

Basque manner adverbs and their genesis

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Abstract

This article has a twofold aim. First, it incorporates a concise, yet fairly complete, discussion of manner adverbs occurring in the present literary standard form of the Basque language. No semantic analysis of any profundity will be offered, the emphasis being rather on quite superficial morphology. Despite its modest scope, this part of the article may be particularly welcome to teachers of the language and their students, both within Euskadi and abroad.

At the same time I would like this essay to be a contribution to diachronic morphology. To this end, sections have been included providing a historical background relating to the various suffixes that derive adverbs from adjectives.

Introduction¹

Manner adverbs can be loosely defined as those adverbs that characterize the way in which something is being done or happens. As such, they show a particular affinity to the verb of the clause; indeed, so much so, that it is a natural assumption that they, as far as syntactic surface structure is concerned, must be verb modifiers, as opposed to predicate (VP) modifiers or sentence modifiers.² While it is true enough that some manner adverbs, such as *idealki* 'ideally', *nagusiki* 'chiefly', *normal-ki* 'normally', *orokorki* 'generally', often do not seem to be modifying any verb, but appear to be used almost like a type of sentence adverb, we nonetheless consider

(1) At the very beginning, I wish to thank most warmly my many Basque friends and collaborators without whose generous help this essay would hardly have been possible. While reasons of space forestall my mentioning more than a few names, I particularly want to acknowledge with gratitude that data orally provided by the following scholars have been especially helpful: Arantza Elordieta, Mari-Pilar Lasarte, Beñat Oiharzabal, Felipe Yurramendi and Koldo Zuazo.

Furthermore, I am much indebted to Joan W. Bresnan of Stanford University for her encouraging comments on a first draft of this article.

(2) The need to distinguish at least those three types of adverbs, to wit, ad-V, ad-VP and ad-S, has been emphasized in recent years, notably by J. D. McCawley. See e.g. chapter 19 of his highly instructive synthesis of English syntax, published under the title of *The Syntactic Phenomena of English*.

them manner adverbs, since in most cases they can be thought of as modifiers of a deleted performative or other abstract verb, so e.g. when *orokorki* means ‘generally speaking’.

Although there is some functional overlapping, on the whole, manner adverbs must be carefully distinguished from stative adverbs — often marked by the stative suffix *-(r)ik*, e.g. *bakarrik* ‘alone’, *bizirik* ‘alive’, *bilik* ‘dead’, *hutsik* ‘empty’, *isilik* ‘silent’, *izorrik* ‘pregnant’, *osorik* ‘in its entirety’, *zabalik* ‘wide open’, *zutik* ‘erect’; but also quite frequently without any suffix: *aske* ‘loose’, *begira* ‘watching’, *bila* ‘looking for’, *ibesi* ‘fleeing’, *prest* ‘ready’, *truk* ‘in exchange’, and many others. Perhaps stative adverbs are to be regarded as modifiers of the predicate phrase rather than of the verb. Indeed, the main characteristic that sets them apart from manner adverbs is that they typically function as predicates. They can be combined with aspectual verbs such as *egon*, *gelditu*, *ibili*, *utzi*, in which event they constitute the main predicate of the clause, as in: *Pozik al zaude Egan-ekin?* (MEIG I, 82) ‘Are you happy with Egan?’. Elsewhere they may figure as secondary predicates, qualifying either the subject or the object of the clause. We have a subject-related adverb in: *Biluzik irten nintzen amaren sabeletik*, *biluzik itzuliko naiz lurraren sabelera*. (Job 1.21) ‘Naked I came out of my mother’s womb, naked I shall return to the womb of the earth’, as well as in: *Lurpean bilik hobeto hago*, *horren eskuan bizirik baino*. (Amuriza, *Hil ala bizi*, 165) ‘You are better off dead below the ground than alive in his hand’. An object-related adverb occurs in: *Nik gazterik gordetzen dut bihorza* (Labayen, TOE II, 34) ‘I Keep my heart young’ and in: *Oso zabalik aurkitu dute gure etxeke atea*. (Basarri, *Kantari nator*, 175) ‘They have found the door of our house wide open’.

J. C. Odriozola and I. Zabala, joint authors of an interesting article entitled “Adjektiboen’ eta ‘adberbioen’ arteko muga zehatzik eza” (ASJU XXVIII-2), have latched onto this predicative behavior in order to claim that stative adverbs are not really adverbs at all, but adjectives. I would readily agree that the categorial status of these items is problematic, and that, whatever they are, they have to be carefully distinguished from manner adverbs. Yet, simply calling them adjectives seems in no way to solve the problem. For one thing, ascribing adjectival status to the secondary predicate fails to account for the connection of this predicate with the action denoted by the verb, in particular, for the fact that the state predicated on the relevant noun phrase needs to last only as long as the action does. And, perhaps even more to the point, why do these alleged adjectives never once occur attributively? We should not allow ourselves to be misled by forms like *esku-hutsik* ‘empty-handed’ or *mabuka-hutsik* ‘in shirtsleeves’. Here *hutsik* is quite clearly not an attributive modifier of *esku* ‘hand’ or *mabuka* ‘sleeve’; rather, the stative suffix *-(r)ik* has been added to the compound adjectives *esku-huts* and *mabuka-huts*. In short, while I would very much like to learn of an adequate analysis of stative adverbs, I can see little or no advantage to treating them as mere adjectives.

Although I will claim in section 2c that some manner adverbs, in particular *ongi* ‘well’ and *gaizki* ‘badly’, occurred as stative adverbs before they became manner adverbs, only the latter category will form the topic of my present investigation. My approach will be morphological in nature, with little attention to syntax and none to

semantics. Future research, preferably to be pursued by scholars blessed with a native competence in the language, will have to fill these gaps.

One inference I would draw from the results of this article is that it is quite possible, even probable, that prehistoric Basque lacked a formal distinction between adjectives and adverbs. This, clearly, does not apply to the Basque tongue as we have known it for the last half millenium. Here, adjectives and manner adverbs constitute distinct categories, for although quite a few adjectives also appear as manner adverbs (see section 5), many others, including such frequent ones as *on* 'good', *txar* 'bad', *eder* 'beautiful', can do so only with the help of a derivational suffix. Interestingly, modern standard Basque accomodates no less than six such adverbializing suffixes:³ monosyllabic *-ki*, *-ro* and *-to*, and bisyllabic *-kiro*, *-roki* and *-toro* (the last occurring with one stem only, namely *oso* 'whole').

It is my fascination with these suffixes, all strictly synonymous, but each having its own distributional restrictions, that has prompted me to undertake this article.

2. The adverbializer *-ki*

2a. The status of *-ki* in Batua

In Batua, any adjective semantically compatible with the noun *era* 'manner' can be made into a manner adverb by combining it with the suffix *-ki*, sometimes subject to apocope in stems with three or more syllables. This happens in *itsuski* 'grossly' based on the adjective *itsusi* 'ugly', but not, curiously enough, in *nagusiki* 'mainly' based on *nagusi*, an adjective meaning 'principal' or a noun meaning 'boss'.

In contrast to the adverbializer *-ro* analyzed in section 3, *-ki* is always added directly to the stem and never causes a change in the final vowel. Compare *maiteki* 'lovingly' to its synonym *maitaro*.

The shape of the suffix is invariably *-ki*, even when following *l* or *n*,⁴ with the sole exception of *ongi* 'well', derived from *on* 'good'. (The rather special case of *gainingiroki* 'superficially', discussed in section 3a may be disregarded here.)

The following list displays commonly used adverbs where the ending *-ki* cannot be dropped if these are to function as manner adverbs. Examples of the optional use of *-ki* will be given in section 5.

It is worth noting, however, that several of the adjectives listed below (*alai*

(3) In this essay, attention will be confined to forms occurring in the modern standard language and their historical antecedents. This restriction dispenses me from commenting on the adverbializer *-(t)sa*, found exclusively in the northern dialects, mainly in Low-Navarrese and Souletin. To my knowledge, it combines with one stem only: deriving *ontsa* 'well' (or its phonetic variant *untsa*) from the adjective *on* 'good'.

(4) While absent from the modern language, the voicing of adverbial *-ki* after nasals is regular in Leizarraga's New Testament translation, as was noted by Mitxelena (*FHV*, p. 353). The examples are: *mingi* 'bitterly' (Mt. 26.75; Lk 22.62), *ozengi* 'loudly' (occurring 23 times), *xekengi* 'sparingly' and *xuxengi* 'rightly', with two occurrences of *zekenki* 'sparingly', both in 2 Cor. 9.6, as the only counter-example.

The voicing of adverbial *-ki* after *l*, however, is nowhere attested, at least to my knowledge.

'cheerful', *apain* 'elegant', *harro* 'arrogant', etc.) can act as stative adverbs, as defined in section 1 above.

The simplification of affricates before a plosive, as in *lazki* and *trakeski*, accords with regular phonological practice and requires no further comment.

alai:	merry, cheerful	alaiki:	merrily, cheerfully
alfer:	useless, lazy	alferki:	fruitlessly, lazily
amoltsu:	amiable, loving	amoltsuki:	amiably, lovingly
anker :	cruel	ankerki:	cruelly
apain:	elegant	apainki:	elegantly
ausart:	daring, bold	ausarki:	daringly, boldly, abundantly
baldan:	rude, rough	baldanki:	rudely, roughly
baldar:	clumsy, ponderous	baldarki:	clumsily
berezi:	special	bereziki:	specially
bero:	warm	beroki:	warmly
bortitz:	firm, tough, harsh	bortizki:	firmly, forcibly, harshly
demokratiko:	democratic	demokratikoki:	democratically
doilor:	mean, vile	doilorki:	meanly, villainously
dorpe:	heavy, harsh	dorpeki:	heavily, harshly
eder:	beautiful	ederki:	beautifully, nicely, very well
eme:	female, gentle	emeki:	gently, patiently, slowly
epel:	lukewarm	epelki:	half-heartedly
ergel:	idiotic, foolish	ergelki:	foolishly, stupidly
ero:	insane, crazy	eroki:	insanely, crazily
eskuzabal.:	lavish	eskuzabalki:	lavishly
eztzi:	sweet	eztiki:	sweetly
faltsu:	false	faltsuki:	falsely
gaizto:	wicked, vicious	gaiztoki:	wickedly, viciously
harro:	proud, arrogant	harroki:	proudly, arrogantly
hotz:	cold, cool	hozki.:	coldly, coolly
ideal:	ideal	idealki:	ideally
itsu:	blind	itsuki:	blindly
itsusi:	ugly	itsuski:	grossly, crudely, terribly
latz:	rough, harsh	lazki:	harshly, rudely
leial:	loyal	leialki:	loyally
lizun:	lewd	lizunki:	lewdly
lotsagabe:	shameless, brazen	lotsagabeki:	shamelessly, brazenly
maite:	dear, beloved	maiteki:	lovingly
nabarmen:	notable, patent	nabarmenki:	patently, ostentatiously
nagi:	lazy	nagiki:	lazily
nagusi:	principal	nagusiki:	mainly
normal:	normal	normalki:	normally
on:	good	ongi:	well
oso:	whole, complete	osoki:	wholly, completely
polit:	pretty	poliki:	prettily, nicely, slowly
prestu:	honest, honorable	prestuki:	honorably, nobly
samin:	bitter	saminki:	bitterly
samur:	tender, sensitive	samurki:	tenderly
serios:	earnest, serious	serioski:	earnestly, seriously

soil:	bald, bare, mere	soilki:	merely, only
sutsu:	fiery, ardent	sutsuki:	fervently, ardently
trakets:	clumsy	trakeski:	clumsily
txar:	bad	txarki:	badly
xehe:	minute, small	xeheki:	minutely, in detail
zital:	nasty, vile, mean	zitalki:	nastily, vilely, meanly
zuzen:	straight	zuzenki:	directly

Actually, the adverb *txarki* is little used. Its place is taken by *gaizki*, derived from the adjective *gaitz*, which, however, has changed its meaning from ‘bad’ to ‘difficult’ (and also ‘tremendous’), so that we are faced here with a typical case of suppletion: *txar* ‘bad’, but *gaizki* ‘badly’.

In view of their adjectival nature, perfect participles too may be expected to give rise to manner adverbs in *-ki*. This has indeed happened;⁵ such adverbs, however, are attested only in the northern dialects. A small number of those have found their way into Batua :

deliberatu:	decided	deliberatuki:	deliberately
itsutu:	blinded	itsutuki:	blindly
izendatu:	named	izendatuki:	specifically
lehiatu:	hurried	lehiatuki:	hurriedly
markatu:	marked	markatuki:	emphatically, markedly
nahasi:	mixed, confused	nahasiki:	confusedly
ohartu:	noticed	ohartuki:	consciously

Examples with the suffix *-ki* adverbializing nouns are extremely rare. Only four need mentioning :

adiskide:	friend	adiskideki:	in a friendly way, amicably
anaia:	brother	anaiki:	brotherly, fraternally
gizon:	man	gizonki:	humanly, manly, bravely
maisu:	master	maisuki:	masterly

Manner adverbs based on the instrumental case form of an adjective or even of a noun are more numerous :

bidez:	in right, rightfully	bidezki:	rightly, legitimately
dolorez:	in sorrow, anxious	dolorezki:	painfully, anxiously
egiaz:	in truth	egiazki:	truthfully, truly, really
handiz:	on a large scale	handizki:	greatly, especially
laburrez:	in short	laburzki:	briefly
luzaz:	for long	luzazki:	for a long time
mehatxuz:	in threat	mehatxuzki:	threateningly
ohorez:	in honor	ohorezki:	honorably, nobly
zentzuz:	in reason, with prudence	zentzuzki:	judiciously, prudently

(5) Examples already appear in Leizarraga's New Testament translation of 1571: *afekzionatuki* ‘passionately’ (Mk. 6.25, cf. DGV I, 245), *oboratuki* ‘with honor’ (1 Cor. 12.23), *seinalatuki* ‘particularly’.

The absence of this pattern from the southern dialects constitutes an additional argument for the lack of productivity of the suffix *-ki* in these dialects.

In *laburrez*, instrumental form of *labur* 'short', the *e* is epenthetic, and will elide before the suffix *-ki*. In *dolorez* and *oborez*, instrumental forms of *dolore* 'sorrow' and *obore* 'honor', the *e* is organic, i.e. belongs to the stem, and, therefore, does not elide.

Without *-ki*, the instrumental forms may describe either a state or a manner:

2b. Historical Background of *-ki*

Any observer of the northern dialects of Basque Labourdin, Low Navarrese and Souletin can scarcely fail to be struck by the extraordinary vitality of the adverbial suffix *-ki*. In these dialects, its capacity to form manner adverbs from adjectives, whether native or recently borrowed, appears totally unlimited. A fully productive suffix, *-ki* fulfils the same function in northern Basque as the suffix spelled *-ment* does in French, or, for that matter, the suffix *-men* in Bearnese, an Occitan dialect bordering on Basque.

This state of affairs, moreover, clearly dates back to the period of the earliest Basque texts. As early as the middle of the sixteenth century, a most eloquent illustration of this fact meets our eyes when we compile the list of *-ki* bearing adverbs occurring in Etxepare's *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* of 1545, the first Basque book to be printed. Assisted by Altuna's helpful vocabulary *Etxepareren Hiztegia*, found 31 of these adverbs. They are: *alegeraki* 'joyfully', *banoki* 'in vain', *borthizki* 'strongly', *debotki* 'devoutly', *desoneski* 'dishonestly', *digneiki* 'with dignity', *dolorezki* 'sadly', *egiazki* 'truly', *erboki* 'madly', *eskuiarki* 'really', *falsuki* 'falsely', *frangoki* 'profusely', *gaixtoki* 'wickedly', *gaizki* 'badly', *justoki* 'justly', *karioki* 'dearly', *klarki* 'clearly', *komunki* 'commonly', *luzeki* 'for a long time', *ohorezki* 'honorably', *ongi* 'well', *pazientki* 'patiently', *perfektuki* 'perfectly', *prosperoki* 'prosperously', *publiki* 'publicly', *publikoki* 'in public', *rigoroski* 'rigorously', *segurki* 'surely', *sekeretuki* 'secretly', *singularki* 'especially', *soberatuki* 'excessively'.

The productivity of the adverbializer *-ki* in Etxepare's dialect could not be more obvious. The suffix co-occurs with native stems: *erboki*, *gaizki*, *luzeki*, etc.; but also, and even more frequently, with recent loans: *debotki*, *pazientki*, *perfektuki*, *prosperoki*, *publiki*, *singularki*, etc.⁶

For the middle of the seventeenth century, the same point can be made on the basis of a list compiled by L. Villasante (Villasante 1974: 97-99) which contains all the adverbs formed with *-ki* found in Axular's classic work *Guero*, dated 1643.

(6) In my attempt to gauge the productivity of the adverbializer *-ki* in the northern dialects, I have deliberately passed over Leizarraga's works, however interesting they are from many points of view. Since they consist entirely of translations —overly literal at times— his vocabulary cannot be accepted without question as representative of the state of the language in his days.

If we do want to consider this evidence, however, a mere glance at Aresti's word list "Lexico empleado por Leizarraga de Briscous" will suffice to reach a sweeping conclusion: under Leizarraga's pen, any Romance adjective whatsoever may turn into a Basque adverb just by having the ending *-qui* added to it. Thus, we find: with *ex-*: *excellentqui*, *excessivoqui*, *expressuqui*, *exteriorqui*, *extraordinarioqui*; with *in-*: *indifferentqui*, *indignequi*, *indignoqui*, *injustoqui*, *integroqui*, *interiorqui*; and furthermore: *paissiblequi*, *particularqui*, *patientqui*, *perfectoqui*, *perpetualqui*, *personalqui*, *preciosoqui*, *principalqui*, *propriqui*, *publicoqui*, *realqui*, *religiosoqui*, *rigorosoqui*, and so on, to a total of over 110 forms.

Of the 96 items listed there, more than a third is based on stems that were, at the time, more or less recently borrowed from either Latin or Romance.

There is no need for us to go on and study the adverbial inventory of more recent northern authors, as no one familiar with their writings should doubt that such a scrutiny would lead to quite similar results.

Turning now to the present time, use of the adverbializer *-ki* still remains the standard way of forming adverbs from adjectives in the northern dialects, as demonstrated by recently created adverbs such as *automatikoki* 'automatically', *demokratikoki* 'democratically', *kulturalki* 'culturally', *mekanikoki* 'mechanically', *politikoki* 'politically', and many others of this type.

In the remaining dialects, however, matters were considerably different, at least until the last few decades.

In the Biscayan dialect, *-ki* does not exist at all as an adverbializer: *ondo*, *txarto*, *ederto* and *galanto* substitute for *ongi*, *gaizki*, *ederki* and *galanki*. This is confirmed by the Biscayan scholar K. Zuazo: "Of the options Basque has for forming adverbs, *-ki* and *-to*, Biscayan only makes use of the latter, although some relic of the former, such as *gaizki*, can be heard in the Biscayan-speaking areas of Guipuzcoa." (My translation from page 29 of Zuazo 1989)

As A. Arejita implies, this assessment is as valid for the older stages of the dialect as it is today: "*-ki*, sufijo empleado exclusivamente en textos guipuzcoanos" (Arejita 1994: Chapter IV, 520). Yet, as noted by the DGV (VIII 208), the adverb *gaizki* is not altogether lacking in older Biscayan texts, starting with *Bertso bizkaitarrak* of 1688: *gaizki permitidu izan da* (v. 28) 'it has been wrongly permitted'. (Cf. Lakarra 1984: 121). Still, as such occurrences are scarce and entirely absent from the oldest texts, such as *Refranes y Sentencias* (1596), *Micoleta* (1653) and *Kapanaga* (1656), we may well attribute them to Guipuzcoan influence, perhaps transmitted by means of sermons regularly preached in Biscaye by Guipuzcoan-speaking clerics.

With reference to the Guipuzcoan dialect, the situation is much less clear-cut. Here more than elsewhere, the influence of literary language has been quite significant during the last half century at least among the reading section of the population. Antedating the birth of Euskara Batua, this influence first emanated from the refined literary Guipuzcoan akin to Azkue's "gipuzkera osotua" used by authors such as Lizardi, N. Ormaetxea (better known as Orixe), and also J. Etxaide and L. Villasante in their earlier works. Familiar as these writers were with classical Basque literature, which is mainly of northern provenance, they often show a marked predilection for northern usages. This tendency, coupled with the undeniable fact that *-ki* forms are handy to use, may make us suspect that these authors were innovative in their use of these adverbs, rather than reflective of the traditional usage of their native dialect.

With the arrival of Euskara Batua and its wealth of literature, lexical diffusion has increased even more. Indeed, considerable prestige seems to be attached to the use of northern idiom, often eagerly resorted to in the search for a more elevated prose.

All this forms the background for my definite impression that the adverbializer

-ki has been gaining ground in Guipuzcoan over the last decades, albeit much more so in the written than in the spoken form of the language. Therefore, if we wish to obtain a more realistic picture reflecting the traditional status of the adverbializer *-ki* in Guipuzcoan, we should draw on older sources and examine the proportion in which *-ki* adverbs appear as against others, notably *-ro* adverbs (to be further studied in section 3).

To begin with one of the earliest works in the Guipuzcoan dialect, the book *Christau-Doctriñ berri-ecarlea* (1785) published by friar J. A. Ubillos (1707-1789) contains quite a number of *-ki* adverbs: *bereziki* 'especially', *egiazki* 'truly', *emeki* 'gently', *firmekei* 'firmly', *gaizki* 'badly', *gogorki* 'harshly', *humilki* 'humbly', *laburki* 'briefly', *obeki* 'better' (employed once only, versus four times *obeto*), *ongi* 'well' (no occurrence of *ondo*), *santuki* 'saintly'. The number of *-ro* adverbs is much smaller: *argiro* 'clearly', *berezkiro* 'especially', *berriro* 'again', *biziro* 'keenly', *firmekiro* 'firmly', *luzaro* 'for a long time'. There also is one instance of the suffix *-toro*: *osotoro* 'wholly'.

As we will soon see, the high proportion of *-ki* adverbs in Ubillos stands in marked contrast to the much lower proportion found in later Guipuzcoan authors, in particular, Gerriko, Iztueta and Lardizabal, where the adverbializer *-ki* plays at best a minor role. This patent divergence may be due to several factors whose relative weight is not easy to gauge. It might be a matter of chronology, in that more *-ki* forms were still extant at the beginning of the eighteenth century than at the end. Geography too may be important. The northern area of Guipuzcoa, Beterri, where Ubillos was born and lived, is more exposed to diffusion from the northern dialects than is the southern region, Goierri, the native area of the later authors. Then again, it might merely be a matter of cultural influence, friar Ubillos having read a good portion of the northern literature, and, in particular, Larregi's *Testamen çabarreco eta berrico historia* (1777), as has been suggested by L. Villasante (HLV, § 164).

Leaving this issue undecided, we will now turn to the evidence provided by the work of J. I. Gerriko, born in Segura in 1740, and living in that southernmost region of Guipuzcoa until his death in 1824. While this author only wrote one book, *Cristau Doctriña guztiaren esplicacioaren sayaquera*, it was an inordinately long one, set in two volumes, totalling well over a thousand densely printed pages. Possibly for that very reason, publication of the book, written around 1805, was delayed until 1858.

I have not hesitated in limiting my scrutiny to only the first of the two parts, since a corpus consisting of 473 dense pages can surely be expected to allow reliable inferences about the author's vocabulary.

Among the approximately 140.000 words of this text, the harvest reaped of *-ki* adverbs turned out to be most unrewarding. True, the translation equivalent of English *badly* is a *-ki* form: *gaizki*, but its antonym is *ondo* sometimes in diminutive form: *ondotxo* —with its comparative *obeto*, never once *obeki*. The form *ongi* appears frozen only, as part of the lexical compounds *ongi naya* 'benevolence' and *ongi etorria* 'welcome'. Besides *gaizki*, one encounters *ederki* 'beautifully', *galanki* 'copiously', *lazki* 'splendidly' (quite possibly borrowed from Kardaberaz, *Eusqueraren berri onac*

(1761: Ch. 1), and, finally, one single occurrence of *eskuarki* 'generally', as part of the phrase *sarri edo eskuarki* (p. 455) 'often or generally', against which there are no less than 22 occurrences of the synonymous *-ro* adverb *eskuarkiro*. All in all, no more than five *-ki* adverbs could be collected.

We may notice that on the whole Gerriko is rather sparing in his use of morphologically derived adverbs. Time and again he has adopted other devices to express what might well have been expressed by a *-ki* or *-ro* adverb. He seems partial to postpositional phrases, preferring e.g. *humiltasunarekin* 'with humility' to the adverb *humilkiro* 'humbly', which he uses only once (p. 383). Sometimes a diminutivized adjective will serve as an adverb, thus *laburtxo* at least three times, while the adverb *laburkiro* 'briefly' appears only once (p. 374); sometimes an iterated adjective will be called upon: *zuzen-zuzen* 'directly', while *zuzenkiro* never appears. He makes free with Spanish loans, not shrinking from the use of six-syllable words. Thus, he employs *libremente*, but also *infinitamente*, and, particularly, *especialmente*, which occurs at least four times, with *berezkiro* appearing only once.

But when Gerriko does avail himself of an adverbializing suffix, his choice is generally *-ro* rather than *-ki*. Accordingly, while we found only five *-ki* adverbs used in part 1 of Gerriko's work, more than twenty *-ro* adverbs can be detected there, counting, of course, also the variant form *-kiro* (see section 3a). The attested forms are: *andizkiro* 'greatly', *argiro* 'clearly', *astiro* 'attentively', *berezkiro* 'particularly', *berriro* 'again', *biziro* 'keenly', *egokiro* 'suitably', *eskuarkiro* 'generally', *espezialkiro* 'specially', *garbiro* 'honestly', *gogorkiro* 'harshly', *gozoro* 'deliciously', *humilkiro* 'humbly', *komunkiro* 'commonly', *kruelkiro* 'cruelly', *laburkiro* 'briefly', *lotsa bagekiro* 'shamelessly', *lotsagabekiro* 'shamelessly', *miragarrikiro* 'miraculously', *nabarbenkiro* 'openly', *osoro* 'wholly', *zeoro* 'totally'.

We note that the form *-kiro* is used for adjectives ending in a consonant, but not, as a rule, for those ending in a vowel, unless the adjective is morphologically complex: *miragarrikiro*, *lotsagabekiro*, *lotsa bagekiro*, instead of plain *miragarriro*, *lotsagabero* and *lotsabagero*, despite the latter's presence in Larramendi's *Diccionario Trilingüe*.

With regard to the status of the form *-kiro*, it is interesting to look at a much earlier author, also from the southern border regions, but this time from Navarra. I am referring of course to Juan de Beriain, author of two bilingual works, *Doctrina Christiana* and *Tratado de cómo se ha de oír Misa*, who in 1638 died in Uterga, about ten miles south-west of Pamplona. While Beriain makes use of *-ki* (*bortizki* 'strongly', *gaizki* 'badly', *galainki* 'handsomely', *obeki* 'better', *ongi* 'well') as well as *-ro* (*berriro* 'again', *dignoro* 'worthily', *luzaro* 'for a long time'), the only productive adverbializer is *-kiro*, this being the only form combining with recent loan words: *espiritualkiro* 'spiritually', *falsokiro* 'falsely', *firmokiro* 'firmly', *kruelkiro* 'cruelly', *liberalkiro* 'liberally', *partikularkiro* 'particularly', *prinzipalkiro* 'mainly', *puntualkiro* 'punctually', *ziertokiro* 'certainly'.

To round off our survey of nineteenth century Guipuzcoan usage, we will apply ourselves to J. I. Iztueta's book *Guipuzcoaco Provinciaren Condaira edo Historia*, written in the years 1842-1845, and published in 1847, two years after his death. I have to

admit that it is not quite clear to me to what extent the vocabulary of this work is representative of early nineteenth-century Guipuzcoan. It is well-known that L. L. Bonaparte, prince and pioneer of Basque dialectology, took rather a dim view of the quality of Iztueta's prose (see Villasante, *HLV* § 282). But, of course, Bonaparte's reasons may have had very little to do with the topic at hand.

The interest of this underrated book for us lies in the fact that, for once, we have a text that is not dealing with matters of religion with the concomitant stock of standard phrases and idioms, but with a subject as wide and varied as the geography and history of Iztueta's beloved native province. The author's fascination with the world around him permeates his style of writing, and, in particular, can be expected to give rise to a greater assortment of manner adverbs than we are wont to find in the purely utilitarian works of his priestly contemporaries and predecessors. To a surprising extent this is just what our analysis reveals.

Thus, while Iztueta's book is considerably shorter there being much less print on a pagethan Gerriko's initial volume, there are easily twice as many morphologically derived adverbs in it: 57, as against 27 in Gerriko.⁷

Here too the *-ki* forms are in the minority: only 20 (or 23, if the three *-roki* forms *argiroki* 'clearly', *gaindiroki* 'eminently' and *garbiroki* 'neatly' are also counted). The *-ki* forms are: *ausarki* 'abundantly', *biribilki* 'flatly' (literally 'roundly'), *ederki* 'nicely', *egiazki* 'truly', *errazki* 'easily', *gaizki* 'badly', *galanki* 'profusely', *gogorki* 'fierely', *irmeki* 'firmly', *lazki* 'grievously', *leialki* 'loyally', *moldakaitzki* 'clumsily', *ongi* 'well', *portizki* 'vigorously', *sendoki* 'solidly', *txarki* 'badly', *txukunki* 'neatly', *zabalki* 'extensively', *zuzenki* 'correctly'.

The remaining majority consisting of the adverbs formed with the adverbializer *-ro* will not be enumerated at this point, but will be found listed in section 3b below. As the data given there will show, for Iztueta as for Beriain, not *-ki* but *-kiro* served as the productive native equivalent in southern Basque of the Spanish adverbializer *-mente*.

The data surveyed in this section can be summarized in the following conclusion: In the matter of forming manner adverbs from adjectives, the suffix *-ki* plays a major role in the northern dialects, where it is fully productive and has been so for at least half a millenium; it only plays a minor role in the southern dialects, where the suffix *-ro* is substantially more prominent.

2c. Etymology of *-ki*

Now let us delve a bit into etymology. Is it at all possible for us to discover from whence the adverbializer *-ki* hails?

Embarking on this quest, one naturally turns to M. Agud and A. Tovar's "Materiales para un diccionario etimológico de la lengua vasca". Looking up the word *gaizki* 'badly', we are given the following information: "De *gaitz* con el sufijo adver-

(7) Not included in this count are adverbs derived by means of the adverbializers *-toro* and *-to*. Of these, Iztueta made use of the following: *gozotoro* 'delightfully', *obeto* 'better', *ondo* 'well' and *osotoro* 'wholly'. For these, see section 4.

bial *-ki*. Como señala Uhl. *RIEV* 3, 217 se usa mucho sustantivado, con el valor de 'lo que está mal hecho, el mal'." (*ASJU* XXV-3, 863).

Now, while it is, of course, well-known that the form *gaizki* can be used as a noun meaning 'evil', this fact at first glance does not seem to assist us very much in our pursuit of the origin of the adverbializer *-ki*. With a little reflection, however, some insidious questions come to mind. What made Uhlenbeck and, apparently, everybody else so sure that in this case linguistic history started with an adverb shaped *gaizki*, which is then supposed to have nominalized at some point so as to produce the noun *gaizki* 'evil'? Was Uhlenbeck perhaps relying on the sheer force of numbers that is, did he deem the adverbs to predate the nouns, just because there are so many more of them? And, from a more general perspective, are adverbs really that prone to turn into nouns? If they are, why did not also *ergelki* 'stupidly' assume the meaning 'stupidity': 'lo que está tontamente hecho, la tontería'? And, furthermore, why did only *ongi* and *gaizki* go on to produce such nouns, whereas their exact synonyms *ondo* and *txarto* never did?

Since these questions seem pertinent enough, we may be well-advised to discard Uhlenbeck's proposal and cast around for a more suitable alternative. Fortunately, there happens to be a perfectly plausible explanation for the emergence of nouns like *gaizki* without requiring recourse to the homophonous adverb.

Let us consider the nominal suffix *-ki*, which, as is well-known, serves to express a separate part of a whole. It is a remarkably versatile suffix, combining with numbers: *biki* 'one of a twin'; with names of trees or plants: *ezpelki* 'piece of boxwood'; with names of animals: *ahunzki* 'piece of goat meat'; with various nouns, producing culinary terms: *bizkarki* 'shoulder cut', *esneki* 'dairy product', *odolki* 'black pudding', *tripaki* 'tripe dish'; and also some non-culinary ones: *gizaki* 'human being', *gauzaki* 'object', *liburuki* 'volume of a book', and many more.

Azkue's appraisal "el sufijo goza de muy exuberante vida" (*Azk. Morf.* I, 106) is as valid today as it was then. Thus, Amuriza, in his novel *Hil ala bizi* (1983), was able to create the term *agoazilki* 'flesh of a policeman' (p.24). And in Soule one can hear phrases such as *aragi gorriki* 'piece of red meat', *asto zaharki* 'piece of old-donkey-meat' and *xerri gazteki* 'piece of young-pig-meat', as a student of mine, Armand De Coene, has discovered in 1994.

Common to all dialects, the suffix *-ki* can be assumed to have had a long history in the language, and is therefore available for etymological purposes.

Now, since *on* and *gaiz*, besides being adjectives, were also nouns, denoting the concepts of 'good' and 'evil', we must allow the suffix *-ki* to apply to them, which gives us exactly the desired results: *ongi* '(piece of) goodness', *gaizki* '(piece of) evil'.

As this suffix *-ki* only attaches to nouns, it will operate on just those adjectives that are simultaneously nouns.⁸ Hence, we obtain *beroki* '(piece of) warmth' (in its

(8) There appears to be one noteworthy exception: the noun *bandiki* 'magnate', where nominal use of *bandi* in the sense of 'greatness' does not seem to be attested. This term, however, is confined to the southern dialect area, and first occurred in Larramendi's *Corografía* (p. 152, cf. *DGV* II, 84). Could it be an analogical creation due to the fertile mind of that illustrious author?

definite form *berokia* —spelled *Veroquia*— attested as a toponym since 1244, see *DGV* IV 814), and *gozoki*, often with expressive palatalization: *goxoki*, ‘a piece of sweet’, but not *ergelki* in the sense of ‘stupidity’, nor *itsuki* in that of ‘blindness’.

Now that the nominal forms have been, as I believe, adequately accounted for, let us have another look at the corresponding adverbs. Unless we want to settle for accidental homonymy, our aim must be to turn Uhlenbeck’s proposal upside down, that is, we must show how the nouns *ongi* and *gaizki* could have developed into adverbs.

We will start from a well-known fact, namely, that bare nouns can appear as subject or object complements, even to the extent that they seem to become predicates when used in combination with aspectual verbs, such as *izan*, *egon*, *ibili*, *gelditu*, *utzi*, and so on. Examples of this phenomenon are :

- (l) a. Nor dago Obaban mediku? (Atxaga, *Obab.* 207)
Who is there in Obaba as a doctor?
- (l) b. Bederatzi urte egon zen erretor(e) Irulegin. (Zerbitzari, *Azkaine*, 76)
He had stayed in Irulegi for nine years as a parish priest.
- (l) c. Nor dago apaiz? (Irazusta, *Joanixio*, 67)
Who is there as a priest?
- (l) d. Ni Olaberrian morroi egon nintzanean... (Uztapide, *LEG* 100)
When I was at Olaberria as a farmhand...

Now, when bare nouns are used in this way as secondary predicates, they tend to become indistinguishable from adverbs. This can be seen with utter clarity in the case of the form *gizonki*. While the *DGV* (VIII 624-625) shows separate entries for the noun *gizonki* ‘man’ on the one hand, and the homophonous adverb *gizonki* ‘as a man’ (“como un hombre”) on the other, it is quite obvious that the examples listed under the latter can all be explained as containing occurrences of the noun *gizonki* used as a secondary predicate: *Bere eritasuna gizonki darama*. ‘He is taking his illness as a man.’

By the same token, the derived nouns *ongi* and *gaizki* must have been used in a similar way, and, one would expect, quite frequently so. Although we are dealing here with a very early development, some lines in Etxepare’s *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (1545) still seem to bear witness to it, as it is at times hard to tell whether a particular occurrence of *ongi* or *gaizki* is an adverb or a noun. Thus, *ongi* in line 17 of poem I does not seem to be a manner adverb: *zeren Ieinkoa egun oroz ongi ari baitzaigu*, translated by P. Akesolo as “ya que Dios todos los días nos hace el bien” (‘since God does good to us everyday’). Similarly, *gaizki* in line 33 of poem XII is clearly a predicate: *Zurekila gaizki baniz, nola bizi nintzande?* In Akesolo’s translation: “¿Como podría yo vivir estando a mal contigo?” (‘How could I live if I am on bad terms with you?’)

Even today, *ongi* and *gaizki*, like the semantically comparable adverb *ederki* ‘beautifully’, can act as stative adverbs, on a par with *bakarrik* ‘alone’, *bizirik* ‘alive’, *isilik* ‘silent’, etc. As an answer to *Aita nola dago?* ‘How is father?’, we hear *Ongi dago* ‘He is well’ or *Gaizki dago* ‘He is unwell’ instead of the theoretically expected *Onik dago*

or *Txarrik dago*. Or, quoting Iztueta, *ez nengoke gaizki* 'I wouldn't be badly off' (*Condaira*, 132). Notice especially that the majority of *-ki* adverbs do not allow collocation with *izan* or *egon*: there is no **biziki dago* for 'he is keen (or alive)', nor is there **zorrozki dago* for 'it is sharp'.

What I am arguing here is that the case of *ongi* and *gaizki* perfectly parallels that of *gizonki*: their natural use as secondary —or even primary— predicates secures them adverbial status, first as stative adverbs describing a state of affairs, then also as manner adverbs.

Once this evolution was completed, these two adverbs —and perhaps a few others of similar origin— by dint of their frequent use became ready models for the formation of new adverbs. In this process, the linkage with the nouns *ongi* and *gaizki* was gradually loosened and replaced by that with the adjectives *on* and *gaitz*. In fact, since the adjective for 'bad' was *txar*, the adjective *gaitz* meaning 'difficult' may well be taken to be a back formation from the adverb *gaizki* 'badly'. For the southern dialects, not much else needs to be said. There the evolution stopped after a mere handful of *-ki* adverbs had been created by analogy with *ongi* and *gaizki*, without the suffix *-ki* ever becoming a truly productive adverbializer. Yet the *-ki* adverbs that had developed belonged to the everyday vocabulary, so that when new *-ki* adverbs originating in the northern dialects made their appearance through literature, they could be readily accepted as they conformed to a well-established pattern in the language.

With respect to the northern dialects, we have shown in section 2b that the suffix *-ki* became productive at an early date and remains so to the present day. If we now go on to ask what makes the north so different from the south in this connection, one major factor may well be Romance influence, in particular, the much greater frequency of the suffix *-ment* in Gallo-Romance as against that of *-mente* in Hispano-Romance, where many alternatives to this suffix exist and are often preferred. Thus e.g. Spanish has *con soltura*, where French has *couramment* 'fluently'.

To put the contents of this section in a nutshell, I am suggesting that the adverbs *ongi* and *gaizki* predated all or most other adverbs of manner, and are ultimately derived from the nouns *ongi* 'good' and *gaizki* 'evil', themselves instances of a well-known derivational pattern. These adverbs were eventually reanalyzed as derived from underlying adjectives, after which their sheer frequency allowed them to act as models for the creation of more adverbs.

Since the diachronic development sketched here was already fully accomplished prior to the period of the oldest texts, it cannot be documented by textual evidence, and is therefore not susceptible to rigorous proof. Strictly speaking then, what I have written can be put down to mere speculation. Yet, in matters of etymology perhaps more than elsewhere, a judicious amount of informed speculation is not to be despised, and I dare hope that quite a few readers will find the postulated genesis of the adverbializer *-ki* plausible, or, at least, plausible enough to warrant the space devoted to it in this section.

3. The adverbializer *-ro*

3a. The status of *-ro* in Batua

In the southern variant of the literary standard, the suffix *-ro* can be used as an alternative to *-ki* for the purpose of deriving adverbs from adjectives.

Of these two competing suffixes, *-ki* is by far the most frequent. In the material making up Sarasola's 1977 corpus, the form *biziki* occurs 82 times as against *biziro* 9 times, *garbiki* 14 times as against *garbiro* 11 times, *osoki* 49 times as against *osoro* 3 times.

Yet, the role of the *-ro* suffix in southern Batua is by no means marginal. It appears with considerable frequency and naturalness in Mitxelena's writings, still considered by many as the true paragon of Batua style. Moreover, with certain adjectives the ending *-ro* is actually more frequent than *-ki*. Thus, Sarasola's corpus contains 319 instances of *berriro*, but only 32 of *berriki*. Euphony too may play a part here. This corpus includes just two instances of *argiki* versus six of *argiro*. Even more dramatically, the adjective *egoki* 'suitable' admits the adverb *egokiro* 'suitably', used by Mitxelena (*MEIG* II, 41), whereas **egokiki* does not even exist at all.

The adverbializer *-ro* can be attached directly only to stems ending in a vowel. In Batua, adjectival stems ending in *-e* regularly change this vowel to *a* before adding *-ro*: from *eme* we get *emaro*, from *luze*, *luzaro*, from *zebe*, *zearo*, etc. The corresponding vowel change is attested also for stems ending in *o*: there is *gozaro* from *gozo* and *sendaro* from *sendo*, but nowadays such forms are deemed dialectal rather than standard.

As to adjectives ending in a consonant, they also admit the adverbializer *-ro*, but require the presence of an intervening morpheme *-ki*, forestalling in this way the need for an epenthetic vowel insertion rule. Accordingly, from the adjective *berdin* 'equal' we get *berdinkiro* 'equally'; from *epel* 'lukewarm' *epelkiro* 'halfheartedly'; from *eskuzabal* 'generous', *eskuzabalkiro* 'generously'; from *leun* 'smooth', *leunkiro* 'smoothly'; from *samur* 'tender', *samurkiro* 'tenderly', and from *zikin* 'dirty', *zikinikiro* 'dirtyly'.

From a diachronic point of view there can be little doubt that the ending *-kiro* represents the adverbializer *-ki* followed by the suffix *-ro*. This suffix, therefore, could be added to adverbs as well as to adjectives, a fact for which additional evidence is provided by the examples *betiro* 'eternally', already used by Larramendi (*S. Tomas* 2), and *sarriro* 'often', derived from the adverbs *beti* 'always' and *sarri* 'often' respectively.

My decision to ignore this origin and treat *-kiro* synchronically as an allomorph of *-ro* rests on two observations. First, the suffix *-kiro* seems to have become divorced from *-ki* in that it occurs as a productive adverbializer precisely in areas where *-ki* is not productive. We saw a clear example of this in section 2b when discussing the South-Navarrese dialect of Juan de Beriain, but several varieties of Guipuzcoan would probably serve just as well. Second, it appears to be the case that if a local variety of Basque freely uses the adverbializer *-ro*, it also makes use of *-kiro*,⁹ obliga-

(9) Whether this state of affairs can be projected into the past is another matter. As shown in section 3b, in seventeenth century Labourdin the suffix *-ro* existed at least in relic forms, but I have found no evidence that the ending *-kiro* was ever in use there.

torily after consonants, but often also optionally after vowels. Thus we may find: *emekiro* 'gently', *harrokiro* 'arrogantly', *osokiro* 'wholly', etc.

Until quite recently, however, bisyllabic¹⁰ adjectives ending in the vowel *i* were never followed by *-kiro*, most likely for the sake of euphony. The DGV reports no instances of **argikiro*, **astikiro*, **berrikiro*, **garbikiro*, one only of *bizikiro* dating from 1934 (J. M. Barandiaran, *ELG* 87), while examples of *handikiro* do not appear until 1927.

What we find instead are metathesized forms: *argiroki*, *astiroki*, *berriroki*, *biziroki*, *garbiroki*, *handiroki*. From such forms the adverbializer *-roki* was abstracted and occasionally extended to cases where the *-kiro* form was also available, as in *maitaroki*, used by J. Etxeberri from Sara (*Lan Haut.* 153), *osoroki*, used by Lizarraga from Elcano (*Urt.* 127), and a few other examples.

In modern usage, *-roki* adverbs are decidedly rare and apt to sound somewhat archaic, with one notable exception: *gaingiroki* 'superficially', quite current in Batua, in part on account of its occurrence in Axular's classic *Guero* (Ch. XX, 189). I take this to be a *-roki* adverb based on the noun *gaingi*, phonetic variant of *gainki* 'upper part'.

As already hinted at the beginning of this section, even in Guipuzcoa, where it is most at home, use of *-ro* now tends to give way to that of *-ki*, judged, it would seem, to evoke greater literary prestige. Yet, the following adverbs formed with the *-ro* suffix are still readily accepted by southern speakers, and can be freely used in Batua, spoken as well as written:¹¹

argi:	clear, bright	argiro:	clearly
berri:	new	berriro:	again, newly, recently
bizi:	living, keen, intense	biziro:	lively, keenly, intensely, highly
egoki:	suitable, proper	egokiro:	suitably, properly
eme:	female, gentle	emaro:	gently, patiently, slowly
ezti:	sweet, soft	eztiro:	sweetly, softly
garbi:	clean, clear, pure	garbiro:	clearly, frankly
geldi:	quiet, slack	geldiro:	quietly, slowly
gozo:	delicious, sweet	gozoro:	sweetly, pleasantly
guri:	soft, tender	guriro:	softly, delicately
guzti:	all	guztiro:	totally, in all
handi:	big, great	handiro:	on a grand scale, greatly
luze:	long	luzaro:	at length, for a long time
maite:	beloved, dear	maitaro:	lovingly
nagi:	lazy	nagi-ro:	lazily
nagusi:	principal, main	nagusiro:	principally, mainly
naro:	abundant, lavishly	naroro:	abundantly, lavishly

(10) For stems of more than two syllables—or perhaps we should say for morphologically complex stems—this is not necessarily true, witness Gerriko's use of the form *miragarrikiro* 'miraculously' (Gerriko 1858: 171).

(11) I have limited the examples to instances of the *-ro* allomorph. As to the *-kiro* allomorph after consonants, it should be noted that the adjectives *on* 'good' and *gaitz* 'bad', 'difficult' have no *-kiro* forms, only *-ki* ones. As I am unaware of any further restrictions on *-kiro* forms, there was little point in listing any.

oso:	whole, complete	osoro:	wholly, completely
sendo:	firm, solid	sendoro:	firmly, solidly
ugari:	abundant, copious	ugariro:	abundantly, copiously
zehe:	minute	zeharo:	minutely, precisely, totally
zintzo:	dutiful, honest	zintzoro:	dutifully, honestly

There are but few examples of the suffix *-ro* adverbializing nouns:

adiskide:	friend	adiskidero:	in a friendly way
anaia:	brother	anaikiro:	brotherly, fraternally
asti:	leisure	astiro:	leisurely, slowly ¹²
maisu:	master	maisukiro:	masterly (MEIG IV 114)
opa:	wish	oparo:	abundantly

3b. Historical background of *-ro*

In its discussion of the adverb *bandiro*, the *DGV* (II, 88) delivers the following assessment: “De modo general, *-ro*, conservado en restos en todas partes, tiene que ser mas antiguo que *-ki* y *-to*.” (‘More in general, *-ro*, preserved in relics everywhere, must be older than *-ki* and *-to*.’)

Regarding the latter half of this statement, I have some doubts. If my claim that *-ro* has *-kiro* as an allomorph was as true in the past as it is today, it is hard to see how it can antedate *-ki*, which, incidentally, also survives virtually everywhere, albeit not precisely in mere relics.

At any rate, the great antiquity of *-ro* as such is beyond dispute. Already in Landuchio’s *Dictionarium Linguae Cantabrigiae* compiled in 1562 we read: “dulcemente *beaztiro eguina*” (p. 110); “estrechamente *estrechuan, esturo*” (p. 124); “firmemente *firmero*” (p. 126); “llanura o llano *llanoro ibiltea*” (p. 147); “magnificamente *andiro*” (p. 149); “notablemente *notablero*” (p. 161); “nuebamente *barriro*” (p. 161); “posiblemente *posiblero*” (p. 174); “puramente *garuiro*” (p. 178).¹³

Even that is not the first attestation of this breed of adverb. This honor belongs to an occurrence of *lealkiro* ‘loyally’ that appears in a document relating to a matrimonial trial held in 1536 in Belascoain, situated within the area of Southern High-Navarrese (cf. Satrustegi 1981).

Of course, the widespread diffusion of this suffix guarantees a yet more venerable age. Although at present the adverbializer *-ro* belongs exclusively to the southern dialects, in the past it may well have been common to all dialects without exception.

The *DGV* gives northern citations for at least the following adverbs: *astiro*, *berriro*, *biziro*, *emero*, *eztiro*, *gozoro*, *bandiro*, *bertsiro*, *luzaro*. Curiously enough, there are even northern *-ro* adverbs alien to the south. In his book *Debocino escuarra* of 1635, Jean de Haranburu from Sara combined the adverbializer *-ro* with perfect participles,

(12) As R. M. Azkue has pointed out, historically, *astiro* may very well derive from the now obsolete adjective *asti* ‘indolent’, ‘slow’ (Azk. *Morf.* I, 241, II9 418).

(13) Page numbers refer to Agud and Mitxelena’s edition of Landuchio’s dictionary, not to the original manuscript.

as in *deliberaturo* 'deliberately' and *lebiaturo* 'speedily' exact parallels to *deliberatuki* and *lebiatuki*, forms thriving in Sara today.

Although these northern citations are mostly from the western part of Labourd, it cannot be maintained, as A. Arejita does, (Chapter IV, p. 522.) that the use of *-ro* "sea fundamentalmente occidental", is basically western. Such a characterization would leave out of account the whole province of Navarra, where, except for the northernmost region, *-ro* forms are quite common, albeit usually in competition with *-ki* forms. To take a typical example, in the works of Joaquín Lizarraga from Elcano (1748-1835), we find at least¹⁴ the following *-ro* adverbs: *argiro* 'clearly', *berriro* 'again', *betiro* 'eternally', *biziro* 'keenly', *botxkiro* 'cheerfully', *emekiro* 'gently', *epelkiro* 'halfheartedly', *errukiro* 'severely', *ertxikiro* 'strictly', *espiritualkiro* 'spiritually', *firmekiro* 'firmly', *komunkiro* 'commonly', *lotsagarriro* 'fearfully', *luzaro* 'for a long time', *miragarriro* 'admirably', *osokiro* 'entirely', *zikinkiro* 'obscenely'.

In the north-east of the Basque Country, *-ro* relics are exceedingly rare. True, in the Basque - French vocabulary Louis Gèze appended to his Souletin grammar, we meet with *luzaro* 'longuement' (p. 298); yet, looking under *longuement* in the subsequent French - Basque vocabulary, we only find *luzaz*. Furthermore, it is of course possible that *emaro* 'slowly' found in the closely related Roncalese dialect was once part of Souletin as well, but are we really entitled to make this assumption, and could not *emaro* have reached Roncalese from the south rather than from the north?

Actually, the best proof that the Souletin dialect too once knew the adverbializer *-ro* was discovered by Mitxelena when he noticed that the typical Souletin form *haboro* meaning 'more' must stem from a metathesis of *bobaro*,¹⁵ identical to the adverbial *-ro* form of the adjective *bobe* 'better' (see FHV 161, note 12).

There is therefore every reason to believe that the use of *-ro* to form adverbs was once common to all dialects of Basque.

The preponderance of *-ro* in the southern dialects has already been noted in section 2b, in reviewing the adverbial repertoires of Ubillos, Gerriko, Beriain and Iztueta. To these, we could have added Lardizabal, who uses morphologically marked adverbs most sparingly, but when he does make use of one, it is almost always a *-ro* form. In his major work *Testamentu Zarreco eta Berrico Condaira*, published in 1855, I have encountered the following examples: *argiro* 'clearly', *berriro* 'again', *betero* 'fully', *garbiro* 'distinctly', *gogorkiro* 'ruthlessly', *gozaro* 'pleasantly' (also *gozoro*), *guriro* 'richly', *luzaro* 'for a long time', *maitaro* 'lovingly', *naroro* 'copiously', *oparo* 'abundantly', *osotoro* 'wholly', *santuro* 'devoutly', *zearo* 'in detail', *zorrozkiro* 'sharply'.

At this point, however, it will be more profitable for our purposes to return to Iztueta's much richer arsenal of adverbs. Having had occasion to enumerate the *-ki*

(14) My list has been compiled from P. Policarpo de Iraízoz "Vocabulario y fraseología de Joaquín Lizarraga" (Iraízoz 1978-79), together with various other sources. This list is, therefore, unlikely to be even remotely exhaustive.

(15) Although the adverb *bobaro* is otherwise unattested, I omit the asterisk in view of the derived verb *obarotu* 'to improve', cited in the DRA (p. 3055).

adverbs in section 2b, I will now display the *-ro* adverbs, 34 in number. We should note for later reference that they are always printed with a final accent mark, which I will omit: *abezekiro* 'alphabetically', *aizebelaskiro* 'waveringly', *argiro* 'clearly', *berriro* 'again', *bidebagekero* 'unjustly', *doakabero* 'unhappily', *emekiro* 'gently', *errazkero* 'easily', *estukiro* 'tightly', *gaindiro* 'eminently', *garbiro* 'distinctly', *garrazkero* 'bitterly', *geldiro* 'thoroughly', *gogorkiro* 'ruthlessly', *guriro* 'richly', *ikusgarriro* 'scenically', *jakintsuro* 'learnedly', *komunkiro* 'commonly', *leialkiro* 'loyally', *lotsabagekero* 'shamelessly', *lotsagarriro* 'shamefully', *luzaro* 'for a long time', *maitaro* 'lovingly', *moldakai(t)zkero* 'clumsily', *naroro* 'copiously', *oparo* 'lavishly', *portizkero* 'fiercely', *sarriro* 'frequently', *txukunkiro* 'neatly', *zabalkiro* 'extensively', *zearo* 'in detail', *ziertoro* 'certainly', *zintzoro* 'faithfully', *zuzenkiro* 'directly', 'honestly'.

On the whole, the use of the allomorph *-kiro* is similar to that in Gerriko's work. Besides following consonants, it appears after morphologically complex adjectives, such as *bidebage*, literally 'way-less', and *lotsabage* 'shame-less'. But the adjectival suffix *-garri* no longer induces morphological complexity. Where Gerriko had *mira-garri-kiro*, Iztueta employs plain *ikusgarriro*, *lotsagarriro*.

It is to be noted that the ending *-kiro* shows clear signs of productivity. It can substitute for the plain form *-ro* even after vowels, as was already the case in Larramendi's *Diccionario Trilingüe* (1745), and also in his later manuscript *Diccionario Vasco-Castellano*, in some respects considered more reliable: *biurriro*, *biurrikiro* 'perversamente' (p. 182). Iztueta shows two examples of this: *emekiro* 'gently' instead of *emaro* or *emero*, and *estukiro* 'tightly' instead of *esturo*, both of these forms being already given in Larramendi's *Diccionario Trilingüe*. It is interesting too in this connection that, when Iztueta wanted to create an adverb from a noun, he used *-kiro*, not *-ro*, even if the noun ended in a vowel. We already met the adverb *abezekiro* 'alphabetically', derived from the noun *abeze* 'alphabet'. Occurring four times in the book, this adverb was clearly Iztueta's own coinage, which is why he included it in the explanatory vocabulary placed at the end of the volume.

As to the *-roki* ending, there are in Iztueta's text only three adverbs incorporating it: *argiroki* 'clearly' (27 occurrences), *garbiroki* (at least 8 occurrences) and *gaindiroki* 'eminently', occurring but once (p. 51). The fact that their stems all end in the vowel *i* neatly confirms my hypothesis about the origin of the ending. The forms **argikiro*, **gaindikiro*, **garbikiro*, which the increasing productivity of *-kiro* leads us to expect, contain two unaccented high vowels in successive syllables, which, I gather, violates a phonological constraint of the western dialect area. Hence, metathesis was resorted to in order to break up the objectionable sequence by means of an intervening *-ro*.

By far the most important point to be made about Iztueta's use of the *-ro* forms has been saved for the last. In his parlance, *-ro* forms can be used adjectivally as well as adverbially. There are examples for at least three adverbs: *Egia garbiro onen ezagun-garritzat* (p. 27) 'as evidence of this quite clear truth'; *egia garbiro onen argibide zuzenak* (p. 64) 'straight documents of this quite clear truth'; *egia garbiroa da...* (p. 164) '... is a quite clear truth'; similarly with *ziertoro*: *egia ziertoro au* (p. II, V and 377) 'this quite certain truth'; *egia ziertoro onen sinistpenerako* (p. 138) 'for the belief in

this quite certain truth'; *egia ziertoro onen sinistgarririk garbiena* (p. 211) 'the clearest evidence for this quite certain truth'; and, finally, the partitive *maitarogakorik* (p. III) points to the adjectival status of *maitarago*, and hence of *maitaro*, given that the linking morpheme *-ko* never combines with manner adverbs.

In my opinion, this remarkable usage cannot be held to be an innovation invented by Iztueta. It has to be an archaic feature of his native dialect continuing an old tradition, even though it had already disappeared long ago from other regions. Its only survival in modern Basque constitutes the adjectival use of *oparo*, which can mean either 'lavish' or 'lavishly'. With this one form, Iztueta's usage is still entirely acceptable: *bere ur jori oparoakin* (*Condaira*, 121) 'with its magnificent lavish water'. Mitxelena too has written: *haren erbesteko urteak kontatzen dizkigu bizkuntza oparoan* (*MEIG* III,92) 'he tells us the years of his exile in a lavish language'. Finally, the authoritative *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa* published in 1994 cites the phrase *Gipuzkoako baso oparoetan* 'in the lavish woods of Guipuzcoa' (p. 859).

3c. Etymology of *-ro*

Let us recapitulate the properties of the adverbializer *-ro*, as seen in the earlier sections:

1. *-ro* co-occurs with adjectives as well as with adverbs. When combined with an adverb, the effect on the meaning is minimal: compare *beti* and *betiro*, *sarri* and *sarriro*, *gogorki* and *gogorkiro*, *osoki* and *osokiro*.
2. When *-ro* is combined with an adjective, the result may again be an adjective—witness *garbiro*, *maitaro*, *ziertoro* in Iztueta—or else, it may be an adverb.

Now, if, instead of Basque, we were dealing with French, those two properties would sound like a perfect characterization of the behavior of *tout*, an adverb meaning 'all'.

This adverb can be used as an intensifier for adjectives: *tout bête* 'quite dumb', *tout entier* 'absolutely whole', *tout facile* 'quite easy', *tout faux* 'quite false', *tout horrifié* 'quite horrified', *tout rouge* 'quite red', *tout seul* 'quite alone'. It can be used in the same meaning with adverbs as well: *tout facilement* 'quite easily', *tout franchement* 'quite frankly', *tout particulièrement* 'most particularly', *tout simplement* 'quite simply', *tout sincèrement* 'quite sincerely', *tout spécialement* 'most specially'. And, what to us is most important, *tout* also acts as an adverbializer, at least with certain adjectives: *tout court* 'briefly', *tout doux* 'gently', *tout entier* 'entirely', *tout juste* 'barely', *tout net* 'clearly', *tout sec* 'curtly', and so on.¹⁶

Plainly, French *tout* corresponds to Basque *oro*. This quantifier, now restricted to the eastern dialects, was once common to the entire country. It was used even in Biscaye, as is apparent from its occurrence in the proverbs of the 1596 collection *Refranes y Sentencias* (nrs. 92, 170, 198, 223, 245, 256, 491, 533).

(16) Most French grammars I have seen fail to make mention of this noteworthy fact. As so often, a laudable exception here is M. Grévisse's extremely useful handbook *Le bon usage*. In the 11-th edition of 1980 a full paragraph is devoted to this use of *tout*: § 797 on page 410.

In view of the strikingly parallel development of *tout* in French, it seems most unlikely that the partial identity between the quantifier *oro* and the adverbializer *-ro* should be purely accidental. The phonetic development presents no problem, as the apheresis of *oro* is already well-documented in the case of time adverbials. In Iztueta's book, as in the earlier Gerriko text, we still find the full forms: *urte oro* (p. 171) 'every year', *egunoro* (p. 349) 'daily', *egunoroko* (p. 178) 'daily'. But the reduced forms *egunero*, *urtero*, *illero*, *astero* are already attested in Añibarro's *Voces Bascongadas*, and *astero* 'weekly' appears in his *Lora Sorta Espirituala* (p. 165), published in 1803. In the same year, *egunero* turns up in J. A. Mogel's *Confesino Ona* (p. 34), where, as in all of Mogel's work, *egunoro* remains the most frequent form.

It is therefore in no way surprising that the suffix *-ro* should have the adverb *oro* as its source. In fact, Gerriko's *zeoro* for modern *ze(b)aro* also pointed in this direction. And that *oparo* 'abundantly' continues an older *opa oro* 'all one could wish' seems altogether undeniable. Still, generally speaking, the path from quantifier to adverbializer is not as obvious as one might wish, which is why our French parallel comes in so handy.

It may be asked whether the meaning development of Basque *oro* from quantifier to adverbializer represents an autonomous process rooted in universal grammar, or whether the Romance model played a decisive role in this evolution. I am inclined to take the latter view, since the process is, in fact, far from universal. While all the Romance languages possess an equivalent of *tout*, only French and Occitan seem to use it as an intensifier, as in *tout simplement* or *tout court*. Bearnese, the Occitan dialect closest to the Basque Country, employs *tout juste*, *tout dous*, *tout hort*, glossed 'justement, doucement, fortement' by the lexicographer Simin Palay (*DBGM*, 971). Castillian Spanish, on the other hand, entirely lacks expressions of this type. There is no **todo justo*, **todo dulce*, **todo fuerte*, nor is there **todo particularmente*.

It is therefore all the more intriguing that the distinguished linguistic historian R. Cierbide in his study of medieval Romance notarial documents originating from Navarra came across an occurrence of the phrase *tot integramente*.¹⁷ Did Navarrese Romance, unlike Castillian, belong to the Gallo-Romance Sprachbund alluded to above, or did the phrase in question arise by imitation of a Basque model of the form *osoki oro*, forerunner of *osokiro*, so profusely used by the Navarrese author Joaquin Lizarraga from Elcano in the latter part of the eighteenth century? Given that up to well into the sixteenth century, Basque-Romance bilingualism was a fact of life in virtually the whole province of Navarra, this possibility can surely not be discounted a priori.

4. The adverbializer *-to*

4a. The adverbializer *-to* in Batua

Distributionally, the suffix *-ro* is by far the most limited of all the adverbializers. Aside from the adverb *ondo* 'well' (derived from *on* 'good' via post-nasal voicing of

(17) Oral communication from Professor R. Cierbide, March 12, 1996.

the suffix *-to*), together with its irregular comparative *hobeto*,¹⁸ both used profusely in the southern variant of Batua,¹⁹ the suffix *-to* occurs as an adverbializer only in the Biscayan dialect, where it appears to have yielded less than twenty adverbs in all. Of these, a mere six seem to have survived in modern speech. Beyond the two items just mentioned, only *ederto* 'nicely', *polito* 'handsomely', *txarto* 'badly' and *zantarto* or *zatarto* 'hideously' can still be heard, and occasionally find their way into a Batua text, with the effect of lending it some local color: a Biscayan touch.

4b. Historical background of *-to*

Over the past two centuries *-to* adverbs have been dropping out of the language at a steady rate. The impoverishment is quite dramatic when the present inventory is compared to that of J. A. Mogel (1745-1804), but only one hundred years ago quite a few more adverbs were available to speakers of Biscayan than can be heard nowadays.

The prestigious lexicographer R. M. Azkue, himself a Biscayan born in 1864, will be our witness. When listing in his *Morfología Vasca* the *-to* adverbs familiar to him from the spoken language of his days, he cites those six we mentioned in section 4a together with four others: *errazto* 'easily', *gaiztoto* 'wickedly', *galanto* 'smartly' and *txatxarto* 'meanly' (Azk. *Morf.* I, § 386, p. 242) In addition to those ten examples vouched for by his personal experience, Azkue also adduced two instances from Biscayan literature, explicitly noting that he had not heard those used by the people. Both of them stem from the works of J. A. Mogel: *motelto* 'weakly' (*Peru Ab.* 207) and *urtento* 'boldly' (*Ip.* 15, ms. Zabala, cf. Altzibar's edition p. 207).

Dr. A. Arejita in chapter IV of his monumental study *La obra de Juan Antonio Moguel: Parte I. Gramática descriptiva de la lengua* has unearthed three additional examples from J. A. Mogel's works: *gogorto* 'harshly' (*Ip.* 27, 52, 62; cf. Altzibar's edition p. 94, 132, 155), *okerto* 'wrongly' (*Doct. Cr.* 9; cf. Villasante's edition, p. 100), *otzanto* 'meekly' (*Ip.* 1; cf. Altzibar's edition p. 45).

As far as I am aware, the earliest attestation of this type of adverb is found in the celebrated lament over Doña Milia de Lastur, datable to the first half of the fifteenth century and transmitted to us by the famous Basque historian E. Garibay (1533-1599). There we read: *laburto* (line 14) 'briefly' and *gaxtoto* (line 26) 'wickedly' (cf. Mitxelena, *TAV* 3.1.5).

Incidentally, the latter adverb also appears in some proverbs belonging to the *Refranes y Sentencias* of 1596, where we find it spelled in three different ways: *gassoto* (No. 301), *guextoto* (No. 341) and *gaxtoto* (No. 342).

(18) A phonetic variant *obato* also appears in the older Biscayan texts, so e.g. in J. J. Mogel's *Baserritaar jakitunaren etxeke eskolia* (p. 20, 150, 151, etc.), where, similarly, the form *osaro* 'wholly' is used (p. 49, 76) instead of the more common *osoro*.

This form *obato* already appears in a letter from Juan de Zumarraga written in 1537. Cf. Tovar, Otte & Michelena 1981.

(19) As a footnote by Mitxelena on page 96 of Villasante 1974 informs us, *ondo* and *obeto* reach at least as far as the Navarrese town of Oyarzun.

The only further example of this kind of adverb that has come to my knowledge is *adinondo*, derived from *adinon* 'middling', and cited by P. Mujika with the meaning 'fairly', 'indifferently'. Cf. DCV, 1894, and DVC I, 48.

Such a meagre harvest¹⁸ adverbs in all will make us wonder whether the adverbializer *-to* was ever productive. Yet, it must have been so to some extent in the late eighteenth century, as will be shown by the form *txarto* 'badly'. This well-known adverb, which ended up replacing entirely its earlier synonyms *gaistoto* and *deungaro*, did not make its appearance until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is found in Añibarro's manuscript of *Gueroco Guero*—still in combination with *deungaro*: *deungaro ta txarto*—and also in J. J. Mogel's *Baserritaar jakitunaren etxeko eskolia* first published in 1816, but not, as Dr. A. Arejita (1994: Chapter IV, p. 522) has noticed, in the works of J.A. Mogel, who uses only *deungaro*. Thus, it seems that *txarto* must have been derived from the adjective *txar* 'bad' in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, which shows that the suffix *-to* was, at least at that time, a well-established adverbializer that could be extended to new forms.

4c. Etymology of *-to*

To uncover the origin of the adverbializer *-to*, we first need to resort to the earliest Basque dictionary in existence, to wit, N. Landuchio's *Dictionarium Linguae Cantabrigiae* dated 1562 and representing the speech of the city of Vitoria, capital of the southern province of Alava, as convincingly argued by Mitxelena in 1958 when the manuscript, at last, was printed. More fittingly described as a Spanish-Basque vocabulary, this work contains the only information we have about the Basque that was spoken in that southern capital, and is therefore immensely valuable to historical linguists. And, I would add, for the problem at hand its testimony happens to be invaluable. Not indeed that the vocabulary contains many examples of plain *-to* adverbs. In fact, it offers only three: *gaistoto* (p. 149) 'badly', *obato* (p. 153) 'better', *ondo* (p. 71) 'well'. What it does contain, however, are seven instances of an adverbial ending *-toro*: *erraztoro* (p. 125) 'easily', *galantoro* (p. 128) 'smartly', *garbitoro* (p. 145) 'neatly', *gaistotoro* (p. 149) 'badly', *gogortoro* (p. 110) 'harshly', *oztoro* (p. 128) 'coolly', *zurtoro* (p. 119) 'scantily'.²⁰

Curiously enough, the only surviving adverb of this type *osotoro* 'completely' fails to appear. As a translation of "enteramente", Landuchio gives *osoyc*, i.e. the stative adverb *osorik*, derived from *oso* 'whole' by means of the stative suffix *-(r)ik*. Let us head back now to *osotoro*, which will be our key form. Its etymology is so clear that it must have been obvious to all speakers of the language until far into the middle of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, when Larramendi in the middle of the eighteenth century translated *perfecte adimplere* 'to fulfil perfectly' by *oso ta oro betetzea* (S.Tomas 1) or when he wrote in the manuscript of his Basque-Castilian dictionary "*osoro, oso ta oro enteramente, del todo*", he must, in all likelihood, have been using an etymological spelling for what is written *osotoro* by his slightly younger contem-

(20) As often in the course of this essay, I have modernized the spelling. As before, page numbers refer to Agud and Mitxelena's edition, not to the manuscript.

porary Ubillos (*Christau doctrin berri-ecarlea*, p. 222) and by later writers such as J. B. Agirre, Iztueta and Lardizabal. There can be no doubt: *osotoro* represents *oso ta oro* 'whole and all'.

Interestingly, exactly parallel formations exist in Dutch and German. A Dutch vernacular equivalent of 'entirely' is *helendal*, consisting of the adjective *heel* 'whole' and the adverb *al* 'all', joined together by *ende*, the old form of the conjunction 'and'. Compare also German *ganz und gar*, matched by Dutch *helemaal* 'completely'.

In a similar vein, Iztueta's *gozotoro* 'sweetly' must stem from *gozo ta oro* 'sweet and all', and likewise for all the examples found in Landuchio's dictionary.

At this point a question may arise. Why is it that, while *oso* is an adjective, *oso ta oro* has suddenly turned into an adverb? The answer is not far to seek. *Oso*, of course, is not just an adjective, it can also be an adverb, even nowadays. Orixe translated the Latin adverb *penitus* 'entirely' by *oso*: *Gogotik oso galdu baledi...* (si autem penitus aboleatur ex animo...) 'if it were entirely lost...' (*Aitorkizunak*, 267). Likewise, Lizardi wrote: *Ta gauza batek arritzen nau oso:...* 'And one thing completely astonishes me:...' (*Itz-lauz*², 78). Further examples could easily be added by any native speaker of southern Basque.

Now, given that only constituents belonging to the same syntactic category can be conjoined, conjoining *oso* with the indubitable adverb *oro* will make it, and therefore the whole phrase, unambiguously into an adverb.

To extend this explanation to the other examples, we have to claim either that in older Basque all adjectives involved could act as adverbs (which I believe to be the case, cf. section 5), or else, that the suffix *-toro*, once born, got extended to adjectives not originally entitled to it.

Having explained the ending *-toro*, we return to the adverbializer *-to*. Since those two suffixes are functionally equivalent and partly identical in shape, they are most likely to be historically related. The question remains in what way. Azkue appears to hold the view that *-toro* is merely a sequence of *-to* and *-ro*, for he calls the suffix pleonastic (Azk. *Morf.* I, § 386, p. 242). Needless to say, after our analysis of *-toro* as consisting of (*e*)*ta* and *oro*, such a notion can no longer be accepted. Rather, we have to view *-toro* as a more ancient form, from which the suffix *-to* arose by phonetic contraction, in much the same way as the form *gizonan* resulted from the genitive *gizonaren* in many varieties of spoken Basque.

An intonational peculiarity provides an additional argument. Whereas Landuchio's dictionary, as a rule, does not furnish accent marks, in Iztueta's text *osotoró* and *gozotoró* always carry a final accent; likewise for *osotorò* in Ubillos's work. It is therefore quite interesting to note that the adverbializer *-to* in J. A. Mogel's manuscripts virtually always bears an accent mark: *ederto*, *gogorto*, *motelto*, *otzanto*, a graphic detail that undoubtedly represents a fact of pronunciation of the time, all the more telling as word-final stress is far from common in Biscayan Basque. On my analysis, then, the final stress on enclitic *oro* historically explains the final stress on the *-to* adverbs.

In *osotoro*, the semantic value of *oro* must have been perceived as long as the word

remained current in the spoken language, which explains why it never contracted to **osoto*.

The contracted form *-to* already existed in Landuchio's data, for he cites *gaistoto* as well as *gaistotoro* (p. 149), and also of course *ondo* and *obato*.

The fact that the uncontracted forms **ondoro* and **obatoro* are nowhere attested does not tell against my analysis. Indeed, for such extremely common adverbs one can expect the phonetic contraction to become obligatory at a very early date. Notice, however, that even nowadays *ondo* still allows final stress, in contrast to its synonym *ongi*, which is permitted initial stress only.

The case of *ondo*'s antonym *txarto* is quite different. As we saw in section 4b, this is a more recent adverb, formed when the adverbializer had already taken the shape *-to*.

5. The adverbializer Ø

Many adjectives allow a zero adverbializer, i.e. they are able to act as manner adverbs themselves. No semantic characterization as to which adjectives behave in this way is at present available. It can be noticed that all adjectives referring to quantity seem to be included; witness *eskas* and *urri*, both meaning 'scant' as well as 'scantily', and their antonyms *jori*, *naro*, *oparo* and *ugari*, all meaning 'abundant' as well as 'abundantly'. Yet, such generalizations are apt to be spurious, and the property in question may well be purely lexically governed; the more so as there are substantial differences between dialects, southern varieties accepting considerably more adverbial adjectives than northern ones do.

That being so, from the point of view of the interdialectal standard, we may speak of an optional use of the adverbializer *-ki* (or *-ro*, as the case may be) with certain adjectives, with a tendency of the northern dialects to keep it and a preference of the southern ones to drop it. Some adjectives, however, never take *-ki*, although used as adverbs: *bapo* 'splendid' (not used in the north), *egoki* 'suitable' (for reasons of euphony, but cf. *egokiro*), *laster* 'fast', where *lasterki*, while found in dictionaries is exceedingly rare, even in the north. Furthermore, there is *zoli*, used for 'keenly' as well as 'keen'.

The most common adverbial adjectives used in Batua are listed below :

aldrebes:	wrong, backward	aldrebes(ki):	wrongly, the other way round
alfer:	idle, useless, lazy	alfer(ki):	in vain, idly, fruitlessly
apal:	low, humble	apal(ki):	soft, softly, humbly
apropos:	appropriate	apropos(ki):	appropriately, intentionally
argi:	clear	argi(ki):	clearly
arin:	light, quick	arin(ki):	lightly, quickly
artez:	straight	artez(ki):	straight, straight-forwardly
azkar:	vigorous, rapid, clever	azkar(ki):	vigorously, rapidly, fast
bapo:	splendid	bapo:	splendidly
berdin:	equal	berdin(ki):	equally
biguin:	soft	biguin(ki):	softly
bikain:	superb, magnificent	bikain(ki):	superbly, magnificently
bizi:	alive, quick, strong	bizi(ki):	lively, quickly, strongly

bizkor:	brisk, spry, quick	bizkor(ki):	briskly, quickly
dotore:	fashionable, elegant	dotore(ki):	fashionably, elegantly
egoki:	fitting, suitable	egoki(ro):	suitably, conveniently
eragabe:	irregular, immoderate	eragabe(ki):	irregularly, immoderately
eroso:	comfortable, easy	eroso(ki):	comfortably, easily
erraz:	easy	erraz(ki):	easily
garbi:	clean	garbi(ki):	frankly, clearly
garratz:	sour, stern, severe	garratz(ki):	sourly, sternly, severely
gogor:	hard, rigid, rigorous	gogor(ki):	harshly, rigidly, rigorously
gozo:	delicious, sweet	gozo(ki):	pleasantly, sweetly
jator:	proper, authentic	jator(ki):	properly, correctly
labur:	brief, short	labur(ki):	briefly
larri:	big, grave, critical	larri(ki):	broadly, gravely, seriously
lasai:	loose, carefree, calm	lasai(ki):	freely, tranquilly, calmly
laster:	rapid, quick	laster:	rapidly, quickly, fast, soon
leun:	smooth	leun(ki):	smoothly
luze:	long	luze(ki):	at length
makur:	crooked	makur(ki):	crookedly, wrongly
motel:	faltering	motel(ki):	falteringly
ozen:	loud, resounding	ozen(ki):	loudly, resoundingly
sakon:	deep, profound	sakon(ki):	deeply, profoundly
sendo:	firm, solid	sendo(ki):	firmly, solidly, strongly
txukun:	tidy, neat	txukun(ki):	tidily, neatly
zalu:	quick, agile	zalu(ki):	quickly, fast
zehatz:	precise	zehatz(ki):	precisely
zintzo:	dutiful, decent	zintzo(ki):	dutifully, decently, civilly
zoli:	keen, vigorous	zoli:	keenly, vigorously
zoro:	foolish	zoro(ki):	foolishly
zorrotz:	sharp, rigorous	zorrotz(ki):	sharply, strictly, rigorously
zuhur:	cautious, wise	zuhur(ki):	cautiously, wisely

I would like to end this section with a diachronic comment. The great number of double-duty items²¹ among Basque manner adverbs makes pure adverbs such as *ederki*, *gaizki* and *ongi* look more like exceptions than like the rule. This situation makes us wonder whether in an older stage of the language perhaps all manner adverbs were double-duty items, so that older Basque lacked a formal distinction between adjectives and adverbs. The results of our earlier sections all point in the same direction. The various morphemes that characterize manner adverbs in historical Basque originally served other functions: *-ki* indicated the part-to-whole relationship, and *oro*, involved in both *-ro* and *-to*, was a quantifier, as it still is in Souletin and the neighbouring dialects. They only became adverbializers at a certain point in history. And if indeed, as I suggested, Romance influence also played a role in this proces, this point may not be farther back than one single millenium or even less.

This conclusion, needless to say, shares the fate of all historical reconstructions of never being absolutely certain. In our case, it is, after all, entirely possible that

(21) This handy term, describing lexical items able to serve in two or more syntactic functions, was introduced by A. Zwicky in a recent paper (Zwicky 1995).

adverbs were distinguished from adjectives in older Basque by a feature impossible to reconstruct, say, a glottal stop soon lost.

6. Deictic manner adverbs

Whereas modern English has but a single deictic manner adverb *so*, Basque distinguishes here three degrees of deixis, corresponding to the three demonstrative pronouns:

<i>bonela</i> , corresponding to: <i>era bonetara</i>	(or: <i>era bonetan</i>)	'in this way'.
<i>horrela</i> , corresponding to: <i>era horretara</i>	(or: <i>era horretan</i>)	'in that way'.
<i>hala</i> , corresponding to: <i>era hartara</i>	(or: <i>era hartan</i>)	'in that (yon) way'.

Some examples are :

- (2)a. *Honela ez goaz inora.* (HLEH 516)
This way we are going nowhere.
- (2)b. *Horrela ez zoaz inora.*
That way you are going nowhere.
- (2)c. *Hala ez doa inora.*
That way he is going nowhere.
- (3)a. *Honela erantzungo diot: —Alde hemendik, deabru hori.*
I will answer him this way : —Run off, you devil.
- (3)b. *Horrela bizi behar al dun, alaba?* (N. Etxaniz, LBB, 49)
Daughter, do you have to live in that way?
- (3)c. *Lehen hala, orain horrela, gero ez jakin nola.* (Proverb cited in L. Mendi-zabal, *Man.* 251)
First this way, now that way, afterwards there is no knowing how.
- (3)d. *Hala dirudi.*
So it seems.

In terms of synchronic morphology, these adverbs consist of the oblique stem of a singular demonstrative, followed by a special manner suffix *-la*, also found in *bestela* 'otherwise' and *nola* 'how'.

From a diachronic point of view, however, we remember that the suffix *-la* represents the original shape of the allative case ending, which later turned into *-ra* because of its invariable intervocalic occurrence. On that basis, it is natural to assume that a straightforward Basque equivalent of the French gloss "à la manière de ceci/cela" was instrumental in creating these adverbs through deletion or non-lexicalization of the head noun meaning 'manner': *bonen ERA-la* > **bonen* + *la* > **bonella* > *bonela*.

Our view that *-la* is an allative case ending rather than a derivational suffix finds some additional support in the observation that those deictic adverbs, unlike all other manner adverbs, can be turned into adnominals by means of the linking morpheme *-ko*, just as if they were postpositional phrases:

- (4). *Nolako liburua?* —*Honelako* (horrelako / halako) *liburua.*
What kind of book? —This (that/yon) kind of book.

In the spoken language of most regions, this threefold system tends to give way

to a twofold one, with the contracted form *bola* serving for both *bonela* and *borrela*. It must be mentioned, however, that the Basque Academy strongly opposes the use of *bola* in the standard language, except as part of the expression *bala-bola* (or its variants *bola-bala*, *bola-bola*) meaning 'so-so', i.e. 'not very well'. The corresponding adnominal is also current: *bala-holako* 'mediocre'.

7. Syntax of manner adverbs

In principle, a manner adverb can occur anywhere in its clause, as long as it does not precede the topic of the sentence. But in an overwhelming majority of instances, a manner adverb, even when not particularly prominent from a pragmatic point of view, will be treated as the focus of its clause and occupy the corresponding position right in front of the verbal complex. Its syntactic behavior, therefore, is seen to confirm the claim made in section 1 that a manner adverb acts as a direct modifier of its verb in surface structure. The following examples, taken from modern texts, are quite typical:

- (5)a. *Gizona eta gizartea ederki ezagutzen zituen.* (MEIG II, 41)
He knew man and society very well.
- (5)b. *Oso zintzo portatu gara.* (Atxaga, *Obab.* 355)
We have behaved very civilly.
- (5)c. *Ene bihotza azkar zebilen.* (L. Haranburu, *Itsasoak* 113)
My heart was beating fast.
- (5)d. *Organuaren notak ozenki hedatzen ziren katedralean.* (Txillardegi, *Exkixu* 223)
The notes of the organ were expanding resoundingly through the cathedral.

In negative clauses, manner adverbs will usually function as quasifocus,²² standing in front of the verbal participle, if there is one:

- (6)a. *Ez naiz oso ongi oroitzen.* (MEIG I, 160)
I don't remember very well.
- (6)b. *Ez duzu oso erraz barkatzen.* (Garate, *Izurri Berria*, 29)
You don't forgive very easily.
- (6)c. *Ez da eskuarki Lizardiren onenetakoa.* (MEIG II, 65)
It isn't exactly one of Lizardi's best (poems).

Focushood may be claimed by another constituent, in which case the manner adverb will usually be relegated to after the verb :

- (7)a. *Zer egin dut zehatz?* (Txillardegi, *Leturia...* 114)
What have I done exactly?
- (7)b. *Orain ikusten dut garbi.* (Atxaga, *Obab.* 64)
I clearly see it now.
- (7)c. *Hizkuntzaren jabe da Etxaide, zeharo eta osoro.* (MEIG II, 56)
Etxaide has command of the language, fully and completely.
- (7)d. *Bestela, zuregana joango naiz laster.* (*Elizen arteko biblia. Apokalipsia* 2.16)
Or else, I will quickly come to you.

(22) For the concept of pseudofocus, see my paper, de Rijk 1996.

- (7)e. Eseri egin da haundikiro. (Garate, *Hades* 7)
He majestically seated himself.
- (7)f. Izen horiek aitortzen dute, goraki eta ozenki, Euskal Herria dela Txillidaren herria. (MEIG VIII, 59)
It is those names that testify, loud and resoundingly, that the Basque Country is Txillida's country.

In particular, direct quotes can serve as focus. Then too, the manner adverb will follow the verb :

- (8)a. —Eh, Sarasola, Luis— errepikatzen du ozenkiago ahotsak. (Urretabizkaia, *Sat.* 33)
—Hey, Sarasola, Luis— repeats the voice more resoundingly.
- (8)b. —Nor da mintzo dena?— galdetu zuen berrito idazleak. (Sarrionandia, *Nar.* 39)
—Who is it who is speaking?— asked again the writer.

A manner adverb can appear as an after-thought, especially when followed by phrases such as *bederen*, *behintzat*, *behinik behin*, all having the meaning 'at least':

- (9). Otxoa de Arin ez da berebizikoa, baina nolazpait ere moldatzen da, trakeski bederen. (MEIG V, 104)
Otxoa de Arin is not tremendous, but somehow or other he manages, at least clumsily.

Finally, it is quite possible for a sentence to have no preverbal focus at all, despite the presence of a manner adverb:

- (10). Gero, urteen buruan, gauzak lasaitu ziren astiro eta poliki. (MEIG VII, 37)
Later on, as the years went by, things eased down slowly and gradually.

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