ones in (86) below.

Consider two questions that are identical except for the fact that one of them has negation in it and the other one does not. The *yes* and *no* answers for both questions have identical value:

(86) a.  Is he home?                     b.  Isn't he home?

Although question (86a) has a negative in it, and question (86b) does not, the answers do not seem to pay any attention to this fact. In both cases *yes* goes for 'he is home', and *no* goes for 'he is not home'. This is so because what *yes* and *no* are affirming or denying is the positive declarative version of the question: 'he is home'.

These facts also seem to indicate that in some sense, negative and affirmative questions are very similar and that they differ from declarative affirmative or negative sentences, which are semantically opposite. In the case of questions, the only difference introduced by negation is a change in presuppositions.

The equivalents of *yes* and *no* both in Basque and in Spanish are identical to the English ones in this respect. However, this is by no means a linguistic universal. Some

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(27) Note that this sentence indicates that answers do not have access to embedded sentences, but only to matrix ones, which is a further indication of the relevance of syntax in answer formation.

languages have a different distribution of lexical items and meanings in the area of yes/no answers.

Consider for instance Icelandic[28]. Icelandic has negative reply what is identical to English *no*. This word is *nei*, and it is used similarly to the English one. However, there are two lexical items corresponding to *yes*: they are *já* and *jú*. What distinguishes these two lexical items is that the former is in affirmative reply to an affirmative question, whereas the second one is an affirmative reply to a negative question, as illustrated in (87):

(87) a.  er hann heima? já / *jú          b.  er hann ekki heima? jú /*já
      'is he home?' yes (he is)              'Is he not home?' yes (he is)

We can thus conclude that in Icelandic, unlike in English, Basque and Spanish, affirmative responses are sensitive to the presence of negation in the question asked.

### 2.7.4. On the Syntax of English *yes* and *no*.

If the claim about the meaning of *yes* and *no* in English is correct, we can account for examples of the sort of (82) to (85). However, we do not obtain good results in cases like (77). Let us see why. Suppose (77a) and (77b) were the replies to a question like 'Did you buy this book?'. Now, (77a) does not mean 'we did buy the book, we did', and (77b) does not mean 'we didn't buy the book, we didn't'. However, there are some other significant differences between answers like (77) to answers like those in (84) and (85), which provide a solution to this problem.

If we compare the behavior of *yes* and *no* in (84) and (85) to cases like (77a) and (77b), we notice that there are sharp differences in intonation. Whereas in (77a, b) these is no necessary pause between *yes/no* and the rest of the answer, in (84) and (85) there is a sharp and obligatory pause. This contrast is illustrated in (8):

(88) Q: Did you buy this book?
    a.  Yes we did                              d.  No, we bought another one
    b.  No we didn't                            e.  *Yes we didn't like the other one
    c.  Yes, we didn't like the other one       f.  *No we bought another one

Secondly, omission of *yes/no* in (77a, b) or (88a, b) does not alter the answer, which remains a direct response of the question asked. On the contrary, omission of *yes/no* in (84) and (85) or in (88c, d) introduces a change: the answer now is not a direct one. What is now left is identical to what we have when one replies 'It is still winter' to a question like 'Don't you thing this is a rather cold day?'. That is, the answer has nothing to do with the question, as far as the syntax goes[29].

I claim that all these divergences have a common cause. Whereas in answers like (77a, b) and (88a, b) *yes* and *no* are part of the same sentence as the rest of the answer

(28) I am indebted to W. O'Neil for bringing these facts to my attention.

(29) From the observation that *yes* cannot mean 'it is not the case that' and that *no* cannot mean 'it is the case that' (cf. above in the text), Kiefer (1983) concludes 'that *yes* and *no* cannot be considered to be reduced (elliptical) direct answers' (Kiefer 1983: 4). I do not see how the conclusion follows from the observation, since it is logically possible (and empirically correct, if the description of the meaning of *yes* and *no* sketched in the text is correct) that there be another meaning of *yes* and *no* by which these items directly refer to the question they are direct answers to.

*I did* or I *didn't* respectively, *yes* and *no* in (84), (85) and (88c d) are not part of the same sentence as the rest of the answer. More specifically, in cases like (88a, b) the position of *yes* and *no* is the head of CP, right above IP, as in (89):

(89)
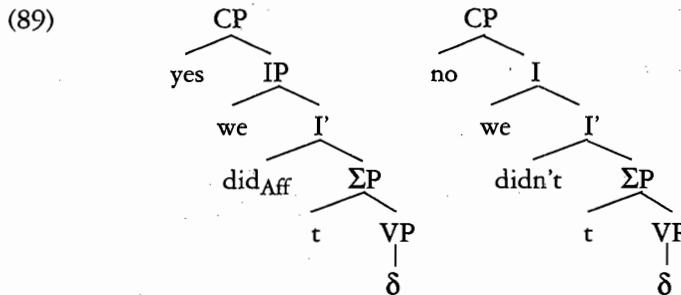


There is independent evidence in support of this claim. For instance, the elements *yes* and *no* cannot occur in questions, with or without *do-support*, and regardlees whether they are echo questions or not:

(90) a. *Did yes you sing that song?     c. *Did no you sing that song
     b. *Yes you sang that song?          d. *No you sang that song?

Secondly, they occur in complementary distribution with other complementizers[30]:

(91) a. *She said that yes we could sing   b. *She said that no we couldn't sing

Interestingly enough, other languages diverge on this complementary distribution of *yes* and *no* type words and complementizers. Thus for instance, Spanish patterns differently in this respect, in that it allows cooccurrence of the affirmative *si* or the negative *no*, used in answers, and on overt complementizer, as shown in (92):

(92) a. pro ha dicho [que *sí* podemos cantar]
     b. pro ha dicho [que *no* podemos cantar]

Moreover, compare the sentences in (93):

(93) a. She has said yes           e. Ella ha dicho sí
     b. She has said no            f. Ella ha dicho no
     c. *She has said that yes     g. Ella ha dicho que sí
     d. *She has said that no      h. Ella ha dicho que no

I will later argue that this difference follows from the fact that Spanish *sí* and *no* are not generated in C, but in $\Sigma$. Note that in Spanish *sí* and *no* are used in emphatic affirmation and sentence negation, the values of $\Sigma$P.

---

[30] The examples in (91) must be distinguished from cases where *yes* and *no* are used parenthetically, as in (i): (i) he said that, yes, he had seen her cry.
In these cases there seems to be a real CP recursion:

   (ii) dijo que sí, que la había visto llorar     (iii) esan zuen baietz, negar egiten ikusi zuela

It is interesting to note that in certain contexts, which seem to fall under the generalization of propositional attitude predicates, we find elements of $\Sigma$ as complements of the verb. Consider for example (94):

(94) a. I hope so/not          g. *I hope yes/no
     b. I guess so/not         h. *I guess yes/no
     c. I imagine so/not       i. *I imagine yes/no
     d. I suppose so/not       j. *I suppose yes/no
     e. I thing so/not         k. *I thing yes/no
     f. I believe so/not       l. *I believe yes/no

But even in these cases, *so* and *not* cannot coocur with an overt complementizer:

(95) a. *I hope that so/not          b. *I suppose that so/not

Going back to English *yes* and *no*, I have argued above that their semantic content is to affirm or deny the positive declarative version of the question. This means that these words do not qualify of modify the event of the IP they dominate, but, rather, they are connected to the question. Therefore, these heads are not subject to the Tense C-Command Condition, and thus Tense need not raise to C-command them at S-Structure.

That *yes* and *no* are related to the question asked, more that to the replies that may follow, is further confirmed by the fact that these elements are only licensed as a reply to a question. Thus, they cannot be generated in an empty CP in order to emphasize the sentence, or to negate it, as illustrated by the examples in (96), where (a) and (d) contrast with the ungrammatical (b), (c), (e) and (f):

(96) a. Unlike penguins, seagulls do fly
     b. *Unlike penguins, seagulls yes fly
     c. *Unlike penguins, yes seagulls (do) fly
     d. Unlike seagulls, penguins do not fly
     e. *Unlike seagulls, penguins no (do) fly
     f. *Unlike seagulls, no penguins (do) fly[31]

In this respect, *yes* and *no* are very much like complementizers of embedded sentences. Complementizers like *that, whether*, etc... are not subject to the TCC either, because they do not modify the event of the clause they head, but rather, they establish a connection between the main clause and the embedded one. They are also selected by the matrix verb, in a way similar to which the elements *yes* and *no* have to be licensed by a question.

I havent't yet explained what the structure of answers like (84), (85) and (88c, d) is, although I have already say that the *yes* and *no* present in them does not belong in the same sentence as the rest of the answer. Let me make that statement more precise. I have established that *yes* and *no* are heading a CP, and that they affirm or deny the positive declarative version of the question they are answers to. Note further, that the IP these elements dominate can be optionally deleted:

(31)  Ignore the reading where *no* is part of the subject DP, as in:
      (i) a. Unlike [most seagulls], [no penguins] like warms

(97) Q: Did you buy me a present? a. [$_{CP}$ Yes [$_{IP}$ δ]     b. [$_{CP}$ No [$_{IP}$ δ]

I would like to claim that in the examples in (84), (85) and (88c, d), there are indeed two sentences juxtaposed. One of them is headed by *yes* or *no*, and has the S-structure representation in (97), and the other one is the sentence that follows. In this sense, the answers we are now considering would be parallel to other instances of juxtapositions, like:

(98) a.  I like Irune, she is terrific
     b.  I am going to the movies, tomorrow I have to work hard

In these cases, the only connection between the two sentences is that the second one is some kind of amplification of the first one. This is exactly the relation between the *yes* or *no* sentence and the one that follows after the pause in the examples we are considering. This becomes more apparent when we do not delete the entire IP as in (97), but only the VP, leaving the Phrase Marker down to ΣP overt. Consider the following:

(99) Q: Do you play piano? a.  No, I sing     b.  No I don't, I sing

(99a) and (99b) are identical in meaning, because the only difference is whether the first sentence has IP deleted or VP deleted. However, if we attempt to do the same with an answer that involves only one sentence, the result if ill formed:

(100) Q: Do you play piano?   a.  Yes we do     b.  *Yes we do we do

The contrast between (99b) and (100b) is thus due to the fact that *no* in (99) is heading a CP which is not part of the sentence 'I sing'. In (100) however, there is only one sentence. The corresponding structure are given in (101):

(101) a.  [$_{CP}$ no [$_{IP}$ δ] // [$_{IP}$ we sing]
      b.  [$_{CP}$ no [$_{IP}$ we dont't [$_{ΣP}$ t [$_{VP}$ δ ]]]] // [$_{IP}$ we sing]
      c.  [$_{CP}$ yes [$_{IP}$ I do$_{Aff}$ [$_{ΣP}$ t [$_{VP}$ δ]]]]]

Where (101a) corresponds to (99a), (101b) to (99b) and (101c) to (100a), and the notation // represents separate sentences, yuxtaposed. Note in passim that it is never obligatory to delete any constituent. Thus, the VP could also be overt in (101), which would result in the following sentences:

(102) a.  No we don't play the piano     b.  Yes we do play the piano

## 2.7.5. Answering in Spanish.

Let us now consider how affirmative and negative answers to yes/no questions behave in Spanish. As we would expect given the data from Basque and English, in Spanish also there are interesting restrictions as to what can constitute an answer. The first paradigm to consider is the one in (103):

(103) Q: Leíste el libro que te traje?
         'Did you read the book I brought you?'
      a.  (sí), sí lo leí      b. *lo leí      c.  Sí

The answers in (103) illustrate two uses of *sí*: in one case, *sí* is separated from the rest of the answer by a pause; it can be followed by the second type of *sí* (103a), which is in turn followed by the inflected verb. The second type of *sí* occurs attached to the verb, forming a single intonation constituent (103a). As (103b) illustrates, the bare inflected verb results in ungrammaticality. Finally, there is the possibility of replying with a bare *sí*. We will later discuss what type of *sí* this is.

In contrast, the paradigm of possible negative questions diverges from the one in (103). Consider the examples in (104):

(104) Q: leíste el libro que te traje?
      'Did you read the book that I gave you?
      a. (no), no lo leí     b. *no, lo leí   c. no

Similarly to English, a negative answer like (104b) is ungrammatical[32] (and so is an answer with the bare inflected verb). Parallel to the *sí* series, there are two uses of *no* as well: the first one is illustrated in (104a), and it is followed by a pause. The second one is attached to the verb and belongs in the same intonation unit as the inflected verb.

It is also possible to reply with a single *no*, whose nature will be discussed below.

Let us consider some differences between the two types of *sí*. Observe first that whereas one of them does not require adjacency with the inflected verb (much like English *yes*), the other one does (much like Basque *ba*).

Since it is intonation what distinguishes the two kinds of *sí*'s I will represent the first type always followed by a comma, and the second one without a comma, indicating that it must be said with no pause at all. The contrast between both types of *sí* with respect to adjacency to the inflected verb is illustrated in (105):

(105) Q: Llovió ayer?   'Did it rain yesterday?'
      a. Sí, ayer sí llovió  b. Sí, ayer llovió  c. *Sí ayer llovió  d. Sí llovió ayer

The same is true for the series of *no*'s, as shown in (106) (I follow the same convention of distinguishing them with commas):

(106) a. No, ayer no llovió   b. *No ayer llovió  c. No llovió ayer

Let us assume that the *sí* and *no* that are attached to the inflected verb are generated in ΣP, above IP, like *ba* and *ez* in Basque, and like the [Neg] and [Aff] of section 2.4.

The S-structure representations of the sentences involving these elements are shown in (107):

(107)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{si} \\ \text{no} \end{bmatrix} \text{llovió}_i$$

ΣP
             IP
        t$_i$          VP
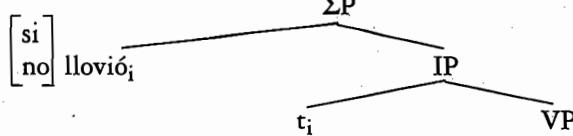
(32) Ignore readings like the following:
   (i) Q: Te aburrió el libro que te traje?       a. No, lo leí de cabo a rabo
       'Did the book that I brought you bore you?'    'No, I read it beginning to end'
For a discussion of these type of answers, see the preceding section.

Zagona (1988) presents evidence that *no* and Infl in Spanish are amalgamated in a single $X^0$ by S-structure. In this respect, Spanish *no* is unlike French *pas* but like French *ne*.

Zannuttini (1989) argues that *no* in Southern Romance is generated above IP. In earlier work, Bosque (1980) proposed that negation in Spanish was generated in a position dominating S. I will follow the idea that *no* is higher than IP, and implement it by claiming that it is one of the options in $\Sigma$, together with *sí* $\Sigma$, $[_{Neg}]$ and $[_{Aff}]$.

The fact that *sí* and *no* are generated in the head of $\Sigma$ in Spanish contrast with the nature of *yes* and *no* in English, which are generated in Comp, as argued in the previous section. This explains the following contrasts between the two languages:

(108) a.  pro creo $[_{CP}$ que $[_{\Sigma P}$ sí/no$]]$    b. *I thing $[_{CP}$ that $[_{CP}$ yes/no$]]$

This contrast is accounted for under the assumption that *yes* and *no* belong in the COMP category in English, whereas in Spanish, *sí* and *no* belong in a different category, which is $\Sigma$. Note that the contrast illustrated in (108) could hardly be accounted for under the assumption that *yes*, *sí*, English *no* and Spanish *no* are some kind of adjuncts or adverbs.

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# Acentos del Bidasoa: Hondarribia

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## Abstract

*In this paper, the accentual patterns of the Basque dialect spoken in Hondarribia (Fuenterrabía), in the Bidasoa region, are studied in some detail. It is shown that the accentual unit must be the stem, since stress is always initial when the stem is monosyllabic. In this, we agree with previous descriptions. The results of our investigations differ from previous assumptions on the direction of stress assignment. The stress patterns of words whose stem has three or more syllables indicate that stress must be assigned counting from the end of the stem and that in this computation the open or closed nature of the last syllable in the stem plays a crucial role.*

## 0. Introducción*

Las hablas vascas de la cuenca del Bidasoa presentan una acentuación claramente distinta a la que se encuentra en dialectos vecinos. Michelena (1972), en su tipología de sistemas acentuales en vasco, reconoce en el area del Bidasoa un tipo acentual diferente a los otros tres tipos que distingue. Este tipo acentual (su tipo IV) correspondería a las hablas de Hondarribia (Fuenterrabía), Irún y las Cinco Villas de Navarra, extendiéndose hasta Beinza-Labayen. Como regla básica en la acentuación de este area, Michelena, dando crédito a Nils Holmer por el descubrimiento, propone que el acento recae sobre la segunda sílaba de la palabra; excepto que, en palabras cuya base es monosilábica, el acento recae en la sílaba inicial (véanse también Holmer 1964 y Txillardegi 1984). En este artículo se estudia en cierto detalle la acentuación de Hondarribia[1]. El análisis de los datos demuestra que la regla propuesta por Holmer y Michelena no es correcta para este dialecto, aunque pueda serlo quizá para otras hablas de la zona[2]. Que la regla básica de acentuación en el sistema de Hondarribia no

(1) Sobre el euskera de Hondarribia pueden consultarse Artola (1981), Etxaburu (1981) y Letamendia (1990), además de Holmer (1964).

(2) La mayoría de los informantes consultados por Holmer para el habla de Hondarribia procedían de un barrio cercano a Irún (Jaizubía) y cuya habla se aproxima a la de esta última ciudad. Esto hace que sus datos no coincidan con los presentados en este trabajo en algunos respectos. No estamos, pues, quitando validez al trabajo de Holmer. Simplemente encontramos diferencias con respecto al dialecto que aquí analizamos.

es acento en la segunda sílaba es aparente cuando consideramos bases de más de dos
sílabas.

Antes de examinar los hechos acentuales del dialecto de Hondarribia, examinare-
mos brevemente ciertos aspectos morfolológicos y fonológicos del dialecto que pue-
den ayudar a una mejor comprensión de los datos. En la sección 1, se presentan los
fundamentos de la inflexión nominal en Hondarribia, que incluye algunas peculiari-
dades altamente originales en el conjunto de los dialectos vascos. En la sección 2, se
presentan algunas reglas fonológicas en las que típicamente encontramos variación
dialectal. La descripción del sistema acentual de Hondarribia es el objeto de la sec-
ción 3. La sección 4 trata de la acentuación de palabras compuestas y la sección 5 re-
coge las conclusiones del artículo.

## 1. Inflexión nominal

En comparación con otros dialectos vascos, la inflexión nominal en el habla de
Hondarribia sorprende por la clara segmentabilidad de las marcas de número y caso.
Mientras en otros dialectos (incluyendo la lengua standard) los morfemas que combi-
nan información de número y caso son numerosos, en Hondarribia los morfemas de
número son claramente separables de los morfemas de caso. En los caso no-locativos,
la marca del singular es el sufijo /-a/ y la marca del plural es el sufijo /-ak/. A estos
morfemas de número se añaden los morfemas de caso, que son iguales en el singular
y en el plural[3]:

(1)  morfemas de caso no-locativo:
     absolutivo:              -Ø (cero fonético)
     ergativo:                -k
     dativo:                  -ri
     genitivo:                -n
     benefactivo:             -ntzat
     comitativo:              -kin

A continuación se ofrece el paradigma no-locativo de /arr/ 'gusano', /kato/ 'gato' y
/lagun/ 'amigo' en el singular y en el plural[4]:

---

(3) La grafía que se emplea en este artículo es la ortografía convencional vasca, algo adaptada para reflejar
los hechos fonéticos del dialecto. La letra *j* tiene el valor de la *j* castellana (fricativa velar sorda). Los sonidos
que en la ortografía vasca se representan como *s* y *z* no constituyen fonemas diferentes en Hondarribia. Tam-
poco *ts* y *tz*. En este último caso la articulación es siempre la de la *tz* de otros dialectos, esto es, una africada
predorsal sorda. En el caso de *s* y *z* el único fonema que posee este habla se realiza a veces como apical y a veces
como predorsal, dependiendo del contexto. Hay también realizaciones que parecen intermedias. Hemos deci-
dido emplear las grafías *s*, *z*, *ts*, y *tz* de acuerdo a su distribución en la lengua standard a pesar de darse la cita-
da neutralización de estos puntos de articulación en el dialecto estudiado.

(4) Las formas del indefinido no se utilizan de una manera consistente por todos los hablantes. Muchas ve-
ces se utilizan formas singulares o plurales cuando esperaríamos encontrar formas indefinidas. Existe clara-
mente, sin embargo, un paradigma indefinido distinto del plural y del singular. Las formas indefinidas de /ka-
to/ y /lagun/ las hemos obtenido por elicitación de algunos hablantes, las de /arr/ las hemos reconstruido noso-
tros siguiendo el modelo de /lagun/.

| (2) | | singular | plural | indefinido |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | abs | árra | árrak | ár |
| | erg | árrak | árrak | árrek |
| | dat | árrari | árrakeri[5] | árreri |
| | gen | árran | árraken | árren |
| | ben | árrantzat | árrakentzat | árrentzat |
| | com | árrakiñ | árrakiñ | árrekiñ |
| | abs | katúa | katúak | kató |
| | erg | katúak | katúak | katók |
| | dat | katúari | katúakeri | katóri |
| | gen | katúan | katúaken | katón |
| | ben | katúantzat | katúakentzat | katóntzat |
| | com | katúakiñ | katúakiñ | katókiñ |
| | abs | lagúna | lagúnak | lagún |
| | erg | lagúnak | lagúnak | lagúnek |
| | dat | lagúnari | lagúnakeri | lagúneri |
| | gen | lagúnan | lagúnaken | lagúnen |
| | ben | lagúnantzàt | lagúnakentzàt | lagúnentzat |
| | com | lagúnakìñ | lagúnakìñ | lagúnekiñ |

Las formas subyacentes del paradigma no-locativo de un item léxico como /arr/ son las siguientes:

| (3) | | singular | plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| | abs | /arr-a-Ø/ | /arr-ak-Ø/ |
| | erg | /arr-a-k/ | /arr-ak-k/ |
| | dat | /arr-a-ri/ | /arr-ak-ri/ |
| | gen | /arr-a-n/ | /arr-ak-n/ |
| | ben | /arr-a-ntzat/ | /arr-ak-ntzat/ |
| | com | /arr-a-kin/ | /arrak-kin/ |

La simple concatenación morfémica produce formas del plural que no son silabificables. Para obtener las formas superficiales tenemos que aplicar un par de reglas que ajustan la estructura silábica eliminando ciertas secuencias consonánticas. Una primera regla es un proceso de degeminación que simplifica grupos de dos consonantes idénticas. En los ejemplos que tenemos se trata siempre de una secuencia /k-k/. Estas secuencias se encuentran en el ergativo y comitativo plural:

(4)   Degeminación:   kk → k ( k → Ø / k__ )
        /arr-ak-k/ arrak
        /arr-ak-kin/ arrakin

Los demás grupos no-silabificables de consonantes se resuelven por epéntesis de la vocal neutra o no-marcada que, como en todos los dialectos vascos, es /e/ (en las reglas C representa cualquier consonante)[6]:

(5) Una forma del genitivo plural menos usual que *árrakeri* es *árraki*.

(6) Para evitar la aplicación de la regla de epéntesis en contextos donde la regla que se aplica es degeminación hay dos posibilidades. Una es ordenar degeminación antes de epéntesis. La segunda es indicar en la formulación de la regla de epéntesis que las dos consonantes en el contexto no pueden ser idénticas.

(5)   Epéntesis:            $CC \rightarrow CeC$ ($\emptyset \rightarrow e$ / C__ C )
          /arr-ak-ri/ arrakeri
          /arr-ak-n/  arraken
          /arr-ak-ntzat/ arrakentzat

En los caso locativos, el singular se expresa por cero fonético y el plural por /-ta-/.
Los morfemas locativos son los siguientes:

(6)   inesivo:              -an
      adlativo:             -ra
      ablativo:             -tik
      genitivo loc:         -ko

Como ejemplos se ofrecen los paradigmas locativos de /lurr/ 'tierra' y /mendi/
'monte'[7]:

(7)                    singular           plural
      ines             lúrrian            lúrretan
      adlat            lúrrera            lúrretara
      ablat            lúrretik(an)       lúrretatik
      gen loc          lúrreko            lúrretako

      ines             mendíyan           mendítan[8]
      adlat            mendíra            mendítara
      ablat            mendítik(an)       mendítatik
      gen loc          mendíko            mendítako

Las formas locativas de /lurr/ y /mendi/ tienen la siguiente representación subya-
cente:

(8)                    singular           plural
      ines             /lurr-an/          /lurr-ta-an/
      adlat            /lurr-ra/          /lurr-ta-ra/
      ablat            /lurr-tik/         /lurr-ta-tik/
      gen loc          /lurr-ko/          /lurr-ta-ko/

      ines             /mendi-an/         /mendi-ta-an/
      adlat            /mendi-ra/         /mendi-ta-ra/
      ablat            /mendi-tik/        /mendi-ta-tik/
      gen loc          /mendi-ko/         /mendi-ta-ko/

Si la base termina en consonante, hay inserción de la vocal /e/ en todas las formas.
En todos los casos, excepto en el inesivo singular, la inserción de /e/ es en el contexto
de la regla de epéntesis vista en (5) y resulta por tanto predecible. Es importante no-
tar que en ejemplos como los que encontramos en (8), al contrario de los ejemplos
dados en (5), las secuencias consonánticas donde se aplica la regla de epéntesis no re-

(7) En el indefinido de los casos locativos se utilizan formas del plural o del singular.
(8) Existe también junto a *mendítan* una forma *mendíyetan*. Esta forma resulta anómala en el paradigma de
Hondarrabia, pero encaja perfectamente en el sistema de otras hablas próximas.

sultarían necesariamente insilabificables sin epéntesis. Las mismas secuencias que encontramos en /lurr-tik/ o /lurr-ko/ son de hecho permisibles en interior de morfema, como puede verse en ejemplos como *árte* 'hasta, entre' o *mérke* 'barato'. La regla de epéntesis tiene, pues, condiciones morfológicas, aplicándose entre base y morfema inflexional, pero no en interior de morfema.

El caso del inesivo singular es algo diferente. Aquí la epéntesis de vocal no tiene lugar en medio de un grupo de dos consonantes, sino entre consonante y vocal. Nótese también que una forma como *\*lúrran* respetaría todas las condiciones fonotácticas de la lengua. Como la forma que obtenemos es, sin embargo, *lúrrian,* está claro que tenemos aquí una regla especial de inserción de vocal fonológicamente no motivada:

(9)  Inserción vocálica en el inesivo: C-an → Cean ( $\emptyset$ → e / C +__ an)
  /lurr-an/ lúrrean (*lúrrian*)

La forma intermedia /lurrean/ producida por esta regla da finalmente *lúrrian* por aplicación de otra regla que veremos en la sección siguiente. En el inesivo plural encontramos una secuencia de dos vocales bajas /ta-an/. La regla responsable por su simplificación la veremos también en la sección siguiente. También la inserción de [y] en el paradigma de /mendi/ será examinada en la sección siguiente.

## 2. Principales reglas fonológicas en secuencias de vocales.

En esta sección trataremos brevemente de las principales reglas que afectan a las secuencias de vocales en el dialecto de Hondarribia. Algunas reglas han sido formuladas en la sección anterior y no se volverán a mencionar aquí (reglas de degeminación y epéntesis).

Un aspecto en el que las hablas vascas difieren entre sí considerablemente es en el tratamiento de secuencias de dos vocales. La modificación de las secuencias creadas al añadir el morfema de número a bases terminadas en vocal en el dialecto de Hondarribia puede observarse en los siguientes ejemplos:

(10) | base | abs sg | |
|------|--------|---|
| alába | alába | 'hija' |
| esté | estía | 'intestino' |
| báso | básua | 'vaso' |
| mendí | mendíya | 'monte' |
| burú | burúa | 'cabeza' |

Las reglas que se aplican son, pues, las siguientes:

(11)  Elisión de vocal baja:
  aV → V (a → $\emptyset$ / __V)
  /alaba-a/ alába
  /mendi-ta-an/ mendítan

(12)  Elevación de vocales medias:
>       V
>       [- baja] → [+alta] / ___ V
>       (una vocal no-baja se hace alta inmediatemente antes de otra vocal)
>           /etxe-a/ etxía
>           /baso-a/ básua

(13)  Inserción de [y]:
>       iV → iyV ( Ø → y / i ___ V )
>       /mendi-a/ mendíya

La regla de inserción de [y] ha de aplicarse antes que la regla de elevación de vocales medias. De otra forma, /ia/ procedente de /e-a/ resultaría en [iya].

La aplicación de estas reglas en interior de morfema puede verse en la adaptación de préstamos. Así la inserción de [y] se aplica en una palabra como *oficio* que resulta en *ofíziyo* en Hondarribia[9].

La única secuencia donde no se aplica ninguna regla es la secuencia subyacente /ua/. Como /o-a/ también resulta en [ua] por aplicación de la regla de elevación de vocales medias, hay una cierta confusión entre bases que terminan en /-o/ y bases que terminan en /-u/. Muchas bases que en otros dialectos terminan en /-u/, en Hondarribia terminan en /-o/. Así *kató* (bat) 'gato', *líbro* 'libro', *katíllo* 'tazón'. La misma situación la encontramos en otros dialectos, como el de Ondarroa, donde /-o/ y /-u/ finales de base reciben el mismo tratamiento en la declinación (cf. Letamendia 1990: 44).

Otro caso de falta de diferenciación resulta del tratamiento de /-a/ final. Cuando en una palabra declinada precediendo al morfema de número encontramos una consonante o secuencia de consonantes que podría ser final de palabra, no es posible determinar con certeza si la [-a] pertenece o no a la base cuando encontramos formas inflexionadas. En una palabra como *alába* 'la hija' no hay problema. La base tiene que ser /alaba/, porque */alab/ no es una palabra posible en vasco. Sin embargo, en palabras como *kalamártza* 'el bogavante' no es posible de saber a priori si la base es /kalamartz/ o /kalamartza/. Con algunas de estas palabras hay acuerdo entre los hablantes, pero en otras hay vacilación: *bi kostíl, bi kostílla* 'dos costillas'.

Se dan también casos de ultracorrección como *erantzúna bat* 'una respuesta' (*erantzun bat* en otros dialectos).

Por último, la semivocal [w] (subyacentemente /u/) se convierte en la fricativa [ß] en posición intervocálica:

(14)  VuV → VßV (w → ß / V __ V)

| base | abs.sing. | |
|---|---|---|
| kristá[w] | kristá[ß]a | 'persona' |
| billá[w] | billá[ß]a | 'vivo, pillo' |
| bakallá[w] | bakallá[ß]a | 'bacalao' |

(9) Como caso excepcional en la forma del auxiliar transitivo encontramos *dio* y no *diyo* (cf. Letamendia 1990: 44).

## 3. Reglas de acentuación

En Hondarribia la simple identificación de la sílaba acentuada no plantea ningún tipo de problema, al contrario que en otros dialectos. En toda palabra hay una sílaba que recibe acento primario. Este acento primario es claramente perceptible, tanto para los hablantes como para el investigador que carece de intuiciones nativas. Además del acento primario, algunas sílabas reciben un acento secundario bastante más difícil de percibir. Aquí nos vamos a ocupar fundamentalemte del acento primario. La localización de la sílaba con acento primario está sujeta a ciertas reglas que tienen, sin embargo, un número de excepciones léxicas.

El dominio que es relevante para la asignación de acento primario (la unidad acentual, en términos de Garde 1968) no es la palabra entera, sino la base. Esto aparece claro cuando consideramos la localización de la sílaba acentuada en palabras con bases monosilábicas. En estas palabras el acento recae siempre sobre la sílaba inicial, independientemente del número de sílabas que contenga la palabra completa con morfemas de inflexión. Esto puede comprobarse fácilmente en la declinación de bases como /arr/ 'gusano' y /lurr/ 'tierra' dada arriba en (2) y (7). Ejemplos adicionales se ofrecen en (15). En los ejemplos separamos la base de la inflexión con un punto para mayor claridad:

(15)  Bases monosilábicas

*béltz.ana* 'el del negro',            *án.dikan* 'desde allí',
*béltz.akena* 'el de los negros'       *zárr.etan* 'en los viejos'
*ók.ena* 'el de éstos'                 *jái.etan* 'en las fiestas'
*bát.ek* 'uno, erg'                    *góiz.ian* 'por la mañana'
*bát.era* 'a una'                      *ón.erako* 'para lo bueno'
*záñ.ak* 'las venas'                   *míñ.a* 'el dolor'
*górr.a* 'el sordo'                    *órtz.ak* 'los dientes'

La generalización de que con bases monosilábicas la sílaba inicial recibe el acento no tiene excepción alguna.

Con bases de un mayor número de sílabas también se cumple la generalización de que el acento se mantiene siempre en la base. En cuanto a cuál sílaba de la base recibe el acento, con bases bisilábicas, la situación más general es que la segunda sílaba de la base recibe el acento. Dividimos los ejemplos en bases terminadas por vocal (en (16a)) y bases terminadas por consonante (en (16b)):

(16)  Bases bisilábicas
     a. Bases terminadas en vocal

*itxé.ra* 'a la casa'                  *errí.ya* 'el pueblo'
*itxí.a* 'la casa'                     *errí.ko* 'del pueblo'
*lekú.a* 'el lugar'                    *askó* 'mucho'
*lekú.ra* 'al lugar'                   *rté.ro* 'cada año'
*zortzí.yan* 'en el ocho'             *garbí.yaguak* 'más limpios'
*azpí.koz* 'de abajo'                  *lorí* 'gordo, grueso'
*guzí.tan* 'en todos'                  *eskú* 'mano'
*begí.ya* 'el ojo'                     *itsú.a* 'el ciego'

*ixtú.a* 'la saliva'                    *burú.a* 'la cabeza'
*neská* '(la) chica'                    *bí burú* 'dos cabezas'
*gurí.ya* 'blando'                      *lepú.a* 'el cuello'
*tití.yak* 'las tetas'                  *gerrí.ya* 'la cintura'
*esté* 'intestino'                      *betí.ak* 'llenos'
*illí.a* 'el pelo'                      *luzí.a* 'el largo'
*ttikí.ya* 'el pequeño'                 *abí.yan* 'en seguida'
*txokó bát.ian* 'en un rincón'          *andré bát.ek* 'una mujer'
*txokú.an* 'en el rincón'               *eulí aundí.yak* 'las moscas grandes'
*ondó.tik* 'desde el lado/fondo'        *txikí.ya* 'el pequeño'
*ondó aundí.ya* 'mucha profundidad'

b. Bases terminadas en consonante o semivocal

*egún.ian* 'en el día'                  *normál.ian* 'normalmente'
*egún.eko* 'del día'                    *baztérr.a* 'la orilla (camino)'
*azkén.eko* 'último'                    *bakótx.a* 'cada uno'
*papér.etan* 'en los papeles'          *ondárr.a* 'la arena'
*izén.a* 'el nombre'                    *barrén.dik* 'desde dentro'
*gorpútz* 'cuerpo'                      *ixúrr.a* 'el hueso'
*gizón* 'hombre'                        *gizén* 'gordo'
*ezpáñ.ak* 'los labios'                *agíñ.ak* 'las muelas'
*estúl* 'estornudo'                     *bizár* 'barba'
*totél.a* 'tartamudo'                   *masáll.ak* 'las mejillas'
*sugúrr.a* 'la nariz'                   *kokótz.a* 'la barbilla'
*bizkárr.ak* 'los hombros'             *biyótz.a* 'el corazón'
*konkórr.a* 'la joroba'                 *odól.a* 'la sangre'
*gibél.a* 'el hígado'                  *magál.ian* 'en el regazo'
*iztérr.a* 'el muslo'                   *beláun.a* 'la rodilla'
*zillár* 'plata'                        *mutúrr.a* 'el morro'
*patárr.a* 'la cuesta'                  *pattárr.a* 'el aguardiente'
*usáy.a* 'el olor'                      *ixúñ.a* 'el tobillo'
                                        *anáy.a* 'el hermano'

Existe, sin embargo, un número considerable de excepciones que presentan acento en la sílaba inicial. Prácticamente todas las bases bisilábicas con acentuación en la primera sílaba terminan en vocal:

(17)   Bases bisilábicas marcadas

*básu.an* 'en el vaso'                  *tóki.yan* 'en el lugar'
*báso.ra* 'al vaso'                     *tóki.ra* 'al lugar'
*báso.tik* 'desde el vaso'             *bésti.a* 'el otro'
*múrru.a* 'el muro'                     *áurre.ko* 'de delante'
*líbru.a* 'el libro'                    *átze.tik* 'desde atrás'
*dúda.rik báge* 'sin duda'            *árti.an* 'entre'
*gábe.kuak* 'los sin N'                *púnta.kuak* 'los punteros'
*bértso.tan* 'en verso'                *méza* '(la) misa'
*kóntu* 'cuento'                        *sántu.a* 'el santo'

*pútzu.a* 'el charco'                       *fréxko* 'fresco'
*jéndi.a* 'la gente'                        *sóñu.a* 'el sonido'
*áza* '(la) col'                            *áma* '(la) madre'
*fláko* 'flaco'                             *átta* '(el) padre'
*málku.a* 'la lágrima'                      *mútu.a* 'el mudo'
*múki.ya* 'el moco'                         *máixu.a* 'el maestro'
*pétxu.a* 'el pecho'                        *ába* '(la) boca'
*txílku.a* 'el ombligo'                     *gútxi* 'poco'
*pásmu.a* 'la pus'                          *bába* ' (el) callo, haba'
*ánka* '(la) pierna'                        *néki.a* 'el cansancio'
*bránka* '(la) cubierta (barco)'           *txístu.a* 'el chistu'
*txótxu.a* 'el grumete'                     *gíru.an* 'en el ambiente'
*sáltxa* '(la) salsa'                       *kántto* 'esquina, cobijo'
*sótu.a* 'el portal'                        *króka* 'instrumento de pesca, espec.'
*mórdo bát* 'un montón'                     *ttótta* '(el) aguardiente'
*tténtte* 'erguido'                         *xíntxo* 'leal'
*mérke* 'barato'                            *lóre-jóku.ak* 'los juegos florales'

Hay, pues, un número considerable de bases bisilábicas con acento en la sílaba inicial. Nótese, sin embargo, que todos los ejemplos en (17) terminan en vocal. Las únicas bases bisilábicas terminadas en consonante y con acento inicial que hemos encontrado son *górputz* que alterna con *gorpútz* y *árbol* que alterna con *arból*.

Con bases de más de dos sílabas, el que la base termine en vocal o en consonante aparece como factor claramente relevante. La regla es la siguiente: a/ si la base termina en vocal, el acento recae en la penúltima de la base; y b/ si la base termina en consonante, el acento recae en la última sílaba de la base. Como una consonante final de base se resilabifica con la vocal siguiente, la generalización dada requiere un orden de operaciones en que la aplicación de la regla de acentuación precede a la incorporación y silabificación de sufijos inflexionales.:

(18)   Bases de más de dos sílabas (acentuación no-marcada)
   a.  Bases terminadas en vocal
          bases trisilábicas
       *alába* '(la) hija'                    *afári.ya* 'la cena'
       *alába.k* 'las hijas'                  *afári.yak* 'las cenas'
       *alkáti.a* 'el alcalde'               *alárdi.a* 'el alarde'
       *kontráyo* 'contrario'                *txanóti.a* 'gorro'
       *euskéra.zko* 'en euskera'            *ugári.ya* 'abundante'
       *nagúsi.ya* 'el principal'            *desfíle* 'desfile'
       *nagúsi.tikan* 'por el principal'     *borróka* 'lucha'
       *batálla* '(la) batalla'              *soldáro* 'soldado'
       *famátu.ak* 'los famosos'             *itxáso* 'mar'
       *ingúru.a* 'el entorno'               *elíza.n* 'en la iglesia'
       *osába* '(el) tío'                    *arági.ya* 'la carne'
       *izéba* '(la) tía'                    *estárri.ya* 'la garganta'
       *arréba* '(la) hermana'               *asnási.ya* 'la respiración'

amóna '(la) abuela'                           kopéta '(la) frente"
attóna '(el) abuelo'                          arpégi.ya 'la cara'
egóki.ya 'el adecuado'                        belárri.ya 'la oreja'
itxúsi.ya 'el feo'                            epúrdi.ya 'las nalgas'
uéldu.a 'el golpe'                            izérdi.ya 'el sudor'
oñáze 'sufrimiento'                           ostíko 'patada'
istánti.an 'al instante'                      illárgi.yak 'la luna ,erg'
matríllu.akiñ 'con el martillo'              ollásku.a 'el pollo'
kapélo 'boina'                                tankéra 'aspecto'
xelébri.a 'el curioso'                        txintxírri.ya 'el cencerro'
arrópa '(la) ropa'                            kaxóta '(la) chabola'
mantúsa 'fardo'                               motxóte 'bajo y fuerte'

                  bases de más de tres sílabas

ziringíllu.a 'la lagartija'                   matxapéta 'palo de matar atunes'
kalamártza '(el) bogavante'                   sakarállu.a 'pez, espec.'
denbo(r)áli.a 'el temporal'                   salabárdu.a 'salabardo'
illabéte 'mes'                                kapusántu.a 'cementerio'
desafíyu.a 'el desafío'                       soziedádi.a 'la sociedad'
emakúmi.a 'la mujer'                          txokoláti.a 'el chocolate'
karramárru.ak 'los cangrejos'                txistulári.yakerì 'a los txistularis'
berrikéta 'conversación'                      estropára '(la) regata'
astokéri.ya 'burrada'                         tanborráda '(la) tamborrada'
lapurréta '(el) robo'                         barkazíyu.akiñ 'con perdón'
tentazíyu.a ' la tentación'                   atarraméndu.a 'resultado'
konparazíyo 'comparación'                     bertsolári.ya 'el bertsolari'
txistulári.yakentzàt 'para los txistularis'  bertsolarítza '(el) bertsolarismo'
                                              ainttári 'autoridad'

b. Bases de más de dos sílabas terminadas en consonante

nolopátt 'de algún modo'                      ezagún.a 'el conocido'
aberáts.a 'el rico'                           kapitán.a 'el capitán'
giltzurdíñ.a 'el riñón'                       ostirál 'viernes'
berberíñ.a 'el salmonete'                     astizkén.a 'el miércoles'
okabíll.a 'el puño'                           alargún.ak 'los viudos'
arrosél.a 'el besugo'                         kanibél.a 'la caña'
erozéñ 'cualquiera'                           betezál.a 'párpado'
Jaizkibél                                     kukulútx.a 'tosferina'
aprapós 'aposta'                              kazkalabárr.a 'granizo'
maitasún 'amor'                               astelén.a 'el lunes'
osasún.a 'la salud'                           ostegún 'jueves'
irundárr.ekiñ 'con los de Irún'              irabaztún 'vencedor'
zegamárr.a 'el de Zegama'                     euskaldún.a 'el vasco'

Mientras que las bases trisilábicas terminadas en vocal, como alába permiten una
interpretación donde la regla es que el acento cae en la segunda sílaba, las palabras con
bases de un mayor número de sílabas o terminadas en consonante, como *matxapéta*,

*giltzurdíña* o *kazkalabárra* claramente demuestran que esta interpretación es errónea. El acento se asigna contando desde la derecha, esto es, desde el final de la base.

Hay algunas excepciones al patrón acentual que los ejemplos en (18) ilustran; pero estas excepciones son pocas. En su mayoría las excepciones son palabras esdrújulas castellanas que mantienen su acentuación original:

(19)   *fábrika* '(la) fábrica'          *mákiña bát* 'un montón'
      *dénbora* 'el tiempo'           *músika* '(la) música'
      *mériyo* 'medio'              *txúrmiyu.a* 'el tobillo'
      *bíziyu.a* 'el vicio'            *afíziyo* 'afición'
      *gañíkera* 'además'           *ofíziyo* 'oficio'
      *múskillu.a* 'el mejillón'       *íngriya* '(la) envidia'

En el terreno de los préstamos es interesante notar el corrimiento del acento a la derecha en una palabra como *envidia* que da *inbiríya*. Algunos hablante de avanzada edad con un conocimiento limitado del castellano también producen formas como *telefónua*. Estos ejemplos son una indicación de cuál es el patrón de acentuación no marcado en el dialecto de Hondarribia. El movimiento del acento a la izquierda en *afíziyo*, por otra parte, ha de atribuirse a la analogía con palabras como *ofíziyo*, donde la acentuación corresponde a la castellana.

Un caso especial es el de palabras que llevan el sufijo castellano *-ería* 'lugar, especialmente establecimiento comercial' ya se trate de préstamos directos de esta lengua, como *pasteleríya* 'pastelería', o de formaciones analógicas, como *mataderíya* 'el matadero'. Estas palabras conservan la acentuación castellana. Esta acentuación coincidiría también con la dada por las reglas generales del sistema de Hondarribia si la /-a/ final se analiza como parte de la base. Estas serían bases terminadas en vocal que recibirían acento en la penúltima. El problema es que estas palabras parecen tener una base terminada en /-eri/ y no en /-eria/, como puede verse en ejemplos como *mataderíra* 'al matadero' o *irú karnizerí* 'tres carnicerías'. Nótese que esta acentuación contrasta con la de palabras con la misma terminación que no contienen el sufijo que designa establecimientos comerciales, como *bertsolári.ya* y con la de palabras con el sufijo /-keri/ como *zakurkéri* 'perrería' o *txorakéri* 'locura'. Similar a este caso es el de palabras como *inbiríya* y *perlesí.ya* que tendrían una acentuación regular si la última *-a* se interpretase como parte de la base, pero en realidad presentan acento final: *inbirí andí.ya* 'gran envidia'.

Para resumir hasta ahora. Las generalizaciones que hemos encontrado son las siguientes:

(20)  1. Si la base es monosilábica el acento recae en la sílaba inicial (sin ninguna excepción).
     2. Si la base es bisilábica el acento recae sobre la segunda sílaba. Hay, sin embargo un grupo grande de bases bisilábicas terminadas en vocal que se acentúan en la primera sílaba.
     3. a. Si la base tiene más de dos sílabas y termina en vocal, el acento recae en la penúltima sílaba de la base.
        b. Si la base tiene más de dos sílabas y termina en consonante, el acento recae en la última sílaba de la base.

Tal como están formuladas, las generalizaciones en (20) son difíciles de reducir a una sola regla. Nótese sin embargo que la situación es muy distinta si consideramos que el patrón ilustrado en (17) y representado por palabras como *tókiya* es el patrón no-marcado, y que ejemplos como los dados en (16a) del tipo *lekúa* representan la excepción a la regla. Si adoptamos esta posición entonces es posible postular una sola regla básica de acentuación para el sistema de Hondarribia:

(21) Asígnese acento a la penultima sílaba de bases terminadas en vocal y a la última de bases terminadas en consonante.

La regla dada en (21) es la misma que tenemos en castellano. Como en esta lengua, no es una regla que carezca de excepciones léxicas. Debemos preguntarnos ahora si hay algún motivo para no adoptar (21) como regla de acentuación básica en el euskera de Hondarribia. Existe un motivo interdialectal que es que en otros dialectos guipuzcoanos y vizcaínos la acentuación en la primera sílaba constituye indudablemente el patrón marcado. Pero estas consideraciones comparativas no pueden entrar en el análisis sincrónico de un sistema concreto. La marcadez del patrón representado por palabras como *tóki* es mucho menos clara para el euskera de Hondarribia que para otros dialectos. Si tomamos en cuenta sólo las bases bisilábicas terminadas en vocal, hay números más o menos grandes de ejemplos para cada una de las dos acentuaciones posibles. Cuando consideramos que, además, en bases de un mayor número de sílabas hay una clara distinción entre bases terminadas en vocal y bases terminadas en consonante, los argumentos en contra de (21) como regla básica no son excesivamente fuertes. Con todo, tanto consideraciones numéricas como el hecho de que una gran parte de bases bisilábicas con acento inicial sean préstamos hacen que nos resistamos a proponer el simple análisis de (21).

## 4. Palabras compuestas

En palabras compuestas cuya estructura y significado son transparentes, cada miembro del compuesto puede llevar su propio acento como lo llevaría por separado:

(22) *lóre-jóku.ak* 'juegos florales'
*óngi-etórri.ya* 'la bienvenida'
*egá.luxí.a* 'atún' (lit. 'aleta larga')
*Jangóiko-artzálli.ak* 'los alabarderos' (lit. 'prendedores de Dios')
*begí-ñiñíku.a* 'la pupila del ojo'
*áu.sapáy.a* 'el paladar'
*illé.gorrí* 'pelirrojo'
*gótti.náy.a* 'náusea'
*urdáy.azpí.kúa* 'el jamón'
*aríñ-aríñ.a* 'tipo de danza'
*eskú-mutúrr.a* 'la muñeca'

Con algunas palabras hay variación entre el mantenimiento o la supresión del acento del primer miembro del compuesto. Los mismos hechos se dan en ciertos casos de derivación: *sagárdo.tégi.tik* 'desde la sidrería'

Interesantemente, en algunos casos de unión estrecha con sólo un acento primario se aplica una regla de reacentuación. El acento del compuesto recae sobre el segundo miembro, pero sobre una sílaba diferente de la que portaría el acento en una palabra no-compuesta. Hay un número de ejemplos en que el segundo miembro del compuesto es una base bisilábica que por sí sola lleva el acento en la segunda sílaba y que en el compuesto lleva el acento en su primera sílaba:

(23) palabra simple                     palabra compuesta
    *ontzí* 'receptáculo'              *itzóntzi* 'charlatán'
                                         *pixóntzi* 'meón, vejiga'
    *errí.ya* 'el pueblo'              *basérri.ya* 'el caserío' (también *baserríya*)
    *txurí.ya* 'el blanco'             *batxúri.ya* 'el ajo'.

Este cambio de acentuación supone una regularización con el patrón de bases no compuestas terminadas en vocal y de igual número de sílabas.

## 5. Formas verbales

La acentuación de los participios verbales se ajusta a las mismas reglas que la de los nombres y adjetivos. La gran mayoría de los participios bisilábicos presentan acento en la última sílaba: *bildú* 'recoger', *artú* 'tomar', *lotú* 'atar', *sartú* 'entrar', *eldú* 'venir', *jarrí* (o *jartú*) 'poner', *así* 'empezar', *erré* 'quemar', *beté* 'llenar', *itó* 'ahogar', *emán* 'dar, llevar'. Hay muy pocas excepciones, entre ellas *bóta* 'echar', *pása* 'pasar' y *lája* 'dejar' (pero coexistiendo con *lajátu*). En participios de más de dos sílabas el acento está en la penúltima: *irúki* 'tener', *nekátu* 'cansar', *ikúxi* (o *ekúxi*) 'ver', *iduríttu* 'parecer', *entendíttu* 'entender', *ezagútu* 'conocer', *pallakátu* 'acariciar', *eskribíttu* 'escribir'. La mayoría de las formas verbales conjugadas son bisílabas y presentan acento final: *zerá* 'eres', *zazté* 'sois', *dugú* 'tenemos', *nitzén* '(yo) era', etc.

## 6. Conclusión

En este artículo, hemos presentado una descripción de los hechos acentuales en el habla de Hondarribia. El examen de los datos muestra que en Hondarribia la regla básica de acentuación no asigna acento primario contando a partir del principio de la palabra, como se ha venido asumiendo por varios autores para las hablas de la zona, sino que la computación es a partir del final de la base. En esta computación es un elemento relevante el que la base termine en sílaba abierta (en vocal) o en sílaba cerrada (en consonante o semivocal). El examen de la acentuación de palabras con bases suficientemente largas permite llegar a esta conclusión. De todas formas, es más que posible que otras hablas de la cuenca del Bidasoa se ajusten a la regla que proponen Holmer y Michelena de acentuación en la segunda sílaba contando desde la izquierda. Los hablantes de Hondarribia son de hecho conscientes de que en Irún algunas palabras se acentúan de manera diferente. En lo que coincide nuestras observaciones con las de otros investigadores anteriores es en que la unidad acentual en Hondarribia es la base y no la palabra entera con sufijos inflexionales. Esta parece ser la característica fundamental del tipo acentual del Bidasoa (véase Hualde 1988 para el habla de Labayen). No es, sin embargo, ésta una característica exclusiva de las hablas de es-

ta zona. También el dialecto de Oñati presenta la misma situación de que como unidad acentual se toma sólo la base y no la palabra entera; con el resultado que si la base es monosilábica el acento recaerá sobre la sílaba inicial (véase Hualde 1989: 299-301).

Al contar desde la derecha (desde el final de la base), el sistema de Hondarribia se sale de la tipología establecida por Txillardegi (1984: 16-18), según la cual en vasco habría un tipo occidental que incluiría la zona del Bidasoa y donde la regla básica sería acento en la segunda sílaba a partir de la izquierda, y un tipo oriental donde el acento se asignaría a la segunda sílaba de la palabra a partir de la derecha (a la penúltima). De cualquier modo, la clasificación de Txillardegi carece de todo fundamento. Como se demuestra en Hualde (1991), dialectos como los de Getxo, Gernika y Lekeitio asignan acento primario contando a partir de la derecha, aunque el algoritmo es bastante más complicado que esto en esos dialectos vizcaínos. En el sistema de Oñati, por otra parte, la regla de acentuación sí es en la segunda de la base a partir de la izquierda.

Como hemos reiterado en otras ocasiones, el estudio detallado y que se salga de lo meramente anecdótico de sistemas acentuales concretos en los diversos dialectos vascos es una tarea fundamental para avanzar en el conocimiento en este campo y llegar eventualmente a generalizaciones sincrónicas o diacrónicas. En lo que nos concierne es este momento, se impone ahora el estudio de hablas vecinas a Hondarribia para poder llegar a conocer los parámetros de variación dentro del tipo general de la cuenca del Bidasoa y también para saber si es cierto que hay una división tajante entre este tipo acentual y los sistemas de zonas circundantes, como se ha venido asumiendo.

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# Asymmetries in Hungarian (y III)

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## 6. Wh-STRATEGIES IN HUNGARIAN

### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses strategies of *long Wh-movement* in Hungarian. Before doing so, let us first consider some properties of this phenomenon in English.

Compare the following paradigm:

(1)   a. You think that *Mary* saw *John*
      b. *Who* do you think *t* saw John?
      c. *Who* do you think that Mary saw *t*?

(1a) examplifies a declarative sentence with an embedded *that*-clause. This clause contains a subject NP and an object NP, namely *Mary* and *John*. In (1b), the former is questioned, and in (1c) the latter. Observe that the Wh-phrases are fronted into the matrix sentence. This type of construction has been referred to in the literature as *long Wh-movement*.

Generally speaking, it applies only if the matrix verb is a so-called '*bridge-verb*'. Bridge verbs belong semantically to the class of verbs of *knowing*, *saying* and *perception*. For example, the verb *brag*, unlike *think* in (1), does not qualify as a bridge for long Wh-movement. Compare (1b) and (2):

(2)   *\*Who* did you brag t saw John?

So, the questioning of an embedded NP in English takes place by applying long Wh-movement. The question arises whether other natural languages employ a similar strategy. Let us therefore turn to Hungarian.

The distribution of long Wh-movement is subject to dialectal variation (cf. section 5.3.7.1.). Roughly, there are two dialects, namely Hungarian I and Hungarian *II*. For speakers of the former, it is completely acceptable. Speakers of the latter, on the other hand, accept this phenomenon only quite marginally. It may appear that this dialectal variation is not so sharp as I suggest. However, a number of native-speakers consulted have great difficulties with overt long Wh-movement. Some of them reject it entirely. The question arises of course what the grammatical equivalent of long Wh-movement is for those speakers.

Consider the following pair:

(3)  a. *Kit*       gondolsz       hogy János látott       *t?*
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg that John  saw-AGR3sg
         'Who do you think (that) John saw?'
     b. *Mit*       gondolsz       hogy János *kit*       látott?
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg that John  who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
         'Who do you think (that) John saw?'

(3a) is an instance of long Wh-movement. The embedded accusative Wh-phrase *kit* is fronted into the matrix clause. (4b) exemplifies the other strategy of questioning an embedded NP. This strategy has first been observed in De Meij and Marácz (1986) who refer to it as the *mit-strategy*. The main characteristic of this strategy is that the embedded Wh-phrase in (4b) *kit* remains in the Focus-position of its own (embedded) clause. In the matrix sentence, a 'dummy' Wh-phrase appears, *mit* 'what-ACC', which reflects the scope of the real Wh-phrase.

Hungarian *I* employs long Wh-movement to question an embedded NP, similar to English. Hungarian *II*, on the other hand, does this with the help of the *mit*-strategy. The following questions can be asked in connection with the two types of Wh-strategies: What are the consequences of the occurrence of these phenomena for the grammar of Hungarian and the theory of grammar in general?

I will assume that this dialectal variation is due to a *parameter*, namely, the one which is responsible for the distinction between languages with overt Wh-movement like English and languages with a Wh in-situ strategy like Chinese and Japanese (cf. Huang 1982, Lasnik and Saito 1984, Chomsky 1986a: 75). Compare:[1]

(4)  *+/-move Wh*

Hungarian *I* is specified positively for this parameter. Hence, overt Wh-movement applies. Hungarian *II*, however, is specified negatively for (4), that is, overt movement is absent. If this parametric difference is real, we may expect that other phenomena are intrinsically dependent on the setting of this parameter. I will demonstrate that this is the case with the verbal conjugation in multiple long Wh-movement, the distribution of parasitic gaps and resumptive pronouns.

The existence of the two Wh-strategies in Hungarian provides empirical evidence for the *Correspondence Hypothesis*:

(5)  *Correspondence Hypothesis*
     Whenever there is a syntactic reflex of the assignment of (wide) scope, the dependency involved and long Wh-movement obey the same conditions on government and bounding

A consequence of this a hypothesis is that there is no need to postulate a separate level for the representation of scope known as Logical Form (LF) in the linguistic literature. However, the unification between overt long Wh-movement and Wh in-situ has, somewhat disappointingly, hardly been a major tenet of research in recent years. Rather, on the basis of the observation made by Huang (1982) that Wh in-situ in Chinese does not obey locality conditions, it has generally been assumed that

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(1) I do not attribute independent status to move α, as I argued in connection with split constituents (cf. section 4.6.). With Koster (1987: 34), I will assume that move α is essentially a subcase of a general transfer mechanism which transmits Case and lexical content, but no θ-role.

wide scope-assignment is not restricted by Subjacency. Thus, the fact that this principle is not operative at LF has been taken as argument for its independent existence. Correspondence effects in Hungarian, however, seem to argue against this.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. Section 6.2. discusses the properties of long Wh-movement. Section 6.3. argues that it is a strictly local phenomenon which applies in a successive cyclic fashion. The following facts will be shown to support this: Overt long Wh-movement is sanctioned by bridge verbs, it may not violate island conditions, it leaves a Wh-trace, and it lacks *that*-trace effects.

Section 6.4. will propose an analysis of long Wh-movement. Section 6.5. deals with the properties of the *mit*-strategy. Section 6.6. will present an analysis of this strategy with its correspondence effects. Section 6.7. investigates some consequences of these different Wh-strategies. The parameter +/-*move Wh* empirically involves some other unbounded dependencies across languages which apply successive cyclicly. Conceptually itbears on the relation between long distance movement and the Projection Principle. Finally, section 6.8. presents some remarks about the status of LF in a theory of grammar.

### 6.2. Long Wh-movement in Hungarian

This section examines *overt* long Wh-movement in Hungarian, as opposed to the *mit*-strategy (cf. section 6.5.). I will heavily rely on the observations made in Horvath (1981, 1986: chapter four) and É. Kiss (1981, 1985, 1987: chapter three).

Consider the following sentences:

(1)  a. *Kit*       gondolsz            *(hogy) *t* látta                    Jánost?
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef  that    saw-AGR3sg-def  John-ACC
         'Who do you think (*that) saw John?'

     b. *Kit*       gondolsz            *(hogy) János látott                    *t*?
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef  that  John saw-AGR3sg-indef
         'Who do you think (that) John saw?'

(2)  a. *Melyik fiút*       gondolod          *(hogy) *t* látta                    Jánost?
         which  boy-ACC think-AGR2sg-def  that    saw-AGR3sg-def John-ACC
         'Which boy do you think (*that) saw John?'

     b. *Melyik fiút*       gondolod          *(hogy) János látta                    *t*?
         which  boy-ACC think-AGR2sg-def  that  John saw-AGR3sg-def
         'Which boy do you think (that) John saw?'

These examples are instances of long Wh-movement. In (1a) and (1b), the indefinite Wh-phrase *ki* is fronted, and in (2a) and (2b) the definite Wh-phrase *melyik NP* is fronted. Note that this phenomenon applies both with the subject (cf. (1a), (2a)) and with the object (cf. (1b), (2b)) (cf. also section 5.4.2.3.).

The acceptability of these sentences is subject to dialectal variation. In fact, a number of my informants hardly accept this strategy for forming embedded Wh-questions at all (cf. also Komlósy 1986). However, from the literature it is clear that these instances of long Wh-movement do occur. É. Kiss (1981) points out that this phenomenon has even been discussed by traditional linguists, for instance by Zolnay (1926). The occurrence of long Wh-movement is especially frequent in the spoken language

(cf. also De Groot 1981, Horvath 1981; 1986: ch.4, É. Kiss 1981; 1985; 1987: ch.3, Szalamin 1978, Szamosi 1976, and Anna Szabolcsi, personal communication).

Let us turn to a discussion of the sentences above: I will discuss the following syntactic and semantic properties of long Wh-movement:

(3)  A. The obligatory presence of the complementizer
     B. The anticipatory pronoun corresponding to the clause from which extraction takes place may not be spelled out
     C. Case change of the Wh-moved subject
     D. Morphological adjustment of the matrix verb
     E. Long Wh-movement is an instance of long Focus-movement
     F. The gap at the extraction site must remain non-overt
     G. Long Wh-movement is allowed by bridge verbs
     H. The scope of moved Wh-phrases is its S-structure position

(A) In ((1a), (1b)) and ((2a), (2b)), the embedded nominative subject and the accusative object Wh-phrase are extracted from the embedded clause. With long Wh-movement in Hungarian the complementizer *hogy* must be *obligatorily* present in order to avoid ungrammaticality (cf. section 5.4.2.3.). In English, however, the complementizer *that* must be dropped in case of subject-extraction, whereas the complementizer is optional with object-extraction (see, section 5.4.2.3. for an analysis of this dichotomy).[2]

(B) Consider the underlying representations of (1) and (2):

(4)  a. Gondolod       azt      [CP hogy *ki* látta          Jánost]
        think-AGR2sg that-ACC      that who saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
     b. Gondolod       azt      [CP hogy János *kit*         látott]
        think-AGR2sg that-ACC      that John who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
     c. Gondolod       azt      [CP hogy *melyik fiú* látta    Jánost]
        think-AGR2sg that-ACC      that which boy saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
     d. Gondolod       azt      [CP hogy János *melyik fiút*   látta]
        think-AGR2sg that-ACC      that John which boy-ACC saw-AGR3sg

The matrix verb *gondol* subcategorizes for an accusative object, categorially a CP. *Hogy*-clauses cannot be base-generated in an A-position, because of the CRP (cf. 4.5.(14)). Hence, they are in a non-A-position and linked to a 'dummy' anticipatory pronoun that absorbs its Case- and θ-features. In (4), the anticipatory pronoun *az* is therefore accusatively marked. Note now that the anticipatory pronoun may *not* be spelled out if an embedded NP is long Wh-moved:

(5)  a. *Kit        gondolsz      azt      [CP hogy látta          Jánost
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg that-ACC      that saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
     b. *Kit        gondolsz      azt      [CP hogy János látott]
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg that-ACC      that John saw-AGR3sg

---

(2) Aoun et al. (1987) report that the complementizer is optional in the intermediate clause with subject-extraction from a multiple embedded Wh-question:

(i)  Who do you think [CP (*that*) Mary said [CP (**that**) saw John]]

In Hungarian, however, the complementizer must always be present, also in the counterpart of (i):

(ii) Kit        gondolsz      [CP *(*hogy*) Mari mondott [CP *(*hogy*) látta          Jánost]]
     Who-ACC think-AGR2sg      that Mary said-AGR3sg  that saw-AGR3sg John-ACC

    c. *Melyik fiút    gondolod    azt    [CP hogy látta    Jánost]
       which boy-ACC think-AGR2sg that-ACC    that saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
    d. *Melyik fiút    gondolod    azt    [CP hogy János látta]
       boy-ACC think-AGR2sg that-ACC    that John saw-AGR3sg

(*C*) In Hungarian, subjects are in general nominatively marked (cf. 3.2. (7a)). An extracted embedded subject Wh-phrase ends up accusatively marked when it is moved (cf. section 5.3.7.1.). Thus, a nominative Wh-phrase undergoes a morphological *Case change*, as may be observed from (1a) and (2a). Non-nominative Wh-phrases, on the other hand, retain their cases during the derivation like the embedded accusative Wh-phrases in (1b) and (2b), or Wh-phrases with a lexical phrase:

(6)    a. *Kinek*    gondolod    [CP hogy János könyvet adott    *t*]
        who-DAT think-AGR2sg-def    that John book-ACC gave-AGR3sg-indef
        'To whom do you think that John gave a book?'
    b. *Kivel*    szeretnéd    [CP hogy Mari beszéljen    *t*]
        who-INSTR like-COND-AGR2sg-def    that Mary speak-SUBJ-AGR3sg-indef
        'With whom would you like that Mary should speak?'
    c. *Kitöl*    gondolod    [CP hogy Mari könyvet    kapott    *t*]
        who-ABL think-AGR2sg-def    that Mary book-ACC got-AGR3sg-indef
        'From whom do you think Mary got a book?'

In (6a)-(6c), the embedded verbs *ad* 'give', *beszél* 'speak', and *kap* 'get' subcategorize for a lexical dative, instrumental, and ablative. These cases are spelled out on the extracted Wh-phrases. Thus, no Case change occurs, as with extracted nominative Wh-phrases.

(*D*) The Hungarian verb displays two different types of conjugational patterns, the *indefinite* and *definite* conjugation (cf. section 4.2.1.). The descriptive rule 4.2.(2), here repeated as (7), captures their distribution:

(7)    The definite paradigm is triggered in case the accusative object of the verb is definite, otherwise the indefinite paradigm is triggered

We classified *who*-phrases as (properly) indefinite triggering indefinite conjugation on the verb, and *which*-phrases as (inherently) definite triggering definite conjugation on the verb. Recall further that embedded clauses and names count as definite. Consider again (4a) and (4b), here repeated as (8a) and (8b):

(8)    a. Gondolod    azt    [CP hogy *ki* látta    Jánost]
        think-AGR2sg-def that-ACC    that who saw-AGR3sg-def John-ACC
    b. Gondolod    azt    [CP hogy János *kit*    látott]
        think-AGR2sg-def that-ACC    that John who-ACC saw-AGR3sg-indef

The matrix verb in these sentences has definite conjugation because its accusative object is a (definite) embedded clause. The embedded verb in (8a) also appears in the definite conjugation because its accusative object is a name, and the embedded verb in (8b) has indefinite conjugation because its accusative object is a *kit*-phrase.

Compare now the counterparts of the cases in (8) with long Wh-movement:

(9)    a. *Kit*    gondolsz    [CP hogy *t* látta    Jánost]
        who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef    that    saw-AGR3sg-def John-ACC

b. *Kit*         gondolsz        [$_{CP}$ hogy János látott        *t*]
who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef    that John  saw-AGR3sg-indef

If the indefinite nominative subject or accusative object Wh-phrase is fronted into the matrix sentence, the matrix verb has indefinite conjugation. Hence, the matrix verb in these sentences displays a *morphological adjustment*.

As a consequence, there is always an *agreement correspondence* between the matrix verb and the embedded verb when an accusative Wh-phrase is extracted. In case of a definite Wh-phrase like *melyik fiút* in (2b), both the matrix verb and the embedded verb are conjugated definitely, and in case of an indefinite phrase like *kit* in (9b), both the matrix and the embedded verb are conjugated indefinitely.

(6) shows that this phenomenon appears only with extracted nominative or accusative indefinite Wh-phrases but not with extracted Wh-phrases with lexical case. In the latter cases, the matrix verb keeps its definite conjugation. This dichotomy is another instance of an asymmetry. Therefore, we may add it to the asymmetries in 5.4.(5).

(E) Wh-moved NPs must land in the Focus-position, left-adjacent to the finite verb (cf. 2.1.(28d)). In fact, any NP of a *hogy*-clause may be fronted into the matrix clause, provided that it lands in this position:

(10) a. [$_{CP}$ *JÁNOST* gondolod        [$_{CP}$ hogy *t*  látott]]
         John-ACC think-AGR2sg-def    that    saw-AGR3sg-def
         'It is John who you think saw me.'
     b. [$_{CP}$ *MARIT*    gondolod        [$_{CP}$ hogy láttam        *t*]]
         Mary-ACC think-AGR2sg-def    that saw-AGR1sg-def
         'It is Mary who you think that I saw.'
     c. János [$_{CP}$ *MARINAK*  akarja        [$_{CP}$ hogy Péter könyvet    adjon      *t*]]
         John      Mary-DAT want-AGR3sg-def that Peter book-ACC give-SUBJ-
                                                                                          AGR3sg
         'It is Mary who John wants that Peter gives a book to.'

We may conclude from this paradigm that long Wh-movement is a subcase of *long Focus-movement*. Both construction types display the same properties.[3] Henceforth, I will refer to long distance movement in Hungarian as long Wh/Focus-movement.

(F) The counterparts of the sentences in (1) and (2) are ungrammatical with an overt personal pronoun *ő* 'he' spelled out at the extraction site:[4]

(11) a. *Kit         gondolsz        [$_{CP}$ hogy *ő*  látta          Jánost]
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg    that he saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
     b. *Kit         gondolsz        [$_{CP}$ hogy János látott        *t*]
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg    that John  saw-AGR3sg
     c. *Melyik fiút    gondolod        [$_{CP}$ hogy *ő*  látta          Jánost]
         which boy-ACC think-AGR2sg    that he saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
     d. *Melyik fiút    gondolod        [$_{CP}$ hogy János látta         *őt*]
         which boy-ACC think-AGR2sg    that John  saw-AGR3sg him

(3) This is the case in Dutch as well. Compare (ia) which is a case of long Focus-movement, with (ib) which is a case of long Wh-movement:
(i) a. *JAN*   denk  jij  [$_{CP}$ dat ik *t* zag]        b. *Wie*  denk  jij  [$_{CP}$ dat ik *t* zag]
       JOHN think you    that I    saw                    Who think you    that I    saw
(4) The third person accusative pronoun may only appear with the definite conjugation (cf. section 4.2.1.).Therefore, (11b) is undetermined with respect to the prohibition on the spelling out of the Wh-gap.

This paradigm shows that the gap at the extraction site must remain *non-overt*. In the next section, I will determine whether it is a Wh-trace or a non-overt resumptive pronoun.

(G) In Hungarian, like in other languages, long Wh-movement is only possible in the context of the class of verbs called *bridge verbs*:[5]

> (12) *Állít* 'state', *akar* 'want', *elképzel* 'imagine', *említ* 'mention', *érez* 'feel', *észrevesz* 'observe', *gondol* 'think', *hall* 'hear', *hisz* 'believe', *(meg)ígér* 'promise', *javasol* 'propose', *kérdez* 'interrogate', *kíván* 'wish', *lát* 'see', *mond* 'say', *remél* 'hope', *szeret* 'like', *szeretne* 'would like', *jól teszik* 'well do', *tud* 'know', *várt* 'wait'

These verbs semantically belong to the verbs of *knowing, saying* and *perception*. It is a well-known fact that such verbs in other languages belong to the same semantic classes as well. All the verbs in (12) assign accusative Case to their object. If it is an embedded clause, this Case is spelled out on the dummy anticipatory pronoun *az* 'that' (cf. (3B)). However, most of these verbs may also select a case-frame with a lexically marked object. I will return to the latter cases in the following section.

(H) Let us consider now what a felicitous answer to the Wh-questions in (1), (2), or (6) would be. The answers to (1a) and (2a) may be, for instance, *Péter* 'Peter-NOM', to (1b) and (2b), for instance, *Pétert* 'Peter-ACC', and to (6) respectively *Péternek* 'Peter-DAT', *Péterrel* 'Peter-INSTR', or *Pétertöl* 'Peter-ABL'. From this it follows that Wh-phrases takes scope *over* the other constituents in the clause.

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(5) There is another set of bridge verbs/predicates in Hungarian which involve the following samples, among others, *nem árt* 'not do harm', *bizonyos* 'be sure', *biztos* 'be sure' *ereje van (nincs)* '(not) have enough strength', *érthetö* 'it is understandable', *eszébe jut* 'come across ones mind', *az az érzésem* 'it is my feeling', *hajszálon múlik* 'it is a near touch', *igaz* 'be true', *jól* 'be well', *jól voina* 'it would be good', *jobb lenne* 'it would be better', *kár* 'be a pity', *kell* 'need', *úgy látszik* 'seem', *közömbös* 'it is indifferent', *lehet* 'may', *lehetetlen* 'impossible', *mintegy* 'it makes no difference', *nyilvánvaló* 'it is obvious', *nincs* 'there is no', *örül az ember* 'be glad', *régen (van)* 'it is a long time ago', *ritkaság* 'it is exceptional', *szabad* 'may', *természetesen* 'it is natural', *úgy tünik* 'seem', *valószínü* 'probable' and *van* 'be'. These predicates, contrary to the ones in (12), do not allow long Wh-movement but rather long Left Dislocation (cf. De Groot 1981a, É. Kiss 1987a, Szalamin 1987, and Zolnay 1926). Compare, for example:

(i) *Mária,* sokan azt     gondolják     [CP (hogy) megkapja    az állást   *pro*]
    Mary    many that-ACC think-AGR3pl-def     that   gel-AGR3sg the job-ACC
    'As for Mary, many peoble think that she will get the job.'
    (É. Kiss 1987a: 149)

This construction displays the following properties, among others:

(ii) a. The fronted NP appears clause-initially
    b. The fronted NP is not in Focus
    c. The anticipatory pronoun may be spelled out
    d. The scope of the fronted NP is restricted to the embedded clause
    e. The fronted NP retains always its case marker
    f. There is no agreement between the fronted NP and the matrix verb
    g. Several NPs may be left-dislocated
    h. CNPC may be violated
    i. The complementizer *hogy* may be dropped

From a comparison between (ii) and (3) it appears that long Left Dislocation has different properties from long Wh/Focus-movement. É. Kiss (1987a) argues, following Cinque (1982), that the fronted NP is base-generated in the left-dislocation position, and that it is linked to a resumptive small *pro* which provides its scope-, Case- and θ-features. (See also chapter 7, note 25 for the status of the gap in long Left Dislocation).

There is a difference between English and Hungarian with the scope of Wh-phrases in long Wh-movement. Haïk (1984) observes that in English it is restricted to the domain in which it has been base-generated. Hence, in order to determine the scope of an extracted Wh-phrase with respect to another NP not the position of the Wh-phrase should be considered but rather the position of its trace.

For example, in the following sentence the extracted Wh-phrase doesn't have scope over the existential quantifier in the matrix sentence:

(13)  *Which men* did someone say that Mary likes *t*?
       (Haïk 1984: 195)

If this Wh-question has an answer as *John and Bill*, it cannot be verified by states of affairs in which different persons did the saying, for example, if $x$ said that Mary likes John and $y$ said that Mary likes Bill, and $x$ is not identical to $y$. However, an extracted Wh-phrase may always have scope over an NP of the clause it is an argument of:

(14)  *Which men* did Mary say that some woman loved *t*?
       (Haïk 1984: 196)

In this example, *some woman* may be in the scope of the plural Wh-phrase *which men*. An answer to (14) like *John and Bill* may be verified by a situation in which *John and Bill* are loved by a different woman. Hence, the scope of a Wh-phrase in English is determined by the position of its trace.

In Hungarian, on the other hand, this depends on the S-structure position of the Wh-phrase *itself*. Consider the Hungarian equivalents of (13) and (14):

(15)  a. *Mely   férfiakat*    mondta         valaki  hogy Mari szereti      *t*?
         which  men-ACC    said-AGR3sg-def someone that Mary love-AGR3sg-def
         'Which men did someone say that Mary loved?'
      b. *Mely   férfiakat*    mondta         Mari hogy valaki    szereti    *t*?
         which  men-ACC    said-AGR3sg-def Mary that someone love-AGR3sg-def
         'Which men did Mary say that someone loved?'

In (15a), in contrast to English (13), it is possible that different persons did the saying in case the answer to the question is *John and Bill*, for example. Kenesei (1986b) notes that existential quantifiers can never take scope over Wh-phrases, if both phrases are complements of the same predicate. This constraint cannot, however, interfere in this sentence because the existential *valaki* is base-generated in a higher predicative domain than the Wh-phrase *mely férfiakat*. From this dichotomy it follows that in English Wh-scope is determined by the trace of Wh-movement, whereas in Hungarian the S-structure position of the extracted Wh-phrase itself is decisive.

(15b) has a reading similar to (14) in English. This is due to the fact that the moved Wh-phrase in this sentence is in a higher domain at S-structure, the matrix clause, than the existential quantifier, that is, in the embedded clause. Therefore, it may include the existential quantifier in its scope.

The following pair also displays this dichotomy between Hungarian and English:

(16)  a. *Melyik számot*      gondolod         hogy mindenki
         which  number-ACC think-AGR2sg-def that  everyone
         emlékszik            hogy választotta    *t*?
         remember-AGR3sg that chose-AGR3sg-def
         'Which number do you think that everyone remembers that he chose?'

b. Mindenki emlékszik    hogy *melyik számot*    választotta
everyone remember-AGR3sg that which  number-ACC chose-AGR3sg-def
'Everyone remembers that he chose which number'

In (16a), a Wh-phrase is fronted into the matrix sentence from the most deeply embedded clause. The intermediate clause contains a universal quantifier. In (16b), however, it remains in the domain where it is base-generated. This yields an echo-question.

The English equivalents of these sentences involve a pair-reading listing different people who remember a particular number. So, an answer to question (16a) in English could be: "I think that Peter remembers that he chose 8, Mary remembers that she chose 6, and so on...". Such a pair-reading is also possible with the English variant of (16b). These pair-readings in English are due to the fact that in both sentences the universal quantifier is base-generated in a higher domain than the Wh-phrase. So, it may take scope over the Wh-phrase.

In Hungarian, on the other hand, a pair-reading is only possible in (16b). An answer to (16a), in which long Wh-movement has applied, involves only one single number, for instance, 6. I will return to this dichotomy between English and Hungarian in section 6.8. For now, it suffices to observe that Wh-scope is determined in Hungarian at S-structure after an application of *move Wh*, whereas in English this applies after 'reconstruction' of the extracted Wh-phrase to its base-generated position.

Summarizing, long Wh/Focus-movement in Hungarian displays the properties in (3). It is clear that a theoretically motivated analysis of this phenomenon has to account for this cluster of properties. I will elaborate in section 6.4. on Chomsky (1981), Horvath (1986a), and É. Kiss (1981a). These proposals treat long Wh/Focus-movement as an instance of *successive cyclic movement* constrained by locality conditions (cf. Chomsky 1973). Let us first turn to a discussion of locality effects in Hungarian.

### 6.3. Locality Effects in Hungarian

In the preceding section, I noted that long Wh/Focus-movement is sanctioned by bridge verbs, suggesting that it is subject to a locality condition. This section argues that this is indeed the case.

Therefore, I will determine whether the relation between the Wh/Focus-phrase and its extraction site is subject to island conditions. I will demonstrate that the following *island conditions* apply in Hungarian, the Complex NP Constraint (CNPC), the Sentential Subject Condition (SENSC) and the Adjunct Condition (AC). The Wh-Island Condition (WhIC) is, contrary to English, not operative in Hungarian. Wh/Focus-phrases may be extracted from a Wh-island. In section 6.4., I will suggest that this dichotomy is due to the fact that the CP is recursive within CP in Hungarian.

Further, I will determine the nature of the gap in long Wh/Focus-movement. It will be concluded that it is *trace*. Consider first CNPC.

CNPC blocks extraction from clauses with lexically filled nominal heads (cf. Ross 1967). The following sentences exemplify that it holds in Hungarian as well (cf. Horvath 1986a and É. Kiss 1987a for this observation):

(1) a. *__Kit__ említett(e) [_NP_ azt a tényt [_CP_ hogy _t_ megcsókolta Marit]]
who-ACC mentioned-AGR3sg-indef/def that-ACC the fact -ACC that kissed-
*'Who did he mention the fact that kissed Mary?'    AGR3sg-def Mary-ACC

b. *Kit említett(e) [NP azt a tényt [CP hogy Mari megcsókolt t]]
   who-ACC mentioned-AGR3sg-indef/def that-ACC the fact-ACC that  Mary kissed-
   *'Who did he mention the fact that Mary kissed?'              AGR3sg-indef

Long Wh/Focus-movement is also restricted by SENSC. The adjectival predicates *biztos* 'be sure' and *valószínü* 'be probable' may subcategorize for subject complement clauses which are linked with a nominative anticipatory pronoun (cf. (2a) and (3a)). Observe that it is not allowed to extract Wh/Focus-phrases from these complements (cf. (2b) and (3b)):[6]

(2) a. *Az*  biztos [CP hogy Mari eljön]          b. **Ki* biztos [CP hogy t eljön]
       that be sure    that Mary come-AGR3sg           who is sure    that come-AGR3sg
       'It is sure that Mary comes.'

(3) a. *Az* valószinü  [CP hogy Mari eljön]        b. **Ki* valószínü  [CP hogy t eljön]
       that is probable   that Mary come-AGR3sg         who is probable    that    come-
       'It is probable that Mary comes.'                                            AGR3sg

Another limitation on long Wh-movement is the islandhood of adverbial complements. These complements are introduced by adverbial phrases such as *before*, *without*,.etc. The sentences in (4) show that AC is operative in Hungarian as well:

(4) a. **Mely könyveket*  letísztitottad     volna az  asztalt
       which  books-ACC clean-AGR2sg   would the table-ACC
       azelött   [CP hogy elolvastad     volna t]
       that-before    that   read-AGR2sg would
       *'Which books would you clean the table before reading?'
    b. **Kire*         megérkeztél       az  iskolába   anélkül
       who-SUBL  perf-arrived-AGR2sg the school-ILL that-without
       [CP  hogy gondoltál volna t]
       that  thought-AGR2sg would
       *'About who did you arrive at school without thinking?'

Chomsky (1981) has argued that the relation between the moved Wh-antecedent and its gap is constrained by locality conditions. The sentences in (1)-(4) demonstrate that this is the case in Hungarian as well. Therefore, it is appealing to analyse long Wh/Focus-movement as an instance of *successive cyclic movement*. In order to make this more precise, let us first determine the nature of the gap involved.

I observed that the extraction site of a moved Wh/Focus-phrase must remain non-overt (cf. 6.2.(3F)). It has been argued that the gap of unbounded dependencies can sometimes be identified as the non-overt pronominal *pro* in *pro*-drop languages (cf. Chomsky 1982, and Cinque 1984; 1986). This would be a case of the resumptive pronoun strategy.

The question is whether the gap at the extraction site in long Wh/Focus-movement is *trace* or *pro*. This question is legitimate, because Hungarian is a *pro*-drop language (cf. section 4.2.4.). There are three pieces of evidence bearing on it which favor the assumption that this phenomenon leaves a *trace*.

(6) Some predicates, like *kell* 'be necessary', require a subject complement clause to be in the subjunctive mood (SUBJ) (cf. (ia)). Wh/Focus-movement from such clauses yields a much better result than movement from subject indicative clauses. Compare the ungrammatical (2b) and (3b) with the grammatical (ib):

(i) a. Az   kell       [CP hogy Mari eljöjjön]        b. *Ki* kell      [CP hogy t eljöjjön]
       that is necessary    that Mary come-SUBJ-AGR3sg       who is necessary  that   come-SUBJ-AGR3sg
       'It is necessary that Mary comes.'                    'For who is it necessary to come?'

The first two arguments have to do with the environment in which small *pro* is licensed. The third argument may be construed by taking the categorial specifications of *pro* into account. It displays distribution 4.2.(34), here repeated as (5):

(5)   *The distribution of pro in Hungarian*
    a. *Nominative* personal pronouns may be dropped in all persons and number
    b. *Accusative* personal pronouns may be dropped only in case they are singular. First and second person pronouns may be dropped with the indefinite conjugation. Third person pronouns may be dropped only with the definite conjugationc. Personal pronouns with lexical case may not be dropped

Recall that the distribution of *pro* is so specific that it may serve as a diagnostic for this empty category.

(*I*) Compare the following pairs:

(6)  a. *Mely    fiúkat*    gondolod    [CP hog látom        *t*]
       which  boys-ACC think-AGR2sg-def    that see-AGR1sg-def
       'Which boys do you think that I see?'
   a'. (Én) látom        (öt)    |\*(*őket*)
       I     see-AGR1sg-def him/her|them
       'I see him/her|them.' (cf. 4.2.(7a))
   b. *Kiket*        gondolsz    [CP hogy (te) látsz        *t*]
       who-plur-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef    that you see-AGR2sg-indef
       'Who do you think that you saw?'
   b'. (Te) látsz            (engem)/\*(*őket*)
       you see-AGR2sg-indef me/them
       'You see me.' (cf. 4.2.(8b))
   c. *MINKET* gondolsz        [CP hogy János látott        *t*]
       us        think-AGR2sg-indef    that John saw-AGR3sg-indef
       'It is us that you think that John saw.'
   c'. (Ö)    lát            (engem)/\*(*minket*)
       he/she see-AGR3sg-indef me/us
       'He/she sees me/us.' (cf. 4.2.(8c))
   d. *Kit*        gondolsz    [CP hogy János látott        *t*]
       who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef    that John saw-AGR3sg-indef
       'Who do you think that John saw?' (cf. 6.2.(1b))
   d'. (Ö)    lát            (engem)/(téged)/\*(*őt*)
       he/she see-AGR3sg-indef me/you/him
       'He/she sees me/you.' (cf. 4.2.(8c))
   e. *Kivel*        gondolod    [CP hogy János találkozott    *t*]
       who-INSTR think-AGR2sg-indef    that John met-AGR3sg-indef
       'Who do you think that John met?'
   e'. (Ö)    találkozott        \*(*vele*)
       he/she met-AGR3sg-indef he/she-INSTR
       'He met him/her.'

The pairs (a) and (a'), and so on, in these sentences represent cases of long Wh/Focus-movement and *pro*-drop respectively. We have omitted examples with a subject-extraction gap and subject *pro*, since they have exactly the same distribution. However, with the object, the following three distributional differences between these gaps occur.

(*i*) According to (5b), accusative plural pronouns may not be dropped. Therefore, the phrases (6a')-(6c') are ungrammatical with *pro*. However, the corresponding gap in long Wh/Focus-movement is licensed by a plural Wh/Focus-antecedent.

(*ii*) A third person accusative pronoun may not appear with a verb conjugated indefinitely (cf. (5b)). Observe from the comparison between (6d) and (6d') that a third person accusative gap is licit in long Wh/Focus-movement, but not with *pro*-drop.

(*iii*) Lexically marked pronouns may never be dropped (cf. (5c)). Hence, the instrumental object must be present in (6e'). Note, however, that in the corresponding case of long Wh/Focus-movement (6e), such an object may be extracted.

From (*i*)-(*iii*), it follows that the environment in which a Wh/Focus-gap is allowed is much broader than the environment in which *pro* may occur. Therefore, we conclude that the gap of long Wh/Focus-movement cannot be small *pro*, but *trace*.

(*II*) If the gap in long Wh/Focus-movement were a non-overt resumptive pronoun, we would expect that it could circumvent island constraints (cf. Chomsky 1982, Cinque 1986). We noted above, however, that the relation between the Wh/Focus-antecedent and its gap displays locality effects. This dichotomy can be illustrated by constructing minimal pairs between long Wh/Focus-movement and constructions with non-overt resumptive pronouns. Instances of the former are exemplified in (6a)-(6e), and instances of the latter are exemplified in (7a)-(7e):

(7) a. *Mely fiúkról* gondolod (azt) [$_{CP}$ hogy János *látott/látta *őket*/*pro*]
   which boys-DELAT think-AGR2sg-def that-ACC that John saw-AGR3sg-indef/def them
   'Of which boys do you think that John saw them?'

 b. **Kikről* gondolod (azt) [$_{CP}$ hogy (te) *láttál/láttad *őket*/*pro*]
   who-plur-DELAT think-AGR2sg-def that-ACC that you saw-AGR2sg-indef/def them
   'Of who do you think that you saw them?'

 c. *RÓLUNK* gondolod (azt) [$_{CP}$ hogy János látott/*látta *minket*/*pro*]
   we-DELAT think-AGR2sg-def that-ACC that John saw-AGR3sg-indef/def us
   'It is of us that you think that John saw.'

 d. *Kiről* gondolod (azt) [$_{CP}$ hogy János *látott/látta *őt*/pro]
   who-DELAT think-AGR2sg-def that that] John saw-AGR3sg-indef/def him
   'Of who do you think that John saw him?'

 e. *Kiről* gondolod (azt) [$_{CP}$ hogy találkozott *vele*/*pro*]
   who-DELAT think-AGR2sg-def that that met-AGR3sg-indef he-INSTR
   'Of who do you think that John met him?'

The matrix verb *gondol* subcategorizes in these sentences for a different case-frame than in the sentences in (6). In the latter, it subcategorizes for an accusative object clause. In the former, on the other hand, *gondol* subcategorizes for a DELAT-ACC case-frame. The Wh-phrase is assigned delative case, and the embedded clause is connected to the accusative case (through the linking with the anticipatory pronoun).

Hence, the Wh-phrases in (7), unlike the ones in (6), are direct arguments of the matrix verb. Therefore, these phrases are not related to the (non)-overt pronouns by movement. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, in contrast to long Wh/-Focus-movement (cf. 6.2.(3B)), the anticipatory pronoun may be spelled out. This suggests that the constructions in (7) are not subject to the locality condition which restricts long Wh/Focus-movement.

Note now that the embedded pronouns in these sentences may only be dropped in accordance with the restrictions on *pro*-drop. In (7a)-(7c), the objects are accusative plural pronouns, in (7d) the object is an accusative third person singular pronoun, and in (7e) it is a pronoun with lexical case. Hence, the pronouns in (7a)-(7c) may not be dropped. The pronoun in (7d) may only be omitted if the verb displays definite conjugation, and the pronoun in (7e) may not be dropped. These facts show that *pro* functions as a resumptive pronoun only if it obeys a strict locality condition. It must be locally recoverable from AGR. This implies that the gaps in (6a)-(6e) cannot be resumptive *pro* because they are licensed in a much broader context.

(*III*) Chomsky (1982; 1986b) suggests that empty categories are specified at D-structure in terms of the feature-matrix [+/-anaphoric]/[+/-pronominal]. Small *pro*, being a pronominal, is specified [+pronominal,-anaphoric]. Furthermore, it is categorially of the type NP.

Suppose, now, that the gap at the extraction-site in long Wh/Focus-movement is *pro*. We would, under the assumption that members of the same chain have identical (categorial) features, expect that Wh/Focus-antecedents other than NPs cannot sanction its $\Phi$-features. However, long Wh/Focus-movement is allowed with various different categories like time or place adverbs, PPs, APs, and prefixes:

(8)  a.  János *HOLNAP* szeretné          [$_{CP}$ hogy haza menjünk          *t*]
         John tomorrow like-COND-AGR3sg-def that home go-SUBJ-AGR1pl-indef
         'It is tomorrow that John wants us to go home.'
     b.  *OTT*  gondolod        [$_{CP}$ hogy láttam Jánost  *t*]
         there think-AGR2sg-def    that saw-AGR1sg-def John-ACC
         'It is there that you think that I saw John.'
     c.  *KI  MÖGÖTT* gondolod      [$_{CP}$ hogy álltunk      az üzletben *t*]
         who behind  think-AGR2sg-indef that stood-AGR1pl-indef the shop-INESS
         'Behind who do you think we stood in the shop?'
     d.  *BÜSZKE JÁNOSRA* gondolod          [$_{CP}$ hogy voltam      tegnap *t*]
         proud    John-SUBL think-AGR2sg-indef    that was-AGG1sg yesterday
         'It is proud of John that you think that I was yesterday.'
     e.  János *MEG* akarja          [$_{CP}$ hogy *t* hívjuk          Marit  ]
         John perf want-AGR3sg-def    that invite-AGR1pl-def Mary-ACC
         'It is to invite that John wants us Mary.'

In (8e), the prefix *meg* 'perfectivity marker' of the embedded verb *meghív* 'invite' is extracted from the embedded clause. Prefix-extraction is only allowed when the bridge verb is an auxiliary that triggers restructuring with infinitival complements such as *akar* 'want', for instance (cf. section 5.3.2.).

This paradigm demonstrates that extracted categories may be categorially non-nominal. These categories can thus not be the antecedent of a pronominal empty category. Therefore, we conclude that the gap in long Wh/Focus-movement is *Wh/Focus-trace*.

Summarizing, I argued that long Wh/Focus-movement in Hungarian displays locality effects. The CNPC, SENSC and AC may not be violated by the extraction of Wh/Focus-phrases. Furthermore, the gap in this phenomenon cannot be *pro* but must be *trace*. In order to support this claim, I put forward two sorts of evidence.

First, the environment in which *trace* is licensed is much broader than the environment in which *pro* is allowed. Second, the gap in long Wh/Focus-movement is categorially rather heterogeneous. This implies that it cannot be a nominal category.

Small *pro* may function as a referential or as a resumptive pronoun only if it is identified by AGR. The $\Phi$-features of trace are identified by a Wh/Focus-antecedent. Both recovery procedures are subject to locality. Therefore, Hungarian provides evidence for the hypothesis that the $\Phi$-features of empty categories must be determined on a strictly local basis. In the next section, I will present an analysis of long Wh/Focus-movement.

## 6.4. An Analysis of Long Wh/Focus-movement in Hungarian

This section analyzes overt long Wh/Focus-movement in Hungarian. Ross (1967) has observed that unbounded dependencies are constrained by island conditions. Theories of these conditions have been specified in *bounding theory*. The intuitive idea behind this theory is that the distance between the dependent empty element and the antecedent of a dependency relation may not be too large. They are related stepwise, obeying *subjacency*:

(1)    The basic principle of *bounding theory* is that every link $(X_i, X_{i+1})$ of a chain $(\alpha_1,...,\alpha_n)$ must meet *subjacency*: if $(\alpha_i, \alpha_{i+1})$ is a link of a chain, then $\alpha_{i+1}$ is subjacent to $\alpha_i$ (Chomsky 1986: 30)            ;

In recent literature, inspired by Kayne (1984), subjacency has been related to *government*. A category that is ungoverned constitutes an island, a *barrier* in Chomsky's (1986b: 15) sense. According to Chomsky, a category may lose its barrierhood if it is lexically governed by a θ-role assigner, if it is *L-marked*:

(2)    α *L-marks* ß iff α is a lexical category that θ-governs ß

Chomsky (1986b) defines the *Subjacency Condition* as follows:

(3)    *Subjacency Condition*
       *ß* is *n*-subjacent to α iff there are fewer than *n + 1*
       barriers for *ß* that exclude α

In general, Wh-movement transfers Case and lexical content but not a θ-role. It falls under what Chomsky (1982: 33) defines as Move-α, which has the following properties:

(4)    a. The antecedent lacks an independent θ-role
       b. The gap is locally licensed
       c. The relation is subject to bounding theory (subjacency)

Recall that long Wh/Focus-movement in Hungarian displays the properties 6.2.(3), here repeated as (5):

(5)    A. The obligatory presence of the complementizer
       B. The anticipatory pronoun corresponding to the clause from which extraction takes place may not be spelled out
       C. Case change of the Wh-moved subject
       D. Morphological adjustment of the matrix verb
       E. Long Wh-movement is an instance of long Focus-movement
       F. The gap at the extraction site must remain non-overt

G. Long Wh-movement is allowed by bridge verbs
H. The scope of moved Wh-phrases is its S-structure position

On the basis of our discussion in section 6.3., we may add (I) to the above properties:

(6)    I. Long Wh/Focus-movement displays locality effects

It is clear that any analysis of this phenomenon has to account for its properties in (5A)-(6I). Let us consider how we may derive them in the above framework.

The properties (5E), (5F), (5G), and (6I) follow from the assumption that long Wh/Focus-movement is an instance Move-α. The gap in this construction may not be spelled out, because, as we concluded in the preceding section, it is *trace*. A trace inherits its Φ-features from the Wh/Focus-antecedent. This is supported by the fact that non-nominative Wh/Focus-phrases retain their cases in the course of the derivation. (I will return to the Case change phenomenon (cf. (5C)) below).

Long Wh/Focus-movement is allowed by bridge verbs only, and it displays locality effects. This indicates that it is restricted by subjacency. Let us investigate more closely how this condition operates in Hungarian.

We have to determine whether embedded clauses are barriers for long Wh/Focus-movement. Two types of embedded clauses occur in these constructions, (i) *hogy*-clauses and (ii) complex NPs. Let us first discuss the structure and position of *hogy*-clauses.

*Hogy*-clauses are CPs with the following structure (cf. section 4.5.1.):

(7)

```
                CP
              /    \
          Spec      C'
                  /    \
                C      XP
                |
              hogy
```
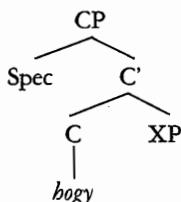
Furthermore, CPs are base-generated in a non-A-position because of the CRP (cf. 4.5.(4)). The Case-position of the verb is bound by an anticipatory pronoun to which they are linked. For example, an accusative *hogy*-clause appears in the following configuration:

(8)

```
                  VP
                /    \
             VP        CP
           /   \       |
         azt    V     hogy ...
```
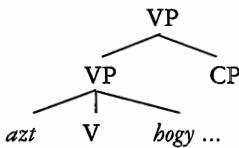
The CP is adjoined to the VP, and the object Case of the verb is spelled out on the anticipatory pronoun *azt* 'that-ACC'.

As a consequence, the CP is ungoverned in this configuration. Therefore, it is not L-marked by the verb (cf. (2)) and thus it is a barrier for long Wh/Focus-movement, an instance of *1-subjacency*. This directly accounts for the fact that SENSC and AC must be respected. If CPs are base-generated in ungoverned positions, then this is also the case with sentential subject and adjunct CPs. Hence, long Wh/Focus-movement from these clauses crosses a barrier yielding a violation of the Subjacency Condition.

Let us consider why complex NPs are barriers. Complex NPs have the following structure:

(9)                     NP
                      ╱      ╲
               NP         CP
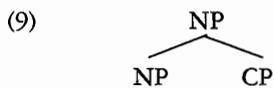
Whether it is L-marked or not, it always constitutes a barrier for long Wh/Focus-movement. The reason for this is that a complex NP inherits barrierhood from the CP it dominates (cf. Chomsky 1986b). Hence, a Wh/Focus-phrase extracted from a complex NP crosses two barriers, a case of *1-subjacency*. This yields a violation of the Subjacency Condition.

In sum, the fact that CP and complex NP are barriers immediately explains why long Wh/Focus-movement obey island constraints like SENSC, AC and CNPC. These cases are ruled out as subjacency violations. If embedded clauses were always ungoverned, then this phenomenon could never appear. Therefore, I will assume that bridge verbs have the ability to govern embedded clauses. The question then arises how they affect the configurations in (8) and (9).

Long Wh/Focus-movement is always blocked by complex NPs, independent of the fact whether they are L-marked or not. Hence, they are absolute barriers for movement. How about CPs?

Suppose that bridge verbs are lexically specified to *govern* a CP-complement in the following configuration:

(10)                    VP
                      ╱      ╲
               CP          V

In this configuration, contrary to (8), the CP is itself in a government position, the accusative object position. As a result, it is *L-marked*. Hence, (10) yields thus an instance of *0-subjacency* avoiding a subjacency violation. This accounts for the fact that CPs in long Wh/Focus-movement are transparent domains.

The question arises whether there is any empirical evidence for the government relation between the bridge verb and the CP in this configuration. According to Kayne (1984), objective Case is assigned in the Spec of CP to moved Wh-phrases.

Kayne presents the following pair from French:

(11)  a. *Je crois [CP [IP *Jean* être le plus intelligent]]
      b. [CP *Quel garçon* [IP crois-tu [CP *t* [IP *t* être le plus intelligent]]]]
         (Kayne 1984: 5)

The ungrammaticality of (11a) is due to a Case Filter violation, *Jean* is not Case-marked. The embedded subject is not assigned Case because there is no suitable Case-assigner present. The embedded infinitive complement lacks an I-node, and French *croire*, in contrast to English *believe*, is not an ACI-verb (cf. section 5.3.5.3. on ACI-verbs).

In (11b), on the other hand, the extracted subject Wh-phrase is assigned objective Case. This yields a grammatical result. According to Kayne, the data fall into place, if *croire* assigns accusative Case to the [Spec, CP] prior to the application of Wh-movement. Kayne therefore concludes that this position may be governed by a bridge verb.

É. Kiss observes (1985: 43) that this is not only the case in French but optionally also in English (with *whom* the following sentence is ungrammatical to most speakers of English):

(12)   [cp *Who/whom* did [IP you suggest [cp *t* [IP *t* should be the chairman]]]]

So Case-assignment to the specifier of CP provides an argument for the claim that CP is governed by a bridge verb.

Hungarian also supports this hypothesis. The properties (5B), (5C), and (5D) of long Wh/Focus-movement follow from this government relation.

The prohibition on the spelling out of the anticipatory pronoun indicates that the CP is itself in a Case-marked position. The anticipatory pronoun cannot function as a Case-dummy in that case.

Hungarian displays Case change of an extracted subject. This resembles French (11) and English (12). Therefore, we may assume that this Case change is caused by accusative Case-assignment to Spec of CP. It is unclear why the accusative marking appears only on extracted nominative NPs. Maybe, this has to do with the fact that the nominative is morphologically unmarked in Hungarian.

Note, incidentally, that accusative Case-assignment to the [Spec, CP] after Wh-movement poses a problem for the L-model of Van Riemsdijk and Williams (1981). In that framework, Case-assignment takes place at NP-structure, that is, before Wh-movement.[7]

The matrix verb undergoes a morphological adjustment, if an indefinite nominative or accusative Wh-phrase is fronted into the matrix sentence. Suppose that this is a reflection, just as Case-assignment to the [Spec, CP], of the government relation between a bridge verb and the [Spec, CP]. The syntax of ACI-verbs provides independent evidence for this claim.

ACI-verbs select a tenseless IP-complement, and they assign to its subject (= [Spec, IP]) exceptional accusative Case (cf. section 5.3.5.3.). Recall that the definiteness of the embedded accusative subject NP determines the conjugation-type of ACI-verbs (cf. section 5.3.5.3.):

(13)   a. *Látok/lát*om*         [IP Jánost      vágni      a    kenyeret]
           see-AGR1sg-indef/def   John-ACC cut-INFI the bread-ACC
           'I see John cut the bread.'
       b. Láto*k*/*lát*om        [IP egy fiút       játszani   Marival]
           see-AGR1sg-indef/def   a   boy-ACC play-INFI Mary-INSTR
           'I see a boy playing with Mary.'
       c. Hallotta*lak*          [IP téged      kiabálni]
           heard-AGR1sg2sg/pl     you-ACC shout-INFI
           'I heard you shooting.'

These matrix verbs must be conjugated definitely, indefinitely, and with the *-lak* suffix. These conjugation-types are triggered by the definite accusative NP *Jánost*, the indefinite accusative NP *egy fiút* and the accusative second person pronoun *téged*, respectively (cf. section 4.2.1.). This shows that a verb may not only agree with its accusative direct complement, but also with an NP to which it assigns accusative Case exceptionally.

(7) If we assume Case checking instead of Case marking (cf. Zwart 1988), Case assignment to [Spec, CP] is not problematic for Lieber's (1980) Lexical Integrity Hypothesis.

We therefore conclude that ACI-verbs pattern in the same way as bridge verbs. ACI-verbs assign structural accusative Case to the Spec of a subcategorized clause, IP, and display conjugational agreement with the NP in that position. Bridge verbs assign structural accusative Case to the Spec of their subcategorized clause, CP, and display conjugational agreement with the NP moved into this position. In both cases, these phenomena are reflections of the government relation between the matrix verb and its embedded clause.

Let us now discuss why complementizers are obligatory (cf. (5A)), and why Hungarian displays WhIC-violations. Before providing an answer to these questions, let us first reconsider the derivation of short Wh/Focus-movement (cf. section 2.2.).

Compare the following sentences:

(14) a. [$_{CP}$ $Ki_i$ látta$_j$   [$_{VP}$ $t_i$ [$_{VP}$ Marit   t$_j$]]]      b. [$_{CP}$ $Kit_i$   látott$_j$   [[$_{VP}$ $t_i$ t$_j$] Mari]]
        who saw-AGR3sg         Mary-ACC                         who-ACC saw-AGR3sg         Mary
        'Who saw Mary?'                                            'Who did Mary see?'

The finite verbs in these sentences land in C by an application of V-movement. In (14a), the subject Wh-phrase *ki* is moved, and in (14b) the object Wh-phrase *kit* is moved. These phrases land in the Focus position, i.e. [Spec, CP]. Extraction from both subject and object position is allowed, because the Wh-traces are bound in these cases (cf. section 5.4.2.3.).

Let us now discuss long Wh/Focus-movement in more detail.

Consider:

(15) *Kit*        gondolsz   [$_{CP*}$ $t$ hogy [$_{CP}$ János [$_{CP0}$ látott   [$_{VP}$ $t$]]]]
        who-ACC think-AGR2sg     that       John         saw-AGR3sg
        'Who do you think that John saw?'

In this sentence, the verb *gondol* selects a [-Wh] complement clause. Therefore, the object Wh-phrase *kit* must be fronted into the matrix sentence.

CP is recursive within CP in Hungarian (cf. 2.2.3.(1)). Hence, all preverbal embedded constituents are in a CP-projection. The complementizer *hogy* heads the highest CP, i.e. CP$^*$, the topicalized subject *János* fills an intermediate CP, and the finite verb heads the lowest CP, i.e. CP$^0$.

The question arises now whether long Wh/Focus-movement applies through the [Spec, CP$^*$] (cf. (16a)) or through the [Spec, CP$^0$] (cf. (16b):

(16) a.
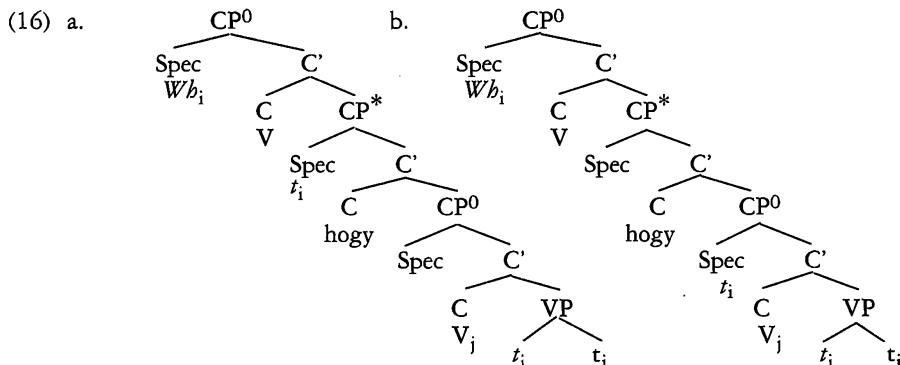
Although the [Spec, CP$^0$] is the canonical landing-site for Wh/Focus-phrases, I will argue that they move successive cyclicly through the Spec of CP$^*$. Empirical evidence for this hypothesis involves (*I*) the obligatory lexicalization of the complementizer *hogy*, (*II*) WhIC-violations, (*III*) the lack of multiple long Wh/Focus-movement, (*IV*) the absence of Inversion with prefixed verbs in long Wh/Focus-movement and (*V*) the absence of long prefix-movement.

(*I*) Kenesei (1985) reports that the complementizer *hogy* may be omitted in the following two cases.

(*i*) It may be dropped if the matrix verb is a verb of saying, knowing, or perception subcategorizing for an accusative complement clause (this class of verbs matches the set of bridge verbs in (5G)), and if the matrix verb is adjacent to its complement clause, the anticipatory pronoun is in preverbal position, and if the sentence has unmarked intonation:

(17)  Azt          gondolom     [$_{CP}$ (*hogy*) [$_{CP}$ Mari [$_{CP}$ látta          Jánost]]]
      that-ACC think-AGR1sg    that        Mary       saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
      'I think that Mary saw John.'

In this sentence, the verb *gondol* selects a [-Wh] CP. V-to-C movement satisfies this requirement, since V is a [-Wh] category. Consequently, the complementizer is superfluous.

(*ii*) *Hogy*-drop also applies if the complement clause contains a Wh-phrase:

(18)  Tudom        [$_{CP*}$ (*hogy*) [$_{CP}$ János [$_{CP0}$ *kit*$_i$          látott$_j$        [$_{VP}$ $t_i$ $t_j$]]]]
      know-AGR1sg  that       John      who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
      'I know who John saw.'

In this sentence, the verb *tud* selects a [+Wh] CP. Wh-movement of *kit* to the embedded Focus-position (Spec of CP$^0$), fulfills this requirement. As a result, CP turns into [+Wh]. Hence, the presence of the complementizer is not demanded.

The verb *gondol* selects a [-Wh] CP with both long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. (15)) and ordinary declaratives (cf. (17)). Filling of C by V-movement satisfies this selectional requirement. Therefore, the presence of *hogy* is in fact superfluous in both cases. However, the lexicalization of *hogy* with long Wh/Focus-movement is obligatory, unlike with declarative sentences.

Suppose that long Wh/Focus-movement applies through the [Spec, CP$^*$] leaving a trace in this position. An X'-projection always requires a lexical head (cf. also section 5.4.3. for this X'-requirement).[8] Hence, the spelling out of the complementizer.

(8) The following question-answer pair also provides evidence for this hypothesis:
    (i) a. Ellopták           [$_{NP}$ Mari könyvét]?
           away-stole-AGR3pl    Mary book-npAGR3sg-ACC
           'Has Mary's book been stolen?'
        b. Igen, [$_{NP}$ Mariét]          ellopták
           Yes       Mary-APS-ACC away-stole-AGR3pl
           'Yes, the one of Mary has been stolen.'
    Example (ia) contains the accusative possessive NP *Mari könyvét*. The head of this phrase is the noun-possessed *könyvét*. This is supported by the fact that endocentric categories in Hungarian are left-branching and Case is spelled out on head-nouns. The possessor NP *Mari* is in the complement position of the possessive NP in both (ia) and (ib). The noun-possessed is omitted in (ib). As a consequence, the possesive NP is without head. In order to satisfy the requirement that an X'-projection must have a lexical head a 'dummy' suffix (the anaphora possessive suffix (APS)) -*é* must be spelled out replacing the noun-possessed.

This accounts for the dichotomy between long Wh/Focus-movement and declarative sentences with *hogy*-drop, and for the absence of *that*-trace effects in Hungarian (cf. section 5.4.3.2.).

Note, by the way, that movement through the [Spec, CP*] does not violate the Subjacency Condition, if we assume that L-containment (cf. 2.2.1. (37)) is *transitive*, that is, if projection XP L-contains a projection YP, and a projection ZP L-contains XP, then ZP L-contains YP. In that case, intermediate embedded CPs do not form additional barriers.

Let us consider now WhIC-violations in Hungarian.

(*II*) Horvath (1986a) has noted that WhIC is not operative in Hungarian. Long relativization (cf. (19a)) and long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. (19b)) may apply from a Wh-island:

(19)  a. Ez volt az a fiú [$_{CP*}$ *akinek* a gyerekek mondták [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [$_{CP0}$ Péter kérdezte [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [$_{CP}$ Mari [$_{CP0}$ *mit* küldött *t*]]]]]

this was that the boy who-DAT the children said-AGR3pl that Peter asked-AGR3sg that Mary what-ACC sent-AGR3sg

*'This was the boy to whom the children said Peter asked what Mary had sent.'

b. Mari *kinek*        tudta        [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [$_{CP}$ Péter [$_{CP0}$ *mit*        küldött *t*]]]

Mary who-DAT knew-AGR3sg that        Peter        what-ACC sent-AGR3sg

*'To whom did Mary know what Peter had sent?'

(Horvath 1986a: 226)

These cases are covered if extracted Wh-phrases move through the [Spec, CP*], and the embedded Wh-phrases are in Focus, i.e. in [Spec, CP$^0$]. Therefore, Hungarian Wh-phrases, unlike their English counterparts, do not form a Wh-island for long distance movement.

The following sentence displays a similar violation:

(20)  A   család  A  *LEGIDÖSEBB FIÚT* reméli [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [$_{CP0}$ ORVOS lesz [$_{VP}$ *t* ]]]

the family the eldest        son-ACC hopes        that        doctor becomes

'It is the eldest son that the family hopes will become a DOCTOR.'

(É. Kiss 1981a: 211)

This sentence exemplifies a Focus-island violation. The embedded object NP *a legidősebb fiút* is extracted from a Focus-island. The embedded Focus-position is filled by the NP *orvos*. If we assume, however, that long Wh/Focus-movement applies through the [Spec, CP*], and Focus is [Spec, CP$^0$], then the derivation is allowed yielding a grammatical result. Let us discuss the lack of multiple long Wh/Focus-movement.

(*III*) The impossibility of this phenomenon supports the hypothesis that long Wh/Focus-movement applies through the [Spec, CP*]:

(21)  a. *Ez volt az a fiú [$_{CP*}$ *akinek*$_j$ a gyerekek mondták [$_{CP*}$ hogy [$_{CP}$ Péter *mit*$_i$ kérdezett [$_{CP*}$ *t*$_i$ hogy [$_{CP}$ Mari küldött *t*$_i$ t$_j$]]]]]

this was  that the boy who-DAT the children said-AGR3pl that Peter what-ACC asked-AGR3sg that Mary sent-AGR3sg

b. *Mari *kinek*$_i$ *mit*$_i$ tudott  [$_{CP*}$ *t*$_i$ hogy [$_{CP}$ Péter [$_{CP}$ küldött *t*$_i$ t$_j$]]]

Mary who-DAT what-ACC knew-AGR3sg that Peter sent-AGR3sg

These sentences are the counterparts of the ones in (19), except that multiple long Wh/Focus-movement has applied in the latter. The object Wh-phrase *mit* is ex-

tracted from the deepest embedded clause. Another instance of long Wh/Focus-movement, that is, long relativization in (21a) and long Wh-movement in (21b), is not allowed. If we assume that long Wh/Focus-movement applies through the [Spec, CP*], then these sentences are ruled out as a trace theory violation. The [Spec, CP*] is already filled by the trace of *mit*-extraction.[9]

Let us consider the absence of Inversion with prefixed verbs in long Wh/Focus-movement.

(*IV*) Compare the following sentence:

(22) a. *Kit*      gondolsz    [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [$_{CP}$ János [$_{CP0}$ *meg* szeretett    [$_{VP}$ *t*]]]]
    who-ACC think-AGR2sg    that     John perf-loved-AGR3sg
    'Who do you think that John fell in love with?'

   b. *\*Kit*     gondolsz    [$_{CP*}$ *hogy* [$_{CP}$ János [$_{CP0}$ *t* szeretett      [$_{VP}$ *t meg*]]]]]
    who-ACC think-AGR2sg    that     John loved-AGR3sg      perf

Focussing triggers Inversion with prefixed verbs obligatorily (cf. 2.1. (28e)). In (22), the object wh-phrase *kit* is long Wh-moved. If long Wh/Focus-movement applied through Focus, i.e. the [Spec, CP⁰], then we would expect the prefix to be stranded. However, this does not turn out to be the case, as the ungrammaticality of (22b) demonstrates.

In the grammatical variant (22a), the verb takes its prefix along, though long Wh-movement has applied. This implies that the Wh-phrase has not travelled through the [Spec, CP⁰], but must rather travel through the [Spec, CP*].

(*V*) The following sentence demonstrates that prefixes may be short Wh/Focus-moved in Hungarian:

(23) Mari [$_{CP0}$ *LE*$_i$ ült$_j$    [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ *t*$_i$ *t*$_j$]]]
    Mary    down sat-AGR3sg
    'Mary sat down (and not lay down).'

In this sentence, the prefix *le* of the prefixed verb *leül* 'sit down' is moved from its base-generated V'-position to Focus (Spec of CP⁰). If long Wh/Focus-movement applies through the [Spec, CP⁰], then we would expect that a focussed prefix could be fronted into the matrix sentence.

(9) Apparent counterexamples against movement through the [Spec, CP*] are instances of multiple raising. For example, É. Kiss (1987a) claims that this phenomenon applies in the following sentence (bracketing is mine):

     (i) *János*$_i$ *két dolgot*$_j$    hallottam    [$_{CP*}$ hogy megígért      [$_{VP}$ *e*$_i$ [$_{VP}$ *t*$_j$]]]
     John   two thing-ACC heard-AGR1sg    that   promised-AGR3sg
     'As for John, it was two things that I heard that he promised.'

Multiple long Wh/Focus-movement through the [Spec, CP*] violates trace theory. This sentence is, however, grammatical. It seems to me, that it is not a case of multiple extraction. The phrase *két dolgot* is Wh/Focus-moved but *János* is base-generated in initial-position. This is supported by the fact that *János* displays the diagnostics of a left-dislocated NP (cf. note 5).

A real instance of multiple extraction occurs with bridge verbs allowing prefix-extraction (cf. 7.3.(8e)):

     (ii) János *tegnap*$_i$    *a múzeumot*$_j$    *meg*$_k$ akarta      [[$_{CP*}$ hogy látogassuk]     *t*$_i$ *t*$_i$ *t*$_k$]
     John yesterday the museum-ACC perf wanted-AGR3sg    that visit-SUBJ-AGR1pl
     'John wanted us to visit the museum yesterday.'

In (ii), the adverbial *tegnap*, the accusative object NP *a múzeumot*, and the prefix *meg* are fronted into the matrix sentence. I guess an analysis of these constructions can be made more easily, if the phenomenon of 'restructuring' triggered by modal auxiliaries such as *akar* is properly understood (cf. section 5.3.2.). I will put aside these cases for further research.

The following sentence, however, shows that prefixes may not be long Wh/Focus-moved (see, also Komlósy 1986):[10]

(24) *Mari [$_{CP0}$ $LE_i$ gondolod      [$_{CP*}$ hogy [$_{CP0}$ $t_i$ ült$_j$     [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ $t_i$ $t_j$]]]]]
    Mary    down think-AGR2sg     that           sat-AGR3sg

The ungrammaticality of this sentence demonstrates that successive cyclic movement cannot involve the Focus position (Spec of CP$^0$). Therefore, the absence of this prefix-movement supports the hypothesis that long Wh/Focus-movement applies through the [Spec, CP*].[11]

The question arises why focussed prefixes cannot employ this option to yield an instance of long Wh/Focus-movement, just as Wh/Focus NPs. It seems to me that Chomsky's (1986b) HMC provides an explanation for preventing prefix-movement through [Spec, CP*]. Prefixes form a constituent with the verb. Therefore, they may travel along with it when this moves to C (see, section 2.2.1.). Then the prefix may be focussed yielding (23). It cannot, however, reach the [Spec, CP*] because its head position is filled by the complementizer and prefixes do not merge with complementizers.

Recapitulating, I argued that long Wh/Focus-movement in Hungarian is an instance of successive cyclic movement through the Spec of CP. Each link in the chain between a moved Wh/Focus-phrase and its gap must be 0-subjacent. This gap must remain non-overt because it is trace. CNPC, SENSC, and AC were accomodated as subjacency violations.

Bridge verbs may circumvent a violation of this condition because they may L-mark a CP-complement. Empirical evidence for this government relation involves the obligatory absence of the anticipatory pronoun, exceptional accusative Case-marking to the Spec of CP, and the morphological adjustment of the matrix verb with moved indefinite subject and object NPs.

The obligatory lexicalization of the complementizer (the absence of *that*-effects), WhIC-violations, the lack of multiple long Wh/Focus-movement, the absence of Inversion with prefixed verbs in long Wh/Focus-movement, and the absence of long prefix-movement with this phenomenon support successive cyclic movement through the Spec of CP*.

## 6.5. The *mit*-Strategy in Hungarian

In the preceding sections, I have discussed instances of overt long Wh/ Focus-movement in Hungarian. De Meij and Marácz (1986) have observed, however, that the most common strategy to form embedded Wh-questions in Hungarian is to employ the so-called *mit*-strategy. I presented the more marked variant of this phenomenon first because it has, somewhat surprisingly, received more attention in the literature.

Consider the counterparts of long Wh/Focus-movement constructions (cf. 6.2.((1) and (2)) in the *mit*-strategy:

(10) This is exceptionally allowed with bridge verbs that trigger restructuring (cf. note 9 and 6.3.(8e) for examples).
(11) Long prefix-movement is also blocked in Dutch:
    (i) *$OP$ zei  Jan   [$_{CP}$ dat  ik hem heb $t$ gebeld]
        up    said John      that I  him have  phoned

(1)   a  *Mit*        gondolsz           hogy Jánost    *ki*        látta?
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that John-ACC who-ACC saw-AGR3sg-def
         'Who do you think saw John?'

      b. *Mit*        gondolsz           hogy János *kit*       látott?
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that John  who-ACC saw-AGR3sg-indef
         'Who do you think that John saw?'

(2)   a. *Mit*        gondolsz                hogy Jánost    *melyik fiú*   látta?
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that John-ACC which  boy  saw-AGR3sg-def
         'Which boy do you think saw John?'

      b. *Mit*        gondolsz           hogy János *melyik fiút*     látta?
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that John which  boy-ACC saw-AGR3sg-def
         'Which boy do you think that John saw?'

Some native-speakers tend to interpret these sentences as consisting of two parts. The first part is the matrix clause which contains the matrix verb and its object, the Wh-phrase *mit*. This Wh-phrase asks for the contents of thought or communication. The second part is an indirect Wh-question expressing the issue on which an opinion or statement is being asked. Hence, (1a), for instance, could be paraphrased as in (3):

(3)   What is your opinion on the following question: what do you think: who saw John?

Properties of (1a) in this interpretation indicate that they indeed consists of two independent clauses. First, an intonational break separates the matrix clause and the embedded clause. Second, the complementizer *hogy* must be dropped. Third, a Wh-phrase must be in the initial-position of the second part. Probably, this represents another strategy to form embedded Wh-questions. I believe, however, that this strategy does not belong to sentence-grammar. Hence, I will not discuss it further at this place.

I will examine the following properties of the *mit*-strategy:

(4)   A. The real Wh-phrase remains in the Focus-position of its own (embedded) clause
      B. The anticipatory pronoun may not be spelled out
      C. The scope-marker *mit* is assigned accusative case
      D. The complementizer *hogy* 'that' is obligatory
      E. The *mit*-strategy displays locality effects
      F. The *mit*-strategy is allowed by bridge verbs
      G. The real Wh-phrase takes wide scope

(A) The real Wh-phrases in the *mit*-strategy remain in the Focus-position of their own (embedded) clause. This may be observed from the fact that the Wh-phrases *ki*, *kit*, *melyik fiú*, and *melyik fiút* are left-adjacent to the finite verb of their own clause in (1) and (2). Now a dummy Wh-phrase *mit* appears at the surface position of these Wh-phrases in the overt long Wh/Focus-counterparts, the matrix Focus (cf. 6.2.((1), (2)) and (1) and (2)).

(1a), for instance, has a structure as in (5):

(5)   [$_{CP0}$ *Mit*  gondolsz  [$_{CP*}$ hogy [$_{CP}$ Jánost [$_{CP0}$ *ki*$_i$ látta$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ t$_j$]]]]]]
      what-ACC think-AGR2sg that       John-ACC   who saw-AGR3sg
      'Who do you think that saw John?'

This sentence exemplifies that the *mit*-phrase occupies the [Spec, CP$^0$] (= Focus) of the matrix clause, and the real Wh-phrase occupies the [Spec, CP$^0$] (= Focus) of the embedded clause.

The following sentences show that the *mit*-strategy may not only apply to nominative and accusative embedded Wh-phrases, as in (1) and (2), but also to embedded complement NPs with lexical case:

(6)  a.  [$_{CP^0}$ *Mit*   gondolsz   [$_{CP*}$ hogy János [$_{CP0}$ *kinek* adott      könyvet]]]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg    that John      who-DAT gave-AGR3sg book-ACC
         'To who do you think that John gave a book?'

     b.  [$_{CP^0}$ *Mit*   gondolsz   [$_{CP*}$ hogy Mari [$_{CP0}$ *kivel* beszélt]]]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg    that Mary      who-INSTR spoke-AGR3sg
         'With whom do you think that Mary spoke?'

     c.  [$_{CP^0}$ *Mit*   gondolsz   [$_{CP*}$ hogy Mari [$_{CP0}$ *kitöl* kapott      könyvet]]]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg    that Mary      who-ABL got-AGR3sg book-ACC
         'From who do you think Mary got a book?'

The *mit*-strategy may also apply if the real Wh-phrase is a non-complement like a PP (cf. (7a)), or an AP (cf. (7b)):

(7)  a.  [$_{CP^0}$ *Mit*       gondolsz      [$_{CP*}$ hogy János [$_{CP0}$ [$_{PP}$ *ki* mögött] állt]]]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg     that John who behind  stood-AGR3sg
         'Behind who do you think that John stood?'

     b.  [$_{CP^0}$ *Mit*       gondolsz      [$_{CP*}$ hogy János [$_{CP0}$ [$_{AP}$ *milyen* erös] volt]]]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg     that John how    strong was
         'How strong do you think John was?'

(B) The anticipatory pronoun which is linked with the *hogy*-clause in declarative sentences (cf. section 4.5.) may not be spelled out in the *mit*-strategy. The sentences with an anticipatory pronoun in (1) and (2) yield an ungrammatical result:

(8)  a.  *Mit      *gondolsz*        azt       [$_{CP}$ hogy János ki látta]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg that-ACC    that John *who* saw-AGR3sg

     b.  *Mit*      gondolsz      azt      [$_{CP}$ hogy Jánost    *kit*      látott]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg that-ACC    that John-ACC who-ACC saw-AGR3sg

     c.  *Mit*      gondolsz      azt      [$_{CP}$ hogy Jánost    *melyik fiú* látta]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg that-ACC    that John-ACC which boy saw-AGR3sg

     d.  *Mit*      gondolsz      azt      [$_{CP}$ hogy János *melyik fiút*    látta]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg that-ACC    that John which boy-ACC saw-AGR3sg

The *mit*-strategy shares this property with overt long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. 6.2.(3B)). Hence, an anticipatory pronoun may never occur in long Wh/Focus-movement.

(C) The *mit*-phrase bears accusative case, like the anticipatory pronoun in declarative sentences and the extracted subject Wh/Focus-phrase in long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. 6.2.(9a)):

(9)  a.  *Mit*        gondolsz   [$_{CP}$ hogy Jánost    ki      látta]
         what-ACC think-AGR2sg     that John-ACC who saw-AGR3sg
         'Who do you think saw John?'

     b.  *Azt*        gondolom   [$_{CP}$ hogy Mari látta        Jánost]
         that-ACC think-AGR1sg     that Mary saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
         'I think that Mary saw John.'

     c.  *Kit*        gondolsz   [$_{CP}$ hogy látta        t Jánost]
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg     that saw-AGR3sg John-ACC
         'Who do you think saw John.'

(D) The complementizer *hogy* 'that' is obligatory in the *mit*-strategy, as in overt long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. 6.2.(3A)). The counterparts of (1) and (2) without *hogy* yield an ungrammatical sentence:

(10) a. *Mit     gondolsz    [$_{CP}$ Jánost    ki  látta]
       what-ACC think-AGR2sg    John-ACC who saw-AGR3sg

    b. *Mit     gondolsz    [$_{CP}$ János kit      látott]
       what-ACC think-AGR2sg    John  who-ACC saw-AGR3sg

    c. Mit      gondolsz    [$_{CP}$ Jánost    melyik fiú látta]     .
       what-ACC think-AGR2sg    John-ACC which boy saw-AGR3sg

    d. Mit      gondolsz    [$_{CP}$ János melyik fiút     látta]
       what-ACC think-AGR2sg    John which boy-ACC saw-AGR3sg

(*E*) The *mit*-strategy is sensitive to locality effects. These involve (i) island conditions, and (*ii*) repetition of the *mit*-phrase within each clausal domain in multiple embedded Wh-questions.

(*i*) The *mit*-strategy obeys the same island conditions as overt long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. 6.3.(1)-(4)). It may not violate the CNPC, SENSC and AC.

The following sentences exemplify that the *mit*-strategy obeys CNPC:

(11) a. *Mari *mit*     hallott(a)         [$_{NP}$ azt
       Mary what-ACC heard-AGR3sg-indef/(def)    that-ACC
       a  tényt    [$_{CP}$ hogy János kit      látott]]
       the fact-ACC     that John  who-ACC saw-AGR3sg

    b. *Mari *mit*     hallott(a)         [$_{NP}$ azt
       Mary what-ACC heard-AGR3sg-indef/(def)    that-ACC
       a  tényt    [$_{CP}$ hogy Jánost    ki  látta]]
       the fact-ACC    that John-ACC who saw-AGR3sg-def

The ungrammaticality of these sentences shows that the *mit*-phrase in the matrix sentence may not be separated from the real Wh-phrase in the embedded clause by a complex NP.

Observe that the real Wh-phrase may neither be embedded in a sentential subject:

(12)    a. *Mi* biztos [$_{CP}$ hogy ki jön el]    b. *Mi* valószínü [$_{CP}$ hogy ki jön el]
         what is sure    that who comes      what is probable    that who comes

These sentences display that SENSC is operative in the *mit*-strategy.[12]

Another limitation on this phenomenon is formed by the islandhood of adverbial clauses. The embedding of the real Wh-phrases in an adverbial clause yields an ungrammatical result:

(13)  a. *Mit* tisztítottál volna le az asztalt azelött [$_{CP}$ hogy *mely könyveket* olvastad volna el]
       what-ACC clean-AGR2sg would perf the table-ACC before that which books-ACC read-AGR2sg would perf

    b. *Mit* érkeztél az iskolába anélkül [$_{CP}$ hogy *kire* gondoltál volna]
       what-ACC arrived-AGR2sg the school-ILL that-without that who-SUBL thought-AGR2sg would

These sentences display that AC constrains the *mit*-strategy. Let us now consider another type of locality effect with this phenomenon.

(*ii*) Compare the following multiple embedded Wh-questions:

(12) The *mit*-strategy yields a much better result with a subject subjunctive clause than with a subject indicative clause. Compare (12a) with (i):

    (i) *Mi* kell     [$_{CP}$ hogy *ki*  jöjjön el]
       what is necessary     that who  come-SUBJ-AGR3sg
       'For who is it necessary to come?'

Overt long Wh/Focus-movement displays the same pattern (cf. note 6).

(14) a. *Mit* gondolsz [CP hogy Mari \*(*mit*) mondott [CP hogy Jánost *ki* látta]]
what-ACC think-AGR2sg that Mary what-ACC said-AGR3sg that John-ACC
who saw-AGR3sg
'Who do you think Mary said saw John?'

   b. *Mit* gondolsz [CP hogy Mari \*(*mit*) mondott [CP hogy János *kit* látott]]
what-ACC think-AGR2sg that Mary what-ACC said-AGR3sg that John
who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
'Who do you think that Mary said that John saw?'

   c. *Mit* gondolsz [CP hogy Mari \*(*mit*) mondott [CP hogy Jánost *melyik fiú* látta]]
what-ACC think-AGR2sg that Mary what-ACC said-AGR3sg that John-
ACC which boy saw-AGR3sg
'Which boy do you think Mary said saw John?'

   d. *Mit* gondolsz [CP hogy Mari \*(*mit*) mondott [CP hogy János *melyik fiút* látta]]
what-ACC think-AGR2sg that Mari what-ACC said-AGR3sg that John
which boy-ACC saw-AGR3sg
'Which boy do you think that Mary said that John saw?'

These sentences show that a *continuity* requirement is operative in the *mit*-strategy. The Focus-positions from the real Wh-phrase up to the Focus-position of the matrix clause must be filled with a dummy *mit*-phrase. Dropping of such an intermediate phrase is not allowed. So a *mit*-phrase must be repeated from the real Wh-phrase in each clausal domain of embedded multiple Wh-questions.

WhIC may be violated with overt long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. section 6.4.). A Wh-phrase may be extracted from an embedded clause with a Wh-phrase:

(15) *Kinek*     gondolod     [CP hogy János *mit*     adott     *t*]
who-DAT think-AGR2sg that John what-ACC gave-AGR3sg
\*'To whom do you think what John gave?'

The question arises whether the *mit*-strategy displays WhIC-violations as well? This appears to be the case. The following sentence, which is the counterpart of (15) in the *mit*-strategy, shows that it may apply to a Wh-island:

(16) *Mit*     gondolsz     [CP hogy János *kinek*     *mit*     adott]
what-ACC think-AGR2sg that John who-DAT what-ACC gave-AGR3sg
\*'To whom do you think what John gave?'

(F) The *mit*-strategy is possible only with verbs allowing long Wh/Focus-movement, that is, only with the bridge verbs listed in 6.2.(12).[13] For example, the pre-

(13) A superficial investigation learns us that the *mit*-strategy yields a better result with verbs of perception and knowing (cf. (i)) than with verbs of saying (cf. (ii)):
   (i) a. *Mit*     hallottál     hogy János *kit*     látott?
what-ACC heard-AGR2sg that John who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
'Who did you hear that John saw?'
   b. *Mit*     hiszel     hogy János *kit*     látott?
what-ACC believe-AGR2sg that John who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
'Who do you believe that John saw?'
   (ii) a. ?\**Mit*     említettél     hogy János *kit*     látott?
what-ACC mentioned-AGR2sg that John who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
'Who did you mention that John saw?'
   b. \**Mit*     javasoltál     hogy János *kit*     lásson?
what-ACC proposed-AGR2sg that John who-ACC saw-SUBJ-AGR3sg
'Who did you propose that John should see?'
The sentences in (ii) can only be saved if they are interpreted as two separate parts involving the strategy in (3). However, more fieldwork is required to determine the distribution of the *mit*-strategy with the verbs in 6.2.(12). I will leave this as a task for further research.

dicates *előfordul* 'appear' and *valószinű* 'be probable' do not belong to this class of verbs. Hence, they do not sanction the *mit*-strategy:

(17)  a.  *Mi*  fordul elő [CP hogy *ki*  hazudik]
          what appears        that who lies
      b.  *Mi*  valószinü [CP hogy *mit*        javitottak]
          what is probable    that what-ACC repaired-AGR-3pl

(G) Long Wh/Focus-movement and their equivalents in the *mit*-strategy are rendered into English similarly. In both strategies, the real Wh-phrases have scope over the rest of the sentence. A felicitous answer to the sentences 6.2.((1) and (2)) with long Wh/Focus-movement and the sentences (1) and (2) with the *mit*-strategy involves, for instance, *Péter* 'Peter-NOM', *Pétert* 'Peter-ACC', *Péter* 'Peter-NOM', and *Pétert* 'Peter-ACC' respectively. This implies that the topmost *mit*-phrase represents so to speak the scope of the embedded real Wh-phrase. Hence, I conclude that it functions as a scope-marker in the sense of Baker (1970).

Summarizing, I discussed an alternative strategy to form embedded Wh-questions, the so-called *mit*-strategy. The most striking property of this strategy is that the real Wh-phrase remains in the Focus-position of its own (embedded) clause, while in the Focus position of the matrix clause a dummy Wh-phrase *mit* appears. This phrase indicates the scope of the real Wh-phrase. In the next section, I will present an analysis of the *mit*-strategy.

## 6.6. Correspondence effects in hungarian

Let us consider again the properties of the *mit*-strategy 6.5.(4), here repeated in (1):

(1)   A. The real Wh-phrase remains in the Focus-position of its own (embedded) clause
      B. The anticipatory pronoun may not be spelled out
      C. The scope-marker *mit* is assigned accusative case
      D. The complementizer *hogy* 'that' is obligatory
      E. The *mit*-strategy displays locality effects
      F. The *mit*-strategy is allowed by bridge verbs
      G. The real Wh-phrase takes wide scope

It is clear that an analysis of this phenomenon will have to account for these properties.

Overt long Wh/Focus-movement and the *mit*-strategy have a number of properties in common (cf. 6.2.(4) and (1)). Therefore, I will assume that the *core* syntactic principles that authorize overt long Wh/Focus-movement also authorize the *mit*-strategy. If this is correct, then we provide empirical evidence for the Correspondence Hypothesis, here repeated as (2):

(2)   *Correspondence Hypothesis*
      Whenever there is a syntactic reflex of the assignment of (wide) scope, the dependency involved and overt long Wh-movement obey the same conditions on government and bounding

The conditions on government involved with overt long Wh/Focus-movement are the selection and *L-marking* of a CP by a bridge verb, and the principle of bounding theory involved with this strategy is the Subjacency Condition, to be more pre-

cise, *0-subjacency* (cf. section 6.4.). Suppose now that these conditions are also operative in the mit-strategy.

Let us derive the properties in (1) within this framework. Before we can do so, consider first Baker's (1970) theory of scope-assignment to Wh-phrases.

Following Baker (1970), I will assume that all cases of scope assignment for Wh-phrases involve coindexing with an abstract scope-marker $Q$ which is base-generated in the [Spec, CP] position. The representation of overt Wh-movement and Wh in-situ in this system are as follows:

(3)  a. $[_{CP} Q_i [Wh\text{-}phrase]_i [...t_i...]]$          b. $[_{CP} Q_i [...[Wh\text{-}phrase]_i...]]$

In both cases, scope-assignment to the Wh-phrase depends on the relation with Q. The difference between (3a) and (3b) is that the content of the Wh-phrase is adjacent to Q in the former, but not in the latter.

Within the local domain any category can be linked to Q. Suppose now that the local domain of *Wh* (CP) can be extended by iterating the indexing to Q (as all other indexing can be):

(4)  $...[Q_i...[Q_i...[_{CP} Q_i [...Wh_i...]]]]...$

This representation does not violate bounding theory. Scope is assigned to *Wh* by coindexing it with a chain of abstract scope-markers. This iterative indexing mimics overt successive cyclic movement.

Let us consider now how the properties of the *mit*-strategy are accounted for. In analogy with overt long Wh/Focus-movement, I will assume that bridge verbs may select and L-mark a CP-complement yielding the following configuration:

(5)
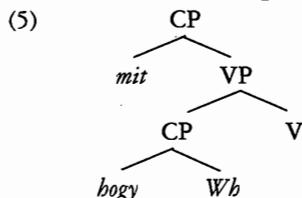


This configuration directly accounts for the fact that the *mit*-strategy is allowed by bridge verbs only (cf. (1F)), and for the fact that the anticipatory pronoun may not be spelled out (cf. (1B)). The CP is itself in an A-position (the object position). Let us examine now why the *mit*-phrase is assigned accusative Case (cf. (1C)).

A sentence with the *mit*-strategy has the following structure:

(6)  $[_{CP} Mit_i$   gondolsz $[_{CP*} Q_i$ hogy $[_{CP} János [_{CP°} kit_i$   látott$_j [_{VP} t_i t_j]]]]]]$
     what-ACC think-AGR2sg  that        John      who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
     'Who do you think that John saw?'

In this sentence, the embedded real object Wh-phrase *kit* is moved to the Focus-position of its own clause, that is, to the [Spec, CP°]. It may be coindexed with a base-generated scope-marker Q in the [Spec, CP*], as an instance of (3b). The dummy *mit*-phrase in the matrix clause represents the scope of the real Wh-phrase. In fact, the scope of *kit* is extended to a higher domain. This suggests that the *mit*-phrase is an overt realization of an iterated abstract scope-marker (cf. (4)).

Bridge verbs have the ability to assign exceptional accusative Case to the [Spec, CP*] in a configuration like (5) (cf. section 6.3.). Suppose now that this Case is as-

signed to Q in the [Spec, CP]. Hence, we derive (1C). Below I will return to the question why an iterated scope-marker must be overtly realized.

Let us now turn to a discussion of the locality effects which occur with the *mit*-strategy.

It displays locality effects (cf. (1F)). Island conditions such as CNPC, SENSC, and AC may not be violated. Therefore, the real Wh-phrase and the *mit*-phrase may not be coindexed across a complex NP, a sentential subject, and an adjunct clause. This would result in a subjacency violation. This coindexing is, however, allowed with bridge verbs, because they L-mark a CP-complement in configuration (5) (cf. section 6.4.). Therefore, the real Wh-phrase and the *mit*-phrase are no longer separated by a barrier. Hence, an instance of 0-subjacency preventing a violation of the Subjacency Condition.

Overt long Wh/Focus-movement exhibits WhIC-violations (cf. section 6.4.). Wh/Focus-phrases may be extracted from a Wh-island because this phenomenon applies through the [Spec, CP*] and the embedded Wh-phrase occupies the [Spec, $CP^0$] (= Focus). The *mit*-strategy may also violate WhIC. Consider 6.5.(14), here repeated as (7):

(7)  *Mit*$_i$     gondolsz   [$_{CP*}$ Q$_i$ hogy [$_{CP}$ János [$_{CP1}$ *kinek*$_i$     [$_{CP0}$ *mit*
      what-ACC think-AGR2sg      that      John         what-DAT     what-ACC
      adott]]]
      gave-AGR3sg
      *'To whom do you think what John gave?'

An explanation for the grammaticality of this sentence runs along the same lines as for WhIC-violations with overt long Wh/Focus-movement. The embedded object Wh-phrase *mit* is in the embedded Focus-position. Therefore, Q in the [Spec, CP] remains accessible for coindexing with the Wh-phrase *kinek*.[14] This circumvents a violation of WhIC.

Let us consider now why the complementizer is obligatory in the *mit*-strategy (cf. (1D)).

*Hogy*-drop may apply if the complement clause contains a Wh-phrase (cf. 6.4.(18)). The complementizer in the *mit*-strategy, however, must be obligatorily present:

(8)  a. Tudod        [$_{CP*}$ (*hogy*) [$_{CP}$ János [$_{CP0}$ *kit*       látott]]]
        know-AGR2sg     that      John       who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
        'Do you know who John saw?'
     b. Mit          gondolsz   [$_{CP*}$ *(*hogy*) [$_{CP}$ János [$_{CP0}$ *kit*   látott]]]
        what-ACC think-AGR2sg       that      John who-ACC saw-AGR3sg
        'Who do you think that John saw?'

The distribution of the complementizers in this pair matches the distribution of complementizers in declarative sentences and long Wh/Focus-movement constructions (cf. section 6.4.). Lexicalization of *hogy* is obligatory with long Wh/Focus-movement but not with declarative sentences. This is due to the fact that complementizers provide a [Spec, CP*] position for Wh/Focus-trace in the former.

The explanation for this dichotomy carries over to the pair in (8). But now instead of a trace a scope-marker Q is present in the [Spec, CP*]. Therefore, the complementizer must be spelled out in (8b) with the *mit*-strategy, unlike in (8a) with the indirect Wh-question. In the latter, Q is not have to be present in the [Spec, CP*].

(14) The intermediate CPs do not provide additional barriers if we assume that L-containment is transitive (cf. section 6.4.).

The lack of multiple *mit*-strategy also supports the hypothesis of an abstract scope-marker in the [Spec, CP*] position with this strategy:

(9)  *$Mit_i$  $mit_j$ gondolsz [$_{CP*}$ Q hogy [$_{CP}$ János [$_{CP1}$ $kinek_i$  [$_{CP0}$ $mit_j$ adott]]]]
     what-ACC what-ACC think-AGR2sg that John what-DAT what-ACC gave-AGR3sg

This sentence is the counterpart of (7), except that another *mit*-phrase has been inserted in the matrix clause. The ungrammaticality of (9) shows that multiple *mit*-strategy cannot apply. This fact is covered, if we assume the presence of a (single) scope-marker in the [Spec, CP*] which is available for iterative coindexing.

Let us consider now why the real Wh-phrase in the *mit*-strategy takes wide scope (cf. (1G)).

The scope of a Wh-phrase directly corresponds to its position in syntax in long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. 6.3.(2H)). The scope of the real Wh-phrase in the *mit*-strategy, however, is represented at another position than where this phrase is physically realized. In both strategies, the real Wh-phrases have wide scope. The reason for this is that scope-assignment to Wh-phrases involves, as Baker (1970) has proposed, two patterns, namely, an adjunction (cf. (3a)) and an in-situ schema (cf. (3b)).

Overt long Wh/Focus-movement is an instance of the former. The Wh-phrase is adjoined to its scope-marker. It is assigned wide-scope by being adjacent to Q. The *mit*-strategy is an instance of the latter. The embedded Wh-phrase is bound by its scope-marker. It is assigned wide scope by this coindexing. This derives then property (1G)).

Let us now consider why an iterated Q must be spelled out as an overt *mit*-phrase.

The canonical landing site of Wh-phrases is the Focus-position, left-adjacent to the finite verb (cf. 2.1.(28c)). So all phrases bearing a feature [+Wh] must occupy this position. The abstract scope-marker receives this feature as well under coindexing with the real (embedded) Wh-phrase. As a consequence, Q must also land in Focus. The representation of a multiple embedded Wh-question with the *mit*-strategy is as follows:

(10)
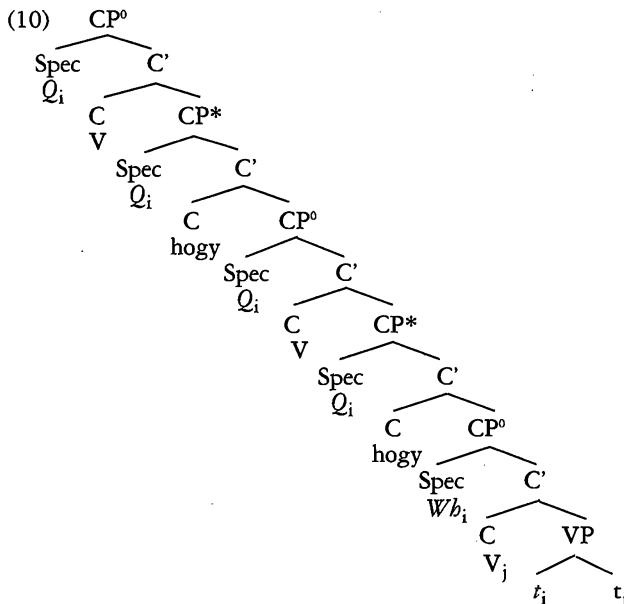
Focus is a prominent position in the syntax of Hungarian. It must be visible for reasons of phonetic interpretation, like for primary stress-assignment. Let us assume that this visibility requirement is responsible for the spelling out of an abstract scope marker in Focus as an overt *mit*-phrase. (11) yields the following representation of (10):

(11)  CP⁰
      /    \
   Spec    C'
   *mit*ᵢ  /  \
         C    CP*
         V   /   \
          Spec    C'
          Qᵢ     /  \
               C    CP⁰
              hogy  /   \
                 Spec    C'
                 *mit*ᵢ  /  \
                       C    CP*
                       V   /   \
                        Spec    C'
                        *mit*ᵢ  /  \
                              C    CP⁰
                             hogy  /  \
                                Spec    C'
                                *Wh*ᵢ  /  \
                                      C    VP
                                      Vⱼ  /  \
                                         tᵢ    tⱼ
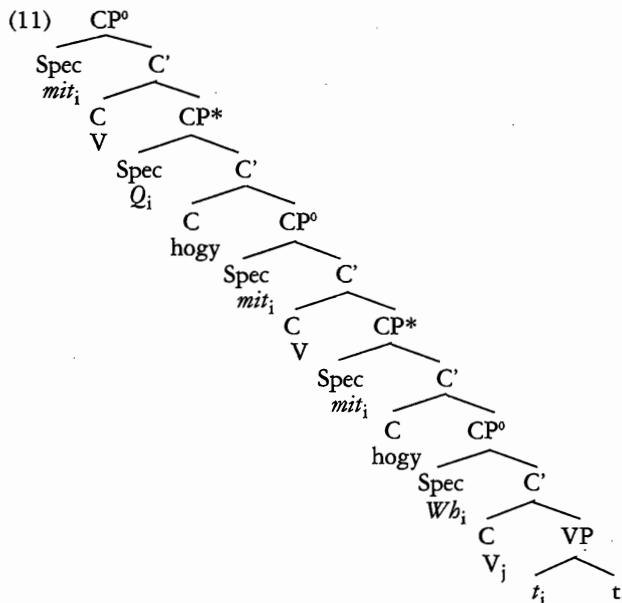
Summarizing, I argued that long Wh/Focus-movement and the *mit*-strategy involve the same core syntactic principles, L-marking and 0-subjacency.

This provides empirical evidence for the Correspondence Hypothesis. In order to make this hypothesis operative, I adopted the assumption that the *mit*-phrase is a scope-marker in the sense of Baker (1970). This accounts also for the fact why correspondence effects are absent with long Focus-movement, unlike with long Wh-movement. There is no lexicalised scope-marker with respect to Focus. In the next section, I will discuss the consequences of the Correspondence Hypothesis for the grammar of Hungarian and the theory of grammar.

## 6.7. Some Consequences of Wh-strategies in Hungarian

This section discusses some consequences of the different Wh-strategies in Hungarian. First, I will determine the position of these strategies within the grammar of Hungarian (cf. section 6.7.1.). Second, I will examine the consequences of correspondence effects for the theory of UG. I will conclude that these effects make the level of representation called LF superfluous (cf. section 6.7.2.).

### 6.7.1. Wh-strategies and the Grammar of Hungarian

I noted in section 5.3.7. a dialectal split with respect to overt long Wh-movement in Hungarian. Hungarian I accepts overt long Wh-movement entirely, and

Hungarian II accepts it only marginally. In the latter, the following accessibility hierarchy (cf. 5.3.7.(4)) is operative:

(1)   *Accessibility hierarchy for long Wh-movement in Hungarian*
      Lexical case > structural Case (NOM and ACC)

Extraction of a Wh-phrase with lexical case yields a far better result than extraction of a Wh-phrase with structural Case. Instead of the latter, speakers of Hungarian II prefer the *mit*-strategy.

I will assume that this dialectal difference is related to the following parameter (cf. Chomsky 1986a: 75):

(2)   +/-*move Wh*

This parameter states that Wh-movement is optional, as all syntactic movement rules are. The existence of languages with overt long Wh-movement such as English and languages with Wh in-situ such Chinese and Japanese provide empirical evidence for its postulation.

Move Wh is set positively in Hungarian I, whereas it is set negatively in Hungarian II. If this parameter is real, then we expect that phenomena contingent on Wh-movement will diverge in these dialects as well. I will demonstrate that this indeed is the case with (*I*) the morphological adjustment of an intermediate verb with the extraction of an indefinite (nominative and accusative) Wh-phrase from multiple embedded Wh-questions, and (*II*) the distribution of parasitic gaps and resumptive pronouns.

(*I*) A bridge verb displays agreement with an extracted indefinite nominative and accusative Wh-phrase in long Wh/Focus-movement (cf. 6.2.(3D)). I argued in section 6.4. that this phenomenon applies successive cyclically through the [Spec, CP*], and that the indefinite (nominative and accusative) Wh-phrases trigger the indefinite conjugation on the bridge verb. The question arises how the bridge verbs are conjugated when an indefinite nominative or accusative Wh-phrase is extracted from a multiple embedded Wh-question. Consider the following sentences:

(3)   a. *Kit* gondolsz [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [ Mari *mondta/mondott* [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [ látta *t* Jánost]]]]
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that Mary said-AGR3sg-def/indef that saw-AGR3sg-def John-ACC
         'Who do you think Mary said saw John?'
      b. *Kit* gondolsz [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [ Mari *mondta/mondott* [$_{CP*}$ *t* hogy [ János látott *t*]]]]
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that Mary said-AGR3sg-def/indef that John saw-AGR3sg-indef
         'Who do you think that Mary said that John saw?'

These sentences exemplify the extraction of an indefinite Wh-phrase from the most deeply embedded clause. In (3a), it is base-generated in the subject position, and in (3b) it is base-generated in the accusative object position.

If successive cyclic movement through the [Spec, CP ] is correct, then we expect that both the matrix verb and the intermediate verb exhibit indefinite conjugation. The traces occupy this position and they are indefinite. Hence, they may trigger the indefinite conjugation.

This prediction is, however, only borne out in Hungarian I. É. Kiss (1985) has reported that in multiple embedded Wh-questions, in which the subject or the accusative object is long Wh-moved from the deepest embedded clause, both the matrix and the intermediate verb are conjugated indefinitely. Hence, speakers of this dialect realize the matrix verb and the intermediate verb in (3) *as gondolsz* 'think-AGR2sg-indef' and *mondott* 'said-AGR2sg-indef'.

Speakers of Hungarian II, on the other hand, marginally accept these sentences, if possible at all, with the definite conjugation on the intermediate verb. Hence, the intermediate verb must be *mondta* 'said-AGR3sg-def'.

It is reasonable to assume that this dialectal variation is related to the parameter +/-move Wh. Hungarian I behaves as expected. The (indefinite) conjugation on the intermediate bridge verb is determined by the trace in the [Spec, CP*]. This unambiguously supports successive cyclic movement through the Spec of CP*.

Hungarian II involves successive cyclicity as well. The insertion of the anticipatory pronoun yields a completely unacceptable result:

(4)  a. *\*Kit* gondolsz [$_{CP}$ hogy Mari mondta *azt* [$_{CP}$ hogy János látott]]
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that Mary said-AGR3sg-def that-ACC that
         John saw-AGR3sg-indef

     b. *\*Kit* gondolsz [$_{CP}$ hogy Mari mondta *azt* [$_{CP}$ hogy látta Jánost]]
         who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that Mary said-AGR3sg-def that-ACC that
         saw-AGR3sg-def John-ACC

Suppose that the relation between the Wh-phrase and its gap in these sentences is not an instance of real successive cyclic movement but rather mimics successive cyclic movement. Maybe, it involves an analogic form of the *mit*-strategy. As a consequence, no intermediate traces are present. This accounts for the absence of indefinite conjugation on the intermediate verbs.

Instead these verbs pattern the same as intermediate verbs in multiple declarative sentences (cf. (5b)) or in multiple embedded Wh-questions with the extraction of a Wh-phrase bearing lexical case (cf. (5b)). They are conjugated definitely. Hence, the form of the verb is *mondta* 'said-AGR3sg-def':

(5)  a. Azt gondoltam [$_{CP}$ hogy Mari azt *mondta* [$_{CP}$ hogy János találkozott Péterrel]]
         that-ACC thought-AGR1sg-def that Mary that-ACC said-AGR3sg-def that
         John met-AGR3sg-indef Peter-INSTR
         'I thought that Mary said that John met Peter.'

     b. *Kivel* gondolod [$_{CP}$ hogy Mari *mondta* [$_{CP}$ hogy János találkozott]
         who-INSTR think-AGR2sg-def that Mary said-AGR3sg-def that John met-
         AGR3sg-indef
         'With whom do you think that Mary said that John met?'

(*II*) Hungarian displays parasitic gaps (cf. section 5.3.7.2.):

(6)  a. [$_{CP}$ *Milyen iratokat* tettél [$_{VP}$ el  *t*] [mielött elolvastál volna *é*]]
         what papers-ACC put-AGR2sg-indef away what-before perf-read-AGR2sg-
         indef would
         'Which papers did you put away before reading?'

     b. [$_{CP}$ *Milyen iratokat* tettél [$_{VP}$ el  *t*] [mielött  elolvastad volna \*(*öket*)]]
         what papers-ACC put-AGR2sg-indef away what-before perf-read-AGR2sg-
         def would them
         'Which papers did you put away before reading?'

(7)  a.  [CP *Milyen iratot tettél* [VP el   *t*] [mielött végeztél volna *e*]]
         what paper-ACC put-AGR2sg-indef  away what-before finished-AGR2sg-in-
         def would
         'Which paper did you put away before finishing?'
     b.  [CP *Milyen iratot tettél* [VP el   *t*] [mielött végeztél volna *(vele)*]]
         what paper-ACC put-AGR2sg-indef away what-before finished-AGR2sg-in-
         def would it-INSTR
         'Which paper did you put away before finishing?'

These sentences exhibit short Wh-movement and they contain an adjunct clause
with a parasitic gap (indicated by *e*). The (a)-sentences represent the intuitions of
speakers of Hungarian I (cf. É. Kiss 1985). The (b)-sentences represent the intuitions
of speakers of Hungarian II. The gap in the (a)-sentences must remain non-overt.
The gap in the (b)-sentences, however, must be spelled out as an overt pronoun.
Hence, Hungarian I involves a parasitic gap strategy, whereas Hungarian II involves
a resumptive pronoun strategy in similar cases.

In Hungarian I, the gap cannot be *pro* because plural accusative personal pronouns
and pronouns with lexical case may not be omitted (cf. 4.2.(34)). In Hungarian II, on
the other hand, the gap may be *pro*, as the following sentence demonstrates:

(8)  [CP *Kivel* találkoztál [VP *t* ] [anelkül hogy *\*meghívtál/meghívtad* volna (*öt*)]]
     who-INSTR met-AGR2sg-indef that-without that perf-invited-AGR2sg-
     indef/def would  him
     'Who did you meet without you having invited?'

A singular accusative pronoun *öt* may be dropped only if the verb is conjugated
definitely. This matches the distribution of *pro* (cf. 4.2. (34)). Hence, *pro* may func-
tion as a resumptive pronoun only if it locally recoverable from AGR.

The following pair shows that long Wh-movement with parasitic gap clauses
patterns the same as short Wh-movement with such clauses:

(9)  a.  [CP *Kiket* szeretnél [CP ha  eljönnének   *t*] [anélkül hogy meghívtál volna *e*]]
         who-pl-ACC like-COND-AGR2sg-indef if came-COND-AGR3pl-indef that-
         without that perf-invited-AGR2sg-indef would
         'Whom would you like if came without you having invited?'
     b.  [CP *Kiket* szeretnél [CP ha eljönnének *t*] [anélkül hogy meghívtad  volna *\*(öket)*]]
         who-pl-ACC like-COND-AGR2sg-indef if came-COND-AGR3pl-indef that-
         without that perf-invited-AGR2sg-def would them
         'Whom would you like if came without you having invited?'

Again, in the (a)-sentence a parasitic gap is allowed, and in the (b)-sentence a re-
sumptive pronoun must be spelled out.

In sum, Hungarian I allows a parasitic gap strategy, whereas Hungarian II em-
•ploys a resumptive pronoun strategy in similar cases. The question then is how do
we account for this difference?

The distribution of empty categories is restricted by the following descriptive
condition:

(10)  Empty categories must be bound locally

For example, *pro* must be bound by a local AGR, and Wh-trace must be bound by its antecedent in its minimal maximal domain. It is reasonable to assume that parasitic gaps obey principle (10) as well. Chomsky (1986b) suggests that these gaps are bound locally if they are 1-subjacent to the real gap, since a parasitic gap is embedded in an adjunct clause.

Suppose now that empty categories must be 0-subjacent to their binders in Hungarian II but not in Hungarian I. Hence, a real gap cannot license a parasitic gap in Hungarian II. This yields the absence of parasitic gaps. We have seen that such constructions may be saved by a resumptive pronoun strategy.

Let us summarize the differences between Hungarian I and II in the following diagram:

| (11) | | *Hungarian I* | *Hungarian II* |
|---|---|---|---|
| -accessibility hierachy for overt long Wh-movement | | - | + |
| -preference of the *mit*-strategy | | - | + |
| -indefinite conjugation on intermediate verb in multiple embedded Wh-questions | | + | - |
| -parasitic gap strategy | | + | - |
| -resumptive pronoun strategy | | - | + |

The two dialects differ with respect to phenomena intrinsically dependent on the presence or absence of (long) Wh-movement. I suggested that this involves the parameter +/-move Wh. I will leave the further exploration of this parameter and the phenomena contingent on it as a task for further research.

### 6.7.2. Correspondence Effects and the Theory of Grammar

*Correspondence effects* effects also appear in languages other than Hungarian. Van Riemsdijk (1983b) observes that *German* displays a Wh-strategy quite similar to the *mit*-strategy in Hungarian. The scope marker in German is *was* 'what'. Compare (12a):

(12) a. [$_{CP}$ *Was* glaubst du [$_{CP}$ *was* Peter meint [$_{CP}$ *wer* heute kommt]]]
     what   think  you    what Peter believes   who today comes
     'Who do you think Peter believes will come today?'

b. *[$_{CP}$ *Was* glaubst du [$_{CP}$ *was* Peter meint [$_{CP}$ *wer* kommt heute]]]
     what    think  you    what Peter believes  who comes   today

The ungrammaticality of (12b) shows that the *was*-strategy involves a complex sentence. The finite verb must be in final-position in embedded clauses, since German is an SOV-language.

Hiemstra (1986) notes correspondence effects in Frisian:

(13) a. [$_{CP}$ *Wa* tinke jo [$_{CP}$ dat ik *t* sjoen ha]]
     who   think you    that I   seen  have
     'Who do you think that I have seen?'

b. [$_{CP}$ *Wat* tinke jo [$_{CP}$ *wa't* ik *t*    sjoen ha]]
     what   think you  who-that I seen  have
     'Who do you think that I have seen?'

(14) a. [$_{CP}$ *Wa* tinke jo [$_{CP}$ dat  *t* my sjoen hat]]
        who    think you     that  me seen  has
        'Who do you think has seen me?'
   b. [$_{CP}$ *Wat* tinke  jo [$_{CP}$ *wa'tt*    my sjoen hat]]
        what    think you    who-that me seen  has
        'Who do you think has seen me?'
        (Hiemstra 1986: 33)

The (a)-sentences represent instances of overt long Wh-movement. This may apply from both the subject position (cf. (14a)) and the object position (cf. (13a)).[15] The (b)-sentences exemplify the Frisian variant of the scope marker-strategy. The real Wh-phrases *wa* move to the [Spec, CP] of their own (embedded) clause in (13b) and (14b). They merge with the complementizer *dat* yielding *wa't*. The Wh-phrases *wat* in the matrix clauses function as a scope marker.

Thus, iterative long distance Wh-movement without overt syntactic movement appears in historically unrelated languages like Hungarian, German or Frisian.[16] This provides empirical evidence for the Correspondence Hypothesis 6.2.(6), here repeated as (15):

(15)    *Correspondence Hypothesis*
        Whenever there is a syntactic reflex of the assignment of (wide) scope, the dependency involved and long Wh-movement obey the same conditions on government and bounding

This hypothesis states that the grammar of Wh-trace and the grammar of scope is constrained by the same syntactic principles. If this is correct, then these principles have optimal explanatory power. Hence, the Correspondence Hypothesis represents the null-hypothesis.

This unification has not been a major focus of research in recent years. Rather, it has generally been assumed that wide scope-assignment is not restricted by bounding theory. This has been regarded as an argument for the independent status of LF (cf. Huang (1982), Lasnik and Saito (1984), and Chomsky (1986), among others).

Correspondence effects provide empirical evidence against this position. They yield a contradiction in the terminology of Chomsky and Huang. Wide scope assignment is restricted by subjacency, and consequently this condition holds at LF. However, according to Chomsky and Huang subjacency does not hold at LF but at S-structure. Note, incidentally, that it is not appealing to escape this contradiction by parametrizing bounding theory at LF, as may be clear from Chomsky (1986, 220): "It seems difficult to imagine that rules of the LF component are subject to

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(15) Copying of the moved Wh-phrase in the intermediate [Spec, CP] may stress the successive cyclic effect in Frisian overt long Wh-movement (cf. Hiemstra 1986):
    (i) [$_{CP}$ *Wa*    tinke jo  [$_{CP}$ *wa't*    *t* my sjoen hat]]
        who think you     who-that  me seen  has
    'Who do you think has seen me?'
This repetition of moved Wh-phrases with overt long Wh-movement appears also in Afrikaans (cf. Du Plessis 1977) and German (cf. Höhle 1989).
    (16) McDaniel reports that Romani, an Indic language spoken in southern Yugoslavia, exhibits correspondence effects as well. The scope marker in this language is *so* 'what'.

parametric variation since it is unclear what evidence to fix their character would be available to the language-learner."

Koster (1987) argues that all grammatical dependency relations display the following properties at S-structure:

(16) a. obligatoriness          b. uniqueness of the antecedent
     c. c-command of the antecedent    d. locality

The assignment of wide-scope does not form an exception. If that is correct, then a separate representation for the level of scope, LF, is entirely *superfluous*. The null-hypothesis even predicts that locality effects should appear with wide-scope Wh in-situ in Chinese and Japanese. Pesetsky (1984) has demonstrated that this appears to be the case.

Interestingly, natural languages also employ syntactic means other than scope markers to express the successive cyclic effect in long distance dependencies without overt movement.

According to McCloskey (1979), Irish relative clauses and Wh-questions are divided in two types, those that terminate with a gap, and those that terminate with a resumptive pronoun. McCloskey notes that the most striking property of the latter type is that the verb must be preceded by the complementizer *aL*. In long distance relativization (cf. (17a)) and long Wh-movement (cf. (17b)), *aL* must be present in each clause:

(17) a.  An duine [$_{CP}$ *aL*    mheas   tú [$_{CP}$ *aL*     chonaic tú   *t*]]
         the person    Comp thought you    Comp saw      you
         'The person that you thought you saw.'

     b.  Cé [$_{CP}$ *aL*    mheas   tú [$_{CP}$ *aL*     chonaic tú    *t*]]
         who    Comp thought you     Comp saw      you
         'Who did you think you saw?'

The requirement that *aL* must be present in each clause suggests successive cyclicity. This is further supported by the fact that long relativization and long Wh-movement may not violate island conditions like CNPC and WhIC.

The syntax of long relativization and long Wh-movement in Irish resembles the syntax of the scope marker-strategy in Hungarian, German or Frisian. Both construction types lack overt syntactic movement, and they display successive cyclicity. A complementizer stresses the successive cyclic effect in Irish, and a Wh-phrase does the same in Hungarian, German, and Frisian.[17]

In conclusion, correspondence effects render an independent level for the representation of scope, LF, superfluous. Wide scope assignment is subsumed by the same principles which restrict grammatical dependency relations at S-structure. Long distance movement is implemented in the grammar in a successive cyclic fashion. In Hungarian, the domain of scope is extended in a fascinating way by the iteration of the scope marker *mit*.

(17) This is also the case with the iteration of certain types of verbal agreement in some languages. For example, Chung (1982) and Georgopoulos (1985) report that this phenomenon occurs with unbounded (Wh)-dependencies in Chamorro and Palauan respectively. Thráinsson (1976) and Pica (1987) demonstrate that the iteration of AGR conditions the occurrence of long distance anaphors in Icelandic. A non-local subject may bound the reflexive anaphor *sig* as long as the intermediate verbs are marked with the subjunctive.

## 6.8. Concluding Remarks

This chapter examined Wh-strategies in Hungarian. This language has two long distance Wh-strategies, overt long Wh-movement and the so-called *mit*-strategy. These strategies are subject to dialectal/idiolectal variation. I hypothesised that this variation is associated with the parameter +/-move Wh. Some phenomena appear to be contingent upon the setting of this parameter such as the conjugation-type of intermediate verbs in multiple embedded Wh-questions, the distribution of parasitic gaps and resumptive pronouns.

The existence of these Wh-strategies yields empirical support for the Correspondence Hypothesis, which excludes the existence of an independent level for the representation of scope (LF). What principle covers the scope of quantifiers?

The following universal principle determines the scope of quantifiers (cf. Reinhart 1983):[18]

(1) A quantifier c-commands its scope at S-structure

Hungarian is a left-branching language (cf. 2.2.1.(1)). This implies that the leftmost constituent has the largest c-command domain. Hence, in accordance with this principle the leftmost quantifier has widest scope in the following pair:

(2) a. [$_{CP1}$ *Mindenki* [$_{CP0}$ *csak Marit* szereti]]
         everyone      only Mary-ACC loves-AGR3sg
     'Everyone is such that he loves only Mary.'
     *'Only Mary is such that everyone loves her'.

    b. [$_{CP0}$ *Csak Marit* szereti      [$_{VP}$ *mindenki*]]
         only Mary-ACC loves-AGR3sg   everyone
     'Only Mary is such that everyone loves her'.
     *'Everyone is such that he loves only Mary.'

The scope of Wh-phrases in multiple Wh-questions is also accounted for by principle (1). The leftmost Wh-phrase, which has the largest c-command domain, has the widest scope:

(3) a. [$_{CP1}$ *Ki* [$_{CP0}$ *mit*      mondott]]
         who      what-ACC said-AGR3sg
     'For which x, x a person, for which y, y a statement, x said y'.
     *'For which y, y a statement, for which x, x a person, x said y'.

    b. [$_{CP1}$ *Mit* [$_{CP0}$  *ki*  mondott]]
         what-ACC who said-AGR3sg
     'For which y, y a statement, for which x, x a person, x said y'.
     *'For which x, x a person, for which y, y a statement, x said y.'

Long Wh-movement satisfies condition (1) as well. The scope of an extracted Wh-phrase is determined at its S-structure position, at least in Hungarian (cf. 6.2.(3H)).

(18) Exceptions to this rule include donkey-sentences and inverse-linking. For instance, a universal quantifier embedded in an NP may bind a pronoun in the following Hungarian inverse-linking construction:
     (i) [[$_{NP}$ Egy olasz   város *minden lakósa*]          azt          gondolta        [$_{CP}$ hogy (*ö*) nyerni fog]]
            an   Italian city   every  inhabitant-npAGR3sg that-ACC thought-AGR3sg      that he win   will
         'Every inhabitant of an Italian city thought that he would win.'
     Rullman (1988) notes that all exceptions to condition (1) bear on referential dependency. According to Rullman, a violation of the c-command requirement is avoided in these cases if c-command affects the mother node of embedded quantifiers.

If the Wh-phrase is not fronted into the matrix sentence, as with the *mit*-strategy, its scope is represented at S-structure by the topmost scope marker. Compare:

(4) a. [CP *Kivel* gondolod [CP *t* hogy mindenki mondta [CP *t* hogy Mari táncolt *t*]]]
who-INSTR think-AGR2s that everyone said-AGR3sg that Mary danced-AGR3sg
'With who do you think that everyone said that Mary danced?'

b. [CP *Mit* gondolsz [CP hogy *mit* mondott mindenki [CP hogy Mari *kivel* táncolt ]]]
what-ACC think-AGR2sg that what-ACC said-AGR3sg everyone that Mary who-INSTR danced-AGR3sg
'With who do you think that everyone said that Mary danced?'

In (4a), the Wh-phrase *kivel* is extracted from the most deeply embedded clause. In (4b), on the other hand, it remains in the Focus position of its own clause, as an instance of the *mit*-strategy. In both sentences, *kivel* takes scope over the universal quantifier *mindenki* in the intermediate sentence. This is in accordance with principle (1), since *kivel* is itself (cf. (4a)) or its scope marker (cf. (4b)) is in a higher domain, i.e. the matrix clause, at S-structure than the universal quantifier. Hence, an answer to both questions involves only one single dancer, for instance *John*.[19]

In chapter four, we defined the Projection Principle as follows (cf. (4.7.(1)):

(5) The LS must be represented categorially at each level of representation

This principle requires that each lexically selected argument is recoverable in the syntactic structure.

Consider the following instance of long Wh-movement:

(6) Who do you think that John saw?

See selects two arguments, a subject and an object. In (6), the object is fronted into the matrix sentence.

The question then is whether the Projection Principle is directly satisfied by the moved object Wh-phrase, or is indirectly satisfied by virtue of a trace at its extraction-site. In other words, is the S-structure representation of (6), (7a) or (7b)?:

(7) a. *Who* do you think that John saw?      b. *Who* do you think that John saw it?

The Projection Principle is strictly locally satisfied in (7b).

Consider the following instances of long Wh-movement in Hungarian from the embedded object position:

(19) This parallel between overt long Wh-movement and the *mit*-strategy breaks down if the intermediate universal quantifier binds a pronoun, a *pro*, in the deepest embedded clause:

(i) a. [CP *Kivel*$_i$        gondolod        [CP $t_i$ hogy *mindenki*$_j$ mondta        [CP $t_i$ hogy *pro*$_j$ táncolt        $t_i$]]]
who-INSTR think-AGR2sg        that everyone said-AGR3sg        that he danced-AGR3sg
'With who do you think that everyone said that he danced?'

b. [CP *Mit*$_i$        gondolsz        [CP hogy *mit*$_i$        mondott        *mindenki*$_j$ [CP hogy *pro*$_j$ *kivel*$_i$        táncolt]]]
what-ACC think-2sgAGR        that what-ACC said-AGR3sg everyone        that he who-INSTR danced-AGR3sg
'With who do you think that everyone said that he danced?'

(ib) may also involve a pair-reading, although this reading is harder to get than the one in which the Wh-phrase has scope over the universal quantifier. It seems to me that in this sentence a connectedness effect is operative. I will leave the dichotomy between the pair in (4) and (i) for further research.

(8) a.  Kit        *gondolsz*              hogy János *látott?*
        who-ACC think-AGR2sg-indef that John  saw-AGR3sg-indef
        'Who do you think that John saw?'
    b.  Melyik fiút      *gondolod*         hogy János *látta?*
        which  boy-ACC think-AGR2sg-def that John saw-AGR3sg-def
        'Which boy do you think that John saw?'

These sentences show that the matrix verb always displays the same conjugation-type as the embedded verb when an accusative object Wh-phrase is extracted (cf. 6.2.(3D)). The matrix verb and the embedded verb are both conjugated indefinitely if an indefinite Wh-phrase is moved (cf. (8a), and they are conjugated definitely if a definite Wh-phrase is extracted (cf. (8b)). Hence, the conjugation-type corresponds with the definiteness of the extracted Wh-phrases.

If the Projection Principle is directly satisfied by the extracted Wh-phrase, then the agreement correspondence between the upper and the lower verb remains unex-plainded. If we assume, however, that overt long Wh-movement leaves a trace which inherites its Φ-features, it is accounted for. Both the Wh-phrase and its trace trigger the same conjugation-type on their verbal governor. This agreement correspondence favors a strictly local implementation of the Projection Principle. Hence, we have another argument supporting a definition of the Projection Principle as in (5) (cf. also chapter four).

# 7. THE SYNTAX OF THE PP IN HUNGARIAN

## 7.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the syntax of the PP in Hungarian. The results of our investigations can be summarized as follows.

(*i*) PPs are *head-final* configurational categories, like NPs. This provides empirical evidence for the claim that all X'-projections are head-final in Hungarian (cf. 2.2.1.(1)).

(*ii*) Some Ps may be inflected for *person-number agreement* (AGR) when they select a pronominal complement. In fact, there are two types of postpositions, including *inflected* Ps, the "dressed" ones, and *non-inflected* Ps, the "naked" ones. Consequently, there are two different types of PPs as well, dressed PPs and naked PPs. I will demonstrate that there are some syntactic differences between these types of PPs which correlate with the presence or absence of AGR.

(*iii*) Possessive NPs contain a realization of AGR as well which is spelled out on the noun-possessed (cf. Szabolcsi 1981a, Kornai 1984; 1985). By comparing dressed PPs, naked PPs, and possessive NPs, we can isolate the following properties of *AGR*.

(1) *Properties of AGR in Hungarian*
    a. It reflects the person-number features of the NP-complement
    b. It has no phrase-structural prominence
    c. It is not a Case-assigner
    d. It does not function as an accessible subject
    e. It identifies *pro*

(*iv*) There is also a structural difference between PPs and NPs. This is due to the fact that nouns, unlike postpositions, have the ability to combine with a determiner (D). D determines its own X'-projection, a *DP*. I will show that this category is responsible for some striking syntactic differences between PPs and NPs.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 7.2. discusses the basic syntax of the PP. I will first argue that P is an *independent* category. Furthermore, I will illustrate that the PP is *postpositional*.

Section 7.3. presents a classification of dressed and naked Ps. This has repercussions for the syntax of the maximal projections of these categories. A pronominal complement may be omitted in dressed PPs but not in naked ones, as an instance of the *Pro-drop Parameter*. Dressed Ps assign *structural* (nominative) Case, whereas naked Ps assign *lexical* case. In the demonstrative construction of PP, a dressed P must be doubled, unlike a naked postposition.

Section 7.4. compares the PP with the NP. Although these categories have some properties in common, there are also remarkable differences between them involving *Case theory*, *theory of movement* and *binding theory*.

The complement of a possessive NP, the possessor NP, may appear with a nominative or dative case. The NP-complement of a dressed PP, on the other hand, may only be marked nominatively. The possessor NP may scramble within the possessive NP and it may be extracted from this category. The NP-complement of a PP and the head of this category may however not be separated by movement. Possessive NPs set up an opaque domain for binding theory. PPs, on the other hand, are always transparent for binding.

I will argue that these differences are due to the fact that the possessive NP, unlike the PP, should be analyzed as a DP. This category has its own specifier (Spec) position which provides a Case-position, and a landing-site or escape-hatch for possessor-raising. The head of the DP, D, is a structural subject in the sense of Chomsky (1981: 38). Such a category creates an inaccessible domain for binding.

Finally, section 7.5. investigates the status of AGR in of Hungarian. The status of this morpheme across languages may vary, yielding a typology of inflected PPs.

In some languages, it is *"agreement"* in a traditional sense. Its only function is to reflect the person-number features of the NP-complement on the head of its category. In other languages, AGR itself is a syntactic *complement*. With Hale (1988), I will assume that this typology depends on the level of representation at which the merging between AGR and a head takes place. For example, it is a lexical rule in Hungarian, but a syntactic one in Irish. As a consequence, AGR may cooccur with an overt syntactic complement in Hungarian, unlike Irish.

Let us first consider the basic properties of PP in Hungarian.

## 7.2. The Basic Syntax of PP in Hungarian

This section discusses the *basic* syntax of PP in Hungarian. I will first argue that P is an independent category (cf. section 7.2.1.). Then I will demonstrate that PP is postpositional (cf. 7.2.2.).

## 7.2.1. The Category P in Hungarian

This section argues that P is a category on its *own*, not to be identified with the categories prefix, adverb or case. In order to do so, I will develop some grammatical tests showing that it does not coincide with these categories, although they have historically developed from a common adverbial ancestor (cf. Bárczi et al 1978, and Mátai 1971).[1]

The classification of postposition, prefix, adverb and case has given rise to conflicting views in the literature. For example, Horvath (1978) does not acknowledge a category prefix. According to Horvath, prefixes are intransitive postpositions.

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(1) The category of prefixes includes, among others:
  (i) *be* 'in', *ki* 'out'. *le* 'down'. *fel/föl* 'up', *meg* 'perfectivity marker' and *el* 'away'
These prefixes often indicate the perfectivity and also the direction of an action denoted by the verb to which they are prefixed.

Ackerman (1987b) also takes prefixes and (naked) postpositions together but under the category verbal modifier (cf. section 4.4.1.).

In my view, the source of all confusion is due to two facts. First, some postpositions, prefixes, adverbs and cases have the ability to function as a verbal modifier. They may subcategorize for a verb and form with it a tight lexical and syntactic unit. Therefore, these categories have the same positional distribution. Second, some prefixes and (naked) postpositions may appear without complement.

Below, however, I demonstrate that postpositions, prefixes, adverbs, and cases are categorially distinct.

The strongest evidence for this claim comes from the fact that they have a completely different distribution with respect to various morpholexical rules. The assumption of a category including postpositions, prefixes, adverbs, and cases would render the formulation of these rules unnecessarily complex, if not impossible.

The rules involve, (I) *Comparative Formation*, (II) *Adjective Formation with the Suffix -i*, (III) *Compounding with the P -felé*, (IV) *SUBL/DELAT Case-marking* and (V) *Conjunction Reduction*. Before presenting them, I will first classify postpositions from a semantic point of view. This will allow us to formulate some of these morpholexical rules in a much easier way.

In Hungarian, there is an almost perfectly regular system developed for local relations corresponding to the questions *to where?*, *where?*, and *from where?*. The case-system may be divided into subsystems corresponding to these three directions. For example, the illative marker *-ba/be* 'to where?', the inessive marker *ban/ben* 'where?' and the elative marker *-ból/ből* 'from where?' form such a subsystem (cf. 3.2.(5)).

Ackerman (1987b) classifies these tripartite subsystems with the help of semantic features [*path*], and [*goal*]:

(1)  *Semantic Characterization of Morphological case*:

|  | [-path]<br>[+goal] | [+path]<br>[-goal] | [+path] |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'containment' | INESS | ILL | ELAT |
| 'surface' | SUPER | SUBL | DELAT |
| 'proximity' | ADESS | ALL | ABL |

Some postpositions also display a tripartite subsystem, like the cases participating in (1). For instance, *alá* 'under' (to where?), *alatt* 'under' (where?) and *alól* 'under' (from where?) form such a triple. Each meaning is connected to a separate formal element which is not productive as a case-marker any more, involving respectively -*á/é* 'lative' (LAT), -*tt/n* 'locative' (LOC), -*l* 'ablative' (ABL). Analogously to the morphological case forms, I classify these postpositions as follows:

(2)  *Semantic Characterization of Postpositions*:

|  | [-path]<br>[+goal] | [+path]<br>[-goal] | [+path] |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'location' | LOC | LAT | ABL |

Let us now consider comparative formation in Hungarian.

(I) A comparative is formed by adding the comparative suffix -*(vowel)bb* to the stem. Members of the category P do not have comparatives. Therefore, the following forms are ungrammatical:[2]

(3)  a.   alatt 'under'                              (dressed P)
     a'.  *alatt*abb*
     b.   ellen 'against'                            (dressed P)
     b'.  *ellen*ebb*
     c.   mögül 'behind'                             (dressed P)
     c'.  *mögül*ebb*
     d.   át 'over'                                  (naked P)
     d'.  *át*abb*
     e.   belül 'inside'                             (naked P)
     e'.  *belül*ebb*
     f.   együtt 'together'                          (naked P)
     f'.  *együt*ebb*

Prefixes and adverbs, on the other hand, can have comparatives quite easily:[3]

(4)  a.   ki 'out'                                   (prefix)
     a'.  kijj*ebb* 'farther out'
     b.   fel 'up'                                   (prefix)
     b'.  fel*jebb* 'higher up'

(2) The lative dressed postpositions, except *felébb* 'above-comparative suffix', *körébb* 'round-comparative suffix', and *közébb* 'between-comparative suffix', and the naked postpositions *kivül* 'outside' and *közél* 'near' form an exception to the prohibition of putting Ps in the comparative:

(i) a.   alá 'under'        (dressed P)      c.   kívül 'outside'        (naked P)
    a'.  alább 'lower down'                  c'.  kivülebb 'more outside'
    b.   elé 'before'       (dressed P)      d.   közel 'near'          (naked P)
    b'.  elébb 'more forward'                d'.  közelebb 'nearer'

Obviously, these forms have maintained some of their adverbial character.

(3) István Kenesei (personal communication) questions this claim concerning prefixes. Alternatively, they could be comparatives of adverbs as well. The following argument supports the claim that these comparatives are indeed categorially prefixes.

The verb *tesz* 'do, make' subcategorizes for an accusative object. This object may not be nominal:

(i) a.   *Jót*         tettem               b.   *Tettem      a   képet*
         good-ACC did-AGR1sg                     did-AGR1sg the picture-ACC
         'I did well'

Prefixes may subcategorize for a verb yielding an independent lexical item. For example, the prefix *fel* 'up' combines with *tesz* into the complex verb *feltesz* 'put up'. This verb has an independent meaning and it subcategorizes for an accusative object. This accusative object, however, may be nominal, unlike the accusative object of its unprefixed form. Compare (ib) and (ii):

(ii) *Fel*tettem       a   *képet*
     up-put-AGR1sg the picture-ACC
     'I put up the picture.'

Note now that the accusative object is nominal as well if the verb *tesz* cooccurs with the comparative *feljebb* 'higher up':

(iii)*Feljebb*      tettem     · a   *képet*
     higher up did-AGR1sg the picture-ACC
     'I put the picture higher up.'

If *feljebb* would not be the comparative of the prefix *fel* but of an adverb, it would be puzzling why *tesz* may have a nominal object in this example but not in (ib). This dichotomy and the parallel subcategorization features of *feltesz* and *feljebbtesz* receive a straightforward explanation under the assumption that *feljebb* is categorically identical to *fel*.

    c.  le 'down'                                       (prefix)
    c'.  lejj*ebb* 'farther down'
    d.  bent 'inside'                                 (adverb)
    d'.  bent*ebb* 'more inside'
    e.  hamar 'soon'                              (adverb)
    e'.  hamar*abb* 'sooner'
    f.  lent 'below'                                (adverb)
    f'.  lent*ebb* 'more below'

So this yields the following derivational rule capturing *Comparative Formation*:[4]

(5)    *Comparative Formation:* where $X$ = *prefix* or *adverb*
       $X + \text{-}bb \rightarrow Xbb$ 'comparative of $X$'

(II) The word-formation component contains the following derivational rule deriving *adjectives* with the help of the suffix *-i*:[5]

(6)    *Adjective Formation with the Suffix -i:* where $X$ = *noun, postposition* or *adverb*
       $X + \text{-}i \rightarrow A$

The following examples illustrate that postpositions and adverbs may feed this rule:

(7)  a.  a híd  mögött*i*  út                   (dressed P)
         the bridge behind-adj road
         'The road behind the bridge'
    b.  a műsor alatt*i*  vita                 (dressed P)
         the program under-adj discussion
         'The discussion during the program'
    c.  tíz éven  aluli  gyerekek            (naked P)
         ten year-SUBL under-adj children
         'Children under ten year'
    d.  a házon  kívül*i*  virágok          (naked P)
         the house-SUBL outside-adj flowers
         'The flowers outside the house'
    e.  a bent*i*  szoba                   (adverb)
         the inside-adj room
         'The room inside'
    f.  a fent*i*  magyarázat            (adverb)
         the above-adj explanation
         'The explanation above'

Adjectives of prefixes may not be derived by rule (6):

(8)  a.  \*kij*i*    (prefix)       b.  \*lej*i*    (prefix)
        out-adj                      down-adj

---

(4) The comparatives of the prefixes *el* 'away' and *meg* 'perfectivity marker' do not exist: \**elebb* and \**megebb*. István Kenesei (personal communication) informs me that the following prefixes do not have comparatives either: *agyon* 'adds to the meaning of the verb 'in extreme', *félbe* 'incomplete', *félre* 'aside', and *szét* 'asunder'. It seems to me that these non-existing forms are lexical gaps or semantically impossible.

(5) The lative dressed postpositions and the dressed postpositions with the sublative marker *-ra/re* do not participate in this rule. Neither do the naked postpositions *fogva* 'as a result of', *fogva* 'from' (time adverbial), and *kezdve* 'from' (time adverbial).

(III) Hetzron (1982) notes that only prefixes and adverbs with the feature [+path] in their meaning may be compounded with the element *-felé* '-ward':[6]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (9) | a. | haza 'home' | (adverb) |
| | a'. | haza*felé* 'homeward' | |
| | b. | hátra 'back' | (adverb) |
| | b'. | hátra*felé* 'backward' | |
| | c. | ki 'out' | (prefix) |
| | c'. | ki*felé* 'outward' | |
| | d. | fel 'up' | (prefix) |
| | d'. | fel*felé* 'upward' | |

The attachment of *-felé* to a prefix or adverb assigns progressive aspect to the action denoted by the verb. Compare the difference in aspectual reading between the following pairs:

(10) a. Be mentem        a  boltba       b. Be*felé* mentem        a  boltba
        in went-AGR1sg the  shop-ILL           inward went-AGR1sg the  shop-ILL
        'I entered the shop.'                          'I was entering the shop'

(11) a. Haza mentem                       b. Haza*felé* mentem
        home went-AGR1sg                      homeward went-AGR1sg
        'I went home.'                              'I was going home.'

However, not a single postposition can be suffixed with *-felé*, not even postposition which have the feature [+path] inherent in their meaning. Therefore, the following compounds do not exist:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (12) | a. | alá 'under' | (dressed P) |
| | a'. | *alá*felé* | |
| | b. | mögül 'behind' | (dressed P) |
| | b'. | *mögül*felé* | |
| | c. | át 'over' | (naked P) |
| | c'. | *át*felé* | |
| | d. | keresztül 'across' | (naked P) |
| | d'. | *keresztül*felé* | |

The prohibition of *-felé* compounding with postpositions is probably due to the fact that *felé* is itself a postposition. This may then be considered a case of a more general principle which blocks the attachment of elements to stems with the same category label, namely, the lexical counterpart of Hoekstra's (1984) *Unlike Category Condition*:

(13) *Unlike Category Condition*
     At S-structure, no element of [$\alpha$N, $\beta$V] may govern a projection of [$\alpha$N, $\beta$V]

---

(6) In standard Hungarian, *-felé* may only be suffixed to locational prefixes. However, it may also combine with the perfectivity marker *meg* in the North-Eastern dialect. This compound attributes to the action denoted by the verb progressive aspect:

(i) Zárd                  befelé az ajtót      mert    *megfelé*   fagynak          az emberek
    close-IMP-AGR2sg inward the door-ACC because perf-ward freeze-AGR3pl the people
    'Close the door because the people are freezing to dealth.'

The following rule covers the *Compounding with the P felé* in standard Hungarian:

(14) *Compounding with the P felé* X[+path] + *-felé* -> X*felé* 'Xward' where X = *adverb*, or *prefix*

(IV) Postpositions may be inflected with the sublative case-marker *-ra/re* and dela-tive case-marker *-ról/röl*. These suffixes add the feature [+path] to the P to which they are suffixed or they make this feature inherent in the meaning of such a P more explicit:[7]

(15) a.  a    híd   mögött*re*                              (dressed P)
         the bridge behind-SUBL
         'to behind the bridge'

     b.  a    híd   mögött*röl*
         the bridge behind-DELAT
         'from behind the bridge'

     c.  a    híd   mögül*röl*                               dressed P)
         the bridge behind-DELAT
         'from behind the bridge'

(16) a.  a    hídon          át*ra*                          (naked P)
         the bridge-SUPER over-SUBL
         'to over the bridge'

     b.  a    hídon          át*ról*
         the bridge-SUPER over-DELAT
         'from over the bridge'

     c.  a    hídon          alul*ról*                       (naked P)
         the bridge-SUPER under-DELAT
         'from under the bridge'

Some adverbs which contain the features [+location] or [+path] in their lexical meaning may also be suffixed with the sublative and delative marker *-ra/re* and *-ról/röl*:

(17) a.  bent*re*                                           (adverb)
         inside-SUBL
         'to inside'

     b.  bent*röl*
         inside-DELAT
         'from inside'

     c.  fent*re*                                           (adverb)
         above-SUBL
         'to inside'

     d.  fent*röl*
         above-DELAT
         'from inside'

(7) The lative dressed Ps, except *felé/fölé* 'to/above', may not be inflected with a sublative or delative marker:

(i) a.  *alára          (lative dressed P)        c.  *mögére        (lative dressed P)
        under-SUBL                                    behind-SUBL

    b.  *aláról                                   d.  *mögéröl
        under-DELAT                                   behind-DELAT

These Ps do neither participate in Comparative Formation (cf. note 2) or Adjective Formation with the Suffix *-i* (cf. note 5). This suggests that they block further morphological suffixation. If we assume that the lative marker is still acting as a case-marker, then this is covered by (20a) below. Case-markers in Hungarian may not be inflected further. This then yields a morphological dichotomy between lative dressed Ps and the other dressed Ps. From a syntactic point of view, however, it would be unattractive to propose a further sub-classification of dressed Ps (cf. section 7.3.).

Prefixes, on the other hand, do not have this ability:

(18) a.  *lére                                                        (prefix)
         down-SUBL
     b.  *léröl
         down-DELAT
     c.  *felre                                                       (prefix)
         up-SUBL
     d.  *felröl
         up-DELAT

In sum, the following lexical rule governs the suffixing of the *sublative* and *dela-tive* case-marker to postpositions and adverbs:

(19)  *SUBL/DELAT Case-marking*
      X[+/-path] + -*SUBL/DELAT* -> *XSUBL/DELAT* 'to/from X'
      where X = *postposition* or *adverb*

So far, I have discussed the distribution of postpositions, adverbs, and prefixes with respect to various morpholexical rules. Let us now turn to a discussion of the status of case-markers. Case-markers have the following two morphological properties:

(20)  *Morphological Properties of case-markers in Hungarian*
      a.  A case-marker cannot be followed by any other morphological markers
      b.  A case-marker is a bound morpheme

(20a) states that a case-marker cannot be further inflected as a result of derivational or inflectional morphology. Therefore, the adjectivization with the suffix -*i* of a noun with a case-marker is blocked, for instance:

(21) a  *a kertben*i           virág     b.  *a Jánossal*i          fiú
        the garden-INESS-adj flower          the John-INSTR-adj boy
        'the flower in the garden'            'the boy with John'

It is easy to see that case-markers have a different distribution with respect to the above morpholexical rules than postpositions, adverbs or prefixes. Apart from this, as a consequence of (20b), there are also some syntactic differences between case-markers and postpositions.

A case-marker, being a bound morpheme, cannot be deleted or refer to a deleted NP with *Backward Conjunction Reduction* (cf. (22a)) or *Forward Conjunction Reduction* (cf. (23a)) (cf. Neijt 1979). These rules may freely apply with postpositions (cf. (22b) and (23b)):

(22) a.  Sétáltam       a ház*(*ban*)       és  a kert*ben*
         walked-AGR1sg the house-INESS and the garden-INESS
         'I walked in the house and the garden.'
     b.  Sétáltam       a ház (*mellett*) és      a kert *mellett*
         walked-AGR1sg the house near      and the garden near
         'I walked near the house and the garden.'

(23) a.  A *ház*ban        és  a  (**ház*)nál  sétáltam
         the house-INESS and the  house-ILL walked-AGR1sg
         'I walked in and by the house.'
     b.  A *kert* mellett és  (*a kert*)    mögött sétáltam
         the garden near   and  the garden behind walked-AGR1sg
         'I walked near and behind the garden.'

The properties of case-markers in (20) demonstrate that they fundamentally differ from prefixes, postpositions and adverbs. Hence, case-markers have their own categorial status.

Let us summarize the distribution of postpositions, adverbs, prefixes and cases with respect to the morpholexical rule (5), (6), (14) and (19) in the following diagram:

| (24) Category | Comparative Formation | Adjective Formation with -*i* | Compounding with the P *felé* | SUBL/DELAT Case-marking |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| dressed | - | + | - | + |
| naked P | - | + | - | + |
| adverb | + | + | + | + |
| prefix | + | - | + | + |
| case | - | - | - | - |

This diagram illustrates the following two claims. First, dressed and naked post-positions have exactly the same distribution with these morpholexical phenomena. This provides support for the hypothesis that they belong to the *same* category. Second, postpositions, adverbs, prefixes and case-markers display a different distribution with respect to these rules, supporting the hypothesis that these categories are categories on their *own*. Therefore, (5), (6), (14) and (19) may be formulated in terms of these independent categories.

### 7.2.2. Hungarian is Postpositional

In the neutral order, NP-complements have to precede the P which selects them:[8]

(25) a.  a   ház   *mögött*                                                     (dressed P)
         the house behind
         'behind the house'
     b.  *\*mögött* a ház
(26) a.  a   hídon          *át*                                               (naked P)
         the bridge-SUPER over
         'over the bridge'
     b.  *\*át* a hídon

This means that Hungarian is *postpositional*. The structure of PP is therefore as follows:

(27)                    PP
                       ╱  ╲
                    NP      P

### 7.3. Dressed and Naked PPs

This section discusses some differences between *dressed* and *naked* PPs. There are at least three differences between these categories. (*i*) Dressed Ps may be inflected for AGR, unlike naked Ps (cf. section 7.3.1.). (*ii*) Dressed Ps assign structural (nominative) Case to their NP-complement, whereas naked Ps assign lexical case to their

(8) Inversion of this order is only possible when the PP is naked and when it bears stress. Hence, the counterpart of (26b) is grammatical, unlike the counterpart of (25b):
      (i) a. *\*MÖGÖTT a  ház              b. ÁT    a  hídon
             BEHIND   the house               OVER the bridge-SUPER
      See Marácz (1986c) for discussion of this dichotomy.

NP-complement (cf. section 7.3.2.). (*iii*) A dressed P must be repeated in the demonstrative construction, contrary to a naked P (cf. section 7.3.3.)

Before investigating these differences, I will first list both types of Ps together with their translation:

(1) *Dressed Ps*

*alá* 'under' (answers the question 'to where?'), *alatt* 'under' (where?), *alól* 'under' (from where?), *elé* 'before' (to where?), *elött* 'before' (where?), *elöl* 'before' (from where?), *felé* 'to' (to where?), *felöl* 'from' (from where?), *fölé* 'above' (to where?), *fölött/felett* 'above' (where?), *fölül* 'above' (from where?), *kívül*[9] 'without', *köré* 'round' (to where?), *körül* 'round' (where?), *közé* 'between' (to where?), *között/közt* 'between' (where?), *közül* 'from, out of' (from where?), *mögé* 'behind' (to where?), *mögött* 'behind' (where?), *mögül* 'behind' (from where?), *által* 'by' (adverbial modifier of means), *ellen* 'against', *helyett* 'instead of', *iránt* 'in the direction of', *miatt* 'because of', *nélkül* 'without', *szerint* 'according to', *után* 'after', *végett* 'because of', *ellenére* 'despite', *javára* 'in favor of', *létére* 'as', *részére* 'for' and *számára* 'for'.[10]

(2) *Naked Ps*

*által* 'over, across, during' (adverb of place and time), *alul* 'below, under', *át* 'over, across, during', *belül* 'within, inside', *együtt* 'together', *felül* 'over', *innen* '(on) this side', *keresztül* 'over, across, during', *kívül* 'outside' (adverb of place), *közel* 'near', *nélkül* 'without'[11], *szembe* 'opposite to', *szemben* 'opposite to' (where?), *szemközt* 'opposite to' (where? and to where?), *túl* 'over, across, on the other side', *végig* 'to the very end', *fogva* 'as a result of', *fogva* 'from' (time adverbial), *képest* 'compared to', *kezdve* 'from' (time adverb), *nézve* 'regarding'.

Let us now turn to a discussion of AGR in PPs.

### 7.3.1. Agreement in PP

This section investigates AGR in PPs. The dressed Ps in 7.3.(1) may all be inflected for person-number agreement when they select a pronominal complement.

Compare, for example, the full paradigms of the tripartite variants of the Hungarian equivalent of English 'behind': *mögé* 'to where?' (cf. (3)), *mögött* 'where?' (cf. (4)) and *mögül* 'from where?' (cf. (5)):[12]

(9) Although *kívül* is basically a naked P, it may pattern as a dressed P when it takes a pronominal complement (cf. also section 7.3.4.).

(10) The AGR morpheme of the Ps *ellenére* 'despite', *javára* 'in favor of', *létére* 'as', *részére* 'for' and *számára* 'for' is followed by the sublative case-marker *-ra/re*. This order matches the order of morphemes in inflected nominals. Compare, for instance, *ház* 'house': *ház-am-ban* (house-AGR-INESS) 'in my house'.

(11) *Nélkül* is the opposite case of *kívül* (cf. note 9). It is in principle a dressed P, but in combination with a pronominal complement it may pattern as a naked P (cf. also section 7.3.4.).

(12) Ther markers of the nominal (possessive), postpositional, and case inflection correspond with the markers of the definite verbal conjugation in Hungarian (cf. 4.2.(1)), except for the first and third person plural:

(i) a. *person-number agreement for nominal,*       b. *person-number agreement of the definite*
     *postpositional, and case stems*              *verbal conjugation*

| | sg | pl | | sg | pl |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -m | -unk | 1 | -m | -uk |
| 2 | -d | -atok | 2 | -d | -átok |
| 3 | -a | -uk | 3 | -a | -ak |

According to Vago (1980), the third person plural marker of these paradigms are allomorphs. Therefore, the only difference between the paradigms in (ia) and (ib) is the shape of the first person plural marker. Ther former is identical with the first person plural marker of the indefinite verbal conjugation (cf. 4.2.(1)). It remains to be investigated whether the correspondences between (ia) and (ib) are due to a parallel syntactic property of the categories which cooccur with these markers.

(3)  a.  (*én*) mögé*m*
      I  behind-ppAGR1sg
      'to behind me'

    b.  (*te*)     mögé*d*
      you(sg) behind-ppAGR2sg
      'to behind you(sg)'

    c.  (*ö*) mögé*je*
      he behind-ppAGR3sg
      'to behind him'

    d.  (*mi*) mögé*nk*
      we  behind-ppAGR1pl
      'to behind us'

    e.  (*ti*)     mögé*tek*
      you(pl) behind-ppAGR2pl
      'to behind you(pl)'

    f.  (*ö*)  mögé*jük*
      they behind-ppAGR3pl
      'to behind them'

(4)  a.  (*én*) mögött*em*
      I  behind-ppAGR1sg
      'behind me'

    b.  (*te*)     mögött*ed*
      you(sg) behind-ppAGR2sg
      'behind you(sg)'

    c.  (*ö*) mögött*e*
      he behind-ppAGR3sg
      'behind him'

    d.  (*mi*) mögött*ünk*
      we  behind-ppAGR1pl
      'behind us'

    e.  (*ti*)     mögött*etek*
      you(pl) behind-ppAGR2pl
      'behind you(pl)'

    f.  (*ö*)  mögött*ük*
      they behind-ppAGR3pl
      'behind them'

(5)  a.  (*én*) mögül*em*
      I  behind-ppAGR1sg
      'from behind me'

    b.  (*te*)     mögül*ed*
      you(sg) behind-ppAGR2sg
      'from behind you(sg)'

    c.  (*ö*) mögül*e*
      he behind-ppAGR3sg
      'from behind him'

    d.  (*mi*) mögül*ünk*
      we  behind-ppAGR1pl
      'from behind us'

    e.  (*ti*)     mögül*etek*
      you(pl) behind-ppAGR2pl
      'from behind you(pl)'

    f.  (*ö*)  mögül*ük*
      they behind-ppAGR3pl
      'from behind them'

Naked Ps may not be inflected for AGR. Compare, for example, the ungrammaticality of the inflected forms of the naked P *át* 'over':

(6)  a.  *\*át*am*
      over-ppAGR1sg

    b.  *\*át*ad*
      over-ppAGR2sg

    c.  *\*át*a*
      over-ppAGR3sg

    d.  *\*át*unk*
      over-ppAGR1pl

    e.  *\*át*atok*
      over-ppAGR2pl

    f.  *\*át*uk*
      over-ppAGR3pl

In sum, dressed Ps with a pronominal complement, contrary to naked Ps, may be inflected for AGR. For the time being, I will assume that it is a cliticized morpheme in PPs. As a consequence, a dressed PP with a pronominal complement has the following structure:

(7)                                 dressed PP
                  ——————————————————
    NP[+pron]                             P[+AGR]
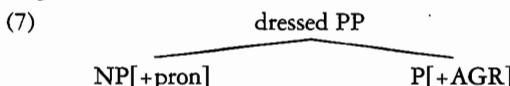
Below, I will present empirical evidence for the claim that AGR has *no* phrase-structural prominence in Hungarian.

The realization of pronominal complements in dressed PPs is optional. In the un-marked case, personal pronouns are not spelled out. They are used for reasons for emphasis only. Compare (4a) and (8):

(8)   ÉN mögött*em*
      I    behind-ppAGR1sg
      'behind ME' or 'It is behind me...'

The question arises what the syntactic representation of a dressed PP with an omitted pronominal complement is.

In general, personal pronouns may be dropped in Hungarian if agreement is 'rich' enough to license them (cf. section 4.2.4.). This is an instance of the *Pro-drop Parameter*. The examples above demonstrate that *pro*-drop also applies in dressed PPs. Therefore, a more adequate representation of (4a) without the overt pronoun is (9):

(9)   *pro* mögött*em*
      'behind me'

In most cases, the third person plural pronoun is morphologically distinguished from its singular counterpart by the plural marker *-k*. The following pairs illustrate this:

(10) a. *ö* jött-∅           b. *ök* jöttek
        he came-AGR3sg          they came-AGR3pl
        'He came.'             'They came.'

In (10), the third person pronoun functions as the subject. The plural variant in (10b) is inflected for the plural marker.

This morphological dichotomy occurs also when the third person pronoun functions as the object:

(11) a. Láttam        *öt*        b. Láttam        *öket*
        saw-AGR1sg him             saw-AGR1sg them
        'I saw him.'               'I saw them.'

In dressed PPs, however, the third person plural pronoun is homophonous with its singular counterpart. Compare (3c) and (3f), here repeated as (12a) and (12b):

(12) a. *ö* mögé*je*           b. *ö* mögé*jük*
        he behind-ppAGR3sg        they behind-ppAGR3pl
        'to behind him'           'to behind them'

The equivalent of (12b) in which the nominative third person plural pronoun is fully inflected for number is ungrammatical:

(13)   *\**ök* mögé*jük*

This is also the case with other inflected categories like possessive NPs (cf. (14)) and CasePs (cf. (15) (see, section 4.2.5. for CasePs):

(14) a. az *ö* any*ja*              b. az *ö/\*ök* any*juk*
        the he mother-npAGR3sg         the they mother-npAGR3pl
        'his mother'                   'their mother'

(15) a. *ö* vele                    b. *ö/\*ök* vel*ük*
        he INSTR-AGR3sg                they INSTR-AGR3pl
        'with him'                     'with them'

The opposite of this morphological *number-drop* has been attested in Turkish. Kornfilt (1984) reports that the plural marker of the AGR morpheme is omitted but not the plural marker of the third person plural pronoun subject. Thus, there seems

to be a tendency to omit the plurality specification on one of the two connected elements within a minimal domain. This is probably due to a functional principle of non-redundancy.

Let us now consider how the pronominal complement of a naked PP is realized.

Instead of the forms in (6), a pronominal complement of a naked P appears within a CaseP. Consider the full pronominal paradigm of the naked Ps *át* 'over' (cf. (16)) *együtt* 'together' (cf. (17)) and *képest* 'compared to' (cf. (18)).

*Át* subcategorizes for a superessive NP:

(16)  a.  (*én*) rajt*am*              át                d.  (*mi*) rajt*unk*              át
          I   SUPER-AGR1sg over             we   SUPER-AGR1pl over
          'over me'                                       'over us'

      b.  (*te*)    rajt*ad*             át                e.  (*ti*)    rajt*atok*             át
          you(sg) SUPER-AGR2sg over             you(pl) SUPER-AGR2pl over
          'over you(sg)'                                  'over you(pl)'

      c.  (*ö*) rajt*á*               át                f.  (*ö*)    rajt*uk*              át
          he SUPER-AGR3sg over             they SUPER-AGR3pl over
          'over him'                                      'over them'

*Együtt* subcategorizes for an instrumental NP:

(17)  a.  (*én*) vel*em*              együtt            d.  (*mi*) vel*ünk*          együtt
          I     INSTR-AGR1sg together          we   INSTR-AGR1pl together
          'together with me'                              'together with us'

      b.  (*te*)    vel*ed*            együtt            e.  (*ti*)    vel*etek*            együtt
          you(sg) INSTR-AGR2sg together          you(pl) INSTR-AGR2pl together
          'together with you(sg)'                         'together with you(pl)'

      c.  (*ö*) vel*e*                együtt            f.  (*ö*)    vel*ük*             együtt
          he INSTR-AGR3sg together          they INSTR-AGR3pl together
          'together with him'                             'together with them'

*Képest* subcategorizes for an allative NP:

(18)  a.  (*én*) hozz*ám*           képest            d.  (*mi*) hozz*ánk*        képest
          I   ALL-AGR1sg compared to           we   ALL-AGR1pl compared to
          'compared to me'                                'compared to us'

      b.  (*te*)    hozz*ád*          képest            e.  (*ti*)    hozz*átok*          képest
          you(sg) ALL-AGR2sg compared to           you(pl) ALL-AGR2pl compared to
          'compared to you'                               'compared to you(pl)'

      c.  (*ö*) hozz*á*              képest            f.  (*ö*)    hozz*átok*          képest
          he ALL-AGR3sg compared to           they ALL-AGR3pl compared to
          'compared to him'                               'compared to them'

These paradigms demonstrate that a pronominal complement of naked Ps occurs within a CaseP. The pronominals may be omitted as an instance of *pro*-drop. Hence, these PPs have the following structure:

(19)



```
                              PP
                       ┌──────┴──────┐
                    CaseP            P
               ┌──────┴──────┐
        NP[+pron]      Case[+AGR]
```
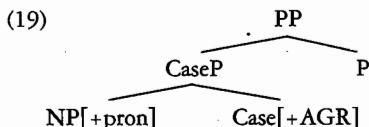
Let us now consider whether PPs may be inflected for AGR when they select instead of a pronominal complement a nominal one.

The following phrases exemplify the dressed P *mögött* 'behind' with a nominal complement. This complement has the shape of a full NP, proper name, reflexive anaphor, Wh-phrase, and a universal quantifier:

(20) a. *a fiú* mögött     c. *maga*   mögött     e. *mindenki* mögött
      the boy behind       himself behind      everyone behind
      'behind the boy'       'behind himself'      'behind everyone'
    b. *János* mögött     d. *ki*   mögött
      John  behind       who behind
      'behind John'       'behind who'

These examples demonstrate that overt AGR is not spelled out when the complement of a dressed PPs is nominal.

The question arises whether AGR has a null-realization or whether it is completely missing in these cases. In other words, is the syntactic representation of, for instance, (20a) phrase (21a) or phrase (21b)?:

(21) a. a fiú mögött-ø            b. a fiú mögött
     the boy behind-ppAGR3sg        the boy behind

The verbal stem lacks overt subject agreement with the third person singular indefinite conjugation (cf. section 4.2.). In this case, a null-morpheme represents AGR which has exactly the same status as any other realization of agreement. As a consequence, *pro*-drop is allowed when a third person pronoun singular subject cooccurs with the indefinite conjugation:

(22) (Ö)     ad-ø        valamit
     he/she give-AGR3sg something-ACC
     'He/she gives something.'

A dressed P without overt AGR, on the other hand, does not refer to a third person pronoun subject. For example, *mögött* means only 'behind' and not 'behind him/her'. Hence, it only denotes its lexical meaning. This implies that a dressed P without overt AGR does not possess a null-realization of this morpheme. It is simply missing in these cases. The adequate syntactic realization of (20a) thus is (21b).

Consequently, in a strict sense it is not even appropriate to speak about 'dressed' Ps when nominal complements are involved. For convenience, however, I will stick to this terminology in these instances as well.

So a dichotomy appears between dressed PPs with a pronominal complement on the one hand and dressed PPs with a nominal complement on the other hand. Only the pronominal complement triggers AGR. The question arises whether further distributional differences exist between these categories. This turns out to be the case: (I) Nominal complements, unlike pronominal ones, may appear with a P to which sublative or delative case-marking has applied, and (II) Pronominal NPs and nominal NPs are case-marked differently within inflected PPs in Turkish.

(I) The sublative or delative case marking of a P is captured by rule 7.2.(19), here repeated as (23):

(23)  *SUBL/DELAT Case-marking*
      X[+/-path] + *-SUBL/DELAT* -> X*SUBL/DELAT* 'to/from X'
      where X = P or *adverb*

The following minimal pairs show that a dressed P feeding rule (23) may not be inflected for AGR:

(24)  a.  *János* mögött*re*          (25)  a.  *János* mögött*röl*
          John  behind-SUBL                      John  behind-DELAT
          'to behind John'                        'from behind John'
      b.  *(ö)* mögött*ére*               b.  *(ö)* mögött*éröl*
          he behind-ppAGR3sg-SUBL                he behind-ppAGR3sg-DELAT

(II) According to Kornfilt (1984), pronominal and nominal complements of Turkish inflected PPs bear genitive and nominative case respectively. Kornfilt accounts for this by assuming the following case-rules:

(26)  a  [$_{PP}$ NP[+pron] P [+AGR]] -> GEN
      b.  [$_{PP}$ NP[+nom] P [+AGR]] -> NOM

The following phrases illustrate their application:

(27)  a.  *Ahmet*          hakk[i]n          b.  *(senin)*          hakk[i]n
          Ahmed-NOM about-ppAGR3sg              you(sg)-GEN about-ppAGR2sg
          'about Ahmed'                          'about you(sg)'
                          c.  *(sizin)*          hakk[i]n[i]z
                              you(pl)-GEN about-ppAGR2pl
                              'about you(pl)'

Let us now turn to a discussion of naked PPs in which the pronominal complement is replaced by a nominal one.

In the following phrases, this complement is a full NP, proper name, reflexive anaphor, Wh-phrase or a universal quantifier:

(28)  a.  *a  hidon*          át          d.  *kin*          át
          the bridge-SUPER over              who-SUPER over
          'over the bridge'                  'over who'
      b.  *Jánoson*    át                e.  *mindenkin*          át
          John-SUPER over                    everyone-SUPER over
          'over John'                        'over everyone'
      c.  *magán*          át
          himself-SUPER over
          'over himself'

These examples show that naked Ps also lack AGR when their complement is nominal.

In conclusion, dressed Ps, as opposed to naked Ps, may be inflected for AGR, provided their complement is pronominal. Furthermore, nominal and pronominal complements of inflected PPs do not only differ with respect to the distribution of AGR. They also display distributional dichotomies when these categories appear with a dressed P inflected for sublative/delative case or when they are complements

of inflected PPs in Turkish. These dichotomies emphasize the relevance of the features [+/-nominal] and [+/-pronominal] for syntax.

The following diagram summarizes the findings of this section:

(29)  complement of              AGR on P
      dressed P [+pron]                +
      dressed P [+nom]                 -
      naked P   [+pron/nom]            -

Let us now turn to case-assignment in PPs.

### 7.3.2. Case in PP

Let us consider first this phenomenon in dressed PPs:

(30) a. *János*      mögött              b. (*ö*)      mögötte
        John-NOM behind                       he-NOM behind-ppAGR3sg
        'behind John'                         'behind him/her'

These examples demonstrate that the NP-complement of a dressed PP displays nominative case. It has the unmarked form. The question arises where this case comes from.

In the standard approach to Case theory (cf. Chomsky 1981), nominative Case is assigned by I[+AGR] (cf. 3.2.(7a)). This rule can, however, only cover the nominative Case with pronominal complements as in (30b), because, as I argued above, only these complements cooccur with a realization of AGR. Therefore, I will adopt the view that the standard nominative Case-assignment rule represents only one of the structural contexts in which nominative Case is licensed.[13] Let us then assume that nominative Case in Hungarian is the *default case* when it appears in a structural government configuration with a lexical head. As a consequence, dressed Ps govern a *structural* nominative Case.

Let us discuss case-assignment in naked PPs.

Naked Ps may assign a large variety of cases to their complements involving instrumental, sublative, allative, superessive, adessive and ablative:

(31) *INSTR* by *együtt* 'together', *szembe* 'opposite to', *szemben* 'opposite to' (where?), and *szemközt* 'opposite to' (where? and to where?), *SUBL* by *nézve* 'regarding', *ALL* by *képest* 'compared to', and *közel* 'near', *SUPER* by *által* 'over, across, during', *alul* 'below, under', *át* 'over, across, during' *belül* 'within, inside', *felül* 'over', *innen* '(on) this side', *keresztül* 'over, across, during', *kívül* 'outside', *túl* 'over, across, on the other side', and *végig* 'to the very end', *ADESS* by *fogva* 'as a result of', and *nélkül* 'without', *ABL* by *fogva* 'from' and *kezdve* 'from'

Consider an example of each:

(32) a. valaki*vel*      szembe            d. valami*n*            túl
        someone-INSTR opposite to            something-SUPER over
        'opposite to someone'                'across something'
     b. valami*re*      nézve             e. valami*nél*           fogva
        someone-SUBL regarding               something-ADESS as a result of
        'regarding something'                'as a result of something'

(13) Comapre the references in chapter three, note 12 that support this treatment of nominative Case.

|   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| c. valami*hez* | közel | f. holnap*tól* | kezdve |
| something-ALL | near | tomorrow-ABL | from |
| 'near something' | | 'starting tomorrow' | |

Although naked Ps govern various cases, these cases all fall under what I called *lexical* case in section 3.2.1. The θ-features of the naked Ps determine the choice of the various instances of lexical case.

In sum, dressed Ps govern structural nominative Case, whereas naked Ps govern lexical case. This yields the following diagram:

(33) | | structural Case (NOM) | lexical case |
|---|---|---|
| dressed P | + | - |
| naked P | - | + |

Let us consider now the demonstrative construction of the PP.

## 7.3.3. The Demonstrative Construction of PP

This section examines the *demonstrative construction* of the PP. Before doing so, let us first consider the demonstrative construction of the NP. For ease of reference, I will call the demonstrative construction of the NP, *NP-Dem* and the demonstrative construction of the PP, *PP-Dem*.

In a Hungarian NP-Dem, the demonstrative pronoun (Dem) has to precede the NP, similarly to English. However, the definite article (Art) must be present in front of the head noun. Futhermore, the Dem and the head noun exhibit agreement in case. This may be expressed with the help of the α-notation. So, *NP-Dem* patterns as follows:

(34) *NP-Dem*
[[Dem+αcase] Art [N+αcase]]

The following examples illustrate this scheme:

(35) a. az          a   ház                    b. azt        a   házat
    Dem-NOM Art house-NOM                    Dem-ACC Art house-ACC
    'that house'      'that house'
                  c. arra         a   házra
                     Dem-SUBL Art house-SUBL
                     'onto that house'

Let us turn to PP-Dem. The naked PP-Dem is formed by a combination of NP-Dem and a naked P. The subcategorization properties of the naked P determine α in the NP-Dem. Hence, *naked PP-Dem* has the following structure:

(36) *naked PP-Dem*

```
                          PP
                 _____/  _____
            NP-Dem                P
              |
   [[Dem+αcase]  Art  [N+αcase]]
```
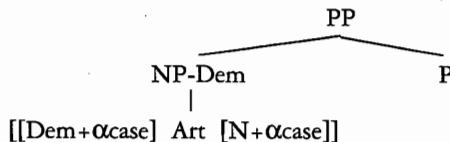
The following phrases are instances of (36). Recall that *át, együtt* and *képest* subcategorize for a superessive, instrumental, and allative complement:

(37) a. azon            a   hídon          át      b. azzal          a    fiúval       együtt
        Dem-SUPER Art bridge-SUPER over        Dem-INSTR Art boy-INSTR together
        'over that bridge'                              'together with that boy'
                            c. ahhoz        a   fiúhoz      képest
                               Dem-ALL Art boy-ALL compared to
                               'compared to that boy'

Let us now consider the dressed PP-Dem. The ungrammaticality of the following examples shows that the dressed PP-Dem patterns differently from the naked PP-Dem:

(38) a. *az            a   ház          mögé      b. *az            a   ház          mögött
        Dem-NOM Art house-NOM behind           Dem-NOM Art house-NOM behind
                    c. *az          a   ház          mögül
                       Dem-NOM Art house-NOM behind

Instead of these phrases, we find that dressed Ps are *doubled* yielding the following pattern:

(39) *dressed PP-Dem*
     [[Dem-NOM P] [N-NOM P]]

The grammatical counterparts of (38) have the following shape:[14]

(40) a. a            *mögé*    a   ház          *mögé*
        Dem-NOM behind the house-NOM behind
        'to behind that house'
     b. a            *mögött*  a   ház          *mögött*
        Dem-NOM behind the house-NOM behind
        'behind that house'
     c. a            *mögül*   a   ház          *mögül*
        Dem-NOM behind the house-NOM behind
        'from behind that house'

Let us now determine the structure of these phrases.

In a dressed PP-Dem, the P is repeated and it merges with the demonstrative pronoun *az* 'that'. According to Horvath (1981), merging of *az* with a lexical head only applies when the initial sound of the head is a consonant and when *az* is a complement of that head. This suggests that PP-Dem contains in fact two PPs. The leftmost PP consists of Dem and P, while the rightmost PP dominates a full NP and a copy of the same P.

---

(14) Dressed PP-Dems display several stress patterns. Consider the different stressing in (40b) (' indicates primary stress; " indicates heavy stress):

    (i) a. 'a   mögött a   ház   mögött       c. a *mögött* 'a *ház* mögött
       that behind  the house behind          'behind that house (and not behind the shop)'
       'behind that house'            d. "a   mögött a   ház   mögött és nem" *e* mögött
    b. a '*mögött* a *ház'* *mögött*         that behind the house behind and not  this behind
       'behind that house (and not in front of it)'   'behind that house, and not behind this one'

In the unmarked case, Dem is assigned primary stress (cf. (ia)). The doubled postpositions bear primary stress if the meaning denoted by them is exclusively referred to (cf. (ib)). The NP-complement is assigned primary stress when it is exclusively referred to (cf. (ic)). Dem is heavily stressed when its opposite location is excluded (cf. (id)).

This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that the sublative or delative case-marker must be spelled out on both Ps when a dressed PP-Dem feeds rule (23): .

(41) a. a mögött*(re)      a ház   mögött*(re)
        the behind-SUBL the house behind-SUBL
        'to behind that house'
     b. a mögött*(röl)     a ház   mögött*(röl)
        the behind-DELAT the house behind-DELAT
        'from behind that house'

The obligatory spelling out of the sublative and delative case-marker in these cases receive a straightforward explanation if the Ps function as independent lexical items to which (23) may apply.

In analogy with my earlier claims about the syntactic structure of embedded clauses, I will assume that the demonstrative pronoun *az* in a dressed PP-Dem is as a kind of anticipatory pronoun (cf. section 4.5.1.). In this construction, however, it is associated with an adjoined PP resulting in the following structure:

(42)  *dressed PP-Dem*
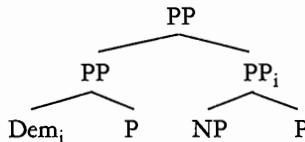


Of course, this structure does not provide an explanation for the following two problems. First, why do dressed PP-Dems not pattern the same way as naked PP-Dems, and the reverse? In other words, why are the phrases in (38) ungrammatical, and why are the following phrases ungrammatical?:

(43) a. *azon        át    a hídon        át
        Dem-SUPER over Art bridge-SUPER over
     b. *azzal        együtt   a fiúval       együtt
        Dem-INSTR together Art boy-INSTR together
     c. *ahhoz   képest      a fiúhoz   képest
        Dem-ALL compared to Art boy-ALL compared to

Second, why do the structures in (36) and (42) render the same semantics? Both naked and dressed PP-Dems yield a demonstrative construction in the English translation.

I hasten to admit that I do not know the solutions of these problems. However, the structural dichotomy between dressed and naked PP-Dems unambiguously shows that they have a different distribution. As a working hypothesis, it is reasonable to suppose that a successful account of this correlates with the factors causing the other differences between dressed and naked Ps.

### 7.3.4. Summary

In this section, I classified the Ps in Hungarian into dressed and naked Ps. This classification is lexically determined. I examined three differences between these categories and their maximal projections. (*i*) Dressed Ps may be inflected for AGR when they select a pronominal complement. As a consequence, *pro*-drop applies in

inflected PPs as well. Naked Ps, on the other hand, may never be inflected. (*ii*) The complements of dressed Ps appear with the nominative case, whereas the complements of naked Ps appear with a lexical case. The nominative Case governed by dressed Ps is a structural default case. (*iii*) In the demonstrative construction of the PP, a dressed P must be repeated, unlike a naked P.

The Ps *nélkül* 'without' and *kívül* 'without' are ambiguous between a naked P and a dressed P when they select a pronominal complement. These minimal pairs of the same lexical stems illustrate best that this classification has repercussions for the syntax of these categories.

*Nélkül* is basically a dressed P. This is clear from the fact that nominal complements of *nélkül* appear with the nominative case:

(44)  *János*        nélkül
      John-NOM without
      'without John'

Further, *nélkül* must be doubled when it appears in a demonstrative construction. Recall that all and only dressed Ps may be doubled in demonstrative constructions:

(45)  a            *nélkül*   a   fiú   *nélkül*
      Dem-NOM without the boy without
      'behind that boy'

If *nélkül* selects a pronominal complement, it may pattern either as a dressed P (cf. (46a)) or as a naked P (cf. (46b)):[15]

(46)  a. (*én*) nélkül*em*                    b. (*én*) nál*am*          nélkül
         I    without-ppAGR1sg                   I    ADESS-AGR1sg without
         'without me'                            'without me'

So, if *nélkül* distributes as a dressed P (cf. (46a)), it may be inflected for AGR, its pronominal complement is nominatively marked, and this complement may be *pro*. If *nélkül*, however, distributes as a naked P (cf. (46b)), it may not be inflected, its pronominal complement is assigned lexical (adessive) case, and this complement appears within a CaseP.

Consider now *kívül*, the opposite case of *nélkül*. *Kívül* belongs basically to the category of naked Ps, because its nominal complement is, assigned lexical case, that is superessive:

(47)  *János/Jánoson*          kívül
      John-NOM/John-SUPER without
      'without John'

Further, in a demonstrative construction *kívül* patterns as a naked P. It may not be doubled but it selects an NP-Dem:

(48)  a. *a          kívül     a   fiú   kívül   b. azon        a   fiún      kívül
         Dem-NOM without the boy without       Dem-SUPER Art boy-SUPER without
                                                'without that boy'

(15) There is some dialectal variation with the distribution of *nélkül*. István Kenesei (personal communication) informs me that in his dialect it may only pattern as a dressed P.

However, if *kívül* selects a pronominal complement it may distribute as a dressed
P as well:

(49) a. *(én)* raj*tam*            kívül              b. *(én)* kívül*em*
      I    SUPER-AGR1sg without                  I    withou-ppAGR1sg
      'without me'                              'without me'

In (49a), *kívül* patterns as a naked P. It is inflected for AGR, its pronominal com-
plement bears lexical (superessive) case, and this complement is realized within a
CaseP. In (49b), on the other hand, *kívül* distributes as a dressed P. It is inflected for
AGR, its pronominal complement is nominatively marked, and this complement
may undergo *pro*-drop.

In conclusion, the minimal pairs in (46) and (49) demonstrate that switching of
the lexical classification of Ps yields different syntactic properties. The next section
discusses a structural asymmetry between PP and NP and its consequences for the
syntax of these categories.

## 7.4. PP and NP

The categories NP and PP in Hungarian have some properties in common. They
are head-final maximal projections and their heads may bear AGR. There is, how-
ever, a striking difference between these categories. Nouns, contrary to postposi-
tions, have the ability to combine with a *determiner* (D). This section argues that this
dichotomy has also a structural concomitant which is responsible for some syntactic
differences between NP and PP.

### 7.4.1. A Structural Dichotomy between PP and NP

Abney (1985) and Fukui and Speas (1986) have argued that NP has in fact two
'heads', a *functional* head and a *lexical* head. D acts as the functional head, and N
functions as the lexical head. Abney and Fukui and Speas assume that D, similarly to
other $X^0$-categories, determines its own X'-projection, a DP. Therefore, NP has the
following structure:

(1)

```
                    DP
                  /    \
              Spec      D'
                      /    \
                    D       NP
                          /    \
                        NP      N
```
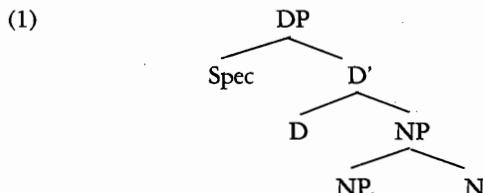
Following these references, I will assume that NPs in Hungarian display this
structure as well (cf. also Szabolcsi (1986) for this claim). Recall that PPs in Hunga-
rian have structure 7.2.(27), here repeated as (2):[16]

(2)

```
               PP
             /    \
          NP       P
```
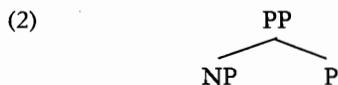
(16) Ps may also select DPs but Ds may not combine with PPs.

Observe from a comparison of (1) and (2) that there is a dichotomy in *richness* of structure between NP and PP. The former is embedded in a DP, whereas the latter is not dominated by another category. In the next section, I will show that this structural dichotomy has some implications for the syntax of these categories.

Let us first determine the structure of the *possessive* NP in Hungarian.

The following phrases exemplify possessive constructions:

(3)  a.  a fiú háza                              b.  az (én) házam
         the boy house-npAGR3sg                      the I  house-npAGR1sg
         'the boy's house'                           'my house'

Szabolcsi (1981, and subsequent papers) has observed that the noun-possessed of a possessive NP is inflected for AGR. For example, *ház* in (3a) displays person-number agreement of the third person singular, and it displays person-number agreement of the first person singular in (3b).

Szabolcsi attributes to AGR phrase-structural prominence. Below I will argue, however, that it is *weak* in the sense of chapter two. As a consequence, this morpheme and the head noun are merged at all levels of representation. Hence, it has no separate position in phrase structure.

This yields then the following structure for possessive NPs:

(4)            DP
          ╱╲
      Spec    D'
             ╱╲
          D     NP
               ╱╲
           NP     N[+AGR]
           |        |
      *possessor NP*  *noun-possessed*
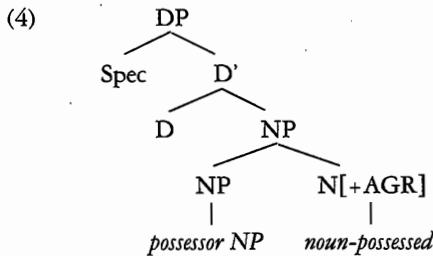
Let us now turn to a discusssion of some differences between PP and possessive NP.

## 7.4.2. Some Differences between PP and Possessive NP

This section concentrates on some *differences* between PP and possessive NP. These differences bear on *Case theory* (cf. section 7.4.2.1.), *theory of movement* (cf. section 7.4.2.2.), and *binding theory* (cf. section 7.4.2.3.).

### 7.4.2.1. Case Theory

Szabolcsi (1981) has noted that the possessor NP displays two different case-marked variants. The phrases in (3) exemplify the *nominatively* marked variant, whereas the following phrases show that it may also be marked *datively*:

(5)  a.  a fiúnak    a háza                    b.  nekem a  házam
         the boy-DAT the house-npAGR3sg            I-DAT the house-npAGR1sg
         'the boy's house'                         'my house'

In the literature (cf. Szabolcsi 1981a, subsequent literature, Kenesei 1985e, and Kornai 1985), it has been assumed that AGR assigns nominative Case to the posses-

sor NP. Alternatively, we may also apply the approach of nominative Case argued for in section 7.3.2.

Nominative is the default case in Hungarian when it occurs in a structural government configuration with a lexical head. In that case, the possessor NP receives its nominative Case by being in a structural government relation with the head noun.

If AGR has no phrase-structural prominence, then the alternative approach should be preferred. In general, only lexical items which occupy an independent position in phrase-structure may govern a Case-position.

As to the status of the dative case, there is no consensus. The following argument supports the hypothesis that it is assigned to the possessor NP within the possessive NP.

A possessive NP with a dative possessor is a single maximal projection, just as a possessive NP with a nominative possessor. This can be verified with the help of the focussing test. Focussing may only apply to one single maximal projection and it triggers Inversion with a prefixed verb (cf. 2.1.(28e)).

Compare now the following sentences (F = [Spec, CP]):

(6)   a.  $[_{CP} [_F$ A  fiú  háza]           $[_{CP}$ égett            le]]
           the boy  house-npAGR3sg   burned-AGR3sg down
           'It was the house of the boy which burned down.'

      b.  $[_{CP} [_F$ A fiúnak      a  háza]             $[_{CP}$ égett            le]]
           the boy-DAT the house-npAGR3sg   burned-AGR3sg down
           'It was the house of the boy which burned down.'

The prefix *le* remains stranded with the focussing of both variants of the possessive NP.[17] This implies that the dative possessor NP (cf. (6b)), similarly to the nominative possessor NP (cf. (6a)), forms a single maximal projection with its noun-possessed. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the dative case, just as the nominative case, originates from a governor internal to the possessive NP.

The leading idea behind Case theory is that there is a one-to-one correspondence between Cases and governors (cf. Chomsky 1981, and Kayne 1984).[18] Each Case is related to a different governor. Consequently, each Case is assigned in a different structural position.

The nominative Case of the possessor NP is assigned in the [NP, NP] under government by N. Note that there is still only one position left in which the possessor NP can get dative case, namely, the [Spec, DP]. Let us therefore assume that the dative Case of the possessor NP is assigned in this position under government by D.

This is supported by the fact that the order of the possessor NP and the D is reversed with the dative variant of the possessor NP. With its nominative variant, the

(17) This parallelism between the two variants of the possessive NP breaks down if the possessor NP is pronominal. A pronominal dative possessor may not be taken along when the possessive NP is focussed. Compare (6b) with (ib):

   (i) a.  $[_F$ Az  én házam]           égett            le
            the I   house-npAGR1sg burned-AGR3sg down
            'It is my house that burned down.'

       b. *$[_F$ Nekem a  házam]             égett            le
            I-DAT the house-np-AGR1sg burned-AGR3sg down

(18) There are some exceptions to this idealization. For example, Kayne (1984: ch. 5) argues that V and P in English govern in the same way, that is, both categories may assign Case structurally.

D precedes the possessor NP, whereas it is vice versa with the dative variant (cf. (3) and (5)). Following Szabolcsi (1986e), I will assume that movement of the possessor NP from its base-generated [NP, NP] into the [Spec, DP] accounts for the order of these categories with the dative variant. This moved NP gets the dative Case-features in its landing-site (cf. also the next section).

If this approach to the dative-marking of the possessor NP is on the right track, then we expect that the NP-complement of PP cannot appear with a dative case. The ungrammaticality of the sentences (7b) and (8b) shows that this is indeed the case:[19]

(7)  a.  János        mögött            (8)  a.  (én) mögöttem
         John-NOM behind                        I    behind-ppAGR-1sg
         'behind John'                          'behind me'

     b.  *Jánosnak mögött(e)                  b.  *nekem mögöttem
         John-DAT behind-ppAGR3sg              I-DAT  behind-ppAGR3sg

In sum, the possessor NP may be marked both nominatively and datively, in contrast to the NP-complement of a PP. The latter may only appear with the nominative case. This dichotomy is due to the fact that possessive NPs, unlike PPs, contain a DP-projection which provides a separate structural position, that is [Spec, DP], for dative-marking by D.

Let us now turn to the theory of movement in relation to possessive NPs and PPs.

## 7.4.2.2. Theory of Movement

Szabolcsi (1981a) has observed that some types of possessor NPs, such as the Wh-possessor *ki* 'who' or the NP-Dem possessor, may only occur with a dative case.

Let us first examine the case of Wh-possessor NPs.

*(I)* Observe the following phrases:

(9)  a.  *[DP a [NP *ki* háza]]          b.  [DP *kinek*     a [NP *t* háza]]
         the   who house-npAGR3sg          who-DAT the      house-npAGR3sg
         'whose house?'                     'whose house?'

According to Szabolcsi (1986e), the Wh-possessor NP *ki* cannot remain in its base-generated [NP, NP] (cf. (9a)) but must be moved into the [Spec, DP] (cf. (9b)).

Furthermore, Szabolcsi observes that such Wh-phrases must land in the Focus-position (= [Spec, CP]), that is, in the canonical position of Wh-phrases in Hungarian (cf. 2.1.(28d)). This may be established in two ways. Either the dative Wh-possessor leaves its possessive NP stranded (cf. (10a)) or the possessive NP is pied-piped (cf. (10b)):

(10)  a.  [CP *Kinek*    gyújtották        meg [DP *t* a [NP *t* házát]]]
          who-DAT set-AGR3pl on fire perf      the       house-npAGR3sg-ACC
          'Whose house was set on fire?'

      b.  [CP [DP *Kinek*     *a házát*]                gyújtották meg *t*]
          who-DAT the house-npAGR3sg-ACC set-AGR3pl perf
          'Whose house was set on fire?'

---

(19) Some poets and writers in the nineteenth century used a dative marked NP-complement in dressed PPs. In modern Hungarian, these constructions are no longer productive (cf. Marácz 1986c).

The derivation of these sentences runs as follows.

Suppose that D *L-marks* NP, where L-marking is defined as in 6.4.(2), here repeated as (11):

(11)  *L-marking:* α L-marks ß iff α is a lexical category that θ-governs ß

This is not an unreasonable assumption, because D determines, for instance, the definiteness of an NP. In that case, NP does not constitute a barrier for movement of the possessor NP into the [Spec, DP]. This then yields (9b). Furthermore, V L-marks its accusative object. In (10), this is the possessive NP *kinek a házát*. Hence, further movement of the dative Wh-possessor into the [Spec, CP] is allowed. This covers the grammatical result in (10a).

In sum, the [Spec, DP] serves as a *landing-site* and an *escape-hatch* for possessor movement. PPs do not possess such a position. Hence, Wh-complements of PPs cannot be scrambled out of their maximal projection (cf. (12a), (13a)). In order to satisfy the requirement that Wh-phrases must land in Focus (=[Spec, CP]), only the pied-piping option is available for PPs (cf. (12b), (13b)):

(12)  a.  *János [CP [F *min*]              futkározott       [PP *t* kívül]]
          John        what-SUPER   ran-AGR3sg about     outside
      b.  János [CP [F [PP *min*            *kívül*]] futkározott *t*]
          John           what-SUPER outside ran-AGR3sg
          'Outside what was John running about?'

(13)  a.  *Mari [CP [F *ki*]   állt            [PP *t mögött*]]
          Mary       who stood-AGR3sg     behind
      b.  Mari [CP [F [PP *ki    mögött*]] állt·        *t*]
          Mary      who behind   stood-AGR3sg
          'Behind who did Mary stand?'

Note, incidentally, that the obligatory movement of *who*-possessor NPs does not apply for logistic reasons like Fiengo and Higginbotham's (1981) Specificity Constraint.

This constraint states that a specific NP may not contain a quantified expression. However, other quantified possessor NPs may have both a nominative and a dative variant such as *which*-possessor NPs:

(14)  a.  [NP *melyik fiú*   anyja]
          which  boy mother-npAGR3sg
          'which boy's mother?'
      b.  [DP *Melyik fiúnak*    az [NP *t* anyja]]
          which boy-DAT the        mother-npAGR3sg
          'Which boy's mother?'

*(II)* The NP-Dem possessor may only appear with the dative case, like a *who*-possessor NP:

(15)  a.  *[NP [NP-Dem az  a  fiú] anyja]
                    that the boy  mother-npAGR3sg
      b.  [DP [NP-Dem *annak*      *a fiúnak*] [NP *t* az  anyja]]
                    that-DAT the boy-DAT       the mother-npAGR3sg
          'that boy's mother'

Recall that an NP-Dem may not be embedded in a dressed PP. Hence, the un-grammaticality of 7.3.(38b), here repeated as (16):

(16) *[PP [NP-Dem az a ház] mögé]
            that the house behind

The dative-marking of NP-Dem cannot save this phrase, like in the case of a pos-sessive NP (cf. (15)). Rather, the grammatical counterpart of a PP-Dem involves doubling of the P (cf. 7.3.(40b)):

(17) a. *[PP-Dem annak    a háznak      mögött(e)]
              that-DAT the house-DAT behind-ppAGR3sg
     b. [PP-Dem a  mögött a ház  mögött]
              that behind the house behind
              'behind that house'

The dichotomy between the pair in (15) on the one hand and the pair (16)-(17a) on the other hand is covered if possessive NPs but not PPs possess a Spec of DP which serves as a landing-site and which may serve as a Case-position for NP-Dem possessors.

So in general +NP-complement of a PP may not be separated from its head linearly. However, in some cases a P and its complement may form a discontinuous category:

(18) János *át*   ment  *a hídon*
     John  across went the bridge-SUPER
     'John went across the bridge.'

Following Ackerman (1984), I will assume these categories are not derived by an application of move-α but they are the result of a lexical 'restructuring'. This affects the V and the P yielding a complex verb (V') which subcategorizes for an NP-compl-ement (cf. section 4.4.). The following arguments provide empirical evidence for this.

(*i*) This lexical restructuring is dependent on the *lexical* properties, like subcat-egorization requirements, of these categories.

The verb *megy* 'go', which is directional, subcategorizes for a directional PP in (18). This allows the formation of a complex verb that governs an NP with lexical superessive. The formation of a complex verb is blocked, however, if the PP is a time adverbial. As a consequence, the P and its NP-complement cannot be separated:

(19) a. János ment      [PP egy héten        át]
        John walked-AGR3sg  a    week-SUPER for
        'John walked for a week.'
     b. *János [V'*át* ment]        *egy héten*
        John       for walked-AGR3sg a week-SUPER

(*ii*) The lexical combination of P and V may feed *morpholexical* rules such as Nom-inalization with the suffix -*ás/és* (cf. 3.3.3.(II)):

(20) a. [NP az *átmenés*        ] a  hídon]]
        the across-go-NOMI   the bridge-SUPER
        'The going across the bridge'

b.   [_NP a  hídon          való          *átmenés*]
the bridge-SUPER be-part.pres. across-go-NOMI
'The going across the bridge'

In (20), the attachment of *-és* to the complex verb *átmegy* turns it into the noun *átmenés*. This noun projects into an NP with its NP-complement to the right (cf. (20a)). The insertion of the dummy participium *való* 'being' may transform this phrase into a left-branching structure (cf. (20b)). Note that in both cases the NP-complement gets a lexical superessive case, similarly to the NP-complement of the complex verb *átmegy* in (18).

(*iii*) Ackerman (1984) has observed that the verb *kerekedik* 'arise' and the dressed P *fölé* 'above' may constitute a complex verb:

(21)  a.  Péter kerekedett   [_PP János fölé]
Peter arose-AGR3sg   John  above
'Peter beated John.'
b.  Péter [_V' *föléje*          kerekedett]   *Jánosnak*
Peter   above-ppAGR3sg arose-AGR3sg John-DAT
'Peter got the better of John.'

Observe from the comparison between (21a) and (21b) that the dressed P is inflected for AGR of the third person singular, the P-V combination receives an idiomatic sense and the NP-complement appears with a lexical dative in the complex verb construction. If this verb would be created by an application of move-$\alpha$, then it remains puzzling why its base-generated variant cannot exist:

(22)  *Péter kerekedett   [_PP Jánosnak  fölé(je)]
Peter  arose-AGR3sg  John-DAT above-ppAGR3sg

(*iv*) Consider the following sentences:

(23)  a.  János [_V' *neki* ment]        a  falnak
John      into went-AGR3sg the wall-DAT
'John run into the wall.'
b.  János a   falnak       [_V' *neki* ment]
John the wall-DAT     into went-AGR3sg
c.  *János [_V' *neki* ment]           nekem
John      into went-AGR3sg DAT-AGR1sg
d.  János [_V' *nekem*       ment]
John DAT-AGR1sg went-AGR3sg
'John run into me.'

The lexical item *neki* is ambiguous between a prefix 'into' and an inflected dative CaseP meaning 'to him' (see, section 4.4.2.). In both cases, *neki* patterns as a VM in the sense of Ackerman and Komlósy (1984).

In (23a) and (23b), the prefix *neki* combines with the verb *megy* into the complex verb *nekimegy*. This verb governs a lexical dative NP. If this NP is a pronominal item, then the construction yields an ungrammatical result (cf. (22c)). However, the spelling out of AGR on *neki* renders this sentence grammatical (cf. (22d)). This implies that it may satisfy subcategorization requirements when it is inflected for AGR.

Observe now the following paradigm with the dressed P *mögé* 'behind':

(24)    A  fiú [$_{PP}$ *az asztal mögé*] állt
        the boy    the table  behind stood-AGR3sg
        'The boy went and stood behind the table.'

    b.  A · fiú [$_{V'}$ *mögé* állt]           az *asztalnak*
        the boy    behind stood-AGR3sg the table-DAT
        'The boy went and stood behind the table.'

    c.  *A  fiú [$_{V'}$ *mögé* állt]       *nekem*
        the boy    behind stood-AGR3sg DAT-AGR3sg

    d.  A  fiú [$_{V'}$ *mögém*         állt]
        the boy   behind-ppAGR1sg stood-AGR3sg
        'The boy went and stood behind me.'

*Mögé* may form a complex verb with the verb *áll* (cf. (24b)). This verb assigns its NP-complement a lexical dative case. Note that this NP may not be a pronominal item (cf. (24c)) but it is expressed by AGR on the P (cf. (24d)). Hence, an inflected P patterns the same as an inflected CaseP (cf. (23)). The parallel distribution between these categories supports the hypothesis that *mögé* act as a VM in this paradigm. Hence, the discontinuous PP in (23b) is the result of a lexical rule.

Summarizing, the possessor NP may be moved within its possessive NP and it may be extracted from this category, unlike the NP-complement of a PP. This dichotomy is due to the fact that possessive NPs but not PPs contain a DP-projection which provides a landing-site and an escape-hatch for the moved possessor NP. An NP-complement of a PP, however, may get 'scrambled' out of this category only when its head has already merged with a verb in the lexicon.

### 7.4.2.3. Binding Theory

This section examines binding theory with respect to PPs and possessive NPs. Let us first discuss binding with possessive NPs.

Consider the following sentences:

(25)  a.  ?**János* látta      [$_{DP}$ a [$_{NP}$ *maga*  anyját]]
        John   saw-AGR3sg  the      himself mother-npAGR3sg-ACC
        '*John* saw *his* mother.'

    b.  *A fiúk* látták    [$_{NP}$ *egymás*  anyját]
        the boys saw-AGR3pl   each other mother-npAGR3sg-ACC
        '*The boys* saw *each other's* mothers.'

These sentences demonstrate that lexical items which meet Binding Principle A (cf. 5.3.4.(3a)) do not pattern alike in the [NP, NP] position of a possessive NP.[20]

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(20) This is also the case in English (cf. (i)) and Dutch (cf. (ii)):
    (i)  a.  **John saw himself's* mother      (ii)  a.  **Jan zag zichzelf's* moeder
        b.  *The boys* saw *each other's* mother             John saw himself's moeder
                                  b.  *De jongens* zagen *elkaars*     moeder
                                             The boys saw  each other's mother
Reflexives are not allowed in the complement position of possessive NPs (cf. the (a)-sentences), in contrast to reciprocals (cf. the (b)-sentences).

Reflexive anaphors are not allowed in this position (cf. (25a)), unlike reciprocal anaphors (cf. (25b)).[21]

Consider now the distribution of lexical items which are restricted by Binding Principle B (cf. 5.3.4.(3b)).

Compare the following sentence:

(26)  *János* látta        [DP az [NP ?*ö/*pro* anyját]]
      John saw-AGR3sg   the       he  mother-npAGR3sg-ACC
      *'John* saw *his* mother.'

This sentence demonstrates that an overt pronoun yields a rather ungrammatical result when it is bound in the [NP, NP] position of the possessive NP. This has, however, nothing to do with restrictions on binding theory but is an instance of the *Avoid Pronoun Principle* (cf. section 4.2.2.). An overt pronoun is omitted when it is recoverable from AGR.

Hungarian is *pro*-drop in possessive NPs (cf. section 5.3.4.3.). AGR in possesive NPs has the ability to sanction *pro* in the position of the possessor NP. Hence, it is the pronominal item relevant for binding theory. Note that *pro* may be bound by a c-commanding antecedent within possessive NPs. This antecedent may also be a quantified expression (cf. section 5.3.4.3.):

(27)  a. *Ki*    látta        [DP az [NP *pro* anyját]]
          who saw-AGR3sg   the  _  he  mother-npAGR3sg-ACC
          '*Who* saw *his* mother?'
      b. *Mindenki* látta        [DP az [NP *pro* anyját]]
          everyone saw-AGR3sg   the      his mother-npAGR3sg-ACC
          '*Everyone* saw *his* mother.'

The following descriptive generalizations capture the distribution of anaphors and pronominals in possessive NPs:

(28)  a. *Anaphors:* Reciprocals are allowed in the [NP, NP] position of possessive NPs, reflexives are not
      b. *Pronominal: pro* can be bound by an antecedent outside the possessive NP

(21) The reflexive anaphor *maga* consists of the stem *mag-*, which originally meant 'body', and person-number agreement. This phrase can sanction a *pro*-complement:
(i) (*én*) magam
    I  self-AGR1sg
    'myself'
Instead of *maga*, the anaphor *saját* 'his own, her own' must be employed to render (25a) grammatical:
(ii)*János lattá*        [DP a [NP *saját*   anyját]]
    John saw-AGR3sg   the    his own mother-npAGR3sg-ACC
    *'John saw his own* mother.'
*Saját* may also be inflected for AGR. The pronoun, however, may not be spelled out:
(iii) az (*én*) sajátom
    the I own-AGR1sg
    'my own'
Besides simple reflexive anaphors, like *maga* and *saját,* Hungarian also possesses some complex anaphors, such as *sajátmaga* (his own-himself, her own-herself) 'he himself, she herself', or *önmaga* 'he himself, she herself'. These anaphors often function as intensifiers. Their distribution requires further investigation.

Let us now discuss binding in PPs. Consider first the case of dressed PPs. Dressed PPs are only inflected for AGR if their NP-complement is pronominal. Hence, it is absent with anaphoric complements.

Compare the following sentences:

(29) a. *János* lenézett           [pp *maga*    mellé]
John  down-looked-AGR3sg   himself beside
'*John* looked down beside *himself*.'

b. *A   fiúk* lenéztek           [pp *egymás*    mellé]
the boys down-looked-AGR3pl   each other beside
'*The boys* looked down beside *each other*.'

These sentences show that both a reflexive (cf. (29a)) and a reciprocal (cf. (29b)) may be bound in dressed PPs.

Let us replace the anaphor by a pronominal. The pronominal item relevant for the binding theory is *pro* with dressed PPs, like with possessive NPs. Consider:

(30) a. *\*János* lenézett           [pp *pro* melléje]
John  down-looked-AGR3sg   he beside-ppAGR3sg
'*John* looked down beside *him*.'

b. \**Ki* nézett           le   [pp *pro* melléje]
who looked-AGR3sg down     he beside-ppAGR3sg
'*Who* looked down beside *him*.'

c. \**Mindenki* lenézett ·          [pp *pro* melléje]
everyone  down-looked-AGR3sg   he beside-ppAGR3sg
'*Everyone* looked down beside *him*.'

These sentences demonstrate that *pro* must be disjoint in reference with an antecedent outside the PP. Let us turn to naked PPs. Consider first the distribution of anaphors:

(31) a. *János* becsületes [pp *magával*        szemben]
John  honest           himself-INSTR opposite
'*John* is honest with *himself*.'

b. *A   fiúk* becsületesek [pp *egymással* szemben]
the boys  honest              each other opposite
'*The boys* are honest with *each other*.'

Both the reflexive and reciprocal may be bound in the complement position of a naked PP. Let us substitute a pronominal for the anaphors:

(32) a. \**János* becsületes [pp *vele*        szemben]
John   honest         he-INSTR opposite
\*'*John* is honest with *him*.'

b. \**Ki* becsületes [pp *vele*        szemben]
who honest           he-INSTR opposite
\*'*Who* is honest with *him*.'

c. \**Mindenki* becsületes [pp *vele*        szemben]
everyone  honest           he-INSTR opposite
\*'*Everyone* is honest with *him*.'

Note from this paradigm that a pronoun cannot be coreferential with a c-commanding antecedent.

Let us summarize the distribution of binding phenomena with PPs. The following generalizations hold both for dressed and naked PPs:

(33)   a.   *Anaphors:* Reflexives and reciprocals may appear in the [NP, PP] position of PPs
       b.   *Pronominal:* A pronominal in PPs (*pro* in dressed PPs and overt pronoun in naked PPs) is disjoint in reference with an antecedent outside the PP

Note from a comparison between (27) and (32) that an anaphor, except the reciprocal, is in complementary distribution with a pronominal. A reflexive anaphor, unlike *pro*, may not be bound in possessive NPs. In PPs, we find the opposite. How do we account for this distribution?

Chomsky (1981) characterizes the locality conditions for bound anaphors and pronominals in terms of the notion *governing category*. We will define governing category as follows:

(34)   *Governing Category:* α is a governing category for ß if and only if α is the minimal IP (CP) or NP containing ß, a governor of ß, and a SUBJECT accessible to ß

SUBJECT includes AGR of finite sentences, the subject of an infinitive sentence and the complement (i.e. genitive specifier) of an NP. Furthermore, it is an opacity factor for binding theory when it acts as the accessible SUBJECT.[22]

The Binding Principles for anaphors and pronominals are the following (cf. section 5.3.4.):

(35)   a.   *Binding Principle A:* An anaphor must be bound in its governing category
       b.   *Binding Principle B:* A pronominal is free in its governing category

These principles reflect the complementary distribution between bound anaphors and pronominals. An anaphor must be bound precisely in the domain in which a pronominal is free.

Let us first determine what the governing category is for anaphors and pronominals in Hungarian PPs and possessive NPs.

(32) does not distinguish between dressed and naked PPs. In both types of PPs, an anaphor may be bound by a higher antecedent and a pronominal must be disjoint in reference with this antecedent. Hence, AGR does not function as an accessible SUBJECT in PPs. It does not create an opaque domain. This means that the governing category for bound items in PPs is the finite sentence which contains the PP. The subject of this sentence functions as the accessible SUBJECT.

From this it follows that the anaphors in (29) and (31) are bound in their governing category, i.e. CP, satisfying Binding Principle A. Hence, these sentences are grammatical. The pronominals in (30) and (32) are bound in their governing category, i.e. CP, as well. This yields, however, a violation of Binding Principle B rendering these sentences ungrammatical.

(22) Accessibility is based on the following filter
    (i) *I/I condition*
       *[α...ß...] where α and ß bear the same index
    The notion of accessible is defined as follows:
    (ii) α is accessible to ß if and only if ß is in the c-command domain of α, and assignment to ß of the index of α would not violate (i)

Let us consider now the governing category for anaphors and pronominals in possessive NPs.

Generalization (28a) states that a split occurs between reflexives and reciprocals in possessive NPs. Reciprocals are allowed, in contrast with reflexives. Hence, the former pattern in the same way as reciprocals in PPs (cf. (33a)). AGR therefore is not an accessible SUBJECT in possessive NPs either.

Note furthermore that the structure of possessive NPs with reflexives differs fundamentally from the structure of such NPs with reciprocals (cf. (25a) and (25b)). The former contains a D, unlike the latter. The following sentences show that this determiner may not be omitted in possessive NPs with reflexives but it may not be spelled out in possessive NPs with reciprocals:

(36)  a.  *János látta        [NP *maga*   anyját]
          John   saw-AGR3sg    himself mother-npAGR3sg-ACC
      b.  ?*A *fiúk* látták    [DP az [NP *egymás*    anyját]]
          the  boys saw-AGR3pl the        each other mother-npAGR3sg-ACC

This suggests that possessive NPs with reflexives are DPs but that possessives with reciprocals are simple NPs.[23]

If D acts as an accessible SUBJECT, the generalizations in (33) fall into place. The governing category for reflexives in possessive NPs is DP, because D may function as an accessible SUBJECT. Observe now that there is no suitable antecedent available in that category, yielding a violation of Binding Principle A. Hence, the ungrammaticality of (25a).

The governing category for small *pro* in possessive NPs is the same as for the reflexive. This implies that *pro* is free in its governing category, that is, DP, satisfying Binding Principle B. As a consequence, the sentences in (26) and (27) are grammatical.

The governing category for the reciprocal in possessive NPs cannot be DP. Structurally, such possessive NPs are, by absence of D, NPs. Therefore, the finite sentence containing this NP functions as the governing category for a reciprocal in a possessive NP. In this sentence, the reciprocal can find an antecedent, namely, the subject. This satisfies Binding Principle A, yielding the grammatical sentence (25b).

So far I have argued that D but not AGR is an opacity factor for binding theory in Hungarian. The question then arises how we can account for this result without making ad-hoc stipulations.

Suppose we allow an extension of the notion *subject* in the sense of Chomsky (1981: 38). According to this concept, a subject is an NP in a configuration [β NP XP], where XP stands for any maximal projection. Let us assume now that not only NPs but all categories at the position of NP are a structural subject in this configuration.

---

(23) The former claim is also supported by the fact that an anaphor may not appear as a dative possessor NP:

      (i)  *János látta        [DP *magának*    az [NP *t* anyját]]
           John saw-AGR3sg     himself-DAT   the   mother-npAGR3sg-ACC

This sentence is ruled out as a Binding Principle A violation, because the trace of *maga*, being anaphoric, is not bound in its governing category NP.

      The claim with respect to the structure of possessive NPs with reciprocals is somewhat weakened by the fact that (36b) improves when the reciprocal appears as a dative possessor NP:

      (ii) ?A *fiúk*   látták     *egymásnak*    (az) anyját
           the boys saw-AGR3pl each other-DAT the mother-npAGR3sg-ACC

Therefore, D is a structural subject in possessive NPs. Compare 7.4.(4), here repeated as (37):

(37)

```
              DP
            /    \
        Spec      D'
                /    \
              D       NP
                    /    \
                  NP      N[+AGR]
                  |          |
            possessor NP   noun-possessed
```
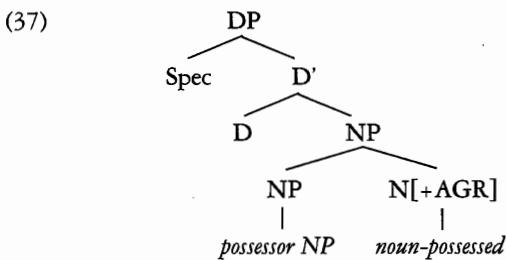
In this structure, D is a sister of the topmost NP. Hence, it is a subject in the extended sense.

Let us incorporate this notion of subject into binding theory. In the literature, it has been claimed that different categories may be opacity factors across languages including, among others, $I$ in English (cf. Chomsky 1981), $C$ in Dutch (cf. Koster 1987), and $AGR$ in Turkish IPs, and NPs, (cf. George and Kornfilt 1981). It is of course rather unattractive from a theoretical point of view to have a list with various unrelated opacity factors. The comparison between AGR in Turkish NPs and Hungarian NPs may shed some light on what kind of generalization is involved.

Kornfilt (1984) has argued that a full-fledged AGR in Turkish heads the category which contains it. As a consequence, AGR assigns (genitive) Case and it acts as an accessible SUBJECT in NPs. AGR in Hungarian NPs, however, does not have these properties.

Note that these differences correlate with the fact that AGR in Turkish but not in Hungarian has phrase-structural prominence, that is, it is a structural subject in the extended sense. Suppose now that this category may function as an accessible subject. Hence, AGR in Turkish NPs is an opacity factor, in contrast with its Hungarian counterpart.

This interpretation of accessible subject thus provides some insight into the question why various types of categories, such as I in English, C in Dutch, D in Hungarian, and AGR in Turkish may be opacity factors. These categories are structural subjects in the extended sense.

## 7.4.2.4. Summary

This section examined some differences between PPs and possessive NPs. The NP-complement of possessive NPs may be marked dative, it may be extracted from its category, and it may not be a reflexive anaphor, unlike the NP-complement of PPs. These differences originate from the fact that possessive NPs, contrary to PPs, may contain a DP, the projection of a D. The Spec of DP provides a Case-position in which dative Case-assignment applies, and it serves as a landing-site and escape-hatch for moved possessor NPs. Furthermore, the D, being external to the NP, is a structural subject functioning as an opacity factor for binding theory.

AGR does not act as an accessible SUBJECT in Hungarian.[24] It cannot turn an NP or PP into an opaque domain, contrary to AGR in Turkish. Hence, it does not have phrase-structural prominence, unlike in Turkish. This indicates that we have to do with a cliticized morpheme in Hungarian. In the next section, I will provide support for this claim by comparing inflected PPs in Hungarian and Irish.

## 7.5. A Typology of Inflected PP

In the preceding section, I argued that AGR in Hungarian has no phrase-structural prominence. The question then arises what the status of this morpheme is in this language.

I will demonstrate that AGR is *agreement* in a traditional sense. Its function is to reflect the person-number categories of the NP-complement on the head. I will provide empirical evidence for this hypothesis by examining a dichotomy between inflected PPs in Hungarian and Irish.

In Hungarian, AGR in inflected PPs may always cooccur with an overt complement, provided that it is a pronominal (cf. section 7.3.1.):

(1)  a. *(én) mögöttem*     b. *(ö) mögötte*        c. János mögött
        I  behind-ppAGR1sg    he behind-ppAGR3sg     John behind
        'behind me'          'behind him'           'behind John'

McCloskey and Hale (1983) have observed that Irish displays so-called '*pronominal prepositions*'. These are simply prepositions inflected for AGR with their pronominal subjects (cf. (2b) and (3b)). AGR may not cooccur with an overt complement in such PPs. Hence, the illformedness of (2c) and (3c):

(2)  a. le  Máire                    (3)  a. le  iad/siad
        with Mary                            with them/they
        'with Mary'                          'with them'
     b. léi                              b. leofa
        with-AGR3sg                          with-AGR3pl
        'with her'                           'with them'
     c. *léi        Máire               c. *leofa       iad/said
        with-AGR3sg Mary                     with-AGR3pl them/they
        (Hale and McCloskey (1984), (41))

These examples show that there is a complementary distribution between an overt subject NP-complement and AGR in inflected PPs.

---

(24) CasePs with a *pro*-complement pattern the same as dressed PPs. A *pro* subject is disjoint in reference to a c-commanding antecedent:
  (i)  a. *János beszéit       [CaseP *pro* róla]
          John spoke-AGR3sg     he DELAT-AGR3sg
          *'John spoke about *him.*'
       b. *Ki beszéit          [CaseP *pro* róla]
          who spoke-AGR3sg      he DELAT-AGR3sg
          *'Who spoke about *him.*'
       c. *Mindenki beszéit     [CaseP *pro* róla]
          everyone spoke-AGR3sg  he DELATG-AGR3sg
          *'Everyone spoke about *him.*'
  This paradigm also supports the claim that AGR is not an opacity factor in Hungarian.

Hale (1988) treats this merging of AGR and P as an instance of Incorporation in the sense of Baker (1988). The person-number inflection is a pronominal heading a DP in the complement position of PP. This pronominal head may move to the head of the PP as an instance of head-movement. Hence, AGR in inflected PPs is identical with the NP-complement.

Hale's analysis immediately accounts for the fact why a complement may not be overtly present. Incorporation in Irish is the result of a *syntactic* rule which leaves a trace in the complement position of the PP. This excludes the realization of an overt syntactic NP in that position.

If AGR in Irish is affected by a syntactic rule, then this cannot be the case in Hungarian. Therefore, the merging of AGR and P is a *lexical* rule in that language. With inflected PPs, it is conditioned by the feature [+pron]. Only pronominals may trigger AGR in this category.

AGR in Hungarian does not differ from its counterpart in Irish in terms of the morphology of incorporation. Lexical and syntactic incorporation, the same morphological forms. The difference is that lexical incorporation cannot leave a trace, since only syntactic rules can produce traces. Hence, the possibility of spelling out an overt NP in Hungarian but not in Irish.

In conclusion, the status of AGR in Hungarian PPs is different from the status of prepositional inflection in Irish. In the latter, inflection is literally identified with the argument. It has been incorporated from the complement position in syntax. In the former, on the other hand, inflection merely agrees with the subject complement and it is already merged with the head in the lexicon.

This then yields a *typology* of inflected PPs. In languages with a syntactically incorporated AGR, the NP-complement may not be spelled out, whereas in languages with a lexically incorporated AGR, an overt NP-complement may cooccur with this morpheme. Irish provides an instance of the former type. Hungarian, on the other hand, is an instance of the latter type.

## 7.6. Conclusions

This chapter provided empirical evidence for the following claims:

(*i*) The syntax of PPs and NPs unambiguously demonstrates that maximal major categories are specified as '*head-final*' in Hungarian with respect to the Head Parameter. This supports the hypothesis that Hungarian is an SOV-language (cf. section 2.2.).

(*ii*) PPs and NPs differ in *richness* of structure. NPs may contain a D which sets up it own X'-projection, a DP. This is responsible for the fact that (possessive) NPs pattern differently from PPs in relation to Case theory, the theory of movement, and binding theory.

(*iii*) Furthermore, I isolated the properties of AGR in Hungarian by comparing dressed PPs, naked PPs, and possessive NPs. It displays the following properties:

(a) It has no phrase-structural prominence. In other words, AGR does not function as the head of the category which contains it.

- (*i*) AGR is not a structural Case-assigner, because a structural nominative Case also occurs in dressed PPs where it is lacking (cf. section 7.3.2.). Hence, a rule for nominative Case-assignment is independently required in this context. Furthermore, if AGR acts as the head of a category it assigns genitive Case, as in Turkish (cf. Kornfilt 1984), rather than nominative Case.

- (*ii*) AGR does not function as an accessible SUBJECT for binding theory (cf. section 7.4.2.3.). It is an opacity factor only when it heads a category, like in Turkish (cf. Kornfilt 1984).

(b) AGR in Hungarian is *agreement* in a traditional sense.

- (*i*) It merely reflects the person-number features of the subject NP-complement. AGR is not the argument itself, such as in Irish (cf. section 7.5.). Hence, it may cooccur with an overt NP. This implies that the merging of AGR and an $X^0$ is a lexical phenomenon.

- (*ii*) These properties support the hypothesis that person-number complexes are *weak* in Hungarian (cf. chapter two). They are bound morphemes that must merge with a lexical category. Therefore, these complexes cannot determine an X'-projection by their own.

(c) AGR identifies a non-overt *pro* subject.

- Small *pro* is allowed in dressed but not in naked PPs. This supports Rizzi's (1986) theory on the *local recovery* of *pro* (cf. section 4.2.4.). The feature specification of *pro* is licit in dressed PPs, because it is recoverable from AGR on the P (cf. section 7.3.1.). The structural sanctioning of *pro* is also covered in dressed PPs. Dressed Ps assign a structural (nominative) Case to their NP-complements (cf. section 7.3.2.). Therefore, the following configuration captures the distribution of *pro*-drop in Hungarian:[25]

(1)
$$XP$$
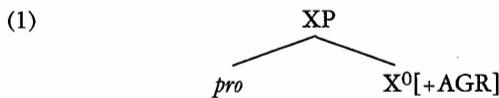
pro                     $X^0[+AGR]$
*structural Case*
where $X^0$ = V, *dressed P, N* or *Case*

---

(25) É. Kiss (1987a) assumes that long Left Dislocation involves a resumptive *pro* at the empty argument position (cf. chapter 6, note 5 for discussion of this phenomenon). This occurrence of *pro* does not correspond with its distribution in Hungarian (cf. (1)). Since the antecedent (the long left-discolated NP) of this empty category is not its structural sister. Hence, either Rizzi's (1986) theory of *pro* is too restrictive or long Left Dislocation does not involve small *pro*. I will leave this problem for further research.

# 8. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Up until recently the study of Hungarian has been guided by the view that it is a language with rather specific properties which do not turn up in other languages. I will refer to this as the *Hungarian-as-a-different-language-doctrine*. This doctrine originates from a mixture of cultural, historical and linguistic factors.

Under the influence of romanticism, a national movement arose in nineteenth century Hungary, which was in search of the own identity of the Hungarian people. One way to reach this goal was to stress the special character of the Hungarian language. This tendency was strengthened by the fact that Hungarian, a language of Finno-Ugric origin, was surrounded by non-related Germanic, Slavic and Romance languages.

Staal (1986: 274-275) noted that the western tradition with respect to the study of language has been word-oriented. Language has been considered as a collection of words. De Haan (1988), for example, notes that this view has strongly determined the linguistic research on the West-Germanic language Frisian up till quite recently.

In Hungary, a country belonging to the western cultural sphere, this view has been popular as well. This may be observed from the fact that grammar books on Hungarian mainly contain long lists of morphological paradigms. It is often claimed that this covers the whole language-structure.

These cultural historical factors have been reinforced by some striking properties of Hungarian, such as free word order, its agglutinative nature and the fixed Focus-position, which are often absent from familiar European languages.

In recent theoretically oriented research, a further pitfall was the fact that it was confronted almost exclusively with English. It was, however, overlooked that the position of English among the Germanic languages is rather unique (cf. Koster 1988). Only English has 'strong' auxiliaries, no movement of the main verb, and so on. Syntactically, Hungarian resembles rather the Germanic languages Dutch, Frisian and German. Hence, the comparison of Hungarian with these or the Slavic languages makes it look far less "exotic".

The Hungarian-as-a-different-language-doctrine has been most clearly represented in the work of É. Kiss. According to É. Kiss, the role of phrase structure in Hungarian is *fudamentally* different from its role in English. She claims (cf. É. Kiss 1987a: 250) that: "In the type represented by English, phrase structure configurations encode lexical structure, and logical relations are expressed on a virtual level, in the type of languages represented by Hungarian, phrase structure encodes logical relations, and lexical structure exists merely in the form of a virtual structure (if at all)." Thus, according to this view, the phrase structure of Hungarian does not ex-

press the familiar structural subject-predicate partitioning of the sentence, as in English.

It was argued in this study that the treatment of Hungarian-as-a-different-language is rather unmotivated for both theoretical and empirical reasons. Therefore, the setting of "deep" parameters, like Configurationality Parameters, which have the effect of destroying the structural subject-predicate partitioning of the sentence, should be rejected.

Our approach was guided by *the idea of an abstract and fairly uniform underlying structure across languages*. This research strategy has proven to be fruitful for the study of UG. We defended the claim that all languages have a similar phrase structure at the proper level of abstraction. From this hypothesis an insightful and empirically motivated analysis of Hungarian phrase structure ensues.

The idea of an abstract and fairly uniform underlying structure across languages dictates Hungarian to be configurational, because configurational languages are well-attested. This represents the null-hypothesis, although some of its properties, like subject-object symmetries, are apparently in conflict with such a structure.

In a configurational phrase structure, the subject occupies a different position than the object. The object is dominated by the VP, whereas the subject is external to this maximal projection:

(1)             Sentence
              /         \
        Subject          VP
                       /    \
                  Object      V
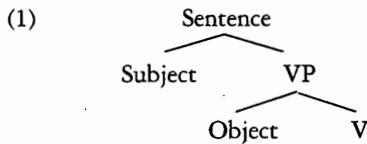
Languages with this structure display subject-object asymmetries. These phenomena also appear in Hungarian (cf. chapter five). This indicates that its phrase structure is configurational.

It is rather surprising that subject-object asymmetries have been reported so poorly in the linguistic literature of Hungarian, particularly, if we take into account that they probably belong to the best documented language-universals.[1] É. Kiss (1981c) observed an asymmetry with reflexive binding, and Horvath (1981) did the same with WCO. Apart from the cases listed in chapter five, no other convincing subject-object asymmetry has been discussed.[2] This is, in my view, due to the Hungarian-as-a-different-language-doctrine. The idea of an abstract and fairly uniform underlying structure, however, leads one to search for subject-object asymmetries quite naturally. By adopting this approach, it is therefore to be expected that these phenomena will turn up in all natural languages.[3]

In this thesis, I argued that the real challenge offered by the 'non-configurational' or 'free' word order languages is to account for the parallel occurrence of a cluster of subject-object asymmetries and subject-object symmetries. It is extremely unlikely that the properties of these clusters will be covered by the parametrization of one module, because they are heterogeneous in nature and they sometimes affect one and the same module. Therefore, it seems to me, only an articulated theory of UG will be able to account for these phenomena.

For example, in Hungarian subject-object symmetries are found with respect to superiority effects and *that*-trace phenomena, although the subject is structurally prominent to the object in phrase structure. This apparent contradiction may arise, however, because the binding domain for both subject and object Wh-traces is similar, namely CP (cf. section 5.4.).

Free word order phenomena have been captured in early generative grammar by a stylistic rule, that is "scrambling", applying at PF (cf. Ross 1967). This has proved to be a rather trivial hypothesis. It cannot explain, for instance, why in some languages, like Hungarian or Japanese, scrambling applies almost freely, but it is blocked in others, such as English or Navajo. Scrambling furthermore suggests that word order is rather unconstrained in languages in which it applies.

In Hungarian, this is clearly not the case. Hungarian displays all sorts of restrictions on word order. It has a neutral SVO-order, a fixed Focus-position, quantifiers strung together to the left of the verb, complex verbs exhibit a verb-final order, and maximal projections are head-final (cf. chapter two). Moreover, scrambling as a PF-rule has also been falsified empirically. For example, the fact that it affects the interpretation of bound pronouns clearly demonstrates that scrambling is not a PF-rule but a syntactic rule (cf. section 5.3.4.3.).

Horvath (1981) was the first who tried to restrict 'freedom' of word order in Hungarian by syntactic conditions on operations like adjunction. In this study, I have added two other sources for freedom of word order, namely CP-recursion and V-movement. It remains to be investigated whether this is correct and, if so, how further restrictions can be made. For example, suppose that the evaluation metric of X'-syntax determines the directionality of adjunction. In that case, only leftward adjunction would be possible in Hungarian.

É. Kiss (1987a: 187) proposes the following hierarchy to systematize the extensive morphological case-system in Hungarian:

(2)    NOM > ACC > DAT > INSTR > ADVERBIAL

É. Kiss assigns this hierarchy a *special* status in the grammar of Hungarian. According to É. Kiss, it is an auxiliary device which takes over the role of the non-configurational phrase structure when this is unable to account for syntactic relations.

In this study, however, we further elaborated on Van Riemsdijk (1982) who in turn relies on the insights of Relational Grammar and Lexical-Functional Grammar. Van Riemsdijk classifies the above hierarchy in terms of a binary feature-system involving mnemonic labels, like [SUBJ] and [OBJ]. Morphological cases should not be mapped directly onto abstract Case but through the mediation of this feature-system (cf. section 5.4.1.). Consequently, there are no longer "deep" syntactic differences between English and Hungarian but only at the surface level involving the morphological encoding of abstract Case.

The Hungarian-as-a-different-language-doctrine has also influenced Horvath's (1986) treatment of Focus, although Horvath adopts the idea of an abstract and fairly uniform underlying structure across languages (cf. Horvath 1986: introduction).

Horvath assigns Hungarian main clauses an SVO-order, and embedded clauses an SOV-order. This matches the distribution of word order in non-English Germanic languages. In these languages, this phenomenon has been analyzed as 'V-second' (cf. Koster 1975 and Thiersch 1978, among others).

It has been argued that the order of the embedded clause represents the underlying order and that the order of the main clause is derived by movement of the finite verb. Surprisingly, instead of treating Hungarian as an SOV-language with V-movement, Horvath takes SVO as the basic order. As a result, its phrase structure has a *special* VP-internal position for Focus. This leads to some questionable consequences, like a lowering-transformation with subject focussing or the VP-internal position of Wh-phrases which is rather exceptional from a cross-linguistic point of view.[4]

These problems could have been circumvented, if the underlying SOV-order had been related to the unmarked SVO-order by V-movement, like in the Germanic languages with V-second (cf. chapter two). As a consequence, the adjacency requirement on Focus could have been treated as the Hungarian manifestation of the V-second effect.

Chomsky (1986b) argues that V-second appears in the following configuration:

(3) $[_{CP}$ (X") (V-finite) IP]

X" in the [Spec, CP] marks the position of Wh-phrases or some other quantified expression. The finite verb may land in the [C, CP] position as a result of V-movement. This yields V-second. Concomitant to this phenomenon is an adjacency effect involving the category which fills the X"-position and the finite verb.

If focussing in Hungarian is regarded as a V-second effect, then this immediately explains why the Focus-position must be left-adjacent to the verb. Futhermore, a striking parallel with English arises.

V-second in English yields I-to-C movement. This is triggered by exactly the same type of categories which trigger Focussing in Hungarian, namely, quantified expressions like Wh-phrases, negated phrases and so on. So, the treatment of focussing as a V-second effect not only avoids the theoretical problems which Horvath's (1986) approach runs into but also makes some interesting parallels available with other languages.

Let us summarize the most important results of this study. Consider first the concepts which are supported by empirical evidence from Hungarian.

- Hungarian phrase structure has a *VP* which is supported by the occurrence of a large variety of *subject-object asymmetries* (cf. chapter five). This provides empirical evidence for the hypothesis that the VP is a language-universal, and that these phenomena appear in all natural languages.

- The *Projection Principle* maps lexical structure onto syntactic configurations. A number of unrelated phenomena show that this principle is operative in Hungarian as well (cf. chapter four).

- Hungarian phrase structure exhibits the two characteristic properties of standard grammatical tree-structures, namely, *symmetry* and *recursion*. Symmetry appears in X'-grammar. All endocentric maximal projections are left-branching

(cf. chapter two). Recursion turns up in two subcomponents involving X'-grammar (cf. chapter two) and Wh-module (cf. chapter six). CP is recursive within CP and the scopal domain of Wh-phrases is extended by the iteration of a dummy Wh-phrase, or by successive cyclic movement of the Wh-phrase itself.

- We have provided evidence for the theory of *empty categories*. This theory is motivated by the idea of an abstract and fairly uniform underlying structure par excellence, for there is nothing to see in the overt syntactic representation. Small *pro* holds the position of omitted pronouns in Hungarian (cf. chapter four and seven) and *trace* fills the base-generated position of moved Wh/Focus-phrases (cf. chapter six).

- Maximal projections may vary in the *richness* of structure (cf. chapter seven). Ns but not Ps may combine with a D which projects into a maximal projection, a DP. As a consequence, an NP is in fact a DP and it is richer in structure than a PP. This has repercussions for the syntax of these categories (cf. chapter seven).

- Languages may differ with respect to the *strength* of person-number agreement. AGR or I is 'strong' if it is lexically independent, and it is 'weak' in case it is a bound morpheme. Only if I or AGR is strong may it head an X'-projection, otherwise it must merge with a lexical item. *AGR* and *I* are *weak* in Hungarian (cf. chapter two and seven). Hence, they have no phrase-structural prominence.

- The agent and theme role of morphologically unaffected verbs in Hungarian are always mapped onto the syntactic configurations in accordance with the *UT-HACs* (cf. chapter three). The agent role is projected onto the subject position, and the theme role is projected onto the object position. This supports the hypothesis that these matching rules are the *unmarked* cases of θ-assignment.

- *Parameter theory* is a fruitful way to address questions of language-typology. We have set the following parameters: *IP-parameter* (cf. chapter two and five), the *Head Parameter* (cf. chapter two and seven), *Pro-drop Parameter* (cf. chapter four and seven), the θ-*Assignment Parameter* (cf. chapter three), and the parameter +/- *move Wh* (cf. chapter six).

Let us make some remarks with respect to the final point, parameter theory. Before doing so, consider a brief review of these parameters.

I have related some of the typological differences between English on the one hand and Hungarian and other Germanic languages like Dutch, Frisian and German on the other hand to the IP-parameter. I is an independent lexical item in English but not in the other languages. This property has far-reaching consequences for the syntax of these languages. The IP-parameter establishes a correlation between V-movement and subject-object symmetries. If a language has V-to-C movement, it displays subject-object symmetries.

Hungarian is specified with respect to the Head Parameter as 'head-final'. The heads of all endocentric categories are in final position. This represents one of the core options of X'-theory. The Head Parameter does not only bear on X'-theory but also on the grammar of scope. In a left branching language, the leftmost quantifier has the largest c-command domain, and thus it has wide scope.

Hungarian realizes the agent and theme role of morphologically underived (in)transitive verbs in accordance with the UTHACs. The agent corresponds with

the subject and the theme with the object. In English, these conventions may be suppressed. Hence, in Hungarian but not in English syntactic NP-movement is blocked with Passivization, Ergativization, Middle verbs, and Raising Verbs, Dative Shift is lacking, and the predicate containing an inalienable body object does not assign a compositional θ-role to the subject.

Hungarian exhibits two dialects concerning long Wh-movement, namely +/- move Wh. This parameter relates phenomena involving an accessibility hierarchy for overt long Wh-movement, preference for the *mit*-strategy, the conjugation of intermediate verbs, parasitic gaps and resumptive pronouns.

Comrie (1987) distinguishes two types of parameters. *Holistic* parameters which may affect the totality of the language-structure, and *partial* parameters which cover only a subpart of the language-structure. In our terminology, this means that holistic parameters may bear on several modules, whereas partial parameters are restricted only to one single module.

According to this typology, the θ-Assignment Parameter is a partial parameter. It refers only to θ-theory. The IP-parameter, the Head Parameter, the *Pro*-drop Parameter, and +/- Move Wh, on the other hand, are holistic parameters.

For example, the IP-parameter affects various components of the grammar like move-α (V-movement), X'-theory (verb-object adjacency, VP-deletion and topicalization to CP) and Wh-module (the lack of superiority and *that*-trace effects). Hence, this parameter connects totally unrelated phenomena and it accounts for the fact that these phenomena and only these phenomena are interrelated across languages.

It seems to me that holistic parameters make intriguing claims with respect to problems of language-typology. Therefore, I do not share Comrie's scepticism with respect to the setting of such parameters. Of course, they should be conditioned. Parameters must at least be inductive, for reasons of explanatory power, and they should be easy to discover, because of learnability. The latter requires, for example, that parameters are related to the lexicon (cf. the IP-parameter), or to surface properties, such as 'rich' morphology (cf. the *Pro*-drop Parameter) or surface order (cf. the Head Parameter). I will leave, however, the further elaboration of these questions for future research.

Let us consider now the theoretical concepts of standard approaches in generative grammar which have to be rejected on the basis of empirical evidence from Hungarian.

- Hungarian favors a *representational* approach over a derivational approach to grammar. This implies that the theory of movement has no independent status in the theory of UG. We have supported this claim with evidence from *split constituents* (cf. chapter four) and the so-called *mit*-strategy (cf. chapter six). In both cases, a derivational theory cannot account for the facts without making ad-hoc assumptions.

- The level of representation referred to as 'Logical Form' is superfluous (cf. chapter six). The *scope* of quantified expressions in Hungarian can be read off directly from *S-structure*. The S-structure counterpart of May's (1977) Quantifier Raising involves binding with a scope marker.

- I have demonstrated that *Binding Principle C* is not a core principle of UG (cf. section 5.4.2.7.). It is not stable across languages and it is sometimes determined by non-syntactic phenomena like linearity. Binding Principle C effects with names can at best be subsumed by a *discourse principle*. This implies that the core principles of binding theory are *Principle A* and *Principle B* (cf. Koster 1987: chapter 6). Hence, binding theory is then a theory only about the properties of dependent items, such as anaphors and pronouns.

In conclusion, I have argued in this study that the phrase structure of Hungarian is configurational. This supports the hypothesis that all languages exhibit a configurational core. This result has been achieved by adopting the view that the idea of an abstract and fairly uniform underlying structure provides a fruitful approach for tackling linguistic puzzles. If we are willing to abstract from surface phenomena, rich and articulated structures become visible which happen to be rather constant across languages.

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# Materiales para un
# diccionario etimológico de la lengua vasca
# X

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EGILUMA V 'traza, aspecto, forma, estructura'. Cf. *egiaamon, egidamu.*

EGIN, *in* AN, BN, V 'hacer', V 'dar', V, G, L 'apostar', V 'suponer'.
Término vasco de difícil análisis; Tromb. *Orig.* 123 y Uhl. *Gernika* 1, 552 y 574 señalan una raíz *-gi-*.
Recogemos a título de información las comparaciones que se han hecho.
F. de Fuenterrabía *Lecaroz* 2, 56 compara sum. *ag* 'hacer'; Campión *EE* 43, 133 aduce acad. *gi* 'fundar', id. 137 da *ak* ó *ake* 'hacer'; Gabelentz 46, 72 y 276 s. cita eg. *qeme*, cab. *uqem*, taur. *ekni* 'hacer'; Sch. *RIEV* 7, 344 compara bereb. *e-g, e-γ, e-dž, e-žž, e-i* 'hacer'; Tromb. l.c., aparte de con bereb., cita geor. *i-kh-s* 'él hace', mingr. *khi-m*, etc. (con vasco *egite*, geor. *khete-* 'hacer', hace concordar Bari *kita* 'trabajar', bantú *keta* 'id.'); Mukarovsky *GLECS* 11, 88 y *Wien.Zschr.* 62, 41, insiste en el bereb.
En lo cauc. Dumézil *Intr. gramm. comp.* 145 cita andi *ihi-* 'hacer' (auxiliar), Bouda *BuK* 55, abkh. *c'a* 'verdad', *q'a-c'a* 'hacer' (lo que confirmaría la aproximación de *egia* a *egin*), y en *BAP* 12, 279, el geor. *\*g* 'id.'.
En lat. *agere*, cuya semejanza fónica no es menor que las formas precedentes, lo aduce R. de Arrese *EE* 22, 309 y 55, 499. En cambio CGuis. 65 y 136 acude a *facere, feci.*
*EWBS* parte también de lo africano: bereb. *yĕg* (aor.), *ĕg*, con otras variantes dialectales, todo en la misma línea de inverosimilitud que lo anterior.

EGIRAMU 'mueca' 'simulacro, acto hecho por ostentación'.

EGIRUDI V (ms.) 'verosimilitud'. De *(h)egi* + *irudi.*

EGISARI R, Salac., *egin-sari* (Mug. *Dicc.*) BN 'pago, cantidad pagada'. (Composición clara deducida de la 2.ª variante).

EGITAI V (*RS* 268), *egitái* R, *egitei* V, G, S *igatéi* S, *igetai* V, *i(gi)tai* V, G, AN, L, BN, *igitei* (Leiç.), (Gèze), *igitéi* S, *igiti/iriti* V, AN, *iritegi* V (var. de *igitei* según Azkue) 'hoz'.
A éstos hay que añadir *igita* AN, *igite* V, *egita* R, *igitaite* V, *itaite* G 'siega', y *egita* R 'cuadrilla de segadores'. (Derivados: *igetaitu, igitatu, egitatu* 'segar').
Según Mich. *FHV* 103 s., en *egitai/egitei* todo indica que ha habido contracción de la vocal final del tema, R *egita*, AN *igita* 'siega' usado con sufijo de valor local, con un segundo elemento que quizá sea el mismo *gai/gei.*
El mismo autor o.c. 397, para los oxítonos por contracción *(egitái)* postula una antigua consonante intervocálica, que puede ser *\*h.*

Bouda-Baumgartl 42 menciona *(h)igitei-belarra* 'linaria' (lit. 'hierba de hoz') para curar heridas causadas por la hoz, por tanto, remedio para cortaduras.

Bouda *BAP* 11, 216, que también reúne las formas citadas, analiza *i-gate-i*, y supone una raíz *\*gata/kata*, que compara con circ. *kate*, qabard *gate* 'sable'.

EGITADA V, *egitade* V, G 'procedimiento'. De *egin* con un sufijo de aspecto románico.

EGITALDI de *egin* + *aldi*.

EGITAMU v. *egidamu*.

EGITE[2] BN, V, R, S 'semejanza', *eite* N, etc. (cf. Mich. *FHV* 105).

EGITEKOZU Salac. 'delicado, melindroso'.

EGITURA V, G 'estructura, factura'. De *egin* y un sufijo románico.

EGIUNE V 'contrato'. Mich. *Pas.Leng.* 96 da *\*egita-une* como paralelo a *egi-une*.

EGIZTU de *egin*.

EGO[1] v. *ega*.

(H)EGO[2] BN, L, S, *egoe* V, G, *egoi*[1] V, G 'sur, parte meridional', *egoa* AN, BN, V, G, *hegoa* BN, L, S 'el viento del sur'.

*FEW* 1, 116 deriva de formas como Rouerg., Tarn, Herault, etc. *ayal* 'viento mediterráneo que trae lluvia' (remite a Sch. *BuR* 54. Este lo relaciona con fr.mer. *eigau*, bearn. *agau* < lat. *aqualis*, 'viento sur' en el Rouergue).

Hervás *BAP* 3, 335 cita una forma (?) *egüin* 'alumbrar, lucir', como origen; Campión *EE* 41, 316 analizaba como probable etimología *eg- (eki) oi* 'cama del sol' (!); Sch. *RIEV* 7, 299, aunque menciona la cuestión de probable relación con *eguzki*, piensa en una relación con lat. *fauonius* (arag. *fagüeño*); LMendizabal *Hom.Tolosa* quiere encontrar *ego* en *eguzki, egun, eguraldi, eguberri*, etc.; Sch. *BuR* 54 compara *negu*.

En la misma línea de inverosimilitud se encuentran las comparaciones extravascas: Gabelentz 3, 102 s. y 138 s. aduce tuar. *agŭs*, cab. *agedĭd* 'sur'. Saint-Pierre *EJ* 2, 378 acude a sum. *ag*, scr. *ag-* (no existe; sin duda lo abstrae de *agni-*) 'luz', arm. *agg* 'alba', *aíc* 'sol', kott *eg* 'sol', gal. *eaga* 'luna', asir. *agu* 'id.', ár. *'ag* 'brillar', agul *eug* 'mañana', tab. *jegh* 'día', *agu* 'luminoso', suomi *kuu* 'luna', av. *qo* 'día', lak *co-* 'cielo', y hasta guanche *go* 'cielo' (en *ti-go-t*). Lahovary *EJ* 5, 229 cita alb. *ag* 'aurora, luz del ojo'. A éstas se añaden las de Mukarovsky *Iker* 2, 470 que mencionan eslavo común *jug* 'sud' (está en ruso con esa significación).

*EWBS* busca un origen céltico y reconstruye una forma *\*dego(a)* junto a corn. *dyghow, dyow*, bret. *dehou* 'rechts, rechter Hand', enlazando incluso con lat. *dexter* (!).

EGO[3] V 'orza, tabla que suspenden los pescadores del lado del viento, con objeto de evitar el peligro de un vuelco'.

EGO[4] v. *eo*[2].

EGOAIDATU/*egoairatu* G 'ventilar, aventar ropas, tierras'. Parece un geminado semántico (con segundo elemento románico).

EGOAL S 'suerte, fortuna'. (*egoalekoa* S 'dichoso, afortunado'). Lh. compara el esp. *igual*, sin que se vea la razón.

(H)EGOALDE de *(h)ego*[2].

EGOARI AN 'el hilo de la lanzadera'. De *eo*[2] + *ari*[1].

EGOARTU R 'advertir, acordarse'. Vid: *guartu*.

EGOARRI, *egoerri* v. *eguberri*.

EGOATXA R 'río', *egoatxarri* R 'canto de río'. v. *eguatx(a)*.

EGOAZTU, como *egoaidatu*.

EGOERA 'estancia', V 'estado'.

De *egon* y un sufijo románico.

EGOIARGU R 'tertulia, asamblea'; *egoidiar* R 'residente', 'contertulios'; *egoidiargu* R 'gabinete, lugar de tertulia'.

[2]

EGOILE (Duv. *ms.*) 'habitante, morador'; AN 'cachazudo'; *egoiliar* BN, S 'inquilinos', S 'habitante'.

        Sin duda de *egon.*

EGOIORRI (*ms.* Lond.) 'solano' (Bot.).

        Segundo elemento *orri.*

EGOITE R, S 'el estar, el residir' (Cf. *egoitza* AN, BN, G, S 'residencia, estado').

        De *egon.* Rohlfs *Le Gascon₂* § 49 señaló que a éste corresponde gasc. *èguet* 'querencia' (que recoge Hubschmid *Thes.Praerom.* 2, 111). (cf. Corominas *7.° Congr. Rom.* 413).

EGOITZI, *egoizpen, egoizte* v. *egotzi.*

EGOKADA de *ega/egal.*

EGOKARI de *eo*[1].

EGOKARRI AN, V, G (*ms.* Lond.) 'acomodable, aplicable'.

EGOKI AN, V, G 'corresponder, convenir', AN, V, G, L 'conveniente, adecuado, propio', V 'cliente, parroquiano', 'atenerse', 'consanguíneo, allegado', V 'tarea que se ha asignado a uno', 'pertenecer'. (Pouvr.) *egokiak* 'los familiares' (significa además «los adecuados, los clientes, los consanguíneos, las tareas», según Azkue).

        Sin duda de *egon* + el sufijo *-ki* (así en *EWBS*).

HEGOLATX BN 'lazo, trampa'.

EGON, IGON V 'estar, quedar'.

        Es otra de las palabras vascas importantes cuya etimología no está en modo alguno resuelta.

        Así, no parece aceptable la identificación que propone Holmer *BAP* 12, 388 con *igo* 'subir', basándose en la variante V *igon.* Uhl. *Gernika* 1, 552 y 575, y Lafon *Système* 2, 5 analizan una raíz *-go-*, que Giacomino *Relazioni* 15 y Gabelentz 264 s. comparan con eg. *ḥā* 'estar'; Sch. *RIEV* 7, 333 con eg. *'ḥ'*, copto *ōhe*, o con bereb. *ekh*, hebr. *qūm, kūn* 'stehen', nub. *ag;* Gabelentz 45, por otra parte lo hace con cab. *γīm, eqqim* 'estar sentado', tuar. *aqqim* 'permanecer', Gad. *qīm* 'ponerse'.

        Por su lado, Tromb. *Orig.* 123 señala semejanzas en kumana *gō* 'estar sentado, quedarse', kafa *ḱŭay* y *ḱay* 'quedarse', con *q*, como el hebr. comparado por Sch., y el geez *qō-ma* (equiparados por Moeller al ide. *\*gm-* 'venir').

        CGuis 64 acude al lat. *habēre.*

        Con el cauc., Dumézil *Intr.gramm.comp.* 145 compara av. !-*eg-*, andi *g-* 'estar echado', čč. !-*aγ-* 'estar sentado'; Holmer *BAP* 12, 388 se refiere a su comparación *Ibero-cauc. as ling.type* 40 con cauc. *qo-*, de sentido análogo a *egon, igon* (al que pertenece el adj. *egoki* 'conveniente').

        Los derivados *egongia, egoitza*, claramente en conexión con *egon* sugieren a Gabelentz 43 y 172 s. nuevas etimologías africanas: cab. *aχχam*, tuar. *ehen*, chelja *tegim* 'vivienda', eg. *aḥewe.*

        *EWBS* también acude al lat., y reconstruyendo una forma vasca *\*egoñ* o *\*egoin*, por *\*pegoin-/pegoñ*, la deduce nada menos que del lat. *pecūnia*, por mediación del ibér., para lo cual compara *egontsa* con los top. de aquella lengua *Egosa, Egovarri*, y aun hace alusión de lejos a ár. *sakan, suknā* 'Wohnung' (!).

EGON-ALDI, *-arri, -du, -gi, -ki, -tatü, ego-pen, -pide* de *egon.*

        La significación de *egondu* V, *egontatü* 'corromperse (el agua)', *egonki* 'estancamiento del agua', puede deducirse perfectamente de la significación básica de *egon.*

EGORTU R, *ekhortu* S (Leiç., Oih.), *egordi* R 'barrer' (Cf. Mich. *FHV* 233). v. *ekortu.*

EGORTZI AN 'sepultar', 'frotar, sobar'; *eortzi* AN, L, *ehortzi* BN, L, S (q.u.).

EGORRI[1] BN, L, S *igorri* AN, BN, L, S 'enviar, despachar'.

        *EWBS* le atribuye origen románico y, reconstruyendo una forma *\*e/ikorr-i*, deriva del lat. *incurrere* (esp., cat. *encorrer*), lo que resulta inadmisible. Vid. *igorri.*

EGORRI[2] (*ms.* Lond.) 'énula campana' (Bot.).

EGOSI 'cocer, hervir', V, R 'digerir', V, Salac. 'carcomerse', BN 'disimulado', AN, L, S, Salac. 'cocido, olla podrida', V, G, L, S, Salac. 'día de bochorno', AN, V, G, L, R 'calor que sienten los niños gruesos en las muñecas, papada, etc.', L 'carne cocida'.
    Cf. vizc. de Cigoitia *ekosari* 'legumbre' (*RS* 413, Oih. *Prov.* 268 'haba') (q.u.), *egosari* V, *egoskari* AN, V, G 'id.'. (Cf. Mich. *FHV* 231).
    Bouda compara, en la acepción 'digerir', con *txegosi* y CGuis 225 con *txigoitu* 'id.'. Este considera curiosamente estas formas como las completas, sin pérdida de la consonante inicial.
    Charencey *RIEV* 4, 505 deriva del esp. *cocer*.
    Uhl. *Gernika* 1, 575 analiza una raíz *-gos-*, y en *RIEV* 15, 586 compara cauc. kürin *igaz* y tab. *urzus*. Tromb. *Orig.* 125 lo hace con circ., Kab. γaz-en, sh. ggas-än y *hazž-an-*, abkh. *rež-enn* (con *r* <γ) 'cocer'; a su juicio el mingr. χaš-ua 'id.' no es comparable, pues ha perdido una *r*, a juzgar por el georg. χaš-va. Bouda *BKE* 51 rechaza la etimología circ. de Tromb., ya que lo que se halla en las formas por éste alegadas es una raíz *že* 'asar, cocer', con un prefijo causativo γa- < γe-.
    Por el lado africano Sch. *RIEV* 7, 336 invoca el bedauje *gaš* 'hervir' (intrans.), *gaš-iš* 'cocer' (trans.), y tuar. *igaš* 'id.'. En el mismo sentido Tromb. l.c. Da las mismas formas Saint-Pierre *EJ* 2, 376, así como Gabelentz 18 y 274 s.
    Puede añadirse a estas fantasías la comparación de CGuis 225 con lat. *coquere*. Tromb. l.c. recoge una forma especial *ugosi* aplicada a 'huevos', según anota.
    *EWBS* da una pintoresca etimología: de *e-* = *ehe* 'agua' (< afr. *eve*) + *gos-*, junto al port. *cozer*, esp. *cocer* (del lat. *\*cocere* por *coquere*) (!).

EGOTU[1] AN 'golpear, dar paliza'.

EGOTU[2] AN 'estar'. Variante de *egon*.

EGOTSARI V 'renta, pago por el alquiler de una casa'. (Cf. *egisari*).

EGOTZI AN, V, R, Salac. 'echar, dejar, impulsar', V, G 'adherir, juntar', (*ms.* Och.) 'imponer', BN 'hacer bajar'; *egotxi* R, S 'echar', S 'vomitar'; *ekoizte* (Oih. *Voc.*), *egoizte* (Har.) 'arrojar', 'fruto o producto de los árboles'; *egotzaldi* 'emisión'.
    Tromb. *Orig.* 125 sugiere que la raíz sería *-gotz-*; en tal sentido también Uhl. *Gernika* 1, 575, que incluye también *-goits-* como forma secundaria. Las formas *egoizte*, *ekoizte* son sustantivos verbales (Gavel *RIEV* 12, 364 y Mich. *FHV* 232).
    En lo cauc., Uhl. *RIEV* 15, 586 propuso džek. čuadž, čeč. da-kosaneza, qisar, kxuossar. Por su parte Lafon *Études* 26 insiste en el čeč., e ingush *qoss-ar* (que parece variante de la forma dada por Uhl.), a los que, con Sommerfelt, compara bats *qos-ar* 'arrojar, lanzar', comparación hecha por Tromb. l.c. y por Bouda *BKE* 41 y Uhl. *Verwantschap.* 29 con čeč. qo'sar. J.Braun *Iker* 1, 214 compara con georg. Vtqorc- < *Vd-qorc- 'echar'.
    Gabelentz 87 y 282 s. compara tuar. *ager* 'arrojar', aunque con interrogante.
    *EWBS* pretende un origen románico. Por una parte reconstruye una forma *\*esgotsi* que deriva del lat. *excutio;* por otra *\*agostšin,* del esp. *acochinar* (!).

EGOZKI G, *egozkoi* S 'reemplazante' (se dice de un ternero que se busca para una vaca cuya cría ha muerto).

EGOZKO AN 'espadaña' (Bot.).
    Bouda-Baumgartl 42 lo derivan de *egotzi* 'arrojado', por la forma de las hojas.

EGOZPEN, *egoste* 'producción, fruto'. Cf. *ekoizte*[2].

EGU v. *egun*.

EGU-AIRATU, -AIZE, -ALDE de (*h)ego*[2]; aunque por la forma *eguaize*, Campión *EE* 41, 314 analiza *egun* + *aize* 'viento'.

EGUANTZ V, G (V.Eys), *egunantz* V 'aurora'. De *egun* + *antz* 'imagen, parecido'. Según Campión *EE* 41, 314. (¿o 'hacia'?).

EGU-ARDI, *-argi*, *-arte* de *egun*. (Mich. *FHV* 309).

EGUASTEN V (Land. *eguastena*, Añ. *eguaztena*), *eguesten/eguezten/egusten* V 'miércoles'.

Mich. *FHV* 258 señala una disimilación de *\*eguazken* 'el último día', como propuso Campión *EE* 41, 476 (cf. *asteazken* en los demás dialectos; ya Hervás *BAP* 3, 328, que explica *egun* y *astena* 'puesto atrás', derivando de *atzean*); Gavel *RIEV* 12, 494 remite a *atzen* también.

El tema *egu(n)* en esta palabra tendría la misma significación que *\*diu* ide. (que aparece en las designaciones de «dios», «día», «cielo luminoso»), con lo que este término sería una aportación semántica ide. (Agud *ASJU* 2, 40).

EGUATX(A)/*egoatxa* R, *egutxa* R, *ugatx* R, *ugaitz* BN, R, *üháitz* / *ühátx* S, *uraitz* L 'río'.
Según Azkue, de *ur* + *gaitz* (al menos referido a las últimas formas). Vid. en *uhaitz*.

EGUBAKOITZ/*egubakotz/eguakotx* V, *eguekotx/eguaikots* V, *egiakoitz* (Leiç.), *ebaikotx-ebakotx* V, *ebiakoitz/ibiakoitz* BN, *irakoitz* (<*\*irabakoitz*) 'viernes' (pero el último con la significación de 'sábado', como *egiakoitz* (*iakoitza* BN, variante del último). El primer elemento es *egun* (Mich. *FHV* 258 y 418, y *BSL* 53, 230), sin que se vea cuál es el segundo elemento del compuesto (en Leiç. *bakoitz* 'único'). (Cf. *eguasten* y lo allí dicho sobre la influencia ide.; v. M. Agud *ASJU* 2, 42). Otro elemento para designar el 'viernes' es *ortzirale*, aunque parece ser más antiguo el que nos ocupa. En cuanto a *i(r)akoitz* ('sabado' en *Onsa*), el elemento *ira*- no tiene nada que ver con los elementos de *ortzirale* (cf. M. Agud l.c.). En *ebiakoitz* se ha producido una disimilación de *egubakoitz* para evitar la proximidad de sonidos homorgánicos (Mich. *FHV* 121).

EGUBARRI V, *eguberri* G, *eguerri* G, AN, L, BN, *egoarri* G, *egoerri* AN 'día de Navidad'. De *egun* + *barri/berri* (cf. Mich. *FHV* 168). ("El día del año era llamado 'el día nuevo'": Vinson *RIEV* 2, 797).

EGUEN V, *eguaun(e)* V (Land. *eguauna*), *eguun(e)* V, *eguben/eugen/euben/euen* V 'jueves'. (= *osteguna*). Mich. *FHV* 92 reconstruye la forma *\*egueun*. Sin duda está presente el elemento *egun*, con lo que sería patente la influencia semántica ide., como en *eguasten* y *egubakoitz* (cf. M.Agud l.c.). Partiendo de *eguaun* se puede deducir *eguen*. Mejor de *egu-ren egun* (*\*egu-egun*, o parecido) que de *egu-ren (egun)* (Mich. l.c. y *Munibe* 23, 584). Vinson *RIEV* 11, 8, al comparar *eguen* con *ortzegun* 'Donnerstag', dice que *egun* no sería "día opuesto a noche, sino sol, es decir, 'reaparición del sol después del mal tiempo'". Astarloa *Apol.* 331 explica: *egun* + *be* + *en* "día baxo el sol". Así Hervás *BAP* 2, 229. CGuis. 255 quiere encontrar el ide. *deiw-*, imposible.

Thalamas *BAP* 33, 57: relaciona con *egu* ("de la luz celeste", "del sol", según Barandiarán), piensa que *Egu* sea una divinidad. Caro *Estudios Vascos* 45 supone que la raíz *egu* es más antigua que *ortz*.

EGUERDI 'mediodía', BN 'sud' (*eguardi* en Rentería); *eguerdiera* V 'tiempo de siesta'. De *egun* + *erdi* (Hervás *BAP* 3, 350, Gavel *RIEV* 12, 270).

EGÜKI S 'esperar, aguardar'. Contrac. de *egürüki*.

EGUN (V *eun*, contrac.) 'día', V, G, AN, L, BN, S 'hoy, durante el día', *egu* BN 'hoy'. Sch. *RIEV* 7, 300 ha señalado una posible relación con *eguzki* (q.u.) (de donde *eki*.) Si admitimos una alternancia *egun/egur/eguz*, que se repite en vasco, podría pensarse también en *egur* (q.u.), cosa, sin embargo, más que problemática. Tovar (v. Wartburg *FEW*) halla dicha alternancia en ibér. también y dice que acaso no esté lejos de tipos como gr. ὕδωρ/ὕδατος (-α- < n̥).

Astarloa *Apol.* 278 dice que *e* significa 'suave, dulce, delicioso' y *gun* 'lo último', de modo que *eguna* significa 'última felicidad, dulzura, suavidad u otras cualidades abstractas' (!).

Si dentro del propio vasco la cuestión es complicada, aún lo es más en las comparaciones externas. Las exponemos a título de información.

[5]

Descartando por razones fonéticas la explicación de Campión *EE* 41, 314 *egun* <
*ekhidun*, tenemos del propio autor *EE* 43, 133 el acad. *kun* 'amanecer', lo que al
menos prueba que no estaba tranquilo con su precedente explicación. También
compara luego *ibid.* 515 el georg. *dge(m)an* 'el día', pero no la encuentra aceptable.

Bonaparte *EE* 20, 390 deducía *egun* de *eki* 'sol' y aducía además copto *éga* o *egá*
'id.'. Más tarde hallamos la misma explicación en relación con *eki*, pero el radical lo
encuentra en kotta (?) *éga, egá*, ya mencionado (*EE* 60, 283).

Descartemos también las comparaciones ide.: *ig, ik* en Charencey *RLPhC* 9
(revisando a Bladé). CGuis. 255 propone *deiw-*.

Hervás *BAP* 3, 335 explicaba *egun* por *egüin* (sic por *egu, egin*) 'lucir, alumbrar',
y comparaba turco-tárt. *giun, giuni* 'día' (esta misma propuesta nos dio particular-
mente Beltle: turco *gün* 'día', *gunes* 'sol').

En tres direcciones busca Tromb. *Orig.* 21 semejanzas con el término vasco:
cauc. *qini*. En *ibid.* 126 agul *jaɣun* 'del día', tsakhur *jiɣyn* 'de día'; tamud. *ɣi*, gen.
*ɣine-i*, lak *qini*. A estas formas podríamos añadir las dadas por Uhl. *RIEV* 15, 580: av.
*qo*, kür. *jogh*, rut. *jux*, cax. *jex* (dada por Trombetti también), agul *jagh*, tab. *jegh*,
bud. *ke*, džok. *kia*, archi *ik*, cab. *ma-xo*, georg. *dghe*, mingr. *dgha* (de estas formas
deduce Uhl. que la *e-* de *egun* es un prefijo y que la raíz es *gu*).

También usa Tromb. l.c. la comparación de turco *gün* 'día, sol', chag. *kün*,
chuvaco *kon* 'día, vida', osm. *gün-eš* 'sol', chag. *kün-iš* 'calor del día o del sol'.

Por otra parte, Tromb. *Orig.* 21 busca parecidos en indochino *(k)ini, uni, nyām*,
y en América *q'in, (h)ini, unyá, nyā*.

En otra dirección, nuba KD *u-gu* 'día', de donde guanche *t-igo-t* 'cielo', ewe
*n-gŭ* 'luz del día', *ɣe* o *wĕ* (de *gwe*) 'sol', maki *u-gue*, isoana *au-gu*, moko *a-gua*,
ihewe *ou-gue* 'sol', nuba KD *on-gō* 'sur'.

Otras muchas formas se dan con no mayores probabilidades en Saint-Pierre *EJ*
2, 378, comenzando por sum. *gun*, eg. *khoun* 'luz', arm. *goina* 'id.', esl. *ogni*, scr.
*agni*, etc. (pero no parece que tengamos derecho a confundir aquí el ide. *ignis*); del
semito-cam. cita bereb. *igeuna* 'cielo', àr. *gaun* 'luminoso', etíope *egan* 'relámpago',
hebr. *ga on* 'esplendor' (termina con referencias a algunas lenguas cauc. y al turco, ya
mencionadas). Bouda *EJ* 6, 35 rechaza la comparación con alb. *ag-oj* 'amanecer', que
es ide.

Berger *Münch.Stud.* 9, 16 y *Mittelmeer.Kulturpfl.* 16 acude al burush. *gon, gun*
'crepúsculo', *gunts* 'día'.

Con alguna duda Lafon *Études* 66 ha comparado ub. *dɣa*, circ. *ttəɣe*, cab. *dəɣe*
'sol', agul *jaɣ*, etc. 'día', georg. *dɣe*, mingr. *dɣa*, svan. *ladeɣ* 'id.'.

Del mundo africano blanco, Gabelentz 17, 44, 72, 104 s. y 228 s., un poco al azar
y pensando en los derivados vascos, ha comparado vasco *eguanz* con tuar. *aɣura*
'aurora', y *eguardi* con cab. *aɣeriwal* 'mediodía', y *egun* con cab. *ϑignut, ϑagenni*,
tuar. *agenna, ajenna* 'cielo', copto *ehou*.

*EWBS* sobre la variante *egur-* atribuye un origen afric.: bereb. *iur, aggur, aïour*
'mes', *iur, iorr, ur* 'luna', amhar. *wer, uar*, etc.

Todo ello más que discutible, como lo anterior.

Junto a esto, vemos sin embargo que Tromb. *Orig.* 126 compara *eguerdi,
eguanz, iguzki*.

EGUN-ABAR, por *egun-nabar*, 'crepúsculo de la mañana', lit. 'día gris'.

EGUNALDI BN, L, R, S 'tiempo (bueno)' (cf. *eguraldi* AN, BN, V, G 'tiempo, estado
atmosférico'), S 'jornal' (cf. *egunari* BN 'jornal, salario').

De *egun*.

EGUNDAINO AN, G, L 'todavía', AN, BN, L, R 'nunca, hasta ahora', *egundaño* 'alguna vez'
(cf. *egundo* V 'jamás'), *igundaino* 'jamás'.

Su origen en *egun, -raño* está señalado por Van Eys, seguido por Uhl. *Bask.
Stud.* 203 (que dice que *r* > *d*). La explicación es discutida por Duvoisin, que supone
un *egunera-dino* contracto; pero Vinson da la razón a Van Eys diciendo *eguneradino
> eguneraino > egunraino > egundaino* (vid. para esta vieja polémica Gavel *RIEV* 12,
235).

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EGUNSENTI(A) AN, V, G 'aurora'.

    Campión *EE* 41, 314 explica esta forma como de *egun* y un románico *sentia* 'impresión, sensación' (cf. bearn. *sentí* 'sensación, sentimiento').

    Azkue considera el segundo término *senti* (q.u.) como forma indeterminada de *sentitu;* la significación lit. de la palabra sería 'sentir el día'. Evidentemente es románico. Cf. *egunusain* V 'alba, aurora'; lit. 'olor del día'.

EGUR, EUR V 'leña'.

    Hubschmid *Vox Rom.* 19, 170, lo relaciona con Lavedan *egéou,* Ferrère *ajiu, azíu,* bearn. *egéu* 'aguja de pino o de abeto'; el vasco tiene un suf.

    Charencey *RIEV* 4, 505 remite al prov.ant. *cort* 'court, raccourci', atribuyendo esta signif. al término vasco.

    Bouda *BAP* 11, 201 y *BIAEV* 6, 31 aparte de los paralelos cauc. que se indicarán, señala la posibilidad de coincidir con *agi* 'celo de animales', *agoko* 'carbón de leña gruesa', y sobre todo la raíz *kar-* / *gar-*.

    Bouda *l.c.* da georg. *\*k'v* en *m-k'vari* 'Span, Fackel'. Este mismo autor *BKE* 135 y *Hom.Urq.* 3, 217 ha comparado avar *-ak,* čeč. *-ag, -agar,* tab. *ug* y *u-guz,* darg. *igⁿ, igⁿis* 'quemar'. Bouda *Baumgartl* 11 y 71 insisten en la coincidencia con la raíz čeč. *\*g* 'quemar'.

    Tromb. *Orig.* 126 alega som. *qor* 'leña', galla *qora-n* 'id.', nuba M. *koir* < *\*kori* 'leña, árbol', y a continuación da una serie de paralelos que lo único que probarían es que lo originario no es 'quemar', sino 'árbol'; así en cauc. agul *kur* 'árbol', mende *n-guru* 'id.', padebu *kora* 'bosque', y cosas parecidas en papua, lenguas americanas, etc.

    Por el lado africano, Gabelentz 36 y 122 s. compara cab. *aqer(um)* 'leña', tuar. *ehišk, agōr* 'lanza'. En la misma Wölfel 127, que tampoco resuelve nada.

    Bouda *BIAEV* 6, 33 aproxima el nor. *knart* 'bosse, personne courtaude', dan. *knyst* 'bosse', báv. *knös* 'mozo' (?).

    *EWBS* atribuye un origen ár.: ár.vulgar *sagūr* por *sağur* 'leña' (con elisión de s- inicial), relacionándolo con *agor* por etimología popular. Este mismo autor considera un poco alejado čeč. *-a-gar* 'brennen'.

    Nada de todo esto parece aceptable naturalmente.

EGURALDI AN, BN, V, G, *egunaldi* BN, L, R, S 'buen tiempo, tiempo (atmosférico) en general'.

    Campión *EE* 46, 132 analiza *egun* 'día' + *aldi* 'vegada'.

    Sobre el sufijo *-aldi* v. Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 5 que da la palabra en Dech., Garibay, Oih.

    La alternancia *egun-/egur-* es explicada por Gavel, *RIEV* 12, 217 por la caída de *n* intervocálica y sustitución por *r* eufónica, pero seguramente se trata de una alternancia antigua (v. *egun*).

    En *egunaldi/eguraldi* Vinson *RIEV* 11, 8 halla la significación primaria 'retorno del sol, vuelta después del mal tiempo', y en ese caso, desde el punto de vista semántico, *egu-* no estaría lejos de *ortz* comparado con *eguen* / *ortzegun*.

    Tromb. *Orig.* 126 da una serie de paralelos que hay que sumar a los dados en *egun* (q.u.): eg. *krw,* copto *(e)-hou* 'día', ant. nubio *u-kur,* mod. *ugr-ēs* 'id.', ár. *γaura-* 'sol, mediodía', mod. *γura* 'sol', agan. *kŭārā* 'id.', dinka *a-kol,* bari *kolong,* masai *en-golo-ng* 'id.'. Añade luego koro *on-gula,* ndob *n-guro,* mandingo *guru* 'id.'.

EGUR-ARRAILLATXALE R 'pico' (pájaro).

EGURAS V, G 'oreo', 'paseo, esparcimiento'; *egurastu* G 'id.', 'ventilar la casa', V, G 'orearse', 'airear ropas', 'aventar trigo'. De *egun* (Mich. *FHV* 309).

EGURASETXE V 'casa de campo'.

EGURDI variante de *eguerdi/eguardi.*

EGURIKI S, *egü(r)üki* S, *eurki* R, *orki* R, *iguriki* BN, L, 'esperar, aguardar', *iguruki* L, 'atender', *iduiki* BN, *iduriki* (Harr.), (en *Onsa, eguruqui*) (cf. Mich. *FHV* 80 y 162), *iduki*

L, salac. Cf. *iguri, igurikatu. EWBS* lo relaciona con *ekhürü* 'ruhig, friedlich, gedul-dig', + suf. *-ki.* Cf. *ekuri.*

EGUSAI V 'día de fiesta'. (Cf. *eguzari, eguzaro*).
De *egun.*

EGUTAIZE V 'céfiro'. Cf. *ego-aize.*
Segundo elemento *aize.*

EGUTERA V, G 'sitio soleado', G 'oriente'.
Por la primera acepción pudiera pensarse en un derivado de *(h)ego²* (q.u.). Por la segunda, cf. el término anterior.
La segunda parte tiene aspecto románico.

EGUTSEME S 'ahijado'.
Azkue dice que es de *eguz-seme,* cuya primera parte es una variante de *ugaz,* que en los compuestos indica «cierto parentesco entre los hijos propios y los ama-mantados por la nodriza» y «parentesco espiritual por el bautismo». Vid. los si-guientes, y *ugatz* (Mich. *FHV* 83 y 289). En el mismo sentido Lh.

EGUZAITA S 'padre nutricio', 'padrino de bautismo', 'padrino de boda'; *eguzaizpak* S 'herma-na de leche', *eguzalaba* BN 'ahijada', *egüz-ama* 'madre nutricia', 'madrina de bautis-mo, de boda'; *eguz-anaiak, -arrebak; -haur* 'ahijado'.
Vid. el anterior.

EGUZARI V (*ms.* Lond.), *eguzeri* V 'día de fiesta' (cf. *egusai*); cf. *eguzaro* (*ms.* Och. y Zar.) 'día de media fiesta'.
De *egun* (Mich. *FHV* 309).

EGUZKI AN, V, G, L *eguski, eguzku* R, *iguzki* AN, BN, G, L, R, S, *iduzki* AN, *i(r)uzki* AN, G (Múg. *Dicc.: egozki* V, *euzki-begie* G) 'sol'. (Cf. *ek(h)i, iki*).
Mich. *FHV* 65 remite a *egun* 'día' y a BN, S *ek(h)i,* ya en Oih., de *\*egu-ki.* Este mismo dice que la existencia de *\*iki* en R no está atestiguada, y ha debido de ser deducida de *ikialte* 'solana, carasol', Sal. *ekialde.*
Holmer *BAP* 12, 393 recoge a Uhl. *Festschrift Meinhof* (1927), 351 ss. y *EJ* 3, 111 que propone para *begi* un prefijo *be-,* que es el mismo que aparece en *beatz* (frente a V *atz* 'dedo'), con lo cual quedaría un radical *-gi-* que entraría en *eguzki,* (cf. *begi* y *beatz*) y su significación sería 'ojo del día', pero las dificultades fonéticas parecen grandes.
Gavel *RIEV* 12, 351 deriva de *egun* y *eguzki* sería la forma primitiva; también cabe lo contrario, dice este prudente autor, que lo antiguo fuera con *d* o *r,* con lo cual sería una etimología popular la que lo pone en relación con *egun.*
Este autor en *ibid.* 234 duda sobre la prioridad de *iduzki* o *iruzki.*
A base de *egun* analiza también la forma Van Eys, pero el segundo elemento le parece con razón difícil; comenta la alternancia *r/g.* También de *egun* para Vinson *RLPhC* 40, 213, y para Tromb. *Orig.* 126.
¿Acaso *ki* es contracción de *gai,* como *izizki* 'escoba' < 'cosa para barrer', 'sol' < 'cosa que da el día o la luz'?
Astarloa *Apol.* 285 pretende descubrir en el segundo elemento «*qui* o *quija* significa en el Bascuence cosa y es terminación posesiva», así que «sol significaba hacedor del día». La misma idea hallamos en Hervás *BAP* 3, 335, de *egüin,* expuesto bajo *egun.*
La relación de *eguzki* con *ekhi* es problemática, al menos Bonaparte *EE* 9, 486 considera como paralelos *\*ek* y *\*egu.* Sin embargo, una contracción *eguzki* > *eki* acaso pudiera admitirse.
Son importantes las observaciones de J. M. Barandiarán *Hom.Krüger* 1, 127: en Ataun llaman *euzki* a la luz solar y *euzkibegi* al astro (cf. supra Holmer). En Berás-tegui llaman al sol (lo que es una importante idea mitológica) *Jainkoaren begia.* También nos dice que hay pueblos donde llaman al sol *Santa Clara,* que equivale a 'luz' «según aquella copla de Ondarroa que empieza: *Zeu zera Santa Clara, euske-raz urgia*». Mitológica es también la idea que recoge el mismo autor de que en la

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región de Vergara a la puesta del sol se dice *eguzki amandrea badoia bere amangana* 'la abuela sol va hacia su madre', dando a entender que el astro del día se retira al seno de la tierra. Resto religioso es seguramente lo que el mismo autor refiere de que en algunos sitios se despide al sol diciéndole *agur*.

Sch. *RIEV* 7, 298 analiza el problema de *egu-zki* (ya que no hallamos una solución *egu-argi*, como en *illargi*), y piensa si el sufijo sería el que hallamos en *izarski, izarraski* 'tiempo de estrellas claras'. *ekhi* resultaría de *\*egu-ki* (*eki* < *eguki* < *egun*: Vinson *La langue basque*, 53) y *ego* sería *egu* (aunque ya hemos señalado que a Sch. *ego* le recuerda el lat. *fauonius*).

Cf. en *egun* los paralelos de Bonaparte *EE* 9, 488 con kotta *ek, êg* 'sol', o el de CGuis. 255 con ide. *\*deiwo-*.

Sch. l.c. da el guanche *ti-go-t* 'cielo', nub. *ugrēs* y otras formas que toma Tromb. y que se han citado en *egun*.

Gabelentz 12, 20 y 102 s. menciona tuar. *tafok*, shelja *tefukt*, no sabe uno por qué. Tampoco interesa Wölfe 148.

Campión *EE* 41, 197 aunque analiza decididamente *ekhi* como contracción de *eguzki*, en 43, 133 compara acad. *gusqi* 'oro', muy lejano semánticamente. Giacomino *Relazioni* 15 compara eg. *hru* y *hu*, copto *ehou* 'día' (!).

Para Saint-Pierre *EJ* 2, 378 *egu-zki* es la agrupación de dos palabras de sentido idéntico: *ego* 'luz' y *zki* 'id.': así *eg* 'sol' en kotta, y *sq'* 'id.' en ár.; suposición un tanto pintoresca.

Berger *Münch.Stud.* 9, 16 y *Mittelmeer.Kulturpfl.* 16 busca paralelos burush.: *eguzki* sería de *\*e-guntz-ki* (?), lo mismo que *ilazki* 'luna' de *\*helantz-ki*, burush. *halants* 'id.'.

*EWBS* deriva de *egun* + suf. *oski*.

Mukarovsky *Mitteil.Kulturkunde* 1, 142 compara con *goiz* (q.u.).

EGUZKILORE 'flor del cardo silvestre'.

Esta flor, conocida con varios nombres, es puesta por los campesinos vascos, aún ahora, sobre la puerta principal de la casa ('Carlina acaulis'). Representa al sol (J.M.Barandiarán *Hom.Krüger* 1, 130).

EI AN, G, L, *ehi*[1] L, *hei* L 'pocilga'.

Bouda *Euskera* 1 (1956), 133 supone que es préstamo del fr. *haie, hayon*, de origen germánico (*REW* 3636 y 3984).

Giacomino *Relazione* 14 con menos razón comparaba copto *ohi* 'establo'.

*EWBS* lo considera contracción de *t(h)egi* (!).

EHI[2] S, *i(h)i* BN 'fácil'.

En la forma de sufijo *(-ehi)* Gèze lo da con valor de 'fácil' en *egin-ehi, jan-ehi, sinhex-ehi*. Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 199 se abstiene de decidir.

*EWBS* lo supone procedente de *ehin* por *ahin, arhin*.

EHI[3] S 'dedo'. Variante de *ero* (Azkue).

EHI[4] 'alero o borde de un tejado o mesa' (contracción de *hegi*, según Azkue). S 'soportal, tejavana'.

? EHI[5] 'odio, rencor, aversión'.

*EWBS* da como variante de *hegi* 'aversión'.

EI- prefijo modal de la conjugación que denota fama, voz pública (Azkue).

EI V: sufijo de declinación, dat. pl., unido al artículo.

HEIAGORA BN, L *ehiagora* S 'suspiro, gemido, quejido'.

De la interjección *heia* + *gora* 'hoch, laut, schrill', según *EWBS*.

EI(H)AR[1] BN, *ei(h)ara* BN, *eihera*[1] L, S, *igara* AN, L, *ihara* BN, L (Múg. *Dicc.: eiare*) 'molino'.

Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 7 supone en esta forma un sufijo *-ar*, como en *abar/kabar* 'rama', *hatsar, mehar, (h)ondar*. La etimología está indudablemente en relación con *e(h)o, e(h)a, eio* 'moler' (q.u.). Lo mismo dice Uhl. *Gernika* 1, 569 (y Mich. *BAP* 14, 476).

Al mismo autor *Bask.Stud.* 199 le parecía la forma originaria *\*eigar,* pero luego parece haber desistido de ella. A persona tan prudente como Gavel *RIEV* 12, 352 también le parece que está en relación con *e(h)o.*

Tras esas explicaciones, las comparaciones extravascas sólo pueden ser tomadas a título de información.

Tromb. *Orig.* 124 da dinka *guar* 'moler', ár. *gar-gāra-* 'muela', bereb. *a-ɣaref* 'molino', thusch *ḫair* (de *\*ḫarī*) 'molino', čeč. *ḫaira,* savano *le-khveer* 'id.', curc. *pse-xale* 'molino de agua'. El paralelo bereb. lo da también Gabelentz 30, 44 y 182. Gorostiaga *FLV* 39, 117 lo da también de *eio,* pero dice que la 2.ª parte parece ár. *raha* 'molino de mano'.

*EWBS,* no se ve por qué, le da origen románico, y partiendo de *eiho-, eho-,* reconstruye un *\*moiño,* en relación con port. *muinho,* gall. *moiño,* esp. *molino,* etc. (!), y *-era* lo considera un sufijo. ¡Menos mal que excluye de la comparación el sum. *e-ara* 'molino', considerándolo muy alejado!

EI(H)AR[2] BN, L, S *ihar(r)* L, *igar(r)* AN, V, G *éxar/eixar* R, *ear* Salac., *aihar, iñar* AN 'seco, yerto', *idar(ri)* G. (Vid. *igar).*

Mich. *FHV* 105 y 221 dice que las formas R y Salac. suponen la forma más antigua *ei-ar,* no *e-jar.* (Cf. el mismo autor, *Euskera* 1, 20 s.).

Gavel *RIEV* 12, 352 compara *idor, ador, agor;* lo mismo Sch. *RIEV* 8, 74, Tromb. *Orig.* 125, Uhl. *RIEV* 15, 585.

Mukarovsky *Wien.Zschr.* 39 y 43 relaciona con *agor(r)* y compara con bereb. *ġar, iġar* 'trocken'.

Con *agor* también compara *EWBS.*

EIARASKA 'a galope, precipitadamente'; *eiatu* G 'correr', R, S y *heiatu* L 'excitar, estimular'.

EJER v. *eder.*

Con razón critica Gavel *RIEV* 12, 448 a Uhl. por haber pensado en pérdida de la *d* intervocálica y *y > j* para remediar el hiato; señala Gavel que se trata de una palatalización diminutiva, igual a la que existe en bearn. y gasc. con *bèt, bèts* 'beau', con su diminutivo *b(e)roi* 'joli'.

EIKI L 'tal vez, seguramente, probablemente', S 'fácilmente', L 'sin embargo'; *eikiko* L 'probable'.

Para *EWBS,* en la primera acepción, de *ei- < egi(a)* 'Wahrheit' + suf. *-ki.* En la segunda, de *ei-, ehi-* 'leicht' + *-ki.*

EILE v. *ille.*

EILEOR v. *egileor.*

EILI v. *ibil(l)i.*

EILOBA v. *il(l)oba.*

HEIN[1] BN, L, S 'estado, proporción, medida, catadura, condición, carácter, promedio', 'punto, ocasión', 'esfera, rango'. (Cf. siguiente), *hiñ* L 'proporción, tamaño, estatura, edad'.

HEIN[2] L 'un poquito', 'lo preciso'. (Cf. el anterior).

Es una variante de *(h)ain < (h)aren.* Van Eys compara ital. *un tantino,* esp. *algún tanto,* etc., desde el punto de vista semántico. Cf. *heiña* L, S 'casi'.

EIN v. *eun.*

EINHARA v. *enara.*

HEINERA BN 'a su estado habitual'. De *hein*[1].

EINHETU L 'aburrirse'. Cf. *eiñhe.*

HEINKA 'calculando' (adv.), BN 'de esquina, incomodados'; *heinkaxe* L 'poco más o menos'; *heinkatu* (Duv. *ms.*) 'equilibrar'; *(h)eintsu* AN, BN, S 'proporción'. De *hein*[1].

EIÑHE S, *einhe* 'fatigado, hastiado'. (Cf. *(a)unatu).* Cf. *einhetu.* Lh. lo da como variante de *eñhe* (q.u.).

EIO, *eiosari* v. *eo.*

HEIPE S (Gèze) 'pórtico', 'claustro'.
El segundo elemento es el sufijo -pe ('bajo, debajo').

EHI-POTOTS L 'dedo pulgar'.
El primer elemento es variante de *erhi*. Para el conjunto comparar *eripotzor* 'id.'.

HÉIRA/HÉIDA S 'feria'. De origen románico: cf. bearn. *hére/hèyre, fèyre* 'feria, tumulto'. (Cf. Mich. *FHV* 328).

EISA/EIXA/EIZA²/EXA V 'arado de una sola púa'. v. *exa.*

EIXAGA V 'varal que se coloca sobre las grandes cargas'. Acaso en relación con el anterior.

EIXAKIRTEN V 'mancera, esteva del arado'. De *eisa* + *kirten*. (Cf. el anterior).

EIXAR V. *ei(h)ar²*.

EIXARA V '(sembrar) a surcos'. Cf. *eisa, eixakirten*.

EISKER v. *ezker*.

EISPIDE G 'recurso'. Cf. *egin-bide, egi-pide* 'id.' (de *egin*).

EITATE contracción de *egitate*.

EITE v. *egite²*.

EITEMO variante de *egitamu, egidamu* (q.u.).

EITZI R, S *eitzu* R, *iutzi* AN, *eutzi* G. Salac., *utzi* AN, BN, G, L (Dech., Leiç., etc.), *ützi* S, *útzu* R, *etxi* V (ant.: Land. 1.ᵃ mano *echi*, 2.ᵃ *uzzi*), *itxi* V, *etsi* V 'dejar'. (Cf. Mich. *FHV* 100). (Múg. *Dicc.: itzi* V, *autzi* AN, *egotzi*). Vid. *etsi, utzi*.
Bouda *BAP* 20, 483, refiriéndose a Mukarovsky *Die Grunlagen des Ful.* dice que no se puede comparar con bereb. *ej, ejj*, pues es forma dial. del viejo *(e)utzi*.

EIZA¹ AN, BN, V, G, L, S, *eize* Salac., *einze* R, *eizi* AN, *aiza* AN, *aïze* R, *aize* AN Aezc., *(i)īze* R, *ihīze* BN, S, *ihizi* BN, L, S, *iza* AN, V, G, Salac. (Añ.), *īza* R, *izi* AN, (*RS* 377 *heyz onic*) 'caza'. (En Azkue probablemente habría que sustituir *iīze* por *iīze*: Mich. *Via.Dom.* 1, 129).
Otras acepciones: BN, S 'animal de caza', 'pieza', V 'montería, acaso de jaba-líes, zorros, etc.'.
Mich. *BAP* 6, 449 y *FHV* 105 apoyándose en la forma S *ihīze* reconstruye una raíz *iniz-* o *eniz*, y dice que la falta de *ex-* en V denuncia que el diptongo es reciente.
En *FHV* 115 dice que no se puede saber de cuál de las dos formas partir.
Para M.-L. *RIEV* 15, 226 también de *eniz*, o *ini*.
Uhl. *Gernika, EJ* 1, 576 por no tener en cuenta los restos de la nasal consideró -*hiz-* como raíz *(-iz-)*, aunque con interrogante.
Bouda *BuK* 8 compara circ. *še*, y Gabelentz 274 s. aduce tuar. *segged* ?, *izun* ? 'treiben'. El interrogante de este último autor puede aplicarse también al primero.
*EWBS* busca según su costumbre un origen africano y reconstruye una forma *behisa* para comparar con eg. *bhš* 'jagen', y bereb. *ihey* 'schnell vor sich herjagen'.

EIZA² v. *eisa*.

EIZARI G, *eizazale, eiztari* AN, G de *eiza¹*.
Cf. para los sufijos Sch. *ZRPh* 30, 4, Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 9 y Gavel *RIEV* 12, 399, que recoge a este último.

EIZEKI V (arc.) (Múg. *Dicc.: etxeki, izeki, itxiki*) 'encender'.
En relación con formas como *izetu, ixetu, iziotu, izio*, etc., de la misma significa-ción.

EIZTU V 'cortar los zoquetes con un hacha a un tronco, poco antes de derribarlo'.
Bouda *BAP* 12, 263 cree poder descubrir aquí una raíz *itz < *itzw*, que trata de comparar con georg. *ečv-i*, mingr. *ečv-a* 'hacha'.

(H)EK BN, L, S variante de *a(r)ek, aik* V, *aiek* G, *haiek* S, *haiek* Salac., *kek* R, *heiek* L 'aquellos'.

-EK sufijo de activo plural; R, S *-ék*, V *-ak*.

De *\*-a-ek* (Mich. *FHV* 117).

Uhl. *RIEV* 2, 522 piensa en la simétrica derivación *-a-k-ek*, no atestiguada en ninguna parte, y con una evolución fonética «expulsión disimilatoria de la primera *k*» que no parece aceptable (*ibid.* 524). Bouda *IF* 59, 199 parte de una forma *-ag-e-k* > *\*-aek*, lo que estaría probado por el acento suletino, que en esta forma recae en la final (v. supra). Pero en realidad el nombre vasco era de número indefinido, y la nota de singular o plural viene del románico.

-EKA 'uno'.

La comparación con scr. *eka-* 'uno' ha sido propuesta por varios (Azkue, Lh., CGuis. 28); pero se trata de una mera coincidencia. Se halla en *ameka*, es decir, *amai-ka* (de *amar* + *eka*: *amaeka* V arc.).

*EWBS* le busca un origen africano: bereb. *igat, ighĕm*, fulbe *eka* 'eins', y remite a hausa *deka*, nilot. *tok, teku, dek* 'id.'. También alude al scr., drav., arm., etc., todo más que discutible, naturalmente.

EKAI[1] (Oih. *ms.*) 'trabajo, ocupación'. Cf. *ekaira* (*ms.* Lond.) 'id.'. De *egin-gai, egin-gei*, se pregunta Azkue. Cf. el siguiente.

EK(H)AI[2], *ek(h)ei* BN, S 'materia para hacer alguna obra, materia', 'causa material'.

Según Mich. *FHV* 103 y 157 puede tratarse de un compuesto, aunque parezca oscuro para nosotros, junto a *gai, gei* (qq.uu.) 'materia, material para algo' (Garibay traduce *gei* por 'cosa').

Es frecuente como sufijo en la forma simple.

Cf. Gavel *RIEV* 12, 382 y Tromb. *Orig.* 131.

EKAI[3] AN 'quejido de dolor'. Cf. *ekaikari, ekaisu* AN 'quejumbroso'; *ekaiunzi* AN 'muy quejumbroso'.

EKHAIN BN, *ekhaina* L 'junio'.

Vinson *Le Calendrier basque* 4 compara S *ekhí*, que para él es sin duda contracción de *eguki, eguzki*. Este mismo autor en *RLPhC* 41, 83 sugiere una forma anterior *ekhaila*, que aproxima al radical *egu* 'sol, día' («le mois du jour» o «du soleil») y en *RIEV* 4, 36 considera *ekhaina* como corrupción de *ekhaila*.

P.Charritton *Petite hist.relig.du Pays Basque* 17 recuerda que los fuegos de San Juan celebran el solsticio de verano, como el *eguberri* el de invierno. Para éste *ekhaina* deriva de *ekhi* 'sol'. Lo mismo hace Thalamas *BAP* 33, 74; pudo significar el solsticio de verano.

*EWBS* lo da como compuesto de *ekhi* + *gain/gañ* 'oben, Höhe', lo que coincidiría con el sentido que le da el anterior.

Disparatado Griera *ZRPh* 47, 108 derivando de *fenile* (!).

EKAITZ, *ekhaitz, ekatx* V, L *nekhaitz* L, *nekatx* R 'tempestad, tormenta', *ekaizte* AN 'tempestad prolongada'.

Van Eys creía descubrir un segundo elemento *(h)aize* 'viento', y en la forma *nekhaitz* quizá *neke*. Lo mismo Charencey *RIEV* 4, 506.

De *\*egu-gaitz* 'mal día, mal tiempo', cruzado acaso con *negu* 'invierno' en la forma *nekhaitz*, donde en realidad hay una alternancia inicial *n*/cero (Mich. *FHV* 310).

*EWBS* hace un análisis pintoresco: «aus *e-wohl* = ebi Regen + *kai* = *gohin* schweres, feuchtes, gewittriges Wetter + Suff. *-ts*» (!).

EKAIZTSU, EKAIZTUN del anterior.

EKALDI AN 'ratos en que hay humo'. Cf. *ekalo* AN 'columna de humo'.

De *eke/ke* (q.u.).

EKANDU V 'costumbre, acostumbrarse'.

*EWBS* busca su origen en el lat. ecles. y lo considera una metátesis de *\*akendu* que intenta derivar del lat. *agenda* (!).

[12]

EKHARREREZ De *ekarri* + *errez*.

EK(H)ARRI, KARRI AN 'llevar', (*egari* R, S, Salac. 'cargar, sostener, soportar, sufrir'). Otras acepciones: V 'fruto, producto', G 'chorro', 'significar', S 'resolverse', AN (*ms.* Lond.) 'alegar', V, G 'dar'.

Uhl. *Gernika EJ* 1, 575 analiza *karr-* como raíz; en *Bask.Stud.* 201 y 208 había admitido la posibilidad de que en *hartu* 'tomar' y *lokartu* 'dormirse', *sukartu* 'encender' tuviéramos el mismo elemento (v. *artu*).

En las zonas altas navarras (Baztan, Ulzama) existe participio *karri* 'traído'; acaso *e-* sea de composición y no prótesis (Mich. *FHV* 157).

Ha sido comparado con esp. *acarrear* (Charencey *RIEV* 2, 338 y *EWBS*), bearn. *encarreyar* (Charencey *RIEV* 4, 506), lat. *carricare*, sardo *carrare*, rum. *cǎra*, ingl. *carry*, gal. *cario*, al. *karren* (Sch. *Das Bask. u.die Sprachwiss.* 23 = *BAP* 7, 564 o Sch.-Brevier 225; Lafon *Le Système* 1, 424; CGuis. 65). Montenegro Duque *BAP* 3, 363 ss. ha desarrollado esto inclinándose por un origen celt., ya que *carrus* en lat. es de tal origen. En todo caso se trataría de un desarrollo latino, como se probaría por su presencia en sardo, rum., etc. Montenegro añade al tema las variantes *egar-*, *garr-*, *gurd-* (v. *burdi*), *kurp-*.

La comparación de *ek(h)arri* con *egari* ya la hizo Gavel *RIEV* 12, 311.

En Mich. *o.c.* 232 se lee: «*egarri* (Dech. y acaso *RS* 481 *eguarria*), *egari* (Leiç.) parecen variantes del participio común *ek(h)arri*. Según Larrasquet el S distingue entre *egá(r)i* 'se sevir de', 'tenir (un enfant sur les fonts baptismaux)' y *ekhárri*, rad. *ékhar* 'apporter', pero como señala Sch. *Intr.* xxxvii a Leiç., *bekatuaz ekarri*, 1 Petr. 2, 24, corresponde a *bekatuac egari* en el sumario del capítulo». Parece, según el propio Mich., una alternancia antigua con oclusiva sonora en participio, frente a sorda en las otras formas.

Otros paralelos son aún menos seguros que los románicos señalados. Sch. *ZRPh* 28, 101 comenta la afirmación de Vinson, según la cual él estaría de acuerdo con Giacomino para aceptar que el ibér. *ecariu* del Plomo de Castellón es de la misma forma *ekar*, como también *senekarten* en el mismo documento; niega Sch. que él admita tales identificaciones.

Tovar *Lex.Ibér.* 293 recoge a Giacomino *Arch.Glott.Ital.* 6, 14, que asemeja a *ekarri* el elemento sinal del ibér. *baites-baniecarse*.

Tromb. *Orig.* 132 compara kanuri *karre* 'carico, traglast', sirjeno *kar-n-an* 'yugo para cargar en los hombros', húng. *hord* 'llevar', finl. *kuorma* 'honus ferendum', etc. Tampoco son mejores los paralelos caucas. de Dumézil *Intr.gramm. comp.* 145, con avar *!-ak'ar-*, and. *!-akar-* 'llevar, reunir', čeč. *!-agar-* 'contar, enumerar'; o el eg. χ*er* que aduce Giacomino *Relazione* 8; o Gabelentz 14, 25, 36, 83, 270 s. y 280 s. proponiendo cab. *eglu*, *itγar*, tuar. *edgel* 'llevar'.

De *ekarri* deriva Van Eys el sufijo *garri*, en *onagarri*, etc., lo que en modo alguno parece aceptable.

Iradier *Africa* (Vitoria 1887), 353 s. creía reconocer este verbo vasco en palabras venga como *ekamba* 'dame, pues', *kakan oná* 'traes aquí', bakak *ide* 'traer cerca, arrimar'; todo muy en el terreno de la fantasía, como puede verse.

EKE v. *ke*.

EKHE(E)RRI L 'sol'. Cf. *ekhi*. (Propiamente 'calor del sol').

EKEI R, Salac., *ekhei*[1] BN 'persona o cosa que promete crecer mucho'. Cf. el siguiente.

EKHEI[2] BN, S 'materia, material apto para hacer algo'; *ekeigai* Salac., *ekheigai* BN, L, *ekeigei* R 'material apto para algo'.

Según Mich. *FHV* 103 y 157, *ek(h)ei* junto a *gei*, *gai* 'materia' puede ser un compuesto, «aunque parezca oscuro para nosotros» (v. *ekhai*[2]). En *BSL* 53, 228 se pregunta si será de *\*egi-gei*.

EKEN(DU) v. *ken(du)*.

EKENGANATU AN 'ir a ellos'.

De *eken* 'de ellos', y verbalización de un caso de dirección (?), por medio de *-tu*.

EKERA[1] G 'lugar soleado'.
De *ek(h)i*.

EKERA[2] 'oriente'. Variante de *egutera* (Azkue).

EKET V 'huida'.
Bouda *EJ* 3, 124, *GRM* 32, 130, *BAP* 10, 6 y *Verwandschaftsv.* 62 ha compara-
do por una parte lazo *kt*, georg. *kc*, mingr. *rt* 'volver, dar la vuelta, huida'; por otra
chukchi *qät* 'escapar'.

EKETA «se usa como nombre propio, sinónimo de *ni*, *neu* 'yo, yo mismo'» (Azkue).
Bouda *BAP* 12, 245 supone una raíz *\*ket* 'Mensch', que le recuerda el Yenis. *ket*
'hombre, persona, individuo hablante de aquella lengua'. Esa relación del vasco con
las lenguas Yeniseicas-kottas fue apuntada también por Bonaparte y citado por
Lafon *Conf.Inst.Ling.Paris* 10, 75.

EKEZTATU AN, BN 'ahumar'. De *(e)k(h)e*.

EKI[1] Salac., *ekhi* BN, S, *iki* R 'sol', S 'girasol'. (Cf. *eguzki*) de *\*egu-ki* (Mich. *FHV* 65).
Aparte de lo dicho en *eguzki*, a título de información recogemos otras compa-
raciones.
Gabelentz 102 aduce (con interrogante, muy razonablemente) eg. *aχu* 'brillo';
Tromb. *Orig.* 133 añade awiya *čā* < *\*ki-ā* 'alba', buduch *ke*, gek *ki-a* 'día', buduch
*ke-j*, gek *ki-ja* 'hoy', udo,.tab. *γe*, taskh. *gi-na*, abkh. *(j)axj-a* o *e-xj-a* 'id.', archi *i-k*,
taskh. *ji-γ(i)* 'día', rut. *ji-ga* 'hoy', andamanés *e-ke* 'sol', indochino manchati *e-ke*,
chamba *ye-gi* 'id.', ostiaco del Yenisei *i-'e* kotta *ī-γ*, dial. *ī-χ* 'día', maya *q'i* 'id.'
bantu *kẹ-a*, *kj-a* 'amanecer', khasi *šai* 'id.', kolosh *ki-a* 'luz, día', guang (Sudán) *ke*
'amanecer', *e-ke* 'día'.
Campión *EE* 43, 133 aproxima acad. *gi* 'llama'. Garrido *EE* 54, 183 jap. *taiyo*
'sol' (!).
Saint-Pierre *EJ* 2, 378, amontona eg., ár., bereb., y añade gr. *ekai-on* 'brûlant'
(sic), S *hakka* 'incendio' (?), y *ekherre* de Bardos (sin traducirla), para comparar
tranquilamente con eg. *re* 'sol' (!).
*EWBS* supone pintorescamente que *ekhi* es una contracción de *ekheeri*, es decir
de *ekhe(i)* 'materia' + *erre* 'quemar' + sufijo *-i*. También compara con bereb. *ekhit*, y
hasta con drav. y eg.
Corominas *Archivum* 4, 66 s. explica de *\*ek(i)-erri* el top. *Er* «situat a la soleia
de la seva vall», con forma *Ezerre* en 839.

EKI[2] L 'ciertamente'. Cf. *eiki*.

-EKI v. *-ik*.

EKIALDE v. *eguzki*.

EKHI-JALKIGIA S 'el oriente' (Cf. *ekh-itzal-gia* 'oeste').

-EKILA(N). Se pregunta Gavel *Gramm.* 1, 26 si el último elemento de esta postposición se
puede comparar a *la/ra*, de movimiento, o si es más bien del *la* de manera. El uso
indiferente de *eki*, *ekin* y *ekila* sería cosa posterior.
Dumézil *Intr.Gramm.Comp.* 129 encuentra junto a los paralelos CNE citados
en *eki(n)* (q.u.), paralelos con *-l-* allí señalados en los que se descubriría el cuativo
*čeč. -la;* esta partícula en CNO muchos valores, comitativo, instrumental, de con-
junción copulativa 'y', y así *-ra*, *-re* en circ. Según él, ésto reforzaría la comparación
con *ekin;* pero todo es más que problemático.

EKILILI (*ms.* Lond.) 'calaminta' (Bot.), *ekhilili* S 'helianto'.
Cf. *iruzkilore, iguzkilore;* es la 'flor de sol', afr. 'fleur du soleil', lat. 'flos solis',
gr. 'helianthos', como señala Bertoldi *Arch.Rom.* 18, 224.

EKIN[1] V, G *ekhin* (Ax.) 'ocuparse', 'inculcar, insistir', 'emprender', 'comenzar', 'atacar'.
Uhl. *Gernika EJ* 1, 575 supone una raíz *-k(h)i-*.
Gabelentz 58, 72 y 266 s. acude al cab. *ežin*, tuar. *îsinti* 'comenzar'.
*EWBS* lo deriva de *eg(i)-* 'hacer' y sufijo *-kin*.

[14]

EKIN² S 'crecidote, gallardo', 'fanfarrón'.

-KI(N) 'con'.

Gavel *Gramm.* 1, 25 s. analiza este sufijo unitivo como *e* + *ki*, sufijo que se podría identificar con el *ki* adverbial de *eztiki* 'en unión con lo dulce, con dulzura'. La *-n*, para Gavel, sería adherida aquí del locativo.

Dumèzil *Intr. Gramm. Comp.* 129 cree encontrar paralelos en CNEa: avar *-gu-n, -gi-n*, aLw. *-ge-na*, andi *-lo-gu*, kar. *-qi-l*, y CNEb darg. *-χu-na* 'como', admotivo lak *-χχu-n*, comit. rut. *-χoa-n*, comit. khin. *-xi-lä*.

EKINALDI V, G 'envite, acometida que se da al trabajo', *ekintza* V G 'empresa'.
De *ek(h)in¹*.

EKIRAMU (Oih.*ms.*) 'fanfarronada'.
El primer elemento es *eki²*.
Bouda *BAP* 11, 194 supone en la palabra una raíz verbal *\*ekira*, que coincidiría con circ. *Hek°əre* 'jactarse' grosstun, sich brüsten'.
*EWBS* quiere ver en la 2ª parte *iramu = erramu* 'Lorbeer'.

EKITALDI, EKITE de *eki¹*.

EKH-ITZAL-GIA 'oeste'. Lit. 'lugar de la sombra del sol'. Mukarovsky, *Iker* 2, 468 considera *itzal* 'sombra' de etimol. hamito-sem. (acad. *ṣillu*, hebr. *ṣēl*, ar. *ẓill, ẓilāl*, cab. *tili*).

EKO¹ AN 'que no'. Para Charencey, *RIEV*, 4, 506, híbrido del bearn. *nec* (<lat. *nec*) y del demostrativo *hau* 'este'. Tromb. *Orig.* 133 intenta buscar diversos paralelos: ufiomi. *i-ka* 'no', barea *ka, ka-*, esta última forma negación con el verbo, begia *ka-* negación con el indicativo, bari *ko*, shilluk *ku*. También en cauc.: circ. *χau-a, χau-o*, Sh. *i-hau*, ab. *gi-hau*, bhürkila *a-ḥ-*, lak *aχa, χa*, 'no ser'.
Gabelentz 41 y 234 acude una vez más al tuar., *uhu* 'no'.

EKO² BN 'golpear fuertemente'.
*EWBS* remite a *eho* (q.u.).

E-K(H)OITZ v. *egotzi*.

EKOIZLE (Oih.) 'fecundo', *ekoizpen* (Oih.) 'fecundidad', S 'efecto', 'producto de la tierra', 'ganancia de dinero', 'herencia', 'ventaja, provecho'.

EKOIZTE¹ v. *egotzi*.

EKOIZTE² 'fruto o producto de los árboles, o de cualquier otro agente natural'. Cf. *ekoizle, ekoizpen*.

EKOPRESIA-BELAR 'reina de los prados' (Bot.)
Bouda-Baumgartl 42 analizan *-presia* como procedente de lat. *spiraea* y consideran *eko-* acaso como contracción de *erregeko* (esto lo sugieren con duda).
Para *EWBS* es de origen románico: de gallego *\*eigo* 'einzig, einzigartig' + *preciosa* 'kostbar, köstlich' (!).

EKORATU (Pouvr.) 'callarse'. (Cf. *ekhüra, ekuri, ekuru*).
Para Charencey, *RIEV* 4, 507, por *nec orar* (lit. 'ne pas parler') (!).

EKORST (Pouvr.), *ekort* AN, *ekoxpe* S, *ekoxt/ekost* AN, *ekhòzpen* BN 'aborto, abortar'. (Cf. *egotzi*).

EKORTU S 'barrer' (v. *egortu*), *egorkin* S (Leiç.) 'barreduras'.
Para Mich. *FHV* 233, de origen nada claro. El R *egordi* se explica por *\*egort* + *tu* (de *egord(i)* + *tu*. Relaciona con *igortzi, igurtzi* (AN, G, V) *egotzi* (Bazt.) *igordi, igurdi* (V, occ.) 'frotado, restregado'. Cree bien establecida la ecuación V *igordi, igurdi*: or. *egordi (ekhortü)* con *e-/igortzi*, etc. como eslabón intermedio (Mich. *Festschr.* W. *Giese* 88 ss.)
Bouda *EJ* 3, 124 da esta forma como variante de *ik(h)uzi* 'lavar', y con esta palabra han de ser estudiadas las comparaciones cauc. que da el autor l.c., *ZfPh* 4,

255 y *BAP* 10, 26: lazo *kos* 'limpiar', mingr. *kos* 'id., barrer', georg. *-xoc* 'frotar' (Tromb. *Orig.* 134). También sugiere Bouda en la última de las publicaciones citadas la comparación con avar *k'ver* 'abwischen'.

EKOSARI V 'legumbre' (arc., Oih.) 'haba'.

    Campión *EE* 41, 98 lo deriva de *egosi;* Bouda *BAP* 5, 416, *EJ* 3, 137 y Bouda-Baumgartl 66 comparan georg. *k'oči* 'especie de guisante'.

    Véase lo dicho en *egosi.*

    *EWBS* le atribuye origen fr., de *écosser* (< vlat. *excussāre*)

EKOSI v. *ikusi.*

EKUN v. *euki.*

EKHÜRA S, *ekuri* R, *ekuru* R (Oih.), *ekhürü* S 'quieto, tranquilo, seguro, firme'.

    La relación con lat. *securus* fue propuesta por Saroïhandy *RIEV* 9, 200 n.l, GDiego *Dial.* 207, CGuis. 82 y Charencey *RIEV* 4, 507 (les sigue *EWBS*); pero sólo el primero de estos autores se planteó el problema de explicar la pérdida de la *s*, comparando la difícil palabra *apo/sapo* (q.u.). Mich. rechaza a CGuis. y *EWBS* en su propuesta del latín (*FLV* 17, 198 n. 76).

    Bouda *EJ* 4, 60 relaciona estas formas con *egon, egoki*, con un sufijo con *r*, y las une con *iguriki.*

    Nada dice Giacomino *Relazione* 15 buscando paralelos con copto *hurou*, ni Gabelentz 36 y 258 proponiendo cab. *gunfu*, para lo cual tiene que postular un cambio *ekuru* < *ekurbu*, que él mismo marca con interrogación.

EKUSI, EKUZI[1] v. *ikusi.*

EKUTE R 'costumbre'.

    Azkue se pregunta si procede de *ekun.*

EKUZI[2] R 'lavar', (*ekuzkin* R 'agua de la friega que se da de alimento a los cerdos', *ekuzle* R 'lavandera').

    Otras formas: *ikuzi* AN, V, G, salac. (q.u.), *ikhuzi* BN, S, *ukuzi* V, *ukhuzi* S, *kuzi* N, (Múg. *Dicc.*: *ikurtzi, ikurtzi, ikuztu*).

(H)EL BN, L, S, 'invocación de socorro', *hel* L 'socorro'.

    Bladé *Etude sur l'or. des basques* 74 compara fr. *hêler*, que parece una onomatopeya. Gabelentz 260 s. alega copto *hol.*

    *EWBS* busca su origen en la interj. *hei-* + sufijo *-la* (?).

EL(H)ABERRI L 'noticias', *elaberriti* (Ax.), *el(h)aberritsu* L 'hablador, charlatán, amigo de novedades'.

    De *ela.*

ELAE V, *elai* V, G, 'golondrina', 'vencejo': v. *enara/enada.*

ELAKA L 'especie de chaflán o falta que tienen algunas tablas en las esquinas'.

    *EWBS* busca origen románico: de *ela-*, apócope de gall. *esguella* 'oblicuo, al sesgo', + sufijo *-ka*, lo que no deja de ser disparatado.

ELAKRI-LUMIA BN (git.) 'muchacha de mala fama'.

    *EWBS* lo explica de *\*erakli* = *rakli* 'Mädchen, Tochter, Magd, Dienerin, Dirne' (git. al. y git. gr. *rackli* 'Mädchen'). El segundo elemento *lumia* se correspondería con git. gr. *lumni, lubní*, git. al. y hung. *lubni* 'Freudenmädchen, Hure' (scr. *lubh-*, hind. *lubhnā*).

HELANTZ, HELARANTZ (Oih.) 'enfermedad inveterada'; 'acontecimiento, circunstancia'. Para *EWBS*, de *el-* = *hel* 'Ereignis' + suf. *-arantsa* (!).

ELHAPIDE S 'motivo de hablar'. De *ela* + *bide.*

ELHAR (Pouvr.) 'brezo', L 'tomillo' (Bot.). v. *illar/ilhar(re).*

ELARATZ / ELATZ G, *laratz, laratzu* V, *labatz* G, L, *lagatz* G, *galatz* G, *laatz* V, *gelaratsu/gelaratz* G, *lakaratz* AN 'llar, cadena de hierro en el hogar'.

    Iribarren da en Navarra *elar* 'cadena gruesa rematada en un gancho, que sirve para colgar el caldero sobre el hogar' (< *el lar*), que recoge Corominas 4, 1035a, y

[16]

trae a colación a Pérez Moya que en 1673 dice: «las cadenas en que cuelgan las calderas al fuego se dicen *llares*, de [lat.] *lares*». El mismo Corominas 3, 36 cita bilb. *llara* (Arriaga), y gasc. y alang. *lar*.

      GDiego *Dial.* 205-10 lo considera ya un romanismo, de *\*lare*.

      Para el sufijo, cf. MPidal-Tovar *BRAE* 42, 445 y Mich. *FHV* 289.

ELHARDI 'brezal'. Cf. *txillardi*. (v. *elhar*, *illar/ilharre*).

ELHARGUN v. *alargun*.

ELHARZUN (Oih. *Prov.*) 'enfermedad'. (Cf. *helantz*).

ELASTA(TU) Sal. 'conversación, conversar', *elhasturi* BN 'charlatanería', *elhatari* (Oih. *Prov.*) 'hablador, conversador', *elhati* (Duv. *ms.*), *elatsu* R, *elatsü*, *elazi* R 'id.', *elaztatu* R 'hablar', *elazu* salac. 'embustero, hablador'.

      De *ela*.

HELATU L 'tirar'. Cf. *edatu*.

ELATZ 'sastre'. GDiego *Dial.* 205 del neerl. *last* (?).

ELHAUSO BN 'avalancha de nieve'.

      De *elhur-auso*, según Azkue.

ELATZ v. *elaratz*.

ELAUZI R, *elausi* V 'estacada, empalizada'.

      Bouda *BAP* 10, 30 compara *ezaul*, *(h)esaul*, *(h)esol*, donde reconoce el compuesto *(h)es-ol* 'cercado, valla' con diversas metátesis.

      Este mismo autor en *NKE* 11 comparó, en cambio, georg. *laγoz-a* 'pequeña empalizada'.

ELAZT V 'lastre'. v. *lazt*.

ELAZTUN v. *eraztun*.

ELBAR AN, V, *erbal* AN, V, G, *herbal* BN, S, (q.u.), *(erbaldu)* 'flaco, débil', 'paralítico', *elbarri* V, G 'mancadura, estropeo', G 'parálisis', N, G 'paralítico' *elbarritu/elberritu* 'mancar', 'reverse una herida'.

      Cf. *helbe(ri)* BN, *(helde(ri)* N, L 'epidemia', y *enbadi* 'id.' (q.u.). LMendizabal *RIEV* 11, 82 ve en estas formas la voz *eri* 'enfermedad' (lo que para *barri*, *berri* parece dudoso), lo mismo que Azkue.

      Para la metátesis *r/l* cf. Mich. *FHV* 340.

      Paralelos africanos en Mukarovsky *Euro-Saharianisch* 1965.

(H)ELBE(RI) v. *elde*[1].

ELBI v. *euli*. (<*\*ebli* < *euli*: Mich. *FHV*, 90 y aceptado por Holmer *FLV*, 4, 15).

ELBIDE R, *helbide* BN, S *elpide* V, *helpide* S, L 'recurso, medio para llegar a un 'fin'.

ELBIKO V 'moneda de dos reales' (según algunos, es la peseta).

      Según Azkue, el primer elemento es *el-*, (contracción de *erreal*) 'monedita antigua de dos reales o de uno'.

ELBIOSTO, ELBITXAR de *elbi* < *euli*.

ELBITZ[1] V 'demacrado, consumido'.

ELBITZ[2] V, G, *ilbitz* V 'heno natural o silvestre'.

ELBITZ[3] (*ms.* Lond.) 'cola de perro' (Bot.) (Melampyrum nemorosum), V 'planta con que se hacen las escobas de mano y la cama del ganado'. (v. *albitz*).

      *EWBS* pretende un origen románico, para lo cual reconstruye una forma *\*erbits* por *\*rebits* junto al port. *rabiça*, esp. *rabiza* 'esteva del arado', en vasco considerado como 'cola'; cf. fr. *queue-de-loup*. Demasiado problemático todo.

ELDAR BN, L, R, *elder* BN, V, L, R, S *helder* BN, *heldor* BN, L, S, 'baba', *elderti*, *elderzu* BN, S, *heldortsu* 'baboso'.

Cf. *erde* AN, salac., *herde* BN, L 'baba', *bildar/bilder* 'id.', *gerle* 'baba de niño'. También *lerde* (Cf. Mich. *FHV* 340). (Para Charencey *RIEV*, 4, 507 tiene el aire de una metátesis del esp. *lerde*, dice).

Sch. *BuR* 36 relaciona todas estas formas. Ninguna de las comparaciones es convincente.

Para Corominas *FLV*, 5, 173, con las variantes *adur* y *lingarda/-irda*, son evoluciones de *erde*, *lerde*. Parten de *elder*.

El autor citado *RIEV* 6, 318 y Tromb. *Orig.* 134 invocan el bereb. *luddi;* el último insiste en las variantes bereb. pl. *i-ludda-in, i-lda-in, i-ledda-in,* y añade el bantú *-lenda* 'ser pegante, baba'. Lahovary *Position* 39 insiste en el paralelo bereb., y da también en can. *laddi*, kurukh *liddi*, tek. *latti* 'barro líquido' (pero el sentido es muy lejano). ár. *laben* 'baba'.

Bouda *BKE* 117 y *Hom.Urq.* 3, 219 compara avar *xverd* 'pus', y supone (*EJ* 3, 118s.) una raíz *\*erd-*. Lafon *ZRPh* 4, 260 discute la comparación con el avar por razones fonéticas.

*EWBS* pretende un origen románico, dando como forma fundamental para el vasco *balder-*, relacionando con el esp. *de balde* (del ár. *bāṭil* 'unnütz, nichtig'); niega la relación con bereb., pero alude al avar. No hay que insistir en lo disparatado de tales comparaciones.

ELDARNIO 'sueño', 'despierto, insomnio' desvarío, sueño inquieto, delirio (Lh.)'.

Lh. lo señala como préstamo románico; pero Bouda *Euskera* 1 (1956), 141 analiza *eld-arnio* y admite que lo románico es sólo el sufijo, para el cual compara *izarne, izarniatu;* sin embargo renuncia a explicar *eld-*.

Mich. *FLV*, 16, 117 dice: «relacionado, aunque por caminos tortuosos con la oscura familia del fr. *rêver*».

Charencey *RIEV* 4, 507 sugiere el bearn. *helè* 'mal, douleur' y *tardiu* (lit. *eldarno* = *morbus, tardus, serotinus* 'la maladie dont on souffre spécial le soir, pendant la nuit...').

*EWBS* lo deriva de *eldi-* = *erdi* 'medio' + *arnio* corrupción de *lohardi* 'sueño (ligero)', lo que resulta inaceptable.

Cf. *esnaldi* 'insomnio' (en Mug. *Dicc.*).

La relación con *lerde* la señala también Gabelentz 20.

ELDE[1] L, *helde* (Duv.), *eldeera* L, *elderi* AN, *helderi* BN, L, *heldari* L, *helbe(ri)* BN, *elli* V, *delderi* AN 'epidemia', *heldezko* 'epidémico'; *(h)elde* también 'afluencia'.

A Bouda *EJ* 4, 321 le parecen derivados de *(h)eldu* 'llegar' y compara circ. *tye-He-ghʷə* 'fiebre', que se explicaría etimológicamente como 'lo que entre, sobre-coge'. Sin embargo el autor sospecha de esta explicación ante *eri* 'enfermedad' (en este sentido O. de Apraiz *RIEV* 11, 82, recogiendo a LMendizabal).

ELDE[2] L 'aventura, suerte'.

ELDEKON V 'cirro, tumor no enconado', *eldekonia* V 'roña', *eldekorri* V 'id.'. Cf. *elde*[1].

ELDRO V 'gigante'.

Azkue se pregunta si es contracción de *erraldo*.

ELDU[1] AN, V, G, L 'madurar', V, G 'agarrar', V, G, S 'llegar', AN 'venir', *heldu* BN, L, S 'id.', V, G 'llegada', 'pertenecer', 'socorrer', V 'persona madura, juiciosa'; *eltu* R 'alcanzar', 'llegar', *heltü* S 'llegar', 'suceder, acontecer', *erdu* 'ven, venid'.

Es ésta una de esas formas que al reducirse a *el-*, pueden ser comparadas fácilmente, con su sentido tan general. Giacomino *Relazione* 5 la explica junto a *galdu* 'perder', lo que no es aceptable evidentemente, y compara copto *hōl* y *χor*. El copto *hōl* también es aducido por Sch. *RIEV* 7, 334, y en éste insiste Tromb. *Orig.* 128, que se extiende en las más variadas comparaciones: ér. *halumma* 'hacia aquí', gr. ἐλθέ, ἐληλύμην, tagalo *heli* 'ven aquí', etc.

En el cauc. propone Bouda *BAP* 11, 194 bats *schil*, čeč. *schil* 'werden, reifen', que acaso interesen en semántica. La forma *erdu* le parece a Bouda secundaria. Semejante en los desarrollos semánticos es el gran círculo semántico del húng. *érni*.

*EWBS* da el tema *hel-* 'enkommen, erreichen' + sufijo *-du,* como Mich. *FHV* 214.

(H)ELDU² G 'morder', V 'enconarse (la herida)'.

ELE¹ N, L, R, *elhe* BN, L, S 'palabra, cuento', AN 'chisme, cuentecillo'.

La brevedad de la forma ha permitido los más variados paralelos: Tromb. *Orig.* 135 compara afar *dah* 'decir', con su imperativo *ileh,* saho *dah* 'id.', impersonal *eleh;* kúr. *lekh-* 'hablar', thusch *aχl-* 'decir', bechen *ā-l-* 'id.'. También el gr. λέγω estaría en la misma serie, lo que ya es excesivo. Campión *EE* 43, 133 se encontró con el acad. *e* 'palabra'. Wölfel 45 da paralelos africanos (compara también vasco *elhaire).*

Bouda *BuK* 89 y *Hom.Urq.* 3, 211 busca semejanzas en cauc.: una raíz *-L'-* la halla en las lenguas orientales, así bats *aL,* čeč. *al* 'decir, hablar'. Braun, *Iker* 1, 218 compara georg. *tqu-* (< *\*d-qu)* 'decir'.

*EWBS* presupone una forma *\*elra-* que pretende sea disimilación de *erra-* 'sagen, reden'.

ELE² AN, G, L 'ganado', AN, L 'rebaño', *eli* R, S (q.u.), *elli* V (arc.) 'tropel, cuadrilla, grupo', 'rebaño de ganado'.

Para Charencey *RIEV,* 4, 507 podría ser de origen célt. Cf. gal. *eilon* 'cerf', *elain* 'faon, biche', irl. *elit* 'chevreuil'. Cf. *elhi* 'troupeau de gros bétail'.

Es inadmisible la comparación de CGuis. 156 con el lat. *gregem,* lo mismo que Wölfel 64 con sus paralelos africanos.

Bouda *BuK* 90 y *Hom.Urq.* 3, 211 cita formas cauc., como andi *b-eL'i,* avar *b-oL',* pal *pal* 'cuadra, establo', darg. *viγ* 'rebaño de vacas, de caballos', que semánticamente aparecen lejanos.

*EWBS* le atribuye origen románico, nada menos que de un esp. *tela* 'cercado, dehesa, coto' (de lat. *tēla* 'tejido, tela') (!).

ELLE v. *ille.*

EL(H)E-BIDE, -ERRAKARI, -GAITZ, -GATX, -GIN, -IXILKA de *ele¹.*

ELEIZA V, *elexa* V mer., *eleja* V (Deusto), *eliza* 'iglesia'.

Azkue supone que la variante *eleixa* ha dado origen a la voz *eleja (elexa).* Lo que ocurre es que se ha reducido el diptongo con palatalización de la consonante siguiente, como ha pasado también *ei* a *i* en la proximidad de una silbante, en algunos dialectos (Mich. *FHV* 103, 106, 177 y 192).

Su origen greco-lat. es evidente para todos; pero el detalle del paso a través del románico ya es más problemático. Se ocupan de ello Phillips 6, Unamuno *ZRPh* 17, 140, Rohlfs *RIEV* 24, 331, GDiego *Dial.* 213 (que comete la distracción de explicar *Elizalde* por 'ecclesia alta'), Larrasquet, CGuis. 51, 128 y 284 (éste recuerda la forma célt. *illiz*?), *REW* 2823, *FEW* 3, 208.

Gavel *RIEV* 12, 249, que duda también de si el paso al vasco es directamente de la forma latina o de la románica, señala una pérdida de la *c* como el *tolez* (esp. *doblez),* y una metátesis de la *i* de *ecclesia* a *eleiza,* que se reduce después a *eliza (RIEV* 12, 34 s.).

Mich. *FHV* 347 y *FLV* 17, 192 señala que frente a la solución del grupo *cl-* por anaptixis *(gereta,* arag. *cleta)* en este caso ha habido reducción en interior de palabra *(el(e)iza, elexa < ec(c)lesia).* Cf., no obstante, esp. *iglesia,* fr. *église,* etc.

Astarloa *Apol.* 81 se esfuerza en probar el carácter autóctono de esta palabra: de *eli* 'multitud o rebaño' y *eche* 'casa' (parte de *elexa).* La forma *elexa* la tenemos en *Elejabeitia.*

ELELUMA G, L 'multitud', *elemia* G 'infinidad, muchedumbre'.

Acaso en relación con *ele².*

El sufijo de la segunda palabra tiene aspecto románico.

Cf. *ilumini* 'infinitamente'.

*EWBS* apunta un cruce entre lat. *levāmina* y *elementum* (!).

ELEMANI L, *lemami* L, *lamiña* G (contrac. de *legamin,* según Azkue), (Múg. *Dicc.*: *lamin, legamai, legamen, ligamin)* 'levadura'.

De evidente origen románico, en relación con fr. *levain.* Mich. *FHV* 258 señala la disimilación entre *legami(ñ)a* y *lemamia, lamiña.*

[19]

*EWBS* lo deriva del lat. *levāmen*, de donde, entre otros, prov. *levan*. También sugiere un cruce con *elementum*, por la *e-*, lo cual ya resulta más problemático. También de lat. pl. *levamina* en Múgica *FLV* 41-42, 122.

ELEMENTA L 'grandes chaparrones'.
  Cultismo sin duda, del lat. *elementa* (cf. esp. *elementos*, referido a 'elementos atmosféricos').

ELENGATU 'imaginar'. (Cf. *endelgatu*).
  *EWBS* buscando un origen románico, considera que *elenga-* está por *\*erenga*, por lo cual relaciona con prov. *rengar, arrengar* 'reihen, ordnen', correspondiente al fr. *ranger, arranger* (*rang* 'Reihe, Grad, Rang', del germ. *ring*).

ELERDI V 'medio real. Según algunos un real o cuarto de peseta'.

ELHESARI (Oih.) 'homenaje, gloria, elogio'.
  De *ele*[1].

ELETALDE de *ele*[2].

ELEZTATÜ S 'apagar, borrar'.
  *EWBS* atribuye origen románico, pero suponiendo un *\*ereska* por *elesta-* relaciona con port. *riscar* de significación similar (!).

ELEZTUN v. *eraztun*.

ELGA BN, S 'campo cultivado'. (v. *elge*).
  Corresponde a formas románicas, como aesp. *uelga, velga, belga*, aport. y gall. *olga*, fr. *ouche*, como ya señaló M.-L. *RIEV* 15, 221 n. Es de origen celt. (galo *olca* 'pflügbares Land') (Tovar *Zephyrus*).

HELGAITZ V. *(h)algai*.

(H)ELGAITZ[1] L, BN, S 'fiebre, calentura intermitente', *helgaizdun* (Duv. *ms.*) 'calenturiento', *elgaiztula* G 'tabardillo'.
  Segundo elemento *gaitz*, como dice Van Eys, que respecto al primero añade: «se halla en muchas palabras que indican enfermedad, *genberia, elgorri, heldiak, helarantza*, etc.», y no es otro que *eri*, según señaló O. de Apraiz *RIEV* 11, 82.

ELGAITZ[2] V 'verde (fruta)'.

ELGAR v. *alkar*.

ELGATA S (Oih. *Prov.* 372) 'alta'.
  Mich. *BAP* 11, 294 relaciona esta voz con *elge, elga*, pero añade que acaso sea posible pensar en *el(e)gatu* de *\*el(e)vata*?
  Lh. (a quien sigue *EWBS*) lo deriva sin más de *eleuatum* lat.

ELGE[1] BN 'campo cultivado', S 'llano' (v. *elga*).
  Mich. *Apellidos*, 82 piensa que, como sospechaba M.-L. (*REW* 6050) acaso se relacione con *olca*, pero más tarde, Mich. *BAP* 11, 294 ve dificultades para esta relación. Cita *elgata* 'alta' difícil de separar de *elge*. Se pregunta si no podría ser un postverbal derivado de *\*elgatu, elgata* < *el(e)vata;* la forma *\*elke* aparece en el top. *Helkeguren* (Alava 1025) y quizá *Elcano* (*Helcanno* top. de Guipúzcoa, 1025).
  Corominas 4, 1024b (recogiendo a Mich. *BAP* 11, 294), piensa en una posible reducción vasca de cast. *huelga*. Sin embargo no le parece claro el origen del vocablo. Menciona en Cuellar *huelgas* 'huertas en la orilla del río'. El mismo Corominas 2, 931b cita *holgueta* (*folgueta* en Colunga 'espacio de tiempo en que se deja el trabajo', *estar de folgueta* 'estar ocioso'), por eso menciona junto a *elge* la forma *olgeta* V 'diversión, chanza', aunque en realidad se debe de tratar de cosas distintas; el segundo está en relación con cest. *holgar* (< *follicāre*).
  Garate *BAP* 13, 47 menciona de J. de Valdés *helgado* 'de raros dientes' y *enhelgado* (?).

ELGE[2] V 'verde (fruta)' (cf. *elgaitz*[2]), 'de poco talento, mediocre'.
  Bouda *EJ* 4, 319 busca paralelos con čeč. *ärgin*, ingush *ärga* 'inmadura, verde'.

ELGER V. *ergel*.

ELGEZAIN S 'guardia rural'. De *elge*[1] + *zain*.

ELGORRI V, G 'sarampión', 'roya' (enfermedad de las plantas).
De *eri* 'enfermedad' y *gorri* 'rojo'.
Disparatada la comparación de Gabelentz con cab. *azegga*γ, tuar. *ihegga*γ 'rojo'.

ELGUMA 'mariposa'.
Bähr *RIEV* 19, 3 compara *euli*, que en algunos derivados se reduce a *el-*, como en *eltxo*, pero, sin embargo, el propio autor compara *inguma*.

ELI[1] R, S, *elli* V (arc.) 'tropel, cuadrilla, grupo', V (arc.) 'rebaño' (v. *ele*[2]).
Tromb. *Orig.* 134 compara *ala*[1] 'pasto' (entre otras acepciones) (q.u.); pero luego acude a infinidad de lenguas: sem. *ra'a-ja* 'apacentar', ár. *ri'j* 'pasto', hebr. *ma-r'īt* 'rebaño', ghat *eden* 'pasto', y en cauc. rut. *jelχi*, avar *elχi*, agul *ilki* 'id.', archi *irki*, tab. *irχi*, andi *reda*, etc. Compara también turco *ilqi, jilqi* 'rebaño', jacuto *silgi*, etc., y hasta bantú *lękja* 'hacer comer > apacentar', y otras formas africanas.
Gabelentz propone la comparación con cab. *elli*, y con interrogante tuar. *eheri* 'rebaño'.
Garriga *BIAEV* 2, 18 recuerda el sentido *eli* 'grupo' en Intxauspe. (Cf. la voz siguiente).

ELIBAT 'alguno'.
Campión *EE* 43, 35 se pregunta si será exacto el análisis *eli* (*elhe* 'rebaño') y *bat*, o sea 'uno entre muchos o varios'.
Giese *RIEV* 19, 571 refiere el primer elemento al de *el-kar, elkor*.

ELIKATU V (arc.), G, L, R 'mantener, alimentar', G 'alimentarse ligeramente', S 'abstenerse', R 'poner los medios para conseguir algo'; *elikatura* AN, V (arc.), G, L, R 'mantenimiento, alimento'. Cf. *alikatu* R 'tragar'. (v. *alika*).
Para Mich. *Pas.Leng.* 99 y 119 y *RFE* 48, 119 es un enigma. Por la forma es préstamo, mas no hay origen solvente. Cf. J.Urquijo *RIEV* 25, 312-15.
Agud-Tovar *Festschrift V. Wartburg* 2, 543 ss. y *ZRPh* 86, 616 suponen un origen en el lat. *delicatus* en cruce con lat. *alica*. Desde el punto de vista fonético no habría dificultades, y respecto a su evolución semántica puede verse en *ibid.*
*EWBS* propone *eli-* 'einige, stückweise' + sufijo *-ka*, en la supuesta forma originaria *elika*, de la que deriva *elikatu*.

ELIKI S 'satisfacción'.
Para Charencey *RIEV* 4, 507, de *-ki* partitivo y el mismo radical que el esp. *feliz*.

ELIKU-GABE BN 'glotón'.
El primer elemento está sin duda en relación con *elikatu* (q.u.).

ELIXATO AN 'ermita'. Doble diminutivo de *eliza*.

ELIZA v. *eleiza*.

ELIZARI aezc. 'pórtico de la iglesia'.
De *eliza-iri* (como *atari* 'atrio, pórtico' < *ata-iri*) (Mich. *FHV* 91). (Cf. *ari*[4]).

HELKAITZ (Duv.) 'infortunio, calamidad' (cf. *helgaitz* 'fiebre'), *helkhaizti* (Duv. *ms.*) 'infortunado'.
El primer elemento es sin duda *eri* 'enfermedad', el segundo *gaitz*.

ELK(H)AR[1] v. *alk(h)ar*.

ELK(H)AR[2] v. *elkor*[1].

ELKARTEKO L 'ranilla, enfermedad de ovejas y vacas, ocasionada por un gusano que nace entre la pezuña'.
*EWBS* analiza *elk-* = *erhi* 'Finger, Zehe' + *arte* + sufijo *ko*.

ELKI salac. (Bon.), *élkhi* S, *érkin* R 'salir', 'sacar', *ilk(h)i* BN, L (Leiç.) 'salir'; *elkh(i)erazi* S 'hacer salir'.

Mich. *FHV* 63 dice: «No es clara la relación de *elk(h)i/ilk(h)i* con BN *jalgi* (Dech., Oih.), S *jálkhi* 'salir' a los cuales parecen corresponder en los dial. occid. *jalgi, jalki, jaulki* con valores como 'posarse los líquidos', 'desgranarse por sí los árboles', 'confesarse', etc., *alki* 'acceder'. Lo mejor será pensar que son de origen distinto, aunque hayan podido influirse entre sí».

*EWBS* confunde en el origen los dos tipos, y quiere relacionar (por *jalgi*) con fr. *jaillir,* afr. *galir, jalir,* lo que resulta insostenible.

?ELKIDATU 'convenir'.

Van Eys lo deriva de *el-hide-tu,* y en ello halla «la signification propre de *el*», pero dice que no está seguro de que este nombre verbal esté en uso.

ELKHITE S 'diarrea'. Cf. *elki.*

ELKOR[1] V, G, L 'tierra costanera, estéril' (*elk(h)ar*[2] G), V, G 'fruto que no madura', L 'avaro', N, G, L 'mezquino'.

Cf. *malkor* (v. Mich. *FHV* 271 s. sobre el papel de *m* en la morfología vasca). v. el siguiente.

Bouda compara *legor, malkor, malkar,* a las que añade Gabelentz 20 *leihor.*

*EWBS* lo explica de *elk-* = *erhi* 'dedo' + *agorr* 'seco, árido', cuya significación fundamental sería según él 'mit trockenen, harten, geizigen Händen' (?).

ELKOR[2], ELKHOR BN 'sordo'.

No parece que pueda separarse del anterior. Mich. *FHV* 361 n. 25 cree que en parte puede proceder de *\*erd(i)-gor* 'medio sordo', con disimilación, y acaso también de *\*eld(u)-gor* 'difícil (duro) de madurar'. De *elt-* (de *eldu*) + *-gor,* que como en otros últimos miembros de compuesto pueden ser reducción de *go-gor* (*FLV* 4, 72).

La comparación con *gor* de Sch. *RIEV* 7, 332 y O. de Apraiz *id.* 11, 82 parece justificada, lo mismo que decimos 'duro de oído' (éste, siguiendo a LMendizabal, da *el-* < *eri* 'enfermedad').

Berger *Münch.Stud.* 9, 10 supone una metátesis *\*lekhon* para poder comparar con burush. *laġan* 'mudo' (lo que semánticamente resulta muy difícil).

Lafon *RIEV* 24, 169 agrupa *gogor* (de *\*gorgor*) 'duro', *gor* 'sordo' (primitivamente 'duro'), *makor* 'callosidad' (con prefijo *ma-*), *elkhor* 'sordo', *elkor* 'seco' y relaciona con georg. *mqar-i* y *magar-i* 'duro, firme'; *m-* y *ma-* son elementos prefijados.

Cf. *gogor.*

ELKORDIN AN, L, S, *erkordin* S, *erkhordin* L, salac. 'ligeramente asado, mal cocido'.

De *erdi* + *gordin* como apunta Azkue.

HELMEN BN 'alcance, distancia', 'jurisdicción'.

Es analizable un sufijo *-men,* con idea de alcance de los sentidos.

ELMITZ v. *almitz.*

ELLO R, salac., *ellho* S 'imbécil, tonto'. Diminutivo de *er(h)o,* como apunta Azkue.

ELHON BN 'conversación agradable y fina'.

De *ele*[1] y el adj. *on* 'bueno'.

ELLOR v. *egileor.*

ELORD(U)I 'espinar'. De *el(h)orri.*

ELORRANTZA V, G 'endrino'. (Cf. el siguiente).

ELORRI AN, V, G, *elhorri* BN, L, S, *illurri* R, *illurritze* salac. 'espino', S 'fruta del espino', BN 'endrino' *eñurri* R 'espino (fruto)'. (Cf. *ilharre, iñarra* 'brezo').

En composición aparece con la forma *el(h)or-:* top. *Elhorzahea* en 1025 (*CSMill.* 91), *Elhossu,* (mod. *Elosu*) en Alava 1025, < *\*el(h)orri(i)-zu* (Mich. *FHV* 320 y 362).

LMendizabal *BIAEV* 4, 32 compara *elor* (*elar* 'brezo') con *belar* 'hierba', lo cual es dudoso.

*EWBS* sugiere como origen *erhi-* 'Finger' + *harr* 'ergreifen, also ein Strauch, der die Finger festhält' + sufijo *-i;* pero según él también puede ser etimología popular.

Braun *Iker* 1, 218 compara georg. *ekal-i* 'espino' (kartv. *q* y *k̲* = *l̲*).

[22]

ELORRIAR 'espino catártico' (Bot.); *elorribaltz* V, *elorribeltz* G, L, S 'endrino, espino bravío'
('prunus spinosa L.') (formación como *arantza-baltz*, *-beltz*, con los paralelos ro-
mánicos que da Bertoldi *Arch.Rom.* 18, 224); *elhorri kriska* L 'aliaga o aulaga';
*elorrilar* G 'zarza': de *el(h)orri* como primer elemento.

ELORRIO V 'penalidad, tribulación'.
    Cf. V *lor* de la misma significación.

ELOSIKE G 'endrina (fruto)'. De *el(h)orri/elor-*.

ELLOSKA BN, R, salac. 'tontuelo'.
    Según Azkue, doble diminutivo de *er(h)o* (v. *ello*).

ELPIDE V, *helpide* L, S 'recurso, socorro'.
    De *(h)el* (q.u.) + *bide*.

ELSO (Oih.) v. *eltxo*.

ELSUNS AN 'tábano'. Sch. *BuR* 43 remite a *elso*. (Cf. *beltzuntze* 'id.').

HELTARI L, S 'socorredores'. De *(h)el*.

ELTOR V (Múg. *Dicc.*: *elter*) 'ranilla, enfermedad de la pezuña del ganado' (Cf. *elkarteko*).

ELTU, HELTÜ v. *eldu*[1].

ELTUBERRI R, *heltüberri* S 'noticia de la llegada'. De *eltu*.

ELTUR V, G 'carne podrida que sale del medio de una herida', 'panadizo', *ertul* AN 'id.' – O.
de Apraiz *RIEV* 11, 82 ve *eri* 'enfermedad' en el primer elemento. Bouda *BAP* 11,
198 ve *er(h)i* 'dedo' en el 1.er elemento; para el 2.° compara *torta* (q.u.), y quiere
relacionar con avar *tur* 'podrido'.

HELTURA L, S 'socorro'. De *(h)el* y un sufijo románico.

ELTSUTSA AN 'sauco'. Cf. *intsusa* 'id.'.

ELTXAKA, ELTZAKA V 'persona de poca cordura'.

ELTXANO R 'marmita', 'potaje, puchero'. Acaso diminutivo de *eltze* (q.u.), como sugiere
Azkue.
    Con el compuesto *eltxanotapa* R 'cobertera de puchero', está clara la segunda
parte románica.

ELTXAR V 'gusanillo de las marismas', V, G 'caries', 'mosca que pica y hace podrir las carnes',
V 'triquina', 'bacteria', 'gusano de los cadáveres', V, R, S, salac. 'gusano blanco de
viandas blancas', G 'cagarruta de ovejas'; *eltzar* R 'larva de gusano' (cf. *elzar*).
    El segundo elemento del compuesto es sin duda *ar*[3] (q.u.), 'gusano'. El primero
debe de estar en relación con *eltxo* o similares.
    *EWBS* pretende explicar la 1.ª parte, de *eltx-* = *beltx* 'negro', lo cual resulta muy
discutible.

ELTXARIN 'voluble'. Cf. *eltzo* 'mariposilla'.

ELTXE v. *eltxo*.

ELTXERRA 'arce', en Aulestia, dice Aranzadi *RIEV* 7, 587.

ELTXETO, ELTXETXU v. *eltze*.

ELTXIARRA citado por Aranzadi *RIEV* 7, 588 junto a *ezkiarra* (?).

ELTXIKI V 'real de vellón de veinticinco céntimos de peseta'.

ELTXO V, G, S, salac., *elso* (Oih.), *eltzo* BN, L, *elzo* BN, *eltxu* G, R, *eltxe* R, *ulitxa* N, L,
*eultxo* G (Múg. *Dicc.*: *a(u)ltxo*), *il(l)txa* S, *ülütxa* BN 'mosquito' (*eltxo*, además,
'gorgojo de los cereales').
    Bähr *RIEV* 19, 3 da la forma primaria *e(u)l(i)txo* y deriva de *euli* acertadamente,
como Campión *EE* 40, 483, que compara también *ulitx*.
    Las variantes de *euli* así lo acreditan: Aezc. *auli*, N L *uli*, S *üli*, *ülli*, *ül(l)ü*, R *éllu*
< *eullu*, directamente o por intermedio de *eillu* (Mich. *FHV* 99, que también
considera el término como diminutivo de *euli*).

[23]

A Sch. *BuR* 43 le recordó el austr. (?) *Gelze*, en el siglo XV *golsen*, luego *golse*, *gölse* < *\*culicina*, cf. fr. *cousin*, port. *couce* 'Shabe' 'polilla'. Una procedencia directa de lat. *culice*, con una confusión con N, L *ulitxa* no es admisible, como se ha sugerido.

Todavía están más lejos los paralelos de Tromb. *Orig.* 135 con cab. *arez, arz* 'avispa', con la forma reduplicada *arzaz* o *erzaz*, que ni fonética ni semánticamente son admisibles.

*EWBS* pretende la existencia de una metátesis de *eltxo* por *\*lestor* con lo que compara con *listor* y *eltxar* (!).

En Bouda hay comparaciones con *eltzar* y *lozer* (q.u.).

ELTXOR G 'granillos en la piel', 'grano de trigo, maíz'.

ELTXU[1] V 'cesto de mimbre que se usa para recoger la cría de la abeja y reponerla en la colmena'.

ELTXU[2] AN, G 'cigarra', G, R 'mosquito' (v. *eltxo*).
        Sch. *BuR* 43 remite a *elso (eltxo)*.

ELTXUN v. *eltzun*.

ELTZABURDIÑA AN 'cierta pieza de hierro que sirve de sostén a la olla'.
        De *eltze* y *burdin/burni*.

ELTZAGOR AN, L 'puchero vacío al que se le hace producir un gran ruido', G 'tonto, bobo'.
        De *eltze*.

ELTZAILLE G 'perro mordedor'. Cf. *eltzari* V, G 'id.', y *helkari*.

ELTZAKA V 'verde (fruta)', 'bobo, persona con poco talento'. Cf. *eltxaka, eltzarin* (con la primera acepción).

ELTZAR R, *elzar* BN, 'larva de gusano' (Cf. *eltxar*), 'avispa'.
        Campión *EE* 40, 452 lo analiza como compuesto de *euli* y *zar*, este último no con la significación de 'viejo', sino de 'grande'.

ELTZARI[1] V, G '(perro) mordedor'. Cf. *eltzaille*.

ELTZARI[2] AN, G, R, salac. 'legumbre, cosa de cocer'.

ELTZARIN V 'verde (fruta)'. Cf. *eltzaka*.

(H)ELTZAUR V. *intxaur*.

ELTZE N, G, L, *elze* N, *eltxano* R, *eltxeto* (estos dos últimos diminutivos) 'olla, puchero', 'bóveda' (los dos primeros).
        Bouda *BAP* 12, 263 remite a *iraldu, illeti*, etc., todos los cuales les supone una raíz *\*l* 'quemar' (??).
        Gabelentz 83 y 182s. compara, no se sabe por qué, con tuar. *tarazzut* 'copa'.
        *EWBS* le atribuye origen románico, y reconstruyendo una forma *\*beltse* pretende comparar con gall. *berce, berzo*, port. *berco*, cat. *brés*, aesp. *brizo*, fr. *berceau* (!).

ELTZEKO AN 'potaje, puchero'. De *eltze*.

ELTZO V. *eltxo*.

ELTZONDOKO AN, G 'pieza de hierro cerca del fuego que se emplea para sostener las ollas'.
        De *eltze*.

ELTZU, ELTZU(KA)TU V. *eultze*.

ELTZUMA L (Lacoizq.) 'chopo'. Es una errata por *eltzuna*, debida a Lacoizq. v. *eltxun/eltzun*.
        *EWBS* pretende una explicación a partir de *elts-*, para él igual que *beltz* + *suma/sun* 'Weide' (!).

ELTZUN, ELTZU[2] V, *eltxun* V, *lertzun* G, *lertxun* AN, V, G 'álamo temblón'.
        Aranzadi *RIEV* 7, 588 se pregunta si será como *eltxu* 'moscón', «por el movimiento de las hojas».
        Compárese con *(h)altz(a)* 'aliso', *eltxerra* 'arce' y *eltzuma* 'chopo', 'laurel'.
        A esas comparaciones añade Bouda *EJ* 3, 121, 326 y 330 *altzau* y también *maltzo, maltzika*. También es interesante su observación de que en la forma *lertzun*

ha debido de influir otro nombre de árbol: *ler*. El mismo autor *BAP* 5, 419 y Bouda-Baumgartl 12 proponen el georg. *na-dzv-i*, mingr. *nu-dzu, nu-zu* 'abeto', y como préstamo del georg. en čeč. *naz* 'encina' (para él la *l* es epentética). También Braun *Iker* 1, 214 compara con georg. *naƺu* 'abeto, cupressus'.

L.Mendizabal *BIAEV* 4, 32, fiel a su teoría de derivar unos nombres de vegetales de otros, compara *alda* y *anda* 'yezgo' con *altz* 'aliso' y *eltzun* 'álamo'.

ELLU v. *euli*.

ELUBIA V, *erlu(r)i* S 'salamandra'.

ELUNTZI N, *elhuntzi* BN, L, S 'hablador, parlanchín', *eluntzikeria* (Duv. *ms.*) 'habladuría'.
De *ele*[1] y *ontzi* (cf. *eleontzi*).

EL(H)UR NG, L, R, S, *élhür* S, *edur/erur* V (*RS* 461, Mic.), *eur* V 'nieve'.
Mich. *FHV* 315 supone que *e(d)ur* procede de *erur*.

Gavel *RIEV* 12, 245 n. ya admite que la *r* puede ser primitiva, y compara bret. *erc'h*, que procedería de un galo *\*argio* (Ernault). La prioridad de *erur* también la defiende Uhl. *ZRPh* 27, 626 basándose en la comparación con *belar/bedar/berar* y en el hecho de ser la forma más antigua registrada (*RS* de 1596, según se ha dicho). Sin embargo, intenta explicar a base del verbo *erori* 'caer'.

Las formas *edur/elur* pueden ser perfectamente disimilaciones, como se pregunta Uhl. *RIEV* 2, 404.

Del mayor interés es la serie de relaciones con arag. *lurte* 'alud', *eslurtar* 'correr en forma de alud la tierra de una ladera', *eslurrir* 'resbalarse', esp. *alud*. Claro que en estas comparaciones que hace GDiego *Contr.* 204 juega a la vez con el vasco *lur* y *elur*, y sus derivados *lurta* y *elurte*. Cf. sobre esto mismo Corominas 1, 174b.

Vid. *luta, lurta/lurte*.

*REW* 2854a sigue a GDiego al comparar *elur, elurte* y esp. *alud*, arag. *elurte*. Cf. también bearn. *(es)lùr* 'alud'.

No parece probable que entre en la composición del término, *ur* 'agua' como pretende Campión *EE* 41, 163. Ni que, como apunta en *ibid.* 570 sobre la forma *erur*, tengamos *er* 'semilla' y *ur*, «como quien dice 'semilla líquida, acuosa'», lo que recuerda las etimologías de Astarloa.

El Ἐδούλιον ὄρος de Ptol. 2, 6, 20 también ha sido comparado; pero acaso fuera mejor leer *Medulium*, a pesar de Bertoldi *ZRPh* 57, 141 y *Colonizzazioni* 220. Uhl. *RIEV* 2, 404 recoge la explicación de Sch. *Iber.Dekl.* 5, 16 de *Edulius* en tierra de los vascones como 'Schneeberg', que no sería inverosimil, si no fuera por el testimonio de *erur* en *RS*, como forma más antigua atestiguada.

Resulta disparatada la comparación de CGuis. 183 con *gelu*.

Paralelos cauc. son dados por Tromb. *Orig.* 135: čeč. *luo*, thusch *law*, bhürkila *duḥ'ä*, georg. *thov-*. El mismo autor añade finl. *lu-mi* mordv. *lov, lou*. Bouda *BuK* 339 aduce el mismo *law*, ingush *lo*, y además chukchi *ə'l;* comparación esta última que le parece inaceptable a Uhl. *Gernika-EJ* 1, 177.

Tampoco es mejor Gabelentz 25, 82 y 108 s. aduciendo cab. y sh. *adfel* 'nieve', ni Wölfel.

Una forma proto-ide. *al-aura* de Carnoy *DEPIE* 83 carece también de fundamento.

*EWBS* le atribuye origen románico: de *\*geliure*, prov. *gelibre*, fr. *givre* < vlat. *\*gelivitrum* 'glasklares Eis' (!).

EL(H)URTE N, G, L, R, S, *elurta* 'nevadas grandes, temporada de nieves'.
Evidente derivado de *elur*. Hubschmid *Pyrenäenw.* 62 se ha planteado el problema de tal derivación, y cree que *-ta* es el mismo que tenemos en *gorrita* 'cantidad de lo que es rojo', y forma colectivos, como también dice de *-te* Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 412 y 416, lo que recoge *FEW* 5, 471a. (v. *luta, lurte*).

Inconcebible Griera *ZRPh* 47, 104 derivando de lat. *flore* (!).

ELURROSO AN, S 'remolino de nieve y aun su aglomeración'. De *elur*.

ELUZ, EULZA, EUSA, ELUSE, ELUTZETA, ELUZETA, ELUTSEKOBARRUTIA.
En todos estos topónimos quiere ver Piel *RPF* 4, 322 representantes de *ilex* en la
toponimia vasca. Ello plantearía el problema de formas como *eltzun* (q.u.); pero
toda prudencia es poca en tal cuestión.

ELZABORRA N 'zambomba, instrumento grande de música que hace un ruido desagradable'.
Van Eys compara *eltze* y se pregunta por la terminación que aproxima a
*abarrots.*
Acaso sea una onomatopeya por el estilo de *zambomba.*
Charencey *RIEV* 4, 508 supone un ár.pop. *eltabor, eltabur*, art. ár. *al/el* +
*tab(o)ur, tabor*, 'tambor'.
*Elzagor*, doblete.

ELZAR BN 'gusano blanco de viandas', (Pouvr.) 'avispa'.
Para Azkue es variante de *lozer, lezor*. Otros autores lo han comparado con
*elzo* (q.u.), así Tromb. *Orig.* 135.
Coincidiendo con Azkue, Berger *Münsch.Stud.* 9, 11 señala una metátesis inte-
resante comparando con *le(i)zor* 'abejorro'.
Gabelentz 83 y 142 s. compara cab. *erzaz* 'avispa'.

ELZARI AN 'legumbre'.

ELZAUR v. *intxaur.*

ELZE v. *eltze.*

ELZO v. *eltxo.*

EMA variante en composición de *eme*[1] y de *eme*[2].

EMAGALDU (Duv.) 'prostituta'. De *eme*[1] + *galdu.*

EMAGARRI de *eme*[2].

EMAGIN N, V, G, L, R, S, *emain* N, L, *emegin* salac. *emagintsa* BN, *emagintza* V, G,
*emaintza* AN 'partera'.
Van Eys propone como etimología *eme* + *egin*. Quizá pueda contribuir a expli-
car *emakume*. Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 209 respecto a esta palabra se pregunta «qui rend
femme?».

EMAGIZON 'afeminado' (de composición clara).

EMAI[1] V (arc.) 'dádiva', *ema(i)le* 'dador': de *eman*. (Cf. *emoi*[1]).

EMAI[2] V 'fuente por donde salen los malos humores del cuerpo'.
(Cf. *emoi*[2]).

EMAITZ[1] BN, G, L, S 'dádiva', 'regalo', BN 'gran generosidad'. De *eman.*

EMAITZ[2] 'censo, canon'.

EMAIZPA 'cuñado'.
Campión *EE* 40, 101 lo explica de *emea-z-aizpa*. Pero desde el punto de vista
semántico no está claro; más bien de *emazte-aizpa;* como *emaznai* que da el mismo
autor.

EMAKIDATU 'conceder'.
De *eman*. Van Eys supone *eman-hide-tu.*

EMAKOI[1]/EMAKOR G 'fértil'. De *eman.*

EMAKOI[2]/EMAKOR, EMAKUMEKOR L 'lascivo, mujeriego'. De *eme*[1]. (Cf. *emekoitasun* 'fornica-
ción').

EMAKUMA V, *emakume* AN, V, G, L, R 'mujer' (en general) BN salac. 'niña hembra'.
Hay dos etimologías populares dadas ya por Campión *EE* 40, 69: de *eme*
'hembra' y 'suave', y *(h)ume;* el mismo *o.c.* 46, 130 dice: de *eman* 'dar' y *(h)ume*
'criatura'. Así también Van Eys.
Mich. *Emerita* 18, 468 s. no cree justificada esta tesis a pesar del apoyo de Uhl.
*EJ* 623-31 y prefiere la alternativa *eme* y *(k)ume*. Queda mucho por aclarar. *Emaku-
me* falta por completo en los textos más antiguos.

L. de Elizalde *RIEV* 1, 184 explica 'cría de hembra', pensando en la posibilidad de que esta significación o 'pequeña hembra' se aplicaría a niñas y luego a 'mujer' en general. Bähr *Euskera* 16, 9 se inclina por esto mismo. Es probable que tengan más razón Vinson *RIEV* 1, 17 y Uhl. *id.* 3, 224 cuando encuentra difícil y no resuelta la etimología de esta voz. Vid. *kume* y *ume*.

Charencey *RIEV* 4, 508 dice: por *emako ume* 'infáns feminae'.

EMAKUNDE AN, R, *-egun* AN 'Jueves de Sexagésima' (lit. 'jueves de mujeres').

EMAKUNTZA AN 'vulva, parte exterior de la vagina en el ganado'. De *eme*[1].

EMALEGEAK (Pouvr.) 'menstruas'. De *eme*[1] y *lege*.

EMALOPA v. *emapola*.

EMAN N, G, L, S, *emon* BN, V, R, *emun* V, *omon* V 'dar'.

Otras acepciones de *eman*: 'colocar(se)', 'acostumbrar', 'avezarse', G 'parecer', L 'vestirse', BN, L, S 'tocar (música)', BN 'inclinarse por afecto'.

Tromb. *Orig.* 135, Lafon *Système* 2, 5, Uhl. *Gernika-EJ* 1, 575 dan una raíz *-ma-*; más allá todo es oscuro. Se encuentran paralelos en todas direcciones, lo que no es difícil para forma tan breve.

Para Charencey *RIEV* 4, 508 es de origen celt. Cf. irl. *main* 'tesoro, cosa preciosa', de un hipotético galo *maini* 'don' (en relación con lat. *munus* 'id.').

Gorostiaga *FLV* 39, 120 deriva del alem. *nehmen*. *-neman* (!).

Sch. *RIEV* 7, 334 da eg. *imj*, copto *ma* (imperativo), cab. *im, am* 'dar'; formas semejantes de Giacomino *Relazioni* 3; Gabelentz 12 y 272 s. menciona eg. *mena* 'atribuir', copto *em* (naturalmente con interrogante). No es mejor Wölfel 124. Campion *EE* 43, 133 señala acad. *mu* 'dar'.

Por el lado cauc. tenemos: archi *ma*[ʿ] 'dar' (Uhl. *RIEV* 15, 586, que da también Tromb. l.c.; kafa *im, am*, masai *ima* 'consignar', nama *ma* 'dar'). Y los paralelos se extienden con ostiaco, vogul *mäj-, maj* 'id.', indonesio y polinesio *li-ma* 'mano, cinco', chukchi *\*my-* 'mano' (Bouda *BuK* 178, *GRM* 32, 137). Berger *Anthropos* 55, 659 da burush. *étimi* 'hizo' (suponiendo *eman < i-ama-m*, lo cual es más que dudoso). Lahovary *EJ* 5, 229, por su parte, da amb. *marr* 'tomar, recibir', darv. can. *maru* 'cambiar'.

En la misma línea de inverosimilitud Mukarovsky *Mitteil.* 1, 142 y *GLECS* 11, 86, que menciona eg. *m*[ce] y kafa *am, im-* 'dar'.

*EWBS* aunque da origen inseguro, se centra en las formas africanas ya mencionadas, añadiendo hebr. *āman*, ár. *amina* cuya significación nada tiene que ver.

EMANDRIA, voz que parece inventada por Larram. para explicar el esp. y port. *mandria*. Descubrió la invención Meyer-Lübke, según Sch. *RIEV* 8, 329.

EMAPOLA, EMALOPA 'amapola'.

La segunda forma la da CGuis. 135, y no es de fiar. GDiego *Contribución* 441 lo explica junto al mozar. *hapapaura, hababora, a(l)babol*, gall. *mapoula, marapola*, etc., de *\*papaura < lat. papauer*.

EMARO R, salac. 'despacio, poco a poco'.

De *eme*[2] y sufijo *-ro*, como dice Azkue.

EMASABEL V, G, *amasabel* V 'matriz', AN 'histérico' (en este último sentido, también *emasabeleko*).

De *eme*[1] + *sabel*.

EMASABEL-BELAR, AMASABEL-BEDAR (*ms.* Lond.). 'Pyrethrum parthenium'.

Traducción vasca de la voz médico-popular *matricaria, matricaire*, 'herbe de la mère'; Alto Garona 'erbo de la mayre', prov. 'erbo de lo motriço' (Bertoldi *Arch.Rom.* 18, 224).

EMAXURX AN, *emaxurtz* L, *emazurtz* N 'huérfano'.

De *eme*[1] + *zurtz* 'huérfano'. *EWBS*: de *ema-* por *ume-* (?).

EMATXAR BN, R, *ematxot* S 'mujerzuela, mujer de mala fama'.

De *eme*[1] + *txar*.

EMAZTE 'mujer respecto del marido', Sal. 'mujer'.

Van Eys ya decía prudentemente: «parece relacionarse con *eme*, pero ¿qué significa la terminación?».

Han propuesto un análisis *ema-gazte* Sch. *BuR* 9, *RIEV* 1, 338 y *RIEV* 7, 316, Vinson *RLPhC* 41, 165 y *Rev. Anthropol.* (1913), 116, Bouda *BAP* 20, 482 y Bähr *Euskera* 16, 9. Es posible esto, pero desde el punto de vista semántico no acaba de ser seguro.

Inaceptable la explicación de Campión *EE* 40, 69, de *eman* 'dar' y *ezti* 'miel', «por algún rito o ceremonia que se celebraba al desposarse», o quizá de *eme* 'hembra' y 'suave'.

Paralelos africanos propuestos: Gabelentz 63 y 150 s. tuar. *tamaṭ*, del cual dice Wölfel 39 que puede ser dudoso, ya que -*zte* podía ser un sufijo, pero insiste en el valor de los paralelos eg., canarios y hausa con relación a *eme* (q.u.).

No es mejor Mukarovsky *Mitteil.* 1, 141, *GLECS* 11, 85 y *Wien.Zschr.* 62, 34, que da en la primera bambara *muso*, bereb. *ta-mṭṭu-ṭ*, hausa *mace*, etc., en la segunda da amharico *mŏs-t*, bedauye *me´a*, kafa *mačč-e*, en la tercera vuelve a la forma bereb. citada. Todo, como se ve, sin fundamento.

Bouda *l.c.* considera errónea la comparación con bereb. *ta-mettu-t* hecha por Mukarovsky.

EME[1] AN, V, G 'hembra'.

MPidal *En torno a la lengua vasca* 28 e *Intr.* 17 dice que no deriva del cast. *fembra* o *hembra*, sino del rioj. o nav.ant. *femna* o bearn. *hemne*. GDiego *Dicc.Etimol.* 2725 y M. Roy Haris *HR* 38, 319 derivan del lat. *fēmina*.

La derivación románica parece aceptable; Sch. *BuR* 9 recuerda también el bearn., así con astur. *fema*. Lh. cita prov. *heme*. A Sch. le invalida un tanto el hecho de que también da como muy probable románico *seme* (q.u.). Bladé *Étude sur l'orig. des basques* 501 cita un gasc. *hemno*. También derivan del lat. Guisasola *EE* 23, 109, CGuis. 108 y 140, y GDiego *Dial.* 203 y 205. Para Charencey *RIEV* 4, 508 es del ant.bearn. *femie*.

Tromb. *Orig.* 121 cita hebr. *èm, imm-*, aram. *emm-* 'madre', bereb. *emma, imma* 'id.', copto *hime* 'señora, mujer', mong. *eme* 'donna', mag. *eme-* 'femmina', y otras lenguas asiáticas.

Wölfel 37 relaciona con *emazte* (q.u.).

Sch. *RIEV* 7, 316 admite (aparte de la teoría románica) la posibilidad de que se pueda tomar en cuenta el paralelo eg. *ḥm-t*, copto *hime* 'mujer, esposa'. Lo mismo compara Giacomino *Relazioni* 13.

Lafon *Gernika EJ* 1, 156 cita el finés *emä* 'madre', y Grande-Lajos *BAP* 12, 314 el húng. *eme* ant. 'madre', actualmente 'cerda madre'. Saint-Pierre *EJ* 2, 163 aduce sum. *eme* 'mujer encinta', F. de Fuenterrabía *Lecároz* 2, 56 da sum. *geme* 'mujer'. Este último y hasta el gr. γάμος 'matrimonio' compara Lahovary *Position* 49.

Aun cuando el préstamo románico, como hemos dicho, puede resultar aceptable, tampoco es desdeñable que se trate de una palabra infantil, lo que justificaría su amplia difusión; esto último lo afirma Bouda *BKE* 54 contra Tromb., y que la significación 'dulce' (que vemos en *eme*[2]) es la misma que 'mujer'.

EME[2] 'suave, blando, manso', S 'calma, tranquilidad'.

Sin duda se trata de palabra distinta a la anterior, a pesar de lo dicho por Bouda *supra*.

Tromb. *Orig.* 136 analiza *e-me* 'dulce', y da los siguientes paralelos: kunama *mā* 'amor', *mē* 'amar', *á-mā* 'dulzura', copto *me* 'amar', galla *mi-aw* 'ser dulce o agradable', som. *ma ͨ-an* 'dulce', etc., y ár. *mahi-ha* 'leuis fuit', *mah-l* 'suavidad', andi *mi-c'a*, tab. *me'e-l* 'dulce', scr. *máy-as-* (?), turco *e-me-* 'alivio, medicina'.

Posible relación con *emazte* (q.u.). Cf. Wölfel 37.

Mukarovsky *GLECS* 11, 85 compara bereb. -*mim*, lo mismo que en *Wien.Zschr.* 62, 34 y *Zschr.Deut.Morgenländes* (1969), 1138.

EMEGIN v. *emagin*.

EMEKI(RO) de $eme^2$.

EMEN[1] 'se dice'. (v. omen).

Disparatada comparación de CGuis 140 y Montigny *IALR* 1, 95 con lat. *fama* gr. φήμη.

EMEN[2] AN, V, G, *hemen* BN, L 'aquí', también *(h)eben* (q.u.).

Derivado del demostrativo *(h)eu-*, *(h)au-* 'éste' > *\*-aun-en* > *\*-au-en*, (cf. *kau(r)*, *(h)aur*, etc.), como apunta Mich. *FHV* 70 y 177, el cual en *o.c.* 275 deriva *(h)emen* de *(h)eben* (S *hében*, R *kében*, aezc. *geben*, occ.ant. *eben*) naturalmente, y considera *-n* como desinencia de inesivo (*o.c.* 138 n.).

La *m* es secundaria. En Gar. y Land. *eben*, escrito *even* (Mich. *Hom.Martinet* 1, 156).

*EWBS* quiere explicarlo de *he-* por *\*hen-* demostrativo, y un sufijo *-pen, -men*.

EMENDA S 'aumentar, crecer', *emendatu* G, *emendau* V 'apagar, calmar una riña', 'satisfacer necesidades', BN, L, S 'alimentar', 'crecer', V (*ms.* Lond.) 'saciar'.

*REW* 783 lo deriva del lat. *augmentāre*. Charéncey *RLPhC* 23, 306 compara esp. *aumentar*, prov. *augmenter*. Más preciso es Larrasquet 98 considerándolo préstamo del bearn. *aumenta;* pero sin embargo hay que pensar que en la forma vasca (o sólo en S) existe un cruce con *enmendar*, que coincidiría con las primeras acepciones señaladas en *emendatu*, cuyo origen latino es evidente. Así también *emendamentu* 'corrección', de *emendare* (Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 406).

EMENDAKIN R 'enmienda' (cf. *emendatu*).

Al término de origen lat. se agrega el suf. *ki(n)*.

EMENDIO V 'provisión cualquiera', BN, L, S 'aumento, suplemento'.

Debe de tener alguna relación con *emenda*, etc. Gárate *FLV* 15, 326 sugiere como origen esp. *enmienda*. En Azkue también *emendakin*.

EMERDI R, S, salac. 'mujer recién parida', 'mujer enfermiza'.

Van Eys señala su derivación de $eme^2$-*erdi* y recuerda la expresión vulgar hol. *in tween vallen* 'caer en dos', 'parir'. (Vid. Pariente *Emerita* para lat. *pario*).

EMERETZI AN, V, G, *hemeretzi* BN, L, *emeretzu* R, *hemeretzü* S 'diez y nueve'.

Giese *RIEV* 19, 569 critica la explicación de Campión *Gram.* 137 (de *amar* + *bederatzi*), y prefiere partir de una forma *beratzi* (que da Tromb. *Orig.* 110) de *bederatzi;* entonces tendríamos *\*amaberatzi* > *\*amberatzi* o *\*emberatzi* > *emeretzi;* se ha elidido *-de-* y *ama* ha perdido su sonido final. La explicación parece aceptable.

Vid. *bederatzi* y *(h)emezortzi*.

El primer elemento *(h)eme-* es variante de *ama-* (*hamar*) 'diez'.

EMERETZIKO V 'monedas antiguas españolas de oro de diez y nueve reales'. Sobre el anterior con sufijo *-ko*.

EMEZORTZI AN, G, R, salac., *hemezortzi* BN, L, S 'diez y ocho'.

Cf. la formación de *emeretzi*.

EMO- variante de *emon/eman* en los derivados.

EMOI[1] V 'dádiva, regalo', (cf. *emai*[1]); *emoiera* V 'producción cualquiera'; *emo(i)le* V, R 'dador', 'fértil'; *emoitza* V 'dádiva'; *emokari* V 'id.'; *emokor* V 'dadivoso'.

Todos de *emon/eman*. Cf. las formaciones similares con primer elemento *ema-*.

EMOI[2] Cf. *emai*[2].

EMOKATU BN, L 'erizar', 'revocar, enjalbegar'.

No parece aceptable la suposición de Lh. al relacionar con esp. *moco*. De lo cual se hace eco *EWBS* al remontarse a lat. *\*ex-mūcāre*, de *mūcus;* también menciona gall. *amocar*.

EMON[1] v. *eman*.

EMON[2] V 'fuente por donde salen todos los malos humores del cuerpo' (cf. *emai*[2], *emoi*[2]), 'pene'.

Bouda *BAP* 12, 250 cree que hay una raíz *\*mon*, que sería como circ. *man-e* 'id.', con correspondencias en hung. *mony*, vogul *mông*, fin. *muna*, etc. 'huevo, testículo'.

EMONDU V 'ajarse la ropa'.

Bouda *ZRPh* 4, 257 pone esta palabra junto con una serie como *imo* 'muy maduro', *(h)umao*, *urmel* 'maduro', *lamondu* 'podrirse (un árbol)', lo cual parece muy dudoso.

EMUN v. *eman*.

EMURA S 'humor'. Es el término médico latino.

EMÜTS S 'jornalero, asalariado, proletario'.

*EWBS* analiza *em-* (de *eman*) y *üts* 'Mangel habend'.

EN BN, V, L, S 'yo'. Se usa siempre con algún sufijo casual (*ene* 'mi, de mi').

Azkue tiene idea de haber oído *enek* 'yo', en vez de *nik*, con el verbo en 3.ª pers.

-EN sufijo de genitivo; pronombre relativo; sufijo de superlativo.

Mich. *Pirineos* 10, 442 señala *-en(n)* en aquit. (*Belexennis*) gen., que correspondería a gen. indeterm. vasco, que parece haber tenido otra forma (¿del mismo origen?) *-e*.

Tovar *La lengua vasca* 26 s. y *Eusk. y Par.* 45 admite la identidad de estos elementos y compara ibér. *-en*.

Este mismo en *BAP* 2, 51-55 y *Estudios* 90 cree encontrar en la forma *-en* (*eban-en* 'piedra de él, su piedra') un eslabón geográfico entre el vasco y las lenguas camíticas; dejando aparte el valor inesivo o local (*-n*), una derivación del genitivo sería el superlativo y aun el ordinal (así en Sch. *Primitiae* 4 y 10), y además el valor relativo.

Si se admite, como sugiere el propio Tovar, que en *gizonaren semea* 'del hombre el hijo' tenemos originariamente algo así como 'hombre-el-(de)-el hijo' estaría establecida la identidad originaria del genitivo atributivo (diferenciado con este nombre del genitivo con *-ko*) y del pronombre relativo.

J.Vallejo *Emerita* 14, 244 s. relaciona con ibér. *-(s)ken*, probable desinencia de gen., y más en formas como *gizon-aken* al lado de *gizon-en*. Sigue a Sch. *Iber.Dekl.* 39 que cree *-k* signo de pl., y *-en* gen. y Tromb. *Orig.* 62, que considera *gizon-en* < *gizon-a(k)e-n* (por la antigüedad de esta forma se pronuncia también Gavel *RIEV* 12, 339). Cf. M.Pidal *Emerita* 8, 1 ss. (*-en* en la onomástica hispana) y Caro *Materiales* 207 ss.

Que el sufijo de superlativo *-en* no es más que un genitivo (del tipo hebr. «rey de reyes», «señor de señores») ya fue reconocido por Mahn *Denkmäler* p. XLII y aceptado por Uhl. *RIEV* 2, 518 y 3, 199 s., Sch. *Primitiae l.c.* y Gavel *Gramm.* 1, 117. Cf. E. Locker, «Die ältesten Sprachschichten Europas», Sitzungber, der österr. *Akad.Philos.hist.Kl.* 240, 5 (1962) compara finl. *korkein*, superl. como gen. pl.

Bouda *EJ* 5, 219 se opone resueltamente a la comparación de *-en* con el ibér. y el camítico; también Mich. *Emerita* 18, 221-224, tiene grandes dudas. (Cf. «ibérico *-en*»: Mich. *Actas I Coloq.leng.prerrom.* 356 ss.). En cambio Oroz *FLV* 33, 428 dice que ibér. *-aren* en Enserune correspondería a la unión de artículo más el signo de posesivo; función análoga.

Que *-en* entre en los numerales ordinales (*l-en* < *leen*, *bi-garr-en*, etc.), coincide curiosamente con los paralelismos observados entre superlativos y ordinales en otras lenguas: ide. *septimus* e *intimus*; lat. *pri-mus*, ingl. *fir-st*, con sufijo de superlativo (Sch. *Primitiae* 4 y 10).

Según Wölfel 54 *-en* «forma una oración relativa nominalizada 'lo que es grande' y con ello el comparativo-superlativo».

Un gen. *n* se halla también en eg., cab. y tuar., dice Gabelentz 7 y 72. Pokorny *RL* 6, 6 lo encuentra igualmente en camita.

Es imposible la comparación que intenta Campión *EE* 44, 194 con ide. *-ōn*.

Tromb. *Orig.* 88 encuentra el relativo *n* en bereb. y en diversas lenguas cauc.: *-ṅ* forma en čeč. el part. pres., en thusch. en cambio *-in*.

Dumézil *Intr.gramm.comp.* 126 halla en CN un caso *n*, *-n* que forma una desinencia general *-n* o un gen. en *-n* y un dat. en *-na.* Ya hemos hablado del valor local que lo relacionaría con el inesivo *-n.* Lafon «L'état actuel du probl. orig. langue basque», 43 señala lo mismo. También ural. tiene *-n.*

Tovar *Estudios* 93 recoge la sugerencia de Sch. *RIEV* 6, 276 en que dice «el signo de genitivo en vasco *-en* coincide con el nubio *-n, -in, -na*» y por su parte cree que es un rasgo camítico «que aparece caracterizando al ibero y que en el vasco se nos muestra como una huella más de ese remoto pasado occidental que parece dejó elementos africanos en el sustrato de las lenguas célticas», cosa que acepta Pokorny *Die Sprache* 1, 244.

ENADA v. *enara.*

ENAITU AN 'cansarse'. Cf. *enoiatu.*

ENAMUN G 'púa, la primera que arroja el grano sembrado'.

Azkue dice que es alteración o tal vez errata de *ernemuiñ, ernamuña* (q.u.). Así lo confirma Mich. *Fuentes Azkue* 142.

ENANZU AN 'destreza'. Cf. *antza, anze.*

ENARA AN, V, G, *enada* AN, V, G, L, *enere* AN, *einhara* L, *ernara* V, *inara* AN, *iñara* AN, *inhara* AN, L (Pouvr.), *iñare* aezc., *iñar*, R, salac. ('vencejo'); *inhade* L, *ainhera* BN, *ainhara* L, *aiñari* salac., *aiñari zuri* R, *añhá(r)a/añhera* S, *añari* R, *añ(h)era* BN, *txenada/-ara* G, *kinuri* salac., *mañari* R, (Múg. *Dicc.*: *aiñara, alñari* BN, R, *enabera, egabela*), *egabera* AN, V, *alae* V, (*-ae* < *-aa*) *alai* V, G 'golondrina' (en algunos dialectos 'vencejo').

Mich. *FHV* 326 dice que «*elae* puede explicarse por *eLae, -aa*, pero también por *eLana*»; «*enara* y sus variantes pueden muy bien proceder de *eNala.* Lo que recomienda para *alae* la segunda reconstrucción es que no habría la menor dificultad en admitir que *eLana* y *eNala* sean variantes de una misma base. Se habrá producido una doble metátesis: no sólo han cambiado mutuamente de lugar la nasal y la lateral, sino que además han trocado su cualidad, pasando la lene a fuerte y viceversa». Según este autor, *kiñuri* es un indicio muy pobre de una antigua oclusiva inicial, de la que no ha quedado otro rastro.

Sch. *ZRPh* 30, 214 suponía un *andara* como base, cuya *-ñ-, -nh-* puede desaparecer o pasar a *-n-.*

P. de Múgica *Dialectos* 65 también comparó *elae/elai* con *enara.* CGuis. 156 lo hace con *iñara, añara;* en cambio la comparación de este mismo autor con gr. χελιδών, lat. *hirundo* es disparatada, y tampoco se puede admitir la que hace de *elai* con *ele.*

Vogt *NTS* 17, 540 critica entre los paralelos dados por Bouda *BKE* 51 y *Hom.Urq.* 3, 215 el georg. *inaga* 'pichón', que no es más que una transcripción de gr. οἰνάς 'paloma salvaje de color pasa'.

Giacomino *Relazioni* 15 y Gabelentz 140 s. comparan el copto *šenšelo* 'golondrina', y dice Giacomino que también significa 'murciélago'.

*EWBS* considera *elai* de origen románico, y reconstruye un *kalani* para aproximarla a gall. *calandre*, esp. *calandria* (gr. χαλάνδρα) (!). Perso s.u. *añhara*, etc. deriva de una supuesta forma primitiva román. *andera*, gall. *anduriña*, esp. *andarina* 'golondrina campestre'.

ENHARDATU BN 'dislocarse un miembro, producirse una luxación'. Cf. *enhartatu* 'forzar'.

*EWBS* le atribuye origen lat.; de *enarada-* < lat. vulgar *inartāre = in artūs redīre.*

EÑATU S 'fatiga'. Cf. *enaitu* y *eñhe.*

ENAUKE R, S, salac. 'incómodo, revoltoso, inquieto'.

Según Azkue, de *ez* + *nagoke* 'no puedo estar'.

ENBADI BN, *enbaldi* BN, *enblai, enbahi* S 'paralítico'.

Azkue lo supone simplemente de esp. *inválido*, lo mismo que CGuis. 195.

Phillips 7 compara lat. *inualidus*, y Charencey *RLPhC* 24, 149 bearn. *embadit*, que semánticamente no es aceptable, y fonéticamente corresponde a 'invadir'.

Lh. compara *baldi* (q.u.) y el fr. *invalide*, pero con interrogante.

*FEW* 4, 596 relaciona con lat. *ĭmplĭcāre*, como cat. *emplegar*, esp. *emplear*, port. *empregado*. (?).

*EWBS* compara esp. *en balde*, gall. *baldío*, para remontarse al ár. *bāṭil* 'falsch, unnütz, nichtig', y remite a vasco *balditu*.

Que el término es románico, no hay duda, y tiene alguna relación con bearn. *embalide* 'inválido'.

ENBA(L)DITU del anterior.

ENBAT V 'viento terral', V, G, L 'cerrazón que procede del mar', G, L 'brisa agradable que sigue a un gran calor', V, G 'galerna', V 'niebla oscura', V, G 'viento del NE'.

Lh. compara esp. *embate*. Cf. cat. *embat* (< lat. vulgar *\*battere*).

ENBEI(A) BN 'anhelo', 'envidia'.

Lh. compara con acierto bearn. *embeie*. Así Luchaire *Origines* 42, Van Eys y Charencey *RLPhC* 24, 81. Corresponde también en cuanto al sentido con fr. *envie*, cuyo origen le atribuye CGuis. 79 y Azkue (este último con interrogación), de lat. *inuidia*, en último término.

ENBIDO V, G 'envite a dos tantos que hace un jugador de mus o de envite', *enbite* V, G 'juego de envite'.

Son los términos esp. *embido* y *envite* (de lat. *inuitare*).

ENBLAI v. *enbadi*.

ENBOR[1] V, G, *enpor* V, *anpor* V, *onbor* AN, L, *onpor*, *anbo* 'tronco' (los dos primeros), 'tronco cortado' (los otros).

Bouda *EJ* 4, 56 (cf. *EJ* 3, 114) ha puesto estas formas en relación con *zonbor* (Duv.), *zenbor* (Hiribarren, Lh.), *zunpur* (Oih.) 'tronco de árbol', y supone que la forma primitiva se conserva en L Oih. *konbor* 'tronco de árbol' (cf. éstas) (cf. Mich. *FHV* 296 y *BAP* 6, 456).

Urquijo *RIEV* 5, 160 ya puso juntos *enbor*, *anbor*, *cembor*, *cembor*, que Larram. da como 'cepa, porra', y dice que Sch. lo cree románico por la alternancia *z-/*cero.

Bouda *BAP* 11, 337 compara como «idéntico» el mingr. *omp'o* 'viga más alta del tejado' (¿caballete, aguilón?).

Para el sentido 'borracho' que tienen *anbor*, *onpor*, Sch. *RIEV* 8, 332 n. 1 y para el contagio con el doble sentido que tiene *moskor*, remite a Van Eys, cuya suposición de que *embor (enbor)* sea una abreviación del esp. *emborrachado* la toma Charencey 4, 509.

*EWBS* quiere explicar *enbor*, de *ondo-* 'unteres Ende' + *borr*, gall. *árbore*, esp. *árbol* (a su vez, del lat.), lo que no merece ni discusión.

ENBOR[2] 'borracho'. Charencey *RIEV* 4, 509 siguiendo a V.Eys lo cree abrev. del esp. 'emborrachado'.

ENBOSKA S 'cólera', *enboskagaitz* S 'iracundo'.

Lh. compara esp. *emboscar*. Pero más bien pudiera pensarse en el bearn. *enfuscà-s* 'ofuscarse', o aun mejor en esp. *enfoscar* (cf. *bosco*), como sugiere en nota particular E. Más.

*EWBS* sigue, como es su costumbre, a Lh.

ENBOT S 'pie cojo'.

Parece un compuesto cuyo segundo elemento corresponde al fr. *bot*.

*EWBS* analiza *en* = *huñ* 'pie' *(oin, oñ)* + *bot* < fr. *bot* (cf. *pied bot*), de una raíz románica *\*boto* (!).

ENBRA L 'hembra del cervato'.

Lh. compara con esp. *hembra*.

ENBRAZU 'embarazo, apuro'; junto a *enbaraza*.

Lh. traduce por fr. *embarras*. Su significación corresponde a la acepción esp. *apuro*, *embarazo*, de la cual quizá está más cerca.

ENBUSTARI lo cita Phillips 7, pero no lo recoge ni Azkue ni Lh.

En cambio Corominas 4, 991 s. registra *enbusteru* 'el que siembra la discordia entre amigos'. Y en *o.c.* 2, 233 cita *enbustari* como castellanismo.

[32]

Phillips *l.c.* deriva del lat. *impostor*, lo que es evidente en última instancia, pero no puede prescindirse de formas románicas como esp. *embustero* (< fr.med. *empousteur*) que acaso pasó de Francia a Castilla a través del Bearne y del país vasco, alterándose por el camino en *embuster(o)*, del que el cast. derivó *embuste*).

Cf. *inbusteri, inbustero.*

ENBUTU V. *imutu, inbutu.*

ENDA[1] V 'casta, raza', *endeka* 'degenerarse'.

Es inaceptable la comparación con lat. *gente* que proponen GDiego *Dial.* 206 y CGuis. 90. Azkue *Hom.M.Pidal* 2, 87-92 creía que esp. *entecar* derivaba de esto, pero Alvar, «Serta Romanica», *Festschr. Rohlfs* (Tübingen 1968) p. 148 lo niega.

ENDA[2] V 'hebra (de hilo)'.

Bouda *EJ* 4, 334 supone una raíz \**da,* que compara con circ. *de, də* 'lezna', [v]*ədan* 'hilo', en CO \**t'* 'atar, atar junto'. Mejor es, sin duda, comparar, como el propio autor hace, BN *eden* 'picar (los insectos)' (q.u.).

ENDAGORA v. *oindagora.*

ENDAI N, G 'pala de horno'.

*EWBS* propone el lat. *dentāle* y supone una forma primitiva \**dendal* (!). Cf. el siguiente.

(H)ENDAITZ BN, L, *endeitz* G, *andaitz*[1] BN, L (q.u.), *andaitze* AN, *andatx* 'lanza del arado, timón' *erdaitz* 'id.' (Cf. *lardai* 'id.', 'varal de carros y narrias'. (Cf. *erdoka*[1]).

Bouda *BAP* 11, 345 halla en estas formas un sufijo colectivo *-tz.* Supone que la raíz de ellas es \**da* 'empuñadura', y compara avar *t'aghi,* un tanto arriesgadamente.

*EWBS* (v. *endai*) busca su origen en lat. *dentāle.*

ENDAKATU/ENDEKATU V, 'degenerar', *endeka* V 'enteco, degenerado'.

Aun cuando se pueda considerar derivado de *enda*[1], no se debe prescindir de la posible relación con esp. *enteco,* como supone GDiego *Dial.* 213.

ENDELEGA / ENDELGA BN, L, *endelgu* BN, *endelgü* S, *entheega* 'inteligencia'; *endelgatu* BN, *indelgatu, enthelegatü* S, *entelegatu* R 'entender'; *endelgamendu* 'entendimiento'.

Todas estas formas derivan del lat. *intelligere, intellectus* según vieron Sch. *ZRPh* 40, 491 s. y *BAP* 7, 565, Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 406, Gavel *RIEV* 22, 117, Rohlfs *RIEV* 24, 333 (a quien sigue *FEW* 4, 739), Lh., CGuis. 163, Mich. *FHV* 353 y *Via Dom.* 4, 23 y *FLV* 17, 204.

Corominas 2, 268 cita la conexión que intentó Sch. *ZRPh,* 40, 491 s. y *Wienersitzungsber,* CCII, 4, 23 entre esp. *endilgar* y vasco *enthelegatu, endel(e)gatu* 'comprender, entender'; Corominas se pronuncia también por el lat. *intelligere,* y como introducido en fecha muy antigua; no obstante menciona gall. *indilgar* 'ver, percibir con cuidado, trabajo, curiosidad', astur. *indirgar* 'ver con cuidado', astur. occ. *endilgar* 'distinguir, juzgar', esp. 'dirigir, encaminar, etc.'

Campión *EE* 41, 572 veía en la derivación *endelegu* < *intellectu* un paralelo de *pelleburu* < *periculum* (?).

HENDELLO BN 'descuidado, mal vestido'; *endes* AN, S 'persona desaliñada'. Cf. *heldaio.*

*EWBS* pretende reconstruir una forma \**mondes* que deriva del lat. *immunditia* (!).

ENDEZERA S, *endrezera* (Ax.) 'paraje, lugar'.

Para Lh. del esp. *enderezar.* Iribarren 210 documenta *endrecera* 'término' en doc. de Pamplona de 1599.

Cf. bajo arag. *endrecera* con significación similar.

ENDONE R (arc.) 'san, santo'.

Forma que se halla como equivalente a *jaun done* con los tratamientos de santos. CGuis 256 parece considerarla como variante fonética de *jaun done* o *jondone.*

Azkue sugiere el lat. *domne.*

En prov. tenemos, como en cat., \**ne* < *domine,* ante vocal *n',* ante cons. *en* (*REW* 2741). En bearn. *en, enà* (*en Guilhaume, en Beltran,* equivalente a esp. *don*) que Mistral considera una aféresis de *Mousen: mounségne* > *mounsen, moussen* > *sen* > *en* (Simin Palay); también en bearn. *Na*=esp. *doña.* Cf. prov. *Dom en* 'señor don'.

[33]

HENDORE V (arc.) 'alcalde'. (Hápax). Mich. *Pas.Leng.* 99: préstamo por la forma; no hay origen solvente. Su -*e* no es segura. Su terminación apunta a lat. -*tore* o a román. -*dor(e)*; ¿Pero lo anterior? (Mich. *Fuentes Azkue* 43). *Veedor* no es imposible: pérdida de *b*- y -*n*- adventicia por disimil. de la -*r*- anticipada por repercusión. Pero las fases del supuesto proceso van restando verosimilitud a la etimol. (Mich. *RFE* 48, 119).

ENDREZERA v. *endezera*

ENDREZU AN (Oih. *ms.*) 'destreza', 'servicio', V 'pícaro', 'pendenciero'.
        Lh. propone el esp. *enderezo*. Cf. cat. *endrés* 'aderezo, compostura', bearn. *endrés(se)* 'dirección, consejo, guía', *adrésse* 'destreza del cuerpo' (entre otras acepciones), *adrét* 'hábil' y en mal sentido 'bribón', lo cual correspondería a la última acepción de *endrezu*. Cf. también fr. *adresse* 'habilidad'.

ENDURTU BN 'mermar, reducirse de volumen y de abundancia', 'debilitarse, desfallecer'.
        *EWBS* da una fantástica explicación: reconstruye una forma *\*mendru* que pretende derivar del afr. *mendre (moindre)*, prov. *menre*, cat. esp. *menor*, etc. (!).

EÑHE/EÑHA S 'cansarse, fatigarse'; *enaitu* AN 'cansarse', *eñatu* S 'fatiga'.
        Mich. *FHV* 103, 222 y 307 deriva de *\*ein-/\*eun-* < *aun-*, cf. AN *ano-egin, anotu* 'desfallecido, rendido', *anu egin* (Ax.), *anhu* (Etcheberri), *auno egin* V (Oñate), *aunatu* AN, G, *unhatu* BN, L, *oñatu* (*RS* 365). Aunque Bouda *EJ* 4, 333 relaciona *unhatü* 'ennuyé' (*Noelac* 81) con AN *enoi(a)tu*, R *enuxatu*, los grupos, según Mich. *l.c.* son muy distintos; éste mismo dice que si se busca un origen románico para *unhatu* sería preferible pensar en *cauma* (*FEW* 2, 538 ss.). Cf. *eneatu, enoiatu* y *anotu*. Larrasquet emparenta con fr. *ennuyer*.

ENE 'mio' (posesivo de *ni*).
        Forma afectiva. Es evidente que se trata de una forma reducida de *nere* con e-propética. En la comparación no podemos ir más allá que a descubrir que -*n*- es el pronombre de 1ª pers. Parece inaceptable la idea de Gavel *Gramm.* 1, 178 de que esa *e*- inicial es la del genitivo, antepuesta en lugar de postpuesta, o repetida antes y después de la -*n*-. Quizá la *e*- no es más que un elemento enfático o una exclamación.
        Comparaciones extravascas: Tromb. *Orig.* 85 compara con bereb. *ini*, saho *hini*, begia *aní*, bantú *ine*, drav. *ēn* 'yo'; Lahovary *Bol. Acad. Bs. Ls. Barcelona* (1949), 226 aduce tam. *en* 'mí'.

-ENEA AN, G 'sufijo que se usa mucho con nombres personales, para indicar que una casa es propiedad de tal o cual persona'.
        Azkue supone que es una confusión por -*ena*, que del inesivo -*enean* se ha deducido que el nominativo es -*enea* en vez de -*ena*.

ENEATU 'enojarse', 'disponer para el sueño a los niños recién nacidos', *enehatu* BN, *eneiatu* AN 'aburrirse', *enaitu* (v. *eñha/eñhe*) 'cansarse', *enoi(a)tu* AN 'id'.
        Vid. lo dicho por Mich. a propósito de este grupo en *eñha/eñhe*. Acaso se trata de un cruce entre estos y derivados del tipo *enoiatu* (q.u.).
        Hay que pensar en el prov. *enoiar* (cf. bearn. *enuià*), que corresponde a esp. *enojar*, fr. *ennuyer* (< lat. *inodiare*).
        Cf. *anotu*.

ENEGU BN 'embarazo, estorbo, contrariedad'.
        Lh. lo deriva del esp. *enojo*. Cf. el anterior y *enheu, eñhu*. (-*g*- antihiática).

ENEMIENA! '¡qué diantre!', 'exclamación'. Cf. *amiama* S 'excelentemente'.
        Sch. *BuR* 44 explica estas formas como cruce de *anima mea* + *ene ama*, lo que puede ser aceptable. Cf. *ania-mania*.

ENERE v. *enara*.

ENETAKOTU salac., *enetu* BN, V, S 'apropiarme, hacer mío'.
        De *ene*.

ENHETSI L 'enojarse'. Cf. *eneatu*.

[34]

ENHEU, EÑHU 'incomodidad, aburrimiento, molestia' (falta en Azkue). Romanismo, como
    señala Azkue. Geográficamente y por el vocalismo podría suponerse préstamo del fr.
    *ennui*, o prov. *enuei*. Cf. *eñhe/eñha*, y *eneatu*.

ENFADA S, *enfado* 'aburrimiento, enojo'.
        Del esp. *enfado*, como apunta Lh. En última instancia es portuguesismo en cast.
    como indica Corominas *s.u.*

ENFER(A) L (Duv.) 'resistencia'; *enfertu* (Duv. *ms.*) 'resistir, oponerse'.
        Tiene aspecto de romanismo; sin embargo parece arriesgado derivarlo del esp.
    *emperrar(se)* como pretende *EWBS*, 'obstinarse'.

ENGAIATU 'engager, s'engager', en Lh. Sin duda es un galicismo reciente: fr. *engager*, prov.
    *engatjar*, bearn. *engadjà*.

ENGALAS[1] V 'ruedo de la saya', 'suciedad en el ruedo de la saya o pantalón'. (¿Cf. esp. *gala*?).
    Cf. el siguiente.

ENGALAS[2] V, G 'capa o paño de agua que cubre los cristales en invierno', V 'cristal del hielo',
    'frío producido por el hielo'.
        Para la explicación de este término debe tenerse en cuenta el bearn. *glas*, prov.
    *glassa* (cf. también arag. *glasat*, referido a un cristal), del lat. *glacies*; fr. *glace*.
        Corominas 2, 618b cita una acepción de *gala* en ital. 'striscia di trine o de
    pannolino lavorato a trapunto con ago', que unificaría 'ruedo de la saya, capa o paño
    de agua que cubre los cristales en invierno', 'suciedad en el ruedo de la saya o
    pantalón'.
        Wölfel 148 acumula una serie de comparaciones, desde gót. *frius* 'escarcha', hasta
    el bereb. *agris*, *ažris* 'hielo', que naturalmente no sirven para explicar la palabra vasca.

ENGANA BN, S (Oih.), *enganio*, *enganu* L 'engaño, error, fraude'; *enganalari*, *enganatu* (para
    el sufijo: Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 9), *ingana* S 'atraer de manera engañosa o inmoral'
        Es la misma palabra esp., dice Lh.; es preferible pensar en el bearn. *enganá*.

ENGOITAR, ENGOITADOR (Vizcaya)
        Unamuno, citado por P. de Múgica *Dialectos*, lo identifica con cast. *engaitar*
    'engañar, inducir con halagos a que haga lo que rehusaba'; pero al compararlo con
    arag. *aguaitar* 'acechar', las dudas aumentan; más aún con la pregunta que se hace el
    propio Múgica «¿Es *abeytar* 'engañar'?»
        GDiego *Dicc.Etim.* 7297 da cat. y acast. *guaitar*, *guaytar*, ant. arag. y ant. nav.
    *goaitar*, incluso arag. *engoitar* 'acechar'. *REW* 9479 añade afr. *aguaitier* junto al prov.
    cat. *guaitar*. (Todos ellos del franc. *wahten*).

ENGOITIK S, salac. 'en adelante'. (Cf. *ingoitik*).
        La forma *engoi* la deriva Sch. *Primitiae* 13, 26a del prov. *ancoi*.
        Van Eys decía que había que referirlo a *goi* con preposición *en* románica, como
    «en adelante». Acaso la duda que le quedaba a éste acerca de esa derivación se resuelva
    con híbridos como *albear*, y otros por el estilo.

ENGORGADURA BN, S 'estreñimiento (hablando de bestias)'; *engorgatu* BN, S 'estreñirse (las
    bestias)'. Cf. *ingorgatu* S 'empacharse'.
        Azkue propone el fr. *engorgement* con interrogante. Es preferible pensar en
    prov. *engorgar*, bearn. *engourgà*, cat. *engorgar-se* 'obstruir'; cf. fr. *engorgé*, ital.
    *ingorgare*. (En último término en relación con fr. *gorge*).
        El primer término es préstamo directo del prov. *engorgadura*.

ENGORRATXAU V 'enrojecerse o enconarse una herida'.
        En relación con *gorri*, sin duda.

ENGOXA(DURA), ENGOTXA, INGOXA S 'desvanecimiento'; *engoxatü/ingoxatu* S 'desmayarse'.
        Larrasquet 99 y 144, y Lh. proponen en bearn. *engoechà* 'angustiar, espantar'.
    Cf. también *engoéch* 'angustia, miedo'.
        Cf. también aesp. *angoxa*.

ENGREIÑATU (Oih.*ms.*) 'caprichoso, mimoso, descontentadizo'.

[35]

Lh. da como etimología el gasc. *engrenha*. Sin embargo el origen último de la voz parece pre-románico, en relación con esp. *greña*, cat. *grenya*, de una raíz célt. *\*grenn-* 'pelo en la cara', que dio esp. *greñón*, de donde saldría posteriormente *greña* (Corominas *s.u.*).

*EWBS* busca la raíz germ. *\*grana* 'Borste, Granne'.

ENGRENATU (Oih. *Voc.*) 'confiar'.

Lh. lo deriva de gasc. *engranha*.

ENI V, S 'a mí'. «Los dialectos que usan *ene* para el gen., emplean en dat. una forma *eni*, que es probablemente analógica» (Gavel *Gramm.* 1, 179).

ENJOGI S 'inclinado', *enjogidüra* S 'inclinación, querencia'.

*EWBS* lo deriva del fr. *enjoué* (de *en* + *jeu*), cruzado con *jouir*, lo que no parece aceptable, aun cuando el término vasco tiene todo el aspecto de un romanismo.

ENKADA, ENKATA V 'inconveniente'. Cf. *engara*.

Cf. esp. *encarar*.

ENKAILLA V, G 'encallar', V 'leños que se ponen atravesando el carro para defenderlo del peso de la carga'.

La primera acepción es del esp. *encallar*. Aun cuando pudiera explicarse del mismo modo la segunda acepción, quizá tenga origen distinto: cf. *kale* 'vilorto, agujeta del juego de bolos'.

ENKAITU BN 'remover, cambiar de puesto'.

*EWBS* intenta explicarlo de *en-* + *kai* 'mover' = *ganti/kanti* + *-tu* (!).

ENKALIKATU (Oih. *ms.*) 'corromperse'.

De *kalika*, con la preposición románica *en*, tipo de derivación que ha de tenerse en cuenta en muchos términos.

ENKANTA(TU) BN 'imposibilitar', 'hacer impotente'; en el mismo sentido *inkantatu*.

Azkue atribuye al segundo origen lat., de *incantāre*. Quizá sea mejor pensar en el esp. *encantar*, con la antigua significación de *encantamiento* en sentido mágico. Cf. bearn. *encantà* 'encantar, embrujar'.

ENKANTE, ENKANTU BN 'almoneda, venta en pública subasta', 'situación, ocasión, momento crítico'. Vid. *inkantatu²*.

Corominas, 2, 255 registra *encante* en arag. y murc., y lo deriva del cat. *encant*, que a su vez sería del prov. *en cant* 'en cuánto', palabras para ofrecer en venta. En el vasco la geografía parece recomendar un origen transpirenaico, aunque tampoco debemos desechar el esp. *encante*. Cf. también *encàn, incàn* en bearnés.

ENKARAN BN 'a punto de caer, de morir'.

Acaso en relación con *enkaratu, enkario* (qq.uu.).

ENKARATU¹ BN 'prepararse para hacer algo, pero sin ejecutarlo', 'apuntar un arma' (Pouvr.); *enkario* BN 'disposición para obrar'. Cf. *enkaritu* L 'atreverse' e *inkaratu* 'amenazar'.

Lh. señala bien la coincidencia con esp. *encarar(se)*, y Azkue se pregunta si procede de éste también *enkaritu*.

Cf. bearn. *encarà* 'prepararse para un trabajo', 'emprender'.

ENKARATU² salac., R 'revocar con cal una pared'.

Se trata del esp. *encalar*. Cf. *kare* 'cal', no obstante.

*EWBS* quiere relacionarlo con cat. *encara* (fr. *encore*) 'noch, noch einmal' (!).

ENKARGATU 'encargar, encargarse'. (No aparece en Azkue); *enkargu* 'encargo, recomendación'.

Lh. remite al esp. *encargo*. (*encargar* lo registra Corominas ya en Berceo).

ENKARTXATU G 'quedarse muy flaco de pura privación'.

Cf. *kharzeatu* L 'caer en la extenuación a causa de una larga enfermedad' (acaso puede traerse aquí *gartxu* G 'parco en la comida'). El prefijo es románico.

ENKATXO V 'encachado, empedrado de un camino', *inkantxu* V 'id.'

Evidentemente se trata del esp. *cacho*, para la que se suele dar origen latino (Corominas 1, 567 s.); pero también podría pertenecer al sustrato y hallarse en vasco *katxo* 'callo en el pié'. De todos modos la formación con *en-* es románica.

Sin embarago, la forma *inkautxu* (q.u.) nos hace pensar en el esp. *encachar*, de igual significado.

ENKHELO BN, L 'imbécil'.

Tiene aspecto de romanismo; sin embargo debe tenerse en cuenta en G *kelon*, 'tonto, simple'.

Dice Charencey, *RIEV* 4, 509 que hace el efecto de una abreviatura de *ankyglosé* del griego (!)

*EWBS* quiere relacionarlo con *ergel* (q.u.), que considera variante de *erho*.

Carece de base la comparación de Gabelentz 41, 73, 87 y 220 con cab. *amhaž* 'loco'.

ENKEÑU BN 'mueca, gesto, guiño', *inkheñu* S 'mueca de idiota'.

Aunque Van Eys consideraba este romanismo en relación con fr. *ingénu*, es preferible pensar en el esp. *guiño*. Cf. *keinu/keiñu*.

Inadmisible la suposición de *EWBS* que deriva de fr. *en guignant*.

ENKOMENDATU 'encomendar, recomendar'.

Azkue lo omite, sin duda como romanismo demasiado evidente.

Lh. lo deriva del esp.

ENKONIA S, *enkoniatu* BN, L 'entristecerse'; *enkoniadura* BN, L 'tristeza'.

Charencey *RLPhC* 24, 77 ya señaló la relación con esp. *enconar*, lo mismo que Lh.

Corominas 2, 262s. ha explicado la etimología *inquinare*, que aun cuando presenta dificultades fonéticas, acaso no sea rechazable.

*EWBS* que recoge de Lh. la variante *enkoina*, compara esp. *enconia, malenconia* (la primera por aféresis), *encono*.

Cf. *inkoniatu, inkoniadura* 'desolar, desolación'.

ENOIAPORRATU AN 'aporrearse'.

Acaso geminado semántico de *enoiatu* y *porra* (?).

ENOIATU/ENOITU AN 'cansarse, rendirse de fatiga'.

Bouda *EJ* 4, 333 ha reunido *enaitu* AN, *neitu* (Oih.) 'terminar, acabar', *anotu* AN 'asparse, fatigarse mucho', *auno* V 'fatiga', *auno egin, unhatu* BN, L 'cansarse, aburrirse' (a lo que pone obstáculos Mich. *FHV* 307: v. *eñhe/eñha*). Quiere derivar estas formas, no del esp. *enojar*, sino del prov. *enoiar* (remite a *REW* 4448). (Para formas meridionales de Francia cf. *FEW* 4, 701).

No puede separarse del estudio de este término el de *eñhe/eñha, eneatu, enheu/eñhu* y *anotu*. En su comparación podemos deducir una confusión de formas procedentes de prov. u otros dialectos transpirenaicos y desarrollos fonéticos propios del vasco.

ENOR V, G 'verruga', V 'paño o mancha que sale en el rostro'.

Bouda *EJ* 4, 69 supone una raíz *\*nol* a la que le busca un equivalente en mingr. *nol-i* 'encía, película alrededor de la uña', lo que semánticametne no resulta aceptable.

*EWBS* le atribuye origen lat., reconstruyendo una forma *\*anura/\*anula*, del lat. *ānulus*, que semántica y fonéticamente entra en el terreno de la fantasía.

ENPHAIU, ENPHARI, ENPHARÜ S 'abrigo, muralla, obstáculo'.

Lh. lo deriva del esp. *amparo*. Corominas 3, 659b registra la misma forma *amparar* en occit. ant. Cf. aprov. *antparar, amparar*.

Sch. *BuR* 55 señala en occit. *emparo* 'baluarte'.

Para *enpharü* 'obstáculo' Larrasquet señala el bearn. *empare*, cosa que parece evidente.

Cf. *enparadu/enparatu*.

ENPALATU 'enredar(se)'.

*EWBS* le atribuye origen románico y pretende reconstruir una forma primitiva *\*empaila-tu* de *\*empaila-*, que compara con port. *empalhar*, esp. *empajar*, cat. *empallar* (esp. *paja*).

ENPARA 'secuestro'.

En relación con fr. *s'emparer*, sin duda. Cf. el siguiente.

*EWBS* compara esp., cat. *empara*, prov. *emparar* (< lat. *imparāre*).

ENPARADU V 'sobrar', 'sobrante, residuo', *enparatu* G 'sobrar', 'garantizar', 'preservar', *enpa-rau* V 'sobrar, sobrante'.

Cf. también *enpharü* 'obstáculo, apoyo, estorbo'.

Sch. *Heim.u.Fremd.Sprachgut* 82 se inclina a poner juntas todas estas formas y a derivarlas, como hace Van Eys para *enparatu*, del esp. *amparar*. «La diversidad de significados a que llega *\*imparare* —dice Sch.— es culpable de que no se le haya reconocido».

El alav. *amparo* 'cantidad exigua, pizca, gota, miga' se oye también en Castilla y sin duda ha contribuido a los varios sentidos de la palabra. Claro que Sch. añadía a los términos mencionados *enbarau* 'sentirse débil de las piernas', *enparaubak* 'los demás' y *enpharü* 'obstáculo'; cf. por otra parte astur. *empareau*, que «se dice del buey o de la vaca muy extenuados».

*EWBS* trata estos términos junto con *enpara* (q.u.).

ENPARANTZA G 'cobertizo, tejavana', (Araqu.) 'plazuela'.

Cf. *enphaiu*, *enpharü*. Es sin duda un romanismo. Para Mich. *Apellidos* 384 apenas cabe duda de que sea un préstamo puro y simple.

ENPHARI, ENPHARÜ v. *enphaiu*.

ENPATXU BN, S 'preñez de una viuda o de una soltera', (Leiç.) 'escándalo', *enpatxatu* N (Leiç. 'empeché') 'obstacle, empéchement'; *ephantxü*.

Lh. compara el bearn. *enpàch* (él dice *empatch*). Cf. Mich. *FHV*² 553.

Es mejor pensar en el esp. *empacho*, que ha pasado a la Península a través del occit. ant. *empachar* (derivado del fr.), cuyo origen está en el lat. *impedicare* (Corominas 2, 235).

Phillips 6 y 15 se equivoca al insistir en el lat. *impedire*, fr. *empecher*, esp. *empecer*.

ENPHELTATU S 'injertar', *enpheltu* S 'injerto', *enphéltat* (Larrasquet) 'injertar'.

Larrasquet lo considera préstamo del esp. *empeltre* 'injerto'. Lh. señala esta misma comunidad.

Corominas 2, 241s. deriva el cat. *empelt* (del que procede el arag. *empelte*, *impelte*) de cat., occit. *empeltar*. Desde el bearn. pasó en fecha muy antigua a S *enphéltü*, *enphéltat*, alterado en V, G en la forma *mentu* 'injerto', *mentau* 'injertar' (qq.uu.); cf. Mich. *FHV* 157, que nota la falta del prefijo lat. de *enphéltü*.

*Empeltar* en cast. existe ya en el siglo XV.

Corominas 4, 992 recoge a Wartburg *ZRPh* 48, 19-21 que supone el occit. y cat. *empeltar* como derivado directo del gr. πέλτη (a partir de Marsella), lo que en 2, 241 considera como fantástico.

El origen último del término está en lat. *\*ĭmpeltāre* (cf. para diversos derivados románicos *REW* 4300 y GDiego *Dicc. Etim.* 3354a).

ENPRESA BN, S 'almidón'.

Larrasquet y Lh. comparan con acierto el bearn. *empés* 'id.' (Cf. fr. *empeser* 'almidonar', prov. *empeza*). El origen de todos está en lat. *ĭmpē(n)sa* 'ingredientes, material'. No es acertado CGuis. 244 proponiendo el francés, ni *EWBS* comparando fr. *empois* y afr. *empoise*.

ENPI-ENPI G 'andar poniendo dificultades'.

Azkue se pregunta si puede derivar de esp. *en fin*.

ENPLA V 'adherirse'; cf. *enplastu* N 'emplasto'.

Larrasquet compara bearn. *emplastre* para el segundo término; pero sin duda es la forma esp.

ENPLEGA(TU) 'empleado, emplear'; *enplegu* 'empleo, venta'.

Larrasquet compara el bearn, *emplegà* para el primero y *emplec* para el segundo ('empleo, función').

La forma *emplegar* (< *implicare* latino) se halla tanto en cast. como en occit. ant. y astur. (donde también tenemos *empliegar*). Corominas 4, 993 recoge a Mich. *BAP* 11, 288 y supone que del mismo romance *emplegar* pasó al vasco ant. *enplegatu*. La geografía decide por el occit.

ENPHOILDU BN 'destruir'.

Lh. deriva de esp. *empellar* 'empujar' (lat. *ĭmpĕllĕre*). Cf. *deboildu* BN 'destruir'.

Que es un romanismo parece seguro.

*EWBS* relaciona con esp. *empollar*, gall. *empolar* + sufijo *-du* (?).

ENPONIO BN 'no ha hecho nada bueno' (no lo recoge Azkue), traducción de la frase «enponio onik ez du egin».

Lh. remite a lat. *emporium* (?).

ENPOR v. *enbor*.

ENTAKATU R 'hartarse'.

Cf. *entecado* 'mimado' en Navarra; *enteco* en esp. viene de *\*heticarse*, de *hético* 'tísico'. Pero en la forma R hay un cruce o relación con esp. *atracar* 'hartar de comida', que no aparece antes de Moratín y plantea problemas (Corominas 1, 324 y 4, 927). De todos modos esta relación es más que discutible.

Cf. *takatu* 'oprimir, prensar'.

Bouda *EJ* 5, 58 analiza *e-n-ta*, con raíz $t^v a$ que compara con abkh. $t^v (a)$ 'hartarse', čeč. *to* suf. *to-am* 'satisfacción'.

ENTHELEGA v. *endelega*.

ENTENGA AN, V, G, *entengauntze* V 'clavo de siete pulgadas o más de largo'.

El primer elemento parece románico.

ENTIPARRATU R 'estreñirse (hablando de bestias)'. (Cf. *èngorgar*). Cf. esp. *empipar* (?).

ENTHOILDU BN 'hacerse perezoso, rendirse de fatiga'.

De *thoildu* 'id.', con el prefijo románico. Cf. *toil* 'grave, pesado'.

ENTOKADURA (Duv. *ms.*) 'revoque, capa de mortero', *entokatu* L, R 'revocar una casa' (otros derivados: *entokaldi, entokatzaile*).

En Gamillscheg *RuB* 25 da una forma *entoikatu* para suponer una pérdida de nasal en un derivado de *intunicare*, pero no parece atestiguada su existencia.

*REW* 4519 compara esp. *entunicar* ('revocar con cal y arena la pared que se va a pintar al fresco'), al. *tünchen* y vasco *entokatu*, como precedentes de lat. *\*intŭnĭcare*. Este mismo M.-L. *RIEV* 15, 233 piensa más bien en una derivación del ital. *intonacare* (< mismo término lat.), pues cree que lo mismo que el al.ant. *tunihdon*, mod. *tünchen* fue extendido por canteros italianos y no romanos.

*EWBS* reconstruye una forma *\*ertoka*, del esp. *retocar* (de *tocar*).

ENTRABALO BN 'posición dudosa del cuerpo, que puede inclinarse tanto a un lado como a otro'. Cf. *entrabal* 'medio, dificultad', *entradal* 'id.'.

Del lat. *trabs* 'viga' y de su derivado románico *trabar*, que como dice Corominas 4, 521 «se halla en todos los romances hispánicos y galos».

*EWBS* dice de *entrabal* que es de esp. *intervalo*, fr. *intervalle*, port. *intervallo* en cruce con port. *entravar*, fr. *entraver* (?).

Cf. también *entrebal*.

ENTRAÑAK (Fabre) 'entrañas'.

Del esp. *entrañas*, como dice Sch. *BuR* 34. Cf. *entreñak* BN 'articulaciones', 'entrañas'.

ENTREBAL S 'dudoso, controversia'.

Del bearn. *entrebal*, como propone Larrasquet.

Cf. *entrabalo*.

ENTREGA(TU), ENTREGU 'hacerse diestro en algo, acostumbrarse, ser hábil para algo'; el segundo también 'entrega, comisión'.

Se cruzan en este romanismo el esp. *entregar*, de *entero* (lat. *integrum*), formación tardía (cuyo sentido moderno 'informar' no aparece hasta Santa Teresa y Cervantes: Corominas 2, 301a), y el germanía *entrevar*, de afr. *enterver* (*interrogare*). Se halla también en occit. ant. *entrevar*. En todos significa 'entender'.

ENTROS BN, *entrusa* S '(montar) a la grupa'.

Larrasquet señala como origen el bearn. *en trousse* 'derrière la selle'. Cf. fr. *trousser*, prov. *trosar* 'cargar' (v. *REW* 8725 que los deriva de *\*tursus*).

Cf. cat. *trossar* 'ajustar al cuerpo con cordones y cintas (una prenda de vestir)', occit. *trossar* 'arremangar' (todo de *torsus, torqueo*).

*EWBS* reconstruye *\*ertros* y lo considera como cruce de esp. *retro-* y *detrás* (más bien *por detrás*) (!).

ENTRÜS S 'agua estancada'.

*EWBS* reconstruye un *\*ertrus* para derivarlo de lat. *retrorsus* (!).

ENTSARRI S 'prisión, secuestro'.

Lh. lo deriva del esp. *encierro*.

ENTSEATU 'esforzarse, experimentar, probar'; *entsegu*[1] 'ensayo' (q.u.).

Del lat. *exagium* a través del románico, en relación con esp. *ensayar*, ya atestiguado en el Poema del Cid (Corominas 2, 299).

ENTSEGU[1] 'ensayo' (cf. *entseatu*), *entseiu* L 'id.'; *insegu* BN 'esfuerzo', *ixegu/isegü/iseya* S 'ensayo'. Cf. *insegu*.

Evidente relación con esp. *ensayo*. Téngase en cuenta también fr. y prov. *essai* (< lat. *exagium*).

ENTSEGU[2] BN, *ixegu/isegü* S 'alimento', 'alimentación'.

ENTSEÑA BN, S 'enseña'.

Sin duda del prov. *ensenha* (cf. esp. *enseña*), del lat. *insīgnia*.

ENTXEA AN 'conejo'. Cf. *untxi*.

ENTZAGUR v. *intxaur*.

-ENTZAT, -NTZAT 'para'.

Sufijo casual compuesto, sin duda, de *-en-tza-t*.

Gabelentz 7 y 62 quiere buscar semejanza con tuar. *dat* 'ante', lo que resulta imposible.

ENTZERA(DA) V 'pieza que se echa disimuladamente a un vestido corto', V, G 'nudo especial para atar cordeles'.

Cf. *intxera, intziera*.

ENTZI salac. 'dejar'. (v. *etsi*[1]/*etxi*). (*Enzindu* (1596) 'confiar').

ENTZUN, EN(T)ZUN 'oír', V, BN 'sentir, percibir olores', V 'famoso, célebre'. (Causativo *erantzun*). (Gavel-Lacombe *Gramm.* 2, 29: *intzun*).

Sch. *Primitiae* 143 lo pone en conexión con fr. *entendre* 'oír', pero no encuentra un término intermedio *inteso* (?); tampoco Bouda *BAP* 24, 267, a propósito de éste, encuentra que *e-ntzu-n* vaya bien con *int(e)so* (?).

La hipótesis de Sch. lo une con lat. *intensus*, ital. *inteso*, sardo *intesu* (Gavel-Lacombe *Gramm.* 2, 29, Lafon *Système* 1, 421, Bouda *BKE* 54).

Mich. *FHV* 114 no cree verosímil lo sugerido por Sch. y no mal visto por Lafon *l.c.*, de suponer que *en(t)zun* es continuador del lat. *inte(n)sum:* se opone, entre otras razones, la antigüedad de la supuesta síncopa, pues en ninguna parte se halla el menor rastro de la vocal interior larga lat. Es más probable, según él, que provenga de un antiguo *\*e-nezu-n*, con *\*n* intervocálica, lejos de todo romanismo, por tanto.

[40]

Aparte de las objeciones fonéticas (un *entesu tampoco hubiera sido imposible), tenemos las lexicográficas: la falta de ese verbo en las zonas románicas fronterizas con el vasco.

Dodgson *RLPhC* 35, 220 quería derivarlo del lat. *intonare*, lo que fonética y semánticamente es imposible.

Disparatada la relación propuesta por CGuis. 197 con gr. ἀχύειν.

No faltan las comparaciones cauc.: Tromb. *Orig.* 138 propone andi *anči-* 'obedecer', *a-nthli-* 'oír', avar *i-nǧvazi* 'obedecer', comparaciones que repite Uhl. *RIEV* 15, 585 con las variantes gráficas *andcidu, indcvazi* respectivamente.

Hacia África apuntan Gabelentz 258 s. con eg. *netebe, nebete, atene* (que él mismo marca con interrogación) y Tromb. *l.c.* que alega begia (?) *māsu* 'oír' y bereb. *a-mezzuγ*.

*EWBS* da una variante *intsun*, y la forma supuesta *entsun* la deriva del lat. *intensiōnem* y compara también fr. *entendre*, esp. *entender*, etc., sobre cuyo valor no vamos a insistir.

EN(H)ÜDE v. *iñude.*

ENUL/EÑUL BN 'nulo, sin energía', *iñul* AN, L 'débil, enclenque', *inual* BN 'imbécil'.
   Azkue lo señala como de derivación románica. Cf. bearn. *nul(e).*
   *EWBS* compara esp., cat. *anular*, fr. *annuler*, de románico *nul, nulo, nullo* (< lat. *nŭllus*).
   Por otra parte tiene vitalidad en la formación de derivados: *enularazi, enuldu, enulkeri, enulki, enultasun.*
   Cf., no obstante *aul.*

EÑURRERIATU R 'entumecerse, adormecerse (un miembro)'.

EÑURRI R 'espino' (fruto), *eñurriatze* R 'id.' (planta). v. *elorri.*

ENUXATU v. *eñhe* y *anoiatu.*

ENUXENT S 'enfermo mental'.
   Larrasquet señala con acierto su derivación del bearn. *inoucen* 'necio'. Palatalización afectiva.

ENUXU-BANUXU AN 'tardío, lento en el andar u obrar'.
   Se trata de una formación rimada sobre el románico *enojo.* Se conserva la antigua pronunciación del esp.

ENÜTHAUR S 'niño de teta', *enüthaurride* 'hermano de leche'.
   De *enhüde* (*iñude*) y *aur.* El segundo término tiene un último elemento *-(k)ide* (?).

ENZINDU V 'confiar'.
   Tiene aspecto de romanismo (?).

ENZUN v. *entzun.*

ENZUR v. *ezur.*

EO G, AN, *eho* BN, S, *ego* G, AN 'moler', 'tejer', *eio* V (*ei(d)žo*) 'moler', *i(h)o/igo* V, G (< *ei-*) 'id.'. (Cf. *ehain* L, S, salac. 'tejer'). Sustantivo verbal *ehaite.* (Cf. *eun²*), *ijo* (Ast.) 'moler', *iyo* G 'tejer', *ixo* V 'moler'.
   Las significaciones AN 'dar una somanta', BN, L, S 'rendirse de fatiga', S 'apagar las luces', (Duv.) 'afligir' son sentidos figurados de 'moler'; lo mismo 'hacer excesos', V 'trenzar' y *ego* en AN 'digerir'. La de *ého* S 'matar', según Mich. *Via Dom.* 1, 142 y *FHV* 329, proviene de *erho*, aunque en esta última obra 213 sugiere que *erho* sea causativo de *jo* 'pegar, herir', o de *eho* 'moler'.
   La forma R *eio* 'moler' acaso tiene la *i* como epentética, pues si no hubiera sido *exo* (Mich. *FHV* 176).
   Gavel *RIEV* 12, 352 s. compara como de la misma raíz AN, L *igara, eiara, eihara* BN 'molino'.
   El análisis de la palabra es incierto. Uhl. *Bask.Stud.* 199 se inclinaba por un primitivo *ego*, con variantes en *h* e *y*.

Van Eys señaló la coincidencia de significados con 'tejer', lo que aludiría a algo muy primitivo (si no es que se han homofonizado dos raíces antes distintas), coincidencia que también ocurre en bereb., como señala Sch. *RIEV* 7, 335, donde hallamos las formas *ezḍ, zed* 'moler', 'tejer'.

Vid. *jo*.

Tromb. *Orig.* 124 compara *ürün* 'harina'.

CGuis. 171 relaciona vasco *ehun* 'tejido'; pero ni la etimología de éste (del ide. *\*weg* > lat. *uēlum*), ni la de Campión *EE* 41, 573 (lat. *neo*, scr. *nah-* 'atar'), ni la de Gabelentz 282 s. (copto *sohe*, sobre el cual insiste Giacomino *Relazioni* 4 y 14), pueden tomarse en consideración tampoco.

Lafon *EJ* 3, 339 compara también *e(h)un, ehün* y se inclina por una etimología cauc.: circ. *we-* 'trenzar una cuerda', lo mismo en kabard., según Jakovlev, significa 'trenzar un cordón redondo (de seda o de algodón)'. El propio Lafon *BAP* 9, 329 extiende la comparación al ostiaco *ket fê* 'trenzar', *kot* 'id.' (Bouda *Kott.Verbum* 10a, 52), y en *Gernika EJ* 1, 510 cita svano *goh* 'moler', kabard. *gw-* 'amontonar (maíz)'.

Sch. *l.c.* menciona como paralelos nub. *džŏg* 'moler' (*džŏ* 'harina'), kumana *jŏ* 'id.' (*ijā* 'muela'), barea *haki* 'id.', chamir *jog* 'muela', bedauje *hūg* 'id.', bagrimma *okkwŏ*, logone *xā*, wandala *akxe;* la forma logone y el dinka *gua-r* 'moler' son alegados por Tromb. *l.c.*, que añade una serie de formas cauc.: bhürkila *-q-*, čeč. *a-ḫ-*, *khuala*, svano *li-kha-l*, rut. *gü-ün*, cab. *'o-n* 'moler'. Éste mismo a propósito de *irin* (q.u.), *ürün* 'harina', al comparar con formas bereb., ár., lit., lat., etc., dice que esa serie tiene gran importancia para la historia de la cultura, y une a ella el vasco *e-ho*, que en la significación de 'tejer' (aparte de 'moler') compara con wandala *akχe* 'moler' (con distinta ortografía Sch. *supra*), *a-χā* 'tejer'.

Para la metáfora 'matar luces' = 'apagar' compara Lewy *Kl.Schriften* 85 fr., esp., erl., etc.

EHOIZ S (Oih.) 'nunca'; *ehon* (Dechep.) 'en parte alguna'; *ehor* 'nadie, persona alguna'.

Constan del prefijo negativo *e-*, que sin duda está en relación con *ez* (¿con un análisis *e-z* ?) y los términos *noiz, non* y *nor* respectivamente. En R los dos últimos son *eun, eür*.

Gavel *RIEV* 12, 268 s. da esa explicación para *ehor*, con caída de *-n-* intervocálica de *nor* tras el sufijo. En otros dialectos, las formas *nehor, nihor* se explican, como dice el propio autor *ibid.*, o por influencia de las palabras negativas románicas con *n-*, o como resto de *e-nor* con una metátesis sugerida por las mismas palabras románicas.

EHOKI (Dechep.) v. *eduki*.

EHOKIN (Duv.) 'tela'. De *eo*, sin duda.

EONDO salac. 'lejía'.

La primera parte puede estar en el R *e*, AN *ede*, BN, S *ehe* 'id.'. Cf. *egatondo* 'id.'.

EHOR v. *ehoiz*.

EORTU AN 'tejer'. De *eo*.

EHÓRSTE, E(H)ORTZE, E(H)ORTZI v. *ohortze, ōrtzi*.

EOTARRI 'muela, piedra de moler'.

De *eo* y *arri*.

EOTU G 'moler', 'tejer'. De *eo*.

HEOTSEGILE S 'tonante'. Nombre que se da en S a las sombras o apariciones. (Barandiarán *Hom.Krüger* 1, 109). Cf. *ortz, ots*.

EHOZLE (Duv. *ms.*) 'enterrador'. De *e(h)ortzi* (v. *ohortze*).

EPAI V (Oih.), *ephai* L, BN 'cortar', V, G 'corte', 'fallo, sentencia', AN 'cerca de la cumbre, línea de las montañas'.

Se trata de una variante de *ebaki, ebagi* (q.u.).

Gavel *RIEV* 12, 345 presenta esta forma como buen ejemplo de la caída de *k* intervocálica, pero con su prudencia característica recuerda que si en V tenemos la forma *ebagi*, éste pudo ser el estadio intermedio antes de la pérdida.

[42]

EPAI-BEDAR V 'hipericón, corazoncillo: hierba que se usa para curar cortaduras'.
De *ebaki, epai,* nombre médico.

EPAIKI V 'trozos de leña delgada como de un pie de largo', V, G 'tajo para cortar hierro'.
De *epai/ebaki.*

EPAIL V, G 'marzo'.
Como vió Astarloa *Apol.* 381, se trata del mes «del corte o esquilmo de los árboles». Lo mismo Campión *EE* 41, 377 y Hervás *BAP* 3, 342. Azkue da también *ephai-aro* (Duv.) 'tiempo de la poda'. BN *phaile* 'segador' < *ephaile.*
Por tanto de *epai/ebaki* e *il* 'mes' (q.u.). (Gavel *RIEV* 12, 354: *ephai* < *epaki, epagi*). Disparatado Griera *ZRPh* 47, 106 derivando de esp. *espadar* 'macerar el lino'.

EPAITONDO G, AN 'cepa, parte subterránea del tronco'.
De *epai,* sin duda.

EPAITZ BN 'corte'; *epaitza* L 'precipicio', 'corte de árboles', 'leña'. De *epai.*
Iribarren 215 recoge en Arraiz-Orquín *epaises* 'leña de hogares', 'canon de aprovechamiento por la recogida de la misma en los montes comunales', con el plural español. La forma *epaiz* 'lote de árboles que es asignado a cada casa del pueblo y que señala el montero' es dada por el mismo autor en los valles de Odieta, Ulzama y Juslapeña.

EPAIZKA(Z) (Harr., Oih.) 'a hurtadillas' (Cf. *ebaska*); *ephaskoa* 'robo'.
Bouda *EJ* 4, 67 acepta de Lafon *RIEV* 24, 169 la relación con *ebatsi* N, L, R, S 'robar', y *ebatzi* V 'resolver, dirimir', y propone, por su parte, una relación con georg. *p'* 'cortar, desgarrar, hendir'.
La proximidad de *ebatzi* con *ebaki, epai* es evidente, pero 'robar' es cosa muy distinta (v. *ebatsi*).

EPHANSÜ S 'dispensa', *epantsü* G 'rencor, ojeriza', S 'estorbo', *ephaintu* 'obstáculo, dispensa', *ephantü* frente a BN *enphatxu* 'empêchement, obstacle', (Leiç.) *enpatxatu* 'empeché' (Mich. *FHV*² 553).
Aunque pudiera pensarse en un derivado de *epai,* Larrasquet aduce también el bearn. *empàch(e)* 'obstáculo, estorbo'.
Cf. *enpatxu.* Tiene aspecto de romanismo.

EPHASLE (Oih.) 'ladrón'; *ephaskoa* 'robo' v. *ebatsi, ebaska* y *epaizka(z).*

EPATU AN 'fijar plazo, acabar, terminar'.
En relación con *epai, ebaki* y, sobre todo, con *ep(h)e,* + -*tu.*

EPATS G 'regüeldo, eructo'. Cf. *opets* 'id.'.
Parece onomatopeya. Cf., no obstante, *ats* 'respiración'. ¿Acaso la primera parte es *ebaki, epai*?

EPE V, G, AN, *ephe* L, BN, S 'plazo', N, V 'cachaza', G 'idea'.
La primera acepción hay que relacionarla, sin duda, con *epai, ebaki.*
Astarloa *Apol.* 73, con sus fantásticas ideas, dice que *e* significa 'dulce, suave' y *pe* 'bajo', por lo que «todo junto es suavidad o dulzura baxa, pequeña, de poca duración, y es la que da el plazo o término que tomamos» (!).
Tampoco parece admisible la relación que propone Bouda *BuK* 24 con circ. *pa-Le* 'plazo'. Ni Charencey *RIEV* 4, 509 relacionando con cat. *tems,* bearn., esp. *tiempo.*
*EWBS* en la significación 'still, ruhig' pretende relacionar con *aio* 'Erwartung'.

EPEBAKO V 'impaciente'.
De *epe* y *bako* (q.u.).

EPEIÑI v. *ipiñi.*

EPEL V, G, AN, *ephel* L, BN, S 'tibio', V, G, L, R 'enclenque, sin vigor, muelle', V 'sin fuste'.
Cf. *txepel* V 'pusilánime', G 'insulso', 'cobarde', AN 'castaña huera', *ipildu/epeldu* 'entibiar' (Mich. *FHV* 63).

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Sch. *BuR* 30 con cautela y remitiendo a *Rom.Etym.* 1, 39 (que recoge *REW* 8657) piensa en un posible lat. *tepulus* (así también CGuis. 30), pero añade cautamente que acaso se trata de otra palabra ide., como aesl. *teplτ*, o no ide., como georg. *tphili*, *thbili* 'caliente'. Tovar-Mich. *BAP* 17, 281 mencionan la raíz *tep-* propuesta por Sch., i.-e. (lat. *tepidus*). Mich. *BAP* 7, 581 recordó la comparación de Václav Polák, *Studia linguistica* 4, 110 con el georg. citado.

Otras etimologías propuestas: Gabelentz 20 y 210 s. da tuar. *awilen* 'verano'; Bouda *BuK* 23, *GRM* 32, 130 y *Hom.Urq.* 3, 219 compara circ. *pL* 'calentarse, estar caliente'; Berger *Münch.Stud.* 9, 10 aduce burush. *bulbúlo*, *bubúlo* 'tibio' (con reduplicación).

*EWBS* le atribuye origen románico, reconstruye una forma *tepol* y compara con port. *tepor* (lat. *tepor*), gall. *tépedo*, por. *tépido*, esp. *tibio* (de lat. *tepidus*), lo que resulta inaceptable.

EPELDU/EPILDU de *ep(h)el.*

La primera forma tiene como significado también 'encogerse, entornar (los ojos)' en V. la coincidencia con circ. *pL* 'mirar' es evidentemente una homonimia fortuita.

EPEN-EPEN G 'seguir a duras penas'.

Parece una formación expresiva.

EPER V, G, AN, R, *epher* L, BN, S (Lh. da L *epherdi* también) 'perdiz'.

La coincidencia con las formas románicas, y el éxito de éstas (la voz lat. originaria es préstamo del gr., como es sabido), se debe con toda probabilidad al valor onomatopéyico de la palabra, que recuerda el ruido del ave al levantar el vuelo.

Larrasquet dice que el término vasco procede del bearn. *perdic*, pero esto es reducir el problema. Rijk *Lingua* 12, 233, al dar L *epherdi* (que recoge de Lh.) sugiere también un origen bearn., o que se trate de un cruce entre *epher* ya existente y el bearn. *perdi(c).*

Bouda *BKE* 54 se inclina resultamente por la onomatopeya, contra la etimología de Tromb. *Orig.* 140, que pensaba en una relación con *parpara* 'codorniz' (q.u.). También con esta última comparaba Sch. *RIEV* 7, 308, alegando paralelos camíticos. Dejando al lado éstos, puede afirmarse que ambas voces, *ep(h)er* y *parpara* son onomatopeyas. El mismo Bouda *BuK* 337 ha criticado la propuesta de Sch. en sus relaciones con África. Esa idea se confirma comparando *galeper* (q.u.).

El copto *peri* 'perdiz' que alega Giacomino *Relazioni* 15 como parecido entra dentro de la onomatopeya en general.

Quizá lo más interesante, que confirma la relación de *perdiz* con el verbo ide. *peer* (Pokorny *IEW* 819) es la proximidad de *ep(h)er* a *eperdi, epurdi, ipurdi*. Si la forma que cita Lh. *epherdi* 'perdiz' es real, se confirmaría dicha relación. A Charencey *RIEV* 4, 509, aunque le parecía una alteración del esp. *perdiz*, prefirió ver el esp. *pipo* 'picamaderos' (pájaro) con un suf. *-er*, con pérdida de *p-* (!).

*EWBS* a propósito de la forma de Lh., relaciona las diversas formas románicas como origen del vasco (afr. *perdix*, prov., esp., port. *perdiz*, del lat., y éste del gr.). En cuanto a *epher* busca su origen en el ár. *el-firr* 'codorniz', ár. clas. *al-firra*, de *farra* 'vibrar, zumbar', lo que no deja de ser una fantasía.

EPERDI v. *ipurdi.*

EPERKI 'carne de perdiz'.

De *ep(h)er* y *aragi.*

EPHESI L, *phesi* L 'tempestad'.

Bouda *BKE* 44 y *Hom.Urq.* 3, 220 da el paralelo circ. *pkəč̣(e)* 'rayo', semánticamente poco satisfactorio.

Para *EWBS* origen románico; esp. *espeso*, cat. *espés...* (!).

EPETU de *epe* o de *epai/ebaki* (v. *epatu*).

EPETX V, AN, *txepetx* V, G, AN 'reyezuelo' (pájaro) ('troglodytes pervulus').

[44]

Corominas 2, 308 cita el navarro *epecha,* cuyo origen ve en el fr. *épeiche* 'pico verde, especie de pájaro carpintero' (de aaa. *spech*). Remite a Mich. *BAP* 11, 289.

EPITASIO S (Oih.) 'epitafio'.

Interesante sustitución en el cultismo de la fricativa *f* por *s.*

EPISTIKO v. *ap(h)ezpiku/ipizpiku.* (< lat. *episcopus*).

EPO(TXA) V 'enano'; *epotu* V 'quedarse enano', G 'hacer que una planta se extienda y no se levante al medrar'; *ipo* V 'persona de pequeña estatura', *ipotxa* V 'cosa pequeña, menuda', 'enano', *opo* salac. 'enano, poco crecido'.

Vid. *apo³.*

EPURDI v. *ipurdi.*

EPURKI v. *burkhi/urki.*

ER- BN, V, R, S variante de *er(h)i* 'dedo' en derivados, y de *erra* también en algunos derivados.

-ER¹ sufijo de agente, como en *ostaler,* tomado del románico *-ariu.*

*EWBS* lo deriva de fr. *-er* (como en *hôtelier, bucher*), o esp. *-ero.* También acude al bereb. * řĕr* = fr. 'chez' (!).

-ER² BN, R, S sufijo de dat. pl.

Vinson y Gavel *RIEV* 12, 99 s. dan una explicación interna: como derivado de la terminación general *-eri,* y por el afán de que el plural no tenga más sílabas que el singular.

Una explicación comparativa de Lafon *EJ* 4, 306 s., diciendo que se halla sólo en ciertos dialectos BN (la única en Dechepare), S y R con el acento *haurrér, gizunér,* lo que sería contracción de *\*-áger;* dat. con *r* se halla en dido y khanalug, en archi hay un dat. en *-s* y otro en *-rši.*

-ER³ V, AN, L: sufijo de infinitivo, que denota proximidad de acción.

ERA¹, EREA V 'anverso'. Cf. el siguiente.

ERA² V 'ocasión, oportunidad, comodidad', AN, V, G 'orden, disposición, modo', salac. 'educación', G 'manera', L 'aire, apariencia'.

Estas últimas acepciones del L parecen adaptación reciente del fr. *air.* Para las demás hay una comparación de Hervás *BAP* 3, 353 con esp. *era* 'espacio de tiempo'.

¿Pudiera pensarse en una abstracción de la terminación adverbial *-era* (como en *eusk-era*)? (Cf. sufijo *-era*).

No puede excluirse la relación románica.

*EWBS* insiste sobre el esp., prov. *aire,* fr. *air,* etc. (de lat. *āēr*).

ERA³ AN, *hera* BN, L 'molleja', *gera* AN, S, salac. (q.u.), *sera/xera* R.

HERA 'pereza', citado por Gabelentz 31, 45 y 222, que quiere comparar con cab. *aɣara* 'fatiga'. (Quizá hay que referirlo a *erabe*).

-ERA V, G, AN sufijo que se une a ciertos adjetivos para notar dimensiones de los cuerpos (*andiera* 'altura', *luzera* 'longitud', etc.).

También sufijo derivativo de nombres verbales con la significación de 'acto, momento' (*etorrera* 'advenimiento', *igoera* 'ascensión', etc.). En AN, V, G como derivativo de nombres verbales significando 'modo' (*ibillera* 'modo de andar', *biziera* 'modo de vivir').

Sch. *ZRPh* 30, 5 compara términos como *sentiera* 'sentimiento', *ibillera,* y otras similares, con formaciones como esp. *manera, carrera,* y aproxima *borrachera* a *moskorrera.*

*EWBS* deriva dicha terminación del esp. *-era,* sin más. Cf. *-(k)era.*

ERAALDI de *era².*

ERAAN(DU) V 'injertar (castaños)' (Múg. *Dicc.* menciona además *eradan/eradon, edandu*).

Azkue la considera variante de *edadon.* Cf. *eradega, edarega, edadega, eradendu.*

[45]

ERAASKOR V 'apegadizo', *eraaspen* V 'devoción, afecto, apegamiento', *eraatsi* V 'adherir, agregar, ligar', 'pariente, deudo'.
Cf. *erauntsi, iraaskor, iraatsi, eratsaki.*
Parecen formas causativas de *atxiki* (q.u.).

ERAHATZI causativo de *ahatzi, aaztu:* v. *ahantzi.*

ERABAGA V 'desorden', 'irresoluto, haragán'; *erabagako* V 'inoportuno'.
De *era²* y *baga/bage* (q.u.). (Cf. *erabe,¹* no obstante).

ERABAGI V 'decidir, resolver, sentenciar', 'pronunciar', 'proponerse, resolverse', 'propósito, resolución, sentencia, pronunciación', 'cortar el naipe', *erabaki* AN, G, L, R 'cortar', AN, G, L, 'sentencia'; además las mismas acepciones que *erabagi.*
Causativo de *ebagi/ebaki.*

ERABAZI v. *irabazi.*

ERABE¹ AN, R, salac., *herabe* L, BN, S 'timidez', N, L, S 'pereza', L 'tímido, enclenque, irresoluto' (Cf. *erabaga*), AN 'queja', BN, S 'repugnancia' (cf. lo dicho en *hera* 'pereza').
Bouda *BKE* 109 y *Hom. Urq.* 3, 213 compara circ. *qerabγe,* 'perezoso, tímido'.
*EWBS* busca un origen ár., de *qarifa* 'Ekel empfinden', ár. vulg. *qaraf;* también compara el circ., y remite a *nerhabe,* todo más que problemático.

(H)ERABE² AN 'norma, tenor'.

ERABEDAR V, *eraberar, erabelhar,* 'beleño' (Bot.). ('Hyosciamus niger').
¿Acaso haplología de *erabebedar,* y significaría 'hierba de la pereza'? Para Larram. es *era* + *belar.*
*EWBS* lo explica de *erabe* 'Ekel' + *belhar* 'Kraut'.
Larram. dice que *era* es corrupción de *ira* 'veneno' (Lacoiz. 125).

ERABES 'revés, vuelta'.
Es el románico *revés* (de lat. *reuersus*). Lo mismo parece ser *herabez* 'a contre-coeur', que da Van Eys. Cf. *errebesa.*

ERABIA-BELHAR AN, S 'pelosilla, vellosilla', *errabia-belhar* S 'id.' ('Antennaria dioica').
*EWBS* atribuye origen románico, y compara esp., cat. *rabia,* etc., de lat. *rabia* = *rabies.* (?).

ERABILALDI L 'empleo'.
Compuesto del causativo de *ibilli.*

ERABILDU¹ V, G, AN 'ajarse'. Cf. *erpil* L, BN 'flaco, no fuerte', *erphildura* 'debilitación, extenuación'.

ERABILDU² V 'revolver', *erabilli* 'hacer andar, remover, usar', L 'cultivar'; también *erabil-karri, -katu, -kunde, -kuntza, -tzaile.*
Derivados causativos de *ibilli.*

ERADAN por *edaran:* de *edan.*

ERADEGA v. *edadega.* Cf. el siguiente.

ERADENDU V (*ms.* Och.), *eredendu* V, *eradon* V, *eraan(du)* V 'injertar castaños' (cf. *edadega/ eradega*).
Azkue remite el último a *edadon.*
Bouda *BAP* 10, 8 ha reunido todas estas formas con *eradega, egabega,* etc. y las explica como causativos de un verbo 'cortar' (¿cuál?), y propone la identidad con un CO *t que halla en darg., archi, kür., aghul, tab., rut. y tsach.

ERADOKI 'coger, cazar'.
Factitivo seguramente de *edoki/eduki.*

ERADOSKI V, BN *eragoski* S *eredoski* L, 'hacer que las crías mamen'.
Causativo de *edoski* (Gabelentz 5).

ERAEN G 'alquiler', 'gobierno, cuidado'; *eraendu* G 'gobernar'.
Gorostiaga *FLV,* 39, 117 lo deriva del ár. *rahan* (y con imela *rahen* > esp. *rehen*), cosa más que discutible.

ERAGABE 'disparatado, desarreglado'.
De *era*² + *gabe*.

ERAGI V 'hacer levantar', 'movimiento', R 'traer', *eraugi* salac. 'id.', (V, G, L, variante de *eragin*), *eragu* R 'id.'; *eragiera* V 'movimiento'; *eragilla* V, *eragille* G 'eficaz', 'promotor'. (Cf. siguiente).
Sin duda es un causativo (¿de *egin*?).
Cf. *eregi* V 'edificar, levantar, construir', 'levantarse (un enfermo)', *eraik* 'recoger, elevar', *eraiki* 'hacer levantar'.

ERAGIN 'hacer hacer, promover, resolver, renovar, levantar, construir'. (Cf. *eregin*).
Causativo de *egin*.

ERAGINDURA 'fuerza, virtud, tendencia', BN, L 'el movimiento interno que se produce en la vaca al dar la leche'.

ERA(G)ITEKO V, G 'acceso de terciana o cuartana'. De *heren* 'tercio, tercera parte'(?).

ERAGO / ERAGON V 'ocuparse, ejercitarse', 'continuar, insistir', 'murmurar', 'obstinación'; *eragola* V 'molesto, insistente'.
Causativos de *egon*.

ERAGOTXI, ERAGOTZI causativos de *egotxi, egotzi*. Cf. *eregotxi* / *iregotxi* e *iragozi*.

ERAGOZGAILU L 'escándalo, obstáculo', *eragozgarri* / *eragozkarri* 'obstáculo', *eragozgo* (Duv. *ms.*) 'trastorno'.
Formas causativas de *egotzi*.

ERAGU v. *eragi*; *erai* v. *erain*¹; *eraiero* v. *erearo*.

ERAIK BN, S 'recoger', 'levantar, elevar(se)', *eraiki*¹ G, L, S 'hacer levantar', S 'animar, fortalecer, levantar', 'edificar', 'promover, suscitar', 'cobrar', 'cosechar, segar'.
Cf. *eregi* y *eragi*.
Causativo de *jaiki* (así también *EWBS*, que supone una forma *\*e/iaiki*).
Mich. *FHV* 91 da como causativos de *jaki, jeki* 'levantarse' (*jaiki, jeiki, jaigi*, etc.), G *e(r)aki*, V (Land.) *eregi, erigi* (*RS*), G, L, S *eraiki*. (v. *jaki, jaiki*).

ERAIKI² N 'sembrar'. De *erain*², *erein*.

ERAILA, ERHAILE de *erain*¹ y *erain*².

ERAILOKI V, *erayoki* V (*ms.* Och.) 'sien'.
El segundo elemento es *lo*, *(l)loki* 'id.' (q.u.).

ERAIN¹ V (arc.), *erhain* S (Oih., Pouvr.), *erai* V, G, S (Múg. *Dicc.*: *eran* V, *ean* S, *ero-eo-eoin* S, *erail*) 'matar' (v. *eo*).
El participio atestiguado or. es *erho* y de éste o de *\*era*, forma de composición ante auxiliar de aspecto determinado, podría seguirse la var. contracta que se atestigua en *RS* 167 (Mich. *Fuentes Azkue*, 43 y *Euskera*, 6, 18 n. 19).
Gabelentz 258 s. compara (con las oportunas interrogaciones) tuar. *enγ* y *aγaras*, y eg. *raχas* 'matar'.

ERAIN² N, V, AN, L, BN, *erhain* 'sembrar'. v. *erein*.

ERAIÑA V 'elegante, esbelto', *eragiña* 'vivo, inquieto, activo'. Causativo de *egin* (*eragin*).

ERAINSUGE (Duv.), *herensuge* BN, L, S, *iransuga/e* G, *irançube* G 'dragón', *erensuge* AN, *ersuge* (*ms.* Och.) 'serpiente'.
El segundo elemento es *suge* 'serpiente'. Lh. se pregunta si la significación de *erainsuge* es 'serpiente de bronce'. En cuyo caso el primer elemento en el S procede del fr.

[47]

*EWBS* busca el origen del primer elemento *heren-/eren-* en el ár. *waran* 'especie de lagarto grande'; pero en una variante popular *egansuge* que da (?) ve un enlace con *egal-*. Niega en cambio la relación con el fr. de Lh.
> Cf. *erheri* S 'salamandra'.

ERAYO G 'estrellar'. Parece causativo, ¿o de *erain*?

ERAYOKI v. *erailoki; eraintza* de *erain*[2]; *eraiteko* v. *eragiteko*.

ERAITSI S 'sacar, bajar', L, BN 'sacar', 'ordeñar', *erautsi* BN 'bajar', *eratsi* V, *eratxi* G 'bajar' (también 'ordeñar'), *eratzi* V 'ordeñar'. Cf. *eroski*.
> Causativos de *jaitsi, jaitzi, jautsi*. (v. Mich. *FHV* 94).
> Sobre *\*e/iais* (*EWBS*).

ERAI(T)ZIO, ERATZIO AN, *erizio* salac., *erintzu* salac. (q.u.) 'cosecha'.

ERAKA[1] V (*ms.*) 'costra de la piel'.
> Según Mich. *BAP* 16, 230, probable equivocación por *kraka* (q.u.); G *krak* 'mugre, mancha'. En realidad es 'mugre, costra de suciedad'.

ERAKA[2] 'equilibrio en que se mantienen las aves de rapiña al aire sobre la presa'.
> Cf. *egaka* G, AN 'volando' (de *egal*).
> Sin embargo Mich. *FHV* 83, que traduce *eraka(n)* 'cerniéndose (las aves)', dice: «lit. 'amasando' de *ore* 'masa' + *-ka* suf. adverbial, cf. G, V *oreka(n)* 'equilibrio, sin adelantar ni retroceder (lanchas, aves de rapiña)', V Guecho *orakari* 'remero'».

ERAKAITZ 'incómodo, inoportuno', *erakaiztu* 'desgobernar, incomodar'.
> De *era* + *gaitz*.

ERAKARI R 'portador, conductor, el que trae'.
> En relación con *ekarri* (Aunque Azkue dice que es de *eragu*).

ERAKARPEN 'atracción'. De *ekarri*.

ERAK(H)ARRI causativo de *ekarri*.

ERAKATSI V, G, L, BN 'enseñar', *irakatsi* V, G, L, BN 'id.', 'predicar'. Cf. *erakutsi, i(r)akutsi* (Mich. *FHV* 289 n.).
> Bouda *BuK* 173: causativo de *ikasi*.
> Gabelentz 244s compara con cab. *aḥsa*, con interrogación, naturalmente.
> Vid. *irakatsi*.

ERAKERI V, G, AN 'fatuidad, necedad, locura, devaneo', *erokeri* AN, V, G 'fatuidad, necedad'.
> De *era*[2] 'modo', o bien de *er(h)o* 'loco, fatuo', más sufijo *-keri*.

E(R)AKI[1] v. *eraik*.

ERAKI[2] R, S, *erakin* (Leiç.), *iraki* S, salac., *irakitu* BN, *irakin* AN, V, G, L 'hervir'.
> Admitiéndolo como un causativo, Van Eys proponía derivarlo de *ekin*, lo que semánticamente parece improbable.
> Uhl. *Gernika-EJ* 1, 577 propone una raíz *-ki-*.
> *EWBS* lo considera causativo de *jaiki*.
> No resuelven nada las comparaciones de Saint-Pierre *EJ* 2, 376 con scr. *rag-*, ár. *haraq* 'quemar', y de Gabelentz 85 y 274 con cab. *aizag* 'cocer' y *erkem*.

ERAKITXI AN 'encender', 'añadir', 'pegar' (para la semántica compárese esp. *pegar fuego, prender fuego*). Cf. *eratxeki, iratxeki, itxiki, etxiki*.
> Causativo de *isiki/ixiki*. En la segunda acepción pudiera serlo de *itxiki* (q.u.).

ERAKO 'conforme, proporcionado', L 'conveniente, propicio'.
> De *era*[2].

ERAKORI V, G, *erakoritu* V, *irakoi* (q.u.) V, *irakori* V, G 'levantar'.
> Causativo sin duda (¿de *igo* 'subir'?) (¿de *goi*?).

ERAKURRI v. *irakurri*.

ERAKUTSI[1], *i(r)akutsi* S, *eratsuki* R 'mostrar, anunciar, enseñar'.
> Causativo de *ikusi*, como señalaron Gavel *RIEV* 12, 166 s., Bouda *BuK* 173 y Mich. *FHV* 65.

A Gavel le preocupaba la diferencia de *s* en *ikusi* y *erakutsi* (compara también *ikhas* y *erakatz*), y cree que pudo intervenir la analogía, por ej. en *jausten* y *jautsi*. Otra sugerencia de Gavel *ibid.* 167 es la comparación con *irakur* 'leer', es decir, 'hacer conocer'.

Mich. *l.c.* dice que *e-* era la vocal original, como se ve por *ekusi, ekuzi* y por el vocalismo de las formas personales y del causativo *e-ra-kuts-i* indicado. Respecto a *s* del simple *ik(h)usi* frente a *-ts-* del causativo, este mismo autor *o.c.* 289 supone que la africada *ts* «habrá aparecido en el radical, al quedar la sibilante en posición final *(erakuts)*, de donde se habrá extendido al participio en los causativos». Algo semejante ha ocurrido en la relación *ik(h)asi/irakatsi.*

ERAKUTSI² V, G, AN, BN, S 'hacer padecer.
    Cf. *igurtzi* S 'sufrir, soportar'.
    Causativo de *ikusi₂* sin duda.

ERALDE¹ V (*ms.* Och.) 'comitiva'.
    De *era²* y *alde.*

E(R)ALDE² BN 'harina que queda al fin de la molienda'.
    *EWBS* lo considera causativo de *elde¹* 'afluencia'.

ERALDI¹ AN 'acceso de calentura'.
    Cf. S *erialdi* 'enfermedad'.
    De *eri¹* sin duda más *aldi* (q.u.).

ERALDI² V 'ocasión, rato'. De *era²* + *aldi.*

ERALDI³ *edaldi* L, salac. 'apertura'.
    *EWBS* lo reúne con el anterior y lo considera como compuesto de *er-* = *er(h)i* 'dedo' y *aldi* 'tiempo'.

ERALE 'asesino'. De *erain¹.*

ERALGI V 'cerner, tamizar', 'gastar', 'referir', *eralki* G 'cerner, tamizar', AN, G 'divulgar', AN 'levantar', G 'capitular', *eraulki* G 'cerner', *idalki/iralki* AN (q.u.) 'cerner', *iraulki* L 'id.' *iroltzi/irolzki* R 'id.'.
    Son causativos de *jalgi/jalk(h)i/jaulki* (Mich. *FHV* 89).
    A BN *jalgi*, S *jálkhi* 'salir', según Mich. *o.c.* 63, parecen corresponder en los dialectos occidentales *jalgi, jalki, jaulki* con valores como 'posarse los líquidos', 'desgranarse por sí los árboles', 'confesarse', etc., *alki* 'acceder', y cuya relación con *elk(h)i/ilk(h)i* no parece clara, seguramente son de origen distinto.

ERALORA G 'primavera'.
    El segundo elemento es *lore* (< lat. *flōrem*); el primero probablemente *era²* (q.u.) *EWBS* señala como origen del primero esp. *era* (lat. *aera*).

ERAMAI V, G, AN, *eraso* V, G, AN 'chubasco, tempestad de nieve o de granizo' (derivados *eramatu, eramaitza*).

ERAMA(I)LE v. siguiente.

ERAMAN G, AN, R, S, salac., *ereman* N, G, L, *erman* salac., *e(r)áman* S, *eramo* 'llevar', 'soportar, sufrir', 'paciencia'.
    Azkue dice que derivado de *eman* o variante de *eroan.*
    Mich. *FHV* 119 da *eraman* < *\*erauan*, que concidiría con V *eroan* < *\*e-ra-oa-n*, causativo de *j-oa-n* 'ir'. El desarrollo sería *\*e-ra-oa-n* > *\*erawan* > *\*eraban* > *eraman* G (Mich. *o.c.* 177). (*\*eraban* sería V).
    Coincide esta explicación con Lafon *Système* 1, 209 y Bouda *BKE* 31.
    A título de inventario damos la comparación de Gabelentz 72, 90 y 280 con cab. *eddem* 'llevar'.

ERAMEN V 'insistencia, obstinación', G 'sufrimiento'.
    En la primera acepción lo explica Azkue de *erago* + *men?* (la interrogación es suya).

ERAMO v. *eraman; eran¹* v. *edan; eran²* v. *erain¹.*

ERANDURA AN 'circulación (de leche)', *erindura* salac. 'id.', *ereindura* BN 'chorro, circula-
ción de la leche cuando se ordeña una vaca'. Cf. *andira* V, *andura* AN, G, L 'chorro
de leche que sale de la ubre después de tentarla' (con la misma significación *irai(n)*
AN, G).

Parece un geminado semántico de *erei* 'circulación, chorro de leche que sale de
la ubre' y *andura* mencionado.

ERANEGUN G, *erenegun, araiñegun* V 'anteayer'.

De *aren* V, *heren* L, BN, S 'tercio' y *egun* 'día' (lit. 'el tercer día'?).

ERANSI/ERANTSI V, G, AN 'añadir, pegar, adherir', V 'herrar', *erantsin* V 'contagiar, apegar'.
Cf. *eratsaki, eratseki, eratxiki* N, L, *eretsiki* S, *erakitxi* AN, *ira(a)tsi* AN, V, *iratxeki*
AN, G, L, *iratxiki* L, *iratxi, etxeki* BN, L, S 'pegar, adherir, añadir', *irantzi*[1] V
'apegar'.

¿Causativos de *atxeki/itxeki/itxiki* ? (v. *iraatsi*).

*EWBS* reconstruye *\*erartsi*, de *(h)ertsi* 'zusammenpressen, nahe heranbringen,
fest anfügen', y el sufijo de causativo.

Cf. Mich. *FHV* 186: *eratxeki* causativo de *etxeki*.

ERANTZI[2] V, G, *erauntzi* AN, salac., *erontzi* V (Land.) 'desnudarse, desarroparse'.

Mich. *Via Dom.* 5, 9 da como forma anterior *eraun(t)zi*.

Causativos de *jan(t)zi, jaunsi* 'vestir' (si bien existe una contradicción semántica
con el carácter privativo del causativo), de *jaun(t)zi* N, L (Mich. *FHV* 98).

ERANTZUKI L, *erantzun*[1] 'reprochar, reproche', *erantzungarri* 'reprensible, reprochable',
*erantzupide* (*ms.* Lond.) 'motivo de queja'.

Causativo de *entzun*, con la significación lit. 'hacer oir'.

ERANTZUN[2] V, G, AN, *erantzute* 'cumplir, responder', S 'aclarar', 'oir', V 'hacer oir' (cf.
*erantzuki, erantzun*[1]), (Oih.) 'publicar, predicar', (Duv.) 'corregir'.

Causativo de *entzun*, y en estrecha relación sin duda con la palabra anterior.

Sin interés la comparación de Gabelentz 244 s. con cab. *idwan*.

ERANZI vid. lo dicho en *erauzi*.

ERAONEKO V, AN 'cómodo, dócil'.

El primer elemento es *era*[2], el segundo *oneko*?

ERARA V 'a gusto', 'hablar sin salir del asunto'; *erarako* V 'adecuado, proporcionado'; *eraratu*
V, G 'corresponder'.

De *era*[2].

ERHARZUN v. *eritasun*.

ERAS V 'máxima'.

También forma indeterminada de *erasi* en L, BN, S, como dice Azkue.

ERASAN[1] AN 'acometer', V, G 'derrengar', 'derrengadura', 'causar impresión', G 'derrotar', V
'sonsacar'.

Causativo de *jasan* 'soportar, aguantar' (cf. *jaso*).

ERASAN[2] BN 'publicar'. Cf. *erasi*.

¿Causativo de *esan*?

ERASAN[3] AN, BN 'llover', *erasate*[2] AN 'lluvia': v. *eraun(t)si*.

ERASATE[1] BN 'publicaciones, anuncios' (cf. *erasan*[2]).

En relación con *erasi, esan*.

ERASI AN, L, BN, S 'hablar, charlar', AN 'cuchichear', L 'murmurar', *eratsi* L (q.u.), *eratxi*[1] G
'hablar, charlar', V 'escribir' (dudoso), *erausi, erhausi, herausi* BN, G 'charlatanería,
murmuración', G 'charlar', AN, G 'hablar', BN 'mugir, ladrar', BN S 'ladrido',
*erautsi* BN, V 'insistir, hablar, ocuparse', S 'interrumpir'. Cf. *edasi* L 'hablar'.

Gabelentz 23 y 488 reunió varias de estas formas.

Van Eys lo supuso forma causativa de *esan*.

Uhl. *Bask. Stud.* 203 creía que la forma primitiva era *erausi* o *eraunsi*, pero
Lafon *Système* 2, 3 cree que el radical es *das-* (v. *edasi*).

Sin interés la comparación de Gabelentz 62 y 242s. con tuar. *orad.* 'ser elo-
cuente'.

ERASKIN V, G 'añadidura', G 'consorte que viene a casa de sus padres políticos'; *eraskune* V 'adhesión, apegamiento'; *eratxi* G 'allegado, pariente por afinidad', AN 'adherir'.
> Cf. *eran(t)si.*

ERASO,[1] V, G 'hacer decir', V 'ayudar a misa', 'hacer constar en un documento', 'causar impresión', G 'insulto'.
> Parece un causativo de *esan*, aunque el análisis que podemos hacer de la forma *e-ra-so* no se ajusta al análisis de *e-sa-n* (de Mich. *FHV* 422). Cf. *erasan*[2].
> No resuelven nada las comparaciones propuestas por Gabelentz 53 y 90 con tuar. *ideš* 'golpear', o 18, 264 s. y 278 con tuar. *ers* 'caer'.

ERASO[2] V 'dislocarse un hueso'.

ERASO[3] V, G, AN 'tempestad de lluvias, nieves o granizo'.
> Cf. *erasan*[3] y *eramai.*

ERASO[4] V 'remedar, apegar una cosa a otra'.
> Cf. *eran(t)si.*

ERASO[5] V, G 'acometer', G 'batalla'; *erasoaldi* V, G 'acometida'.
> Cf. *erasan*[1].

ERASON con las acepciones de *erasan*[1] ('derrengar'), *eraso*[1] (V 'hacer mella, causar impresión'), de *erasan*[3] y *eraso*[3] (G 'tempestad') (qq.uu.).

ERASPEN V, G 'inclinación', V 'devoción, adhesión'.
> Cf. *eraaskor, eran(t)si.*

ERASTE L 'conversación', S (Oih.) 'discurso, narración'.
> Cf. *eras, erasi.* (¿De *esan*?).

ERASUN V (Mic.) 'locura', *erhasun* G (d'Urte) 'desgracia'. (Como *erotasun*, de *er(h)o*[1]); *eratasun* 'fatuidad'.

ERATU[1] V, G 'proporcionar, ordenar'. De *era*[2].

ERATU[2] AN, *erhatü* S 'perder el juicio'.
> De *er(h)o*, según explica Azkue.

ERATSAKI, ERATSEKI, ERATXIKI[1] v. *eran(t)si.*

ERATSI[1]/ERATXI[1] v. *erasi.*

ERATSUKI v. *erakutsi*[1].

ERATXEKI L, *eratxiki*[2] salac., *eratzeki* salac., *erazaki, erazeki* 'encender' (variante *erakitxi*, q.u. ?). (Otras variantes en Múg. *Dicc.* s.u. 'encender').
> Derivado de *itxeki*, dice Azkue (?). Cf. *erauki*[1].
> En Leiç. *iechequi* (*RS* 399 *exequi*); causativo *ira(i)chequi, erachequi* (Dechep.), *erajegui* (*RS*); en *exequi, eraxequi* š viene al parecer de *i* + silbante no palatal: cf. *eraiçeten* 'encendido', G *izeki, irazeki*; Land. *eraxegui* 'encender', *eraxetea* 'encendimiento' (Mich. *FHV* 286). Cf. también las formas *irazegin/irazeiñ* G, *irazaki/irazeki* 'encender'.
> Su origen acaso en formas como *izetu, izio, ixeki(tu), ixetu.*

ERATXI[2] G 'bajar', 'derribar', 'ordeñar', *eratsi*[2] V 'bajar', 'derribar', (cf. *erauso* 'hacer caer'), *eratzi* V 'ordeñar', 'desgarrar la piel', 'rasguño en la piel', 'varear los árboles frutales', *erauntzi* R 'sacar', 'bajar', *erautsi* N, G, L, *erauzi* L 'varear', BN 'bajar', 'hacer mamar al ternero', *erautzi* N, G, L 'despojar de frutos un árbol', N, G 'desgranar maíces, alubias', *eratxiki* R 'golpear', *irautsi* AN 'bajar, derribar'.
> Gavel *RIEV* 12, 75 s. lo relaciona con *jaitsi* 'bajar', y VEys con *jatsi* 'id.' (qq.uu.) (cf. *erauso, eraustu*).

ERATXI[3] G 'allegado, pariente por afinidad', AN 'adherir', *eratxiki* N, L 'adherir, soldar', *eratxikidura* 'soldadura'.
> Vid. *eran(t)si.*

ERHATZ BN, S, *erratz* BN, V, G (q.u.), *ehatz* S, *jats* BN, L, *isats, itsas* AN, L, *itsats* AN, L 'escoba'.

Las formas *erk(h)atz* N, L (L *erkhalatx* 'agracejo') y *erratz* 'escoba pequeña', según Mich. *FHV* 234 sería un compuesto, por la acentuación del S *ehátz*, de *erhatz* (alternancia de oclusiva sorda con cero en inicial de sufijos de derivación o de últimos miembros de un compuesto).

ERATZALE (Pouvr.) 'el que hace acostar', S 'el que se acuesta'; *eratzan* V, AN 'acostarse', *-azi* AN 'acostar', *eratzin* AN 'hacer acostar', *eratzo* V, *eratzon* AN 'acostarse', 'hacer acostar a otro'.

    Causativos de *etza(i)n/etzin/etzun*, como indicó VEys.

ERATZARRI AN, *erratzarri* R 'despertarse' causativo de *itzarri* (q.u.).

ERATZI v. *eratxi²*.

ERATZIN, ERATZO v. *eratzale*.

ERATZUN S 'instrumento con que traen al hombro cargas de forraje'.

    *EWBS* le supone origen románico, del gall. *rachón* 'abgerissenes Stück Zeug', esp. *rasgón* (de *rasgar*), significación fundamental 'pieza de tela', dice. Inadmisible.

ERAUGI salac. 'traer', (v. *eragi*).

ERAUKI¹ (Pouvr.) 'encender'. v. *eratxeki*.

ERAUKI² (Ax.) 'yo me rindo'.

    ¿En relación con *euki* ('tenme') ?

ERAULKI v. *eralgi*.

ERAUNSI AN 'borrasca, lluvia torrencial', 'soplar', *erauntsi¹* G, L, R, S, salac. 'chubasco, gran aguacero', AN 'tempestad, borrasca', 'golpear', BN, L, S 'ocuparse', BN 'sonar', *erauntzi¹* AN, G 'lluvia torrencial', BN 'golpear, castigar', *erautsi¹* AN 'llover', *erasan* AN, BN 'llover'.

    Puede pensarse en la misma raíz que *jasa* G 'lluvia fuerte'.

    Lafon *Système* 1, 277 da como sentido primario 'hacer saltar, llevarse, arrancar', y lo hace causativo de *iauzi* 'saltar'. También Uhl. *Gernika-EJ* 1, 575 descubre una forma causativa, pero se limita a suponer una raíz *-uns-*.

    *EWBS* lo deriva de un presunto *erabun-tsi* y pretende relacionar con gall. *rabuñar*, esp. *rasguñar* (!).

ERAUNTSIALDI BN 'castigo'. De *erauntsi¹*.

ERAUNTSI² V 'charlar', BN, L, S 'ocuparse', *erauntsia* (Duv.) 'murmuración, charla', *erauntzi²* L 'charla', BN 'insolentarse', *(h)er(h)ausi* G 'charlar', G, AN 'hablar', *erautsi* V, BN 'insistir, hablar, ocuparse', S 'interrumpir'.

    Cf. *erasi, irauntsi*.

    *EWBS* lo da como variante de *elauntsi* 'charlatán' (de *eluntzi*), lo que resulta inadmisible.

ERAUNTZI² v. *erauntsi²*.

ERAUNTZI³ AN, BN 'desarroparse'. v. *erantzi²*.

ERAUNTZI⁴ R 'sacar, bajar' (v. *eratxi²*, *eraustu*).

    Mich. *FHV* 94 explica: *jáuz(i)* 'saltar, saltada' (causativo *e(r)áuz*, *e(r)áuzi*), R *xauzi, zauzi*. Pero frente a aezc, *sautsi*, salac. *sauntsi* (al parecer con *ts* antigua), hay R *xatxi*, S (caus.) *e(r)áitx(i)*, (*au* es probablemente secundario en algunos radicales verbales). En Leiç. se encuentra *iautsi* 'bajado' (Dechep. *iaitsi*); el causativo es en este autor *erauts(i)* o *eraits(i)*.

(H)ER(H)AUSI² G, BN 'mugir, ladrar', BN, S 'ladrido', *eusi* V, *ehüsi* L 'ladrido'.

    Vid. *aausi*.

HERAUSI, *eresu* R, *(h)erüsi* S, *iraus* L, *irausi* AN, G, *iausi* salac., *iaüsi* R, *ihausi* BN, *iñausi* salac., *iñausi* R, *irusi* V, *iñaus* AN, *hurusi* S, *herause* S 'celo de la cerda', *herauts/herautx*, *heraux* BN 'id.', 'verraco'.

    Lafon *RIEV* 25, 290 s. señala la procedencia de *erüsi* < *erausi*, por intermedio de *ereusi* > *ereüsi*. En el mismo sentido testimonia el R *eresu* < *ereusu* < *ereusi*.

Vid. *iñaus*.

Bouda *BAP* 11, 201 quiere ver un causativo de *\*(t)su* 'fuego', y compara con CO *\*cᵒ* 'fuego' con derivados como darg. *uc'-ar* 'caliente', y CS mingr. lazo *č'v*, georg. *c'v* 'arder'.

Cf. el anterior.

*EWBS* cita variantes como *herautš*, *herause*, *hürüsi*, etc., y cree que es un causativo con infijo *-ra-* de *jaus-* 'Sprung' cosa que no se ve clara ni mucho menos.

ERAUSKI L, R, salac., *erauzki* salac. 'mamar', L 'ordeñar la vaca valiéndose de un ternero', *erautsi/eraotzi* V 'hacer mamar al ternero', *eraustu* V 'hacer mamar'.

De la última dice Azkue que es variante de *eragotzi*, que sería causativo de *egotzi;* sin embargo más bien hay que relacionarlo con *eradoski*, causativo de *edoski*, que por el significado encaja perfectamente, o *egoski*, cuyo causativo *eragoski* puede explicar las formas citadas, a las que podemos añadir R *iroski*.

Mich. *FHV* 259 ve un fenómeno de inducción en *edoski/egoski* 'mamar' (q.u.).

*EWBS* aunque remite a la comparación con *edos-*, *egos-*, quiere derivar de *\*e/iaits* por *jaits-*, *jeitsi* 'ordeñar', con infijo causativo.

Cf. también *eratxi²*.

ERAUSLE 'el que saca agua del pozo', 'el que baja un objeto', *erauspen* 'acción de sacar agua, de bajar un objeto'.

Cf. *erautsi²* AN, L, BN 'sacar vino, sidra, por medio de canilla o espita' y *eraustu* (v. infra).

ERAUSO G 'hacer caer', *eraustu* (Oih. *ms.*) 'hacer descender', 'sacar', V 'hacer mamar' (cf. *erauski*); *erautsi²* BN 'bajar'.

Cf. *eretsi* V, *eretxi* R 'bajar'.

Vid. *eratxi²*.

ERAUTS, ERHAUTS v. *errauts*.

HERAUTS, HERAUTX BN 'verraco' (cf. *herausi* 'celo de la cerda').

Mich. *Pirineos* 10, 435 y *TAV* 19 cita a Sch. que compara con aquit. *Heraus-*, irreprochable de forma y preferible por el sentido a su anterior comparación con *erhauts*, *errauts* 'polvo, ceniza'.

*EWBS* pretende relacionarlo con lat. *verrus*, *verrēs* 'jabalí, verraco' (enlazando con *erautsi*, *erauzi* 'saltar', etc.) por tanto con cat. *verrac*, fr. *verrat*, esp. *verraco*, etc. (!).

ERAUTSI¹ v. *eratxi²* y cf. *eretsi/eretxi*.

ERAUTSI² v. *erausle*.

ERHAUTSI BN, S 'pulverizar, reducir a polvo', S 'maltratar a golpes'. v. *errauts*.

ERAUTZI v. *eratxi²*.

ERAUZI AN 'hacer saltar', (Ax.) 'levantar testimonio', G 'reparar, remendar vestidos, calzado', 'herrar caballerías', L, S 'arruinar', AN 'desquiciar (cf. *erauzi* AN, G 'id.'), arrancar', (Leiç.) 'prevaricar', 'trastonar', L 'varear árboles' (cf. *eratxi²*). Para la primera acepción v. *erauntzi⁴*.

No puede separarse este vocablo del anterior.

Causativo de *jauzi* sin duda. Mich. *Fuentes Azkue*, 142 señala una falsa lectura, *eranci (eranzi)*.

ERAUZIMENDU (Leiç.) 'furor'.

*EWBS* lo pone en relación con *erautsi¹*.

ERAZ V, G 'comodamente', V 'oportunamente', R, salac. 'poner al derecho un objeto vuelto'. De *era²*.

ERAZAGUTU V 'revelar, hacer conocer'. Causativo de *ezagutu*.

ERAZAKI G, *erazeki* AN, G, *irazaki* (Har.), *irazeki* G 'encender'.

Cf. *iratzi* AN 'id.'.

Causativo de *izeki*. (Cf. no obstante *irazegin/irazeiñ* G 'encender').

[53]

v. *eratxeki.*

La comparación de Gabelentz 268 s. con tuar *sok* no tiene naturalmente ningún interés.

ERAZARRI BN 'amonestar', 'chubasco, aguacero, borrasca, tempestad'.

Pudiera pensarse en un causativo de *ezarri*, pero a ello se opone la semántica, lo mismo que a la propuesta de VEys, que pensaba en *jasarri*.

ERAZI G, AN, S, *arazi* 'obligar, hacer ejecutar', *erazo* V 'obligar'.

Azkue considera el segundo como variante de *arazo* (v. *arazi*[1]). Tovar acepta a Holmer *FLV* 4, 27 que lo da como forma causativa de *azi*, de *az-* 'grow'.

Lafon *Système* 1, 428 encuentra que el verbo de donde se derivan estos causativos pervive en V, salac., R *jazo* 'ocurrir'. Acaso ahí está la raíz de donde *(h)arotz* (aunque esto parece dudoso).

Esta forma es distinta seguramente de *erazle* AN 'herrador', de fácil derivación.

Braun *Iker* 1, 215 analiza *e-ra-z-i* y compara con georg. ant. *c/e/r-a* 'tamizar' (!).

ERAZKI AN 'ave'.

Variante de *egazti* dice Azkue.

Mich. *FHV* 258 dice que cabe admitir una formación con el sufijo *-ki*, cambiado por disimilación en *-ti(n)* en *(h)egazti(n)*.

ERAZKO V, G 'conveniente, adecuado'. Cf. *eraz.*

ERAZKUNE V 'adhesión, apegamiento'. Cf. *eran(t)si.*

ERAZLE AN 'herrador'. (Múg. *Dicc.*: *erauzle, erauzlari*).

De *erauzi* G 'herrar caballerías'.

ERAZO v. *erazi.*

ERHAZTATU L 'barrer' (Cf. *erratz* BN, V, G 'escoba pequeña').

Acaso exista una relación con *isatz* 'retama' y 'escoba hecha de ésta'. Vid. *erhatz* 'escoba'.

ERAZTE 'oportunidad, ocasión para hacer algo'.

Cf. *eraz.*

ERAZTEN V 'binando la tierra', *eratzi* 'id.'.

Cf. el siguiente.

ERAZTU V, G 'arreglar', V 'desgarrar', 'labrar las tierras a poco de segar el trigo', R 'impresionarse'.

Parece que se trata de raíces distintas llegadas a una homofonía. La primera acepción está en relación con *eraz* y *era*[2].

La segunda y tercera pueden estar en conexión con *eratzi* y *erazten*, o también con *eratxi.*

Para la última cf. *erasan*[1].

ERAZTUN AN, V, G, L, *erhaztun* BN, *erhaztün/eháztün* S, *eroztun* V 'sortija', AN, G, R 'herrón', BN, salac. 'eslabón', R 'asa de cesto'; *ereztun* V, R 'anillo'.

Otras variantes: *egaztun* AN, *elaztun* V, G, *eleztun* V, *eroztun* V, *erraztun* L ('anilla grande de hierro', 'sostenes de madera que en cada extremo tiene la cincha') (q.u.), *erreztun, extun* salac. ('eslabones de la cadena'), *üztün* S ('anillo, anillo de cadena').

Azkue lo relaciona con *erhi* 'dedo'. Así también Mich. *FHV* 329 y 331 sin reservas (*éhi* en *eháztün* < *érhi* en *erháztün* S).

Bouda en los *Zusätze* a Sch. da un buen paralelo semántico: finl. *sormi* 'dedo', *sormus* 'anillo' (Cf. δάκτυλος/δακτύλον).

[54]

Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 196 cree que el último elemento es *-dun,* y se pregunta si puede ser de *\*erhi-erts-dun* (remitiendo a VEys), o si acaso se trata de una palabra extranjera.

Bouda *BAP* 11, 207 cree descubrir en la segunda parte la raíz de *ustai* 'aro' (q.u.).

Parece más bien un geminado semántico: *er(i)* + *atz* + *dun* 'sujeta dedo' (?). Acaso de *erhi* y *extun, üztün* (o alguna forma similar), lit. 'aro o anillo de dedo'. Sin interés Gabelentz 25, 45, 63 y 190 s. al comparar cab. *ϑαχαϑεμϑ,* eg. *χatam* 'anillo'.

Cf. *eraztunatz, erhaztun-erhi* S 'dedo anular'.

ERHAZUN (de *erarzun,* como *eritarzun*) 'enfermedad'.

De *eri*[1] + un sufijo (cf. *eritasun*).

ERBAI V 'carga de pescado que se lleva en narrias', *erbaiero* V, 'carretero que conducía una carga de pescado'.

ERBAIL L 'débil, efímero', AN 'paralítico', *erbal* AN, V, G, *herbal* BN, S 'flaco, débil', 'paralítico', *erbali* AN 'id.', *erbel* AN 'débil', *erpil* BN, L 'flaco, no fuerte'. Cf. *erremail, errebil.*

ELBAR AN, V 'débil, tullido' (q.u.).

Cf. *argal,* con el cual reúne estas formas Sch. *Lit.f.rom.u.germ.Phil.* (1893), 8, que propone una forma primitiva *\*arrebol* (da una forma *herbol* que debe de ser errata), la cual procedería de un bearn. *\*arreble,* de ant. occit. *freble, frebol.* Uhl. *ZRPh* 27, 626 criticaba como audaz esta etimología de Sch. (añade otras formas, como BN *erphil* 'pálido, marchito, débil', BN *ergel/elger* 'tonto'). Se inclina a pensar que las formas primitivas tenían *g* y no *b.*

Ya VEys se preguntaba si *erbal* era variante de *argal.*

A la etimología cauc. de Bouda *BKE* 99, *rbili, lbili* 'blando', opone HVogt *NTS* 17, 544 que en esa lengua la forma primitiva no tiene *r-* inicial (que se debe a disimilación), sino que es *lbili.*

Gabelentz 66, 75 y 204 une *erbal, herbail* con *argal* intentando aproximar a cab. *ermāl* 'pobre'.

*EWBS* pretende reconstruir una forma *\*ferbal* por *\*frebal,* para buscar el origen en el prov. *frevol, freul, freble, feble,* acumulando también cat. y esp. *feble,* etc., y llegar con ello al lat. *flēbilis* (!).

ERBARREN V 'barrio, parte baja de una población'. (Múg. *Dicc.: elbarren*).

El primer elemento puede ser *erri,* como se deduce de la variante *erribarren* V, G. El segundo sin duda *barren* 'pie, extremo'. (Cf., no obstante, *barrio,* y Corominas 1, 413 s. en lo relativo a esta palabra esp.).

ERBATZ V, G 'aresta, púas del lino', V 'brizna de leña', 'plumilla, pluma pequeña de ave'.

Vid. *arbasta.*

*EWBS* disparatado proponiendo esp. *rebusca.*

ERBEL v. *erbail.*

ERBERA V, *erbere* AN 'ribera, tierra baja'.

Como propone Mich. *FHV* 164 puede ser un compuesto de *(h)erri* y *be(he)ra, be(e)ra* 'bajo' o un continuador de G, V *erribera,* de románico *ribera* (remite a Gavel *RIEV* 12, 193).

ERBESTE V, G 'tierra extraña', *erbesteko* 'extranjero', *erbestetasun* 'destierro', *erbestetu* 'desterrar'.

Derivados de *erri* + *beste.* (Cf. Mich. *FHV* 125).

ERBI 'liebre'.

Holmer *BAP* 6, 405 compara airl. *erb* 'cabra, venado, corzo', isl. *jarpi* 'perdiz', con vaga semántica, que se explicaría por relaciones precélticas. Mich. *Pas.Leng.* 144 compara con airl. *heirp* 'dama, cabra', de *\*erbhi* (*IEW* 326).

Wölfel 138 compara con lat. *lepus* (de origen de sustrato, según se cree general-mente), y en el mismo sentido se ha expresado en carta Berger (Diciembre de 1956), el cual supone que el masiliota *lebēris* representaría algo así como *\*elberi*, que con haplología daría *erbi* (?). Para Hubschmid *Thes.Praerom.* 2, 124 también debe ser emparentado con el masaliota y con lat. *lepus* (sigue a Alesio *1.er Congr.Stor.Calabr.*, Cosenza 1954, 12.

Charencey *RIEV* 4, 509 emparenta con esp. *liebre*, bearn. *lebe*, etc.

Lafon *RIEV* 24, 168 propone georg. *rb-* 'correr'; a esta opinión se adhiere Bouda *BuK* 119 y *BAP* 12, 267.

*EWBS* supone origen mediterráneo, y reconstruye *\*lerbi* por *\*leberi*, sigue a Wölfel y cita también el masiliota, aparte de alb. *l'epur, l'eper*, etc., y aún alude de lejos al ár. *arnab, arnib* 'liebre', al hebr. y acad., todo, como se ve, más que problemático.

ERBIL AN 'mazo para pulverizar terrones de los campos', 'formón, instrumento de carpintería'. (Cf. *erpil* V 'terrón').

ERBI-LO salac. 'sueño ligero'. De *erbi + lo* (lit. 'sueño de liebre').

ERBINDORI 'comadreja'. (Vid. *erbiñude*).

Azkue atribuye a Duvoisin esta forma que Sch. *ZRPh* 36, 165, 167 y n. 3 considera variante de *erbiñude*, aunque en una canción popular suletina *erbindoli(a)* parece designar el 'armiño', o más bien su piel.

El mismo autor *ZRPh* 34, 215 descubre en *-indori*, acaso la misma significación 'ama, aya' que en *iñude*. Lo mismo Grande *Zumárraga* 6, 85.

Para variantes y distribución v. Agud-Michelena *ASJU* 2, 77 s.

*EWBS* deriva *erbin-* de prov. *ermin(i)*, afr. *erme, ermine*, esp. *armiño*, ital. *ermellino*, del aaa. *harmo + dori*, apócope del lat. vulgar *\*pūtōrius*, lat. *pūtor* 'hedor, fetidez' (!).

ERBINO (Pouvr.) 'gazapo, lebrato'. De *erbi*.

ERBIÑUDE V, G, *erbiñure* G, *erbiunide/ermiunide* AN, *erbiñura* G, *erbindori* (Duv.) (q.u.), *ergunedia* (Land.), *ergonei* G, *erguniri* AN, *ergaiñude* (Añ.), *ergunide, arminderi/ar-munderi* aezc. 'comadreja'.

Compuesto, en apariencia, de *erbi* 'liebre' e *iñude/unide* 'nodriza'. En la forma *ergunedi*, el final puede ser una metátesis de *unide*.

Aunque algunas variantes se apartan en cuanto a la forma, no son irreductibles al prototipo.

Para Sch. *ZRPh* 36, 169 el aezc. *arminderi* resultaría sin dificultad de un bearn. *\*erminhère < \*herminella*, es decir, de un lat. *(mūs) armenius, armenia*.

No habría dificultad en explicar *erbi- < ermi-* no sólo por etimología popular, sino también por disimilación de nasalidad.

Sin embargo, Mich. *FLV* 2, 129 ss. rechaza todo esto y propone *\*erdi-unide* 'nodriza de parto'. En *unide* está el suf. *-(k)ide*, equivalente al sentido de *com(mater)*, o *mid-* en ingl. *midwife* 'partera'. Como radical verbal *erdi* significa 'parir, dar a luz' («nodriza del parto»).

Vid. sobre el particular Agud-Michelena *ASJU* 2, 73-75.

ERBI-OILLAR 'abubilla' (ave moñuda), ('upupa epops'). Cf. *argi-oillar* G, AN 'id.'.

ERBIOIÑ AN 'pie de liebre, trébol de sembrados'.

Es el mismo nombre culto de la 'plantago lagopus L.', esp. *pie de liebre*, fr. *pied de lièvre*, lat. *leporis pes* (Bertoldi *Arch.Rom.* 18, 225).

ERBIOTA V 'argoma'. De *erbi + ota/ote*.

ERBI-UNIDE v. *erbiñude*.

ERBURUKO L 'uñero' (inflamación de la raíz de la uña).

De *er(h)i*[1] + *buru* y el sufijo *-ko*.

ERDAI v. *ardai*.

ERDAIL V 'fisura o hueco producido en montes o peñascos'.
¿Acaso de *erdi*?
ERDAIÑATU (Oih. *ms.*) 'recortar, cercenar'.
La primera parte es quizá *erdi*.
Sin interés la comparación de Gabelentz 256 s. con cab. *urrem*.
Cf. *gardaiñatu* S 'hacer ranura en las tablas, ensamblar'.
ERDAITZA v. *(h)endaitz*.
ERDAL- variante de *erdera* en los derivados.
ERDAMU V 'mal gusto del tocino rancio'. Cf. *gardamu* V 'id.'.
ERDARA G, AN, L, BN, R, S, *erdera* V, G 'al modo extranjero', 'lengua no vasca', 'lengua castellana'.
Mich. *FHV* 245 admite en la palabra la existencia de un sufijo *-ara* (similar a *-(k)ara*), que se encuentra también en *euskara* 'lengua vasca'.
Tovar *BAP* 10, 141 ss. y *Eusk. y Par.* 135 ss. lo considera derivado adverbial de *erdi* 'medio', propiamente 'hablar a medias'. (Acepta esta explicación Mich. «Lengua vasca», *Guipúzcoa*, 196). Semánticamente la expresión puede compararse al gr. βάρ; βαρος, lat. *balbus, babulus*, ingl. *baby*, al nombre *nemec*, propiamente, 'mudo', que dan los eslavos a los germanos, o a las formas *máen* 'mudo', *menn* 'tartamudo', que aplicaban los irlandeses para designar a los de lengua extraña. En esp. decimos *media lengua* 'pronunciar imperfectamente, impedimento de la lengua'; un niño se dice que habla con su 'media lengua'.
Gárate *Gernika EJ* 1, 536 creía que *erdera* sería derivado de *\*erd-u-ra* 'a modo de los allegados o advenedizos'.
Humboldt *Prim.Pobl.* 73 dice que es compuesto de *ara* (que expresa, según él, que algo ocurre con relación a alguna cosa) y *erria* 'tierra, país', más una *d* eufónica intercalada; en realidad 'lengua del país', pero referida a España y Francia (!), (VEys lo da con críticas); es decir que *erd-* sería igual a *erri*.
Karst *Essai sur l'origine des basques* se remonta al «etnónimo prearmenio *Zok-erên* o *Ezokh-erên*», y cre que *eskuara* proviene de *esuk-ara*, hipótesis que entra en el terreno de la más desbordada fantasía.
Gabelentz 77 y 170 s. tampoco resuelve nada al comparar con tuar. *end* 'otro'.
*EWBS* pretende derivar de *erde* 'baba, saliva', y un sufijo *-ara* («Die fremde Sprache wird als geiferndes Zischeln gewertet», dice). Sin valor también Mukarovsky, *Mitteil.Anthrop.Ges.Wien* 95, 71 comparando mande *nɛɛrɛ̃* y *nyɛryɛ̃*, y otras lenguas africanas.
ERDE v. *eldar*.
ERDEIÑU (Oih. *ms.*) 'disgusto', (Duv. *ms.*) 'desprecio'.
Los romanistas parecen estar de acuerdo en su procedencia del esp. *desdén* (o del originario *\*disdignu*): así Sch. *BuR* 30, M.-L. *RIEV* 15, 220, Rohlfs *RIEV* 24, 334, CGuis. 36 (dice: «recuerda al esp. *desdén*»), Corominas *FLV* 5, 172 y *Top.Hesp.* 2, 317.
Mich. *FHV* 294 dice «de la misma familia romance procede vizc. *destaña, desdaiña* (q.u.) y *destaiña*, 'pulla, desdén'».
*EWBS* deriva del esp. *desdeñar* (y otras formas románicas), del lat. vulgar *\*disdignāre*.
ERDEN v. *ediren*.
ERDENSARI R, salac. 'remuneración de un hallazgo'. Del anterior + *sari*.
ERDERA v. *erdara*.
ERDETSI (Or.) v. *andietsi* (Mich. *FHV* 341).
ERDETXI v. *erdietsi*.
ERDEZU de *erde*.
ERDI 'medio, centro', 'mitad', N, G, L, R, S se usa en los derivados y en ciertas locuciones para significar 'parto, parir' (Azkue).

La semejanza con scr. *ardha-* 'parte, lado, mitad' (cf. Pokorny *IEW* 333) ha sido señalada por Uhl. *Anthropos* 35-36, 20, y luego por Lewy *Kl.Schriften* 48 n. 3, quien también alega cherem. *ördəž* 'lado'.

Mich. *Pas.leng.* 142 desconfía de esta comparación, y de lit. *ardyti* 'separar'. En *Pirineos* 10, 438 menciona aquit. *Erditse d(eo)*, que con *Erdenius, Erdescus* los compara Sch. con vasco *erdi*, pero dejó las terminaciones sin explicar.

Bouda *EJ* 3, 330 y *BAP* 16, 39 lo compara (como ya antes Tromb. *Orig.* 128) con *a-rt-e* (q.u.), y en *BuK* 119 y *Hom.Urq.* 3, 219 lo había derivado de georg., mingr., lazo *rt* 'dividir'. (También podrían tener relación *artasi/artazi* 'tijeras', *arta-za* 'instrumento de herrero' ?). Con georg. *kerʒ* 'mitad' compara Kintana, *Iker* 1, 266.

Otros parecidos: Tromb. *l.c.* propone lazo *guer, kuerdi* 'medio, mitad'; Lahovary *Rev.Acad.B.Letras* (1949), 236 compara palabras que significan 'dos' (drav. occ. *eradu*, tamul *irandu*, svano *ervi*, georg. *ori-*, y hasta arm. *erku*) lo que semánticamente no es admisible.

Giacomino *Relazioni* 7 menciona copto *ōli* 'hendir', y Gabelentz 89 y 100 s. el tuar. *arīl* 'medio'.

Para la otra acepción, Tovar señaló el paralelismo de *erdi* con *erditu* y *erdi-izan* 'parir', con lat. *pars* y *parere* (arc. *parire*) (para la ecuación *erdi(tu) = parere* (de donde *\*par-tis*), v. Pariente *Emerita*); pero Mich. *BAP* 24, 18 lo extiende a *erdietsi* y remite a lat.: *bona bene parta, obsequium amicos ueritas odium parit* (*DELL* s.u. *pario*). En Leiç. *ertze* 'parir', como derivado de *erdi*, ya lo dio Lafon *Système* 1, 91 y 394 y 2, 146 (que recoge Mich. *FHV* 126). (Cf. también *FHV* 341).

*EWBS*, aunque habla de origen incierto, pretende reconstruir una forma *\*mer-di*, del lat. *mēridiē*. En la segunda acepción quiere derivar de un *\*erdin* por *haurdün* de *haur* 'niño' y suf. *-dun* (!). Berger *Indo-Iran.Journ.* 3, 33 quiere ver un prefijo *el-*burush. *alt-* 'dos'.

ERDIA (Oih.) 'la mujer parida', *erdi-aldi, -berri, -bitu*[1] : ver el anterior, segunda acepción.

ERDIATU v. *erdiratu*.

ERDIBITU[2] V 'conmover'. Cf. *erdiratu*.
          Sin duda de *erdi*.

ERDIDIKI G 'entreabrir'. De *erdi*.

ERDIETSI/ERDETXI/ERDITSI/ERDITXI AN 'alcanzado, obtenido': v. *ardietsi* y *erdi*.
          E. Levy, *Kl. Schriften*, 1961, 529 (y *RIEV* 24, 446) intento la conexión de *ardietsi* con *ardi* 'oveja' (cf. *ganado/ganar*). Debe ser abandonada, según Mich. *BAP* 24, 17 y *FLV* 2, 131, que se inclina en favor de *erdi + etsi*. Tovar señaló el paral. de *erdi* 'medio, mitad' y *erditu* 'parir' con lat. *pars, parere* (arc. *parire*), pero hay que extenderlo a *ardi etsi*. Mich. reconoce errada su equiparación de *erdietsi* de formas occid., sin *-d-*, como V *jaretsi*, G *iritsi* 'alcanzado'.
          Más simple fonét. partir de un compuesto con 1.er elemento *jarei* 'librar', V *jaramon* 'prestar atención', de *emon* 'dar', etc. Posible origen románico. (Cf. también *erbiñude*).

ERDIGOR V 'sordera ligera' (lit. 'media sordera': *erdi + gor*).

ERDIRATU V, L, BN, S 'henderse, agrietarse', ('aflicción'), 'colocar en medio', AN, G, L, R, salac. 'partirse de dolor', *erdiatu* S 'cascar, henderse', *erditu* 'hendidura', 'parir'.
          Es un derivado claro de *erdi*, por tantó es imposible la relación que intenta establecer con lat. *findere* GDiego *Dial.* 212.

ERDISKAILL S, *erdiskal* S, R 'cosecha regular'.
          El primer elemento es sin duda *erdi*.

ERDITSI/ERDITXI v. *erdietsi*.

ERDITSU G, AN, R, S 'cegato'.
          De *erdi + itsu* 'ciego'.

ERDITU v. *erdiratu*.

ERDIZKATU AN, L, BN, S 'partir por la mitad'. De *erdi*.

ERDIZOLATU R 'echar medias suelas'. De *erdi* + *zola*. El origen del segundo elemento es claramente románico: cf. prov. *sola*, gasc. *sole*, cast. *suela*, astur. *sola* (*REW* 8064 y GDiego *Dicc.Etimol.* 6205).

ERDIZOZTU/ERDI IZOZTU AN 'garapiñar'. El segundo elemento, de *izotz*.

ERDIZPESTA(TU) R, S '(echar) medias suelas'.

De *erdi*, naturalmente. En cuanto al segundo elemento, es evidente su relación con *peta(t)xatu*, de *petatxo-petatxu-petatzu* 'remiendo' (cf. navarro *petacho, petoche*, cast. *pedazo*, de lat. *pittacium;* en prov. *pedasar, petasar* 'remendar': *REW* 6547 y GDiego *Dicc.Etimol.* 5071).

HERDO L, BN, S 'añublo, roña' (enfermedades de plantas), *erdoi* AN, G, *erdoil* AN, L, BN, S, R, *erdólla* S 'roña de las plantas', 'herrumbre', V mer. *ordei* (*ordeitu* 'mohoso'), con asimilación *ordoi* (G Rentería), (Leiç. *herdoilla*, que Sch. *Intr.* XC s. supone tomado del gasc. *arroudilho*, lo que tropieza con dificultades fonéticas, como apunta Mich. *FHV* 84); Lh. da también *erdol*. Para *FEW* 10, 431 es préstamo del gasc.

Si se admitiese el cambio *rr* > *rd*, parece que podría tratarse de un derivado con prótesis vocálica del ant. prov. *roïl, roil*, fr. dial. *rouil*, del lat. *robigo* (b. lat. *rubiculum*), como proponía Charencey *BSL* 16 (58), CDXXIV.

Chaho, como nos transmite VEys también pensaba en el origen lat., en un *ferrugilla*.

Sin embargo, cf., supra Mich.

Absurda la comparación de Gabelentz 38 y 210 s. con tuar. *irtai* 'sucio'.

*EWBS* en su empeño de reducir al lat., reconstruye una forma *\*rodil* que pretende comparar con lat. *rutilus*.

ERDOTS S 'aseado', 'laborioso', *erdoski* S 'aseadamente'.

Bouda *EJ* 3, 118 compara *lerdotz* 'activo, alerta' (pero la forma falta en Azkue). *EWBS* para la segunda acepción parte de *erdo-*, que considera apócope de esp. *alerto* 'aufmerksam, wachsam' (remite a port. *alerta*, fr. *alerte*) del ital. *erto*, de lat. *ērectus*, todo lo cual transcribimos a título de mera curiosidad.

ERDU v. *heldu*[1].

ERDZETIK S 'desde el parto'. De *erdi* (acepción 'parir, parto').

ERE[1] G, AN, L, BN, R, S 'también', 'tampoco' (en frase negativa), 'tu, de ti'.

VEys indica que acaso se trata del propio *bere*, al cual remite también Azkue. Mich. *FHV* 253 señala claramente su procedencia de *bere*, y remite al común *bere* 'suus'.

El proceso de conversión de un antiguo posesivo en partícula afirmativa de refuerzo sería parecido al del gr. τοι 'ciertamente', que en su origen no era sino el dat. de 2.ª pers.

Lafon *EJ* 3, 345 compara circ. occid. *re* 'y, así que', dargva. y tab. *ra* 'y' enclítica. *EE* 20, 237 anota que rumanche *eir* significa 'también'.

*EWBS* le atribuye origen africano y compara bereb. *-ara, -ar* de *\*ad-ra*, con otras elucubraciones que no vienen al caso.

ERE[2] variante de *ara* 'helecho', según LMendizabal *BIAEV* 4, 31 (es de suponer que se trata de *ira/ire*).

-ERE G, L, BN, S aplicado a los interrogativos denota cierta universalidad y equivale al prefijo *-edo* (dice Azkue); S indica término de un período.

¿Acaso es el mismo *ere*[1]?

EREA v. *era*[1].

EREARO AN, L (Leiç.), *ereyaro, ereillero* AN, *eraiero* L 'junio', (*RS* 330) *ereyaro* 'sazón de sembrar'.

Según Mich. *FHV* 176 n. en *ereillero* parece que [j] se ha reforzado en [l']. Como señalan LMendizabal *BAP* 7, 224 y Mich. *l.c.*, de *erein* 'sembrar'. Ya en *RS* de 1596 aparece con esa significación, según se ha dicho (cf. Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 11).

El segundo elemento es *(h)aro*[1] 'sazón, etc.'.

Astarloa *Apol.* 386 dice que es de *ere* 'suavísimo' y *aro* 'temple'. Esto desorientó a Hervás *BAP* 3, 345 quien dice que *ere* debe de significar 'sembrar' y *aroa* 'sazón', por lo que explica, 'siembra sazonada o madura'.

Nada tiene que ver con *erre* 'quemar, etc.', como pretende *EWBS*. Igualmente disparatado Griera *ZRPh* 47, 107 derivando de *reia* (?), con idea de labrar la tierra (!).

EREDENDU v. *eradendu.*

EREDOSKI, por *eradoski*: causativo de *edoski; eredoskitzaile* 'nodriza'.

EREDU V, L, (Oih.) 'norma, modelo', V 'porción correspondiente', 'proporción'; *ereduan* V, *eredura* L 'según, conforme, al tenor de'.

Como dice Azkue, en V se emplea la forma contracta *edu.*

Sin duda de *era*[2] (q.u.). Mich. *FLV* 4, 88 cita a Oih., que dice que *eredura* es lo mismo que *araura.*

*EWBS* cita como variante de *erregu*, y relaciona disparatadamente un gall. *régoa* 'regla' y esp. *arreglo* con *eredu.* (Agud *Elementos* 144).

EREGA, EREGA(T)U V 'mimar', *eregatzaille* 'adulador', *eregu* V 'mimo', 'cómodamente'.

EREGI V 'edificar, levantar, construir'. v. *eraik.*

EREGIN[1] variante de *eragin* (q.u.). Causativo de *egin.*

EREGIN[2] variante de *erein* 'sembrar' (*eregintzale* salac. 'sembrador').

EREGOTXI v. *eragotsi.*

EREI AN 'circulación', 'chorro de leche que sale de la ubre', *ereindura* BN, R, salac. 'id.'. Cf. *erandura.*

*EWBS* quiere relacionar con *eraitsi* (de *jaitzi/jeitsi* S 'ordeñar'), lo cual es más que discutible.

EREIARO, EREILLERO v. *erearo.*

EREIKI v. *eraik/eraiki*[1].

EREIN N, V, G 'sembrar', V 'gastar dinero', 'divulgar, esparcir noticias', *erain* V, AN, *erhain* BN, L 'sembrar', *erin* AN, R, salac. 'id.', *ereki* AN 'id.', *eregin* salac. 'id.'.

No es aceptable la derivación de lat. *serere* que proponen GDiego *Dial.* 207 y CGuis. 65. Uhl. *Gernika-EJ* 1, 575 cree reconocer una raíz *-rei-* con r suave.

Bouda *BAP* 12, 276 quiere descubrir una raíz *\*r(e)* que considera idéntica al avar *L'* 'sembrar', infinitivo *-eL'ize*. Mukarovsky *Mitteil.* 1, 141 y *GLECS* 10, 182 compara hausa *iri* y somalí *inin* 'sembrar'. Este mismo aproxima la palabra a *erei* (que acaso sea errata del autor por *era* 'modo', aunque semánticamente es más que dudoso).

*EWBS* remite a *erain* y pretende explicarlo de *egin* con el infijo causativo *-ra-* (!).

EREIÑOTZ/ERIÑOTZ V, *eriontz* V 'laurel'.

LMendizabal *BIAEV* 4, 31 da también la forma *ereño;* compara con *aro* 'helecho', *araitz/aritz* 'roble', lo cual resulta inadmisible.

Cf. *ereinuntza* (*ms.* Lond.) 'laurel común'; *ereinuntztxo* (*ms.* Lond.) 'matapollos, laureola hembra' (Bot.).

EREINSI/EREINZI R 'peinar', *erenxi* R 'peinar lana', *irezi* 'peinar' (no está en Azkue).

Bouda *BAP* 12, 265 analiza una raíz *\*re-(i)z* con preverbio factitivo, cuya vocal *a* > *e* ante la palatal siguiente. Luego compara con circ. *ž* 'peinar', con su derivado *ma-že* 'peine', lo que ya resulta más problemático.

EREKARRI (Leiç.) 'cobrar, exigir', 'conducir'.

Causativo de *ekarri.*

EREMAN v. *eraman.*

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# EGILEENTZAKO OHARRAK

*ASJU*-n nazioarteko zientzi elkarteetan ohizko diren hizkuntzetan idatziriko euskal linguistika eta filologiazko lanak (edo eremu ezberdin edo zabalago bati atxikiak izanik ere euskalaritzarako interesgarri izan daitezkeenak) onartzen dira. Orijinalak bidal bekizkio Joseba Andoni Lakarrari, Euskal Filologia Saila, Filologia eta Geografi-Historia Fakultatea, Marqués de Urquijo K. z/g., 01006, Gasteiz.

*ASJU*-ra igorritako artikuluak zuzendariak izendaturiko bi aztertzaileri (gutxienez) emango zaizkio, ondoren haien iruzkinak kontutan izanik atera edo ez erabakitzen delarik; erabakia ahalik eta azkarrenik gaztigatuko zaie egileei. Artikulua argitaratzeko onartzekotan, aurkitutako oztopo, akats edo aldabeharren zerrenda ere emango zaie. Egileek beren lanen lehendabiziko inprenta frogak jasoko dituzte berriz bihurtu behar duten orijinalarekin; ahalik eta zehazkienik zuzendu beharko dituzte, egiteko honetarako lau egunetako epea dutelarik eskuratzen dituztenetik. Argitaratutako lanen egileei *ASJU*-ko zenbakiaren ale bana eta beren lanen 25 (10 liburu irazkinak badira) emango zaizkie, gehiago nahi izanez gero kostu prezioan agin ditzaketelarik.

Ez da inongo murrizketarik orijinalen luzeraz, baina ez dute izango berez behar bainoago; lanek zehatzak eta argiak beharko dute izan. Berariazko abegia egingo zaie ohar laburrei, batez ere dagoeneko argitaratu beste lanen bat kritikatzen edo garatzen dutenean.

Orijinalen hasieran egilearen/egileen zuzenbide eta telefonoa ezarriko da eta biko espazioan, orrialde bakarrean, eta zeinnahi argitasun edo zuzenketarako albo guztietan zuriune zabalekin idatzirik aurkeztuko dira lanak. Orrialdeak eta (lanaren amaieran ezarriko diren) oin-oharrak segidako zerrendan zenbatuko dira. Lanaren hiru kopia aurkeztuko dira, eta haiekin batera 5-20 lerrotako laburpena. Aurkeztu baino lehen zuzen bedi ahalik eta hobekienik orijinala, inprenta hutsak gutxitzeko; orobat, fotografia, karta, grafiko, taula, irudi, etab., emanez gero, izan bitez kalitaterik handienekoak gardentasunik gal ez dezaten. Oro zenbatuko da eta ezagutzeko oin-perpaus laburra erantsiko zaie, testuan ere nontsu jarri behar diren argiro markatuz. Adibideak zenbatu egingo dira: (1), (2)a, (2)b, etab.; testuan aipatzerakoan egin bedi era honetan: (2a), (2b), (2a, b), (4d-h), etab. Inprentan ohizko ez den zeinnahi zeinu, letra edo diakritikoren azalpen argia ezarriko da lehendabiziko agerraldiaren testu aldameneko zuriunean.

Testua honako arauok beteaz aurkeztuko da: aipu luzeak ahapaldi berezian joango dira, sartuta, hasiera eta amairera komatxorik gabe, letra borobilean; aipu laburrak, borobilean halaber, testuan bertan eta komatxo bikoitzen artean ("..." edo "..."). Komatxo bakunak ('...') adierak edo hitz solteen itzulpenak emateko baliatuko dira. Metalinguistikoki erabilitako edota artikulua idazteko erabili den hizkuntzaz landako hitzak letra etzanean ezarriko dira.

Liburu eta aldizkarien izenei letra etzana (azpimarra orijinalean) dagokie, eta komatxoak artikuluenei. Aldizkarien zenbaki, urte eta orrialdeak eta liburuen argitaletxe eta edizio (ez inprimatze) tokia emango dira. Hala agitzen denean zehaztuko da berrinprimaketa, berrargitalpena edo itzulpena den. Aipuetarako erabil bedi, ahal den neurrian, urte-egile sistima, urte bereko egile baten lan bat baino gehiago aipatu bada a, b... hurrenkeran bereizten direla: adib. (Vinson 1897a, 35-38), (ikus Lacombe 1924, Azkue 1923-25, Uhlenbeck 1947). Amaierako bibliografiarik ez bada, eman bitez bibliografi zehaztasunak oro soilik lehendabiziko agerraldian, ondorengoetan bakarrik egilearen deitura eta titulu laburtua, *op. cit.* eta *ibidem*-ak saihestuaz: adib. Guerra, *Cantares*, 22-24. Bibliografia ere biko espazioan idatziko da, formato honi atxikiaz:

Mitxelena, K., 1950b, "La aspiración intervocálica", *BAP* 6, 443- 449. Berrarg. bere *Sobre historia de la lengua ASJU*-ren Gehigarriak 10, Donostia 1988, I, 191-202.

—, 1981a, "Lengua común y dialectos vascos", *ASJU* 15, 291-313. Berrarg. bere *Palabras y Textos*, EHU/UPV, Vitoria-Gasteiz 1987, pp. 35-55.

Ortiz de Urbina, J., 1989, *Some parameters in the grammar of Basque*, Foris, Dordrecht.

de Rijk, R. P., 1985, "Un verbe méconnu", In J. L. Melena (ed), *Symbolae Ludovico Mitxelena Septuagenario Oblatae*, EHU/UPV, Vitoria-Gasteiz, II, 921-935.

Sarasola, I., 1986, "Larramendiren eraginaz eta", *ASJU* 20, 1, 203-216.

Bibliografi laburduretarako erabil bedi *ASJU* 22 (3), 1988an argitaratu "Laburduren zerrenda"; beste filologiaren batekoak direnean lot bekizkie egileak haietan haizu direnei. Beharrezko izanik egileak bestelakorik ere erabili ahalko du, beren balioa lehendabiziko agerraldian azalduaz.

Ordenagailuaz baliatzen diren egileek WordStar eta Word Perfect programak (Word eta McWrite Macintosh-ean) erabil bitzate; disketarekin batera goian aipatutako baldintzak betezen dituzten 3 kopia paпereztatu bidaliko dituzte.

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Se admitirán artículos sobre lingüística y filología vasca y campos más generales relacionados o de interés para la vascología, escritos en los idiomas utilizados por la comunidad científica internacional. Los originales se enviarán a Joseba Andoni Lakarra, Dpto. de Filología Vasca, Fac. de Filología y Geografía e Historia, c/ Marqués de Urquijo, s-n., Vitoria- Gasteiz.

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Mitxelena, K., 1950b, "La aspiración intervocálica", *BAP* 6, 443- 449. Reproducido en su *Sobre historia de la lengua vasca*, Anejos *ASJU* Nº 10, Donostia 1988, I, 191-202.

—, 1981a, "Lengua común y dialectos vascos", *ASJU* 15, 291-313. Reproducido en su *Palabras y Textos*, EHU/UPV, Vitoria-Gasteiz 1987, pp. 35-55.

Ortiz de Urbina, J., 1989, *Some parameters in the grammar of Basque*, Foris, Dordrecht.

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Sarasola, I., 1986, "Larramendiren eraginaz eta", *ASJU* 20, 1, 203-216.

Para las abreviaturas de fuentes primarias o secundarias se recurrirá al "Indice de abreviaturas" publicado en *ASJU* 22(3), 1988; cuando correspondan a otras filologías se atendrán los autores a las normas vigentes en las mismas. En caso necesario el autor utilizará otras adicionales cuyo valor explicará en la primera aparición de las mismas.

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The originals, at the beginning of which the address and telephone number(s) of the authors(s) must be stated, will be double-space typed and on one side of the sheet only -this also appliest to the notes. Wide margins for possible corrections or clarifications are required. The pages will be numbered serially as well as the notes, which be presented on separate pages at the end of the paper. The manuscripts will be presented in triplicate and will be accompanied by an abstract of 5 to 20 lines in length. It is recommended that the paper be carefully corrected before presentation to avoid possible errors, and that photographs, pictures, maps, graphs, tables, figures, etc. be of the best possible quality to avoid loss indetail in reproduction; they will all be numbered and will have a short footnote or key for identification; lekwise, their approximate situation in the text will also be indicated. The examples will be numbered: (1), (2b), (2a, b), (4d-h) etc. will be used. A clear description of any non usual symbols, characters or diacritics will be given in the margin on their first occurrence.

The text will be presented in accordance with the following rules: long quotations will be indented, without inverted commas at the beginning and end of the text, in rounded print; short quotations, also in rounded print, will be presented between double inverted commas (" " or " "). The apexes (' ') will be used to denote translations of isolated terms. Terms used metalinguistically or in a language different to that of the text will be in italics (underlined on the original).

The titles of books and journals will be in italics and those of papers between inverted commas. The no., year and corresponding pages of the journals and publisher's name and place of edition of the books will be given; where relevant, it will be stated whether the quotation is from a reprint, reedition or traslation. Where possible use the author-year system for quotation, e.g. (Lafitte 1976a, 35-38), (see Schuchardt 1900, Azkue 1923-25, 1935). Where this is not possible, the complete bibliographical data will be given only on the first occurrence, limiting any subsequent mentions to noting the surname of the author and the abbreviated title, avoiding *op cit.* and *ibidem*: Altuna, *Versificación*, pp. 43-57. The bibliography will also be double- spaced, with the following format:

Mitxelena, K., 1950b, "La aspiración intervocálica", *BAP* 6, 443- 449. Reed in *Sobre historia de la lengua vasca*, Supplements of *ASJU* Nº 10, Donostia 1988, I, 191-202.

——, 1981a, "Lengua común y dialectos vascos", *ASJU* 15, 291-313. Reed in *Palabras y Textos*, UPV/EHU, Vitoria-Gasteiz 1987, pp. 35-55.

Ortiz de Urbina, J., 1989, *Some parameters in the grammar of Basque*, Foris, Dordrecht.

de Rijk, R. P., 1985, "Un verbe méconnu", In J. L. Melena (ed), *Symbolae Ludovico Mitxelena Septuagenario Oblatae*, EHU/UPV, Vitoria-Gasteiz, II, 921-935.

Sarasola, I., 1986, "Larramendiren eraginaz eta", *ASJU* 20, 1, 203-216.

For abbreviations of secondary sources the "Abreviation Index" published in *ASJU* 22(3), 1988, must be used; regarding other philologies the authors will honour the norms existing in the same. Should it be necessary the author(s) will use other abbreviations the value of which will be explained in the first occurrence of the same.

Authors sending their wor' on diskette should use the WordStar and Word Perfect or McWrite and Word if it is a Macintosh. Three typed of the paper will be submited with the diskette in the above-mentioned conditions.

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