

Supplements of the *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»*, n.º XLIII

DE LINGUA VASCONUM: SELECTED WRITINGS

Rudolf P. G. de Rijk

Universidad del País Vasco Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea
Bilbao Bilbo

1998

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I.S.B.N.: 84-8373-210-6
Lege-Gordailua: BI-2563-99

Fotokonposaketa: Ipar, S. Coop.
Particular de Zurbaran, 2-4 - 48007 Bilbao

Inprimategia: Itzaropena, S.A.
Araba Kalea, 45 - 20800 Zarautz (Gipuzkoa)

FOREWORD

Even though I am the autor, I can claim but a limited portion of the credit for the present book. The idea for a publication containing the main body of my articles on Basque arose in the mind of the distinguished editor of this series, and his was the sole responsibility for the selection of the items to be included.

As to the articles themselves, they could never have been written without the enthusiastic cooperation of my numerous Basque friends and eager informants through many years. Needless to say, they are not to be held responsible for any errors or misconceptions that I may have allowed to invade my expositions.

The articles have been printed in chronological sequence of their publication, not in every case identical to the order in which they were written. Apart from an endeavour to remove the printing errors, some of which hindered intelligibility, the original text of the articles has been kept unchanged. At most, a few of the earlier papers have been supplied with additional footnotes, lettered rather than numbered, and thus clearly marked as not being part of the original text.

Within these pages, considerable attention is paid to such topics as Focus and Word Order, Relative Clauses, the Partitive Determiner, and Adnominal *-eo*, to mention some recurrent themes in my investigations. It is all too obvious, however, that this work cannot substitute in any way for a comprehensive Basque grammar. Providing such a text is an arduous task I have been wrestling with for some time, and which, *Jaungoikoa lagun*, I hope to complete in due course.

I dedicate this book to my devoted wife, Virginia de Rijk-Chan, whose unfailing support during the throes of writing these essays provided sorely-needed encouragement. Moreover, her judicious suggestions were instrumental in rendering the style of the more recent English-language papers much more palatable than it would have been had I been left to my own resources.

Finally, it is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to Dr. J. A. Lakarra, who has been the most helpful editor any author could wish for. He very kindly shared the burden of proofreading with me, and also helped me cope with Spanish idiom whenever necessary. In short, without his dedicated efforts this book would not have come into existence.

Amsterdam, december 1998

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GUIDE TO ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ASJU</i>	<i>Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo"</i>
<i>BAP</i>	<i>Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de Amigos del País</i>
<i>BSLP</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris</i>
<i>DBEF</i>	R. M. de Azkue, <i>Dictionnaire basque - espagnol - français</i>
<i>DCV</i>	P. Mugica Berrondo, <i>Diccionario Castellano - Vasco</i>
<i>DGV</i>	L. Michelena, <i>Diccionario General Vasco</i>
<i>DRA</i>	M. de la Sota, P. Laffite, L. de Akesolo, <i>Diccionario Retana de Autoridades de la Lengua Vasca</i>
<i>DT</i>	M. de Larramendi, <i>Diccionario trilingüe del Castellano, Bascuence y Latín</i>
<i>Dv</i>	J. Duvoisin, <i>Bible saindua</i>
<i>DVC</i>	P. Mugica Berrondo, <i>Diccionario Vasco - Castellano</i>
<i>DVEF</i>	R. M. de Azkue, <i>Diccionario Vasco - Español - Francés</i>
<i>EGL</i>	Euskaltzaindia, <i>Euskal gramatika laburra: perpaus bakuna</i>
<i>EGLU</i>	Euskaltzaindia, <i>Euskal gramatika, leben urratsak</i>
<i>EH</i>	I. Sarasola, <i>Euskal hiztegia</i>
<i>ETZ</i>	J. M. Satrustegi, <i>Euskal testu zaharrak</i>
<i>FHV</i>	L. Michelena, <i>Fonética histórica vasca</i>
<i>FLV</i>	<i>Fontes Linguae Vasconum</i>
<i>HLEH</i>	I. Sarasola, <i>Hauta-lanerako euskal hiztegia</i>
<i>HLV</i>	L. Villasante, <i>Historia de la literatura vasca</i>
<i>LBB</i>	N. Etxaniz, <i>Lur berri billa</i>
<i>MEIG</i>	K. Mitxelena, <i>Euskal idazlan guztiak</i>
<i>MIH</i>	K. Mitxelena, <i>Mitxelenaren idazlan hautatuak</i>
<i>RIEV</i>	<i>Revista internacional de los estudios vascos</i>
<i>TAV</i>	L. Michelena, <i>Textos arcaicos vascos</i>
<i>TOE</i>	A. Labayen, <i>Teatro osoa enzkeraz</i>

COMPTE-RENDU*

Luis MICHELENA: *Fonética histórica vasca*. (Publicaciones del Seminario *Julio de Urquijo* de la Excm. Diputación Provincial de Guipúzcoa), 455 pp. St. Sébastien 1961.

L'auteur de cette étude, directeur du Séminaire de Philologie Basque à St. Sébastien, jouit d'une réputation excellente solidement établie parmi les bascologues. De nombreux articles, des comptes-rendus et des notes sur une étonnante variété de sujets ont paru de sa main dans mainte revue linguistique, onomastique, euskarologique, pyrénéenne, et j'en passe. On connaît trois autres livres du même auteur, en voici les titres: *Apellidos vascos* (St. Sébastien, 2.^a édition; 1955), *Historia de la literatura vasca* (Madrid, Ed. Minotauro, 1960), *Lenguas y protolenguas* (Salamanque, 1963). L'ouvrage dont le titre figure en tête de ce compte-rendu présente une édition revue de sa thèse de doctorat, soutenue le 26 janvier 1959 à la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Madrid.

C'est un lieu commun que de dire que ce livre comble une lacune. Pourtant, telle est l'exacte vérité. Avec un peu d'exagération on pourrait dire qu'il est incroyable qu'on ait pu faire de la bascologie pendant presque tout un siècle sans disposer d'un livre d'ensemble qui étudie les sons basques dans une perspective diachronique et systématique.

Le célèbre ouvrage de M. Henri Gavel: *Eléments de phonétique basque* (Paris, 1920), qui a été le livre de chevet de toute une génération de bascologues, fait, il est vrai, la part belle aux considérations historiques, mais, vieux de plus de quarante ans, il soutiendrait fort mal la comparaison du présent ouvrage. Ceci à cause de plusieurs raisons: d'abord, comme il ne pouvait en être autrement, vu la date de sa parution, le livre de Gavel se situe encore au stade préphonologique; puis, à ce que je crois, il n'a pas suffisamment le sens du système, et, surtout, il renonce presque catégoriquement à remonter au delà de ce qui est immédiatement donné. Certes, je ne dis pas que M. Gavel eût pu faire mieux à l'époque où il écrivait son livre, je dis qu'à l'heure actuelle on a le droit d'être plus exigeant.

A part un petit nombre d'étymologies, tout ce qu'il y a d'hypothétique dans le Gavel se réduit à la question de savoir si certains changements phonétiques basques sont dus ou non à une influence romane, et même ici, M. Gavel se borne le plus souvent à discuter les arguments pour et contre d'autrui, sans vouloir trancher la question.

* *Lingua* 12 (1963), 320-334.

Ceci on peut le prendre pour un compliment; ce serait à tort. Car, ce qui fait avancer la science, ce n'est pas la seule découverte de faits nouveaux; ce qui entraîne le progrès, c'est bien, dans tous les domaines de la pensée scientifique, les tentatives d'explication, les hypothèses, qui, bien entendu, doivent garder la vertu de pouvoir être rattachées aux faits.

Pour en revenir à M. Michelena, au cours de son étude, il arrive à faire plusieurs hypothèses d'un caractère assez général. Cependant, il ne se dissimule aucunement l'importance de l'exigence de vérifiabilité au sens large, à laquelle j'ai déjà fait allusion. Les quelques paragraphes de la préface du livre que je serai amené à citer dans ce qui suit suffiront pour s'en assurer.

De quoi s'agit-il exactement dans le livre de M. Michelena? La réponse à cette question c'est la citation suivante qui va nous l'apprendre. C'est un paragraphe important que je veux traduire in extenso parce qu'il explique, mieux que je ne saurais le faire moi-même, quel est le but précis de cette étude et quelle en est l'utilité.

Il s'agit ici ... de contribuer à la reconstruction du protobasque. En d'autres termes, d'essayer d'indiquer la direction des changements phonétiques et de préciser leurs conditions dans la mesure où le permettent la divergence formelle de certains signifiants basques et l'examen des modifications subies par les mots d'emprunt latino-romans. C'est ainsi qu'on pourra ramener la forme de morphèmes lexicaux et grammaticaux à l'aspect le plus ancien que la comparaison permette d'atteindre, et on pourra reconstruire également, de façon aussi schématique que ce soit, le système phonologique du basque ancien. Ceci a un double objectif, l'un de caractère théorique et l'autre de caractère pratique. Le fait de postuler des réalités hypothétiques qui se situent dans un passé imprécis et en somme assez récent, ne se justifie que dans la mesure où l'on peut expliquer à partir d'elles les faits modernes, en supposant, bien entendu, une certaine régularité dans l'évolution des sons. De plus, et voici l'objectif pratique: si la reconstruction est correcte et si l'on a pris soin de distinguer ce qui est certain de ce qui est plus ou moins probable, on aura obtenu que la langue basque pourra être utilisée avec un moindre risque d'erreur dans la comparaison avec d'autres langues. (*FHV*, p. 11-12).

De ce que nous venons de lire, il s'ensuit que le titre du volume ne correspond pas tout-à-fait au contenu. L'auteur s'en rend d'ailleurs très bien compte: «tanto el sustantivo como el adjetivo no resultan demasiado apropiados» nous dit-il à la page 11. J'ai toutes les raisons de croire qu'il aurait préféré le titre de *Fonología diacrónica vasca*, et je me demande ce qui l'a empêché de le choisir. En tout cas, la raison qu'il en donne lui-même et que je ne veux pas répéter ici, ne m'a point convaincu, et j'espère qu'il voudra bien saisir hardiment la première occasion qui se présente pour conférer à son ouvrage le nom qu'il mérite.

A la base de tout l'oeuvre de M. Michelena, il y a une conviction fondamentale qu'il expose dans les termes suivants: «A ma manière de voir, on peut avancer aujourd'hui de deux façons sur les résultats antérieurs: 1) en utilisant d'une manière plus exhaustive les documents disponibles; et 2) en faisant un usage plus conséquent de la méthode comparative». (*FHV*, p. 13).

Et un peu plus loin: «J'ai déjà suggéré que dans les essais précédents je rencontre une certaine timidité dans l'application de la méthode comparative. Il ne serait pas

difficile de prouver que c'est à la personnalité géniale de Schuchardt que revient ici la plus grande responsabilité: la critique des procédés des néogrammairiens nous est parvenue avant que ceux-ci eussent pleinement fructifié. La reconstruction comparative a beau n'être qu'un jeu; tout jeu a ses règles et personne n'y trouverait le moindre plaisir s'il pouvait le jouer à ses quatre volontés. Je me réfère évidemment à la régularité des changements phonétiques, qu'il faut toujours maintenir comme premier postulat —avec les restrictions que l'expérience nous enseigne continuellement— aussi bien s'il s'agit de la langue basque que de toute autre. Si nous savons avec certitude, pour citer un exemple, qu'une / basque ancienne s'est faite *r* à l'inter-vocalique, nous ne pouvons supposer en aucune façon que le basque commun *al(h)aba* "fille" eût une / ancienne. Ceci, d'autre part, est plus qu'un jeu. La reconstruction comparative, y compris la pure reconstruction interne, peut s'approcher d'une réalité disparue, puisque, dans d'autres langues et dans le basque lui-même, nous voyons que de nouveaux témoignages confirment plus d'une fois la réalité de formes postulées». (*FHV*, p. 14-15).

De même, à la page 20: «Une reconstruction comparative n'est pas quelque chose qui en principe ne puisse être contrastée avec l'expérience. Ce qui est uniquement nécessaire, c'est que les faits du passé arrivent d'une manière ou d'une autre à se transmettre jusqu'à nous». Quant à la position de l'auteur vis-à-vis de ce que nous savons de l'ibérique d'une part, et la comparaison basco-caucasique de l'autre, comment paraît-elle dans son étude? Elle résulte clairement de la citation suivante: «Je n'ai pas négligé de tenir compte des textes ibériques, bien que ce témoignage-là soit rarement allégué. En effet, l'ibérique ne peut être tenu aujourd'hui pour une langue congénère au basque, ou peut-être vaudrait-il mieux de dire qu'une telle parenté, qu'elle existe ou non, n'a pu être démontrée. Néanmoins, dans la mesure où l'écriture permet de le découvrir, l'ibérique, en tant que langue proche dans l'espace, semble avoir eu un système phonologique qui montre de curieuses analogies avec celui qu'on peut supposer pour le basque de cette époque. Les deux langues doivent avoir eu également certains mots en commun, pour peu que la coïncidence s'étende au dehors des noms propres ibériques». (o.c., p. 18). Et il poursuit: «Par contre, je n'ai pas fait entrer en considération les résultats de la comparaison basco-caucasique. Ceci est dû à des raisons méthodiques et non pas à un préjugé contre de telles tentatives. A mon avis, les résultats de la reconstruction interne, pour douteux qu'ils soient sous pas mal d'aspects, possèdent actuellement un degré de probabilité fort supérieur à celui que présentent les meilleurs fruits de la comparaison extra-basque. Il paraît dès lors que, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, celle-ci doit tenir bien présent les résultats de celle-là, et non viceversa. Un jour, et il est désirable qu'il ne soit pas très loin, d'autres langues pourront peut-être éclaircir ce qui dans le basque même ne trouve pas d'explication». (*FHV*, p. 18).

Aux citations que nous venons de voir je n'éprouve guère le besoin d'ajouter des commentaires, car mon point de vue personnel semble bien coïncider ici avec celui de l'auteur. Ceci n'est plus le cas, cependant, pour le paragraphe suivant, également tiré de la préface. Il s'agit de l'action possible du sens sur l'évolution phonétique de certains signifiants: «Il faudrait peut-être justifier aussi le recours fréquent à l'expressivité, qui, sous l'une ou l'autre forme, apparaît généralement dans des ouvrages de ce genre. L'action occasionnelle du sens sur les éléments de la seconde articulation

linguistique (cf. A. Martinet: "Arbitraire linguistique et double articulation", *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 15 (1957), 105-116) est un fait amplement démontré, mais il est impossible d'en marquer les limites, comme il arrive toujours lorsqu'intervient dans nos considérations cette grandeur réfractaire à toute délimitation précise qu'est le sens. En réalité, dans toute langue —et la nôtre ne constitue pas d'exception— il reste toujours un ensemble de signifiants (que pour des raisons de principe nous ne cesserons pas de concevoir comme marginaux, quel qu'en soit le nombre) qui ne s'accommodent pas du cadre des correspondances régulières, mais qui présentent certaines caractéristiques formelles, en quelque sorte des régularités d'un autre type, qui peuvent servir pour les différencier et les distinguer». (o.c., p. 21).

Ici quelques remarques s'imposent. Tout d'abord, je suis tenté de dire que le fait même que l'auteur se sente obligé de justifier son recours à l'expressivité dans les termes que nous venons de lire, est déjà une indication assez claire qu'il aurait bien préféré pouvoir s'en passer. Aussi faut-il signaler que dans cet ouvrage-ci ce recours à l'expressivité est sensiblement moins fréquent que dans la plupart des autres travaux de bascologie. Toujours est-il qu'on le rencontre, l'exemple suivant étant assez typique. Nous lisons à la page 254: «Les occlusives fortes initiales se sont perdues régulièrement, sauf en quelques cas où les protégeait le caractère expressif du terme: *kbe*, *ke(e)*, *kei* "fumée", *kbino*, etc. "puanteur" (anc. **kēno*), *t(h)u* "salive" et quelques autres».

A ce propos, il y a lieu de se demander quelles sont ici ces caractéristiques formelles auxquelles est fait appel à la page 21. Il ne saurait s'agir évidemment de l'occlusive initiale, puisque c'est là précisément le trait qui confère à ces mots leur caractère exceptionnel qu'il faut expliquer. Je ne peux qu'avouer que je ne vois pas très bien comment on peut parler à propos de ces exemples de la présence de ce que l'auteur appelle «des régularités d'un autre type».

D'avantage, je dois avouer une ignorance plus grave encore: je ne vois pas du tout ce que M. Michelena pourrait bien entendre en général par l'expression mise entre guillemets. Et malheureusement, il n'y a aucune page dans le livre qui puisse m'aider à percer un peu ce mystère.

Reste la question de déterminer la valeur explicative du recours à l'expressivité. Si l'on se contente de remarquer qu'il est impossible de marquer ses limites à cause de son caractère sémantique, et si cette constatation doit servir ensuite de prétexte pour inclure inconsidérément, sans aucune espèce d'argumentation, tout ce qui se présente comme exception à la règle posée, il est bien clair que la valeur explicative se réduit à zéro, qu'on ne peut plus parler d'explication. Tout se passe dans ce cas-là comme si des phénomènes qu'on n'est pas arrivé à expliquer sont imputés à l'action du sens, pour la bonne raison que celui-ci paraît avoir bon dos dans l'état contemporain de la linguistique.

Dans le livre de M. Michelena —je l'ai déjà dit et je tiens à le répéter ici— le recours à l'expressivité est extrêmement rare et jamais essentiel. Mais là où il se rencontre, et notamment à la page 254, le lecteur ne peut pas ne pas être frappé par l'absence totale de toute argumentation précise, absence d'autant plus remarquable qu'elle contraste nettement avec l'esprit général de l'ouvrage. Dans ces conditions-là, j'ose demander s'il n'aurait pas mieux valu de signaler tout simplement l'existence de quelques exceptions inexplicables pour le moment, afin de stimuler par là les efforts

d'autres chercheurs, sans essayer de leur donner l'illusion facile d'une explication qui n'est qu'apparente. Bien plus que M. Michelena, c'est, il est vrai, M. Gavel qui a abusé de ce recours à l'expressivité. Mais celui-ci du moins a-t-il pris la peine d'avancer un argument précis en faveur du caractère expressif du mot *ke*: «Parmi les mots de pure souche basque où le *k* initial peut s'expliquer par une intention onomatopéique, on pourrait citer le mot *ke* ou *kebe*, qui désigne la "fumée" (chose qui fait tousser)». (*Éléments de phonétique basque*, p. 368).

C'est peut-être à dessein que cet argument-ci n'a pas été repris par M. Michelena. En effet, il ne paraît pas très satisfaisant, d'autant moins que le mot basque *eztul*, qui désigne la toux, semble bien ne trahir aucune «intention onomatopéique». Ce que je regrette, c'est qu'aucun autre argument n'est offert à sa place.

Car, ce qui me semble digne d'attention, c'est que, même dans ce domaine un peu vague, il est possible de présenter des arguments qui sont indépendants d'une intuition purement personnelle. Par exemple, il y a l'argument fourni par l'existence de parallèles tirés d'autres langues. Si l'on veut expliquer par l'action du sens la forme exceptionnelle disons du mot *ke* «fumée», il faudrait montrer qu'il y a des exemples qu'un mot signifiant «fumée» a eu un comportement diachronique particulier. Bien sûr, on pourra objecter que le phénomène en question, de même qu'un tabou, dépend entièrement de la structure socio-culturelle de la communauté de sujets parlants, et qu'un sens très «actif» dans telle communauté, peut être parfaitement «inoffensif» dans telle autre. Sans doute, et c'est ce qui enlève à l'argument nommé toute certitude mathématique. Strictement parlant, ni l'absence de parallèles ni leur présence ne prouve rien. Mais cela n'empêche pas que l'argument garde une certaine valeur heuristique. J'aurai toujours plus de confiance dans une explication qui peut s'appuyer sur plusieurs faits parallèles, que dans une explication, si ingénieuse qu'elle soit, pour laquelle il n'y a pas d'autre exemple.

Pour éviter tout malentendu, je résume ici ma position de la manière suivante: Bien que je recommande une extrême circonspection dans le maniement d'un recours qu'on dit sans limites, je ne nierai nullement la possibilité théorique qu'un signifiant fasse exception aux lois phonétiques à cause de son contenu sémantique. Seulement, avant d'affirmer avec l'auteur que cela est le cas de tel ou tel signifiant, je suis en droit d'exiger qu'il m'indique les raisons sur lesquelles se fonde sa conviction. Et ces raisons fussent-elles d'ordre purement intuitif, qu'il faudrait encore, autant que possible, expliciter cette intuition. A première vue, il est loin d'être évident, par exemple, qu'un mot tel que *ke* «fumée» ait bien ce caractère expressif que l'auteur a voulu lui prêter.

Maintenant il est temps de jeter un coup d'oeil sur les principaux résultats de l'étude.

Pour ce qui est du système vocalique (Chap. 1-8), la méthode comparative ne permet pas de postuler pour le proto-basque un état sensiblement différent de celui toujours en vigueur dans la majorité des variétés basques. C'est-à-dire, il y a un système analogue à celui castillan moderne, à cinq phonèmes /i, e, a, o, u,/ et trois degrés d'aperture. On peut même énoncer de façon plus positive que la méthode comparative conduit à projeter le système vocalique actuel dans le proto-basque; à l'exception peut-être de certains détails de distribution, notamment en ce qui concerne les diphtongues.

Si nous passons des voyelles aux consonnes (Chap. 9-19), je ne crains pas d'affirmer que le résultat le plus important de l'étude entière, c'est sans doute la reconstruction du système consonantique proto-basque. L'auteur est amené à restituer le système suivant:

Consonnes fortes: — /t/ /tz/ /ts/ /k/ /N/ /L/ /R/
 Consonnes douces: /b/ /d/ /z/ /s/ /g/ /n/ /l/ /r/,

en plus de /h/ et d'une ou de deux séries de phonèmes palatalisés (p. ex. / \tilde{s} /, / \tilde{l} /, / \tilde{n} /, / \tilde{t} /) qui servent à la formation de diminutifs. (Le lecteur doit tenir présent que le /z/, aussi bien que le /s/, est une sifflante sourde; c'est par le point d'articulation que le /z/ se différencie du /s/).

Ces deux séries principales forment une seule corrélation; le trait pertinent qui uniformément les différencie étant l'intensité ou la tension articuloire — ces deux notions, inégales en théorie, se distinguent très mal dans la pratique, comme l'a observé avec raison M. Martinet—. Ce système-ci présente de notables différences avec celui du basque moderne. D'une part, dans n'importe quel dialecte basque contemporain, les phonèmes /N/ et /L/ font radicalement défaut. Et d'autre part, les phonèmes /m/ et /p/, aujourd'hui communs à tous les dialectes, n'auraient pas appartenu au protobasque, bien qu'ils aient fait promptement leur entrée dans un système postérieur. Quant à la nature de l'opposition entre les deux séries, on peut remarquer ceci:

Dans la plupart des dialectes, l'opposition /R/ \leftrightarrow /r/ subsiste encore aujourd'hui comme une opposition d'intensité, le R étant plus énergique, ayant plus de vibrations, que le r. Il faut excepter 1) le souletin, qui ne connaît plus qu'une seule vibrante, le r doux ayant passé à d après diphtongue et s'étant amui partout ailleurs; 2) le bas-navarrais et quelques variétés labourdines où l'introduction du grassement a altéré le caractère de l'opposition. L'opposition /z/ \leftrightarrow /tz/ de même que /s/ \leftrightarrow /ts/ est celle qu'il y a entre une sifflante et son affriquée, et où l'affriquée est d'une articulation plus énergique que la sifflante correspondante. C'est pourquoi on peut continuer à voir ici, à la rigueur, une opposition d'intensité. A titre de curiosité, on peut signaler que, dans la plupart des parlers biscayens, cette opposition a singulièrement changé d'aspect; c'est qu'il y a eu deux changements phonétiques en sens opposé: $z > s$ et $ts > tz$. Dans ces parlers, il ne reste donc qu'une seule opposition /s/ \leftrightarrow /tz/. Par conséquent, ces deux termes se distinguent ici non seulement par l'occlusion de l'affriquée, ou —si l'on veut— par l'énergie articuloire, mais aussi bien par le point d'articulation.

Pour ce qui est des occlusives, aujourd'hui le trait pertinent qui distingue les deux séries, c'est bien —semble-t-il dans toutes les régions du pays— la sonorité. Cependant, dans un article intitulé «A Proto-European Consonant System and the Pronunciation of Sumerian», paru dans *Studia Linguistica* III, M. Nils M. Holmer suggérerait déjà la possibilité que cet état de choses soit d'origine relativement récente: «There is strong reason to think that in ancient times the consonant system of most of the languages spoken in the same area was entirely different». Un peu plus tard, dans un essai sur «la sonorisation des occlusives initiales en basque» M. André Martinet a postulé «un système consonantique primitif qui distinguait essentiellement entre deux séries dont les caractéristiques en position de différenciation optima, étaient

respectivement l'aspiration et son absence». (*Word* 6 (1950), pp. 226 ss., repris dans *l'Economie des changements phonétiques*, Chap. XIII).

En reconstruisant pour le proto-basque un système consonantique qui s'écarte du système actuel, M. Michelena a donc pu s'inspirer du précieux travail de M. Martinet, mais la ressemblance entre les deux théories n'est que très partielle, et l'originalité du savant basque se montre autant dans les détails que dans l'ensemble de la reconstruction.

Dans les chapitres 12-17 l'auteur a présenté un grand nombre d'arguments, de nature très variée, qui visent à démontrer la validité de sa reconstruction, notamment en ce qui concerne l'absence de /p/, /f/ et /m/, et la présence de /N/ et /L/. Entreprendre de les résumer ici allongerait par trop ce compte-rendu, et je m'en dispense d'autant plus volontiers que les spécialistes intéressés ont déjà pu lire un résumé fait par l'auteur lui-même, intitulé: «Las antiguas consonantes vascas» et paru dans: *Miscelánea Homenaje a André Martinet* I (La Laguna, Canarias 1957), pp. 113-157.

Je dirai donc seulement que son argumentation m'a pleinement convaincu. Convaincu de quoi? De l'authenticité historique du système consonantique tel que M. Michelena le décrit? Bien sûr que non. Cela serait accorder à la méthode comparative un pouvoir magique qu'elle n'a pas, et se méprendre sur le caractère de son enseignement. Déjà le fait, reconnu par l'auteur, que «nos méthodes de reconstruction comportent une forte tendance à simplifier à outrance des situations complexes» (o.c., p. 202) suffirait à nous mettre en garde contre l'optimisme un peu naïf d'une telle affirmation. Rien n'empêche en effet de supposer qu'il y ait eu des oppositions phonologiques anciennes qui se sont perdues ensuite sans laisser de traces. Dans ce cas, le meilleur comparatiste est incapable de restituer quoi que ce soit, à moins que la comparaison extrabasque ne lui vienne en aide, ce qui, pour le moment, ne semble guère probable.

Certes, ce serait pousser trop loin le scepticisme que de prétendre qu'une reconstruction comme la présente se situe totalement en dehors de la réalité historique. Une position semblable produit en plus l'inconvénient de dénier à cette reconstruction tout intérêt pour la comparaison avec d'autres langues. Je me garderai bien de préconiser un scepticisme aussi radical. Pourtant je ne me défends pas de croire qu'il y a une distinction essentielle à faire entre un jugement existentiel, qui affirme la présence d'un certain trait, et un jugement négatif proclamant que tel ou tel trait est absent de ce qu'on se plaît à nommer le proto-basque. Il est facile à voir que ces deux catégories de jugements n'ont pas la même portée historique. Quand le comparatiste est amené à restituer une opposition perdue, disons une opposition /N/ ↔ /n/, on peut se fier à ce que cela correspond bien, du moins dans une certaine mesure, à une réalité historique. Voici le moment de rappeler que c'est précisément dans cette direction que des résultats obtenus par la méthode comparative ont été maintes fois confirmés par des découvertes ultérieures. D'autre part, quand le comparatiste décrète l'absence, disons, de /m/ dans le proto-basque, cela veut dire en somme, qu'il peut très bien se passer d'un ancien phonème nasal bilabial, qu'il n'a pas besoin d'en supposer l'existence pour expliquer de manière satisfaisante l'ensemble de faits sous considération, ou même, dans certains cas, que cette supposition poserait des difficultés plus ou moins malaisées à résoudre. Rien de plus.

Sur ce plan, on ne pourra guère espérer d'atteindre à la réalité historique; et je doute assez qu'il nous faille y aspirer. Le linguiste a beau s'occuper de la diachronie,

cela ne le fait pas historien. Entre le linguiste et l'historien de la langue il restera toujours un décalage méthodique. Il y a ici une certaine différence d'orientation, que l'exemple suivant peut laisser entrevoir.

Il n'est pas rare en linguistique diachronique qu'il y ait plusieurs théories qui rendent compte de tous les faits à expliquer. Alors, le linguiste choisira celle qui, d'une façon générale, produit les explications les plus simples, simple dans un sens qui reste à élaborer. Rien ne garantit toutefois que celle-là soit précisément la plus conforme à la réalité historique. Peut-être même, plus d'un serait-il tenté de dire qu'ici comme ailleurs, le plus simple, c'est bien le moins réel.

Pour reprendre maintenant notre point de départ, je dirai que ce dont je suis convaincu, c'est de l'utilité pratique du schéma consonantique proto-basque, tel qu'il a été reconstruit par M. Michelena. En effet, la théorie de cet auteur permet de rendre compte, d'une façon on ne peut plus élégante, d'un grand nombre de faits de nature assez variée, dont plusieurs étaient demeurés jusqu'ici sans explication valable. Parmi la multitude d'exemples qu'on pourrait citer, je ne choisirai qu'un seul, celui qui est traité à la page 326 de l'ouvrage, et qui est des plus impressionnants:

Pour désigner «l'hirondelle» il y a essentiellement deux types: *enara* (variantes: *inbara*, *ainbera*, *iñare*, *añari*, etc.) et le type biscayen *elae*. Conformément aux lois établies au cours de l'étude (-*n* < -*N*, -*r* < -*l*), la forme *enara* peut très bien procéder d'un plus ancien **eNala*. À côté de cette forme-là, nous avons par une double métathèse — permutation de la nasale et de la latérale, accompagnée d'un renversement de termes de l'opposition d'intensité articulatoire — la variante hypothétique **eLana*, qui, en biscayen, donne régulièrement *elae*. (cf. *kampana* > bisc. *kampae*, **gaztana* > bisc. *gaztae*).

Je voudrais entamer maintenant une autre question, question moins importante sans doute que ce qui précède — du moins du point de vue de la reconstruction — mais ayant encore un intérêt considérable. Il s'agit de la dite sonorisation des occlusives après *l* et *n*, dont on trouvera l'exposé aux paragraphes 9-10 du chapitre 18. J'en cite l'alinéa qui suit:

Il y a deux manières d'interpréter ces faits. Le plus naturel semble de penser qu'en basque on est arrivé à neutraliser l'opposition sourde ↔ sonore après nasale et *l*, en sonorisant les occlusives sourdes dans cette position à une époque postérieure à l'introduction des premiers emprunts latins. Le roncalais et le souletin seraient alors des dialectes archaïsants qui ont le mieux conservé l'ancien état de choses. Mais peut-être peut-on supposer également qu'il s'agissait d'un type de langue où l'opposition demeurerait suspendue dans ces contextes, dans lesquelles les occlusives se prononçaient uniformément sonores (ou douces). Dans cette hypothèse, les mots d'emprunt et les nouvelles formations, qui présentaient des groupes formés par une nasale ou une *l* suivies d'une occlusive, continueraient de s'adapter assez longtemps au type normal, le roncalais et le souletin étant les dialectes qui les premiers abandonnèrent cette pratique. Cela veut dire évidemment que *alte* et *galte* p.ex. étaient des mots complexes qu'il faudrait analyser *al-te* et *gal-te*, de même que, selon toute probabilité, *igante* était *igan-te*. (FHV, p. 355).

Afin d'être tout-à-fait complet, l'auteur aurait pu rappeler une autre hypothèse encore, celle, émise par M. Saroihandy en 1913, suivant laquelle le «changement phonétique» *nt* > *nd*, etc. aurait été commun à une région comprenant le pays basque entier, le Béarn et une partie de la Gascogne. Les Gascons et les Béarnais au-

raient plus tard rétabli la sourde sous l'influence d'un dialecte roman considéré comme plus académique, puis, l'étendu bilinguisme béarno-souletin a opéré le rétablissement dans un certain nombre de mots dans les dialectes basques les plus orientaux. (Voir Gavel, o.c. § 111).

Personnellement, je préfère la deuxième hypothèse qu'expose M. Michelena, mais il faut avouer que jusqu'ici aucune «preuve décisive» (cf. Gavel, p. 260) n'a été découverte, et il est difficile qu'on en découvre jamais, à cause de l'absence de textes souletins suffisamment anciens.

Il y a une question qui a souvent embarrassé les basquistes, c'est le problème délicat de l'accent. On ne peut pas reprocher à l'auteur de l'avoir contourné. C'est ce qu'il n'a pas fait, il y prête au contraire beaucoup d'attention; deux longs chapitres y sont consacrés. Le chapitre 20 donne une description détaillée de l'accent moderne. (Le terme «moderne» est à prendre dans un sens large, parmi les témoignages cités figurent ceux de Zaldibia, de Marineo et de Leizarraga, qui sont tous du XVI^e siècle.)

Le chapitre 21 qui conclut l'ouvrage, soutient l'hypothèse que le proto-basque —ou un basque ancien— connaissait un accent d'intensité automatique et fixe sur la seconde syllabe du mot non-composé. Sans vouloir prendre ici position dans le débat entre M. Michelena et M. Martinet, pour qui la syllabe initiale est «la position privilégiée entre toutes», je suis d'avis qu'en tout cas l'interrelation positionnelle entre l'accent dynamique et l'aspiration est à retenir.

L'essentiel de l'argumentation de M. Michelena est déjà contenu dans son article «À propos de l'accent basque» paru dans *BSL* 53 (1957-1958), 204-233, bien qu'il convienne de noter que le nouvel exposé présente pas mal d'additions inédites, notamment les paragraphes 21.8-21.11.

Avant de terminer ce compte-rendu je voudrais ajouter encore quelques remarques détachées, d'importance quelque peu secondaire.

p. 51: La dérivation du mot basque *makila* «bâton» du pluriel latin *bacilla* est entièrement convaincant, tant du point de vue sémantique que du point de vue de la forme. Encore suis-je curieux de savoir si l'idée n'est jamais venue à personne de ranger ce mot parmi les emprunts au hamito-sémitique. Il y a en effet l'hébreu *maqqēl* «bâton» et l'ancien égyptien *maqira*, idem, ce qui ne laisse pas d'être une rare coïncidence.

p. 65: Il est intéressant de remarquer qu'une forme *cibulla* «oignon» est déjà attestée dans le latin du soi-disant Plinius Valerianus {2,3}. Dans les Gloses (cf. *DELL* I, p. 114) il y a entre autres *cibula* et *cipulla*, celui-ci pouvant être l'étymon direct du basque *kípula*. Dans ce cas, le passage *e* > *i* dans cet exemple-ci serait déjà latin.

p. 186: Le mot *txiki* dans le sens de «peu», cité comme du roncalais d'Isaba, appartient sans doute au roncalais commun. Je l'ai entendu plus d'une fois à Uztárroz, p.ex. *ardau txiki*, «peu de vin», et il apparaît également dans la version roncalaise de l'Évangile selon St. Matthieu par P. Hualde Mayo de Vidangoz, p.ex. *eta cer tsiqui dra erequin causitandimec* (Mt. 7.14b). Dans Mt. 6.30 on lit: . . . *fede chiquitaco guizonac* . . ., ce qui fait présumer que la différence entre *tsiqui* et *chiqui* est d'ordre purement graphique. Il y a encore: *aita laxoen umek ogi txiki eta anitx bizio* (les enfants de père paresseux peu de pain et beaucoup de vices), proverbe cité par Azkue, *Particularidades del dialecto roncalés*, p. 261.

p. 214: Le mot *epber* n'a le sens de «dièvre» que dans l'idiolecte particulier à l'auteur, partout ailleurs il signifie «perdrix». Il y a une forme labourdine *epberdi*, citée par Lhande, ce qui semble indiquer une origine béarnaise, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse là d'un croisement entre une forme *epber* déjà existante et le mot béarnais *perdi(c)*.

p. 246: J'ignore si cela est un argument pour ou contre le caractère adventice de l'aspiration initiale des pronoms démonstratifs, mais il est curieux de constater que les formes à occlusive initiale (*kau, kori, kura*, etc.; *gau, gori, gura*, etc.) se trouvent précisément là où l'aspiration semble s'être perdue le plus tôt.

p. 285 {§ 14.4(c)}: On pourrait ajouter une forme roncalaise *entzagúr* que j'ai entendue à Uztárroz.

p. 371: Pourquoi refuser au chapitre 19 qui s'appelle: «El sistema consonántico antiguo» le titre de «El sistema fonológico antiguo», vu que le premier paragraphe de ce chapitre donne un aperçu du système vocalique proto-basque?

En outre, je désirerais que dans ce chapitre-ci ou à quelqu'autre endroit de l'ouvrage, l'auteur nous fournisse la liste complète des groupes consonantiques anciens. A l'aide de l'information contenue dans le livre —notamment dans le chapitre 18— le lecteur peut essayer, il est vrai, de dresser lui-même cette liste, mais l'auteur aurait dû lui épargner cet effort, il me semble. Il faut croire d'ailleurs que cela lui aurait été facile, car: «... le basque ancien avait un système consonantique relativement simple. Les phonèmes étaient peu nombreux et leurs possibilités combinatoires très réduites». (o.c. p. 375).

Je dois attirer encore l'attention sur un supplément contenant l'index des mots latino-romans ainsi qu'une liste des noms aquitains et ibères cités au cours de l'étude. Ce supplément utile, confectionné par l'helléniste Manuel Agud, a paru dans le *BAP* 18 (1962), 71-77. J'espère qu'il sera inclus dans une nouvelle édition du livre.

Finalement, je voudrais inclure ici une remarque de portée plus générale. Il est un manque regrettable qui se fait douloureusement sentir dans tout l'ensemble des études euskarologiques: c'est l'absence d'un Atlas Linguistique Basque.

La lecture de l'étude de M. Michelena m'a convaincu une fois de plus de la gravité de cette lacune: il est certain que nous serions infiniment plus avancés, notamment en phonétique historique, si nous étions mieux renseignés sur le cours exact des isoglosses qui séparent les formes dialectales divergentes. Aussi avec joie j'ai appris récemment que la préparation de l'Atlas si longtemps désiré vient de commencer. J'espère que ce travail de géant continuera sans interruption aucune et qu'il sera mené à bonne fin.

La coutume semble vouloir que le critique dénonce les erreurs typographiques et autres imperfections du même genre. J'ai été particulièrement minutieux à ce prétendu devoir, néanmoins la récolte s'est révélée des plus pauvres. La vérité est que le livre a été préparé avec un soin illimité, dont il faut féliciter l'auteur aussi bien que l'éditeur. J'ai pris la peine de vérifier tous les renvois aux autres paragraphes du même ouvrage. Parmi plusieurs centaines de ces renvois il n'y avait que 7 d'erronés. P.ex.: à la page 210 note 11, il y a un renvoi à la note 13 du paragraphe 5.8. Il faut lire: note 16. Du reste, on n'éprouve jamais de difficulté à retrouver l'endroit exact, ce qui me dispense de mentionner les autres. Je remarquerai encore que la note 18 du chapitre 5, nommée aux pages 245 et 368, n'existe pas, elle a été incorporée au texte du paragraphe 5.10.

Quant aux fautes d'impression proprement dites, j'en ai compté 5, et je ne crois pas qu'il y en ait beaucoup plus. C'est un nombre on ne peut plus infime, surtout pour un ouvrage d'une telle envergure. Il n'y en a que deux qui méritent d'être consignées ici: à la page 103 (§ 4.9b) au lieu de «vizc. *zai*» lire: «vizc. *zab*», et au milieu de la page 266, au lieu de «b < f» lire: «f < b».

Il va sans dire qu'on pourrait s'étendre encore longuement sur un livre aussi riche en idées qu'en matériaux. Mais forcément, il faut bien renoncer à être complet, dès qu'il s'agit d'une étude aussi monumentale, et je serais heureux si ce compte-rendu, tout insuffisant qu'il est sous beaucoup d'aspects, pouvait au moins servir à motiver la conviction qui est la mienne et que je résumerai dans la conclusion suivante:

Ce livre-ci est destiné à faire époque; il constitue un instrument scientifique absolument indispensable à tout bascologue digne de ce nom; davantage, il ne doit manquer désormais sur la table de travail d'aucun basquisant sérieux.

IS BASQUE AN S.O.V. LANGUAGE ?*

«El euskara..., sin pisotear ley alguna de la naturaleza, tiene construcción contraria a la de otras lenguas.» (R. M. de Azkue, *Gramática euskara*, Bilbao 1891, p. 348)

Let us agree to call “major constituents” of a sentence, the subject S, the object O, and the verb V of that sentence. In some rare cases, linguists differ in their judgments about the applicability of these labels, but on the whole there is sufficient consensus among grammarians to warrant the use of these terms with no necessity of going into lengthy justifications each time they are applied. I do not mean to say that a thorough examination of the concepts “subject” and “object” would be useless —Fillmore’s paper *The case for case* contains a wealth of rather intriguing observations—, but only that our operational acquaintance with these concepts allows us to make use of them freely in most of our linguistic work.

Where the three major constituents are phonologically realized as independent elements in a sentence, it makes sense to investigate the linear order in which they are allowed to occur in a particular language. Doing so, we find notable differences between languages. Some languages allow one order only. Thus, English has the fixed order S.V.O. Deviation from this order is possible, but only in special cases, arising from inversion and topicalization processes taking place at a rather late point in the grammar. Japanese has the invariable order S.O.V. The same is true for the group of Dravidian languages (such as Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada). In these languages there seem to be no syntactic processes that alterate the S.O.V. order under any circumstances.

An interesting situation obtains for German and Dutch, where the order is S.V.O. in main clauses, but S.O.V. in all other clauses. Different orders may still arise from secondary processes, just like in English. Many languages, however, do not seem to impose any severe restrictions on the order in which the major constituents can appear in a sentence.

Among generative grammarians these are known as “scrambling” languages. Some Indo-European languages are of this type: Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Russian, among others. And so are many Non-Indo-European languages, e.g., most of the Uto-Aztecan languages, Walbiri, Dyirbal and many other languages in Australia and Polynesia. There is considerable disagreement among linguists as to what the correct way is to handle this so-called free word order theoretically. Curry, Hiz and Staal

* *FLV* 1-3 (1969), 319-351.

have argued that grammatical relations have nothing to do with linear order. If Deep Structure is defined as the level at which grammatical relations are stated, it stands to reason that linear order is not properly part of Deep Structure. From this point of view, then, scrambling languages are simpler than languages with fixed (surface) order, since the latter have a less general ordering principle than the former. For an elaboration of this view, see J. F. Staal: *Word Order in Sanskrit and Universal Grammar*. On the other hand, if we assume with Lakoff, McCawley and Ross that order is a property of deep structures (or of semantic representations), then free order languages are more complex than fixed order languages in that they contain an extra “scrambling” mechanism to effect the desired permutations of constituents.

The choice between the two theories should be an empirical matter. If we want to defend the view that order is relevant to Deep Structure, even in free order languages, there are at least two lines of argument that we could pursue:

1. Internal Arguments

Such arguments purport to show that the grammar of the scrambling language we are considering would gain in simplicity for one reason or another, if we assume some particular fixed order of constituents in its deep structures, and then derive the various surface orders from this basic order by appropriate syntactic transformations.

2. Typological Arguments

These are arguments of the following form:

- P.1. All known S.O.V. languages have property α .
- P.2. No known language with a fixed order other than S.O.V. has property α .
- P.3. Scrambling language X has property α .

Therefore, X is an S.O.V. language in Deep Structure.

We should notice that the plausibility of the conclusion depends not only on the size of the class of known languages, but also on the nature of the property used in the argument: α must be a reasonably natural property. To see this, let us take α to be the property of being either an S.O.V. language or a scrambling language. For this α then, P. 1. and P.2. hold, and any old scrambling language satisfies P.3. Yet, the thesis that any scrambling language is an S.O.V. language in Deep Structure, does not seem to gain any plausibility by this argument.

A typological argument for a particular language X becomes much stronger if instead of a single property α , we can find a whole set of seemingly unrelated properties $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \dots, \alpha_k$, each of them satisfying P.1., P.2. and P.3., and such that P.4.: if a language Y has any of the properties $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \dots, \alpha_k$, then it has all of them. (Here too, the properties considered must all be “natural”.)

It is easy to see where the force of this argument derives from. The invariable coexistence of the properties $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \dots, \alpha_k$, as required by P.4. is a fact demanding

explanation. The hypothesis that $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \dots, \alpha_k$ are all consequences of a Deep Structure S.O.V. order provides such an explanation. But then, language X too, which has these properties, must be an S.O.V. language in Deep Structure.

In our present state of ignorance, where reliable syntactic information is available for a mere handful of languages, typological arguments deserve only limited credit. But even if these arguments do not carry as much conviction as we would like them to, there is no need to ignore them altogether: they can serve, at the very least, as a useful guideline for further research.

The foregoing considerations have indicated what types of arguments could be used in an endeavour to solve the problem of how constituent order is related to Deep Structure. What we need most now are data from a variety of languages from which to actually construct such arguments. To the extent that we fail in this task, the thesis that order is foreign to Deep Structure will have gained force, the more so as, particularly in the case of free-order languages, the burden of proof must rest with those who claim that order does indeed play a role in Deep Structure. Let us therefore probe the testimony of Basque, and see what this language has to offer in the way of evidence pertaining to this issue.

While it is true that the value of a statistical approach to syntax is highly questionable, some statistical information can provide as good an introduction as any to a discussion of constituent order in Basque. In order to study the relative frequency of the various orders in Surface Structure, I have singled out three samples of text.

Sample I consists of folktales. During the period 1920-1936 a team of (mostly) native ethnologists under the able direction of Don José Miguel de Barandiarán gathered folktales and other ethnologic material from the rural Basque population in Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya. The material was originally made available in the form of loose leaflets, called *Eusko-Folklore*, which were sent out to subscribers as soon as they appeared. It has now been collected unchanged in four volumes under the title *El mundo en la mente popular vasca*, I, II, III, IV (Colección Auñamendi, N.º s. 12, 18, 27, 49, San Sebastián 1960-62). The material of sample I consists of the whole contents of volume III, with the exception of *Ukabilitxo* (pp. 88-93) and *Santa Jenobeba'ren bizitzza* (pp. 143-173), which are in verse and therefore less suitable for our purposes. These folktales have been chosen because they were written down just like the informants told them, with—rare fact—no normative preoccupations whatsoever. Chances are therefore that they represent a genuine narrative style, though perhaps of a somewhat archaic character.

Sample II consists of a number of short plays written by the contemporary Guipúzcoan author Nemesio Echániz, and published in *Euskal-Antzerkiak* (Kuliska Sorta 27-28, Itxaropena, Zarauz 1958: pp. 7-132).

Sample III consists of the stories *Mateo Falcone* (translated from Mérimée's French) and *Oillasko Iturri* by the same author, and included in the book *Euskal Antzerkiak* mentioned above (pp. 135-159).

Since we are interested in the order of major constituents under normal conditions, only very few sentences in the sample are relevant to our purpose. Interrogative and negative sentences may show special properties with regard to word order (as will be explained later on in this paper), and hence should be treated

separately. We have also left out instances of reduced clauses, i. e. sentences not containing a finite verb form. Furthermore, it is necessary that the major constituents S, O and V all be realized as independent words or word groups in the sentence. Since both subject and object personal pronouns regularly delete when unstressed, this condition throws out a large part of the material. Again, constituent order may be different if the subject or the object is sentential in nature. Such cases have been left out, but we have admitted the few utterances in which the subject or the object is modified by a relative clause. Direct quotations dependent on a verb of saying have not been considered as an object of that verb. Considering these as objects would lead to recognizing the order O.V.S. in English, as in: "*Do you feel any better now?*" asked the doctor. Indirect quotations are already excluded because of the general restriction against sentential complements.

The results of the count are:

<i>Sample:</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>Sum</i>
Total of sent. counted	209	183	67	459
S.O.V.	138	80	41	259
S.V.O.	48	67	21	136
O.V.S.	11	17	3	31
O.S.V.	5	13	1	19
V.S.O.	6	4	1	11
V.O.S.	1	2	0	3

Taking percentages we get:

<i>Sample:</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>Average</i>
S.O.V.	66	44	61	57
S.V.O.	23	37	31	30
O.V.S.	5	9	5	6
O.S.V.	2,5	7	1,5	4
V.S.O.	3	2	1,5	2,5
V.O.S.	0,5	1	0	0,5

Without attaching too much weight to these figures, we can make the following observations:

1. All six possible permutations actually occur in the material, although V.O.S. is very rare and is found only three times in the entire corpus.

2. Six out of seven utterances have the subject precede both the verb and the object (In sample II, it is only four out of five).

The grammarian Ignacio M. de Echaide betrays his not being a native speaker of Basque when he recommends the order O.S.V. (frequency 1:25) as the most elegant: «...desde el punto de vista de la elegancia, el orden no puede ser indiferente, y aun cuando se debe estudiar en cada caso particular el más conveniente, se puede aconsejar como regla general, el siguiente: paciente - agente - verbo, Ejs.: *Ogiya nik jaten det* = El pan yo como (yo como el pan), *Ni etortzen naiz* = yo vengo (Ignacio

M. Echaide, *Sintaxis del idioma euskaro*, San Sebastián 1912, p. 93). Cf. his confession in the prologue: «...luchando con el inconveniente de ser novicio en la materia, pues hace pocos años que aprendió el vascuence.» (p. 6).

3. Examples where the object starts the utterance are considerably more frequent (50 against 14) than those where it is the verb which comes first.

4. Sample II, which consist of dialogues, shows a more even distribution of the different orders than the other two samples. In other words, sample II shows the greatest stylistic variety. In the other two samples the order S.O.V. is more frequent than all the others taken together. In sample II, S.O.V. is only slightly more frequent than S.V.O. As samples II and III have the same author, the difference between them can be correlated with that between dialogue and narration.

5. In all the samples the order S.O.V. is predominant.

The reactions of native speakers confirm the conclusions reached above. All of the following sentences are considered fully acceptable. With *atzó* "yesterday", *txistulari batek* "a flute-player" (ergative case), *bost txerri* "five pig" (absolutive case), *il zituen* "(he) killed (them)", *Legazpi'n* "in Legazpia", we have:

1. Atzo il zituen bost txerri txistulari batek Legazpi'n. (V.O.S.)
2. Atzo bost txerri il zituen txistulari batek Legazpi'n. (O.V.S.)
3. Atzo il zituen txistulari batek bost txerri Legazpi'n. (V.S.O.)
4. Atzo txistulari batek bost txerri il zituen Legazpi'n. (S.O.V.)
5. Atzo bost txerri txistulari batek il zituen Legazpi'n. (O.S.V.)
6. Atzo txistulari batek il zituen bost txerri Legazpi'n. (S.V.O.)

When asked which one of these sentences they like best, native Guipuzcoan informants show a strong preference for one of the six. However, their judgments differ as to which one. Most speakers prefer 4 (S.O.V.), but 2 (O.V.S.) and 6 (S.V.O.) also find their supporters.

Notice that in sentences 1-6 we have used indefinite noun phrases rather than definite ones: "Yesterday a flute-player killed five pigs in Legazpia". This was done on purpose. Right Dislocation and Left Dislocation (for these notions see Haj Ross, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*) are processes found in many languages. E.g., in English, we have:

This man, I have never seen him before.

He never did much good anyway, that brother of yours.

In English, the pronouns remain behind, but in Basque pronouns are usually deleted. When we, therefore, find a noun phrase in the initial or in the final position of a sentence, we will not always know in Basque whether it came to be there by Dislocation or not. Thus, in investigating constituent order in Basque, it is advisable to use indefinite noun phrases, which cannot be dislocated, or else to make sure that the sentence boundaries are duly boarded off with adverbs.

Cf. in English:

That paper, I lent it to Bill yesterday.

Yesterday I lent that paper to Bill.

But not: *Yesterday, this paper, I lent it to Bill.

So far, we have seen that all six constituent orders are possible, and that the S.O.V. order is statistically predominant and preferred by most, though not all, speakers of Guipuzcoan Basque. Assuming now the most frequent order to be the unmarked one, and the unmarked order to be that order that preserves best the order in Deep Structure, we may take this predominance as an argument for an S.O.V. order in Deep Structure. However, the existence of obligatory syntactic transformations makes any such argument extremely weak. It is quite conceivable that the preference for the S.O.V. order is merely a matter of Surface Structure and has nothing to do with Deep Structure at all. Therefore, we will now set out to find better evidence for an underlying S.O.V. order.

Greenberg's Universals and Basque

In appendix III of his paper "Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements", J. H. Greenberg presents a list of linguistic universals. Three of the 45 universals are concerned with languages with "dominant" S.O.V. order, and Basque obeys all three. This is not too surprising, really, since Basque was included in the sample of thirty languages Greenberg used to arrive at his generalizations. Greenberg accordingly classifies it as "type III", that is, a language with the "dominant order" S.O.V. The relevant universals are:

4. With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal S.O.V. order are postpositional.

12. If a language has dominant order V.S.O. in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions; if it has dominant order S.O.V. in declarative sentences, there is never such an invariant rule.

16. In languages with dominant order V.S.O., an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order S.O.V., an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb.

Ad. 4. There are no prepositions in Basque; syntactic relations are signalled by postpositions. This is true for all Basque dialects.

Ad. 12. There is no obligation in Basque to put Wh-words at the front of the sentence. No doubt under the influence of the neighbouring Romance languages, such words are, in fact, frequently preposed. Yet, all of the following are perfectly natural Basque sentences, with the interrogative pronouns *nor* "who", *zer* "what", *nun* "where", *noiz* "when", *nola* "how":

Euria egingo zuenik nor*k* uste izan bear zuen?
("Who would have thought that it was going to rain?")

Mutil orrek zer egin bear digu?
("What will that boy do to us?")

Botilla auker zertan dauzkazu emen?
("What do you keep these bottles here for?")

Arkitzeko garairik onena noiz izango da?
("When will be the best time to find him?")

Atzo lapur ori nun ikusi zenduen?
 ("Where did you see that thief yesterday?")

Berri ori orren ixillik nola euki dute?
 ("How have they kept this news so secret?")

According to Haj Ross's theory of universal constraints on movement transformations, the absence of a Wh-preposing rule can also be inferred from the fact that it is possible to question a constituent inside a conjoined noun phrase, as well as one inside a relative clause:

Atzo aita ta nor joan ziran Donostira?
 ("Yesterday father and who went to San Sebastian?")

Berrogei ta zenbat urte dituzu?
 ("You are forty and how many years old?")

Zure aitak txapela ta zer geiago galdu zituen Bayona'n?
 ("Your father lost his beret and what else in Bayonne?")

In these sentences, it is not possible to prepose the questioned constituent. We do not have, e.g.:

*Zer geiago zure aitak txapela ta galdu zituen Bayona'n?

*Zer geiago galdu zituen zure aitak txapela ta Bayona'n?

Out of a co-ordinate structure, it is only possible to question the last conjunct, not the others:

*Atzo nor ta aita joan ziran Donostira?
 ("*Yesterday who and father went to San Sebastian?")

*Atzo aita ta nor ta aitona joan ziran Donostira?
 ("*Yesterday father and who and grandfather went to San Sebastian?")

An explanation for this may be found in a Surface Structure Constraint having to do with *focus*, which will be discussed later on.

The following examples show questioning inside relative clauses:

Norekin zijoa neskata ikusi zenduen?
 ("You saw the girl who went with whom?")

Noren adiskide dan neskata ikusi dezu?
 ("You have seen the girl who is whose friend?")

Nola jantzita zegoen apaiza ikusi dezu?
 ("You have seen a priest who was dressed how?")

Norekin ezkondua zan emakumea maite zuen mutilla etorri da?
 ("The boy has come who loved the woman who was married to whom?")

Nor il zuen gaizkileari lagundu zion apaiza arrapatu dute?
 ("They have caught the priest who helped the gangster who killed whom?")

Sentences like the above are especially appropriate as echo questions. But, unlike their English translations, the Basque sentences are not restricted to that function.

Ad. 16. In Guipuzcoan Basque the auxiliary always follows the main verb, with the important exception of negative and emphatically positive sentences. We have e.g.:

	joan ziñaten	: you (plural)	went.
	joango ziñateke	: you (plural)	would go.
Never:	*ziñaten joan,	*ziñateke joango.	
But:	Etziñaten joan	: you (plural)	did not go. (Negation <i>ez</i> .)
	Etziñateke joango	: you (plural)	would not go.
And not:	*joan etziñaten,	*joango etziñateke.	

The emphatic affirmative particle *ba* has the same property as the negative *ez*. *Ba da joan*: He has gone. Not: **Joan ba da*.

This affirmative *ba* is different from the *ba* of conditionals; the conditional prefix *ba* does not influence word-order:

Joan bada, ez dute arkituko ("If he has gone, they won't find him.")

When the auxiliary follows the main verb, only a small number of particles can be intercalated between the two:

Joan omen ziñan	: They say that you went. (You reportedly went.)
Joan edo da	: He must have gone. (It is likely.)
Joan al da?	: Has he gone?
Joan ote da?	: Has he perhaps gone?
Joan baita (from bait + da)	: He has indeed gone. ("For he has gone".)

But whenever the auxiliary precedes the main verb, it can be separated from it by any amount of intervening material.

Lk. 15.4 "What man of you, having a hundred sheep, if he has lost one of them, does not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go after the one which is lost, until he finds it." This has been translated into Guipúzcoan (*Lau ebanjelioak, Arantzazu'ko prailleek egiña*) as "Zuetako iñork eun ardi badiu, eta oietako bat galdu, nor *etziñateke* larogeita emeretziak eremuan utzita galdutakoaren billa, arkitu bitartean, *joango*?"

That is, between the negative auxiliary *etziñateke* and the main verb *joango*, we find inserted: *larogeita emeretziak eremuan utzita galdutakoaren billa, arkitu bitartean*, "having left the ninety-nine in the wilderness looking for the lost one until he finds it".^{a)}

There is some reason to suppose that in deep structures the auxiliary always follows the main verb, even in negative sentences. We have:

joan da	: he has gone.
joan baita	: for he has gone.
joan dala ikusita	: seeing that he has gone.
ez da joan	: he hasn't gone.
ezpaita joan	: for he has not gone.
etzala joan ikusita	: seeing that he has not gone.

^{a)} This example is by no means excessive. A much longer insert between a negated auxiliary and the corresponding participle is found in *MEIG VI*, p. 58, lines 14 ff.

But we also find: *joan ez tala ikusita*: seeing that he has not gone. E.g. Yon Etxaide (*Joanak joan*): ... bere semeak ezer erantzuten etziola ikusita,... "...seeing that his son did not answer him anything,..." (p. 165).

The following sentence occurs in López Mendizabal's *Manual de conversación* and is found acceptable by native speakers:

Ara non dezuten gaur *etorriko etzala* ziozuten gizona!

("There you have the man whom you said that would not come today!")

Generally, when the complementizer suffix *-la* has been added to a negative auxiliary, it may, as a matter of free variation, either precede or follow the main verb. Thus, the following two sentences (with the main verb *irabazi* "to earn") are equally acceptable to native speakers:

Ez duela dirurik irabaziko argi dago.

Dirurik irabaziko ez duela argi dago.

("It is clear (*argi dago*) that he won't earn (*irabaziko ez duela*) any money (*dirurik*).")

The auxiliary must follow the main verb, even in negative sentences, in the following cases:

1. In finality clauses: *joan ez dedin*, "lest he go" and not: **ez dedin joan*.

2. In conditionals: *joan ez bada* : if he has not gone.

iltzen ez bada ere : even if he does not die.

Not: **ez bada joan*, **ez bada iltzen ere*.^{aa)}

3. When the auxiliary has a suffix other than *-la* added to it, contemporary Guipúzcoan usage shows considerable variety. Quite a few speakers preserve what seems to be the original system: an auxiliary with a suffix other than *-la* (e.g. *-lako* "because", *-nean* "when", *-neko* "as soon as") follows the main verb, in positive and negative sentences alike. Thus we have:

Aspalditik ez da etorri.

("He has not come for a long time.")

But: Aspalditik etorri ez dalako, ez dakigu bere berri.

("As he has not come for a long time, we don't know how he is doing.")

Yet, a lot of Guipúzcoan speakers also allow such auxiliary forms before the main verb. They accept also: *Aspalditik ez dalako etorri*, *ez dakigu bere berri*.

However, the first sentence, with its auxiliary postposed, is preferred by virtually all speakers. For those speakers who accept such forms at all, the extent to which preposed auxiliaries are acceptable in negative sentences may depend on the

^{aa)} This claim holds true for Biscayan Basque only. In all other dialects a negative auxiliary may precede the main verb also in conditional clauses. Some examples are:

Gaxoa ez bada sendatzen, medikuak du errua. (Labayen, *TOE I*, 375)

If the patient does not recover, it is the doctor's fault.

Berehala ez baduzue alde egiten, ... (Garate, *Izuri*, 74)

If you do not leave at once, ...

Ez baduzu jaten, ez zara haundituko. (Satrustegi, *Ekaitza*, 192)

If you do not eat, you will not grow up.

particular suffix used. As Azkue already noticed (*Gramática éuskara*, § 772), there are speakers who allow auxiliaries with the suffix *-lako* ("because") to occur before the main verb in negative sentences, but not with the suffix *-nean* ("when").

Here we will adopt the system according to which an auxiliary with a suffix other than *-la* obligatorily follows the main verb. This is the system of the older texts in all dialects (excluding, of course, poetry and songs), it is still the system in force for many speakers of Guipúzcoan, and it is the system recommended by contemporary grammarians (See, e.g., Umandi, *Gramática vasca*, lesson 29).

The question now is how to account for this system. The facts are handled quite naturally if we assume that the auxiliary always follows the main verb (i. e., the participle) in Deep Structure, and that there is an *Aux-Movement* transformation, roughly to be described as follows:

X	—	Y	—	Participle	—	{ Neg. }	(Particle)	Aux	→
1		2		3		Emp	4		1 4 2 3

Particles are those mentioned before: *bait, al, omen, ote, edo*.

Thus we have: *Ez det ikusi, expaita etorri* ("I have not seen him, for he has not come") by applying *Aux-Movement* to both clauses. But we have only: *Etorri ez dalako ez det ikusi* ("I have not seen him, because he has not come") and not: **Ez dalako etorri ez det ikusi*, since any node that dominates *Neg (Particle) Aux* will also dominate *lako*, and hence the Structural Description of *Aux-Movement* is not satisfied.

The semantic difference and similarity between Basque *bait-* and *-lako* has a close parallel in English and German: English *for* vs *because*, German *denn* vs *weil*. And it is interesting to note that the latter words in German show a completely different syntactic behaviour, in very much the same way as *bait-* and *-lako* do in Basque. We know that, in German, a clause introduced by *weil* has the constituent order of subordinate clauses, whereas a clause introduced by *denn* always has the constituent order of a main clause. E.g.:

Weil er schon sehr gut weiss was er tut, können Sie ihn ruhig gehen lassen. ("Because he knows quite well what he is doing, you can safely let him go.")

Not: **Weil er weiss schon sehr gut was er tut, können Sie ihn ruhig gehen lassen.*

But: *Sie können ihn ruhig gehen lassen, denn er weiss schon sehr gut was er tut.* ("You can safely let him go, for he knows quite well what he is doing.")

Not: **Sie können ihn ruhig gehen lassen, denn er schon sehr gut weiss was er tut.*

As we have seen, in Basque the particle *bait-* does not block *Aux-Movement*, but the suffix *-lako* does. Should one take the analogy between the German facts and the Basque facts seriously, then it would mean that *weil* blocks *Inversion* and *denn* does not. That would imply that the underlying order in German is *S.O.V.*, and that the order in main clauses is brought about by an *Inversion* transformation.

Unlike *-lako* the suffix *-la* does not block *Aux-Movement*. One way of accounting for this is to say that *-la* is stuck in by a late postcyclic rule. Another possibility is that *-la* is Chomsky-adjoined to the *Aux*, and hence does not destroy the Structural Description of *Aux-Movement*. Notice, however, that for this suffix *Aux-Movement* is optional, not obligatory, as it is when there is no suffix.

Finally, finality clauses do not undergo Aux-Movement for the same reason as *-lako* clauses don't: *joan dedin* ("in order for him to go", "that he may go") has a now archaic variant *joan dedintzat*, with the same suffix *-tzat* that expresses destination in noun phrases: *nere aitarentzat* "for my father". Moreover, as L. Michelena has reminded me, in the Suletin dialect the rule that deletes *-tzat* also works for noun phrases: *ene aitaren*, "for my father". Therefore, *joan ez dedin* being derived from *joan ez dedintzat*, it fails the Structural Description of Aux-Movement in the same way that *joan ez dalako* does, provided, of course, the rule of *-tzat*-Deletion follows Aux-Movement.

We have noted that whenever the auxiliary follows the participle, the two form a close syntactic unit, since only a handful of particles can be inserted between them. It is therefore natural to assume that a single node, say V (or perhaps VP) dominates both the participle and the auxiliary. From our use of the variable Y in the formulation of Aux-Movement, it follows that after its application, Aux (incorporating Neg and an optional particle) will be directly dominated by S. A preposed auxiliary, therefore, will behave like a sentence constituent, and will thus have more freedom than when still dominated by V.

This system governing the relative order of auxiliary and main verb, as just described, will be referred to as "the standard system". This standard system is adhered to quite closely in contemporary Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan texts. We also find it, with a few occasional deviations, in the older texts of all dialects. Leizarraga's New Testament Version (1571) and Axular's *Gero* observe it very faithfully. Larramendi (1690-1766), the author of the first published Basque grammar (*El imposible vencido. Arte de la lengua bascongada*, Salamanca 1729) also follows the standard system, which he partially describes in Part II, Chapter IV, § 2 of his grammar.^{b)} It is a curious fact that the prolific writer Cardaberaz (1703-1770) does not follow the standard system at all, even though he was a contemporary and almost fellow-villager of Larramendi. Cardaberaz was born in Hernani, only 6 kms. to the north of Andoain, where Larramendi was born. Cardaberaz has the auxiliary consistently following the main verb, even when it has the negative prefix *ez*. In his book *Euskeraren berri onak* (1761), there is only one example of a preposed auxiliary:

... "guk gure Jaungoiko guzien Aita maiteagatik ta animen salbazioagatik, zer ez degu egin bear?" (... what don't we have to do for the love of our God, father of all, and the salvation of souls?).

But there are 15 examples where the auxiliary follows the main verb in a negative sentence against the standard system. E.g. in Section IV of Chapter IX: ... *ta gauz onik egingo ez dute* ("... and they won't do anything good."). In accordance with the standard system it should have been: ... *ta ez dute gauz onik egingo*, or: *ez dute egingo gauz onik*, or again: ... *ta gauz onik ez dute egingo*.

Thus, it seems that although Cardaberaz knows the rule of Aux-Movement, he prefers not to apply it.

^{b)} Even in this work, however, there are instances of the non-standard word order: *guizonic agueri ezta* (p. 9).

L. Michelena has informed me that a few other Guipúzcoan writers of the 18th and 19th century, such as J. A. Ubillos (1707-1780) and F. I. Lardizabal (1806-1855) show the same peculiarity as Cardaberaz does. E.g., in Lardizabal's *Testamentu berriko kondaira edo historia* (Tolosa, 1855), we read sentences like: ... eta antxume bat egundaño eman ez didazu... (Chapter V, § 13) ("... and you have never given me even a kid..."). Compare *Lan ebanjelioak*, Luc. 15-29: eta antxume bat ere ez didazu inoiz eman...

Also: ...bañan inor aurreratu etzitzayon galdetzera ¿Zu nor zera? (Chapter IX, § 8) ("... but nobody approached him to ask 'Who are you?'") ... eta Tomas ageri etzan (Ibid.) ("... and Thomas did not appear.") However, in Lardizabal such deviations are much less frequent than in Cardaberaz: in a great majority of instances the rule of Aux-Movement is applied in accordance with the standard system.

In even more recent times, the grammarian López-Mendizabal professes a preference for leaving the auxiliary behind in negative sentences; «Si la oración es negativa pueden invertirse» (i.e. the auxiliary and the participle) poniendo el *ez* por delante: *ez da etorri*, pero jamás *da ez etorri*. En general, en estas oraciones se coloca primero el nombre verbal, después la negación y por último la flexión: *etorri ez da*. (*Manual de conversación*, 4.ed., p. 354. First published, 1908).

Yet, López-Mendizabal does not put his own recommendation into practice. In his long section *Diálogos* (pp. 166-221) there are only four examples of negative auxiliaries left behind, but there are an overwhelming number of preposed ones. Here are the exceptional instances:

Ogei urte oraindik izango ez da au egiten asi zirala. (p. 183).

"It is not yet twenty years ago that they started to build this."

Izen ori inork ezagutzen ez du. (p. 214). "Nobody knows that name."

Ta onela emango ez diote bada? (p. 216).

"And so they won't give it to him, then?"

Nere lanak uzten ez didate. (p. 218). "My work does not let me (do it)."

Cf. still, on p. 157: Zergatik erantzuten ez dezu? "Why don't you answer?"

All Guipúzcoan informants I have asked shudder from such sentences and correct them instantly according to the standard system. Moreover, apart from the few counter-examples above, López-Mendizabal's own practice also agrees with it. Now, as we have seen, Cardaberaz does not follow the standard system. But the way he deviates from it provides no argument against our hypothesis that in the underlying structure the auxiliary always follows the main verb. In fact, he brings to the surface those forms which we have postulated as underlying structures, and thus provides strong evidence for the correctness of our hypothesis.

This is not so, however, for the state of affairs in present-day Labourdin, Low-Navarrese and Souletin. Here older texts have the standard system, and the grammarian Pierre Laffite still describes it as valid in his *Grammaire basque (Navarro-labourdin littéraire)*, first ed. 1944, Bayonne. (Cf. his sections 109-119).

Yet, in contemporary writings in those dialects, the auxiliary quite often precedes the main verb, in positive as well as in negative sentences. Laffite remarks: "Excep-

tionnellement, un mot peut être mis en relief par l'inversion du bloc verbal: *Aitak du aurdiki*: C'est le père qui l'a jeté. *Aitak untzia du aurdiki*: C'est le vase que le père a jeté. Ici le relief est très accusé, même violent; et pour le traduire, le français *c'est que* est obligatoire." (op. cit. § 117.5).

Lafitte's remark probably fits an older usage; in many modern texts sentences with inversion and sentences without it occur in almost even proportion, and no particular effect of emphasis or contrast is perceptible in most of the sentences which have a positive auxiliary preceding the main verb. For example, in the book *Mari Gorri* by M.J. Minaberry, we find numerous instances of inversion without any semantic value:

Bainan, orai, zahartzen ari zela *zuen senditzen*. (p. 6)
But, now, he felt that he was growing old.

Ondo hetako laborariak *ziren* artetan haraino *joaten*. (p. 7)
The farmers of that area went there from time to time.

The following example, also from page 7, is especially noteworthy; first because it shows inversion and the lack of it under exactly the same conditions, and, second, because inversion takes place despite the presence of the suffix *-lakotz* (Guipuzcoan *-lako*), that, in the standard system does not even allow inversion (i.e. Aux-Movement) in negative sentences.

Ekartzen zituzten hornidura zombait, milesker erraiteko han bizi ziren serorer, heien othoizten medioz uzta ona *egin zutelakotz*, edo ondo hetako izpiritu gachtoak *zirelakotz ihes joan*.

They brought some provisions, to thank (lit. to say thousand-thanks) the sisters who lived there, because by virtue of their prayers, they had made a good harvest, or the evil spirits of that area had fled away.

Compare: uzta ona egin zutelakotz ("because they had made a good harvest") and: izpiritu gachtoak zirelakotz ihes joan ("because the evil spirits had fled away").

If such texts really reflect the spoken language—which P. Laffite denies—then there is no evidence here as to what the position of the auxiliary is in Deep Structure. But, as we have seen, the testimony of older writers indicate that the modern system—or lack of system—is an innovation. For Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan, however, the standard system is still in full force.

Summarizing, Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan obey all three generalizations of Greenberg's about S.O.V. languages (they are postpositional, there is no obligatory Wh-preposing, the auxiliary follows the main verb). This fact can be taken as a typological argument of the strong form: we have three seemingly unrelated properties that always go together and which appear to be characteristic of S.O.V. languages.

Looking for internal arguments

Can we find any internal arguments for Basque being an S.O.V. language? A natural place to hunt for one is the structure of the relative clause.

All Basque dialects show relative clauses of the following form:

Aitak irakurri nai du *amak erre duen* liburua.

Father wants to read the book that mother has burned.

Cf. Aitak irakurri nai du liburua : Father wants to read the book.

Amak erre du liburua : Mother has burned the book.

Aitak ezagutzen du *auzia irabazi duen* baserritarra.

Father knows the peasant who has won the case.

Cf. Aitak ezagutzen du baserritarra : Father knows the peasant.

Baserritarrak auzia irabazi du : The peasant has won the case.

Aitak il nai du *mutillak ezurra eman dion* txakurra.

Father wants to kill the dog that the boy has given the bone to.

Cf. Aitak il nai du txakurra : Father wants to kill the dog.

Mutillak txakurrari ezurra eman dio : The boy has given the bone to the dog.

Lendabizikoz ikusi zindudan baratzeria joan nai det.

I want to go to the garden where I saw you for the first time.

Cf. Baratzeria joan nai det : I want to go to the garden.

Lendabizikoz ikusi zindudan baratzean : I saw you for the first time in the garden.

Jaio geranak ilko gera.: We who are born will die.

Cf. Jaio gera : We are born.

Ilko gera : We will die.

The examples show that a sentence with a finite verb can be used as a pre-nominal modifier, provided it is linked to the head noun by the relativizer *-n*.

Henri Gavel (*Grammaire basque*, p. 8-9) considers relative clauses as really being genitive constructions; i. e., he considers the relation between a relative clause and its head noun as identical to that between a genitive and the noun that it modifies. Semantically, this view seems quite plausible.

We have:

gizonak irakurri duen liburua (the book that the man has read), cf.

gizonak liburua irakurri du (the man has read the book),

just like we have: gizonaren liburua (the man's book).

Syntactically, the constructions are similar in that in both cases the modifier obligatorily precedes the head, is linked to it by a postposition and does not admit anything intercalated between the two parts of the construction. Thus: (with *gaur* 'today').

Gaur erre det gizonaren liburua. (Today I have burned the man's book.)

Also: Erre det gaur gizonaren liburua. Erre det gizonaren liburua gaur.

But not: *Erre det gizonaren gaur liburua.

Likewise: Gaur erre det gizonak irakurri duen liburua.

(Today I have burned the book that the man has read.)

Erre det gaur gizonak irakurri duen liburua.

Erre det gizonak irakurri duen liburua gaur.

But: *Erre det gizonak irakurri duen gaur liburua.

In several well-known languages (e.g. Chinese and Japanese) the same formative that functions as a genitive marker also accompanies relative clauses. In Basque, however, all that can be said is that the relative marker is very similar to the genitive marker. Although various authors have identified them (e.g. I. Omachevarria, *Euskera*, p. 11: «La *n* de ‘zuek jaten dezute-N ogia’ es la misma que la de ‘gure amare-N ogia’; por la que puede traducirse: el pan DE vosotros comeis.»), doing so creates serious phonological difficulties. To see that this is so, let us try to determine the underlying representation of the genitive suffix.

With the noun *biotz* (heart), *lan* (work), *mendi* (mountain), *ama* (mother) we have:

	Indetermined	Determined	Determined Plural
	I	II	III
Nominative	biotz	biotza	biotzak
Genitive	biotzen	biotzaren	biotzen
Nominative	lan	lana	lanak
Genitive	lanen	lanaren	lanen
Nominative	mendi	mendia	mendiak
Genitive	mendiren	mendiaren	mendien
Nominative	ama	ama	amak
Genitive	amaren	amaren	amen

We have not indicated here the *y*-sound, which some dialects insert between *i* and a low vowel, giving *mendiya* and *mendiyen* instead of *mendia* and *mendien*.

Faced with these forms, bascologists have talked about a euphonic *r*. Let us, accordingly, define “euphonic” as meaning “inserted by a phonological rule at a morpheme boundary”.

Van Eys asserts that the *r* is euphonic in the first column, but that in column II *r* is not euphonic, but part of the underlying form of the article, which is really *ar* and not just *a*. To support this, he cites the ergative form of the demonstrative *arek*, generally considered as the origin of the definite article. The argument, however, is circular. The form *arek* consists of a stem followed by the ergative suffix, and the status of the *r* is no more clear here than in column II. The nominative form of the demonstrative is *a* in Bizcayan, without *r*, and, suppletively, *ura* in Guipúzcoan (Cf. W. J. Van Eys, *Grammaire comparée des dialectes basques*, Paris 1879).

A. Campión criticizes Van Eys for treating the *r* differently in column I and column II, and claims that *r* is euphonic in both cases: «La aglutinación del sufijo EN al nombre definido por el artículo o al tema nominal terminado en vocal, da origen a un choque de vocales que se evita por la intercalación de *r* eufónica.» (Arturo Campión, *Gramática de los cuatro dialectos literarios de la lengua euskara*, Tolosa, 1884, p. 200).

Arotçarena (*Grammaire basque*, Bayonne 1951, § 22.3) also takes Campión’s view that *r* is euphonic in all cases.

Henri Gavel, like Schuchardt, sides with Van Eys: (About *-ar*): “L’origine de cet élément n’est pas douteuse: il ne faut y voir, suivant une hypothèse de Van Eys, que

le radical de l'un des démonstratifs euskariens" (Henri Gavel, *Grammaire basque*, Bayonne 1929, page 51). Unlike Van Eys, however, he explains the *r* in column I not as merely euphonic, but as created by analogy on column II.

Luis Michelena (*FHV*, p. 336, note 17) provides a case where analogy is clearly responsible for an intervocalic *r*. In Guipúzcoan, the word *eun* (hundred) is added to numerals ending on a vowel by means of an intervening *r*: *iru* (three), *lau* (four), *sei* (six), *zazpi* (seven), *zortzi* (eight), *bederatzi* (nine), give *irureun*, *laureun*, *seireun*, *zazpireun*, *zortzireun*, *bederatzireun*. From the evidence of other dialects we know that *iru* and *lau*, but not the others, used to end in *-r*. Thus, *irureun* and *laureun* have kept their original *r*, while the other forms have acquired it by analogy.

But these two are the only cases of a euphonic *-r*. After a high vowel, the normal euphonic segment, if there is one, is a glide that agrees in gravity with the preceding vowel (cf. *Mendiyeen*, *buruben*, where *b* spells *w*). Therefore it is not possible to have a general rule that inserts *-r* between vowels at a morpheme boundary. We then have the choice between making the *r* part of the underlying form of the first or of the second morpheme. Making it part of the first morpheme would entail that all nouns ending in a vowel would really end in *-r* (See Column I). But the definite form of *mendi* is not **mendira* but *mendi(y)a*. Moreover, in modern Guipúzcoan, a final *-r* would be tensed rather than dropped: *nor* (who), *nori* (to whom).

The only remaining solution is, therefore, to consider *r* as part of the second morpheme: the underlying form of *eun* is *reun*; with (weak) *r* being dropped by a general rule when it is word-initial or follows a consonant, thus accounting for the fact that no word in Basque starts with *r*. By the same token, the underlying form of the genitive suffix is *-ren*. The derivation of columns I and II is then straightforward, using the rule that drops *r* after all consonants, including even *r* itself (*nor+ren* gives *noren*, not *noren*). Initial clusters of a stop consonant + *r*, occurring in numerous Romance loanwords, can be considered as involving *r̄*, not *r*.

To derive the genitive forms of column III, we start from *biotz-a-g-ren*, (stem +art.+plur.+gen.) giving us first *biotzagen*. Now how do we get rid of the intervocalic *g*?

In the system of verb forms we have: *dek*: "you (masc) have it"; *den*: "you (fem) have it"; but: *diat* "I have it for you (masc) and *diñat*: "I have it for you (fem), and many similar cases involving second person masculine and feminine forms. That is, we have an independently motivated rule that deletes intervocalic *g*. This rule is probably restricted to affixes, since in stems there are numerous instances of intervocalic *g*. Applying this rule to *biotzagen* we get *biotzaen*, which simplifies to *biotzen* by an equally independently motivated rule. Note the form *amen*, where even the *a* belonging to the stem has disappeared (underlying form *ama-a-g-ren*).

The final devoicing rule, which we need to derive the nominative plural forms, is also independently motivated: notice e.g. the alternations: *dit* "he has it for me" and *didazu* "you have it for me" or *det* "I have it" and *dedalako* "because I have it" with the suffix *-lako*.

Thus we have argued that the facts are best handled if we assume that the underlying form of the genitive suffix is *-ren*. If the Van Eys-Gavel theory is correct, the older stage of the suffix was *-en*, and a form like *biotz-ar-en* came to be re-analysed as *biotz-a-ren*, thus causing **mendien* to change to *mendiren*.

Let us now try to determine the underlying form of the relativizer. We have:

Gizonak artoa ekarri du ("the man has brought the corn") and:
 Artoa ekarri duen gizona ("the man who has brought the corn").
 Gizona etorri zan ("the man came").
 Etorri zan gizona ("the man who came").

The only natural way of accounting for the fact that the relativizer shows up as zero if and only if the verb form to which it is added ends in *-n*, is to say that the underlying form of the relativizer is *-n*.

Then the *e* of *duen* must be part of the stem rather than of the suffix, so that we need a vowel truncation rule to get the simple form *du*. This way, we have an explanation for the fact that the same vowel shows up with all three suffixes that can be added directly to finite verb forms (*-la*, *-n*, *-ño*). Thus in Northern Guipúzcoa (Beterri) we have: from *du*: *duela duena* and *dueño* (obs.) and in Southern Guipúzcoa (Goierri) from *du*: *duala, duana* and *duaño* (obs). In Guipúzcoa *da* gives *dala*, but in all areas East of Guipúzcoa we have the alternation: *da, dela, dena, deño*. Again the same vowel for all three suffixes. The alternation itself now becomes very easy to handle: *da* has as its underlying form *dae*, with the *e* dropping by vowel truncation; but with a suffix added the vowel truncation rule cannot apply and we get *den, dela, deño* by the rule reducing *ae* to *e* mentioned before. For Guipuzcoan and Bizcayan the underlying form is simply *daa*. (Michelena indeed derives *den* from *daen* historically, but analyses the latter —wrongly, I think— as *da + en* rather than as *dae + n*; cf. *FHV*, p. 117). To get *dezu* "you have it" and its relative form *dezun*, we can set up an underlying form *dezun*, or perhaps more simply, restrict the application of the vowel truncation rule to low vowels, as it seems to be needed for *a* and *e* only.

Notice furthermore the alternation *dit* "he has it for me" and *didazu* "you have it for me", which we can now analyse as *d + i + da + Ø* and *d + i + da + zu*. From these forms we will get the correct outputs if we assume that Vowel Truncation precedes Final Devoicing.

In conclusion, the underlying form of the relativizer is *-n* and that of the genitive suffix is *-ren*. Note that the difference does not depend on our decision to consider *r* part of the genitive suffix; even if we take its older form *-en*, we still cannot identify it with the relativizer *-n*.

After this excursion into Basque phonology, let us return to the syntax of relative clauses. A distinction can be made between two kinds of relative clauses: proper relative clauses and pseudo-relative clauses. In the former, the deep structure of the relative clause contains a nominal element coreferential to the head noun. (We can leave aside here the question as to whether this element is a full noun, a pronoun or something like an index). This element obligatorily disappears in the course of the derivation.

Pseudo-relative clauses are relative clauses whose deep structure does not contain an element coreferential to the head noun. They can be formed only on a rather small class of nouns, a class of nouns which have interesting verb-like properties. Consider e.g. the noun *bildur* "fear" as opposed to a noun like *mai* "table". We have:

maia naiḡ "I am (the)table" *mai bat naiḡ* "I am one table".

But: **bildurra naiḡ* **bildur bat naiḡ*,
bildur naiḡ: "I am afraid". But **mai naiḡ*.

- 1a. Norbaitek bizia kenduko ote didan bildur naiḡ.
- 1b. I am afraid that someone will take my life.
- 2a. Norbaitek bizia kenduko ote didan bildurрак erotuko nau.
- 2b. The fear that someone will take my life will drive me crazy.

In the English sentence 2b. *that* is a complementizer like the *that* in 1b., as shown by the fact that it cannot be omitted nor substituted for by *which*, as relative pronouns can. In Basque, the construction of 1a. is related to that of 2a.; in both cases we find the relativizer *-n* and not the complementizer *-la*. Furthermore, as in relative clauses, the negative auxiliary does not get preposed: a variant form of 1a., with an expletive negative is: *Bildur naiḡ norbaitek bizia kenduko ez ote didan*.

It thus seems that some types of sentential complements in English are expressed in Basque by relative clauses, of the type we have called pseudorelative clauses. It might therefore be inaccurate to say that in Basque the noun *bildur* is derived from a verb, as has been claimed for the English noun *fear*. Cf. also the following genitive construction:

Ba-du nere biotzak zure otzaren bildurra.

"My heart is afraid of your coldness" (Lit. My heart has the fear of your coldness).

Apart from the special character of the head noun, pseudo-relative clauses can be distinguished from proper relative clauses by the optional presence in the former, but not in the latter, of the modal particle *ote* ("perhaps, by any chance"). We find it in all kinds of questions (yes-no, Wh, direct and indirect), in some pseudo-relatives (depending on the head noun), but not in proper relatives.

Let us now return to the order of constituents. After consulting numerous informants, I have arrived at this conclusion: In relative clauses, both the orders S.O.V. and O.S.V. are possible, and the choice between them in each particular situation is governed by the same principles (involving *focus*, see next section) that apply to independent clauses.

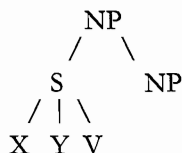
- 3a. Oso ederra zan Patxi'k Miren lenengoz ikusi zuen baratza.
- b. Oso ederra zan Miren Patxi'k lenengoz ikusi zuen baratza.
 ("The garden in which Patxi saw Miren for the first time was very beautiful.")
- 4a. Lapurra da amak dirua eman dion gizon ori.
- b. Lapurra da dirua amak eman dion gizon ori.
 ("That man, to whom mother has given the money, is a thief.")
- 5a. Besteren batek emaztea ostuko ote zion bildurrez bizi zan.
- b. Emaztea besteren batek ostuko ote zion bildurrez bizi zan.
 ("He lived in the fear that somebody else would steal his wife from him.")

In 3a,b we have a restrictive relative clause on the noun *baratz* "garden". In 4a,b a non-restrictive relative clause has been added to the noun phrase *gizon ori* "that man". In 5a,b we have a pseudo-relative clause on the noun *bildur* "fear". In all these cases the *a*-sentences and the *b*-sentences are considered fully acceptable by my informants.

If the facts about relative clauses do not provide evidence for choosing between S.O.V. and O.S.V., do they at least support the contention that Basque is a verb-final language? Let us look into this carefully.

We have seen that in relative clauses the verb always comes last. It is the element to which the relativizer is attached. Relative clause formation, therefore, is easier to state if we assume that the verb is always final in deep structures. Otherwise, we need a special rule of verb-postposing, to apply to a verb inside a relative clause, before or after the relativizer has been added to it.

This argument, which is already quite weak, completely evaporates in view of the following considerations: It is clearly not enough that the verb is final in deep structures, we have still got to make sure that it stays there. Inside the S of the structure



all sorts of movement transformations can apply. In accordance with Haj Ross's Complex Noun Phrase Constraint nothing can move out of this S, but transformations can change the relative order of its constituents. In particular, we must ensure that no adverb gets placed after the verb of the relative clause (in main clauses adverbs often end sentences in Basque), and also that the V-node itself does not move, e.g. by Aux-Movement, a process often obligatory in main clauses.

Notice that the same problem arises in English relative clauses too. The present theory does not seem to block the generation of the non-sentence:

*Yesterday Mr Arrue found the girl last week who disappeared.

from *Yesterday Mr Arrue found the girl who disappeared last week.* by the post-cyclic rule of Adverb Preposing which could apply to the adverb *last week* without lifting it out of the relative clause.

Thus, we need a mechanism to ensure that the verb stays in final position. Once we have got that, however, why cannot we use this same mechanism to get it there in the first place? One method would be to make all relevant movement transformations optional, and then use an output condition (as devised by D. Perlmutter) to reject the wrong orders. It is then quite clear that any arbitrary order in Deep Structure will do just as well as any other; indeed there is then no reason to assume any fixed order in deep structures at all.

Therefore, it is far from obvious that the structure of the relative clause in Basque supports the verb-final theory. All we can say is that it does not contradict it. More generally, the same can be said for all the facts adduced in this article. They are consistent with an underlying S.O.V. order, but they do not, strictly speaking,

require it. It is to be hoped that a study of the sentential complement system, with its various processes of subject and object raising, will provide more substantial evidence for or against the verb-final character of Basque. Such a study, however, is yet to be carried out.

Surface Structure Constituent Order and Focus

I will conclude this article with a remark about order in Surface Structure.

With the exception of Nils M. Holmer's study *El idioma vasco hablado*, all Basque grammars are pedagogical grammars. Many of those do not talk at all about the order of sentence constituents. Since the order is to some extent free, authors of such books may well feel that students will be understood by Basques, no matter what order they put their constituents in, and so do not deem it necessary to elaborate on the issue. Their silence may also be due to the heavy concentration on morphology and the corresponding lack of interest in syntax which traditional Basque grammars are guilty of.

However, there are a few laudable exceptions. The first to discuss the order of constituents in the sentence were R. M. de Azkue (*Euskal-izkēindea, Gramática vasca*, Bilbao 1891, § 773-789) and, independently, M. de Lekuona (*La métrica vasca*, Vitoria, 1918). The epochmaking studies of S. de Altube contain the most detailed treatment of the question: *De sintaxis euskérica*, 1920 and *Erderismos*, 1929. The point is also discussed in: Zamarripa, *Gramática vasca*, pp. 15-17. P. Lafitte: *Grammaire basque*, § 112-120, Umandi: *Gramática vasca*, lesson 3 and lesson 28.

These authors invariably point out the following fact: in order to construct a Basque sentence properly, you have to know what is «el elemento inquirido» or «la palabra dominante». Cf. Umandi, *Gramática vasca*, pp. 25-26: «REGLA: "Elemento inquirido": La palabra o palabras que expresan la idea principal de la frase (aquello por lo que, explícita o implícitamente, se pregunta) van colocadas inmediatamente delante del verbo».

This is extremely interesting. There is nothing similar in the Romance languages, nor are there any grounds of logic or universal grammar^{c)} on which to expect anything like this to be the case. This observation, then represents a genuine insight of Basque grammarians into the workings of their language.

It is worthwhile to try to explain this matter in some more detail. To translate the English sentence "Grandfather will come tomorrow" we have to know whether it is intended as an answer to the question:

Biar nor etorriko da? (or: Nor etorriko da biar?) "Who will come tomorrow?"

or as an answer to the question:

Noiz etorriko da aitona? (or: Aitona noiz etorriko da?) "When will grandfather come?"

In the first case we will have: *Biar aitona etorriko da*.

And in the second: *Aitona biar etorriko da*.

^{c)} After the connection between focus of attention and word order had been investigated in more and more languages, it became clear that a preverbal focus position is by no means rare in the languages of the world. Hungarian, e.g., presents a system very similar to that of Basque.

For ease of discussion, we will now define the term “focus position”. In positive sentences, the position immediately preceding the whole verbal complex will be called “focus position”. Some verb-object combinations behave like a single verb:

Lapur orri biar bizia kenduko diote. “They will kill that rogue tomorrow.”

Bizia kendu “to take away the life” behaves as a single verb “kill”, rather than as a verb-object combination. Therefore, *biar*, “tomorrow” is in focus position here, not *bizia* ‘the life’. Compare this with:

Dirua ez ezik, bizia ere kenduko digute.

“They will take not only our money but also our lives”, where *bizia* is in focus.

In negative sentences, the position immediately following the conjugated verb form (generally the auxiliary) will be called “focus position”.^{d)}

Lapur orri ez diote biar bizia kenduko, gaur baizik.

“They won’t kill that rogue tomorrow, but today.”

Biar “tomorrow” here occupies the focus position. Or, take the following example from *Euskal-Antzerkiak*, p. 46:

Jauntxo oiek alkarrekin asarre badabiltz, ez gaitzabela gu beren auzitan nastu.

“If these gentry are at loggerheads with each other, let them not mix us up in their affairs.”

Here the pronoun *gu* (us) has not been deleted because of its contrastive value and occupies focus position. As a term of semantic analysis, focus can be defined roughly as that part of the comment of (the semantic representation of) a sentence that the speaker wishes to put in contrast with other alternatives. This contrast can be explicit or implicit.

The following exchange (*Euskal-Antzerkiak*, p. 33) gives an example of explicit contrast:

Milia : Aita galdu nuan, bañan ama billatu zidan zeruak.

Santxa : Eta nik gizona galdu ta alaba arkitu nuan, Jaunari eskerrak.

Milia : I lost my father, but heaven found me a mother.

Santxa : And I, I lost a husband and found a daughter, thanks to the Lord.

In *Milia*’s utterance, *aita* and *ama* are in focus position in their respective clauses, and they are also semantically focus. The rule is that whenever there is a semantic focus, it must be in focus position. Thus, although *Galdu nuan aita*, “I lost my father” and *Zernak billatu zidan ama* “Heaven found me a mother” are good sentences, their combination

*Galdu nuan aita, bañan zeruak billatu zidan ama.

is not, because of the contradiction between focus position and semantic focus.

^{d)} The idea of a postverbal focus site in negative clauses was borrowed from Lafitte’s *Grammaire basque*. My later essay “Focus and Quasifocus in Basque Negative Clauses” (in this volume) was written to correct this misconception.

Likewise, in Santxa's reply (note the indeletable pronoun *nik* there) *gizona* and *alaba* (husband-daughter) are in focus position and also semantically focus.

Another example is (Father talking to mother):

Ta zuk emango diozu zukua ta nik babarrunak. (*Euskal-Antzerkiak*).

"And you will give him soup and I beans."

The point of this sentence is not that the child will eat both soup and beans, but rather that both father and mother will be involved in feeding the child. Therefore *zak* and *nik* are focussed on, not *zukua* and *babarrunak*. There is not always a contrast in parallel sentences. There may or may not be one in:

Otz onek zarrak il eta gazteak maxkaldu egiten ditu. (*Euskal-Antzerkiak*, 80).

"This cold kills the old and weakens the young."

But there certainly is none in:

Egunak gaba ta goizak arratsaldea zekarrek gupil eroan. (*Euskal-Antzerkiak*, 107).

"The day brings the night and the morning the afternoon on the crazy wheel."

Here there is no semantic focus.

Contrast is implicit when a sentence is conceived as an answer to a specific Wh-question. Then, that constituent that corresponds to the Wh-word in the question is semantic focus. This is borne out by the fact that in positive Wh-questions, the Wh-word is always in focus position. E.g.:

Zer dio Santxa andreak? : What does Mrs. Santxa say? and

Ta kondeak zer dio? : And what does the count say?

We never find: *Zer Santxa andreak dio?

nor: *Santxa andreak dio zer?

This may also be the reason why a sentence like:

*Atzo nor ta aita joan ziran Donostira?

"Yesterday who and father went to San Sebastian?"

is ungrammatical. The question word *nor* "who" has to precede immediately the verb *joan ziran* "(they) went".

Atzo aita ta nor joan ziran Donostira?

"Yesterday father and who went to San Sebastian?"

Here again we have to bear in mind that a word group consisting of a verb and something else may behave like a single unit. In the following example, due to M. de Lekuona, the question word *noiz* "when" does not immediately precede the verb:

Noiz zerutik jetsi zan Jesus? "When did Jesus come down from heaven?"

Here *zerutik jetsi* "come down from heaven" is considered a single unit, and the Wh-word *noiz* is indeed in focus position. In negative questions, however, the Wh-

word is not in focus position.^{e)} For it to be there, it would have to follow the auxiliary, which a Wh-word in Basque is never allowed to do:

Nor ikusi nai dezu? “Whom do you want to see?”
 Nor ez dezu ikusi nai? “Whom do you not want to see?”

And not: *Ez dezu nor ikusi nai?

This order is impossible in a question, although it would be all right in an answer:

Ez det Nixon lendakaria ikusi nai “I don’t want to see President Nixon”,

where “President Nixon” occupies the focus position. Now, not all sentences can be conceived of as answers to specific Wh-questions. The sentence “The fat boy started to kiss the tall girl as soon as Sue left”, is not necessarily an answer to either

1. Who started to kiss the tall girl as soon as Sue left?
2. Whom did the fat boy start to kiss as soon as Sue left?
3. When did the fat boy start to kiss the tall girl?
4. What did the fat boy do to the tall girl as soon as Sue left?

It is more likely to be an answer to:

5. What did the fat boy do? or even to: 6. What happened?

In such cases no particular constituent is being focussed on. There are even sentences that can hardly be conceived of as answer to a Wh-question at all:

There are no roses without thorns.

You cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs.

Therefore, although in Basque the focus must always be in focus position, we cannot reverse this statement and assert that whatever happens to be in focus position must be semantically focus. There may be no focus at all in the sentence.

In a passage of the story *Patxi ermentarie* (See: *El mundo en la mente popular vasca*, III, pp. 44-49) a devil is looking through the key hole of the door of hell to see if it is really Patxi the smith who is standing there. Thereon, Patxi pulls the devil’s eye out with his roasting spit. Then, another devil puts his ear on the key hole in order to try to recognize Patxi’s voice. Patxi, then, pulls this devil’s ear off with his tongs. The first extraction is described as:

Patxi**k** burrun**tzi**kiñ begie atâ ementzion.
 (i.e., Patxi**k** burrun**tzi**arekin begia atera omen zion.)
 “Patxi pulled, reportedly, his eye out with his roasting spit.”

Here *begie* “the eye” is in focus position. The second extraction is described as:

Patxi**k** tenazâkin atâ ementzion belarrie.
 (i.e., Patxi**k** tenazaekin atera omen zion belarria.)
 “Patxi pulled, reportedly, his ear out with the tongs.”

^{e)} The reason being, of course, that focus position was wrongly defined. In negative clauses too, focus is located preverbally, as claimed in my “Focus and Quasifocus in Basque Negative Clauses” (in this volume).

Here *tenazákin* "with the tongs" is in focus position. Yet, semantically, it is clearly not the case that "the eye" is focussed on in the first sentence, and the instrument "the tongs" in the second. Rather, there is no focus at all, and both sentences are to be conceived as answers to the question:

What happened (after the devil had put his eye on the key hole)? or, possibly, to: What did Patxi do (after the devil had put his eye on the key hole)? These two sentences show the existence of syntactic permutation rules (or a scrambling process) with no semantic relevance. The same point is also illustrated by the following example, taken from another story of the same collection: *Lau anai umezurtzak* (op. cit. p. 113) in which four brothers try their luck in the world. We read:

Batek topau eban astronomo bat. "One met an astronomer."

And later:

Bigarrenak sastre bat topau eban. "The second met a tailor."

In the first sentence, the subject *batek* is in focus position, but in the second the object *sastre bat* is. The circumstances in the story are exactly the same in both cases; there can be no difference in semantic focus between the two sentences. They are both, therefore, without a semantic focus, and yet show a difference in constituent order.

Such examples, I think, show that it would be unwise to have syntactic rules of ordering referring to focus. The same orders of constituents seem to be possible whether or not focus is present.

It is also clear that there can be no phrase structure rule of the form (1): VC → FOC + V. Any sentence constituent (including even the verb itself) can be focussed upon, and case-marking is independent of whether a constituent is in focus or not. The only way to save rule (1) is to restrict FOC to a dummy element, to be filled in later by one of the other constituents of the sentence. But, as Chomsky has pointed out, such a solution is just a notational variant of a system which allows interpretative rules to apply to Surface Structure. For Basque, indeed, all we need seems to be a rule to the effect that focus can only be assigned to a constituent in focus position.

Thus, focus, important as it is in determining whether a particular sentence in Basque, with its particular order of elements, is appropriate to a particular situation, seems to play no role at all in the deeper levels of syntax. While the order of constituents in Surface Structure is in part determined by focus, as stated in the principle of Surface Structure Interpretation enunciated above, the issue of the order of constituents in Deep Structure remains, as yet, completely open.¹

¹ I am greatly indebted to Prof. Dr. Kenneth Hale (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) for the many clarifying discussions I have had with him during the past year, to Prof. Dr. Luis Michelena (University of Salamanca) for his most valuable comments on a first draft of this article, to Prof. E. Wayles Browne for his general help and encouragement, and to numerous informants and friends all over Guipúzcoa, without whose astonishing patience this article could not have been written.

Appendix

Two more arguments can be offered here in favour of an underlying S.O.V. order. It must be left to the reader to judge of their strength.

1. In most, if not all, types of reduced clauses, that is clauses without a finite verb form, the verb must be final. In particular, the object has to precede its verb:

Orain sagarra jan bear du. "Now he has to eat the apple."

*Orain jan sagarra bear du.

Gaur milla duro irabazi nai ditu.

"Today he wants to earn 1000 duros."

*Gaur irabazi milla duro nai ditu.

Cascabel'ek Urtain botatzeak arritzen nau.

"It surprises me that Cascabel beats Urtain."

*Cascabel'ek botatzeak Urtain arritzen nau.

Atzo arriak jasotzera beartu zuen amona.

"Yesterday he forced grandmother to lift stones."

*Atzo jasotzera arriak beartu zuen amona.

Pello asi zan Miren jotzen! "Pello started to beat Mary!"

*Pello asi zan jotzen Miren!

Ez zait damutu liburu au idatzia. "I don't regret having written this book."

*Ez zait damutu idatzia liburu au.

Ura pena euskera ez jakina! "What a pity not to know Basque!"

*Ura pena ez jakina euskera!

2. The constraints on pronominalization in Basque are very much the same as in English and many other languages. Thus we have, with *berari* referring to Patxi:

Patxi'k nausiak berari milla duro ematea nai du.

"Patxi wants the boss to give him 1000 duros."

but not: (if *berak* refers to Patxi)

*Berak nausiak Patxiri milla duro ematea nai du.

We have under the same conditions:

Nausiak berari milla duro ematea nai du Patxi'k and not:

*Nausiak Patxi'ri milla duro ematea nai du berak.

To explain this, we must assume that the O.V.S. order is brought about by a subject-postposing transformation, following pronominalization, that takes the subject from before the object and puts it after the verb. Thus at the stage of derivation where pronominalization applies, the order must be S.O.V.

VOWEL INTERACTION IN BIZCAYAN BASQUE*¹

Many varieties of Basque have rules affecting vowel sequences. The central importance of these rules for the functioning of the language is clear from the fact that the definite article is *a*, used as a postclitic to nominal stems, many of which end in a vowel. These rules, therefore, determine to a large extent the physiognomy of the different varieties of Basque. A thorough study of them will have to await the appearance of a linguistic atlas, so urgently needed for practically all aspects of Basque studies. Sad to say, the political conditions are, at present, hardly favorable to its preparation. Yet, thanks to the pioneering work of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte more than a century ago and taking into account the data provided by the efforts of more recent scholars,² an outline of the main facts can be given. Such an outline will be presented below with the aim of encouraging further studies in the field, and showing at the same time the importance of Generative Phonology with its concept of ordered rules (developed by Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle) for Basque dialectology. The Bizcayan dialect area, the area west of the Deva river, is particularly interesting for our purposes, and will thus claim most of our attention.

Basque has a five vowel system:³ *i, e, a, o, u*, with, apparently, no distinctions of tenseness or length. The Suletin dialect and some neighbouring varieties of Low-Navarrese have acquired a sixth vowel *ü*, but this has happened nowhere near the area we are considering here.⁴

* *FLV* II-5 (1970), 149-167.

¹ As on so many occasions, I have greatly benefitted from the helpful comments of Prof. Dr. Luis Michelena, who kindly read a first version of this article and provided a great deal of pertinent information and expert advice. I am very grateful to Dr. Ambrosio Zatarain for his most generous assistance in contacting reliable informants. I want to thank also Prof. E. Wayles Browne, whose insightful suggestions lead to considerable improvements. In a more general and pervasive way, I am thoroughly indebted to my teachers of Generative Phonology, Professors Dr. Noam Chomsky, Dr. Morris Halle and Dr. Paul Kiparsky (Massachusetts Institute of Technology).

² In particular, Azkue (1926), Ormaetxea (1925) and Michelena: *Fonética histórica vasca* (to be abbreviated henceforth as *FHV*). After a first draft of this article had been written, I also read the valuable contribution *Apuntes vizcaínos* by N. M. Holmer and V. A. de Holmer, where I found several data of great interest and relevance.

³ See: *FHV*, Chapter I.

⁴ See: René Lafon: "Sur la voyelle *ü* en basque". *BSLP* 57 (1962), 83-102. And also: *FHV*, § 1.5, page 51 ff.

We will use a system of binary features as designed by Roman Jakobson, Morris Halle and Noam Chomsky to characterize classes of vowels. High vowels are said to be *+hi*, low vowels are said to be *-hi*. Back vowels are called *+back*, front vowels are called *-back*. Rounded vowels are *+round*, unrounded vowels are *-round*.

We thus have for Basque the following table:

	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	(<i>ü</i>)
<i>hi</i>	-	-	-	+	+	+
<i>back</i>	+	+	-	-	+	-
<i>round</i>	-	+	-	-	+	+

V will be used as an informal designation of the class of vowels, and may be substituted for by the conjunction of the features *+syllabic* and *-consonantal*.

We will now list the rules first, and then discuss their interrelations. Only the first rule, which we will call *Raa*, is common to the whole area; local varieties differ as to which of the other rules operate. Using the notational conventions of Generative Phonology, the first rule can be written as follows:

$$Raa: \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ -hi \\ -round \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left| \begin{array}{c} -back \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} / \\ - \end{array} \right| + \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ -hi \\ -round \\ +back \end{array} \right]$$

In words: low unrounded vowels (i.e.: *a, e*) are fronted before a low unrounded back vowel (i.e.: *a*), that is: $a + a \rightarrow ea$.

The rule accounts for alternations such as:

<i>alaba bat:</i>	"one daughter"	<i>alabea:</i>	"the daughter"
<i>neska bat:</i>	"one girl"	<i>neskea:</i>	"the girl"
<i>eleixa bat:</i>	"one church"	<i>eleixea:</i>	"the church" ⁵
<i>erreka bat:</i>	"one brook"	<i>errekea:</i>	"the brook"
<i>isera bat:</i>	"one sheet"	<i>iserea:</i>	"the sheet"

In many localities of the Bizcayan dialect area the rule has exactly the form given above. In other localities of the same area, however, the rule has been simplified in that the feature *-round* no longer appears in the environment of the rule. The result is a more general rule, which we will call *Rao*.

$$Rao: \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ -hi \\ -round \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left| \begin{array}{c} -back \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} / \\ - \end{array} \right| + \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ -hi \\ +back \end{array} \right]$$

⁵ *x* denotes the same sound as the digraph *sh* in English, and *tx* is the corresponding affricate, spelled *ch* in English.

In words: low unrounded vowels (i.e.: *a, e*) are fronted before a low back vowel (i.e.: *a, o*), that is, $a + a \rightarrow e a$ and $a + o \rightarrow e o$. This gives rise to alternations of the following type:

<i>alaba bat:</i>	"one daughter"	<i>alabe ori:</i>	"that daughter"
<i>neska bat:</i>	"one girl"	<i>neske orrek:</i>	"that girl" (erg case)

If we try to delimit geographically the *Rao* area against the *Raa* area, no clear picture seems to arise. Oñate has *Raa*, but Placencia has *Rao*. Aulestia has *Rao*, but Elanchove and Marquina have *Raa*. For the latter town, we can cite Moguel, *Peru Abarca* (in the second dialogue: *ule trenza ori* "that braid") and Rollo, *The Basque Dialect of Marquina*, where we read: *elixa orren barruan* "in the interior of that church" (page 8T).

Múgica has *Rao*, for in two local folktales we notice the form *elíxi ori*, derived from **elixa ori* by means of rule *Rao*, followed by a rule *Rea* to be discussed later on. These folktales can be found in Barandiaran II, page 11 and 26.

For the valley of Arratia, the forms *alabe onek* and *alaba onek* "this daughter" (erg. case sing.) are equally acceptable according to Father Lino Aquesolo (oral communication). This means that whereas the original rule *Raa* is always obligatory, the simplified rule *Rao* can be optional.

In *Barandiaran III*, we find some folktales taken down in Dima, a town belonging to Arratia. The same informant, Claudio Pujana, uses forms where *Rao* has applied and forms where it has not. On page 116, *alabe ori* occurs, but on page 138 *alaba orrek*. On the same page, we find both *neske orrek* and *neska orrek*. On page 139 we find again *alaba orrek*.

For Ceánuri, which is also in the valley of Arratia, we find only forms where *Rao* has not applied: *elixa ori* and *isera ori* (*Barandiaran II*, page 22 and 57).

In some localities the combination $a + o$ never occurs, so that *Raa* is indistinguishable from *Rao*. This happens, for instance, in Baquio, a town about 10 kms. west of Bermeo, in which the demonstrative pronouns always precede the noun instead of following it: *ori alabie*, "that daughter".

Of course, this small amount of data does not permit to draw any final conclusions. But we do get the impression that rule *Rao* shows a scattered distribution, that is, it does not form a connected sub-area inside the *Raa* area. If this impression is borne out by further observations, it confirms Kiparsky's view to the effect that rule simplification is a spontaneous process that will arise independently in different points of the same dialect area. (See Kiparsky 1968).

I have put an obligatory morpheme boundary (+) in the environment of rule *Raa*. This is to prevent it from applying to stems containing an $a + a$ sequence. Such stems are extremely rare in Bizcayan. An example is *z̄aar* "old", which may simplify to *zar*, but never turns into *z̄ear*.

The correctness of this procedure, however, is open to question. In nearly all of Bizcaya,⁶ we find the alternation: *z̄ara*, "you are", *z̄arean*, "that you are" (relative

⁶ As to the exceptions, Azkue mentions them in the following terms: «Al ir a consultar de nuevo al pueblo para redactar el Flexionario del dialecto vizcaíno, vi que en varios pueblos territorialmente gipuzkoanos y algún alabés, como también hacia Plencia, dice el pueblo *garala, z̄arala, d̄iralaw*. (Azkue 1926: 35).

clause) and *zareala*, "that you are", (verbal complement). Likewise: *gara*, "we are", *garean*, *gareala*; *dira*, "they are", *direan*, *direala*. The Guipuzcoan dialect shows no alternation: *zera*, *zeran*, *zerala*; *gera*, *geran*, *gerala*; *dira*, *diran*, *dirala*.

As I have established elsewhere (De Rijk 1969), there is in Basque a rule of Vowel Truncation, and the underlying form of the relativizer and complementizer suffix are *-n* and *-la*, respectively. The alternations above are then explained as follows: *zara* from underlying *zaraa* by Vowel Truncation; *zarean*, *zareala*, from underlying *zaraa* + *n*, *zaraa* + *la* by rule *Raa*. Guipuzcoan does not have rule *Raa*, and so we get *zeran*, *zerala* from *zeraa* + *n*, *zeraa* + *la* by Vowel simplification.

Yet, in the form *zaraa* + *la*, where we need rule *Raa* to apply, the two *a*'s are not separated by any morpheme boundary.

Several tentative solutions come to mind. We may try one of the two proposals discussed by Nancy Woo in a slightly different context: retention of an intervocalic *b* in the synchronic phonology, or, introduction of a distinction between *aa* and *aa* (with the second *a* non-syllabic), rule *Raa* applying only to the latter combination (cf. Woo 1968). We might also conceive of a proposal to the effect that rules like *Raa* never apply unless they create alternations. Since, at present, I have no criteria for preferring one possibility above the others, I must leave this question open.

Rule *Raa* is subject to various other restrictions; e. g. it does not apply to compounds: *neba* "brother" and *arriba* "sister" combine into *nebarrebak* "siblings", but not into **nebearrebak*.

Details may vary from locality to locality: with the suffix *-ago* "more", an informant from Placencia accepts both *ozperago* and *ozpereago*, derived from the adjective *ozpera*, "sensitive to cold", an informant from Vergara, 6 kms. south of Placencia, only has a form of the latter type: *ozperiau*, whereas in most regions (in Marquina for instance) rule *Raa* does not apply to the suffix *-ago*.

Common to the whole area is a curious morphological condition, whose raison-d'être I do not claim to understand. As Prince L. L. Bonaparte already noticed (Bonaparte 1862: 29), *Raa* does not apply to the forms of the plural, even though, there too, the definite article *a* can be suffixed to a stem ending in *a*. Note the following paradigms:

SINGULAR

<i>sagar bat</i>	"one apple"	<i>alaba bat</i>	"one daughter"
<i>sagarra</i>	"the apple"	<i>alabea</i>	"the daughter"
<i>sagarrak</i>	"the apple" (erg.)	<i>alabeak</i>	"the daughter" (erg.)
<i>sagarrari</i>	"to the apple"	<i>alabeari</i>	"to the daughter"

PLURAL

<i>sagar batzuk</i>	"a few apples"	<i>alaba batzuk</i>	"a few daughters"
<i>sagarrak</i>	"the apples"	<i>alabak</i>	"the daughters"
<i>sagarrak</i>	"the apples" (erg.)	<i>alabak</i>	"the daughters" (erg.)
<i>sagarrari</i>	"to the apples"	<i>alabai</i>	"to the daughters"

The forms *alabak*, "the daughters" (erg.) and *alabai*, "to the daughters" result from *alaba* + *a* + *k* and *alaba* + *a* + *i* by Vowel simplification. In a few Southern

regions (e. g., Arechavaleta, Orozco, Llodio) Vowel simplification does not take place and we find *alabaak* and *alabai* (cf. Ormaetxea 1925).

Notice, in particular, that the ending *-ak* triggers *Raa* when it represents ARTICLE + ERGATIVE, but not when it represents ARTICLE + PLURAL. I can find no phonological motivation for this difference in behaviour. Nils Holmer has detected an interesting difference in accentuation between the singular and the plural forms of nouns: *gixónak* "the man" (erg.) versus *gixonak* "the men", *auntzák* "the goat" (erg.) versus *áuntzak* "the goats" (cf. Holmer, § 9.9-9.13).

Yes, it is not at all clear whether, and if so, how, this is connected with the application of rule *Raa*.

Even more mysterious is the fact that *Raa* does not apply to the locative (inessive) case in the singular.^{a)} We have:

<i>etxe bat:</i>	"one house"	<i>etxea:</i>	"the house"	<i>etxean:</i>	"in the house"
<i>gona bat:</i>	"one skirt"	<i>gonea:</i>	"the skirt"	<i>gonan:</i>	"in the skirt"
<i>anka bat:</i>	"one leg"	<i>ankea:</i>	"the leg"	<i>ankan:</i>	"in the leg"

The forms we would expect **gonean* and **ankean* do not exist anywhere (cf. Azkue 1926: 34).

Note, finally, that rule *Raa* represents a process of dissimilation, which, like most dissimilations in Basque,⁷ is regressive. This means that the articulation of a preceding sound is modified by that of a following one. The contrary is true of assimilation, which, in Basque, is practically always progressive; this being one of the most salient differences between the phonology of Basque and that of the neighbouring Romance languages. (See Holmer, § 6.13).^{b)}

Our next rule, *Rij*, can be written as follows:

$$Rij: \quad \emptyset \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{cons} \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right] \quad / \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \checkmark \\ + \text{bi} \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right] \quad - \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \checkmark \\ - \text{bi} \end{array} \right]$$

⁷ Liquids form a notorious exception to this generalization about dissimilation being always regressive. From an original **ark-ar* (he-him, according to C. C. Uhlenbeck) we find the following forms: *alkar* (Sul.), *alkar* (Bizc., Guip., Ronc.), *elgar* (L. Nav. Sul.), *elkar* (H. Nav., L. Nav., Guip., Lab.) and *arkal* (Bizc.: Guemica, Orozco, Zomoza), all meaning each other.

The onomatopoeic noun *dardar* (H. Nav., L. Nav., Bizc., Guip., Lab.) «tremble» has the variants: *daldal* (Sul., Ronc.), *daldar* (H. Nav., Lab., Ronc.) and *dardal* (Guip.) (Cf. Azkue 1905).

However, the forms *arkal* and *dardal* may be due not to progressive dissimilation but to secondary metathesis, a process abundantly attested for Basque liquids. (See *FHV*, Chapter 17).

Note that it is always the first vowel that changes in the *alkar* case, never the second one.

^{a)} This mystery was later solved by W. H. Jacobsen in his article "The Basque locative suffix", published in *Anglo-American contributions to Basque Studies*, pp. 163-168.

^{b)} In all likelihood, this rule first came about as an external sandhi phenomenon: the insertion of a palatal glide (j) between two non-high vowels belonging to two different morphemes. This process can still be observed even now in the usage of some *bertsolaris* and other singers. It is reflected in the form *ateraia* (*DGV* III, 173), now evolved into *atera*, the definite form of the perfect participle *atera*. In the same way, the definite form of the participle *bota* is *botea*. Given that these forms are common to all of Guipuzcoa, rule *Raa* seems to have been operative at one time in the Guipuzcoan dialect also. See also *Mezea* "the Mass", used in Aitaun.

This rule inserts a glide *y* after a high front vowel (*i*), whenever this vowel is followed by a low vowel (*a, e, o*). So we get: *erri bat*, "one village"; *erriya*, "the village"; *erriyen*, "of the village"; *erriyok*, "these villages".

Usually, there will be a morpheme boundary after the first vowel *i*, but, if we want, we can have the rule apply also within a single morpheme, to account for the fact that just those dialects that have rule *Rij* show *iya* where other dialects show *ia*: e. g. *biyar* versus *biar*, "tomorrow", *iya* versus *ia*, "almost".

In various regions, especially in the Eastern area of Bizcayan, this epenthetic *y* turns into a true consonant: *ř*, *ž* or *ǰ* (*dž*). Thus, in Placencia and Eibar, the forms given above are pronounced: *erriša*, *errišen*, *errišok*, *bišar*, *iša*. And in Guernica: *erriže*, *errižen*, *errižok*, *bižer*, *iže*, thus giving rise to a sound *ž* that does not otherwise exist in the language. We even have a minimal pair in *oriže* (from *ori* + *a*), "the yellow one", and *oriše* (spelled *orixe*), "that same one".

Rule *Ruw* applies after high back vowels, like *Rij* after high front vowels:

$$Ruw: \quad \emptyset \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{cons} \\ + \text{back} \end{array} \right] \quad / \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{hi} \\ + \text{back} \end{array} \right] \quad - \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - \text{hi} \end{array} \right]$$

This rule inserts a glide *w* after a high back vowel (*u*), whenever this vowel is followed by a low vowel (*a, e, o*). It is commonly spelled *b*, as it is homophonous with the intervocalic allophone of the voiced labial stop *b*. Bonaparte asserts: "le son de ce *b* est identique ou du moins fort ressemblant à celui du *w* anglais" (Bonaparte 1862: 33). Examples: *buru bat*, "one head"; *buruwa*, "the head"; *buruwen*, "of the heads"; *buruwok*, "these heads".

Rij and *Ruw* can be collapsed into one rule:

$$\emptyset \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{cons} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \end{array} \right] \quad / \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{hi} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \end{array} \right] \quad - \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - \text{hi} \end{array} \right]$$

The reason why I have listed the two rules separately, is that they do not always co-occur. According to data supplied in 1861 by Prince Bonaparte's highly reliable informant José Antonio Uriarte, Orozco in the South has *Ruw* but not *Rij*, the central region, including e. g. Bermeo and Guernica, has *Rij* but not *Ruw*, Marquina and Ochandiano in the East have both, while the valley of Arratia, containing e. g. the towns of Yurre. Ceberio and Ceánuri, has neither rule.

The next rule is again one of dissimilation:

$$Rea: \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right] \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[+ \text{hi} \right] \quad / \quad - \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - \text{hi} \\ + \text{back} \end{array} \right]$$

This rule changes a front vowel (*e, i*) to *i*, before a low back vowel (*a, o*). Examples: *seme bat*, "one son"; *semia*, "the son"; *semi ori*, "that son"; *semiok*, "these sons".^{c)}

Like *Rjy*, *Rea* also applies within stems, at least as a diachronic process: morphemes that have *ea* or *eo* in Basque varieties lacking rule *Rea*, present *ia* and *io* in the *Rea* area. So we find *biar*, "work", "need", and *bior*, "mare", whose original forms *bear* and *beor* are still found in the valley of Arratia and in many regions of the Guipúzcoan dialect area.

The specification +back is necessary in the environment of the rule, as, according to Bonaparte, *e+e* is not changed to *ie*: "L'e qui précède un autre *e* ne se transforme en *i* que dans la variété d'Orozco et de Barambio et de quelques autres localités limitrophes jusqu'aux environs de Bilbao. Cette règle toutefois ne s'applique pas au génitif pluriel, car *semeen*, 'des fils', ne se change pas en *semien*, quoique *deutsee*, 'ils leur ont' se transforme en *deutsie*" (Bonaparte 1862: 31).

According to Holmer's recent data (see Holmer 1968: § 10.8), *ee* turns into *ie* also in the area around Bermeo, specifically in Mundaca (*etxiatar*, "to the houses"; from *etxé + eta + ra*) and in Frúniz (*etxiatan*, "in the houses"; from *etxé + eta + n*). This is again an instance of simplification: the feature +back has been dropped from the environment of the rule.

Next on our list is rule *Roa*:

$$\text{Roa: } \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{back} \\ + \text{round} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[+ \text{hi} \right] / \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - \text{hi} \end{array} \right]$$

This rule turns *o* into *u* before a low vowel (*a, o, e*). Examples: *asto bat*, "one donkey"; *astua*, "the donkey"; *astuen*, "of the donkeys"; *astu ori*, "that donkey"; *astuok*, "these donkeys".

Intuitively, *Rea* and *Roa* appear to be instances of the same process of regressive dissimilation, and it seems natural to collapse the two rules into something like:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ \alpha \text{back} \\ \alpha \text{round} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[+ \text{hi} \right] / \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - \text{hi} \end{array} \right]$$

Then, however, we will need a later rule to turn *ie* back into *ee* (in those areas where *ee* does not turn into *ie*), which is feasible only where *Rjy* has eliminated all other *ie*'s. Curiously enough, it seems indeed to be true that all areas that have both *Rea* and *Roa* also have *Rjy*.

Furthermore, *Rea* can exist without *Roa*, e. g. in the central area around Guernica (including Frúniz, but not Bermeo and Mundaca), but in Bonaparte's rather abundant material there are no instances of a locality, either inside or outside the Bizcayan area, that has *Roa* but not *Rea*.

^{c)} Like *Raa*, *Rea* does not apply between the members of a compound: *asteazkena* "Wednesday", never **astiazkena*.

A quite different type of rule is *Rui*:

$$Rui: \left[\begin{array}{c} \check{V} \\ - bi \\ - round \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[- back \right] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \check{V} \\ + bi \end{array} \right] C_0 \text{ ---}$$

Here C_0 stands for any number of consonants. In actual fact, this number will be 0, 1, 2 or 3.

The rule states that *a* gets fronted, that is, turns into *e*, whenever there is a high vowel (*u*, *i*) in the preceding syllable. Examples: the numeral "one" is *bat* (often used as an indefinite article), the definite article is *a*: *akats bat*, "a defect"; *akatsa*, "the defect"; *mozkor bat*, "a drunkard"; *mozkorra*, "the drunkard". But, *egun bet*, "a day"; *egune*, "the day"; *erri bet*, "a village"; *errie*, "the village"; *intxaur bet*, "a nut"; *intxaurre*, "the nut"; *oin bet*, "a foot"; *oiñe*, "the foot".

Rule *Rui* applies also morpheme-internally, that is, it can be viewed as a morpheme structure condition: *inder*, "strength"; *iketx*, "coal"; *uketu*, "to deny"; *buzten*, "tail", correspond to the more general forms *indar*, *ikatx*, *ukatu*, *buztan* (See Rollo 1925: Vocabulary). As L. Michelena has brought to my attention, rule *Rui* is already evident in a 17th century Bizcayan Catechism known as the "Viva Jesús".

Like most of the rules discussed, *Rui* is also found outside the Bizcayan dialect area. So e. g. in Azpeitia (Guipúzcoa) and in Leiza (Navarra) but not in Areso, only 4 kms. to the West of Leiza. It is interesting to note, however, that in Leiza the rule does not apply within the same morpheme. Although we have: *egun bet*, *egune*, *erri bet*, *errie*, *intxaur bet*, *intxaurre*, *oin bet*, *oiñe*, just like in Marquina, we find: *indar*, *ikatx*, *ukatu*, *buztan*, and not the Marquinese forms: *inder*, *iketx*, *uketu*, *buzten*. Thus, in Leiza, *Rui* only applies when C_0 contains a morpheme boundary. This means that *Rui* cannot be interpreted here as a morpheme structure condition, but only as a purely synchronic rule, restricted to cases where it creates alternations.

Rule *Rui* is interesting in yet another respect: The fronting of the *a* under influence of a preceding high vowel is clearly a case of assimilation in aperture, and, as such, easily understandable from an articulatory point of view. However, the way we formalized the rule, following standard practice in Generative Phonology, the feature composition of the rule does not immediately show this assimilatory character, since *bi* and *back* are separate features. It remains to be seen whether or not this should be considered a shortcoming of the present feature system as such.

We now have six rules: *Raa* (and its variant *Rao*), *Rij*, *Ruw*, *Rea*, *Roa*, *Rui*. Inspecting this sequence of rules, we see that their order of application is not indifferent. There is a critical ordering relation between *Raa* and *Rea*; *Rij* and *Rea*; *Ruw* and *Roa*; *Rea* and *Rui*; *Roa* and *Rui*. Thus, e. g., if *Rea* applies before *Rui*, we get *begie*, "the eye", from *begi* + *a*, and *semie*, "the son", from *seme* + *a*. But if *Rea* applies after *Rui*, we will have *semia* from *seme* + *a*, while still getting *begie* from *begi* + *a*.

Historically, rule *Raa* is a very old rule. As far back as our sources of knowledge reach, it has been a constant characteristic of the entire Western area of Vasconia, i. e., an area that includes the whole Bizcayan dialect and the Westmost part of the Guipúzcoan dialect as well. The antiquity of the rule is reflected in its position in

the synchronic phonology. Except for the Vowel Truncation rule, it is very rare for a rule to precede *Raa*: *Rea* nearly always treats *ea* derived from *aa* in just the same way as it does an underlying *ea*.

The other five rules, however, are more or less recent innovations (see *FHV*, § 5.1, p. 109 ff). In some cases, we can even see the rules gain new territory in quite modern times. A good example of this is Marquina. For this East-Bizcayan town we have the testimony of José Antonio Uriarte, who lived there from 1840 to 1860. In two of his letters to Prince Bonaparte (June 4 and October 28, 1861) he cites for Marquina forms like the following:⁸ *alabia*, *semia*, *mendiya*, *astua*, *buruba* (definite forms of *alaba*, "daughter"; *seme*, "son"; *mendi*, "mountain"; *asto*, "donkey", and *buru*, "head", respectively), while giving the forms *alabie*, *semie*, *mendiye*, *astoa*, *burue* for the central subdialect. There is thus no doubt that in Uriarte's time, rule *Rui*, while prevalent in the centre, had not yet reached Marquina.

In the early nineteen-twenties, however, a Scottish linguist, William Rollo, spent two summers in Marquina and published a doctoral thesis *The Basque Dialect of Marquina* (Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1925). From his description, as well as from the numerous texts that accompany it, we learn that *Rui* had become an obligatory rule in the whole area: forms like *alabie*, *semie*, *mendixe*, *astue*, *buru(b)e* are the only ones used. See also his phrase: *udie nitzet*, *negue itzet* (page 40), "summer for me, winter for you", from underlying *uda* + *a ni* + *tzat*, *negu* + *a i* + *tzat*. Azkue, too, confirms these data and adds that Bermeo also has the forms ending in *-e*. Apparently unable to believe in linguistic change, he then denies the authenticity of Bonaparte's data (Azkue 1926: 25).

It happens to be a fact —noticed already by Bonaparte (op. cit.)— that when a locality has both rule *Rij* and rule *Rea*, the former always precedes the latter. That is to say, we get *begiya* from *begi* + *a*, and *semia*, but not *semiya* from *seme* + *a*.

Why is this? We cannot attribute the absence of the ordering 1 *Rea*, 2 *Rij* to a presumed tendency to ensure that distinct underlying forms also receive different phonetic representations, for some regions in Bizcaya and many outside it, have rule *Rea* but lack rule *Rij*, and thus do not distinguish *semia* from *begia*.

The rules *Rij* and *Rea*, at least in Bizcaya, seem to have spread in the same general direction. The synchronic order 1 *Rij*, 2 *Rea* may thus simply reflect chronological order. The Western areas (Llodio and Munguía, according to Bonaparte) that show *Rea* but not *Rij*, indicate that rule *Rea* kept spreading westward after rule *Rij* had already ceased to do so.

Notice, finally, that the non-existent order 1 *Rea*, 2 *Rij* is precisely the "feeding order", that is, the unmarked order in Kiparsky's sense.

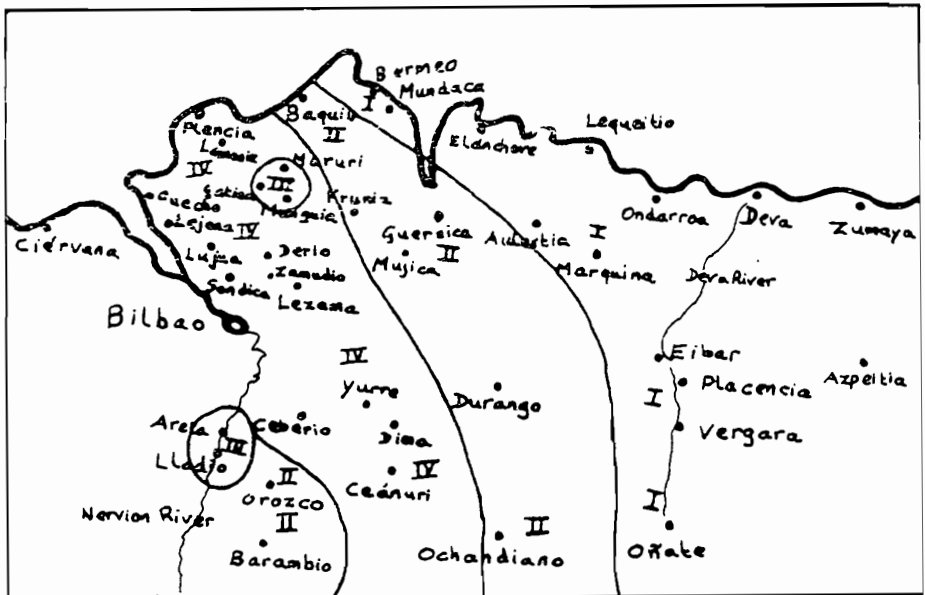
After the preceding section had been written, I learned that Nils Holmer obtained the forms *iya* (from underlying *ea*, "whether") and *etxiyen* (from underlying *etxe* + *a* + *n*, "in the house") from his Mundaca informant Mrs. de Bilbao (See Holmer 1968: § 6.11). Here, obviously, rule *Rij* has applied after rule *Rea*. What

⁸ The same forms are also used by Juan Antonio de Moguel in his famous book *Peru Abarca*, written in about 1800 but first published in 1881. Moguel was born in Eibar, but lived in Marquina nearly all his life.

does this indicate? Does it mean that Mundaca is the only town in Bizcaya that was reached by rule *Rea* before it acquired rule *Rij*? If this is true, the exceptional status of Mundaca must have escaped the attention of all observers during the last hundred years, including that of Azkue. An extremely unlikely assumption for anyone acquainted with the enormous labor in Basque dialectology carried out by Azkue, who was, moreover, a native speaker of Bizcayan and a careful observer of its local variations. It is much more likely that these Mundaca forms are innovations due to a beginning tendency to invert the order of the rules. According to Kiparsky's general theory, the order 1 *Rij*, 2 *Rea*, where a later rule creates new strings that obey the structural description of an earlier rule, is a highly marked one and hence unstable. A diachronic process of reordering is therefore expected to occur. We seem to be witnessing here the very beginning of the process: in Mrs. de Bilbao's speech, forms generated by the original order of the rules are still by far the most frequent. Holmer reports the following forms from this same informant: *atia* (§ 7.2), *maistria* (§ 8.5), *aldiano* (§ 9.6), *egun guztien* (§ 9.16), *atiari* (§ 10.6), *etxietara* (§ 10.8). In all these examples rule *Rij* has not applied to the result of rule *Rea*.

The next and last case of critical ordering we will consider is that of *Rea* and *Rui*. Here the geographical distribution clearly shows that the two rules have travelled in different, almost opposite, directions. *Rea* spread from North to South and from East to West, whereas *Rui* seems to have been propagated from South to North and from West to East.

Assuming now that synchronic order corresponds to chronological order, we should expect to find four areas: I. *Rea* but not *Rui*; II. 1 *Rea*, 2 *Rui*; III. 1 *Rui*, 2 *Rea*; IV. *Rui* but not *Rea*. Interestingly, this is exactly what Bonaparte's data show us:



Schematic representation of the geographical distribution in 1860

Area I: Bermeo and Marquina.⁹

Area II: Ochandiano and the Central Subdialect (e. g., Guernica).

Area III: Munguía and Llodio (Alava).

Area IV: The Arratia valley (towns: Ceánuri, Ceberio, Dima, Yurre).

Area II, a rather larga one, has the "feeding order" 1 *Rea*, 2 *Rui*. Here rule *Rea* creates new instances for rule *Rui* to apply to.

The opposite order is found in area III, which represents all or part of the region that was first touched by rule *Rui* and only afterwards by rule *Rea*. The area is small and discontinuous, Llodio and Munguía, being about 35 kms. apart, and separated by a large piece of area IV, characterized by the absence of rule *Rea*.

It is worthwhile to quote Uriarte's own words¹⁰ on Munguía. He writes to Bonaparte (July 7, 1861):

He estado en Munguía y sus inmediaciones. En Munguía son las eufonías de este modo: *alabia, semia, mendie, artoa, burue*. A Munguía siguen sólo dos pueblos, que son Gatica y Jatabe. En todos los otros pueblos, a saber: Lezama, Zamudio, Derio, Lujua, Sondica y todos los pueblos hasta Plencia con sus alrededores, son iguales a Arratia, a saber: *alabea, semea, mendie, artoa, burue*.

(I have been in Munguía, and its surroundings. In Munguía, the euphonic laws are as follows: *alabia, semia, mendie, artoa, burue*. Only two villages, those being Gatica and Jatabe, follow Munguía. In all the other villages, to wit: Lezama, Zamudio, Derio, Lujua, Sondica and all the villages up to Plencia and its neighbourhood, they are the same as in Arratia, to wit: *alabea, semea, mendie, artoa, burue*).

Since the time that Uriarte collected these data more than a hundred years have passed. Social interaction among the peasant population of Northern Bizcaya, like almost everywhere else, has greatly increased. Changes in the geography of the phonological rules are to be a priori expected. This author, therefore, decided to make a trip (in August 1969) to area III in order to investigate whatever changes have occurred.

One change is a rather sad one. The town of Llodio and its twin Areta no longer contain native speakers. They have become "erdaldun", Spanish-speaking. It is likely that in the surrounding country area some farmhouses still remain «euskaldun», Basque-speaking, but I had no opportunities to investigate this.

However, in the region of Munguía,¹¹ some interesting developments have taken place. First of all, in the countryside immediately East of Munguía, the situation described by Uriarte still subsist. A woman of about 50 years old born and raised on a farm named *Belako*, supplied these forms: *alabia, semia, mendie, astoa, burue*. That means she has the rules *Rui* and *Rea* in this order.

⁹ We have seen before that Bermeo and Marquina had already acquired rule *Rui* around 1920. However, according to Holmer's data, Mundaca, a town 2 kms. East of Bermeo, remains even now virtually untouched by this rule.

¹⁰ I am quoting directly from the original letters, which the library of the Bizcayan Provincial Deputation in Bilbao was kind enough to put at my disposition. The published version of Uriarte's correspondence (See Larrinaga) contains no less than three major errors in this small passage.

¹¹ I am greatly indebted to Don Paulino Solozábal for his eager help in contacting local informants.

The town of Munguía itself, however, has the following forms: *alabea* (freely alternating with *alabia*),¹² *semea* (but not *semia*), *mendie*, *astoa*, *burue*.

It is not impossible that this state of affairs existed already in Uriarte's time. We know that, on Bonaparte's advice, he preferred rural informants:

... he averiguado con todo cuidado las eufonías de este pueblo de Bermeo, y el subdialecto a que se extiende, valiéndome para esto, no de Eclesiásticos ni personas instruidas, sino de personas rústicas, y entre éstas, las que no tienen noticia de otros subdialectos... (Letter to Bonaparte, Bermeo, June 4, 1861).

(...I have investigated very carefully the euphonic laws of this town of Bermeo and of the subdialect to which it belongs making use, not of clergymen or educated people, but of rural people, and among these, those who have no knowledge of other subdialects...).

Yet it is strange that Uriarte with his usual concern for preciseness should not have reported this important difference between the town itself and some of its surroundings. Could it be that in his time no such difference existed, and that the town of Munguía has since dropped role *Rea*? If so, this seems to have been by virtue of an internal development rather than by the influence of the neighbouring area IV, since in the latter case *semia* and *alabia* should both have been reduced to *semea*, *alabea*. The reason, however, that *semia* but not *alabia* has been rejected, is that *semia* could be compared with *seme*, but there was no motive to prefer *alabea* over *alabia*, as **alabe* does not exist, and both forms have a stem final vowel distinct from that of *alaba*.

In a synchronic grammar of the town of Munguía, we must complicate rule *Raa* and add to it an optional feature:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - bi \\ - round \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - back \\ (+ bi) \end{array} \right] / \text{---} + \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - bi \\ - round \\ + back \end{array} \right]$$

And, since *alabie* does not occur here, rule *Rui* has to precede this modified rule *Raa*.

It now remains to consider the area West of Munguía. Here we encounter an interesting rule of vowel assimilation that can be stated as follows:

$$\text{Ras: } \left[\begin{array}{c} - bi \\ - round \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha bi \\ \beta round \\ \gamma back \end{array} \right] / \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha bi \\ \beta round \\ \gamma back \end{array} \right] \text{---}$$

This rule is not mentioned by Uriarte or Bonaparte, but Azkue is well aware of it. Talking about a subdialect of Southern Guipúzcoa, he writes:

¹² This form *alabia* is in accordance with the data of the Triple Questionnaire. In Munguía, the form *arrebía* was given for "the sister", from *arriba* + *a* (See Ormaetxea 1925: 18).

La *a*, lo mismo cuando es artículo (que es lo general) como cuando forma parte del núcleo del verbo *yoan* (y en Legazpia aun de *eroan*), se dice entera tras las vocales *e* o, cuando no le sigue ningún sufijo: *semea*, *besoa*, *noa*, *oa*, *daroa*; mas si le sigue cualquier sufijo, se deja asimilar por la vocal precedente: *semeeke*, *besook*, *noonean*, “cuando voy”; *daroot*, “lo llevo”... etc. (1).

(1) En varias zonas del dialecto Bizcaino (comarca de Plencia) se hacen estas asimilaciones, aun cuando la vocal *a* no esté apoyada en ninguna consonante: *neu noo*, «yo voy»; *orrek daroo*, «ése lo lleva»; *neure semee*, «el hijo mío»; *besoo*, «el brazo» ... etc. (Azkue 1926: 23).

(The *a*, whether it is an article (as it generally is) or whether it is part of the stem of the verb *yoan* (= “to go”) (and in Legazpia also of *eroan* (= “to take away”)) is pronounced unchanged after the vowels *e* o, when no suffix follows: *semea*, *besoa*, *noa*, *oa*, *daroa*; but if any suffix follows, it is assimilated by the preceding vowel: *semeeke*, *besook*, *noonean*, “when I go”; *daroot*, “I take it away” ... etc. (1).

(1) In various areas of the Bizcayan dialect (Region of Plencia), these assimilations are made even when the vowel *a* is not checked by any consonant: *neu noo*, “I go”; *orrek daroo*, “he takes it away”; *neure semee*, “my son”; *besoo*, “the arm” ... etc.).

The more precise data supplied by the answers to the “Triple Questionnaire” show that rule *Ras* exists in the whole area North of Bilbao and West of Munguía, as the following villages are explicitly mentioned: Erandio, Lejona, Berango, Guecho, Barrica, Urdúliz, Plencia, Górliz, Lemóniz, Maruri (= Jatabe), Gatica, Lauquíniz. Moreover, the rule also exists in a small coastal area North of Guernica, with the villages Elanchove and Ibarranguelua, and nowadays, also in the town Ondárroa.

Accepting Uriarte’s testimony as valid, we know that around 1860 Gatica and Maruri had rules *Rui* and *Rea*, but lacked rule *Ras*. According to my own data, Gatica and Maruri now have rules *Rui* and *Ras*, but lack rule *Rea*. E. g. (Maruri): *nire semé gaur etor da*,¹³ “My son has come today”, *nire alabé bere bai etor da*, “My daughter has also come”.^d The difference between the definite and the indefinite forms, as I have heard them, is not so much in the length of the final vowel, but in the fact that it is stressed: we have *séme*, “son”, but *semé*, “the son”. That vowel contractions show up phonetically as stress is a well known characteristic of the Suletin and Roncalese dialects as well: *alhába*, “daughter”; *alhabá*, “the daughter” (See *FHV*, § 20.11).

Although the assimilated forms are preferred, we also find unassimilated ones used by the same speakers: *alabé* alternates freely with *alabea*, *semé* with *semea*, *asté* (“the week”) with *astea*. Forms with *i*, however, such as *alabia* or *semia* are rarely used and considered as foreign to the village.

That in former days Maruri did have rule *Rea*, can be inferred —apart from Uriarte’s testimony— from the fact that the form for “work” is *bear* and that for

¹³ Notice the form *etor da* instead of the more extended form *etorri da*. *Etor da* is the usual form in Chori-erri, and according to Holmer’s data (§ 19.7) it also occurs in Bermeo.

^d My data on the area around Munguía are nicely confirmed by Martin Olazar, from whose article “Mungia-aldeko Euskerea” (*Agur* III-28, jan. 15, 1972, p. 7) I quote: Some regularities in the north: In Jatabe, Gatica and Laukiniz they do not say *ogje*, but *ogi*, not *oilloa*, but *oillo*, not *basue*, but *basu* (“glass”), not *alabea*, but *alabe*. In the south, however: *alabia* (in Gamiz), *alabea* (in Munguía), *alabie* in Fruniz, Arrieta, Meñaca and Larrauri; similarly, *etxia*, *egije*, *oilloa*, *basue* (“glass”), *burue*. Going one step farther, in Bermeo, they say *oillue*, in Ondarrua *oillu*. (Translation mine, RdR.)

“mare” *bior*. In Arratia, those forms are *bear* and *beor* with *e*. We know that *Rea*, as a historical change, applied to non-alternating forms as well. Under the assumption that both forms once had an *i* in Maruri, we can easily explain why we now find *e* in one case and *i* in the other. The word *bear*, meaning both “work” and “need” is very frequent in everyday conversation, while the word *beor* “mare” is not. Therefore, when rule *Rea* was lost, *biar* was turned back to *bear* under the influence of the neighbouring Eastern area that never had rule *Rea*, but the rare word *bior* remained unchanged.^{e)}

We see here that a marked order of rules can be disposed of in two ways: by reordering them, as in the case of Mundaca *etsiya*, or by simply dropping one of the rules, as Maruri has done with rule *Rea*.

Notice that the loss of rule *Rea* may have been caused by the addition of rule *Ras*. Indeed, if rule *Ras* was once obligatory, and if it was added before rule *Rea*, this rule would have had nothing to apply to.

In the costal area North of Guernica and in Ondárroa, rule *Ras* is ordered after the rules *Rea* and *Roa*. Thus in Elanchove, we find the alternations:

<i>alaba</i> : “daughter”	<i>alabí</i> : “the daughter”
<i>seme</i> : “son”	<i>semí</i> : “the son”
<i>beso</i> : “arm”	<i>besú</i> : “the arm” (cf. Ormaetxea 1925).

The corresponding derivations are: *alaba* + *a* \xrightarrow{Raa} *alabea* \xrightarrow{Rea} *alabia* \xrightarrow{Rai} *alabii* \rightarrow *alabí*.
Seme + *a* \xrightarrow{Rea} *semia* \xrightarrow{Ras} *semii* \rightarrow *semí*. *Beso* + *a* \xrightarrow{Roa} *besua* \xrightarrow{Rai} *besuu* \rightarrow *besú*.

Despite the work of the past, some of which of a rather high quality, a lot of research remains to be done in Basque dialectology. We are still uninformed about a huge mass of important data, in Bizcaya as well as elsewhere in the Basque Country. The articles in which Ormaetxea reports the results of the Triple Questionnaire sent out in the early nineteen-twenties by the Basque Academy, are not as useful as they should have been. All too often, Ormaetxea writes statements like: “*noa*: in 47 villages, *noia*, *noie*, in 23 villages, *nua*, *nue*, in 23 villages”, without bothering to tell us what these villages were.

A linguistic atlas of Euskalerría is still very much needed. It is needed for the solution of many problems in the history of Basque that are at present insoluble. It will constitute an immense contribution to the full florescence of Bascology in its various branches. But, above all, the completion of a detailed and reliable linguistic atlas of Basque will be a great service to General Linguistics, as it will enable us to arrive at a better understanding of the mechanisms of linguistic change in general.

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^{e)} In his noteworthy article «Butroiko euskara», Iñaki Gaminde likewise lists the forms *bearrá* “the work”, but *biorra* “the mare”. (*FLV* XIV-40, 403-460).

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RELATIVE CLAUSES IN BASQUE: A GUIDED TOUR*

A relative clause is a sentence modifying a noun phrase, such that the deep structure of the sentence contains a noun phrase identical to the noun phrase it modifies. The concept of linguistic identity needed here is not mere identity in form but also includes identity of reference. The whole construction consisting of the sentence together with the noun phrase acts again as a noun phrase: it is an endocentric construction with a noun phrase as its head.

In Basque, the relative clause precedes its head, and there are no relative pronouns. As a start, I will take an easy example. From the matrix sentence (1)a and the constituent sentence (1)b, we can form the relative clause construction (1):

- (1)a Aitak irakurri nai du liburua. "Father wants to read the book."
(1)b Amak liburua erre du. "Mother has burned the book."
(1) Aitak irakurri nai du amak erre duen liburua.
"Father wants to read the book that Mother has burned."

(All examples in this paper are taken from the Guipúzcoan dialect.)

The shared noun phrase *liburua* "the book" has been deleted from the constituent sentence, which serves as a prenominal modifier of the head *liburua* in the main clause. The finite verb form *du* "has" of the relative clause carries a relativizing suffix, whose shape seems to be *-en*. Actually, its shape is *-n*, the underlying form of *du* being *due*: the *e* disappears in suffixless forms by the effects of an independently motivated Final Vowel Truncation rule. Past tense forms always end in *-n*; accordingly, there is then no difference between the relativized and the non-relativized forms of the verb:

- (2) Aitak irakurri zuen liburua

(2) can be either a sentence a) "Father read the book", or a noun phrase b) "The book that Father read".

Thus we see that *zuen* + *n* gives *zuen*. Stress rules must be sensitive to the underlying double consonant of such forms, since with polysyllabic auxiliaries we find a difference in accentuation:

* *The Chicago which hunt*, (Chicago, 1972), 115-135.

- (3)a Gurasoak irakurri zúten liburua. "The parents read the book."
 (3)b Gurasoak irakurri zutén liburua "The book that the parents read"

It is important to note that the relative marker shows no agreement with any noun phrase in the sentence. Its shape is absolutely invariable. It is therefore quite different from the relative pronouns found in most Indo-European languages.

Henri Gavel (Gavel 1929: 8-9), Ignacio Omaechevarria (Omaechevarria 1959: 11) and several other grammarians have declared the relativizer to be identical to the genitive suffix *-(r)en*. While there are many syntactic and semantic similarities between the relative clause construction and the genitive construction, the different shapes of the morphemes preclude a complete identification of the constructions. (Cf. Lafon 1943: 457-8).

There is complete identity in form, however, between the relative marker *-n* and the Wh-complementizer *-n* appearing in indirect question. Whether this reveals a deep syntactic correlation between relatives and interrogatives, or, on the contrary, represents a mere coincidence, cannot be decided on the basis of the Basque facts alone. It seems clear, however, that interrogatives cannot be derived from relatives, as arguments similar to those C. Leroy Baker gave for English (Baker 1970: 198-200) can also be set up for Basque.

Although, in general, a finite verb need not be last in a sentence (witness (1)a), in a relative clause it always is. We may therefore visualize the relative clause construction as $[_{NP}S \text{ } -n \text{ } NP_{NP}]$, where the relativizer *-n* functions as a link between the clause and the head noun phrase. A more detailed diagram of a sentence containing a relative clause is shown below:

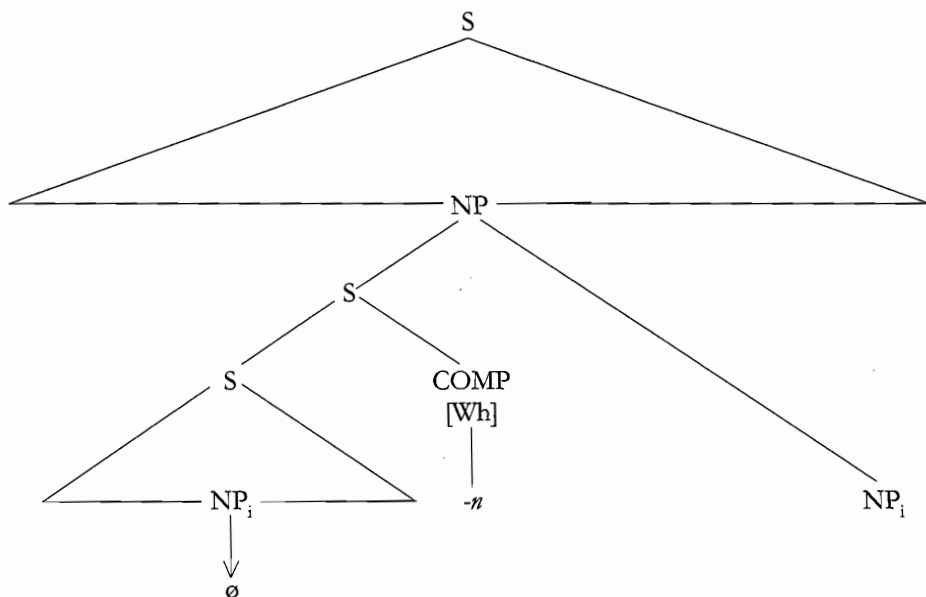


Diagram (1)

While one difference between Basque and English resides in the choice of the complementizer used as relativizer and does not seem to be predictable from more general characteristics of Basque grammar, another difference, the fact that Basque relative clauses show no movement but rather deletion of the lower coreferential noun phrase, can be plausibly considered to fall under the range of an implicational universal. What remains unclear, however, is just what the implicans of this universal is to be. Different authors differ indeed as to what other feature of grammatical structure they deem the lack of such a movement rule to be most closely connected with. For Leroy Baker, the absence of a rule moving relativized constituents is correlated with the position of the clause in front of the modified noun phrase (See Baker 1970: 209). For Bresnan, the lack of movement follows from the clause-final position of the complementizer (Bresnan 1970: 317ff). For Schwartz, the absence of a movement rule for relativized constituents follows from the absence of a rule moving Wh elements in questions, this itself being a necessary property of verb-final languages (Schwartz 1971). None of the authors offer a convincing argument in favor of their respective claims. Basque, having all three of the properties that are claimed to be relevant, cannot serve as a test case. Some language other than Basque, but sharing some of its characteristics, will have to provide the crucial evidence needed to settle the issue.

Relativization wipes out whatever postposition the lower coreferential noun phrase may have had, thus making it impossible for the surface structure to indicate the syntactic function of this noun phrase in the constituent sentence. To make things worse, unstressed personal pronouns that are in an agreement relation with the verb are normally deleted. Therefore, ambiguity results:

- (3) Eman dion aurra gaixtoa da.
Given he-has-it-to-him-Rel child-the bad-the he-is.
- a) "The child whom he has given to him is bad."
From (3)a Aurra eman dio. «He has given the (or a) child to him.»
- b) «The child who has given it to him is bad.»
From (3)b Aurrak eman dio. "The child has given it to him."
- c) «The child whom he has given it to is bad.»
From (3)c Aurrari eman dio. "He has given it to the child."

Since there are limits on the amount of ambiguity that a language can tolerate, we expect relativization to be more heavily constrained in Basque than it is in English. This will indeed turn out to be correct.

Let us ask, then, what the syntactic functions are that the lower coreferential noun phrase can assume in the constituent sentence, such that the resulting relative clause is grammatical. With respect to this question, there are two dialects (i.e. two sets of idiolects): A) A Restricted Dialect; B) The Main Dialect.

A) The restricted dialect. Only those relative clauses are possible in which there is morphological agreement between the lower coreferential noun phrase and the verb. This leaves five possibilities. The deleted noun phrase can be:

- a) Subject of an intransitive predicate. (Postposition \emptyset)
b) Subject of a transitive predicate. (Postposition $-\kappa$)

- c) Object of a transitive predicate. (Postposition \emptyset)
 d) Indirect object of an intransitive predicate. (Postp. *-ri*)
 e) Indirect object of a transitive predicate. (Postp. *-ri*)
- B) The main dialect. All the functions above and also:
 f) Locative. (Postposition *-n*) h) Ablative. (Postposition *-tik*).
 g) Directional. (Postposition *-ra*) i) Instrumental. (Postposition *-z*)

All other syntactic functions are non-relativizable. These are the functions indicated by the following postpositions:

- rentzat*, "for".
-(ren)gatik, "because of".
-(re)kin, "with".
-(ren)gan, "in" (for +Animate noun phrases).
-(ren)gana, "to" (for +Animate noun phrases).
-(ren)ganontz, "towards" (for +Animate noun phrases).
-(ren)ganaiño, "as far as" (for +Animate noun phrases).
-rontz, "towards" (for -Animate noun phrases).
-raiño, "as far as" (for -Animate noun phrases).

What I have just given amounts to the worst possible characterisation of relativizability: a mere list of cases. Are there no generalisations here waiting to be captured? Is there no better way of characterising relativizability? I will make four attempts to this effect:

Characterization I):

Phonologically light postpositions —that is, postpositions consisting of not more than three segments— are relativizable, but phonologically heavy postpositions (four or more segments) are non-relativizable.

The optional elements *-re-* in *-(re)kin* and *-ren-* in *-(ren)gan*, etc., have to be counted as part of the underlying form of the postposition, deletable by a late morphophonemic rule of Possessive Deletion.

Though valid, characterisation I) seems somehow to miss the point, as it provides preciously little insight into the phenomenon that we are studying.

Characterization II):

Morphologically simple postpositions are relativizable. Morphologically complex postpositions are non-relativizable.

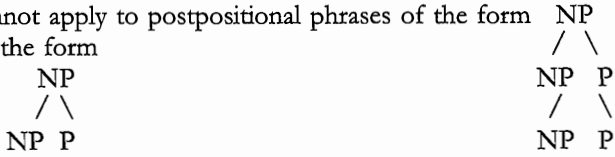
Characterization III):

Postpositions morphologically based on the genitive are non-relativizable. Postpositions based on the directional (to wit: *-rontz* "towards", *-raiño* "as far as") are

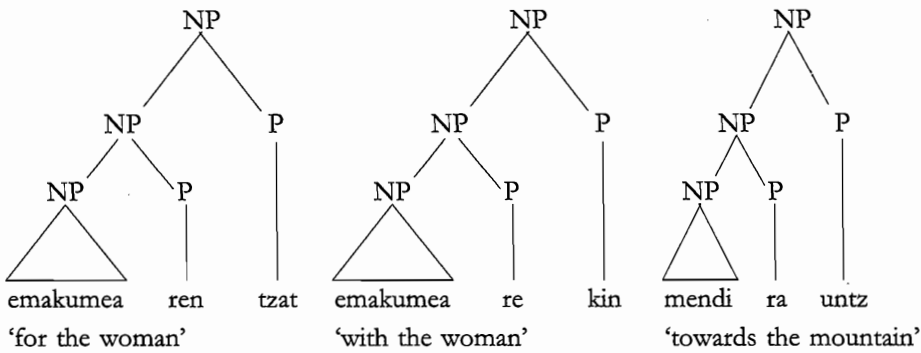
also non-relativizable. All other postpositions, including the directional *-ra* “to” itself, are relativizable.

Characterization IV):

Relativization cannot apply to postpositional phrases of the form NP but only to those of the form



Here, at last, we have a characterisation of relativizability in terms of structure. We now see why e.g. *-rentzat*, *-rekin* and *-rontz* are non-relativizable:



Diagram

There are two special cases that our characterization does not cover:

A) When the postposition on the head noun phrase is the same as the underlying postposition on the deleted lower noun phrase, relativization is always possible, even when that postposition is otherwise non-relativizable.

We saw that *-rekin* “with” is a non-relativizable postposition; hence (4)a is impossible. Unexpectedly, however, (4)b is grammatical:

- (4)a *Mendian ibili naizen emakumea ederra da.
“The woman with whom I have walked in the mountains is beautiful.»
- (4)b Mendian ibili naizen emakumearekin ezkondu nai det.
“I want to marry [with] the woman with whom I have walked in the mountains.”

Likewise with the non-relativizable postposition *-(ren)gatik* "because of":

- (5)a *Pello'k bere burua il zuen emakumea ederra da.
 "The woman because of whom Pello killed himself is beautiful."
- (5)b Pello'k bere burua il zuen emakumearengatik Andres'ek ere bere burua il nai du,
 "Andres too wants to kill himself because of the woman because of whom Pello killed himself."

This fact provides an argument for deriving relative clauses from coordinate sentences. To see why, let us consider (5)c.

- (5)c Pello'k emakumearengatik bere burua il zuen eta Andres'ek ere emakumearengatik bere burua il nai du.
 Pello killed himself because of the woman and Andres too wants to kill himself because of the woman."

In this sentence, there is complete identity in structure between the two occurrences of the noun phrase *emakumearengatik* "because of the woman". If something like (5)c underlies (5)b, and if the Structural Description of Relative NP Deletion is able to refer to a sufficiently early stage in the derivation, then the complete identity between the two occurrences of *emakumearengatik* will allow the transformation to apply, taking for the identical noun phrases in its Structural Description the noun phrases *emakumea* together with their postpositions *-rengatik*.

In a structure like that of diagram (1), however, there can be no structural identity between the two occurrences of *emakumearengatik*, since the postposition *-rengatik* on the second occurrence of *emakumea* will modify the whole relative clause construction *Pello'k (emakumearengatik) bere burua il zuen emakumea* rather than just the noun phrase *emakumea*. In other words, in the structure given in diagram (1) the topmost NP may have a postposition associated with it, but the two NP_i must be noun phrases that do not immediately dominate a non-zero postposition, for, otherwise, they could not be structurally identical.

As this is the only argument specific to Basque that I have been able to find for deriving relative clauses from conjoined sentences, and as the details of such a derivation are rather unclear, I will not pursue this matter any further.

B) When the head noun of a relative clause is "semantically related" to a non-relativizable postposition, relativization on this postposition is possible:

- (6)a Arrazoi onengatik nere burua il nai det.
 "For this reason I want to kill myself."
- (6)b Nere burua il nai nuen arrazoi az ez naiz gogoratzen.
 "I don't remember the reason why I wanted to kill myself."

(6)b is a good sentence, although (6)a shows that the lower coreferential noun phrase *arrazoi* must have had the non-relativizable postposition *-(ren)gatik* in the constituent sentence. I have no explanation to offer for this fact.

Ignoring those two complications, we can state the transformation of Relative NP Deletion as follows:

W	—	[_{NP}	[_S	X	—	NP	—	(P)	—	Y	—	V] _S	—	COMP	—	NP	—	(P)] _{NP}	—	Z
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	⇒										
1		2	Ø	Ø	5	6	7	8	9	10											

Conditions: 3 = 8
 3 does not immediately dominate a P.
 5 does not begin with a P.

The variable Y in the Structural Description is an essential variable. Relativization in Basque, like in English, can go indefinitely far down in the tree:

- (7) Zoroa dala guztiak dakitela esan zizutela idatzi zenidala uste dedan ijitoak musu eman zidan.
 “The gypsy I believe you wrote me they told you everybody knows is crazy kissed me.”

The suffix *-la* that we find here added to the finite verb forms *da* “(he) is”, *dakite* “(they) know”, *zizuten* “(they) had (to you)” and *zenidan* “(you) had (to me)” is comparable in function to the English complementizer *that*. Unlike its English counterpart, however, *-la* never occurs in the function of a relative marker. The relativizer is always *-n*, as in *uste dedan* “whom I believe”, or *-neko*, an extended version of *-n*.

The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint and the Coordinate Structure Constraint (See Ross 1967: § 4.1 and § 4.2) hold, but the Sentential Subject Constraint (Ross 1967: § 4.41) does not:

- (8) Amorratuak dirala bixtan dagon zakur oiekin ez det ibili nai.
 “I don’t want to walk with those dogs that it is obvious are rabid.”

Stacked Relatives

When the noun phrase relativized is itself a relative clause construction, the result is a stacked relative clause. Native speakers differ in their judgements on the acceptability of some of these sentences. Spontaneous examples are occasionally heard and can be found in texts as well. This example is probably acceptable to everyone:

- (9) Irakurri ditugun idatzi zituen liburu batzuek oso interesgarriak dire.
 “Some books that he wrote that we have read are very interesting.”

An example with the same syntax as (10) occurred in the speech of a Basque academician (See *Euskera* 5 (1960), 140). It clearly shows the difficulty of understanding that some of these sentences present.

- (10) Askotan arkitu naiz baserritarrak diran eta baserritarrak ez diran beientzako Fanderiko pentsuak onenak dirala dioten gizonekin.
 “I have often met men who say that Fanderi’s fodder is the best for cows, who are farmers and who are not farmers.”

Since, normally, relatives cannot be separated from their heads (there is no extraposition of relative clauses in Basque), there is a strong tendency to interpret the clause *baserritarrak diran eta baserritarrak ez diran* "who are farmers and who are not farmers" as a relative clause on *bei* "cow". A heavy pause between ...*ez diran* and *beientzako* will help arrive at the correct interpretation.

The upshot of this seems to be that stacked relative clauses are grammatical in Basque, but that many speakers have a surface structure constraint that rules out as unacceptable any sentence containing a relative clause that immediately precedes a noun phrase that is not its head. For such speakers, (9) is acceptable, but (10) is not.

Pronominal Heads

Demonstrative pronouns (*au* "this", *ori* "that", *ura* "yon") can function as surface structure heads of relative clauses:

- (11) Eskuan ikusten dizudan ori zer da?
"What is that, which I see in your hand?"
- (12) Eskuan ikusten didazun au bonba da.
"This, which you see in my hand, is a bomb."
- (13) Arantza'ri eskuan ikusten diogun ura bonba al da?
"Is that, which we see in Arantza's hand, a bomb?"

Demonstrative pronouns can also have human referents. Thus we get, e.g.:

- (14) Berandu etorri dan $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{au} \\ \text{ori} \\ \text{ura} \end{array} \right\}$ goseak dago.

"He $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{here} \\ \text{there} \\ \text{yon} \end{array} \right\}$, who has come late, is hungry."

Personal pronouns cannot function as heads of relative clauses in surface structure. For example, with *ni* "I" *zu* "you" we do not get:

- (15a) *Berandu etorri naizen ni goseak nago.
"I, who have come late, am hungry."
- (15b) *Berandu etorri zeran zu goseak al zaude?
"Are you, who have come late, hungry?"

Instead of the expected personal pronouns we get the demonstrative ones:

- (16a) Berandu etorri naizen au goseak nago.
"I, who have come late, am hungry."
- (16b) Berandu etorri zeran ori goseak al zaude?
"Are you, who have come late, hungry?"

Yet, in general, demonstrative pronouns only allow third person verb forms: (17)a and (17)b are ungrammatical:

(17)a *Au goseak nago. “*This one am hungry.”

(17)b *Ori goseak al zaude? “*Are that one hungry?”

But we do get (18)a and (18)b with the intensive personal pronouns *nerau* (cf. *nera* “my”) “I myself” and *zerori* (cf. *zere*, *zeure* “your own”) “you yourself”:

(18)a *Nerau* goseak nago. “I am hungry myself.”

(18)b *Zerori* goseak al zaude? “Are you hungry yourself?”

Therefore, the demonstrative pronouns in (16)ab seem to be reductions of the intensive personal pronouns of (18)ab.

According to I. M. Echaide (1912: 32), the intensive personal pronouns appear on the surface just in case the relative clause is based (by virtue of special case A) on a non-relativizable postposition. (Recall that for animate noun phrases, hence for personal pronouns, the only relativizable functions are the absolutive, the ergative and the dative). His examples are (page 55):

(19)a *Malkoak arkitu dituzuten neronengan parrak ere izandu dire.*
 “In me, in whom you have found tears, there have been laughs too.”

(19)b *Malkoak arkitu diran zerorrengan parrak ere izandu dire.*
 “In you, in whom tears have been found, there have been laughs too.”

The occurrence of the intensive personal pronouns as heads is explained by the assumption that the lower coreferential noun phrase must be focus in the constituent sentence, since the intensive forms are the forms pronouns take when they are focussed upon.

Not just demonstratives, but any determiner can serve as the head of a relative clause in surface structure. In particular, *bat* “one, a” and *-a* “the”. E.g.:

(20) *Berandu etorri den bat goseak dago.*

(20)a “One, who has come late, is hungry.” (+Specific)

(20)b “One who has come late is hungry.” (–Specific)

(21) *Berandu etorri dana goseak dago.*

(21)a “The one who has come late is hungry.” (+Specific)

(21)b “Who has come late is hungry.” (–Specific)

(21)b is called a free relative in English grammar.

I will call the Basque sentence (21) a free relative, regardless of whether it has a specific or a non-specific reference, Free relatives should not be confused with indirect questions, as C. Leroy Baker has so aptly warned us (Baker 1970). In Basque, there is little danger of confusing the two: the surface structures are quite different:

(22)a *Ez dakit zuk dakizuna.* “I don’t know what you know.”

(22)a contains a free relative: *zuk dakizuna* “what you know”. Its meaning can be paraphrased as “my knowledge does not include yours”.

(22)b Ez dakit zuk zer dakizun. "I don't know what you know."

(22)b is an indirect question: *zer* is the interrogative pronoun "what", and the *-n* of *dakizun* is the Wh-complementizer; the sentence can be paraphrased as "I have no idea what you know".

Just in case the surface head of a relative clause is the determiner *-a*, the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint does not hold. Of course, according to Haj Ross's original formulation of the constraint, we should not expect it to hold here: "No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation" (Ross 1967). Certainly, the Basque article *-a* is not a lexical noun. Compare now sentence (23)a with sentence (23)b:

(23)a Beartsuari dirua ematen diona luzaro biziko da.
"Who gives money to the poor will live long."

(23)b Dirua ematen diona beartsuari luzaro biziko da.
Same meaning as (23)a.

In (23)b, the indirect object noun phrase *beartsuari* "to the poor" has been scrambled out of the relative clause.

This is not possible when the head of the relative clause is a full noun, as in (24)a, a demonstrative pronoun, as in (25)a, or an intensive personal pronoun, as in (26)a:

(24)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dion gizona luzaro biziko da.
"The man who gives money to the poor will live long."

(24)b *Dirua ematen dion gizona beartsuari luzaro biziko da.

(25)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dion ori luzaro biziko da.
"That one there, who gives money to the poor, will live long."

(25)b *Dirua ematen dion ori beartsuari luzaro biziko da.

(26)a Beartsuari dirua ematen diozun ori luzaro biziko zera.
"You, who give money to the poor, will live long."

(26)b *Dirua ematen diozun ori beartsuari luzaro biziko zera.

The presence of a case postposition on the determiner *-a* does not interfere with the scrambling process. We have, e.g., with the ergative postposition *-k*:

(27)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dionak bere saria artuko du.
"Who gives money to the poor will receive his reward."

(27)b Dirua ematen dionak beartsuari bere saria artuko du.
Same meaning as (27)a.

In all the preceding examples, the reference of the free relative clause was generic, or, at least, non-specific. However, this is not a necessary condition for scrambling something out of a free relative clause. An example that I found in a

book by the Basque writer B. Iraola Aristiguieta (published in 1962, but written decades earlier) shows this:

- (28) Ala, batian, nere gantzontzilluak jartzera dijuela, esan zion erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek, egunian bi peseta pagatzen dituenak ardorik gabe: Bañura al zuaz?
 “So, one time, while he was going to put on my underpants, Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle, the one who pays two pesetas a day, not including wine, said to him: Are you going to the bathroom?”

Here the free relative clause is *egunian bi peseta pagatzen dituenak* “who pays two pesetas a day”. The adverbial *ardorik gabe* “not including wine” (literally: “without wine”) originates as part of this free relative clause. In the surface structure it has been scrambled to the right of *pagatzen dituenak* “he who pays” and hence out of the relative clause. The *-k* of *dituenak* is the ergative postposition, required by the verb *esan* “say”. The reference of the free relative clause is specific, namely “Melchior”.

It is therefore immaterial whether the reference of a free relative clause is specific or non-specific, as far as scrambling constituents out of it is concerned.

Pseudo-extraposition:

Free relative clauses are quite frequent in Basque texts because they provide a substitute for extraposition. Extraposition of relative clauses is not possible in Basque but the existence of free relatives allows one to put sentential and other modifiers after their head nouns. In this way, one achieves the effect of extraposition. An example will make this clear:

- (29)a Bein ba zan zazpi seme-alaba zituen errege bat.
 “Once upon a time, there was a king who had seven sons and daughters.”

(29)a shows the normal form. The noun phrase *errege bat* “a king” is modified directly by the relative clause *zazpi seme-alaba zituen* “who had seven sons and daughters”. Now the pseudo-extraposed form (29)b:

- (29)b Bein ba zan errege bat, zazpi seme-alaba zituena.
 “Once upon a time there was a king, one who had seven sons and daughters.”

Here we have a free relative clause: *zazpi seme-alaba zituena* “one who had seven sons and daughters”.

If the relative clause is very long, the pseudo-extraposed form is more acceptable than the normal form.

The free relative clause, when used with an antecedent, must have the same case, i.e. the same postposition, as this antecedent:

- (30)a Ori errege batek, zazpi seme-alaba zituenak, esan zidan.
 “A king, one who had seven sons and daughters, told me that.”
 (30)b Ori errege bati, zazpi seme-alaba zituenari, egin nion.
 “I did that to a king, to one who had seven sons and daughters.”

- (30)c Ori errege batez, zazpi seme-alaba zituenaz, maitemindu zan.
 "She fell in love with a king, with one who had seven sons and daughters."
 (30)c Ori errege batentzat, zazpi seme-alaba zituenarentzat, oso erreza zan.
 "That was very easy for a king, for one who had seven sons and daughters."

In all these examples, the postpositions on the antecedent (ergative *-k*, dative *-ri*, instrumental *-z*, benefactive *-rentzat*) must be repeated on the free relative clause.

Pseudo-extraposition, i.e. the use of a free relative with a full lexical antecedent, is a welcome device that can serve to eliminate unacceptable stacking of relative clauses. We have already seen one example of this in (28). Without the use of pseudo-extraposition this sentence would have had to be:

- (31) Ala, batian, nere gantzontzilluak jartzera dijuela, esan zion ardorik gabe egunian bi peseta pagatzen dituen erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek: Bañura al zuaz?
 "So, one time, while he was going to put on my underpants, Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle, who pays two pesetas a day, not including wine, said to him: Are you going to the bathroom?"

(31) is much less elegant than (28), moreover, (31) will be unacceptable for those speakers who have the constraint on stacking mentioned earlier, since the relative clause *ardorik gabe egunian bi peseta pagatzen dituen* "who pays two pesetas a day not including wine", immediately precedes the noun phrase *erdiko gela* "the room in the middle", which is not the head of the relative clause.

A much more extreme example of the same situation can be found in a book by Pedro M. Urruzuno *Euskalerritik zerura*. There we read on page 13:

- (32) Ainbeste maite zuan amona, beretzat amarik onena izandu zana, ainbeste laztan gozo eman zizkana, zerurako bidea ain ondo erakutsi ziona, ill zan larogeita amaika urterekin,
 "Grandmother, whom he had loved so dearly, who had been for him the best of mothers, who had given him so many sweet embraces, who had shown him so well the road to heaven, had died at the age of ninety-one."

If the device of pseudo-extraposition were not available the sentence would take on this shape:

- (33) Zerurako bidea ain ondo erakutsi zion ainbeste laztan gozo eman zizkan beretzat amarik onena izandu zan ainbeste maite zuan amona ill zan larogeita amaika urterekin.

While (33) may be, strictly speaking, grammatical, it is utterly unintelligible to the native listener.

Diminutive free relatives

An interesting property of free relative clauses is that they admit the diminutive suffix *-txo* just like nouns and adjectives do:

Nouns:

<i>lan-a</i>	“the job”,	<i>lantxo-a</i>	“the little job”,
<i>liburu-a</i>	“the book”,	<i>liburutxo-a</i>	“the little book”,
<i>gizon-a</i>	“the man”,	<i>gizontxo-a</i>	“the little man”,
<i>aurr-a</i>	“the child”,	<i>aurtxo-a</i>	“the little child”.

Adjectives:

<i>zuri</i>	“white”,	diminutive form:	<i>zuritxo</i> ,
<i>txiki</i>	“small”,	diminutive form:	<i>txikitxo</i> ,
<i>apal</i>	“humble”,	diminutive form:	<i>apaltxo</i> .

In the same way, *-txo* (*tx* denotes a palatal affricate) can be added to free relative clauses:

<i>dakidan-a</i>	“what I know”,	<i>dakidantxo-a</i>	“what little I know”,
<i>degun-a</i>	“what we have”,	<i>deguntxo-a</i>	“what little we have”.

- (34) Ez dakit ondo zer gertatu zan, baina dakidantxoa esango dizut.
 “I don’t know very well what happened, but what little I know I will tell you.”
- (35) Deguntxo pixkaren lotsa gera.
 “We are ashamed of the little bit that we have.”

Example (35) is doubly diminutive: it also contains the word *pixka* “a little bit”, cf. *esne pixka bat* “a little milk”.

Repetition:

Another interesting fact about free (and also ordinary) relative clauses is that they can be repeated for expressive purposes. In Basque, repetition is a systematically used device to increase the force of an expression, or its preciseness. Examples:

<i>arro</i>	“proud”,	<i>arro-arro</i>	“real proud”,
<i>bete</i>	“full”,	<i>bete-bete</i>	“brimfull”,
<i>goiz-ean</i>	“in the morning”,	<i>goiz-goizean</i>	“early in the morning”,
<i>gau-an</i>	“at night”,	<i>gau-gauan</i>	“late at night”,
<i>alde-an</i>	“near”,	<i>alde-aldean</i>	“right near”.

Consider also the following examples:

- (36)a Etxeraíño etorri ziran ijitoak. “The gypsies came up to the house.”
- (36)b Etxe-etxeraíño etorri ziran ijitoak. “The gypsies came right up to the house.”
- (37)a Lautan etorri ziran. “They came at four o’clock.”
- (37)b Lau-lautan etorri ziran. “They came at four o’clock sharp.”

Relative clauses too can undergo this process:

(38)a Zerana zeralako maite zaitut. "I love you because you are the one you are."
(*zera* "you are", hence *zerana* "who/what/the one you are").

(38)b Zerana-zerana zeralako maite zaitut.
"I love you because you are just the one you are."

In the oldest Basque book, Etxepare's *Linguae vasconum primitiae* (1545), we find an example very similar to (38)b. The language of the book is the Low-Navarrese of the region of St. Jean Pied de Port. The example occurs in the poem *Potaren Galdatzia*, line 10:

(39) Ziren-zirena baitzira, zutzaz pena dizit nik.
"I am aching for you because you are just the one you are."

Examples (38)b and (39) contain free relatives; it is also possible to have a lexical head noun here:

(40)a Zerana emakumea zeralako maite zaitut.
"I love you because you are the woman you are."

(40)b Zerana-zerana emakumea zeralako maite zaitut.
"I love you because you are just the woman you are."

Relatives on Proper Nouns:

Several Basque grammar books (e.g. Lardizabal, Echaide) contain statements to the effect that relative clauses are not allowed on proper nouns referring to persons. However, none of my informants objected to (41):

(41) Egunero kilo erdi bat txokolate jaten duen Beobide'tar Pantxika ez da bat ere gizentzen.
"Francisca Beobide, who eats a pound of chocolate every day, does not get fat in the least."

Sentence (28), which we considered earlier, also contains a relative clause on a proper noun: *erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek* "Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle". Moreover, a very reputable textbook (Lopez-Mendizabal) contains the expression: *Nik asko maite zaitudan Andone* (p. 222) "Antonia, whom I love very much".

Relative clauses on proper nouns are, of course, generally non-restrictive. I may mention here that I am unaware of any syntactic differences in Basque between these two types of relative clauses, except for the obvious universal cooccurrence restrictions between either type of relative and certain types of head noun phrases. In Basque, like everywhere else, a relative clause that modifies a noun phrase with an underlying (i.e. deictic) demonstrative element must be non-restrictive. When certain quantifiers, like *guzti* "all" and *bakoitz* "each" occur associated with the head noun phrase, the relative clause can only be restrictive. Apart from this, however, my investigations have failed to show any differences in syntactic behavior between the two. In particular, there is no difference in intonation between restrictive and appositive relative clauses in Basque.

Sentential relatives:

There are no sentential relatives in Basque. The closest equivalent to the English sentence (42) is not the ungrammatical (42)a, but (42)b:

(42) Jim called me a lexicalist, which made me cry.

(42)a *Iztegizalea deitu ninduen Xanti'k, negar eragin zidana.

(42)b Iztegizalea deitu ninduen Xanti'k, onek negar eragin zidan.
 "Jim called me a lexicalist, this made me cry."

Japanese, Tamil and Turkish do not allow sentential relatives either. I therefore conjecture that the absence of sentential relatives is a general property of S.O.V. languages.

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STUDIES IN BASQUE SYNTAX: RELATIVE CLAUSES*

Abstract

This study investigates the internal structure of relative clauses in Basque, as well as the constraints on relative clause formation in that language.

Basque relative clauses differ from English relative clauses in several ways. Both involve a pair of coreferential noun phrases; but, in Basque, the lower coreferential noun phrase does not undergo a movement rule; instead, it is obligatorily removed by a deletion process. Because the case marking of this noun phrase disappears with it, many relative clause constructions are ambiguous with respect to the syntactic role of this deleted lower noun phrase.

Unlike English relative clauses, the relative clause in Basque always precedes its head.

Postpositions in Basque can be divided into two classes: relativizable and non-relativizable postpositions. When the lower coreferential noun phrase carries a non-relativizable postposition, relativization is not possible, except for certain well-defined special cases.

Four characterizations of relativizability for postpositional phrases are given.

Special attention is paid to the Island constraints, first proposed by J. R. Ross. It is found that Basque obeys the Complex Noun Phrase constraint and the Coordinate Structure constraint, but not the Sentential Subject constraint.

The study closes with a chapter on pronominal heads, in which various syntactic constructions peculiar to Basque are discussed, such as, pseudo-extraposition, diminutive relative clauses, and repetition of relative clauses for expressive purpose.

Relative clauses referring back to propositions are absent in Basque.

Thesis Supervisor: Kenneth L. Hale.
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* Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor in philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, September 1972.

Up to now, this text was only available in microfilm. It is published here for the first time.

MOTTO:

O glücklich, wer noch hoffen kann
 Aus diesem Meer des Irrthums aufzutauchen!
 Was man nicht weiss, das eben brauchte man,
 Und was man weiss, kann man nicht brauchen.

Goethe, *Faust I*, 1064-68.

But:

If you shut your door to all errors
 Truth will be shut out.

Rabindranath Tagore, *Stray Birds*, CXXX

Acknowledgements

Since the completion of this thesis marks also the completion of a period in my life, I wish to thank the many people, linguists and non-linguists alike, who have provided help and instruction to me during my graduate career as a student of linguistics.

My greatest debt is, no doubt, to my parents, who have instilled in me a high esteem for scholarship and learning, and always encouraged me to pursue my studies, no matter how long they lasted.

I remember with gratitude the lectures of Professors P. Zumthor and A. J. B. N. Reichling, at the university of Amsterdam from 1957 to 1961. They first introduced me to the fascinating richness of linguistic science.

During my studies in Amsterdam, I was especially fortunate in being able to attend courses and lectures given by the late Professor E. W. Beth and his staff on Logic and Scientific Methodology. To Professor Beth I owe a special debt of gratitude, as he appointed me a staff member of his Euratom Project on Logic and Mathematical Linguistics, thus enabling me to study linguistics for two years with no external constraints whatsoever.

I am also grateful for the insights and enthusiasm of the members of an informal study group on Transformational Grammar in Amsterdam, especially Dr. A. Kraak, Dr. P. A. M. Seuren, and Mrs. M. Smit - van der Vathorst.

In addition, I want to thank Professor J. F. Staal most heartily, not only for all that I have learned from him, but also for advising me to study linguistics at M. I. T.

During my four years at M. I. T., each member of its linguistic faculty has contributed in some important way to my understanding of linguistics.

To have listened to the lectures of Professors A. N. Chomsky and M. Halle was a great honor for me as well as an immensely beneficial experience.

Professor R. P. V. Kiparsky taught me how to apply generative grammar to historical linguistics: he also showed me how rewarding it can be to delve into the linguistic achievements of the past.

I am indebted in no small way to Professor J. R. Ross, since it is from him that I learned how to study syntax. His comments on this thesis led to considerable improvements.

I am especially grateful to Professor G. H. Matthews, who was always available for hour-long discussions on whatever subject occupied my thoughts, and whose probing questions have been very helpful on many occasions.

I am also grateful in a special way to my advisor, Professor K. L. Hale, whose enthusiasm for Basque syntax revived my own interest in the subject. His experience with scores of exotic languages and his unusual insight in linguistic structures have helped me in finding my way through the complexities of grammar.

Professor D. M. Perlmutter's comments on this thesis and on some of my earlier work have been a great source of improvements.

It is a special feature of the M. I. T. Linguistics Department that students learn almost as much from each other as from their teachers. An exhaustive list of fellow-students to whom I am indebted for valuable insights and information would fill a whole page, so I will mention only a few (in alphabetical order): J. W. Bresnan, E. Wayles Browne, S. W. Chan, J. P. Dean, J. E. Emonds, T. R. Hofmann, S. Y. Kuroda, A. J. Naro, B. K. T'sou, G. M. Williams.

Wayles Browne deserves much more than a casual mention. Without his constant encouragement, this thesis would not even have started. Moreover, his judicious comments on an early draft of this work resulted in numerous and substantial improvements.

I spent almost two years at the University of Chicago, where I learned a great deal from conversations with H. I. Aronson, J. D. McCawley, J. F. Sadock, E. Gragg, E. Hamp and other members of the linguistics Department.

The students who attended my courses on Basque syntax have contributed greatly to the shaping of my thought on the various problems to be discussed here. The questions they asked were a constant source of stimulation. For this, my thanks go to M. A. Campbell, C. I. Corum, D. A. Holisky, C. Gilbert-Lidz, J. B. Lovins, J. Reighardt and various others.

My many friends and patient informants all over the Basque Country have been so essential to the work carried out in this thesis, that they ought to be listed as co-authors.

Special thanks go to P. Altuna, P. Berrondo, J. Echaide, M. A. Garmendia, M. C. Garmendia, A. Goenaga, G. Iraola, M. P. Lasarte, P. Solozabal, and X. Unzurrunzaga, for their selfless cooperation.

Most of all, I want to thank Professor L. Michelena, Professor of Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Salamanca. From 1960 on, he has constantly guided my endeavors in Basque studies. Most of what I know in this field I owe, in one way or another, to him.

Chapter 1. Preliminary remarks

Relative clauses have been a favored focus of interest on the part of generative grammarians since the beginnings of transformational studies. There are many articles and research papers specifically devoted to relative clauses, some dealing with English and some dealing with other languages, including non-Indo-European ones. Moreover, in a considerable number of studies devoted to other topics, a

great deal of the evidence presented derives from observations about relative clauses.

In the first category, I may make mention of the following papers:

C. S. Smith: "Determiners and Relative Clauses in a Generative Grammar of English". *Lg* 40 (1964), 37-52.

P. M. Postal: *Crazy Notes on Restrictive Relatives and other matters*. Unpublished mimeograph, 1967.

S. Y. Kuroda: "English Relativization and Certain Related Problems". *Lg* 44 (1968), 244-266.

C. S. Bird: "Relative Clauses in Bambara". *The Journal of West African Languages*, Vol. 2, N.º 1.

L. W. Martin: "Some Relations of Embedding in English Nominals". *Papers from the Fourth Regional Meeting Chicago Linguistic Society*, 63-70.

R. M. W. Dixon: "Relative Clauses and Possessive Phrases in Two Australian Languages". *Lg* 45 (1969), 35-.

E. Annamalai: *Adjectival Clauses in Tamil*. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1969.

K. L. Hale: "Relative Clauses in some non-Indo-European Languages". Paper read at the First Annual Meeting of the New England Linguistics Society, November 1970.

S. Kuno: *Relative Clauses. Notes on Japanese Grammar (18)*. Report NSF-27 Aiken Computation Laboratory of Harvard University, November 1970.

S. Kuno: *Themes and Relative Clauses. Notes on Japanese Grammar (19)*. Report NSF-27 Aiken Computation Laboratory of Harvard University, November 1970.

T. J. Klokeid: *Relative Clauses in Mabuig*. Unpublished Report, M.I.T., December 1970.

A. M. Schwartz: "General Aspects of Relative Clause Formation". *Working Papers in Linguistic Universals*, 1971.

In the second category, I will mention only a few out of the many relevant papers that could have been included here:

E. S. Klima: "Relatedness Between Grammatical Systems". *Lg* 40 (1964), 1-20.

S. S. Annear: "English and Mandarin Chinese: Definite and Indefinite Determiners and Modifying Clause Structures." *POLA Report* N.º 11 (1965), 1-55.

J. P. Dean: *Determiners and Relative Clauses*. Unpublished Mimeograph, M.I.T. 1966.

J. R. Ross: *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. Ph. D. Dissertation, M.I.T. 1967.

E. W. Bach: "Nouns and Noun Phrases". In: E. Bach and R. Harms, *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, 1968.

A. N. Chomsky: "Conditions on Transformations".

The attention lavished upon the relative clause is not hard to justify. The relative clause is important in grammar. It is, after all, one of the few recursive devices in language. It is a good thing when scholars familiar with un-familiar languages write about the characteristics of relativization in these languages, even if the descriptions they produce do not always happen to go beyond observational adequacy. As-

simulating such accounts may help to free the student from his linguistic prejudices, be it the prejudice that all languages are basically like English, or the prejudice that languages differ in generally unpredictable ways.

Moreover, since J. H. Greenberg's well-known typological study, we know that sometimes unexpected correlations can be found between seemingly unrelated grammatical phenomena. In particular, the study of correlations between the structure of the relative clause and other areas of syntax may be expected to yield significant insights into the realm of universal grammar. An obvious prerequisite to such studies is that reliable data on relative clauses in a wide variety of languages be available and easily accessible to the general linguist.

The present study of relative clauses in Basque is offered as a modest contribution to future typological studies. Furthermore, it is fitting to start the exploration of the syntax of Basque with a study of relative clauses. Many parts of Basque grammar cannot be fully understood without knowledge of the structure of the relative clause. Time clauses, the determiner system and complementation, subjects which grammarians have racked their brains over, are all based in part on relative clauses, or, at least interrelate closely with them.

In view of this, it seems surprising that so little space has been devoted to relative clauses in grammars and textbooks of Basque. In fact, relative clauses are mentioned only in passing, if at all. The only exception I know of is I. M. Echaide's work *Sintaxis del idioma euskaro* (San Sebastián, 1912), where a 35-page-long section is devoted to them. Echaide's treatment contrasts favorably with the virtual absence of relative clauses in other books. He appears to have grasped the general nature of relative clauses rather well and provides some genuine insight into their structure. Unfortunately, most of the space is taken up by a host of totally uninteresting examples, his observations are sometimes inaccurate, and, on the whole, his treatment is much too sketchy to satisfy a modern student of language.

The descriptive account I am about to present, therefore, owes little to grammatical treatises. It derives very largely from personal field work carried out in the Basque Province of Guipúzcoa, the most recent of which was done in the fall of 1969. My field notes have been supplemented by observations gathered through reading numerous literary and non-literary Basque texts. Especially helpful were also the answers I obtained to written questionnaires from a number of obliging informants. In this connection, I am particularly grateful for the invaluable help of Ms. Mari-Pilar Lasarte (Leiza) and Mr. Xabier Unzurrunzaga (Zarauz).

Chapter 2. The Structure of relative clauses

No further introduction being necessary, we will now embark on our scrutiny of the form and properties of Basque relative clauses.

A relative clause is a sentence modifying a noun phrase, such that the deep structure of the sentence contains a noun phrase identical to the noun phrase it modifies. The concept of linguistic identity that is needed here is not mere identity in form but also includes identity of reference.

The whole construction consisting of the sentence together with the noun phrase acts again as a noun phrase. It can thus be classified as an endocentric construction with a noun phrase as its head. (Cf. L. Bloomfield, *Language*, § 12.10).

In English, and in the Indo-European languages generally, the modifying clause follows its head and is often introduced by a relative pronoun. The head noun phrase is therefore appropriately termed the "antecedent" of the relative pronoun, and, by extension, of the relative clause.

In Basque, as we will soon see, there is no reason to speak of relative pronouns. The relative clause, moreover, precedes its head. Using the term "antecedent" here would easily lead to confusion. Yet, we need convenient terms to refer to each of the two coreferent noun phrases present in the underlying structure. Therefore, I will sometimes use the term "postcedent" to refer to the head noun phrase that the relative clause is attached to, and "procedent" to refer to the noun phrase internal to the relative clause which is coreferential to the head. We will see that, in Basque, the procedent is always deleted.

We will now proceed to examine an example of a relative clause. With the nouns *aita* "father", *nai* "will", "desire", *ama* "mother", *liburu* "book" and the verbs *irakurri* "read" and *erre* "burn" we can form the following sentence:¹

- (1) Aitak irakurri nai du amak erre duen liburua.²
 "Father wants to read the book that Mother has burned."

We have a matrix sentence:

- (1)a Aitak irakurri nai du liburua. "Father wants to read the book".

¹ Basque is an ergative language. This means that the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb have the same case marking. This case is called the "absolutive". In Basque, cases are marked by postpositions. The absolutive case is morphologically unmarked, i.e., it has a zero postposition. The subject of a transitive verb is in a different case, called the "ergative" case. In Basque, this case is marked by the ergative postposition *-k*. Thus, we have:

- (a). *Aita etorri da.* "Father has come".
 (b). *Aitak irakurri du.* "Father has read it".
 (c). *Aitak erre egin du ama.* "Father has burned Mother".

In (a), *aita*, being the subject of the intransitive verb *etorri* "come", is in the absolutive case. In (b), *aita* ("father"), since it is the subject of the transitive verb *irakurri* "read", is in the ergative case, giving *aitak*. In (c), the subject *aita* of the transitive verb *erre* "burn", is again in the ergative case, and *ama* "mother" being the object of *erre* "burn", is in the absolutive case.

² For phonology and pronunciation, I refer the reader to Luis Michelena, *Fonética histórica vasca*, and Nils M. Holmer, *El idioma vasco hablado*. Unless otherwise indicated, all examples are taken from the Guipuzcoan dialect. The orthography used in the examples is that used by the Basque Academy. The vowels have approximately the same value as in Spanish. Only the following consonant signs need comment: *j* is a voiceless velar fricative, like Spanish jota; *s* and *ʒ* are both voiceless fricatives. They differ only in the point of articulation. *s* has an apico-alveolar articulation, and *ʒ* a dorso-alveolar one; *x* is a palatal fricative, comparable to English *sh*; The letter combinations *ts*, *tʃ* and *tx* denote simple phonemes, namely, the affricates corresponding to *s*, *ʒ* and *x*; *ll* indicates a palatalized *l*. Like in Spanish, there are two *r*-sounds, a strongly trilled one, spelled *rr*, and a weak flapped *r*, spelled *r*. Before consonants and in final position, the two sounds do not contrast phonetically, and both are then spelled *r*. Thus, we have *aur* "child", and *aurra* "the child" (*-a* being the article). This is merely an orthographic convention: the *r* of *aur* sounds the same as the *rr* of *aurra*.

And we have a constituent sentence:

(1)b Amak liburua erre du. "Mother has burned the book".

The shared noun phrase *liburua* "the book" (questions of definiteness versus indefiniteness will not be raised here) has been deleted from the constituent sentence, which serves as a prenominal modifier of the postcedent *liburua* in the main clause. The finite verb form *du* "(he) has (it)" of the relative clause carries a suffix whose shape seems to be *-en*. Actually, I will show a little later that the real phonological form of the suffix is *-n*. I will call this suffix the "relativizer". It is worth noting that the relativizer shows no agreement with the postcedent or with any noun phrase in the sentence: its shape is absolutely invariant. Clearly, then, the relativizer is not a relative pronoun, in fact, it is not even a noun.

As we can see from (1)a, the finite verb need not come at the end of its sentence. In relative clauses, however, the verb is always final. Hence, we may visualize the relative clause constructions as $_{NP}[S - n - NP]_{NP}$, where the relativizer *-n* functions as a link between the clause and the postcedent noun phrase.

We have seen one example of a relative clause in Basque and we will see many more in the rest of this work, but it may be useful to stop here a moment and ask if the preceding analysis of relative clauses in Basque is correct. Is it true that the deep structure of a relative clause contains a noun phrase identical to the head, and that this noun phrase is obligatorily deleted? We assumed above that sentence (1)b *Amak erre du liburua*. "Mother has burned the book" underlies the relative clause in (1). It may be thought, however, that the extra noun phrase *liburua* "the book" is quite superfluous, and that it is really (1)c

(1)c Amak erre du. "Mother has burned it".

which underlies the relative clause in (1), thus obviating the need for a deletion transformation.

That this proposal fails, however, is not too difficult to show. Of course, (1)c in isolation is a well-formed surface structure solely by virtue of the fact that unstressed (i.e. non-contrastive, non-focussed) pronouns are regularly dropped in Basque if they are in agreement relation with the verb. To get the evidence that we need to show that our original analysis of relativization is basically correct, we will, therefore, use an example containing a locative constituent, as there is no syntactic agreement between a locative and its verb. Consider sentence (2):

(2) Amak liburua ezarri duen kutxa joan da.³
"The box that Mother has put the book in has gone".

(The argument that I am about to give is valid for what we will call the Main dialect. In the Restricted dialect, sentences like (2) are ungrammatical. We will discuss these two dialects later on in this thesis.)

In any analysis, the relative clause must be a clause, that is, it must be dominated by an S node. This S must be generated in its underlying form by the same base

³ Vocabulary: *kutxa* "box", *ezarri* "put", *joan* "go", "go away".

rules that generate sentences in isolation. Now, if the proposal we are discussing is correct, then, just as (1)c is the constituent sentence of the relative clause in (1), (2)a must be the constituent sentence of the relative clause in (2):

(2)a *Amak liburua ezarri du. “*Mother has put the book”.

But (2)a, being an ungrammatical sentence, will not be generated by the base rules. What happens is, of course, that the verb *ezarri* “put” demands the presence of a locative complement, as in:

(2)b Amak liburua kutxan ezarri du. “Mother has put the book in the box”.

(2)c Amak liburua onetan ezarri du. “Mother has put the book in here”.

(2)d Amak liburua emen ezarri du. “Mother has put the book here”.

Yet, the relative clause in (2) does not seem to contain a locative complement; worse still, it becomes ungrammatical as soon as a locative is added to it:

(2)e *Amak liburua kutxan ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
“*The box that Mother has put the book in the box has gone”.

(2)f *Amak liburua labean ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
“*The box that Mother has put the book in the oven has gone”.

(2)g *Amak liburua onetan ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
“*The box that Mother has put the book in here has gone”.

(2)h *Amak liburua emen ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
“*The box that Mother has put the book here has gone”.

The only satisfactory explanation for these facts is that the underlying structure of the relative clause in (2), being a sentence with the main verb *ezarri* “put”, contains a locative noun phrase, for the presence of a locative is a necessary condition for the lexical insertion of the verb *ezarri*. From the meaning of the sentence we can tell that this locative must be *kutxan* “in the box”, the locative form of the postcedent noun *kutxa* “box”. As the locative noun phrase does not appear in the surface structure of the relative clause, there has to be some transformational mechanism removing it. This mechanism must be either a movement rule or a deletion rule. Whichever it is, it may be thought of as consisting of two parts: movement or deletion of the noun phrase without its postposition (in our case, the postposition is *-n*, indicating the locative) and deletion of the remaining postposition. Is it movement or is it deletion? We know that the procedent noun phrase disappears without a trace. Therefore, if a movement rule is involved, the only thing it can do is to move the procedent into the position of the postcedent, substituting the former for the latter. If the postcedent is a full-fledged noun phrase (*kutxa* in the case of (2)), then the movement rule is tantamount to a deletion rule. In fact, this is an obvious way in which to formalize deletion under identity.

But there is another possibility. It may be the case that prior to the application of the movement rule, the postcedent was a referential variable, a dummy element in the sense of Chomsky’s Standard Theory. Then the underlying structure of

sentence (2) contains only one occurrence of the noun phrase *kutxa*. The movement rule will then move this noun phrase from the relative clause into the postcedent position of the main clause.

Although this proposal comes close to a suggestion M. K. Brame once made for English relative clauses (See his unpublished paper "On the Nature of Relative Clauses". M.I.T. 1968), we cannot adopt it here. Its main flaw is that the deep structure of the sentence no longer indicates in a non-adhoc way which of the noun phrases in the constituent sentence is to be relativized. The same deep structure that ends up as (2) would also underly (2)i and (2)j:

- (2)i Liburua kutxan ezarri duen ama joan da.
 "The mother who has put the book in the box has gone".
- (2)j Amak kutxan ezarri duen liburua joan da.
 "The book that Mother has put in the box has gone".

No present theory of grammar, I hope, would be willing to assign the same deep structure to (2), (2)i and (2)j.

There is still another argument against the possibility of a movement rule being at work here. As J. L. Morgan has pointed out for a similar phenomenon in Albanian, the complete absence of any cases of Pied Piping makes it highly unlikely that a movement rule is involved.

We conclude that the procedent disappears from the relative clause by deletion rather than by movement. As any noun whatsoever can be procedent in some relative clause, the deletion cannot be a deletion of a designated element. The principle of Recoverability of Deletion, therefore, requires that we have deletion under identity.

This provides us with an additional argument that the understood locative in (2) is indeed *kutxan*, "in the box", since, otherwise, there would be no way of deleting it under identity.

We now understand why sentences (2)e, (2)f, (2)g and (2)h are ungrammatical. Or, to be quite exact, I should point out that there is a reading under which these sentences are grammatical. Namely, the reading where the relativized noun phrase *kutxa* does not refer back to the locative complement of the verb *ezarri*, but to a locative adverbial that indicates the place where the action itself occurred. In this interpretation, (2)e

- (2)e Amak liburua kutxan ezarri duen kutxa joan da.
 "The box in which Mother has put the book in the box has gone".

mentions two different boxes: one that Mother has put the book in, and another one inside which Mother's action is said to take place. Similar readings with two different locatives in the constituent sentence are possible for (2)f, (2)g and (2)h.

Barring those readings, however, (2)e is ungrammatical because procedent deletion, which is obligatory, has failed to apply; and (2)f, (2)g and (2)h are ungrammatical because no well-formed relative clause can arise in the absence of coreferential elements. Just how the grammar captures this in a formal way is of no interest here.

We have been discussing sentence (2) as an example of a relative clause, and we have inferred from it the existence of certain grammatical processes. As we seek a uniform treatment of relativization as a grammatical phenomenon, it follows that the same general processes needed to generate (2) must apply to all other instances of relative clauses, in particular to sentences like (1), where a simpler account may, at first, seem adequate.

Having seen that the analysis of the relative clause given earlier is correct—as far as it goes—we can now turn to the next point of discussion, the affinity between relative clauses and genitive constructions.

Henri Gavel (*Grammaire basque*, Bayonne 1929, page 8-9) considers relative clauses as being real genitive constructions. More precisely, he considers the relation between a relative clause and its head noun phrase identical to that between a genitive form and the noun phrase it modifies. From a semantic point of view, this suggestion is quite plausible. We have:

Aitak irakurri duen liburua “The book that Father has read”

just like:

Aitaren liburua “Father’s book”.

And also:

Aitak irakurri duen liburu bat “A book that Father has read”

just like:

Aitaren liburu bat “A book of Father’s”.

Syntactically, the two constructions have several characteristics in common. Both types of modifier precede the head, are linked to it by a suffix, do not admit anything intercalated between them and the head, and do not occur with personal pronouns as their head. (This last instance of parallel behavior between possessive constructions and relative clause constructions is more apparent than real: the fact that personal pronouns cannot be possessed (**nere zu*, “*my you”) seems due to a deep structural or semantic constraint, whereas I will show in a later section that the absence of relative clauses on personal pronouns is merely a matter of surface structure.)

There are languages (e.g. Chinese) where the same formative that functions as a genitive marker also accompanies relative clauses. For Basque too, various authors have identified the relative marker with the genitive marker. So I. Omaechevarria in his book *Euskera* (Zarauz, 1959), page 11: “La -n de ‘zuek jaten dezute-N ogia’ es la misma que la de ‘gure amare-N ogia’; por lo que puede traducirse: ‘el pan DE vosotros coméis’” (The ‘-n’ of ‘zuek jaten dezute-N ogia’ is the same as that of ‘gure amare-N ogia’; one can therefore translate “the bread OF you are eating”).

The French Bascologist René Lafon, however, points out correctly that the form of the relative marker is -n, a form different from that of the genitive: “Mais on ne peut assimiler purement et simplement les formes verbales relatives aux formes nominales de génitif, et voir dans les “propositions relatives”, avec M. Gavel, “des

expressions qui sont en réalité des génitifs”. Le suffixe relatif est proprement *-n*; l'*e* de *-en* et l'*a* de *-an* sont des voyelles de liaison, dont l'emploi s'est sans doute étendu à partir des cas où il est phonétiquement nécessaire, comme dans *dud-a-n* “qui est eu par moi”. L'indice du génitif est presque partout *-en...*” (Lafon, *Le système du verbe basque au XVI^e siècle*, Bordeaux 1943, I, pp. 457-458).

Lafon is referring here to the *-en* of such forms as *duen* in (1), in contrast to *du* in (1)b. I look upon this vowel *-e-* and the *-a-* of some other forms a little differently from Lafon. Although Bascologists so far have failed to recognize it, there is a lot of evidence for the existence of a phonological rule of vowel truncation in final position. I will briefly indicate some of the evidence. Assuming a final vowel truncation rule provides an explanation for the fact that the same vowel shows up with all three suffixes that can be added directly onto the finite verb. These suffixes are: the relativizer *-n*, the finite complementizer *-la* and the now largely obsolete suffix *-ño* “until”, “while”. In Northern Guipúzcoa *du* gives *duen*, *duela* and *dueño*, in Southern Guipúzcoa *du* gives *duan*, *duala* and *duaño*. Leaving Guipúzcoa for a moment and turning to the valley of Roncal, we see that in the Roncalese dialect *du* gives *dion*, *diola* and *dioño*. Roncalese has a rule by which *u* goes to *i* before a low vowel (e.g. *buru bat*, “one head”, *buria* “the head”). This rule must be ordered after vowel truncation: an instance of a bleeding order in the sense of Kiparsky. In Roncalese, the underlying form of *du* is *duo*.

In Guipúzcoa, *da* gives *dan*, *dala*, *daño*, but in all areas East of Guipúzcoa (including Roncal) we have the alternation: *da*, *den*, *dela*, *deño*. Again we find the same vowel for all three suffixes. The alternation itself now becomes quite easy to handle: *da* has as its underlying form *dae*, with the *e* dropping by final vowel truncation; but with a suffix added the rule cannot apply and we get *den*, *dela*, *deño* by an independently motivated rule that reduces *ae* to *e*. For Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan the underlying form is simply *daa*. (Michelena derives *den* from *daen* historically, but analyses the latter as *da+en* rather than as *dae+n*, without giving any justification for this analysis; *FHV*, p. 117). To get *dezu* “you have it” and its relative form *dezun*, we can set up an underlying form *dezuu*, or more simply, restrict vowel truncation to low vowels, as it seems to be needed for *a* and *e* (and in Roncalese also *o*) only.

Notice furthermore the alternation *dit* “he has it for me” and *didazu* “you have it for me”, which we can now analyse as *d + i + da + Ø* and *d + i + da + zu*, where *d* indicates a 3rd person object,^{a)} *i* the presence of and indirect object, *da* a first person singular (here as an indirect object; in other forms it can be agent also), *Ø* a third person agent, and *zu* a second person agent. (The absence of any plural markers indicate that the direct object, the indirect object and the agent are all singular: hence the glosses given above.) To the underlying representation *dida*, vowel truncation and final obstruent devoicing apply, in the intrinsic order.

The relativized form of *det* “I have it” is *dedan*. Starting out from the underlying representation *deda*, the same rules as above will give the correct output.

^{a)} This statement reflects the traditional analysis, which I now no longer believe in. Actually, the prefix *d-*, or rather *da-*, has the status of a present tense marker. See section 7 of my article “Nunc vasconice” (in this volume).

We thus see that the facts are best handled if we assume that the underlying form of *du* is *due* (*dua* in Southern Guipúzcoan, *duo* in Roncalese), thus explaining the relativized form *duen* (*duan* in Southern Guipúzcoan, *dion* in Roncalese). As Lafon recognizes, the underlying form of the relative marker is *-n*. That this is indeed so results from the following observation: All past tense verb forms in Basque end in *-n*. When the relativizer is added to such forms, no formal change results. Thus the string of segments *Aitak irakurri zuen liburua* can be either a sentence "Father read the book" or a noun phrase "The book that Father read". In the latter case, what we must have is *zuen + n* giving *zuen*. The relative marker, therefore, does not contain an initial vowel.

It seems plausible to assume that the stress rules of Basque must be sensitive to the underlying double consonant of past tense relativized forms, since with polysyllabic auxiliaries we find a difference in intonation:

- (3)a Gurasoak irakurri zúten liburua "The parents read the book".
 (3)b Gurasoak irakurri zutén liburua "The book that the parents read".
 (4)a Gu iltzera zetórren gizona "The man was coming to kill us".
 (4)b Gu iltzera zetorrén gizona "The man who was coming to kill us".

The picture, however, is not as clear as it may seem at first sight. Intonational phenomena in Guipúzcoan Basque are elusive in the extreme. No one knows what the system of rules for stress assignment looks like; to date, not even observational adequacy has been achieved. The difficulty is partly that the intonation can be markedly different in neighboring villages all over the area, so that informants are very unsure of themselves and are reluctant to make judgments about what constitutes a correct intonation and what does not, and partly that stressed syllables have very little acoustic prominence over the others, as contrasted with the stressed syllables of Spanish, English or Russian. I will quote from L. Michelena, *Fonética histórica vasca*, Chapter 20:

... en los dialectos centrales y occidentales, es decir, en las variedades mejor conocidas y más prestigiosas de la lengua, las diferencias de intensidad, altura y duración de unas sílabas a otras son pequeñas y difíciles de percibir. El valor distintivo del acento es por otra parte reducido, puesto que hay excelentes gramáticas que no lo mencionan siquiera. La versificación, que en la poesía popular es inseparable del canto, no lo tiene en cuenta, ni siquiera en suletino (Page 379).

("... in the Central and Western dialects, that is to say, in the best known and most prestigious varieties of the language, the differences in intensity, pitch and duration from one syllable to the others are small and hard to perceive. The phonemic value of the accent is, on the other hand, rather small, since there are excellent grammars that do not even mention it. Versification, which in popular poetry is inseparable from song, does not take it into account, not even in the Souletin dialect.")

To return now to our examples (3)a, b and (4)a, b, the following comments must be made: First, there is no independent evidence that I am aware of that the stress rules in Basque are sensitive to the presence of double consonants, or, more

generally, of consonant clusters. Second, in relativized present tense forms, where there is no underlying double final consonant, as a rule we also find final stress:⁴

- (3)c Gurasoak irakurtzen dutén liburua
 “The book that the parents read (or: are reading)”.
- (4)c Gu iltzera datorrén gizona “The man who is coming to kill us”.

Third, while final stress in relativized verb forms is certainly the rule, exceptions (i.e. cases where the final stress is not physically realized) do occasionally occur.

Fourth, with even greater frequency, it happens that non-relativized verb forms too get final stress.

We thus see that intonation is not a fool-proof means of distinguishing relativized from non-relativized verb forms. Faced with this lack of a clear-cut formal distinction between these forms, some native speakers feel the need to disambiguate the construction. Thus, in many parts of Southern Guipúzcoa (e.g. in Ormaiztegui), the suffix *-(e)ko* is often added to relativized verb forms, especially to past tense forms. This suffix *-(e)ko*, which, in the absence of a better name, is often called the “locative genitive”, serves to connect noun phrases to noun phrases in nominal constructions: *etxeke atea* “the door of the house” (*etxe* “house”, *ate* “door”), *etxeke alaba* “the daughter of the house” (*alaba* “daughter”), *Bilboko eguraldia*, “the weather in Bilbao” (*eguraldi* “weather”), *egun erdiko lana* “a half day’s work” (*egun* “day”, *erdi* “half”, *lan* “work”), *bi milla jendeko erria* “a village of two thousand inhabitants” (*bi* “two”, *milla* “thousand”, *jende* “people”, *erri* “village”). For the speakers referred to above, the preferred rendering of the phrase “the book that Father read” is: *Aitak irakurri zuaneko liburua*. Examples can also be found in print:

- (5)a Ordurik samurrena maiteari agur egin bear dioneko garaia izaten du (D. Aguirre, *Garoa*, p. 233) “Its (i.e. love’s) most tender moment is when one has to take leave from one’s beloved”⁵

This example shows that *-eko* can be used with relativized present tense forms (here *dio-n*), but its use with past tense forms seems to be more common.

- (5)b Berak lepoa moztu-arazi zioneko Joan uraxe bera dala uste du... (*Lau ebanjelioak*, p. 82) “He thinks that it is that very same John whose head he had had cut off” (Literally: (to) whom he had caused the throat to be cut off).⁶
- (5)c Noan berriro irten nintxoaneko etxe artara (*Lau ebanjelioak*, Luc. 11.24b) “Let me go again to that house from which I left.”⁷

⁴ Although we have no documentary evidence for it, it is possible to assume that at one time only past tense relativized forms had final stress, and that only later this stress pattern got extended to present tense relativized forms by analogy.

⁵ Vocabulary: *ordu* “time”, “moment”, “hour”; *samur* “tender”; *ordurik samurrena* “the most tender moment”; *maite* “beloved”, *agur egin* “to say goodbye”, *bear* “need”, “necessity”; *garai* “occasion”, “time”.

⁶ Vocabulary: *bera* “he himself”, *lepo* “neck”, *moztu* “cut off”, *arazi* “cause (verb)”, *uste du* “he thinks”.

⁷ Vocabulary: *noan* “let me go”, *berriro* “again” *irten* “go out”, “leave”, *etxe* “house”.

We saw that the shape of the relative marker is *-n*. As I have shown on page 336-338 of my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?" (*FLV* 1 (1969), 319-351), the underlying form of the genitive marker is *-ren*, in older times possibly *-en*. Therefore, the relativizer *-n* cannot be identified with the genitive suffix *-ren*.

It may be possible, however, to identify it with something else, namely with a suffix *-n* that functions as the "Wh-complementizer", to borrow a term introduced by Joan W. Bresnan ("On Complementizers", *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970) 297-321). This suffix characterizes the finite verb of embedded questions: (Glossary: *Ez* "no", "not"; *dakit* "I know (it)"; *noiz* "when"; *zergatik* "why"; *nolako* "what kind of"; *zer* "what"; *ikusi* "see"; *bear* "need"; *esan* "tell"; *ari* "be doing".)

- (6a) *Ez dakit aitag liburua irakurri duen.*
"I don't know if Father has read the book".
- (6b) *Ez dakit aitag liburua noiz irakurri duen.*
"I don't know when Father read the book".
- (6c) *Ez dakit aitag liburua zergatik irakurri duen.*
"I don't know why Father has read the book".
- (6d) *Liburua nolako dan ikusi bear degu.* "We must see what the book is like".
- (6e) *Esaidazu zer ari zeran.* "Tell me what you are doing".

Direct questions do not allow this suffix:

- (7a) *Aitag liburua irakurri al du?* "Has Father read the book?"
- (7b) *Aitag liburua noiz irakurri du?* "When did Father read the book?"
- (7c) *Aitag liburua zergatik irakurri du?* "Why has Father read the book?"
- (7d) *Liburua nolako da?* "What is the book like?"
- (7e) *Zer ari zera?* "What are you doing?"

We observe that the Wh-complementizer *-n* does not fuse with the interrogative pronouns: (6a) contains the Wh-complementizer but no interrogative pronoun, the other examples contain both. In (6) b we have *noiz* "when", in (6)c *zergatik* "why", in (6)d *nolako* (i.e. *nola* "how" together with the suffix (*e)ko*) "what kind of", and in (6)e *zer* "what".

We noted that in direct questions this complementizer is not overtly present. For English, Bresnan has postulated a Complementizer Deletion rule. Clearly, the facts just given point to the necessity of such a rule in Basque. This necessity does not depend on the truth of Bresnan's claim that complementizers are part and parcel of the deep structure of every sentence. A performative analysis of questions and statements of the general type proposed by J. R. Ross ("On Declarative Sentences". In: R. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum (eds.), *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*) and J. F. Sadock ("Hypersentences". In: *Papers in Linguistics*, 1:2) will, in all probability, also require a Complementizer deletion rule.

We have seen that we find the same suffix as a Wh-complementizer and as a relative marker. Does this reveal a deep syntactic correlation between relatives and in-

terrogatives, or, does it, on the contrary, represent a sheer coincidence? A definitive answer to this question, it seems to me, cannot be given on the basis of the Basque facts alone. We have to know a lot more about universal grammar than we do at present, before we can answer this question confidently. Assuming, for the sake of investigation, that we are not dealing with a case of purely accidental homonymy, how can we account for these two quite different functions of the same suffix?

One possibility is to claim that the complements found in indirect questions are actually derived from relative clauses. This, however, seems to me rather unlikely. First of all, I am unable to find a semantically plausible source along these lines for an indirect yes-no question like (6)a. Secondly, although it may seem at first that (6)b, (6)c and (6)e (but hardly (6)d) can be derived from relative clauses, namely, from the Basque equivalents of:

- (b) I don't know the time that Father read the book.
- (c) I don't know the reason why Father has read the book.
- (e) Tell me the thing that you are doing.

a closer examination will show that this is not so.

A major obstacle to such an approach to indirect questions is furnished by the simple observation that relative clause constructions are noun phrases, and that some —if not most— of the verbs governing indirect questions do not take noun phrase type complements in deep structure. In particular, (8)b, (8)c and (8)e, the literal renderings of the English sentences (b), (c) and (e), are ungrammatical:

- (8)b *Ez dakit aítak liburua irakurri duen ordua.
“I don't know the time that Father read the book”.
- (8)c *Ez dakit aítak liburua irakurri duen arrazoia.
“I don't know the reason why Father has read the book”.
- (8)e *Esaidazu ari zerana. “Tell me the thing that you are doing”.

Contrast these with the grammatical sentences:

- (8)f Ez naiz gogoratzen aítak liburua irakurri duen orduaz.
“I don't remember the time that Father read the book”.
- (8)g Ez naiz gogoratzen aítak liburua irakurri duen arrazoiáz.
“I don't remember the reason why Father has read the book”.
- (8)h Ez da gogoratuko ari zerana.
“He won't remember the thing that you are doing”.

These data are explained when we assume that the verb *jakin* “know” with the meaning it has in the examples under (6) does not allow noun phrases as objects, while the verb *gogoratu* “remember” is subcategorized for noun phrases with the instrumental postposition *-z*.

This is not to say that there are no cases in which *jakin* shows noun phrase objects in surface structure. Such objects, however, are highly restricted in nature, and their occurrence is best accounted for by deletion processes acting on underlying sentential objects.

The most obvious examples of this are sentences like (8)i and (8)j, of which (8)k and (8)l, respectively, are exact paraphrases:

- (8)i Ez dakit zure izena. "I don't know your name".
 (8)j Ez dakit zure zuzenbidea ere. "I don't know your address either".
 (8)k Ez dakit zure izena zer dan. "I don't know what your name is".
 (8)l Ez dakit zure zuzenbidea zer dan ere.
 "I don't know what your address is either".

Deriving (8)i from (8)k and (8)j from (8)l is not only semantically appropriate, but it also permits to explain the otherwise mysterious fact that we do not get sentences like (8)m and (8)n:

- (8)m *Ez dakit zure txirringa. "I don't know your bike".
 (8)n *Ez dakit zure emaztea. "I don't know your wife".

(8)m and (8)n are ungrammatical because their only sources are (8)o and (8)p, and these sentences are themselves ungrammatical.

- (8)o *Ez dakit zure txirringa zer dan. "*I don't know what your bike is".
 (8)p *Ez dakit zure emaztea zer dan. "*I don't know what your wife is".

The latter sentence, of course, is grammatical in the reading where it asks for the profession, the status or the role of "your wife". In that reading, however, (8)p does not reduce to (8)n. Thus, the deletion process has to distinguish between a question asking for identification, as in (8)k and (8)l, and a question asking for a property, as in the grammatical reading of (8)p. Moreover, only identifying questions with *zer* "what" can reduce in this way, not identifying questions with *zein* "which": (8)q is grammatical, but it does not reduce to (8)m:

- (8)q Ez dakit zure txirringa zein dan "I don't know which is your bike".

The deletion of *zer dan* "what is" is governed not just by the lexical verb *jakin*, but also by a whole collection of semantically related verbs. Among them are: *gogoratu* "remember", *aaztu* "forget", *ikasi* "learn", *irakatsi* "teach", *esan* "tell". Presumably, all these verbs contain a prelexical element JAKIN in their semantic representations. Therefore, the deletion is either prelexical or linked to the prelexical item JAKIN by a derivational constraint.⁸

In another set of examples, certain abstract nouns, generally deverbal, and also demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns are found as surface noun phrase objects of *jakin* and related verbs:

- (8)r Ez dakit nere ikaskaia "I don't know my lesson".

⁸ As Prof. J. R. Ross has pointed out to me, this is not necessarily the case. The transformation in question may prove to be applicable to some class of verbs definable in general terms, such as, e.g. non-emotive factives.

- (8)s Ez dakit ijito orren berririk "I don't know anything about that gypsy".
(Literally: "I don't know any news of that gypsy".)
- (8)t Ez al dakizu ori? "Don't you know that?"
- (8)u Zuk zer dakizu? "What do you know?"
- (8)v Ez dakizu ezer "You don't know anything".

In these examples, a sentential source for the object noun phrase does not readily suggest itself. Still, I do not consider them genuine counter-examples. The object pronouns in (8)t, (8)u and (8)v refer to something that must be propositional, and in (8)r the verb *jakin* seems to have a somewhat different meaning than in the other examples. Strong evidence in favor of the exclusion of noun phrase objects in deep structure is the fact that *jakin*, unlike *gogoratu*, never takes animate objects, even in surface structure. Thus we get:

- (8)w Zutaz gogoratzen naiz. "I remember you".

But *jakin* can never be used this way. To translate the English sentence "I know you" none of the following will do:

- (8)x *Ba zazkit.

Ba is an affirmative particle. We will discuss it presently.

With the object *zu* "you" in focus position in front of the verb, we do not get: **Zu zazkit*. Nor do we get a periphrastic construction: **Jakiten zaitut*. A different verb *ezagutu* "be acquainted with" must be used:

- (8)y Ezagutzen zaitut. "I know you".
- (8)z Ez det zure emaztea ezagutzen. "I don't know your wife".

If the verb *jakin* could take noun phrases at all as objects as the deepest level, we would be hard put to explain why animate objects should be excluded, since the meaning of the verb would make it equally applicable to animate and inanimate objects.

An even stronger argument is contained in the observation that the idiomatic translation of "I know Basque" is not *Ba dakit euskera* (*euskera* "the Basque language") as we might expect, but rather:

- (8)# Ba dakit euskeraz. "I know Basque".

The *-z* of *euskeraz* is the instrumental ending, characteristic of manner adverbials:

- (8)\$ Oinez etorri naiz. "I have come on foot".

Combined directly with *jakin*, a manner adverbial does not seem to make sense. I claim, however, that *jakin* must always have a sentential object, and I propose as a source:

- (8)% Ba dakit euskeraz itz egiten. "I know how to talk Basque".
(*itz* "word"; *egin* "do", "make"; *itz egin* "make words", i.e. "talk").

(8)% is synonymous with (8)#, and the manner adverbial is appropriate here: “talk in Basque”, that is, “talk in the Basque way”.

Accepting the claim I made about the subcategorization of *jakin*, of course, immediately rules out (8)b and (8)c as sources for (6)b and (6)c, as the only way that sentences like (8)b and (8)c could ever arise —this in the event that, at least (8)b is grammatical for some speakers— would be as transforms of (6)b and (6)c. That is, some relative clauses are derived from indirect questions, rather than vice versa.

If we do not accept it, and do believe that the verb *jakin* can take noun phrase objects in underlying structure, there is room for further discussion. We have seen that (8)b and (8)c are ungrammatical. This alone is not sufficient reason to preclude their appearance in the derivation of (6)b and (6)c. It could indeed be that the conversion of (8)b and (8)c into (6)b and (6)c, respectively, is obligatory. However, there are solid arguments against this analysis that have nothing to do with the ungrammaticality of (8)b and (8)c. In fact, to simplify the exposition, I will assume that there are speakers for whom at least (8)b is grammatical.

The first argument applies to indirect yes-no questions only. There is a particle *ba* in Basque, which appears in utterances in which the focus is not on any of the noun phrases in the sentence, but on the modality of the sentence, on its truth value, so to say.

- (9)a Aita ba al dator? —Bai, aita ba dator.
 “Is Father coming?” —“Yes, Father’s coming”.

In both the question and the answer, the focus is not on the subject (i.e. the question is not equivalent to: “Is it Father who is coming?”), rather, the subject is taken for granted and the truth of the proposition itself is being questioned or asserted. This is in contrast to a sentence like:

- (9)b Aita al dator? —Bai, aita dator.
 “Is Fátther coming?” —“Yes, Fátther is coming”.

The question in (9)b but not that in (9)a can be rephrased as: *Zein dator? Aita?* Who’s coming? Father?

The absence of *ba* in (9)b indicates that the constituent immediately in front of the verb (note that the question particle *al*, like *ba* itself, is a proclitic to the verb), here the subject *aita*, is the focus of the utterance. Normally, the particle *ba* occurs only with synthetic (i.e. non-periphrastic) verb forms. “Father has come” is *Etorri da aita*, not **Etorri ba da aita*. Exceptionally, it is possible to say: *Aita ba da etorri*. “Father has come”.

“Unicamente en tono de disputa se contesta a frases como *Ez da etorri* con *Ba da etorri...*” (Severo de Altube, *De sintaxis euskérica*, San Sebastián, 1920, Chapter III, (4)) “Only in a quarrelsome tone of voice is it possible to answer sentences like *Ez da etorri* (“He hasn’t come”) with *Ba da etorri* (He has come) ...”.

This *ba*, now, can occur in indirect yes-no questions:

- (9)c Ez dakigu ba datorren ala ez.
 “We don’t know whether he is coming or not”.

But, *ba* never occurs in relative clauses:

(9)d Datorren ijtoa ez datorrenaren anaia da.

“The gypsy who is coming is the brother of the one who is not coming”.

We do not get *ba* here, although we might have expected it because of the contrast between “the gypsy who is coming” and “the one who is not coming”:

(9)e *Ba datorren ijtoa ez datorrenaren anaia da.

The fact that *ba* occurs in indirect questions but not in relative clauses^{b)} presents a problem for a theory that tries to derive the former from the latter.

Can we explain why *ba* is excluded from relative clauses? The reason is, I believe, that *ba* would be totally redundant in that context. Relative clauses are always presupposed to be true; thus, *ba*, as an affirmative particle, has nothing new to add to the content of the embedded proposition. The fact that relative clauses are presupposed to be true, while indirect questions are never presupposed to be true, is, of course, in itself a powerful argument against deriving indirect questions from relative clauses.

The second argument is somewhat similar to the first, except that it applies to all indirect questions, not just to yes-no questions. The modal particle *ote*, glossable as “perhaps”, can occur in all kinds of questions, but does not occur in relative clauses:

(10)a Aitak liburua irakurri ote du? “Has Father perhaps read the book?”.

(10)b Ez dakit aitak liburua irakurri ote duen.

“I don’t know if Father has by some chance read the book”.

(10)c Aitak liburua noiz irakurri ote du?

“When did Father ever read the book?”

(10)d Ez dakit aitak liburua noiz irakurri ote duen.

“I don’t know when Father ever read the book”.

(10)e Aitak liburua zergatik irakurri ote du?

“Why has Father ever read the book?”

(10)f Ez dakit aitak liburua zergatik irakurri ote duen.

“I don’t know why Father ever read the book”.

But certainly not:⁹

(10)g *Ez dakit aitak liburua irakurri ote duen ordua.

“*I don’t know the time that Father ever read the book”.

⁹ As I explained earlier, (10)g and (10)h are already ungrammatical, even without the *ote*. But, with *gogoratu* “remember”, which does take noun phrase complements, we also do not get:

(a) *Ez naiz gogoratzen aitak liburua irakurri ote duen orduaz.

“I don’t remember the time that Father perhaps read the book”.

(b) *Ez naiz gogoratzen aitak liburua irakurri ote duen arrazoiaz.

“I don’t remember the reason why Father perhaps read the book”.

b) Dr. Eusebio Osa Unamuno, in his 1988 dissertation *Euskararen bitzordena* disputes this claim citing examples of relativized verb forms prefixed with *ba-*. (Op. cit. p. 164). Example (9)e. however, is rejected by everyone I have asked.

- (10)h *Ez dakit aitak liburua irakurri ote duen arrazoia.
 "I don't know the reason why Father ever read the book".

As relative clause constructions such as (8)b and (8)c do not admit *ote* (witness the ungrammaticality of (10)g and (10)h), and indirect questions such as (6)b and (6)c do admit it (as in (10)d and (10)f), it must follow that indirect questions cannot be derived from relative clauses.

It is possible to contest the cogency of this argument concerning *ote*. The reasoning might go as follows. The force of the argument just given resides in the claim that the deep structure of indirect questions must be significantly different from that of relative clauses, because *ote* occurs in the former, but not in the latter. That is, it is assumed that the exclusion of *ote* from relative clauses is a deep structure fact, presumably connected with the meaning that relative clauses have. However, it appears that the exclusion of *ote* is not due to semantics, as can be inferred from the fact that it has synonyms that do occur in relative clauses: *apika*, *bearbada* and *onenean*, which all can be glossed as "perhaps".

Etymologically, *bearbada* is *bear ba-da* "if it is necessary", but it is now used idiomatically in the meaning of "perhaps". *Onenean* is literally *on-en-ean* "at best", but, doubtlessly under the influence of the Spanish phrase *a lo mejor*, its meaning is often weakened to that of "perhaps". All of these can occur inside relative clauses:

- (10)i Apika Europako gaizkillerik aundiena dan gizona Madrilen bizi da.
 "The man who is perhaps the greatest criminal in Europe lives in Madrid".¹⁰
- (10)j Egunen batean bearbada nere emaztea izango dan emakumea etorriko da gaur gu ikustera.¹¹
 "The woman who perhaps one day will be my wife will come today to see us".
- (10)k Ta aiek onenean egingo diguten kalteaz zer?
 "And what about the damage that they will perhaps cause us?"

Therefore, so the reasoning might continue, we can still derive indirect questions from relative clauses, if we assume that sentences like (10)g and (10)b are, in principle, grammatical, and, therefore, can underly (10)d and (10)f, but are thrown out at the end by a surface structure constraint.

The surface structure constraint in question will be one that disallows proclitic elements from appearing inside relative clauses. The following particles are all proclitics, and none of these particles occur inside relative clauses: *ba* "affirmative"; *omen* "reportedly"; *al* "question marker"; *ote* "perhaps", *ba* "conditional". Examples:

- (10)l *Etorri ba diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira
 "The gypsies who have come will be happy".
 (*ijito* "gypsy", *poz-ike egon* "be in a state of happiness").

¹⁰ Vocabulary: *gaizkille* "criminal", *aundi* "big", *gaizkillerik aundiena* "the biggest criminal". *bizi* "to live".

¹¹ Vocabulary: *egun* "day", *egunen batean* "on some day", *emazte* "wife", *gaur* "today", *gu* "us", *ikustera* "to see".

- (10)m *Etorri omen diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira^o
 “The gypsies, who, reportedly have come, will be happy”.
- (10)n *Etorri al diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira.
 “*The gypsies, who have they come? will be happy”.
- (10)o *Etorri ote diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira^o
 “The gypsies, who maybe have come, will be happy”.
- (10)p *Pozten naiz etorri ba diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira
 “*The gypsies who I am glad if they have come will be happy”.

Thus, so the reasoning concludes, there is an independently motivated surface structure constraint against *ote* in relative clauses, which makes the examples containing *ote* completely irrelevant to the issue of the deep structure origin of indirect questions.

I firmly disagree with this alleged counter-argument, for the following reasons:

1) There is no constraint against proclitics appearing inside relative clauses, as demonstrated by the occurrence of the —clearly proclitic— negation particle *ez* inside relative clauses:

- (10)q Etorri ez diran ijitoak pozik egongo dira
 “The gypsies who have not come will be happy”.

The ungrammaticality of examples (10)l, (10)m, (10)n, (10)o and (10)p can be explained without reference to the proclitic character of the particles contained in them. The ungrammaticality of (10)l has already been explained, with the help of the observation that the truth of a relative clause is always presupposed. The same observation will also account for the ungrammaticality of (10)m: *omen* explicitly relieves the speaker from all responsibility for the truth of the sentence containing it. This sentence, therefore, cannot be presupposed to be true, and hence cannot function¹² as a relative clause. (10)n is ungrammatical in English as well: interrogative sentence cannot occur as relative clauses, the reason being, once again, that the truth of a relative clause is invariably presupposed. Sentence (10)o, the one containing *ote*, is, as I will argue under 2), ungrammatical for the same reason as (10)n is. (10)p is ungrammatical in English too; hence the fact that *conditional ba* is a proclitic in Basque is shown to be irrelevant.

It turns out, therefore, that there is no independently motivated surface structure constraint against proclitics in relative clauses.

¹² Prof. J. R. Ross has pointed out that this cannot be the whole story. In English, we do get sentences like: “The gypsies, who have allegedly come, will be happy”. Here, the relative clause which is presupposed to be true is not “The gypsies have come”, but: “It is alleged that the gypsies have come”. Why a similar interpretation is not possible for (10)m remains unexplained.

^o Investigations by B. Oihartzabal and E. Osa Unamuno have shown that sentences like (10)m are fully acceptable to quite a few speakers. Oihartzabal also cites ...*mozkeortu omen zinen arrats bartan*, “that evening that you allegedly got drunk”. (See, Oihartzabal, *Les relatives in basque*, p. 48).

2) While *apika*, *bearbada*, *onenean* and *ote* can all be glossed as “perhaps”, there are syntactic differences between them, which are likely to go back to the deep structure level. Of little importance for us is the fact that *onenean* is restricted to assertions:

(10)r *Onenean azaldu da.* “Perhaps he has shown up”.

(10)s **Onenean azaldu al da?* “Has he perhaps shown up?”.

(10)t **Azaldu al da onenean?* “Has he perhaps shown up?”.

Compare:

(10)u *Azaldu al da bearbada?* “Has he perhaps shown up?”.

Important for us is, however, the fact that *ote*, but not *bearbada*, or *apika*, (See (10)u) is incompatible with the question marker *al*:

(10)v **Azaldu al ote da?* “*Has he, maybe, shown up?”

(10)w **Azaldu ote al da?* “*Has he, maybe, shown up?”.

Furthermore, the presence of *ote* in a main clause automatically turns the sentence into a question. Compare:

(10)x *Bearbada azaldu da.* “Perhaps he has shown up”.

(10)y *Azaldu ote da?* “Has he perhaps shown up?”.

Ote, therefore, is similar to *al* in a way that *bearbada* is not. *Ote* has a true interrogative force, which is precisely the reason why it is excluded from relative clauses. In the face of these considerations the counter-argument collapses and the original argument goes through.

A third argument against deriving indirect questions from relative clauses is contained in the following observation: In indirect questions *oraindik* can mean “more”, “else”, but in relative clauses it can only mean “still”:

(11)a *Ez dakit aitak liburua noiz oraindik irakurri duen.*
“I don’t know when else Father has read the book”.

(11)b **Ez dakit aitak liburua oraindik irakurri duen ordua*¹³
“*I don’t know the time when Father has still read the book”.

The last argument that I will present here is that indirect questions sometimes allow more than one interrogative constituent. There are no corresponding relative clauses:

¹³ (11)b is already ungrammatical, because *jakin* does not take noun phrase complements. With *gogoratu* “remember” instead of *jakin*, however, the sentence is ungrammatical, too:

**Ez naiz gogoratzen aitak liburua oraindik irakurri duen orduaz.*

- (12)a Ez dakit liburua zeñek noiz irakurtzen duen.
“I don’t know who reads the book when”.
- (12)b Ez dakit liburua zeñek zergatik irakurtzen duen.
“I don’t know who reads the book for what reason”.

But not:¹⁴

- (12)c *Ez dakit liburua zeñek irakurtzen duen ordua.
“*I don’t know the time who read the book”.
- (12)d *Ez dakit liburua zeñek irakurtzen duen arrazoia.
“*I don’t know the reason why who read the book”.

In order to show that sentences like (12)a and (12)b are not uncommon in Basque, I will now quote some examples of double questions found in texts. The first example is taken from a Souletin text, the book *Onsa bilceco bidia*, published in Orthez, 1666; the second example is from a Labourdin story book, published in Bayonne 1929; the last three examples are from Guipuzcoan.

- (12)e Harén kontré, nork zer erranen du? Nork zer eginen du? (J. de Tartas, *Onsa bilceco bidia*, page 2)¹⁵
“Against him, who will say what? Who will do what?”.
- (12)f Hehorrek hire burua funditu balimbaduk, nork zer hoben dik beraz? (Jean Barbier, *Ichtorio michterio*, p. 10, quoted by Ernst Lewy, “Elementare Syntax des Baskischen”, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 537)¹⁶
“If you have injured yourself, who is then to blame for what?”.
- (12)g Nik zer dakit, ba, nor nun dabillen? (D. Aguirre, *Garoa*, p. 156)¹⁷
“What, then, do I know who’s walking where?”.
- (12)h Joanes’ek ez zekian zer esan, zer egin ta zer nori agindu (D. Aguirre, *Garoa*, p. 161)¹⁸
• “Joanes didn’t know what to say, what to do or what to command whom (to do)”.

¹⁴ Since (12)c and (12)d are already ungrammatical for other reasons, (Cf. footnote 9)), I should point out that we do not get the corresponding sentences with *gogoratu* “remember”, either:

* Ez naiz gogoratzen liburua zeñek irakurtzen duen orduaz.

“I don’t remember the time who read the book”.

* Ez naiz gogoratzen liburua zeñek irakurtzen duen arrazoiaz.

“I don’t remember the reason why who reads the book”.

Thus, (12)c and (12)d are ungrammatical for more than one reason.

¹⁵ The relevant part of example (12)e is: *nork zer erranen du?* “Who what will say?”, and *nork zer eginen du?* “Who what will do?” In the Guipuzcoan dialect the word for “who” is *zein*, but in all other dialects, the word for “who” is *nor*, ergative form *nork*.

¹⁶ The relevant part of example (12)f is: *nork zer hoben dik?* “who what blame has?”

¹⁷ The relevant part of example (12)g is: *nor nun dabil?* “who where is walking?”.

¹⁸ The relevant part of example (12)h is: *zer nori agindu* “what to-whom to-command”.

- (12)i Orregatik bearrezkoa det jakin nork eta nundik zenbat diru biali didan.
 (From a letter to the author written by J. M. Zulaika, dated april 3, 1962)¹⁹
 “That’s why I have to know by whom and from where how much money
 was sent to me”.^{d)}

Examples (12)g, (12)h and (12)i are indirect questions. It seems clear that there are no relative clause constructions that they could derive from. I have found one sentence, which, at first sight, may be thought of as a counter-example to my claim that there can be no question words inside relative clauses:

- (12)j ...nork zer esango dionari biziro begiratu gabe... (*Lau ebanjelioak*, p. 116)
 “... without paying too much attention to who will say what to him...”.

Sentence (12)j looks suspiciously like a free relative clause, such as, e.g.:

- (12)k Esan dionari biziro begiratu gabe...
 “Without paying too much attention to that which he has said to him...”.

I will discuss free relative clauses in a later section of this thesis. However, (12)j is not a free relative. Rather, it is an example of a sentence in which an indirect question (*nork zer esango dion* “who will say what to him”) is treated as a noun phrase, as we can see from the fact that it carries the definite article *-a* and the dative postposition *-ri*.

What has happened here is that a noun phrase *nork zer esango dion* has been derived from the sentence *nork zer esango dion* by quoting: “*Nor zer esango dion*”-*ari biziro begiratu gabe...* This accords well with the meaning of the sentence, and, of course, the verb *begiratu* “look”, “pay attention to”, “watch out for” does take indirect questions as complements:

- (12)l Nola egiten dezun begiratu bear dezu
 “You must pay attention to how you do it”.

The last two arguments were adapted from C. Leroy Baker, who discussed the differences between indirect questions and relative clauses in English in section II of his article “Notes on the Description of English Questions”, *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), 197-219. For all these reasons, then, it seems out of the question that indirect

¹⁹ The relevant part of example (12)i is: *nundik zenbat diru biali didan* “from-where how-much money (he)-has-sent-to-me”; *didan* is *dida* (surface form: *dit*) plus the Wh-complementizer.

^{d)} It is easy to find more examples of double questions in Basque literature:

Eta zure prestutasunez, oboreaz eta aitineco eta ondoco, fama on famatuaz, nor cer erranen du? (Ax. Gero, 5), “And concerning your integrity, honor, and the farfamed reputation of your forbears and heirs, who will say what?”. *Nor nor den nork ezagutu?* (Mogel, *P. Ab.* 95), “Who can recognize who is who?”. *Berak agintzen du non zer lan egin* (D. Aguirre, *Garoa*, 365), “He orders where to do what work”. *Holakorik egundaino nork non ikusi du sekulan?* (J. Barbier, *Sup. xok.* 94), “Who has ever seen such a thing where?”. *Bere kezka guztia: ama nor non zuen jakitea* (G. Garate, *NY.* 29), “His whole concern: to know who (and) where was his mother. *Bortu honetan nondik nork ogiz ase jende hori?* (Mk. 8.4.; Léon), “From whence would who satisfy those people with bread in this desert?”. Similarly in the version published by Ezkila: *Nork nundik ogiz asetzen abalko ditu, hemen, bazter leku buntan.*

questions are derived from relative clauses in Basque. Rather, the conclusion must be that the suffix *-n* is basically a complementizer, and that its occurrence in relative clauses, if not accidental, must be accounted for by its function as a complementizer. Complementizers in Basque always take the form of suffixes to the verb, finite or non-finite. Now, in surface structure, the verb need not be final, but, as I have argued in my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?" (*FLV* 1 (1969), 319-351), Basque is verb-final on a deeper level. Complementizers, then, originate or are inserted at the end of their clauses, and then become enclitics to the verb while it is still final in the sentence. In relative clauses, but not in most other subordinate clauses, the verb must also be final in surface structure. This leads to the following picture of the relative clause in Basque:

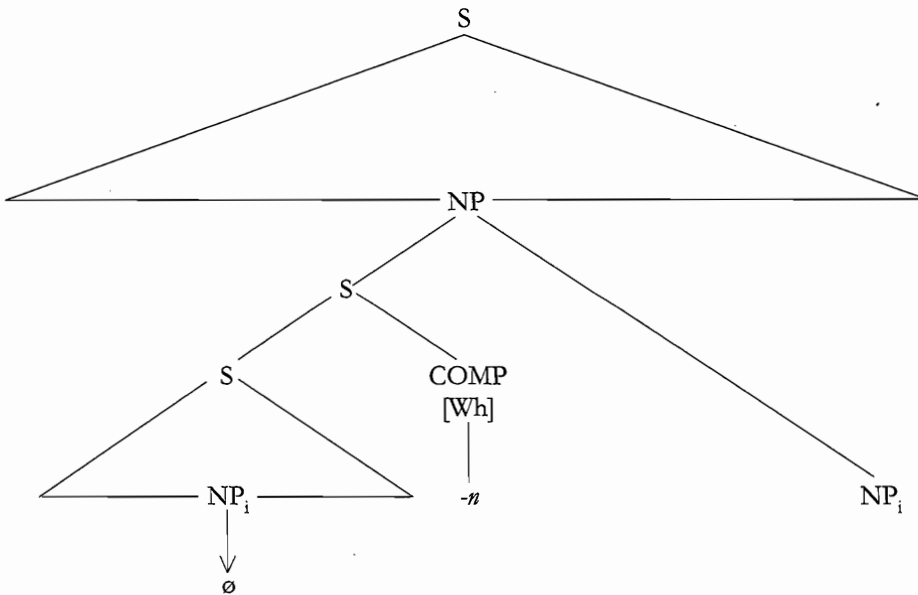


Diagram (1)

This result is in line with the conception of the English relative clause adopted by J. E. Emonds in his dissertation *Root and Structure-Preserving Transformations*, which also underlies recent work by J. W. Bresnan. The advantages of this conception for English are brought out by the following quote from Emonds:

Many grammarians have held that *that* is not a relative pronoun when it introduces relative clauses, but rather the same particle that introduces other (non-relative) dependent clauses. In this view, an NP or a PP replaces COMP (the morpheme *that* in most clauses) by means of the *Wh* fronting rule. Such an analysis accords the same status to all S-introductory *that*'s, explains why prepositions never precede *that* even though they precede other relative pronouns, and limits relative pronouns to being a subset of the *Wh* question words (J. E. Emonds, *Root and Structure Preserving Transformations*, Section IV.2.1).

Indeed, a similar observation was made by Otto Jespersen in 1924:

... it may be questioned whether English *that* is not the conjunction rather than a pronoun; compare the possibility of omitting *that*: "I know the man (that) you mentioned" and "I know (that) you mentioned the man", and the impossibility of having a preposition before *that*: "the man that you spoke about" as against "the man about whom you spoke" (O. Jespersen: *The Philosophy of Grammar*, Chapter VI, p. 85).

I am making no claim here that diagram (1) represents, or even approximates the deep structure, or semantic representation, of relative clause constructions. All I claim is that relative clause constructions look like diagram (1) at some —probably fairly late— stage of their derivation. Although I will have no detailed proposal to make in that direction, we will see later on that there are indications that a structure containing conjoined sentences is relevant to the derivation of relative clauses at a deeper level.

Having accepted the idea that complementizers are to be expected universally as the most natural linking elements between a relative clause and its head, we must conclude that, apparently, languages may differ as to what particular complementizer (or complementizers) they choose to use for that purpose. While the complementizer used in English is mainly the unmarked complementizer *that*, in Basque, it is the Wh-complementizer *-n*.

Incidentally, the English complementizer *for... to* and *-ing* are also able to connect relative clauses to their heads, as shown by the following sentence:

For a bachelor wanting to meet a lot of girls, the thing to do is to buy a red sports car.

This sentence cannot be derived by ordinary relative clause reduction, since the supposedly unreduced form

*For a bachelor who is wanting to meet a lot of girls, the thing that is to do is to buy a red sports car.

is ungrammatical, and relative clause reduction in English is always optional.

While one difference between Basque relative clauses and English relative clauses resides in the choice of the complementizer and does not seem predictable from more general characteristics of Basque grammar, another difference, the fact that Basque relative clauses show no movement but rather deletion of the procedent (i.e. the lower coreferential noun phrase) can be plausibly considered to fall under the range of an implicational universal. What remains unclear, however, is just what the implicans of this universal is to be. Different authors differ indeed as to what other feature of grammatical structure they deem the lack of such a movement rule to be most closely connected with.

For C. Leroy Baker, the absence of a rule moving relativized constituents is correlated with the position of the clause in front of the modified noun phrase, i.e. preceding its head, rather than following it, as in English (C. L. Baker, "Notes on the Description of English Questions", *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), p. 209).

For J. W. Bresnan, the lack of movement follows from the clause-final position of the complementizer (J. W. Bresnan, "On Complementizers", *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), p. 317 ff).²⁰

For A.M. Schwartz, the absence of a movement rule for relativized constituents follows from the absence of a rule moving Wh elements in questions; this itself being a necessary property of verb-final languages. (A. M. Schwartz, "General Aspects of Relative Clause Formation", *Working Papers in Linguistic Universals*, December 1971, Stanford University).

None of the authors offer a convincing argument in favor of their respective claims. Basque, having all three of the properties that are claimed to be relevant, cannot serve as a test case. Some language other than Basque, but sharing some of its characteristics, will have to provide the crucial evidence needed to settle the issue. This, however, cannot be attempted here.

Returning now for a moment to the genitive suffix *-ren*, I should mention that the possibility of some relationship between it and the complementizer *-n* is not to be ruled out. Indeed, as R. Lafon notes in this connection, there is a variant form of the genitive, the suffix *-re*, which is used —obligatorily and only— with singular personal pronouns and with *gu* "we": *nere* "my", *ire* "thy", *zure* "your (sg.)", *gure* "our", *bere* "his (own)"; but: *zuren* "your (plural)" and *beren* "their (own)". Lafon, who takes the suffix to have been *-e* rather than *-re*, adds:

Il est possible que *-e* ait été à date très ancienne l'indice de génitif commun à tous les noms, et qu'il ait été renforcé, dans les substantifs, les adjectifs et la plupart des pronoms, par l'addition de *-n*, suffixe très général servant à marquer la relation de déterminant à déterminé. (R. Lafon, *Le système du verbe basque au XVI^e siècle*; I, p. 458).

The segmentation *-re-n* and the identification of the final segment of this with the relativizer have considerable plausibility, as possessive modifiers are generally assumed by transformational grammarians to be derived from relative clauses.

For a transformational treatment relating possessives to relative clauses in the Australian languages Dyrbal and Gumbaingar, see R. M. W. Dixon: "Relative Clauses and Possessive Phrases in Two Australian Languages", *Lg* 45 (1969), 35-44. I quote from page 38:

The relation between a possessive phrase and the noun it qualifies could be treated as an additional syntactic relation. But it can more revealingly be treated as a special instance of the relative clause construction.

Understandably, the particular transformations that Dixon proposes are quite tentative and cannot be generalized easily to fit unrelated languages. The attempt to derive possessive constructions from relative clauses is certainly not absurd; yet, I do not feel justified in proposing specific rules to this effect for Basque, as long as there is no explanation for the exceptional behavior displayed by the personal pronouns.

²⁰ Prof. K. L. Hale has informed me that Navaho constitutes a counter-example to this claim. Navaho has clause-final complementizers, yet, it has a rule that moves Wh constituents.

We noted that two of the personal pronouns do have a genitive ending in *-n*: *zuek* “you all” and *berak* “they (themselves)”. For *zuek*, the fact that it has a regular genitive (*zuen* “your (plural)”), is, no doubt, due to its being a relatively modern creation. *Zu* (genitive *zure*) which is now the polite second person singular, used to be a form for the second person plural, as is evidenced by the verbal morphology. Two paradigms will serve to illustrate this:

n-a-tor:	I am coming
a-tor:	Thou are coming (familiar 2-nd person)
d-a-tor:	He is coming
g-a-toz:	We are coming
z-a-toz:	You are coming (singular)
z-a-toz-te:	You all are coming
d-a-toz:	They are coming.

Here the form *zatoz* (from *z-a-tor-z*) shows the suffix *-z*, indicating a plural subject in an intransitive verb form. The form *zatozte* “you all are coming” is formed from *zatoz* by adding another plural marker *-te*. This *-te* is borrowed from the morphology of transitive verbs, where it indicates plurality of the agent. (E.g. *dakar* “he is bringing it”, *dakarte* “they are bringing it”, *du* “he has it”, *dute* “they have it”).

The second paradigm shows forms of the type *nau* “he has me”, which occur mainly as auxiliaries in periphrastic verb forms, as in *ikusi nau* “He has seen me”.

n-a-u:	He has me
a-u:	He has thee (familiar 2-nd person)
d-u:	He has him
g-a-it-u:	He has us
z-a-it-u:	He has you (singular)
z-a-it-u-te:	He has you all
d-it-u:	He has them

In this paradigm the morpheme *-it-* indicates plurality of the direct object. Again, the polite second person form *zaitu* is morphologically plural. The new plural second person form *zaitute* has the plural marker *-te* mentioned above. A variant form *zaitue* with a plural marker *-e* also exists.

As we see from these paradigms, when the original second person plural was reinterpreted as singular, the morphology did not change. If it had, we would have gotten **zan* (like *au* “he has thee”) instead of *zaitu*. Sporadically, however, this restructuring did happen, and forms like *zant* (instead of *zaitut*) “I have you” are attested in the South-Eastern subdialect of Bizcayan, e.g. in Mondragón (geographically in Guipúzcoa) and in Aramayona (geographically in Alava).

As to *beren* “their own” versus *bere* “his own”, the following remark by P. Lafitte may be taken as corroborating Lafon’s conjecture that the final *-n* of genitives originated as a reinforcement of an earlier construction with *-re* instead of *-ren*:

La différence entre *bere* ‘son’, et *beren*, ‘leur’, est, semble-t-il, assez récente. Beaucoup d’auteurs traduisent ‘sien’ et ‘leur’ par *bere* et ne font de *beren* qu’un intensif de *bere*. (P. Lafitte, *Grammaire basque*, § 211.II).

Summary to chapter 2

In this chapter, we investigated the internal structure of relative clauses in Basque. The discussion culminated in considering the structure of diagram (1) on page 50 as the most plausible candidate for the shallow structure of relative clauses.

The relative marker *-n* (not a relative pronoun) is different from the genitive marker *-ren*, but it is homophonous with the Wh-complementizer *-n*.

Arguments have been given that indirect questions, which are characterized by this complementizer, cannot be derived from relative clauses. I have not discussed the reverse possibility, because I see no way of explaining the relative marker *-n* in a relative clause construction like: *Ikusi dedan gizona ardo-zalea da* (“The man whom I have seen loves wine”) by means of some kind of interrogative construction.

There is no Wh-movement in Basque: the relativized noun phrase in the constituent sentence is deleted rather than moved.

Chapter 3. Relativizability

After the general considerations that have occupied us so far, we will now examine a variety of examples, and try to find out what restrictions there are on the process of relative clause formation. Not surprisingly, there are no restrictions whatsoever on the function of what we have called the “postcedent” in the main clause, witness the following examples. Sentence (13) *Irakasleak guztia daki*. “The teacher knows everything” can be embedded as a relative clause on the noun *irakasle* “teacher” regardless of the role of the latter in the main clause. So we get:

- (13)a *Guztia dakien irakaslea ez da gaur etorriko.*
 “The teacher who knows everything will not come today”.
- (13)b *Guztia dakien irakaslea lendakari izendatu zuten.*
 “They made president the teacher who knows everything”.
- (13)c *Guztia dakien irakasleak esan du.*
 “The teacher who knows everything has said it”.

Since *esan* “say” is a transitive verb, its subject *irakaslea* receives the ergative suffix *-k*. The subject, of course, is not just *irakaslea* “the teacher”, but *guztia dakien irakaslea* “the teacher who knows everything”.

- (13)d *Guztia dakien irakasleari eman bear diogu gure dirua.*
 “We must give our money to the teacher who knows everything”.

(Like its English translation (13)e is ambiguous as to who it is who knows everything, the teacher or his wife.)

- (13)e *Guztia dakien irakaslearen emaztea bildur da.*
 “The wife of the teacher who knows everything is afraid”.
- (13)f *Guztia dakien irakaslearentzat ekarri det au.*
 “I have brought this for the teacher who knows everything”.

(13)g Guztia dakien irakaslearengatik ez nintzan etorri.
 "I didn't come because of the teacher who knows everything".

(13)h Guztia dakien irakaslearengandik ikasi det ori.
 "I have learned that from the teacher who knows everything".

We will now go on to consider the syntactic role of the procedent in the constituent sentence, that is, inside the relative clause. Let the clause to be embedded be (14):

(14) Gizonak txakurra jo du. "The man has hit the dog".

We can then derive either (14)a or (14)b, according to which noun we take as a postcedent: *gizona* "the man" or *txakurra* "the dog":

(14)a Txakurra jo duen gizona gaiztoa da.
 "The man who has hit the dog is bad".

(14)b Gizonak jo duen txakurra gaiztoa da.
 "The dog that the man has hit is bad".

As we saw earlier in our discussion of sentence (1)c, unstressed personal pronouns that are in an agreement relation with the verb are normally deleted. Perhaps we should rather say that they are incorporated into the auxiliary or finite verb. Sentence (15), then, contains no overt pronoun, just the past participle *jo* of the verb *jo* "hit" (In Basque, the citation form of verbs is the past participle, the shortest of the non-finite verb forms) and the auxiliary *du* "has". This form of the auxiliary indicates a third person singular agent, and a third person singular direct object.

(15) Gizona jo du. "He (she, it) has hit the man".

(15) can be embedded as a relative clause to *gizona* "the man":

(15)a Jo duen gizona aundia da. "The man whom he (she, it) has hit is tall".

In (16) *gizona* "the man" is agent and carries therefore the ergative suffix *-k*. The direct object pronoun has been deleted:

(16) Gizonak jo du. "The man has hit him (her, it)".

Embedding (16) as a relative clause to *gizona* gives (16)a.

(16)a Jo duen gizona aundia da. "The man who has hit him (her, it) is tall".

The surface structures of (15)a and (16)a are identical, giving us, therefore, a case of syntactic homonymy. In (14) a the procedent was agent, in (14)b it was direct object. We will now see that it can be indirect object too. Take e.g. sentence (17):

(17) Emakumeak gizonari aur au eman dio.
 "The woman has given this child to the man".

We can have all of the following relative clause constructions:

(17)a Gizonari aur au eman dion emakumea guztiz ederra da.
 "The woman who has given this child to the man is extremely beautiful".

(17)b Emakumeak gizonari eman dion aurra oso txikia da.
 "The child whom the woman has given to the man is very small".

(17)c Emakumeak aur au eman dion gizona zaarra da.
 "The man who the woman has given the child to is old".

In (17)c the procedent is the indirect object of the relative clause (cf. (17)), deleted here in the process of relativization. Again, the nearly obligatory deletion of unstressed personal pronouns gives rise to ambiguity:

(18) Eman dion aurra gaiztoa da.
 Literally: Given he-has-it-to-him-Rel child-the bad-the he-is.

This sentence is three ways ambiguous. It can be:

- a) "The child whom he has given to him is bad".
 From (18)a Aurra eman dio. "He has given the (or a) child to him".
- b) "The child who has given it to him is bad".
 From (18)b Aurrak eman dio. "The child has given it to him".
- c) "The child whom he has given it to is bad".
 From (18)c Aurrari eman dio. "He has given it to the child".

In (18) *Eman dion aurra gaiztoa da*, *aurra* "the child" has the zero case marking required by its function of subject in the intransitive main clause where the predicate is *gaiztoa da* "is bad". Nothing is left in the surface structure to tell us what the case marking was of the deleted procedent *aur* "child" in the original constituent sentence. We observe here a general property of the relativization process in Basque: relativization wipes out whatever postposition the procedent may have had, thus making it impossible for the surface structure to indicate the syntactic function of the deleted noun phrase in the constituent sentence, i.e. inside the relative clause.

Basque relative clauses, then, are less precise than their English (and, more generally Indo-European) counter-parts, where a relative pronoun normally indicates the function of the coreferential lower noun phrase in its clause, as in the English sentence: *I walked with the woman because of whom I lost my job*.

A sentence such as this cannot be translated into Basque using the relative clause construction that we are discussing. This, of course, brings up the question how to characterize the range of syntactic functions that the procedent noun phrase can assume in the lower clause, such that the resulting relative clause is grammatical. In other words, what is the generalization underlying the observation that the English sentence "The woman to whom I lost my job is a foreigner" has a straightforward rendering in Basque, namely:

(19)a Bizibidea galdu diodan emakumea atzerritarra da.
 "The woman I lost my job to is a foreigner".

while the English sentence: "The woman because of whom I lost my job is a foreigner" cannot be rendered in the same straightforward way:

(19)b *Bizibidea galdu dedan emakumea atzerritarra da.

(19)b is totally uninterpretable.

This is by no means an easy problem to investigate. It will be necessary to look at the full range of postpositions in Basque, a procedure that will take up considerable space. Fortunately, there is one class of forms that we need not consider: expressions of spatial relationships. Although such relations are sometimes expressed by single surface prepositions in English (e.g., *under, around, below, behind, over*), they always involve a relational noun in Basque. The following example is typical:

maiaren azpian or *mai-azpian*, "under the table".

We have here a noun *azpi* which is linked to the noun *mai* "table" in either of two ways: by means of the possessive suffix *-ren* added to the definite form *maia* "the table" of the noun *mai*, or by way of nominal compounding. The ending of *azpian* is the locative postposition *-n* preceded by the definite article *a*. Other postpositions can also occur here instead of the locative:

maiaren azpira: "to under the table",
maiaren azpiraiño: "as far as under the table",
maiaren azpitik: "from under the table".

In fact, the noun *azpi* can occur without any postposition:

(20) *Maiaren azpia zikiña da*. "It is dirty under the table".

It is clear, then, that there is a relational noun *azpi*, with the approximate meaning "space extending downward from the under-surface of X and including this under-surface". Similar remarks apply to:

mai(aren) aldean: "beside the table",
mai(aren) aurrean: "in front of the table",
mai(aren) atzean: "behind the table",
mai(aren) barruan: "inside the table",
mai(aren) erdian: "at the middle of the table",
mai(aren) ertzean: "at the corner of the table",
mai(aren) gainean: "on top of the table",
mai(aren) inguruan: "around the table",
mai(aren) ondoan: "next to the table".

These are all plain genitival constructions, like, say: *apazaren liburuan* "in the book of the priest", and, as such, do not call for any special treatment.

A remark on postpositions

In general, of course, the items which it will be our task to pass in review are the postpositions of Basque, not the various linguistic constructs used for translating the prepositions of English or some other language. The difference is far from academic: just because *without* is a preposition in English, does not mean that its translation *gabe* is a postposition in Basque. In spite of P. Lhande, who lists it as a postposition in his *Dictionnaire basque français* (page 315) and of I. Lopez Mendizabal, who counts it among the suffixes expressing grammatical relations (*Manual de conversación*, pp. 297-300), there are good reasons for considering *gabe* to be an adjective

that takes noun phrase complements and not a postposition. These reasons include the following:

1) *Gabe* admits the article *-a*. Only the genitival postpositions *-ren* and *-(e)ko* can be followed by the article *-a*. *Gabe*, however, does not function like a genitival postposition. Therefore, I argue, *gabe* is not a postposition at all.

Details: Compare (21)a, b with (22)a, b:

(21)a Andres etorri da emaztea gabe. “Andres has come without his wife”.

(21)b Bera bakarrik emaztea gabea da. “He alone is without his wife”.

(22)a Ixidor etorri da emaztearekin. “Isidor has come with his wife”.

(22)b Bera bakarrik emaztearekin da. “He alone is with his wife”.

In (21)b, we have *emaztea gabea*, with the article *-a* inserted in predicate position. as is usual for predicate nouns and adjectives in most Basque dialects. This does not happen in (22)b: the form **emaztearekiña* does not exist anywhere.

The genitival postpositions *-ren* and *-(e)ko* do admit the article: *ijitoarena* “the one of the gypsy”, and *etxekoa* “the one of the house”. But these expressions are special cases of the genitive construction, where these two postpositions serve to link two noun phrases together: *ijitoaren zaldia* “the horse of the gypsy” and *etxeko tellatua* “the roof of the house”. Under certain circumstances, pronominalization can delete a noun or a noun phrase and leave behind its determiner. When this happens here, the forms just cited are produced:

(23)a Zaldi au ijitoarena baiño ohea da.

“This horse is better than the one of the gypsy”.

(23)b Elizako tellatua etxekoa bezin zaarra da.

“The roof of the church is as old as the one of the house”.

Gabe, however, is not a genitival postposition. It cannot link two noun phrases together: **emaztea gabe gizona*. To get the meaning “the man without his wife”, the genitival postposition *-(e)ko* must be inserted here: *emaztea gabeko gizona*.

2) There is a suffix *-(r)ik* that combines with all past participles, most adjectives and some nouns, and whose meaning is “being in a state of ...”. Examples:

With past participles:

etorri: “come”,

ikusi: “seen”,

il: “died”,

eman: “given”,

etorririk: “having come”,

ikusirik: “having seen”,

ilrik: “having died, dead”,

emanik: “having given”.

With adjectives:

on: “good”,

oso: “whole”,

zabal: “wide”,

bakar: “lonely”,

isil: “quiet”,

onik: “well”,

osorik: “completely”,

zabalik: “wide open”,

bakarrik: “alone”,

isilik: “silent”.

With nouns:

poz: "joy",	pozik: "happy",
bildur: "fear",	bildurrik: "afraid",
barau: "fast",	baraurik: "empty stomached".

This suffix is never added to postpositions:

<i>etxean</i>	"in the house",	* <i>etxeanik</i> ,
<i>etxera</i>	"to the house",	* <i>etxerarik</i> ,
<i>etxearentzat</i>	"for the house",	* <i>etxearentzatik</i> .

However, it is often added to *gabe*:

(24)a Diru gaberik etorri da. "He has come without money".

(24)b Zu gaberik ezin bizi du. "He cannot live without you"

3) In Northern parts of the Basque Country, including the North-Eastern part of Guipúzcoa, *gabe* can remain behind in surface structure after the head noun of its phrase has been deleted by pronominalization processes. Nowhere in the Basque Country, however, can a postposition ever survive without a supporting head in surface structure. An informant from Oyarzun gave me this sentence:

(25)a Pipa nerekin daramat, ezin naiteke gabe ta.

"I am carrying my pipe with me, as I cannot (stand to) be without".

In the book *Aprenda el vasco* (published by Editorial Icharopena, Zarauz 1958, without name of author), which reflects the speech of the area of San Sebastian, we read on page 38:

(25)b Utzi naizkizu¹ erautziga batzuek, gabe gelditu naiz.

"Lend me some cartridges, I have run out".

(Literally: "I have remained without".)

Utzi is a verb (cited in the past participle form) that means: "leave (behind)", "abandon", and it is used idiomatically for "lend". For the form *naizkizu*, see footnote 1. *Erautziga* means "cartridge", and *batzuek* (variant form *batzuek*) as an indefinite plural determiner; "some". *Gelditu* is a verb with the meaning "stay", "remain", "stop".

¹ The form *naizkizu* here, instead of the more common *erazkizidazu* is an interesting example of what is known as the "solécisme de la Côte". It consists in treating indirect objects morphologically as direct objects: *peseta bat zor narzu* "you owe me one peseta" instead of: *peseta bat zor didazu* "you owe to me one peseta". For those innocent of the solecism, the form *naizkizu* of (25)b does not even exist, since its *n*-marks the direct object as a first person singular, but its *-zki-* marks the same direct object as a third person plural. This solecism was already mentioned by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte and it was also discussed by Hugo Schuchardt in his introduction to the new edition of Leizarraga's New Testament Version (first edition, La Rochelle 1571, new edition, Strassburg 1900) p. lxxxii —there are several instances of the solecism in Leizarraga's text— and later at much greater length in his article: "Zur Kenntnis des Baskischen von Sara", *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1922, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, No. 1, pp. 3-39, (see especially, pp. 13-15).

(25)b is an imperative sentence. In imperative sentences, the verb precedes the object: *utzi naizkizu erantziga batzuek* is much preferable to **erantziga batzuek utzi naizkizu*.

In the 17th century classic *Gero*, by Pedro de Axular (not written in Guipúzcoan, but in “Navarro-Labourdin”), we read (Chapter XI, 2):

(25)c Bai, ba da zenbait, zeren Eliza ezin dateke gabe.

(Talking about true Christians) “Yes, there are some, for the Church cannot exist without.”

Here again we see that *gabe* does not behave like a postposition: (25)d is completely impossible:

(25)d *Bai, ba da zenbait, zeren Eliza bethi ekin da.

“Yes, there are some, for the Church is always with.”

The postposition (*r*)ekin cannot stand alone; (25)d would be grammatical with *bekin* “with them” instead of *ekin*.

4) As we will see later on in this section of the thesis, if *gabe* were a postposition, the following sentence in which *gabe* occurs on the underlying procedent as well as on the postcedent should be grammatical. It is not:

(26) *Pello ezin bizi dan emakumea gabe Andres’ek ere ez du bizi nai.

“Andres does not want to live without the woman without whom Pello cannot live, either.”²

For all these reasons, *gabe* cannot be considered a postposition. Conventional Basque orthography recognizes this, in that it does not write *gabe* together with the preceding part of the noun phrase, as it always does for postpositions. *Gabe* is separated out with a hyphen, or even spelled as an independent word: *gizonarekin* “with the man”, but *gizona-gabe* or *gizona gabe* “without the man”.

If it is not a postposition, what is it? The answer must be, I think, that *gabe* is an adjective. It occurs in adjective position between the head noun and the determiner, as, for example, in the phrase *biotz berorik gabe ori* “that heart (of yours) without any warmth”. Here *berorik gabe* “without any warmth” is an adjective phrase, and *gabe*, since it is the head of this phrase, must be an adjective.

An adjective similar to *gabe* is *bete* “full”, e.g.: *biotz pozez bete ori* “that heart (of yours) full of joy”. *Bete* and *gabe* are similar in that they both take noun phrase complements, yet, *bete* is subcategorized for noun phrases with the instrumental postposition *-z*, and *gabe* for noun phrases that can be either partitive, determined or indetermined: *beroz bete* “full of warmth”, *berorik gabe* “without any warmth”, *beroa gabe* “without the warmth”, *bero gabe* “without warmth”. Moreover, *bete* can occur without a complement in surface structure: *ontzi au betea da*. “This vessel is full”, *gabe* cannot do so: **gizon au gabea da*. However, in former times, *gabe* could be used also

² Vocabulary: *ezin* “impossible”, *bizi* “live”, *emakume* “woman”, *ere* “also”, *ez* “not”, “no”, *nai du* “(he) wants (it)”.

as an independent adjective, with the meaning “destitute” (See R. M. de Azkue, *Diccionario vasco-español-francés*, I-312).

Now that we know that *gabe* is an adjective, we understand why we cannot form a relative clause such as (27) from a matrix sentence like (27)a and a constituent sentence like (27)b:

(27)a *Zakurra lapur aiek kendu didate.*

“Those thieves have taken the dog away from me.”

(27)b *Zakurra gabe ezin igo naiteke mendira.*

“I cannot climb the mountain without the dog.”

(27) **Ezin mendira igo naitekeen zakurra lapur aiek kendu didate.*

“Those thieves have taken the dog away from me without whom I cannot climb the mountain.”

While relativization often deletes postpositions, it is unable to delete adjectives.

Plunging ahead now into our investigation of the connection between relativizability and the syntactic function of the procedent, we can report as a first result the following observation: With regard to their acceptance of relative clauses, the native speakers of Guipúzcoan I have consulted fall into two classes, where each class has its own grammatical system:

- (A) A restricted system, where the speakers accept only those relative clauses in which there is morphological agreement between the procedent and the verb of the relative clause.
- (B) A wider system, which I will refer to as “the main system, to be characterized later on.

In the restricted system, the procedent of a well-formed relative clause must have one of the following four functions:

- 1) Subject of an intransitive predicate.

Example:

(28)a *Datorren astean joango naiz.*

“I will go the week that is coming (i.e. next week)”

Cf. (Sentences given here under *Cf.* serve to demonstrate number agreement.)

(28)b *Aste santua ba dator.* “The Holy week is coming.”

(28)c *Garizumako asteak ba datoz.* “The weeks of Lent are coming.”³

The presence of the affirmative particle *ba* in some of the examples and its absence in others is connected with the concept of focus, as I discussed earlier (pages 88-89). As I explained there, affirmative *ba* never occurs inside relative clauses.

- 2) Subject (agent) of a transitive predicate. Example:

³ The contrast here is between *dator* “he is coming” and *datoz* “they are coming”.

- (29)a Tresna ori darabilen errementaria indartsua da oso.
 “The smith who is using that tool is very strong.” Cf:
- (29)b Errementariak ba darabil tresna ori. “The smith is using that tool.”
- (29)c Errementariak ba darabilte tresna ori. “The smiths are using that tool.”⁴
- 3) Object of a transitive predicate. Example:
- (30)a Alkateak dakarren liburua garestia da.
 “The book that the mayor is bringing is expensive.” Cf:
- (30)b Alkateak ba dakar liburua. “The mayor is bringing the book.”
- (30)c Alkateak ba dakartzki liburua. “The mayor is bringing the books.”⁵
- 4) Indirect object of a transitive or intransitive predicate:
- a) With a transitive predicate, e.g. *ekarri* “bring”:
- (31)a Ogia dakarkiodan eskalea osaba det.
 “The beggar to whom I am bringing bread is my uncle.” Cf:
- (31)b Ogia dakarkiot eskaleari. “I am bringing the beggar bread.”
- (31)c Ogia dakarkiet eskaleai. “I am bringing the beggars bread.”⁶
- b) With an intransitive predicate, e.g. *azaldu* “appear”, “show up”:
- (32)a Aingerua azaldu zaion artzaia bildurrez dago.
 “The shepherd to whom an angel has appeared is afraid.” Cf:
- (32)b Artzaiari aingerua azaldu zaio.
 “An angel has appeared to the shepherd.”
- (32)c Artzaiari aingerua azaldu zaie.
 “An angel has appeared to the shepherds.”⁷

With these four cases we have exhausted the possibilities of morphological agreement between the precedent and the verb of the relative clause. No other types of relative clauses are grammatical in the restricted system.

When confronted with examples of relative clauses grammatical in the main system but outside the scope of the restricted system, informants speaking this variety do not always uniformly reject them. Rather, the typical response is a double inconsistency. First, instances of exactly the same type of relative clause may be treated differently by the same informant. One informant accepted (33)a,

⁴ The contrast is between *darabil* “he is using” and *darabilte* “they are using”.

⁵ The contrast is between *dakar* “he is bringing it” and *dakarzki* “he is bringing them”.

⁶ The contrast is between *dakarckiot* “I am bringing it to him” and *dakarckiet* “I am bringing it to them”.

⁷ The contrast is between *azaldu zaio* “he has appeared to him” and *azaldu zaie* “he has appeared to them”.

- (33)a Lenengo aldiz ikusi zindudan erria maite det.
 "I love the village where I saw you for the first time."

but rejected the entirely similar (33)b:

- (33)b Igaz udaroa igaro nuen erria maite det.
 "I love the village where I spent the summer last year."

Secondly, the same informant was also found guilty of inconsistency over time. At one time, he accepted (33)c, —rejecting, however, all other examples of the same type that were presented to him":

- (33)c Jaio nintzan erria maite det. "I love the village where I was born."

When asked again six months later, the informant rejected (33)c, insisting that a non-finite relative clause construction, (33)d, should be used instead:

- (33)d Ni jaiotako erria maite det. "I love the village where I was born."

In non-finite relative clauses, the predicate has the form of a past participle, e.g. *jaio* "born", *etorri* "come". To this form the relational suffix *-tako* is added, linking it to the following noun, the postcedent of the relative clause. Mainly outside Guipúzcoa we find a suffix *-rikako* (or *-riko*) used instead of *-tako*, and in the Northern dialects the suffix may be \emptyset . The suffix *-tako* (and also *-rikako*, *-riko*) can be decomposed into two parts: a "stative" suffix *-ta* (or *rika*, *rik*, the suffix discussed on page 103) *jaiota* "having been born" (also: *jaiorik*), *etorrita*, *etorririk* "having come", and the "locative genitive" suffix (*e*)*ko* that we have discussed earlier (page 83).

As there is no finite verb in such relative clauses, personal pronouns cannot be deleted. We thus get: *ni jaiotako erria* "the village I was born".

The informant's rejection of (33)c was so complete that (33)e, another example of the same construction, actually proved unintelligible to him and brought forth the response "What does it mean?"

- (33)e Ezkondu nintzan erria maite det. "I love the village where I got married."

(I have not starred (33)c and (33)e, because they are grammatical in the main system, which I take as a standard. Both are, however, ungrammatical in the restricted system, which I am now discussing.)

We may note in passing that the grammaticality of (33)d confirms the view that the constraints operative in the restricted system prohibiting sentences like (33)c are transformational rather than deep-structural in nature, for, presumably, (33)c and (33)d have the same deep structure. Of these two, (33)d with its deleted auxiliary, seems to be transformationally more complex. Why the constraint on relative clause formation in the restricted system should allow the more complex (33)d and rule out the simpler (33)c remains a mystery, especially since the main transformation involved, Precedent Deletion, has to apply in the derivation of (33)d in just the same way as in the derivation of (33)c. Why, then, is it blocked in the latter case, but not in the former? I have no answer to these questions. It might turn out that both (33)c and (33)d are to be considered ungrammatical in the restricted system,

and that (33)d sounded more acceptable to the informant for extra-grammatical reasons.

To conclude the remarks on non-finite relative clauses, I should point out that not every finite relative has a non-finite counterpart. Non-finite relatives are available for the perfect aspect and also for the future modality ("things to be done"), but not for the imperfect aspect as such.

The formation of the perfect aspect non-finite relative has already been explained: past participle + *ta-ko*, e.g. *etorritako* "having come". The future modality non-finite relative is formed from the verbal noun (i.e., the present participle without its locative ending *-n*) to which is added the suffix *-ko*, directly, without an intervening *-ta*: *etortzeko* "coming", "which is to come". (The present participle is: *etortzen*). Thus, a non-finite variant exists for (34)a, namely (34)b:

(34)a *Etorri dan osaba aberatsa da.* "The uncle who has come is rich."

(34)b *Etorritako osaba aberatsa da.* "The uncle who has come is rich."

Similarly, alongside (35)a, there is a near paraphrase (35)b with a non-finite relative:

(35)a *Etorriko dan osaba aberatsa da.* The uncle who will come is rich."

(35)b *Etortzeko osaba aberatsa da.* "The uncle to come is rich."

But there are no non-finite alternatives for the imperfect constructions (36), (37) and (38):

(36) *Zetorren osaba aberatsa zan.* "The uncle who was coming was rich."

(37) *Datorren osaba aberatsa da.* "The uncle who is coming is rich."

(38) *Igandero etortzen dan osaba aberatsa da.*
"The uncle who comes every sunday is rich."

From now on, I will let non-finite relatives rest, as their role in the overall picture of Basque syntax is not nearly as central as that of finite relatives.

Now that we have clarified the nature of the restricted system, we must address ourselves to the more arduous task of determining the limits of the main system. We know that there are such limits, since (19)b is ungrammatical in the main system too.

In the examples of grammatical relative clauses that we have seen so far, there appears to be a rather close relation between the procedent noun phrase and the verb of the constituent sentence. In the ungrammatical example (19)b, which I repeat here for convenience:

(19)b **Bizibidea galdu dedan emakumea atzerritarra da.*

"The woman because of whom I have lost my job is a foreigner."

there is no particularly close relationship between the underlying procedent noun phrase *emakumearengatik* "because of the woman" and the verb *galdu* "to lose".

Trying to make this idea precise, we may be tempted to claim that the syntactic function of the procedent noun phrase must be such that it enters into the strict

subcategorization of its verb. (For the concept of “strict subcategorization”, see A.-N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Chapter II, § 2.3.3.) This characterization correctly excludes (19)b, it properly includes the restricted system, and it seems like a very natural constraint for a language with procedent deletion to impose on relativization. Unfortunately, it is not empirically adequate. On the one hand, it excludes relative clauses that are perfectly grammatical, such as (39):

- (39) Laister joango aiz beste maitasun batzuek izango ditunan etxera. (Martin Itziar, *Larraundiko Sendia*, p. 23).
 “Soon you will go to a house where you will have other love-relationships.”

It seems unlikely that a locative noun phrase, like *etxean* “in the house” is involved in the strict subcategorization of the verb *izan* “have”. On the other hand, the proposed characterization fails to exclude some relative clauses ungrammatical for everybody:

- (40) *Fidatzen nintzan gizonak emaztea ostu zidan.
 “The man whom I trusted stole my wife.”

Here the constituent sentence is:

- (40)a Gizonarengan fidatzen nintzan. “I trusted [in] the man.”

The verb *fidatu* “trust” is clearly subcategorized for animate noun phrase with the postposition *-(ren)gan* “in”. Yet, relativization on such a noun phrase is not possible.

From this it follows that strict subcategorization is irrelevant to relativization, so that we have to abandon this putative characterization of the main system.

A more careful investigation of the facts is therefore in order. It appears that relativizability depends on the underlying postposition that characterizes the syntactic function of the procedent. Hence, we can divide the Basque postpositions into two classes, according to whether or not relativization is possible. We will call a postposition relativizable if there is a well-formed relative clause such that its procedent carries this postposition. We will see later on in this section that it is necessary to add a provision to this definition of relativizable postposition, the provision being that the postposition on the postcedent (i.e. the coreferential noun phrase that appears in surface structure) is not morphologically identical to the deleted underlying postposition on the procedent.

Up to now, we have found the following postpositions to be relativizable: $-\emptyset$ (absolute), *-k* (ergative), *-ri* (dative), *-n* (locative). We will encounter three more: *-ra* (directional), *-tik* (ablative) and *-z* (instrumental). We have also met two non-relativizable postpositions: *-(ren)gatik* (motive) and *-(ren)gan* (animate locative).

Here are still a few more examples of relative clauses involving locative precedents. First an example of a non-restrictive one:

- (41) Baztanga dagoen etxe oiek gureak dira. (From: I. López-Mendizabal, *Manual de conversación castellano-euskera*, p. 355).
 “Those houses, in which there is smallpox, are ours.”

The constituent sentence is here:

(41)a Etxe oietan baztanga dago. "In those houses there is smallpox."

(42) Orain bizi naizen baserria erosteko asmoa det.
"I have the intention of buying the farm on which I now live."

Here too, the constituent sentence contains a locative:

(42)a Baserri batean bizi naiz. "I live on a farm."
(*Bizji izan*, like *vivir* in Spanish, means both "be alive" and "dwell".)

(43) Ez dakit nola atera arkitzen naizen egoera larritik.
"I don't know how to get out of the tight spot I find myself in."

The constituent sentence is here:

(43)a Egoera larri batean arkitzen naiz. "I find myself in a tight spot."

Relative clauses with a locative precedent are attested from the oldest texts on. In the earliest Basque book, Etxepare's *Linguae vasconum primitiae* (Bordeaux 1545), written in the Low-Navarrese dialect of the region of St. Jean Pied de Port, we read:

(44) Emazterik ez den lekhuyan ez dakusat plazerik. (From the poem *Emazten favore*, line 27).
"I don't see any pleasure in a place where there are no women."

And also:

(45) Andre hona den lekhura ailtxa itzak begiak. (From the poem *Andre Dona Maria*, A, 4r, line 2).
"Lift up your eyes to the place where the good Lady is."

Time expressions referring to a point in time or to a period of time are always constructed with the locative:

(46)a Seietan eldu nintzan. "I arrived at six o'clock."

(46)b Gabean lan egiten det. "I work at night."

Seietan is the locative plural of *sei* "six", the word *ordu* "time", "hour" being understood. *Gabean* is the locative singular of *gau* "night". Relative clauses on such time expressions are quite common:^{e)}

(47)a Mendiratu giñan eguna euritsua zan oso.
"The day we went to the mountains was very rainy."

Compare (47)b: Egun artan mendiratu giñan.
"On that day we went to the mountains."

(48)a Ondo gogoratzen naiz aita erori zan goizaz.
"I remember the morning that Father fell very well."

^{e)} Has we will see on page 112, examples already occur in the oldest texts we have. To the examples cited there we may add another one from Leizarraga's New Testament translation: ..., *hura berririk Iaincoaren resumán edanen dudan egunerako* (Mt. 14.25), "until the day when I will drink it again in the kingdom of God".

Compare (48)b: *Goiz batean aita erori egin zan.*
 “On a certain morning Father fell.”

What is the morpheme *egin* and what is it doing in (48)b? The utterance “on a certain morning Father fell” is usually taken as conveying an answer to the hypothetical question: What happened to Father (on a certain morning)? The act of falling is not presupposed, as it would be if the utterance was meant to answer the question: When did Father fall? or: Who fell on a certain morning?

If we want to couch the situation in more technical terms, we can say that (48)b focusses on the verb and not on any of the noun phrases in the sentence. Now in Basque, as we noted on page 88, a noun phrase in focus must be put immediately in front of the verb. In the Guipúzcoan dialect and in most, though not all, varieties of Bizcayan, this is also true of the verb itself: If the verb is in focus, it must be put immediately in front of what must then be the main verb, namely, *egin* “do” when transitive, “become” when intransitive. Whenever a verb is in focus, it cannot be conjugated, the verb *egin* will be conjugated in its place. So we will have: *erori egingo da* “he will fall”, and not: **eroriko egin da*. When the verb is not in focus, *egin* does not appear: *Noiz eroriko da?* “When will he fall?” Not: **Noiz erori egingo da?* All this applies to periphrastic verb forms only. Synthetic verb forms are focussed upon by means of the proclitic particle *ba*, as we saw on page 88.

We never find this emphatic *egin* in relative clauses, just as we do not find the affirmative particle *ba* in relative clauses.⁵⁾ The reason for this is easy to detect. Clearly, the procedent is the semantic pivot of a relative clause. Without a procedent, without the relation of identity holding between the procedent and the postcedent, a relative clause dissolves into ill-formed garbage. The procedent, then, is what is important in the constituent sentence, and, hence, there can be no focus different from this procedent. In particular, the verb of the constituent sentence can never be in focus. Therefore, (48)b is not the constituent sentence of (48)a, but rather (48)c is:

(48)c *Aita goiz batean erori zan.* “Father fell on a certain morning.”

In (48)c not the verb but the temporal adjunct *goiz batean* “on a certain morning” is in focus. Relative clauses with procedents referring to time occur frequently and can be found in the oldest texts we have. There are many examples in Leicarraga’s translation of the New Testament (La Rochelle 1571). To cite just one:

(49) ... *Lot Sodomatik ilkhi zen egunean...* (Luc. 17.29).
 “... on the day that Lot went out from Sodom...”

There is an even earlier example in the poetry of Etxepare, *Linguae vasconum primitiae* of 1545:

(50) *Bizi nizan egunetan, bada, ez zitut utziren.* (From the poem “Potaren Gal-datzia”, line 17). “I shall not leave you on the days that I live.”

⁵⁾ This statement could be somewhat softened, as shown by B. Oihartzabal and E. Osa Unamuno. As both these authors have shown, *ba-* is possible for at least some speakers, and as to emphatic *egin*, Oihartzabal concludes: “Une impossibilité rigoureuse semble peu probable, mais l’usage ordinaire semble s’y conformer”. (*Les relatives en basque*, p. 61).

The directional postposition *-ra* "to", and the ablative *-tik* "from" are relativizable:

- (51) I joan intzan tokian iñor ezin bizi litekek.
 "Nobody can live in the place where you went."

The constituent sentence is here:

- (51)a I toki ortara joan intzan. "You went to that place."

An example with a more concrete precedent is (52):

- (52) Sarri joaten naizen sagardotegia jendez beterik dago beti.
 "The ciderhouse where I often go is always full of people."

Here the constituent sentence is:

- (52)a Sarri sagardotegira joaten naiz. "I often go to the ciderhouse."⁸

Before giving some examples of relative clauses where the postposition on the precedente is *-tik*, I want to point out that glossing this postposition as "from" covers up an interesting difference between Basque and English. This is due, I claim, to a complication of English, not of Basque. A concrete example will make the matter clear.

- (53) Iruña'tik Donostiratu nintzan.
 (53)' "I went from Pamplona to San Sebastian."

The English sentence (53)' would normally be given as a gloss of (53). From (53)' it can be legitimately inferred not only that, having been in Pamplona I went on to San Sebastian, but also that my journey on that occasion actually started in Pamplona. Of course, I needn't have been in Pamplona for any great length of time. I might just have arrived there, Pamplona being the final destination of a previous journey. Still, sentence (53)' presents the journey it talks about as departing from Pamplona. If the journey did start somewhere else, not (53)' but (53)'' must be used:

- (53)'' I went to San Sebastian through (via, by way of) Pamplona.

The Basque sentence (53), however, merely says that the journey included a stretch from Pamplona to San Sebastian, regardless of where the journey originally started. Similarly, the Basque sentence (54):

- (54) Iruña'tik etorri naiz.

has to be rendered in English as either (54)' or (54)'':

- (54)' I have come from Pamplona. (54)'' I have come via Pamplona.

Likewise, (55) Basotik etorri naiz, is either (55)' or (55)'':

- (55)' I have come from the woods. (55)'' I have come through the woods.

⁸ A good example of underlying *-ra* from recent literature is: *Harria botatu didan begitik ez dut ezer ikusten.* (Peillen, *Gatu beltza*, 77), "I don't see anything with the eye that she threw a stone at".

Another way to bring out the difference between Basque and English is as follows: Given that any one who drives from Chicago to Urbana must pass through Kankakee, the question:

—Do you often drive from Kankakee to Urbana?

can still be answered with:

—No, but I often drive from Chicago to Urbana.

The corresponding Basque question, however;

—Askotan Kankateet'ik Urbana'ratzen al zera?

does not admit of such an answer.

—Ez, baiña askotan Chicago'tik Urbana'ratzen naiz.

would make no sense at all, under the circumstances.

I have carefully avoided using the term "ambiguous" when I was referring to the Basque sentences (53), (54) and (55). As I interpret the facts, these sentences are not ambiguous at all. All that happens is that English is forced to make a distinction unnecessary in Basque.

Languages which are like English in this respect seem to be more wide-spread than languages like Basque. In fact, Basque is the only language I know of in which "from" and "through" coincide in such a way that it is not always possible to decide for an individual sentence which of the two values, from an English point of view, was intended by the speaker.

In Turkish, the value of the postposition *dan/den* depends upon the head noun:

Izmirden geldim. "I came from Izmir."

Pencereden geldim. "I came through the window."

But, as Turkish speakers have told me, *Izmirden geldim* cannot ever mean "I came through Izmir". As E. Wayles Browne has pointed out to me, the same situation obtains for Persian, too. There we have:

Aez Izmir amaedaem. "I came from Izmir."

Aez paenjaere amaedaem. "I came through the window."

Here too, the first of the two sentences cannot mean "I came through Izmir". This must be translated as:

Aez raeh Izmir amaedaem. "I came through Izmir."

It is usually possible in Basque to express the meaning of "through" in such a way that the interpretation "from" is excluded. This is done, for instance, by using the adverb *zear* "across" in combination with the locative case of the head noun:

(56) Basoan zear etorri naiz. "I have come through the woods."

When the place that one goes through is thought of as a point rather than as an area, *zear* is not used:

(57) Zubi zaarretik etorri naiz. "I have come by way of the old bridge."

and not:

(57)a Zubi zaarrear zear etorri naiz. "I have come through the bridge."

unless the bridge covers a truly large area.

I will now give three examples of relative clauses where the procedent has the postposition *-tik*, two with the gloss "from" and one with the gloss "through":

(58) Zoaz etorri ziñan lekura! (A. M. Labayen, *California ... ku-ku!* page 149).
"Go to the place you came from!"

Compare (58)a: Leku aretatik etorri ziñan. "You came from that place."

(59) Noan irten nintzan etxe artara.
"Let me go to that house [from] which I left."

Compare: (59)a Etxe aretatik irten nintzan. "I left [from] that house."

(60) Itxi zazu sartu zeran atea!
"Close the door through which you have come in!"

Compare: (60)a Atetik sartu zera. "You have come in through the door."

Also relativizable is the instrumental postposition *-z*:

(61) Zuek ez zenduten gu konturatu giñan arriskua ikusten.
"You all did not see the danger that we had realized."

Compare: (61)a Arriskuaz konturatu giñan. "We had realized the danger."

The verb *konturatu* "realize", like *oroitu* "remember" *aaztu* "forget" and a few others, takes instrumental objects.^{h)}

With this, the list of relativizable postpositions is complete. No other postposition is relativizable. To illustrate, I will give a set of examples. In each of these, the a) sentence is grammatical, but cannot serve as a constituent sentence for a relative clause taking as its procedent the noun phrase fitted with the postposition under consideration. The b) sentences are the ungrammatical relative clauses that would have resulted from this process.

-rentzat "for".

(62)a Neska orrentzat ekarri ditut lore auek.
"I have brought these flowers for that girl."

(62)b *Lore auek ekarri ditudan neska negarrez dago.
"The girl for whom I have brought these flowers is crying."

^{h)} According to Dr. P. Goenaga, the ending *-z* in the meaning "about" is not relativizable: **Hitzegin gnenen erlojuak beti ordu bera ematen du*. "The clock that we talked about always gives the same time".

-(*ren*)*gatik* “because of”.

(63)a Emakume batengatik lanbidea galdu det.
“I have lost my job because of a woman.”

(63)b *Lanbidea galdu dedan emakumea atzerritarra da.
“The woman because of whom I have lost my job is a foreigner.”

-(*re*)*kin* “with”.

(64)a Neskata onekin mendian ibili naiz.
“I have walked with this girl in the mountains.”

(64)b *Mendian ibili naizen neskatxa maite det.
“I love the girl with whom I have walked in the mountains.”

-(*ren*)*gan* “in” (for animate noun phrases).

(65)a Gizon arengan ez naiz fio. “I don’t trust that man.”

(65)b *Fio ez naizen gizona kristau ona izan liteke.
“The man that I don’t trust could be a good Christian.”

(See also example (40))

-(*ren*)*gana* “to” (for animate noun phrases).

(66)a Euskaltzain askorengana jo degu, auzi au erabaki naiaz.
“In order to decide this question, we have turned to many Basque academicians (*Euskaltzain*).”

(66)b *Auzi au erabaki naiaz, jo degun euskaltzaiñak *b*-zale porrokatuak dira.
“The Basque academicians we have turned to in order to decide this question are fanatic *b*-supporters.”⁸

Do not confuse (66)b with (66)c, which is grammatical, but means something entirely different:

(66)c Auzi au erabaki naiaz, jo ditugun euskaltzainak *b*-zale porrokatuak dira.
“The Basque academicians we have beaten up in order to decide this question are fanatic *b*-supporters.”

Underlying the constituent sentence of (66)c we have (66)d:

(66)d Auzi au erabaki naiaz, euskaltzain batzuek jo ditugu.
“In order to decide this question, we have beaten up some Basque academicians.”

⁸ This sentence refers to the current controversy in Basque intellectual circles about whether or not *b* should be part of the future standard written language. In the three dialects spoken in the Northern Part of the Basque Country (to wit: Labourdin, Low-Navarrese and Souletin) *b* occurs and is distinctive, but in all other parts of the Basque area *b* is unknown, even phonetically.

Superficially, the only difference between (66)b and (66)c is in the auxiliary: *ditugu* in (66)c and *degu* in (66)b. Both forms indicate a first person plural agent (*-gu* "we"), but, in addition, *ditugu* is marked for a plural object, while *degu* is unmarked for plurality of object.

In (66)c, *jo*, constructed with a direct object, is the verb "beat (up)", whereas in (66)b, *jo*, constructed with a directional object and without an expressed direct object, means "turn to". The latter use of *jo* probably comes from *atea jo*, "knock on the door". As we have seen, finite verb forms agree in number (and person) with a direct object, but not with a directional object.

-(ren)gandik "from" (for animate noun phrases).

(67)a Irakaslearengandik ikasi ditut egia auk.
"I have learned these truths from the teacher."

(67)b *Egia auk ikasi ditudan irakasleak euskeraz itz egiten du.
"The teacher from whom I have learned these truths speaks Basque."

-(ren)ganontz "towards" (for animate noun phrases).

(68)a Gudarienganontz aurreratzen gera.
"We are advancing towards the soldiers."

(68)b *Aurreratzen geran gudariak armarik gabe gelditu dira.
"The soldiers towards whom we are advancing have remained without arms."

-(ren)ganaiño "as far as, up to" (for animate noun phrases).

(69)a Errege arek Aita Santuarenganaiño biali zituen mezulariak.
"That king sent messengers even to the Pope."

(69)b *Errege arek mezulariak biali zituen Aita Santuak ez zien jaramonik egin.
"The Pope up to whom that king sent messengers paid no attention to them."

-rontz "towards" (For inanimate noun phrases).

(70)a Mendi oietarontz bideratzen gera.
"We are starting out towards those mountains there."

(70)b *Bideratzen geran mendiak emendik eun kilometro daude.
"The mountains towards which we are starting out are a hundred kilometers from here."

-raiño "as far as", "up to" (For inanimate noun phrases).

(71)a Zurekin munduaren bazterreraíño ibiliko nintzake.
"I would walk as far as to the end of the world with you."

(71)b *Zurekin ibiliko ez nintzakeen bazterrik ez dago.
"There is no spot as far as which I would not walk with you."

Of course, (71)b can be grammatical when the postposition on the precedent is assumed to be either *-ra* "to" or *-n* "in": "There is no spot to which I would not walk with you" or "There is no spot in which I would not walk with you".

We have reached the end of our survey of postpositions. To recapitulate our findings:

Relativizable postpositions are:

Ø	: absolutive,	<i>-ra</i>	: directional,
<i>-k</i>	: ergative,	<i>-tik</i>	: ablative,
<i>-ri</i>	: dative,	<i>-z</i>	: instrumental.
<i>-n</i>	: locative,		

Non-relativizable postpositions are:

<i>-(re)kin</i>	: "with" (sociative),
<i>-rentzat</i>	: "for" (benefactive),
<i>-(ren)gatik</i>	: "because of" (motive),
<i>-(ren)gan</i>	: "in" (for + Animate Noun phrases),
<i>-(ren)gana</i>	: "to" (for + Animate Noun phrases),
<i>-(ren)gandik</i>	: "from" (for + Animate Noun phrases),
<i>-(ren)ganontz</i>	: "towards" for + Animate Noun phrases),
<i>-(ren)ganaino</i>	: "as far as" (for + Animate Noun phrases),
<i>-rontz</i>	: "towards" (for – Animate Noun phrases),
<i>-raino</i>	: "as far as" (for – Animate Noun phrases).

What I have just given amounts to the worst possible characterization of relativizability: a mere list of cases. Are there, then, no generalizations waiting to be captured here? Is there no better way of characterizing relativizability? I think there is.

Indeed I have found several better ways of characterizing relativizability: (I), (II), (III) and (IV). Of these, the least satisfactory one is (I) and the most satisfactory one is (IV). (IV) indeed seems to express best the generalization that underlies relativizability in Basque. Let us have, first of all, characterization (I).

Characterization (I):

Phonologically light postpositions —that is, postpositions consisting of not more than three segments— are relativizable, but phonologically heavy postpositions (four or more segments) are non-relativizable.

The optional elements *-re-* in *-(re)kin* and *-ren-* in *-(ren)gan*, etc., are to be counted here as part of the underlying form of the postposition, deletable by a late morphophonemic rule of Possessive Deletion.

From a strictly formal point of view, this characterization is unimpeachable. We have succeeded in establishing an if-and-only-if relation between relativizability and something entirely different. Yet, we don't feel satisfied, for seldom has a characterization been advanced that provides as little insight into the phenomenon charac-

terized as this one offers. Why on earth should a deep syntactic property, which relativizability certainly is, be tied to such a superficial phonological attribute as the number of segments in a postposition?

The only merit of characterization (I) may well be that it provides an irrefutable—although rather trivial—example of a valid generalization that is not linguistically significant. Fortunately, it is possible to restate this characterization in a more palatable form:

Characterization (II):

Morphologically simple postpositions are relativizable. Morphologically complex postpositions are non-relativizable.

This looks somewhat less adhoc than the previous formulation, since it suggests that the characterization may have, after all, a syntactic basis rather than a purely phonological one.

To see that it fits the facts, we must look again at the list of postpositions. The unanalyzability of the relativizable postpositions is clear from simple inspection. Now, as we look at the non-relativizable postpositions, we notice that the great majority of them contain a formative *-ren* (*-re* in the case of *-(re)kin*). According to Azkue's *Diccionario vasco-español-francés*, 1905, (see Vol. I, p. 323, under *gan*), this formative is optional in Roncalese and Souletin, invariably present in High Navarrese, Low Navarrese and Northern Guipúzcoan, and absent in Bizcayan and southern Guipúzcoan. My own experience indicates that it can be considered optional in the whole of Guipúzcoa, although the southern area tends to use it less than the northern area does. As I mentioned above, I will assume that the formative *-ren* is always there in the underlying structure, and account for its absence by the operation of a morphophonemic deletion rule.

This formative can be identified with the genitive suffix. It has not only the same phonetic form as the genitive marker, it also has the same morphophonemic behavior. The following table will demonstrate this, using the lexical items *lan* "work", *idi* "ox", *alaba* "daughter", *ni* "I", *i* "you" (familiar), *gu* "we", and the postposition *-(ren)gatik* "because of". All other postpositions beginning with *-ren* (and also *-rekin* "with") behave in exactly the same fashion. For the sake of terminological homogeneity, I will call forms carrying the postposition *-(ren)gatik* "motive" forms.

The table has three columns. They correspond to what Basque grammarians have called the three "declensions" of the noun: an undetermined declension, a determined singular declension and a determined plural declension.

The undetermined forms can only be used in certain well-defined syntactic environments, e.g., after the adjectival interrogatives *zer* "what" and *zein* "which": *Zein idirengatik kezkatzen zera?* "Because of which ox (or oxen) are you worried?" or: "Which ox (or oxen) are you worried about?"

As personal pronouns are semantically definite and occur in none of those contexts, I have classified them with the determined forms, although they lack any overt morphological manifestation of determinedness.

CASE	UNDETERMINED	DETERMINED	DETERMINED PLURAL
Absolutive	lan	lana	lanak
Genitive	lanen	lanaren	lanen
Motive	lanengatik	lanarengatik	lanengatik
Absolutive	idi	idia	idiak
Genitive	idiren	idiaren	idien
Motive	idirengatik	idiarengatik	idiengatik
Absolutive	alaba	alaba	alabak
Genitive	alabaren	alabaren	alaben
Motive	alabarengatik	alabarengatik	alabengatik
Absolutive	—	ni	—
Genitive	—	nera	—
Motive	—	nerengatik	—
Absolutive	—	i	—
Genitive	—	ira	—
Motive	—	irengatik	—
Absolutive	—	—	gu
Genitive	—	—	gure
Motive	—	—	gurengatik

I have not indicated here the *y*-glide, which many varieties of Basque in Guipúzcoa and elsewhere will insert between *i* and a low vowel, giving *idiya*, *idiyen* instead of *idia*, *idien*. (For the details of this rule and other similar rules, see my paper "Vowel Interaction in Bizcayan Basque", *FLV* 2 (1970), 149-167, included in this volume).

Our table shows that in all instances, the motive has the form of the genitive followed by the suffix *-gatik*. Therefore, the formative *-ren* in motive and other forms and the genitive marker *-ren* share exactly the same irregular behavior. It can be argued, as I did in my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?" (*FLV* 1 (1969), 319-351) (page 337-338 [in this volume]), that the different forms of the genitive of nouns in the three declensions can all be accounted for by regular phonological processes. Thus, I derived a form like *idien* "of the oxen" from an underlying *idi-a-g-ren*, where *a* is an article, *g* a plural marker and *ren* the genitive suffix. The synchronic validity of this derivation is not beyond question, but even if it is correct, it provides no account of the way in which the genitive suffix combines with personal pronouns. As the table shows, the genitives of the pronouns *ni* "I", *i* "you" and *gu* "we" are *nera*, *ira* and *gure*, not the expected forms **niren*, **iren* and **guen*. This is a true irregularity, an irregularity shared by the genitive marker and a whole set of other suffixes.

The conclusion, then, that these other suffixes are based on the genitive is obvious and has been drawn explicitly by most native grammarians. So, e.g., I. M. Omaechevarria in his work *Euskera*: "*Etxearentzat*, *etxearengatik* y aun *etxearekin* se pueden considerar como derivaciones del posesivo *etxearen*". (*Op. cit.* p. 3) (*Etxearentzat* ("for the house"), *etxearengatik* ("because of the house") and even *etxearekin* ("with the house") can be considered as forms derived from the possessive *etxearen* ("of the house").

It hardly needs to be mentioned that the deletion rule that I have postulated to account for the free variation between *idiarengatik* and *idiagatik*, both meaning “because of the ox”, does not delete the phonological sequence *ren*. Rather, it deletes a token of the genitive marker, no matter what its superficial shape is. Thus, the result of applying it to the form *neregatik* “because of me” is not **negatik*; but *nigatik*.

We have still to show the morphological complexity of the postpositions *-rontz* = and *-rainño*. As a start, we note that *-rontz* and *-rainño* have a common semantic element: “goal-directed motion”. To this common element, *-rontz* adds the notion that the goal is not necessarily intended to be achieved, and *-rainño* adds the notion of the attainment of the goal despite possible contrary expectations. The morphological analysis matches the semantic analysis rather nicely: *-rontz* < *-ra* + *untz*, like *-ganontz* < *-gana* + *untz*. Similarly, *-rainño* < *-ra* + *ñño*, like *-ganainño* < *-gana* + *ñño*. (The *i* of *rainño* is merely orthographical here). The suffix *-ñño* has independent existence, for it can also combine with relativized verbal forms. In that case, its value is “until” when the verb is perfective, and “as long as” when the verb is durative. Examples are:

(72)a *Zaude emen, ama itzultzen daño.* (= *dan* + *ñño*)
 “Stay here, until Mother comes back.”

(72)b *Zaude emen, euria ari daño.* “Stay here, as long as it is raining.”

In present-day Guipúzcoan, however, this use of *-ñño* is practically obsolete, so that its distribution here is fairly limited: it must follow *-ra* or *-gana*.

The formative *-ra*, which is part of *-rontz* and *-rainño* is identical to the postposition *-ra*, meaning “to”. This accounts for the motional sense of the two postpositions.

Of the suffix *-untz*, I. M. Echaide says “hoy no se usa solo”; (Nowadays it is not used by itself). This quote is from his work *Tratado de sufijación* (2-nd edition, 1931) page 188. I may add that there is no evidence that it was ever used by itself. We always find it only in combination with *-ra* or *-gana*. Yet, in spite of its limited distribution, Echaide considers *-untz* a suffix.

The form *-rontz* that I have been using is a typically Guipúzcoan form of the suffix. There are dialectal variants: *-runtz* (Bizcayan and partly Guipúzcoan), *-rantz* Bizcayan and North-Western High Navarrese), and, furthermore, some forms in which the *-n* has been lost: *-rutz* (Bizcayan) and *-raz* (Roncalese). The existence of these forms provides indirect justification for our analysis, as they can all be derived from the form *-rauntz* by means of well-attested diachronic developments. In this connection, see L. Michelena, *Fonética histórica vasca*; for *au* > *a* see section 4.5, for *au* > *o* and *au* > *u* see section 4.6.

Restricting himself to the form *-rantz* of his native speech, N. Ormaetxea (see R. M. de Azkue, *Morfología vasca*, I § 504) has proposed an etymology for *-antz*, which consists in identifying it with a noun *antz* that means “appearance”, “likeness”. Without any evidence, Ormaetxea postulates that *antz* also meant “face”, and then invokes parallels from the neighbouring Romance languages to explain the role of the noun for “face” in a postposition meaning “toward”. He quotes High Aragonese *cara al monte* for “toward the mountain”, and Castillian *hacia el monte*, where *hacia* derives from an older form *faze a*, with *faze* meaning “face”. (Cf. J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, II, p. 864) for Ormaetxea, then, the postpositional phrase *mendirantz* “toward the mountain” derives from *mendirantz* “(with) the face to the mountain”.

Although Azkue seems to approve of this etymology, I have my reservations, and if I were forced to speculate along the lines opened up by Ormaetxea, I would prefer to interpret *mendira antz* as “like to the mountain”, “as if to the mountain” (not necessarily counterfactual), noting that a person who goes toward the mountain acts in very much the same way as if he were going to it.

To put it more simply, there is an obvious similarity between going “to” the mountain and going “toward” the mountain: hence the form *-ra antz*. LIKE TO, where LIKE is to be interpreted as a reflexive predicate, is an appropriate paraphrase for *-rantz*; moreover, *-antz* is attested as a suffix in just the required meaning:

gorri “red”; *gorrantz* “reddish” (i.e. “like red but not necessarily red”),
ori “yellow”; *orantz* “yellowish”,
zuri “white”; *zurantz* “whitish”,
gazi “salted”; *gaziantz* “slightly salted”,
otz “cold”; *otzantz* “a little chilly”.

This use of *-antz* is no longer productive or even common. It is known only in scattered localities in Guipúzcoa, Bizcaya and Low-Navarra. (Cf. R. M. de Azkue, *Diccionario vasco-español-francés*, I, page 47, and P. Múgica, *Diccionario castellano-vasco*, s.v. *rojizo*, *amarillento*, *blanquecino*, *saladillo*). While I do deem this etymology a little more plausible than the one Ormaetxea offered, I do not endorse either of them, if only because they fail to account for the dialectal variants *-rontz*, *-runtz*. These point to an older form *-rauntz*, where *-untz* remains of unknown origin.

Nor, of course, are we interested in etymology here. What we have to establish is the synchronic complexity of the postpositions *-rontz* and *-raino*. We have to show that these postpositions can be further analysed in a way psychologically real to the native speaker.

It is already clear from the preceding discussion that *-ra* and *-rontz* (or *-raino*) are not unrelated elements in the language. To start with, the shape of the morphemes and the dialectal variants adduced earlier strongly suggest a morphological relationship between *-ra* and *-rontz*. They are related semantically in that they both contain the notion “goal-directed motion”. They are also syntactically related in that any grammatical sentence remains grammatical when *-rontz* is substituted for by *-ra*. This is a one-sided distributional relation; its converse does not hold. Achievement verbs, for example, take *-ra* but not *-rontz*:

(73)a Donostira iritxi giñan. “We reached San Sebastian.”

(*Iritxi* is an achievement verb, meaning “reach”, “arrive”).

(73)b *Donostirontz iritxi giñan. “*We reached toward San Sebastian.”

(74)a Nekatuta eldu zan etxera. “He arrived at home tired.”

(*Eldu* “arrive”, *nekatu* “get tired”, *nekatuta* “tired”).

(74)b *Nekatuta eldu zan etxerontz. “*He arrived toward home tired.”

Now, from the assumption that *-rontz* is a modification of *-ra*, it follows that the distribution of *-rontz* is included in that of *-ra*. An analysis, however, that fails to

relate *-ra* and *-rontz* has no way of accounting for any such distributional relation. Furthermore, as far as the psychological reality of the relationship goes, what is interesting in Ormaetxea's concern with *-rontz* is not so much the actual etymology that he proposes, but rather the fact that he, as a native speaker, feels the need to justify an analysis that shows this postposition to be a derivative of the directional *-ra*.

All things considered, I conclude that we are warranted to attribute at least cranberry-status to these postpositions: Native speakers of Basque feel that *-rontz* (and similarly *-raiño*) is *-ra* + something, like native speakers of English feel that a cranberry is some kind of a berry. Granted that *-rontz* and *-raiño* are morphologically complex, what syntactic surface structure can we assign them? A configuration of the form



would be very unusual, and has not been needed, to my knowledge, in any syntactic analysis to date. A more plausible assumption is therefore that the structure we have here is the one shown in diagram (2).

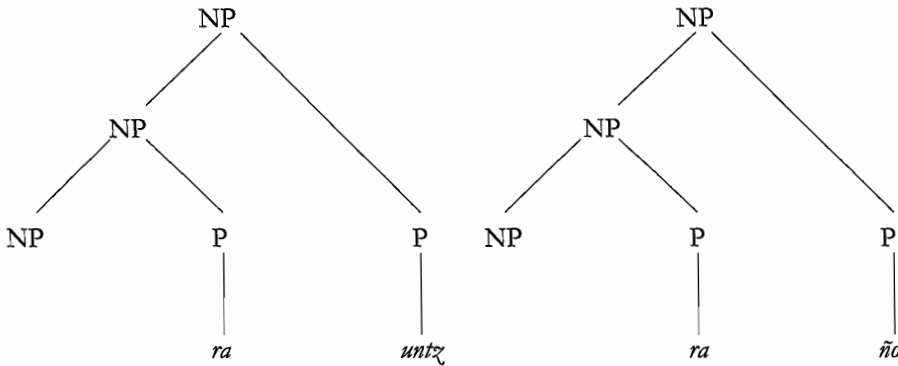


Diagram (2)

The postpositions *untz* and *ño* are subject to a constraint which will ensure that they appear only when in construction with a postpositional phrase on the postposition *-ra*. Exactly how and where this constraint will be stated I am, at present, unable to ascertain.

Whether or not diagram (2) gives an adequate picture of the structure of postpositional phrases with *-rontz* and *-raiño*, the morphological complexity, and with it the validity of characterization (II), has been sufficiently established.

Characterization (III) follows directly from the proof of characterization (II) as given above.

Characterization (III):

Postpositions based on the genitive are non-relativizable. Postpositions based on the directional are also non-relativizable. All other postpositions, including the directional *-ra* itself, are relativizable.

In order to arrive at what I consider to be the most satisfactory characterization of relativizability, characterization (IV), we must find out more about the syntactic structure of the non-relativizable postpositions that are based on the genitive. Since such postpositional phrases contain the genitive morpheme, it is natural to suppose that they are also syntactically speaking, genitive constructions. To investigate this possibility, we will compare a genitive construction such as *apaizaren liburutik* "from the book of the priest" with a postpositional phrase such as *apaizarengatik* "because of the priest".

A reasonable structure for *apaizaren liburutik* is shown in diagram (3). Postulating the exact same structure for *apaizarengatik* we obtain diagram (4).

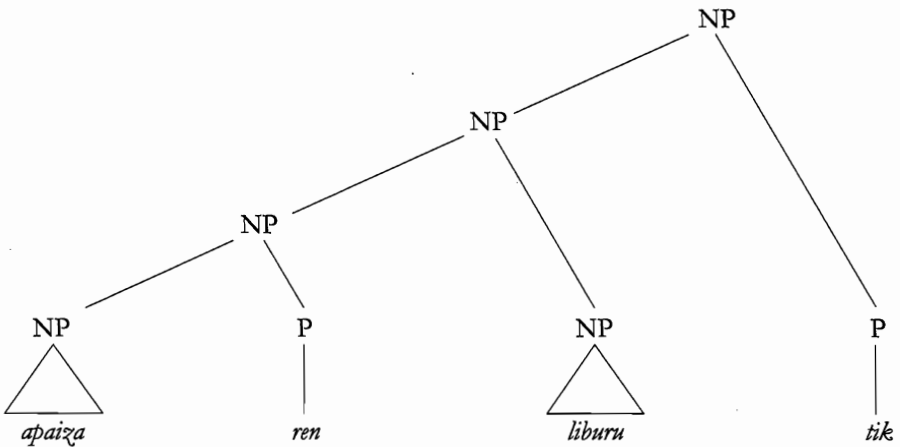


Diagram (3)

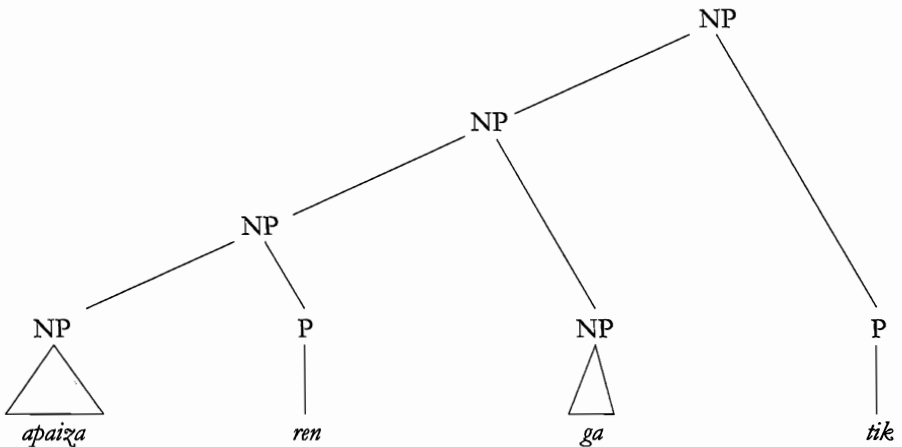


Diagram (4)

Diagram (4) as a representation of *apaizarengatik* "because of the priest" is not without some justification. There is a noun *gai* "matter" and the Bizcayan form of *gatik* is *-gaitik*. All by itself, the postposition *-tik* can, in certain contexts, mean "because of" as in:

(75)a Ura etortzetik ni etxean gelditu nintzan.
 "Because of his coming, I stayed at home."

(75)b Onera etorri naizenetik Donostira joango naiz.
 "Since I have come here, I will go to San Sebastian."

(Both examples have been taken from D. J. de Alzo, *Estudios sobre el euskera hablado* (p. 23), who lists *por* "because" among the possible meanings of the postposition *-tik*). Thus, deriving *apaizarengatik* "because of the priest" from *apaizaren gaitik* "from the matter of the priest" does not seem altogether unreasonable.

Of course, for a postpositional phrase like *apaizarentzat* "for the priest", which is also a non-relativizable postposition based on the genitive, there is no justification of this sort for an analysis like that given in diagram (4). In fact, even for *apaizarengatik*, the analysis of diagram (4) cannot stand. There are significant syntactic differences between genitive constructions such as *apaizaren liburutik* and complex postpositional phrases such as *apaizarengatik* which demolish the credibility of diagram (4).

To start with, the segmentation of *gatik* into *ga(i)* and *tik* may or may not be correct from an etymological point of view, it is totally unjustifiable from a synchronic point of view. There is no noun *ga*, and the second syllable of *gatik* is not a morpheme, in particular it is not the postposition *-tik*. Two observations are sufficient to show this: From *Apaizaren liburutik eta ijitoaren liburutik* "from the book of the priest and from the book of the gypsy" we can derive *Apaizaren liburu eta ijitoaren liburutik* "from the book of the priest and the book of the gypsy", in which the postposition *-tik* attaches to the whole conjoined noun phrase: (*Apaizaren liburu ta ijitoaren liburu*)*tik*. But, from *Apaizarengatik eta ijitoarengatik* "because of the priest and because of the gypsy" we never get a phrase like **Apaizarenga ta ijitoarengatik*. This, now, could simply be dismissed as a consequence of the fact that there is no surface noun *ga*. The following observation is therefore more important.

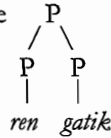
In *Apaizaren liburutik eta ijitoaren liburutik* "from the book of the priest and from the book of the gypsy" we can pronominalize the second occurrence of the noun *liburu* "book" and derive: *Apaizaren liburutik eta ijitoarenetik* "from the book of the priest and from the one of the gypsy". But from *Apaizarengatik eta ijitoarengatik* we cannot derive **Apaizarengatik eta ijitoarenetik* by pronominalization of the second occurrence of *ga*.

We must thus conclude that *gatik* is a single constituent. It is also clear that *gatik* is not a noun phrase; it has none of the properties of noun phrases: it cannot take determiners, postpositions or adjectives, etc. Moreover, the whole construction *apaizarengatik* "because of the priest" behaves quite differently from a genitive construction: Alongside *Apaizaren liburua eta ijitoaren liburua* "the book of the priest and the book of the gypsy", we also have *Apaizaren eta ijitoaren liburua* "the book of the priest and of the gypsy". But alongside *Apaizarengatik eta ijitoarengatik* "because of the priest and

because of the gypsy" we do not have **Apaizaren eta ijitoarengatik* "because of the priest and of the gypsy".³⁾

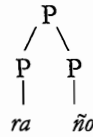
Since the postpositional phrase *apaizarengatik* acts in no way like a genitive construction, I conclude that it can not be analyzed like one, in spite of the presence of the genitive marker *ren*. *Ren* and *gatik* are both single postpositions and no further structure can be justified at the level that I am working on. What then is the structure of *apaizarengatik*?

We can discard the structure



on the same ground

as we discarded the structure



and we are left

with only one possibility: the one shown in diagram (5).

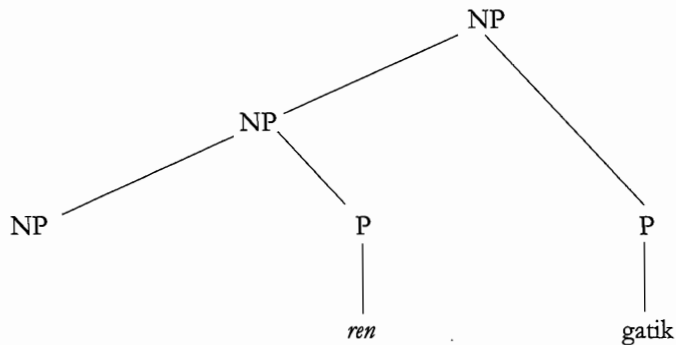


Diagram (5)

Gatik requires the presence of the postposition *ren*, and it requires it to occur in precisely the above configuration, although, as we have seen, Possessive Deletion may remove it from the surface structure. This explains why **Apaizaren eta ijitoarengatik* (see page 121) is impossible, since the structure of this conjoined noun phrase, shown in diagram (6), does not satisfy the requirement because of the intervening circled NP.

³⁾ Although this example was rejected by the informants I had consulted, similar examples from Basque literature are cited in *EGLU IV*, p. 43.

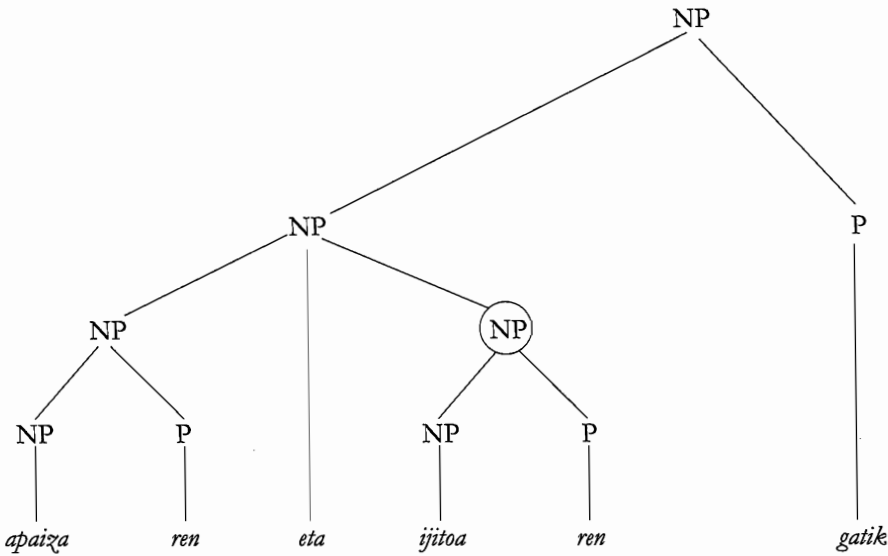
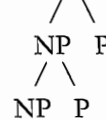


Diagram (6)

Noting the identity in structure between diagram (2) and diagram (5), which together take care of all non-relativizable postpositions, we have arrived at characterization (IV), basically a restatement of characterization (II) in syntactic terms.

Characterization (IV):

Relativization cannot apply to postpositional phrases of the form $\begin{matrix} \text{NP} \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \text{NP} \quad \text{P} \end{matrix}$ but only



to those of the form $\begin{matrix} \text{NP} \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \text{NP} \quad \text{P} \end{matrix}$. This can be formulated in an even simpler way:



Characterization (IV)a:

Only postpositional phrases of the form $\begin{matrix} \text{NP} \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \text{NP} \quad \text{P} \end{matrix}$ where the lower of the two NP's



does not immediately dominate a P can undergo relativization.

There are two special cases that our characterizations do not cover: Special case (A) and special case (B).

Special case (A):

When the postposition on the postcedent (i.e. the head noun phrase) is the same as the underlying postposition on the procedent (i.e. the deleted lower noun phrase), relativization is always possible, even when that postposition is otherwise non-relativizable.

This, of course, was the reason why we added a special provision against just this situation in our definition of relativizable postposition on page 86. Had we not done that, all postpositions would, strictly speaking, be relativizable.

We have seen that *-(re)kin* "with" is a non-relativizable postposition. Accordingly, (76)a is impossible. Unexpectedly, however, (76)b is grammatical:

(76)a *Mendian ibili naizen emakumea ederra da.

"The woman with whom I have walked in the mountains is beautiful."

(76)b Mendian ibili naizen emakumearekin ezkondu nai det.

"I want to marry [with] the woman with whom I have walked in the mountains."

Diego J. de Alzo in his work *Estudios sobre el euskera hablado* (p. 81) cites an example of just this type:

(77) Joan naizen gizonekin eraman det.

"I have suffered with the men with whom I have gone."

The matrix sentence is here:

(77)a Gizonekin eraman det. "I have suffered with the men."

The constituent sentence is:

(77)b Gizonekin joan naiz. "I have gone with the men."

Normally, a noun phrase carrying the postposition *-(re)kin* cannot be a procedent for a well-formed relative clause. But because the postcedent carries the same postposition, relativization goes through according to special case (A). A last example of this special case involves the non-relativizable postposition *-(ren)gatik* "because of".

(78)a *Pello'k bere burua il zuen emakumea ederra da.

"The woman because of whom Pello killed himself is beautiful."

(78)b Pello'k bere burua il zuen emakumearengatik Andres'ek ere bere burua il nai du.

"Andres too wants to kill himself because of the woman because of whom Pello killed himself."

Special case (A) provides an argument for deriving relative clauses from coordinate sentences. To see why, let us consider the conjoined sentence (78)c.

(78)c Pello'k emakumearengatik bere burua il zuen eta Andres'ek ere emakumearengatik bere burua il nai du.

"Pello killed himself because of the woman and Andres too wants to kill himself because of the woman."

In this sentence, there is complete identity in structure between the two occurrences of the noun phrase *emakumearengatik* "because of the woman". If something like (78)c underlies (78)b, and if the Structural Description of Relative NP Deletion is able to refer to a sufficiently early stage in the derivation, the complete identity between the two occurrences of *emakumearengatik* will allow the transformation to apply, taking for the identical noun phrases in its Structural Description the noun phrases *emakumea* together with their postpositions *-rengatik*.¹⁾

In a structure like that of diagram (1), however, there can be no structural identity between the two occurrences of *emakumearengatik*, since the postposition *-rengatik* on the second occurrence of *emakumea* will modify the whole relative clause construction *Pello'k (emakumearengatik) bere burua il zuen emakumea* rather than just the noun phrase *emakumea*. In other words, in the structure given in diagram (1), the topmost NP may have a postposition associated with it, but the two coreferential noun phrases NP_i must be noun phrases that do not immediately dominate a non-zero postposition, for, otherwise, they could not be structurally identical.

As this is the only argument specific to Basque that I have been able to find for deriving relative clauses from conjoined sentences,⁹ and as the details of such a derivation are rather unclear, I will not pursue this matter any further.

I now leave special case (A) and pass on to special case (B).

Special case (B):

When the head noun of a relative clause is "semantically related" to a non-relativizable postposition, relativization on this postposition is possible. An example will make clear what I mean by "semantically related":

(79)a Arrazoi onengatik nere burua il nai nuen.
"For this reason I wanted to kill myself."

(79)b Nere burua il nai nuen arrazoi az ez naiz gogoratzen.
"I don't remember the reason why I wanted to kill myself."

Here the head noun of the relative clause, *arrazoi* "reason", is semantically related to the postposition (*ren*)*gatik*. (79)b, then, is a good sentence, although (79)a shows that the procedent *arrazoi* must have had the non-relativizable postposition (*ren*)*gatik* in the constituent sentence. I have no explanation to offer for this fact.

Ignoring the complications introduced by special cases (A) and (B), we can state the transformation of Relative NP Deletion as follows:

⁹ As Prof. D. M. Perlmutter has noticed, the reasoning given here is an argument for a derivation in which the procedent and the postcedent originate in separate sentences, but, no inference can be drawn as to the way in which these two sentences are connected to each other, by conjunction, or otherwise.

¹⁾ Notice that this argument presupposes a type of grammar in which NP and PP belong to the same deep structure category, as was assumed by early generative semanticists like P. Postal and J. R. Ross. At present, I would consider the phrase *emakumearengatik* a PP, and not an NP.

W	—	[_{NP}	[_S	X	—	NP	—	(P)	—	Y	—	V] _S	—	COMP	—	NP	—	(P)] _{NP}	—	Z
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	⇒										
1		2	∅	∅	5	6	7	8	9	10											

- Conditions: 1) 3 = 8,
 2) 3 does not immediately dominate a P.
 3) 5 does not begin with a P.

Conditions 2) and 3) are merely there to ensure that characterization (IV) a is satisfied, so that relativization is possible.

The variable Y in the Structural Description is an essential variable. Relativization in Basque, as in English, can go indefinitely far down in the tree:

- (80) Zoroa dala guztiak dakitela esan zizutela idatzi zenidala uste dedan ijitoak musu eman zidan.

“The gypsy I believe you wrote me they told you everybody knows is crazy kissed me.”

The suffix *-la* that we find here added to the finite verb forms *da* “(he) is”, *dakite* “(they) know”, *zizuten* “(they) had (to you)”, *zenidan* “(you) had (to me)” is comparable in function to the English complementizer *that*. Unlike its English counterpart, however, *-la* never occurs in the function of a relative marker. The relativizer is always *-n*, as in *uste dedan* “who I believe”, or *-neko* (see pages 23-24), an extended version of *-n*. Diagram (7) pictures the structure of sentence (80) immediately before Relative NP Deletion applies.

The Island Constraints

As sentence (80) demonstrates, when a procedent has a relativizable postposition, the clause containing the postcedent need not be the next higher clause in order for relativization to be possible. Sentence (80) was an extreme example of this kind of situation; a few more examples will be useful to illustrate the kind of relative clause constructions that are grammatical and also easily accepted—and sometimes used—by native speakers.

- (81)a Ara non dezuten gaur etorriko ez zala ziozuten gizona!
 (From I. López Mendizabal, *Manual de conversación*, p. 353)
 “There is the man who you said would not come today!”
- (81)b Franco’ren alde dala dakigun legegizonak zurekin itz egin nai du.
 “The lawyer who we know is on Franco’s side wants to talk to you.”
- (81)c Zeukan guztia ostu ziotela aitak esan zigun esnekaria alargun aberats batekin ezkontzera doa.
 “The milkman Father told us they had stolen all he had from, is going to marry a rich widow.”
- (81)d Geienik etxeko andrea naizela iruditzen zaidan tokia oillotegia da.
 “The place where it seems to me that I am most the lady of the house is the chicken-run.”

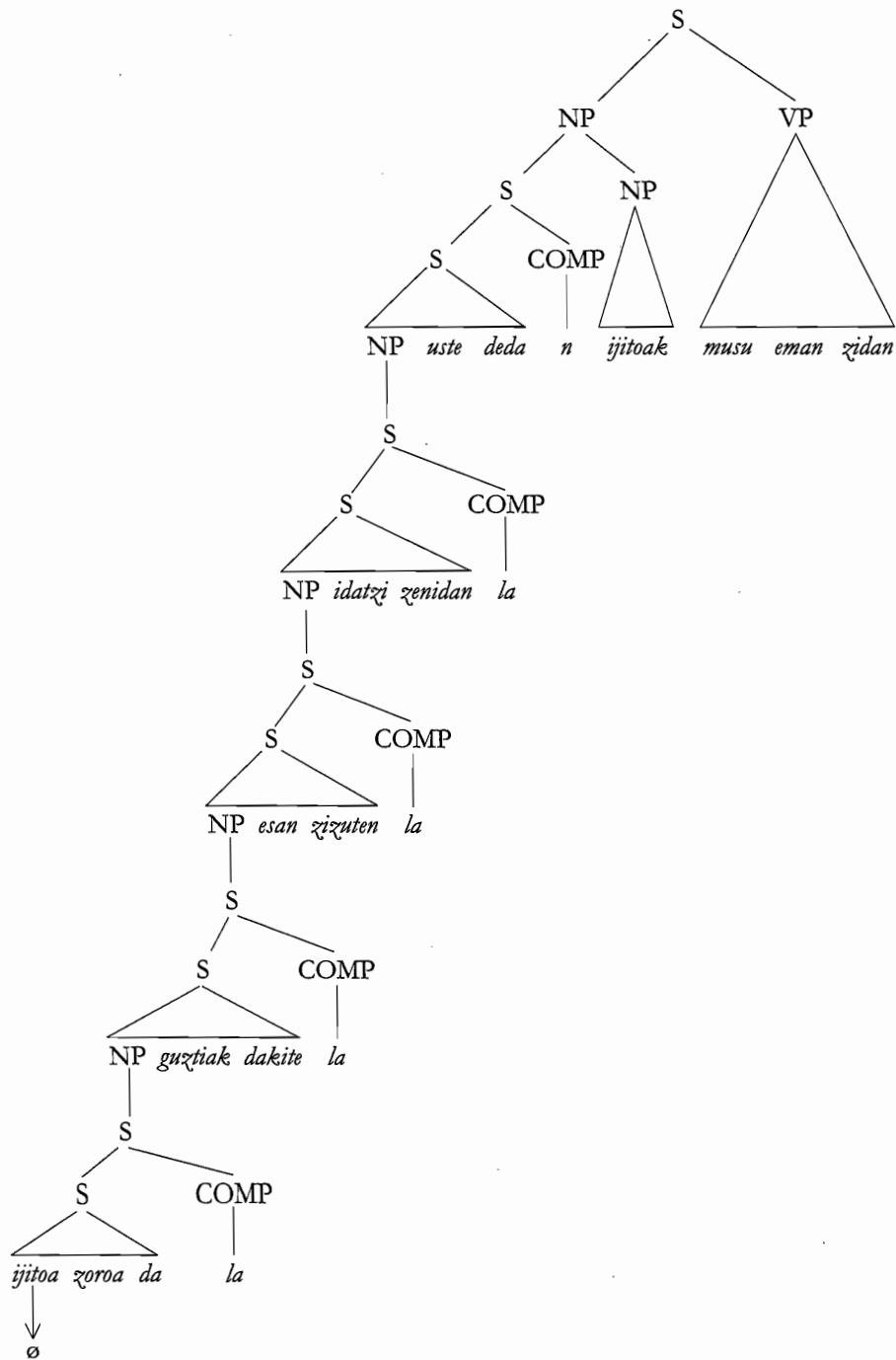


Diagram (7)

(81)e Etorri ez zitezela nai nukean gizon asko etorri ziran.
 “*Many people came who I would have liked that would not come.”

(81)f Franco'ren alde ote dan ez dakidan apaiz batek zure galdera egin du.
 “*A priest who I do not know if he is on Franco's side has asked for you.”

At times, the English version of such sentences is extremely awkward or even ungrammatical; yet the Basque sentences are quite natural and easily understood by any native speaker of the Guipúzcoan dialect.^{k)}

It is not possible to relativize when the procedent is in a coordinate structure. The Coordinate Structure Constraint as formulated by J. R. Ross (*Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, 1967, § 4.2) holds for Basque.

Examples: Take the conjoined sentence (82):

(82) Andres'i dirua prestatu nion eta bere semea Ameriketara zijoan.
 “I lent Andres money and his son went to the Americas.”

This sentence cannot be turned into a relative clause on *dirua* “the money”.

(82)a *Andres'i prestatu nion eta bere semea Ameriketara zijoan dirua bear det.
 “*I need the money that I lent Andres and his son went to the Americas.”

It is not possible either to relativize out of conjoined structures other than sentences. Procedents can never be conjoined with other noun phrases, although the procedent as a whole may be a conjoined noun phrase. From a constituent sentence like (83)a and a matrix sentence like (83)b, there can be no relative clause on the procedent *Zamudio*: (83)c is ungrammatical.

(83)a Aitak Zamudio'n eta Bilbo'n igaro zuen gaztaroa.
 “My father spent his boyhood in Zamudio and in Bilbao.”

(83)b Aitak Zamudio'n bezela itz egin zuen.
 “My father talked like (they do) in Zamudio.”

(83)c *Aitak gaztaroa eta Bilbo'n igaro zuen Zamudio'n bezela itz egin zuen.
 “*My father talked like in Zamudio, where and in Bilbao he spent his boyhood.”

Inverting the two conjuncts does not make the sentence any better:

(83)d *Aitak gaztaroa Bilbo'n eta igaro zuen Zamudio'n bezela itz egin zuen.
 “*My father talked like in Zamudio, in Bilbao and where he spent his boyhood.”

The reason I gave this particular example is that the native Basque grammarian R. M. de Azkue does allow himself to violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint in Spanish, in a sentence with the meaning of (83)c:

^{k)} I add one more example that I found in a novel: *Eta neskatza illaren ondoan agertu zan Peru Okotz-ena zala esan dezuten airfoa ere.* (A. Albisu, *Erreka zuloan eta...*, p. 64), “And next to the dead girl there appeared also the knife that you have said belonged to Peru Okotz”.

- (83) Mi padre, aun que nació en Lekeitio, hablaba como en Zamudio, donde y en Bilbao pasó su adolescencia. (Azkue, *Morfología vasca*, I, p. 300, note (3))
 “My father, though he was born in Lekeitio, talked like in Zamudio, where and in Bilbao he spent his boyhood.”¹⁾

Although Azkue was an absolutely fluent speaker of Spanish and has composed dozens of volumes in that tongue, his native Basque may have produced some occasional interference in his practically native command of Spanish. But how can his Basque substratum be responsible for this violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, which we have seen is just as operative in Basque as in Spanish?

I think the answer to this puzzle is that Spanish relative clauses should not be compared to Basque relative clauses, to which they bear little or no similarity in surface structure, but rather to Basque Wh-questions. Spanish relative clauses contain relative pronouns, which have the same form as the interrogative pronouns. These relative pronouns are also distributionally similar to the interrogative pronouns: they both tend to take the position directly in front of the verb. This, of course, is exactly the position of the interrogative pronouns in Basque: since an interrogative word is ipso facto focus in its sentence, it has to occupy focus position, that is, the position immediately preceding the verb.

Therefore, if, for some individual speaker, the syntactic system of Basque is going to affect the syntax of Spanish in this domain, we should not be surprised if Spanish relative clauses are influenced by Basque Wh-questions; the differences in structure between Spanish relative clauses and Basque relative clauses being too fundamental for any influencing one way or the other to be possible.

Now, as was mentioned on page 54, Basque Wh-questions do not undergo Wh-movement, and, hence, are not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint. The following are all perfectly natural Basque sentences:

- (84)a Atzo aita ta zein joan ziran Donosti²ra?
 “Yesterday who went to San Sebastian with Father?”
 Lit.: Yesterday, Father and who went to San Sebastian?
- (84)b Berrogei ta zenbat urte dituzu?
 “*You are forty and how many years old?”
- (84)c Apaizak txapela ta zer geiago galdu zituen Bayona²n?
 “What besides his beret did the priest lose in Bayonne?”
 Lit.: The priest lost his beret and what else in Bayonne?

Only the rightmost constituent of a conjoint noun phrase can be questioned; perhaps because of the constraint that restricts interrogative words to the position immediately in front of the verb. Thus, the following sentences are ungrammatical:

- (85)a *Atzo zein eta aita joan ziran Donostira?
 “*Yesterday who and Father went to San Sebastian?”

¹⁾ A virtually identical example of what may constitute a violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint occurs in an English text: *(he) emerged into a tunnel by which and others he eventually reached the end of the block.* (Arthur Train, *Tutt and Mr. Tutt*, Bantam ed. 1946, p. 41).

- (85)b *Zenbat eta berrogei urte dituzu?
 “*You are how many and forty years old?”
- (85)c *Apaizak zer eta txapela galdu zituen Bayona’n?
 “*The priest lost what and his beret in Bayonne?”

Sentences (86)a, (86)b and (86)c have a surface structure similar to (85)a, (85)b and (85)c but are characterized by a highly typical intonation and have meanings quite different from those of (84)a, (84)b and (84)c.

- (86)a Atzo zein eta aita joan zan Donosti’ra!
 “Yesterday, Father, of all people, went to San Sebastian!”
- (86)b Zenbat eta berrogei urte dituzu!
 “How absolutely remarkable that you are 40 years old!”
- (86)c Apaizak zer eta txapela galdu zuen Bayona’n!
 “The priest lost his beret, of all things, in Bayonne!”

These sentences do not contain true conjoined noun phrases, as can be seen e.g. from the verb form *zan* in (86)a which is marked for a singular subject, while the corresponding form in (84)a *ziran* is marked for a plural subject. Likewise, the verb form *zuen* in (86)c indicates a singular direct object, while the corresponding verb form in (84)c *zituen* indicates a plural direct object.

I take it that these sentences are derived by a form of conjunction reduction applied to a question-answer pair, such as those given in (87)a, (87)b and (87)c, which I consider likely sources for (86)a, (86)b and (86)c.

- (87)a Atzo zein joan zan Donostira? Atzo aita joan zan Donostira.
 “Who went to San Sebastian yesterday? Father went to San Sebastian yesterday.”
- (87)b Zenbat urte dituzu? Berrogei urte dituzu.
 “How old are you? You are forty years old.”
- (87)c Apaizak zer galdu zuen Bayona’n? Apaizak txapela galdu zuen Bayona’n.
 “What did the priest lose in Bayonne? The priest lost his beret in Bayonne.”

Conjunction reduction can apply to these pairs, apparently, because through the absence of Wh-movement, the surface structures of the question and the answer match each other exactly. The peculiar exclamative force of (86)a, (86)b and (86)c can also be explained from (87)a, (87)b and (87)c. In the latter, the speaker provides an answer to his own question, immediately following this question. This is a typical rhetoric device, the effect of which strikes me as quite similar to the effect provoked by (86)a, (86)b and (86)c.

To return now to the matter at hand, the following question is grammatical in Basque:

- (88) Aitak Bilbo’n eta nun igaro zuen gaztaroa?
 “Where besides Bilbao did Father spend his boyhood?”
 Lit.: Where and in Bilbao did Father spend his boyhood?”

This fact, then, explains in my opinion Azkue's use of the strange construction ... *Zamudio, donde y en Bilbao pasó su adolescencia* "... Zamudio, where and in Bilbao he spent his boyhood".

Relativization in Basque is not possible out of a complex noun phrase. The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint, as given by J. R. Ross (*Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, § 4.1) holds for Basque. It covers two cases: (1) no relativization out of a relative clause, and (2) no relativization out of a complement clause on a noun. Thus we do not get:

(89)a *Bost aldiz irakurri duen apaiz bat ezagutzen dedan liburua irakurri nai det nik ere.

"*I, too, want to read the book that I know a priest who read five times."

(89)b *Eramaten zuen emakume bat ikusi nuen soñekoa emazteak erosi nahi du.

"*My wife wants to buy the dress that I saw a woman who wore."

And with a sentential complement on a noun:

(89)c *Burutik egiña dalako seiñalea ikusi dedan poliziak jo egin nau oso gogor.

"*The policeman who I saw a sign that was insane has beaten me very badly."

We do get, however:

(89)d Burutik egiña dalako ustean nagoen poliziak jo egin nau.

"*The policeman who I am of the opinion that is insane has beaten me."

Here too we have a case of a sentential complement on a noun, namely *uste* "opinion", "belief", as evidenced by the definite locative ending *-an* on *uste* and by the presence of the suffix *-ko* which serves to connect the whole preceding clause together with its complementizer *la* to the governing noun *uste*: *burutik egiña da-la-ko uste-an*, literally, "in the belief of that he is insane".

Yet, sentence (89)d is all right. The reason that the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint is relaxed here is probably that the expression *ustean egon* "be of the opinion", which is used in (89)d, is equivalent to *uste izan* "to believe" (Literally, "have belief"). *Uste* in *uste izan* no longer take complements as nouns do, but only as verbs do: *Burutik egiña dala uste det*. "I believe that he is insane."

Ustean egon, being semantically equivalent to *uste izan*, is then allowed to enter into the same syntactic constructions that the latter enters into, despite the presence of the suffix *-ko*.

Questioning of a constituent inside a complex Noun Phrase is, of course, possible, since no movement is involved. Examples of such questions are:

(90)a Zeiñekin zijoan emakumea ikusi zenduen?

"You saw a woman who went with whom?"

(90)b Zeiñen adiskidea dan ijitoa ikusi dezu?

"You have seen a gypsy who is whose friend?"

(90)c Nola jantzita zegoen apaiza ikusi dezu?

"You have seen a priest who was dressed how?"

Such sentences are especially appropriate as echo questions. But, unlike their English counterparts, the Basque questions of (90)a, (90)b and (90)c are not restricted to such a function.

The Sentential Subject Constraint does not hold for Basque:

- (91)a Amorratuak dirala bixtan dagoen zakur oiekin ez det ibili nai.
 "I don't want to walk with those dogs that it is obvious are rabid."
 (91)b Pello'k irabaztea gerta diteken diru guztia aitari emango dio.
 "Pello will give Father all the money that it may happen that he earns."

In the English versions of these two sentences Extraposition has applied to the sentential subjects. In Basque, however, it has not. There is no extraposition in Basque, apart from the regular scrambling of sentence constituents. Yet (91)a and (91)b are fully grammatical.

Stacked relative clauses:

There are still a few topics that I want to discuss in this section on relativizability. The first of those is the issue of stacked relative clauses. When the noun phrase relativized is itself a relative clause construction, the result is a stacked relative clause. Native speakers differ in their judgements on the acceptability of some of these sentences. Spontaneous examples are occasionally heard and can be found in texts as well.^{m)} This example is probably acceptable to everyone:

- (92)a Irakurri ditugun idatzi zituen liburu batzuek oso interesgarriak dira.
 "Some books that he wrote that we have read are very interesting."

Example (92)b occurred in an improvised comment made by the Basque academician Zeleta during a session of the Basque Academy in 1959:

- (92)b Eta au esaten det urte asko daramazkidalako euskal aldizkari zabaltzen eta askotan aurkitu naizelako euskaltzale ta euskaltzale ez diran euskera irakurtzeko zaletasuna duten irakurleekin. (Transcribed in *Euskera* 5 (1960) page 140).
 "And I say this because I have been distributing Basque magazines for many years, and because I have often met readers who like to read Basque who are Bascophile, and who are not Bascophile."

As this example is a little too complicated to discuss, (the editor of *Euskera* stigmatized it with a sic) I have constructed a slightly simpler example which has exactly the same structure as far as the stacking of relative clauses is concerned. The example clearly shows the difficulty of understanding that a some of these sentences present.

^{m)} E.g. in the works of J. A. Mogel, we find: *Ta orain jatorri gogora gaztetan ikasi neban asko esan gura daben ipuin hau. (P.Ab. 88)*, "A tale that has a lot of meaning which I learned in my youth now comes to my mind".

Bere arima barruan dagozan, dragoiak bano kaltetsuagoak dirian pekatuak. (C.O., p. 32), "Sins that are more pernicious than dragons, which are inside his soul".

- (92)c Askotan arkitu naiz baserritarrak diran eta baserritarrak ez diran beientzako Fanderiko pentsuak onenak dirala dioten gizonekin.
 “I have often met men who say that Fanderi’s fodder is the best for cows, who are farmers and who are not farmers.”

Since, normally, relative clauses cannot be separated from their heads (there is no extraposition of relative clauses in Basque), there is a strong tendency to interpret the clause *baserritarrak diran eta baserritarrak ez diran* “who are farmers and who are not farmers” as a relative clause on *bei* “cow”. A heavy pause between ... *ez diran* and *beientzako* “for the cows” will help arrive at the correct interpretation.

The upshot of this seems to be that stacked relative clauses are grammatical in Basque, but that many speakers have a stylistic constraint that rules out as unacceptable any sentence containing a relative clause that immediately precedes a noun phrase that is not its head. For such speakers, (92)a is acceptable, but (92)b and (92)c are not.

Relative clauses on proper nouns and non-restrictive relatives:

Another topic that I must touch upon in this section is that of relative clauses on proper nouns. Many Basque grammar books contain statements to the effect that relative clauses on proper nouns are not allowed.

F. I. de Lardizabal, for instance, in his important work of 1856 *Gramática vascongada* makes the following claim (page 60):

Quando el nombre que viene con relativa de persona que hace, es nombre propio de hombre o mujer, no se hace en vascuence la oración por relativo, sino por otros modos equivalentes...ⁿ⁾

“When the noun that carries a relative clause of the personal agent type is a proper name of a man or woman, in Basque, the sentence will not be constructed as a relative clause, but put in some other equivalent form...”

In his book *Sintaxis del idioma euskaro* (San Sebastián, 1912), I. M. Echaide writes: (page 55).

Advertencia importante: Los nombres propios de persona nunca van acompañados del relativo, sino que se acude a otro giro para expresar la idea en cuestión. Ej.: Supongamos que tenemos que traducir la frase:

Pedro, que tiene tanto dinero, quiere más.

Por medio del relativo se diría: (Orrenbeste diru due)n Pedro-k geyago nai du.

Pero, como llevamos dicho, esto no se usa; he aquí algunos giros que se pueden usar en este caso para sustituir al relativo:

Pedrok orrenbeste diruba dauka, bañan geyago nai du = “Pedro tiene tanto dinero, pero quiere más”.

Pedrok orrenbeste diruba izan arren, geyago nai du = “Aunque Pedro tiene tanto dinero, quiere más”.

ⁿ⁾ Actually, Lardizabal’s statement is a literal quotation from Larramendi’s grammar published in 1729; cf. *El imposible vencido*, 152.

Pedro oso dirutsuba da, baiñan diru geyago nai du = "Pedro es muy adinerado, pero quiere más dinero". Etc., etc.

Important notice: Proper nouns referring to persons never go with relative clauses, rather, to express the idea in question other locutions must be resorted to. Ex.: Suppose we have to translate the sentence:

Pedro, who has so much money, wants more.

By means of a relative clause, one would say: (Orrenbeste diru due)n Pedro'k geiago nai du.

But, as we have already said, this is not used; here are a few locutions that can be used in this case to substitute for the relative clause:

Pedro'k orrenbeste dirua dauka, baiñan geiago nai du = "Pedro has so much money, but he wants more."

Pedro'k orrenbeste dirua izan arren, geiago nai du = "Pedro, though having so much money, wants more."

Pedro oso dirutsua da, baiñan diru geiago nai du = "Pedro is very wealthy, but he wants more money." Etc, etc.

Echaide, although at one time he became president of the Basque Academy, was not a native speaker of Basque. In the preface to the work from which I just quoted, he admits having learned Basque only recently: «luchando con el inconveniente de ser novicio en la materia, pues hace pocos años que aprendió el vascuence» (page 6).

The examples he gave in the paragraph I quoted are nearly identical to the ones Lardizabal used (E.g., Lardizabal (orthography modernized): Pedro'k ainbeste izanik, zertako nai du geiago? "Pedro, having so much, why does he want more?"). I suspect therefore that Lardizabal is the source of Echaide's "Important Notice", so that we do not have here two independent testimonies against the admissibility of relative clauses on proper names of persons. At any rate, none of my informants objected to (93)a:

(93)a Egunero kilo erdi bat txokolate jaten duen Beobide'tar Pantxika ez da bat ere gizentzen.

"Francisca Beobide, who eats a pound of chocolate every day, does not get fat in the least."^o

Moreover, a very reputable text book (I. López Mendizabal, *Manual de conversación*) contains the expression (page 222): *Nik asko maite zaitudan Andone*, "Antonia, whom I love very much".

Lardizabal, but not Echaide, stipulates that the forbidden relative clause must be of the personal agent type, that is, the postcedent must carry the ergative postposition *-k*. However, (93)b, where that is the case, is no worse than (93)a:

(93)b Egunero kilo erdi bat txokolate jaten duen Beobide'tar Pantxika'k txokolategille batekin ezkondu nai du.

"Francisca Beobide, who eats a pound of chocolate every day, wants to marry a chocolate manufacturer."

^o Some time after this was written, however, I found that a souletin speaker, Miss Madeleine de Jauregiberri from Sibas near Tardets, did object to this very sentence.

Furthermore, an example comparable to (93)b occurs in the book *Oroitzak ta beste ipui asko* by B. Iraola Aristiguieta (page 15):

- (93)c ... esan zion erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek...
 "... Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle, said to him..."

Relative clauses on proper nouns are, of course, generally non-restrictive. This brings us to the last topic I want to include in this section: What about the distinction between restrictive and appositive relative clauses, so important in the grammar of English and other Indo-European languages?

I can be quite brief here: I am unaware of any syntactic differences in Basque between these two types of relative clauses, except for the obvious universal co-occurrence restrictions between either type of relative and certain types of head noun phrases. In Basque, like everywhere else, a relative clause that modifies a noun phrase with an underlying (i.e. deictic) demonstrative element must be non restrictive. When certain quantifiers, like *guzti* "all" and *bakoitz* "each" occur associated with the head noun phrase, the relative clause can only be restrictive. Apart from this, however, my investigations have failed to show any differences in syntactic behavior between the two. In particular, there is no difference in intonation between restrictive and appositive relative clauses in Basque. In this essay we have seen a great many examples of restrictive as well as non-restrictive relative clauses.

This concludes this section on relativizability. We can now go on to section 4.

Summary of Chapter 3

Chapter 3 was concerned with constraints on relativizability. No constraints were found on the syntactic function of the postcedent in the matrix sentence, but there are heavy constraints on the syntactic function of the procedent in the constituent sentence. This is probably due to the fact that any postposition that the procedent may have had in the constituent sentence is deleted together with the procedent itself in the process of relativization, so that the surface structure cannot indicate the syntactic function of the procedent in its clause.

Two dialects (i.e. two sets of idiolects) were found with respect to relativization: a rather restrictive dialect that accepts a relative clause only when there is morphological agreement between the procedent and the verb of the relative clause; and a less restrictive dialect, for which I proposed four characterizations of relativizability. Characterization (IV): Relativization cannot apply to postpositional phrases of the form $_{NP}[_{NP}[_{NP} P]_{NP} P]_{NP}$, but only to those of the form $_{NP}[_{NP} P]_{NP}$ seems to be the most satisfactory one of all the characterizations consistent with the facts.

Two special cases ((A) and (B)) overriding these characterizations have been noted, but could not be explained.

The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint and the Coordinate Structure Constraint were found to hold, but not so the Sentential Subject Constraint.

Stacked relative clauses are grammatical, though often stylistically very awkward.

No structural differences could be found between restrictive and non-restrictive (appositive) relative clauses.

Chapter 4. Pronominal heads and free relatives

Demonstrative pronouns (*au* “this”, *ori* “that”, *ura* “yon” and their respective plurals *anek*, *oiek*, *aiek*) can function as surface structure heads of relative clauses:

- (94)a Eskuan ikusten dizudan ori zer da?
“What is that, which I see in your hand?”
- (94)b Eskuan ikusten didazun au bonba da.
“This, which you see in my hand, is a bomb.”
- (94)c Arantza’ri eskuan ikusten diogun ura bonba al da?
“Is that, which we see in Arantza’s hand, a bomb?”

Demonstrative pronouns can also have human referents, as in:

- (95) Berandu etorri dan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{au} \\ \text{ori} \\ \text{ura} \end{array} \right\}$ goseak dago.¹
- “He $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{here} \\ \text{there} \\ \text{yonder} \end{array} \right\}$, who has come late, is hungry.”

Personal pronouns (*ni* “I”, *i* “you (fam.)”, *zu* “you (pol.)”, *gu* “we”, *zuek* “you all”) cannot function as heads of relative clauses in surface structure, as we already mentioned on page 16. Thus, the following sentences are ungrammatical:

- (96)a *Berandu etorri naizen ni goseak nago.
“I, who have come late, am hungry.”
- (96)b *Berandu etorri zeran zu goseak al zaude?
“Are you, who have come late, hungry?”

Instead of the expected personal pronouns we get the demonstrative ones:

- (97)a Berandu etorri naizen au goseak nago.
“I, who have come late, am hungry.”
- (97)b Berandu etorri zeran ori goseak al zaude?
“Are you, who have come late, hungry?”

Yet, in general, demonstrative pronouns only allow third person verb forms: (98)a and (98)b are ungrammatical.

- (98)a *Au goseak nago. “*This one am hungry.”
- (98)b *Ori goseak al zaude? “*Are that one hungry?”

¹ Vocabulary: *berandu* “late”, *etorri* “come”, *gose* “hunger”.

But we do get (99)a and (99)b with the intensive personal pronouns *nerau* (cf. *mere* “my”) meaning “I myself” and *zerori* (cf. *zere*, *zeure* “your own”) meaning “you yourself”:

(99)a *Nerau goseak nago.* “I am hungry myself.”

(99)b *Zerori goseak al zaude?* “Are you hungry yourself?”

Therefore, the demonstrative pronouns in (97)a and (97)b seem to be reductions of the intensive personal pronouns of (99)a and (99)b.

According to I. M. Echaide (*Sintaxis del idioma euskaro*, 32), the intensive personal pronouns appear on the surface just in case the relative clause is based —by virtue of Special case (A)— on a non-relativizable postposition. Let us recall here that for animate noun phrases, and hence for personal pronouns, the only relativizable cases are the absolutive, the ergative, and the dative. Echaide gives the following examples (page 55):

(100)a *Malkoak arkitu dituzuten neronengan parrak ere izandu dira.*

“In me, in whom you have found tears, there have been laughs too.”²

(110)b *Malkoak arkitu diran zerorrenengan parrak ere izandu dira.*

“In you, in whom tears have been found, there have been laughs too.”

The occurrence of the intensive personal pronouns as heads may be explained by our earlier observation that the procedent must be focus in the constituent sentence. Since the intensive forms are the forms pronouns take when they are focussed upon, the procedent will have the form of an intensive personal pronoun. The identity condition obtaining between the procedent and the postcedent, then, will have to be such that it requires, at least in the case of pronouns, that the postcedent be also in the intensive form.

Not just demonstratives, but any determiner can serve as the head of a relative clause in surface structure. In particular, *bat* “a”, “one”, and *-a* “the” can occur as such. E.g.:

(101) *Berandu etorri dan bat goseak dago.*

This example can be interpreted as either + Specific or -Specific:

(101)a “One, who has come late, is hungry” (+ Specific),

(101)b “One who has come late is hungry” (-Specific).

And with the definite article *-a* we have:

(102) *Berandu etorri dana goseak dago.*

(102)a “The one who has come late is hungry” (+ Specific),

(102)b “Who (ever) has come late is hungry” (-Specific).

(102)b is called a free relative in English grammar. I will call the Basque sentence (102) a free relative, regardless of whether its interpretation is specific or non-

² Vocabulary: *malko* “tear”, *arkitu* “find”, *par* “laugh”, *izan*, *izandu* “be”.

specific. Free relatives should not be confused with indirect questions, as C. Leroy Baker in his article "Notes on the Description of English Questions" (*Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), 197-219) has warned us. In Basque, there is little danger of confusing them; the surface structures are quite different:

(103)a Ez dakit zuk dakizuna. "I don't know what you know."

(103)a contains a free relative: *zuk dakizuna* "what you know". The meaning of the sentence can be paraphrased as "My knowledge does not include yours".

(103)b Ez dakit zuk zer dakizun. "I don't know what you know."

(103)b is an indirect question. *zer* is the interrogative pronoun "what", and the *-n* of *dakizun* is the Wh-complementizer. The sentence can be paraphrased as "I have no idea what you know". This paraphrase is unambiguously a question, apparently because preposition deletion is restricted to questions in these cases. Compare: "I have no idea of what you know".

Just in case the surface head of a relative clause is the determiner *-a*, the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint does not hold. Of course, according to Ross's original formulation, we should not expect it to hold here: "No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation". (J. R. Ross, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, § 4.1.3). Certainly the Basque article *-a* is not a lexical noun. Compare now sentence (104)a with sentence (104)b:

(104)a Beartsuari dirua ematen diona luzaro biziko da.
"Who gives money to the poor will live long."

(104)b Dirua ematen diona beartsuari luzaro biziko da.
"Who gives money to the poor will live long."

In (104)b the indirect object noun phrase *beartsuari* "to the poor" has been scrambled out of the relative clause.³ This is not possible when the head of the relative clause is a full noun phrase, as in (105)a, or a demonstrative pronoun, as in (106)a, or an intensive personal pronoun, as in (107)a.

(105)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dion gizona luzaro biziko da.
"The man who gives money to the poor will live long."

³ Prof. K. L. Hale has pointed out that "scrambling out of the relative clause" is not the correct way of speaking about the phenomenon exemplified by sentences such as (104)b. If the constituent *beartsuari* "to the poor" had been truly scrambled out of the relative clause, we would expect it to be possible for material from the main clause (other than *a*) to intervene between it and the relativized verb form (*dion*). However, this is not possible. Consider the adverb *geienetan* "in most cases":

(104)c *Dirua ematen diona geienetan beartsuari luzaro biziko da.
"He who gives money to the poor will, in most cases, live long."

In (104)c, the adverb *geienetan* "in most cases" cannot be taken as part of the main clause. If it is part of the main clause, we must have:

(104)d Dirua ematen diona beartsuari geienetan luzaro biziko da.
"He who gives money to the poor, will, in most cases, live long."

Here we cannot scramble *beartsuari* out of its clause:

(105)b *Dirua ematen dion gizona beartsuari luzaro biziko da.

(106)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dion ori luzaro biziko da.
 “That one there who gives money to the poor will live long.”

(106)b *Dirua ematen dion ori beartsuari luzaro biziko da.

(107)a Beartsuari dirua ematen diozun ori luzaro biziko zera.
 “You, who give money to the poor will live long.”

(107)b *Dirua ematen diozun ori beartsuari luzaro biziko zera.

The presence of a case postposition on the determiner *a* does not interfere with the process:

(108)a Beartsuari dirua ematen dionak bere saria artuko du.
 “Who gives money to the poor will receive his reward.”

(108)b Dirua ematen dionak beartsuari bere saria artuko du.
 “Who gives money to the poor will receive his reward.”

There are many examples of this type in Leizarraga’s New Testament Version and also in Axular’s classic work *Gero* (Bordeaux, 1643). I will quote just one example from the latter. The interest of the example is that scrambling out of the clause takes place despite the presence of the dative postposition *-ri* on the postcedent.

(109)a Egiten derakunari gaizki, zergatik egin behar diogu ongi? (*Gero*, p. 422, Villasante’s edition)
 “Towards him who acts badly towards us, why should we act nicely?”

Here the adverb *gaizki* “badly” which normally precedes the verb: *gaizki egiten derakunari* “to (wards) him who acts badly to (wards) us” has been scrambled to the right of the phrase *egiten derakuna* “he who acts towards us”. This phrase carries the dative postposition *-ri* “to” (here I have translated it as “towards”, which is more idiomatic in English). Here again, the process could not take place when we have a lexical noun as a postcedent:

(109)c *Egiten derakun gizonari gaizki, zergatik egin behar diogu ongi?

In such a situation, *gaizki* should occupy its normal position in front of the verb:

(109)c Gaizki egiten derakun gizonari, zergatik egin behar diogu ongi?
 “Towards the man who acts badly towards us, why should we act nicely?”

In all the preceding examples, the reference of the free relative clause was generic, or, at least, non-specific. However, this is not a necessary condition for scrambling something out of a free relative clause. In B. Iraola Aristiguieta, *Oroitzak ta beste ipui asko* (published Tolosa, 1962). I found the following example: (page 15)

- (110) Ala, batian, nere gantzontzilluak jartzera dijuela, esan zion erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek, egunian bi peseta pagatzen dituenak ardorik gabe: Bañura al zuaz?
 “So, one time, while he was going to put on my underpants, Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle, the one who pays two pesetas a day, not including wine, said to him: Are you going to the bathroom?”

Here the free relative clause is *egunian bi peseta pagatzen dituenak* “he who pays two pesetas a day”. The adverbial *ardorik gabe* “not including wine” (literally “without wine”) originates as part of this free relative clause. It has been scrambled to the right of *pagatzen dituenak* “he who pays”. The *-k* of *dituenak* is the ergative postposition, required by the verb *esan* “say”. The reference of the free relative clause is, of course, unambiguously “Melchior”.

Therefore, it is immaterial whether the reference of a free relative clause is specific or non-specific, as far as scrambling constituents out of it is concerned.

Pseudo-extraposition

Free relative clauses are quite frequent in Basque texts, because they provide a substitute for extraposition. Extraposition of relative clauses is not possible in Basque, but the existence of free relatives allows one to put sentential and other modifiers after their head nouns. In this way, one achieves the effect of extraposition. An example will make this clear:

- (111)a Bein ba zan zazpi seme-alaba zituen errege bat.
 “Once upon a time, there was a king who had seven sons and daughters.”⁴

(111)a shows the normal form. The noun phrase *errege bat* “a king” is modified directly by the relative clause *zazpi seme-alaba zituen* “who had seven sons and daughters”. Now the pseudo-extraposed form (111)b:

- (111)b Bein ba zan errege bat, zazpi seme-alaba zituen.
 “Once upon a time there was a King, one who had seven sons and daughters.”

Here we have a free relative clause: *zazpi seme-alaba zituen* “one who had seven sons and daughters”. If the relative clause is very long, the pseudo-extraposed form is more acceptable than the normal form. The free relative clause used with an antecedent must have the same case, i.e. the same postposition, as this antecedent:

- (112)a Au errege batek, zazpi seme-alaba zituenak, esan zidan.
 “A king, one who had seven sons and daughters, told me this.”

⁴ Vocabulary: *bein* “once”, *zazpi* “seven”, *seme* “son”, *alaba* “daughter”, *errege* “king” (Cf. Latin *rex*, *regem*).

- (112)b Au errege bati, zazpi seme-alaba zituenari, egin nion.
 “I did this to a king, to one who had seven sons and daughters.”
- (112)c Au errege batez, zazpi seme-alaba zituenaz, maitemindu zan.
 “She here fell in love with a king, with one who had seven sons and daughters.”
- (112)d Au errege batentzat, zazpi seme-alaba zituenarentzat oso erreza zan.
 “This was very easy for a king, for one who had seven sons and daughters.”

In all these examples, the postpositions on the antecedent (ergative *-k*, dative *-ri*, instrumental *-z*, benefactive *-rentzat*) must be repeated on the free relative clause.

This use of a free relative with a full lexical antecedent —I will call this phenomenon “pseudo-extraposition”— is a welcome device that can serve to eliminate unacceptable stacking of relative clauses.

We have already seen one example of this effect in sentence (110). Without the use of pseudo-extraposition this sentence would have had to be:

- (113) Ala, batean, nere gantzontzilluak jartzera dijoela, esan zion ardorik gabe egunean bi peseta pagatzen dituen erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek: Bañura al zoaz?
 “So, one time, while he was going to put on my underpants, Melchior, who lives in the room in the middle, who pays two pesetas a day, not including wine, said to him: Are you going to the bathroom?”

(113) is certainly less elegant than (110), moreover, (113) will be unacceptable for those speakers who have the constraint on stacking stated on page 144, since the relative clause *ardorik gabe egunean bi peseta pagatzen dituen* “who pays two pesetas a day not including the wine”, immediately precedes the noun phrase *erdiko gela* “the room in the middle”, which is not the head of the relative clause.

A much more extreme example of the same situation can be found in a book by Pedro Miguel Urruzuno *Euskalerritik zerura*. There we read on page 13:

- (114)a Ainbeste maite zuan amona, beretzat amarik onena izandu zana, ainbeste laztan gozo eman zizkana, zerurako bidea ain ondo erakutsi ziona, ill zan larogeita amaika urterekin.
 “Grandmother, whom he had loved so dearly, who had been for him the best of mothers, who had given him so many sweet embraces, who had shown him so well the road to heaven, had died at the age of ninety-one.”

If the device of pseudo-extraposition were not available, the sentence would take on this shape:

- (114)b Zerurako bidea ain ondo erakutsi zion ainbeste laztan gozo eman zizkan beretzat amarik onena izandu zan ainbeste maite zuan amona ill zan larogeita amaika urterekin.

Though (114)b may be grammatical, it is utterly unintelligible to the native listener. With this, enough has been said about pseudo-extraposition, and we now turn to the next topic.

Diminutive relatives

An interesting property of free relative clauses is that they admit the diminutive suffix *-txo* just like nouns and adjectives do:

Nouns:

<i>lan-a</i>	“the job”,	<i>lantxo-a</i>	“the little job”,
<i>liburu-a</i>	“the book”,	<i>liburutxo-a</i>	“the little book”,
<i>gizon-a</i>	“the man”,	<i>gizontxo-a</i>	“the little man”.

Adjectives:

<i>zuri</i>	“white”,	has the diminutive form <i>zuritxo</i> ,
<i>txiki</i>	“small”,	has the diminutive form <i>txikitxo</i> ,
<i>apal</i>	“humble”,	has the diminutive form <i>apaltxo</i> .

Note that the noun phrases *etxetxo zuria* “the white little house” and *etxe zuritxo* “the little white house”, or, *bioztxo apala* “the humble little heart” and *biotz apaltxo* “the little humble heart” are not semantically equivalent. (The English translations I have given here do not exactly reflect the value of the Basque diminutives.)

In the same way, *-txo* can be added to free relative clauses. This, of course, proves that the *-a* of free relative clauses is indeed the article *a*, as we have been assuming from the beginning.

So: <i>dakidan-a</i>	“what I know”,	<i>dakidantxo-a</i>	“what little I know”,
<i>degun-a</i>	“what we have”,	<i>deguntxo-a</i>	“what little we have”.

Examples of their use in sentences:

- (115)a Ez dakit ondo zer gertatu zan, baina dakidantxo esango dizut.
“I don’t know very well what happened, but what little I know I will tell you.”

Example (115)b is doubly diminutive; it also contains the word *pixka* “a little bit”, cf. *esne pixka bat* “a little milk”.

- (115)b Deguntxo pixkaren lotsa gera.
“We are ashamed of the little bit that we have.”^{P)}

Repetition of relative clauses

Another interesting fact about free (and also ordinary) relative clauses is that they can be repeated for expressive purposes. Repetition is, in Basque, a systematically used device to increase the force of an expression, or its preciseness. Examples:

<i>arro</i>	“proud”,	<i>arro-arro</i>	“real proud”,
<i>bete</i>	“full”,	<i>bete-bete</i>	“brimfull”,
<i>goiz-ean</i>	“in the morning”,	<i>goiz-goizean</i>	“early in the morning”,
<i>gau-an</i>	“at night”,	<i>gau-gauan</i>	“late at night”,
<i>alde-an</i>	“near”,	<i>alde-aldean</i>	“right near”.

P) Another example taken from a Guipúzcoan play is: *Al dantxo egiten dut beintzat*. (A. Labayen, *California ... ku-ku!*, p. 54), “At least I do the little that one can”.

- (116)a Etxeraño etorri ziran ijitoak. "The gypsies came up to the house."
 (116)b Etxe-etxeraño etorri ziran ijitoak. "The gypsies came right up to the house."
 (117)a Lautan etorri ziran. "They came at four o'clock."
 (117)b Lau-lautan etorri ziran. "They came at four o'clock sharp."

Relative clauses too can undergo this process:

- (118)a Zerana zeralako maite zaitut. "I love you because you are the one you are."
 (*zera* "you are", hence *zerana* "who/what/the one you are".)
 (118)b Zerana-zerana zeralako maite zaitut.
 "I love you because you are just the one you are."

In the oldest Basque book, Etxepare's *Linguae vasconum primitiae* (1545), we find an example just like (118)b. The language of the book is the Low-Navarrese of the region of St. Jean Pied de Port. The example occurs in the poem *Potaren Galdatzia*, line 10:

- (119) Ziren-zirena baitzira, zutzaz pena dizit nik.
 "I am aching for you because you are just the one you are."

Examples (118)b and (119) contain free relatives; it is also possible to have a lexical head noun here:

- (120)a Zeran emakumea zeralako maite zaitut.
 "I love you because you are the woman you are."
 (120)b Zeran-zeran emakumea zeralako maite zaitut.
 "I love you because you are just the woman you are."

Relatives to sentences

A last observation about relative clauses in Basque: there are no relative clauses referring back to sentences (sentential relatives). The closest equivalent to the English construction (121) is not the ungrammatical (121)a, but (121)b:

- (121) Arantza called me a dummy, which made me cry.
 (121)a *Kaikua deitu ninduen Arantza'k, negar eragin zidana.⁵
 (121)b Kaikua deitu ninduen Arantza'k, onek negar eragin zidan.
 "Arantza called me a dummy, this made me cry."

Japanese, Tamil and Turkish, all S.O.V. languages, do not allow sentential relatives, either. I therefore conjecture that the absence of sentential relatives is a general property of S.O.V. languages.

Debile principium melior fortuna sequatur
 (d'Etxepare, 1545)

⁵ Vocabulary: *kaikua* "wooden pail, dummy", *deitu* "call", *negar egin* "cry", *negar eragin* "make cry", *onek* is the ergative form of *an* "this".

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PARTITIVE ASSIGNMENT IN BASQUE*

I. Prefixes and Suffixes

This paper will deal with some of the syntax and semantics of a particular suffix of Basque. An introductory discussion of the role that suffixes play in Basque grammar may therefore be useful to those readers who are not familiar with the language.

Joseph Greenberg, in his famous article "Some Universals of Grammar" classifies Basque (p. 106) as an "exclusively suffixing" language. If taken to imply the absence of prefixes from the language, this claim is certainly false. There are prefixes in Basque. They play indeed a most conspicuous role in the morphology of verbs. The person markers of the absolutive (i.e. nominative as opposed to ergative) case are prefixes: *n-*, *b-*, *d-*, etc., as in: *nator* "I am coming", *hator* "you are coming", *dator* "he is coming" and similarly: *nakar* "he is bringing me", *hakar* "he is bringing you", *dakar* "he is bringing him".

In some tenses and moods, the person markers of the ergative case are also prefixes. To take just one example, we have the following forms of the conditional: *nuke* "I would have", *hukek*, *huken* "you (male, female) would have", *luke* "he (she, it) would have". Other incontrovertible prefixes are: conditional *ba-*, as in *banator* "if I am coming", *banu* "if I had" and causal *bait-* as in *bainator* "for (or. 'since') I am coming", *bainuen* "for (or. 'since') I had".

Yet, Greenberg is not far off the mark. In derivational morphology, prefixes are extremely scarce, though, it is true, not altogether lacking. As announced by its title. I. M. Echaide's book *Tratado de sufijación, prefijación y composición en el idioma euskaro* (2nd ed., Tolosa 1931) contains a section on prefixation. Many of his alleged examples, however, are not examples of prefixation but of composition. For instance, the formatives *basa-* "wild", *asta-* "wild" and *ugaz-* "foster-, step-", which occur e.g. in *basakatu* "wildcat", *astamats* "wild raisin", *ugazama* "foster mother", are nothing but regular allomorphs of the nouns *baso* "woods", *asto*¹ "donkey" and *ugatz* "breast", used whenever they occupy the position of the first element in a compound.²

* *ASJU* VI (1972), 130-173.

¹ Other names of animals are used in the same way. We find e.g.: *suge-tipula*, "wild onion" (lit. "snake-onion"); *otsoportu*, "wild leek" (lit. "wolf-leek"); "wild cherry" (lit. "pig-cherry") and *txori-mats* "wild raisin" (lit. "bird-raisin"). For "wild onion" there are also the Bizcayan forms *erroi-keipula* (lit. "raven-onion") and *sopakéipula* (lit. "toad-onion"). Data from Plácido Múgica *Diccionario castellano-vasco*, p. 1.644.

² For the regularity of the change of final *o* to *a* in disyllabic first members of compounds, see *FHV*, 6.1 (i.e. Luis Michelena, *Fonética histórica vasca*). For the *-x / -tx* alternation in *ugatz*, see *FHV*, 14.6.

Likewise, formations with the negative *ez-* as the first element such as *ez-jakin* “ignorant”, *ez-ikasi* “unlessoned”, *ez-axol* “careless”, can also be considered examples of compounding, since *ez* occurs as an independent word meaning “not” or “no”. Another example of Echaide’s, *baldin* is clearly an independent word, for, along with the phrase *iñor baldin badator* “if anyone comes”, we also find *baldin iñor badator* with the same meaning.

A more difficult case to evaluate is that of the models *al* (an interrogative for yes-no questions), *bide* (indicates high probability), *ote* (dubitative) and *omen* (“reportedly”, “as they say”).³

Azkue and other grammarians call them “modal prefixes of the finite verb”, a designation that seems appropriate enough in the light of their syntactic behavior. Yet, personally, I would prefer to consider them as particles (i.e. independent words) that obligatorily turn into proclitics in the presence of a finite verb. The reason I am reluctant to put them down as mere prefixes is that affixes normally (that is, in non-metalinguistic contexts) cannot survive without a stem supporting them, whereas some of the elements of this class can occur independently in contexts where the finite verb has been deleted. So, for instance, *ote* in examples like the following: *Nork ikusi du? Zuk ote?* “Who has seen him? You perhaps?”, *Neronek ikusi det. —Ba ote?* “I have seen him myself. —Really?” *Iñork ez du ikusi. —Ez ote?* “Nobody has seen him. —Really?” *Hark esaten duena... lege ote... enuskaldunontzat?* “(Is) what he says... perhaps the law... for us Basques?”.

In this last example, which is taken from *Mitxelaren idazlan hautatuak* (p. 397), the copula *da* “is” has been deleted by an as yet poorly understood stylistic rule, and the remaining particle *ote* gives the sentence the rhetorical flavor it has: it is a queclarative in the sense of Sadock.⁴

My impression about these modal items is that they are on their way to becoming prefixes, but have not quite made it yet all the way.⁵

³ The glosses here are only a rough approximation. They do not justice to the syntactic and semantic complexities of these items. A long and probably very interesting dissertation could be written on this subject, preferably by a native speaker.

⁴ See Jerrold M. Sadock, “Queclaratives”, published in: *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting Chicago Linguistic Society*, (1971), 223-231.

⁵ In past centuries, the positional restrictions on these modal particles were less stringent than they are nowadays. In the first work printed in Basque, Etxepare’s *Linguae vasconum primitiae* (1545) *ote* is not attested, but, about a hundred years later, we find it occurring several times in Oihenarte’s poetry, published in 1657. There *ote* (pronounced *othe*) could either precede or follow the finite verb. Among the examples are: *ba daidita othe buts...?* (“Would I be making a mistake?”) (0.11; = II, p. 1300, ... *hutsik othe daidita?* (“Would I be making a mistake?”) (0.130; = XIII, p. 172). *Amets al’egia d’ote nik enzuna* (“Is what I have heard a dream of the truth?”) (0.57; = VI, p. 149). Here *d’ote* is poetic licence for *da ote*.

Azkue in his *Morfología vasca* (II, p. 469) claims that sentences like *Badoa ote* (“Maybe he is (already) coming”) and *Eztoa ote* (“Maybe he is not coming”) are frequently heard non-interrogatively, although not in the Bizcayan dialect: “Fuera del B, se oye mucho separado del verbo cuando no se trata de preguntar.” Like-wise, *omen*, according to Azkue, may either precede or follow the verb: “Casi indistintamente se dicen *etorri omen dira* o *etorri dira omen*, ‘dicen que (es fama que) han venido’”. (*Morfología vasca* II, p. 470). Compare also Azkue’s *Diccionario vasco-español-francés* (11, p. 109), where *berant ibili dire omen*, is given as a possible variant in the Labourdin dialect of *berant ibili omen dira*, “It is rumored the they have been walking late”.

The most obvious examples of prefixes in derivational morphology are *arra-*, "re-"; *des-*, "un-" and *birr-/berr-*, "re-".

Arra- is restricted to Souletin and Low-Navarrese. It combines with a fairly large number of verbs and with some relational nouns, eg: *jin* "come", *arrajin* "return"; *egin* "make", *arregin* "remake"; *phiztu* "light up", *arraphiztu* "relight"; *seme* "son", *arraseme* "grandson"; *lloba* "nephew" or "niece", *arralloba* "great-nephew" or "greatniece"; *maiatz* "May", *arramaiaitz* "June".

Des- is common to all Basque dialects. It combines only with a very small number of native adjectives and verbs. So we have e.g.: *berdin* "equal", *desberdin* "unequal"; *egoki* "appropriate", *desegoki* "inappropriate"; *egin* "do", *desegin* "undo".

From *jantzzi* "dress", however, we do not have **desjantzzi* "undress", but *erantzzi* "undress", which, curiously enough, has the form of an old causative of *jantzzi*.

Both prefixes are evidently of Romance origin. They must have entered the language via a large scale borrowing of Romance words containing them, so that the prefixes and their meaning became psychologically real to the speakers of Basque. As the examples show, they can now be combined with purely native stems as well.

The prefix *birr-/berr-* is of native origin. We find it in: *birresan* "repeat" (*esan*, "say"); *birlandatu* "replant" (*landatu* "plant"), *berpiztu* "resuscitate" (*piztu* "animate"), *berrerosi* "buy back" (*erosi* "buy").

Our discussion so far is enough to show that Greenberg's assessment of Basque as an exclusively suffixing language cannot stand unamended. Still, on the other hand, it is very nearly correct. Even when one chooses to include all of the doubtful cases, the prefixes still are a negligible minority as compared with the overwhelming number⁶ of suffixes that Basque draws upon for the formation of its lexical items. Moreover, case relationships are signalled exclusively by suffixes. In this limited sense, Basque indeed is an exclusively suffixing language.

The following sentence will serve as an illustration of the way cases are marked in Basque: *Ijitoak emakumeari bi musu eman zizkion masailean*. "The gypsy gave the woman two kisses on the cheek".

The suffix *-k* (called "the ergative suffix") marks the noun *ijitoa* "the gypsy" as the subject of a transitive verb, here of *eman* "given". The suffix *-ri* marks the noun *emakumea* "the woman" as an indirect object (dative). The absence of a suffix on *bi musu* "two kisses" marks it as a direct object, or, more precisely, as either a direct

In both cases talking about the construction with the particle following the verb, Azkue appears to be referring to contemporary usage: "se oye mucho", "se dicen". Still, Azkue was born in 1864 and his contemporaries are no longer ours. Although I have not carried out extensive field work on this question, my feeling is that the particles mentioned can no longer be postposed to the finite verb in any part of the Basque area. The evidence for this includes the corpus of folkstories and other ethnographic materials from many different regions of the Basque country collected by Don José Miguel de Barandiarán and his students, published in four volumes as *El mundo en la mente popular vasca*, Colección Auñamendi, San Sebastián 1960-62. The great majority of the material was collected between 1920 and 1936, but some folktales (from Ataun) go back as far as the beginning of the first decade of this century. As we would expect from the nature of the material, the particle *omen* (including its local variations, such as *emen*) occurs with great frequency; however, we invariably find it in the position immediately preceding the finite verb, and often written together with it as one word. The same is true for the less frequent particles *ote* and *bide*.

⁶ For a list of the most important suffixes, see P. Lafitte, *Grammaire basque*, § 83-86.

object or a subject of an intransitive verb. This unmarked case is called the "absolutive". Finally, the suffix *-n* of *masailean* "on the cheek" marks it as a locative. The form *zizkeion* is a transitive auxiliary of the past tense, which includes reference to a third person singular subject, a third person plural object, and a third person singular indirect object.

The case suffixes are added only to the last element of a phrase; thus, "to the very beautiful woman" translates as *emakume oso ederrari*, and not as **emakumeri osori ederrari*.

A conjoint expression may often be regarded either as one phrase, and hence supplied with a single suffix, or as a conjunction of two or more phrases, and hence with a suffix on each phrase. Thus, corresponding to the English sentence "Edurne and Nekane have done it", both *Edurnek eta Nekanek egin dute* and *Edurne ta Nekanek egin dute* are possible. (The conjunction "and" is *ta* after a vowel, and *eta* after a consonant).

Nothing resembling the various declensions of some of the Indo-European languages, like Latin, Greek, Sanskrit or Slavic, is found in Basque. The same case relationship is always signalled by the same suffix,⁷ similar to what happens in the Uralic or the Altaic languages.

Because of all this, the case suffixes of Basque are more similar to the prepositions of English or, for that matter, Spanish or French, that they are to the case endings of the Indo-European languages mentioned earlier. For this reason, then, I will often use the term "postposition" (i.e. a syntactic unit just like a preposition, except that it is put after the noun instead of before), when I am referring to a suffix signalling a case relationship. To one of these suffixes, namely *-rik*, the rest of this paper will be devoted.

II. The suffix *-rik*: views of older grammarians

The postposition *-rik*, whose *r* drops after a consonant,⁸ has been given different names by different grammarians. The first author to mention the suffix was Oihenart, on page 59 of his work *Notitia utriusque vasconiae*, published in 1638 in Paris. He called it "negative".⁹

Larramendi includes a discussion of it in his famous grammar *El imposible vencido*, published in 1729 in Salamanca, and claims that it is something special, not found in Spanish, French or any other language. He considers it an article, in fact, two articles:

Además de los artículos explicados, tiene el bascuence otros especiales para todo nombre apelativo que no tiene el romance ni otras lenguas. En el nominativo

⁷ It must be observed, however, that semantically animate nouns cannot take locational case suffixes directly, but only via an intervening element *-gan-*. Thus *etxetik* "from the house" but *ijitoarengandik* "from the gypsy".

⁸ In most of the grammatical literature, the form of the suffix is considered to be simply *-ik*, the *r* being viewed as epenthetic element inserted in nominal declensions to avoid certain vowel sequences considered cacophonous. I have argued against this view in my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. language", *FLV* 1 (1969), on pages 336-338.

⁹ I am indebted for this reference to Lécuse, *Grammaire basque* (Toulouse-Bayonne, 1826), p. 82.

y acusativo de singular tiene otros dos artículos, *ic*, *ric*, que sirven con frecuencia, especialmente en ciertos modos de hablar, como cuando preguntamos o negamos alguna cosa. No se usan ambos promiscuamente, sino unas veces uno y otras veces otro. Sea, pues, la regla, que si el nombre se acaba en consonante, tiene lugar el *ic*, v.g.: *mutil*, *guizon* se acaban en consonante, y por eso *mutilic eztagó*, no hay ningún muchacho, *guizonic agueri ezjá*, no parece hombre alguno. Pero si el nombre se acabare en vocal, sólo tiene lugar el *ric*, v.g.: *ogui*, *buru* se acaban en vocal, y por eso *badezú oguiric?*, tienes algún pan? *bururic ezjú*, no tiene juicio. (§ II, pp. 8-9).

Azkue, the great Basque grammarian of the recent past —he died in 1951— follows Larramendi in considering *-rik* an article. In his *Diccionario vasco-español-francés* (1905) he calls it “artículo no afirmativo e indeterminado” (1, p. 400) and adds: “Se usa en negaciones, dudas, condiciones, interrogaciones, etc.; diferenciándose de los artículos *-a* y *-o* en que éstos se usan en afirmaciones concretas”. He also observes that *-rik* can be used only in the absolutive (i.e. nominative) case: “Diferéncianse también los artículos afirmativos y el no afirmativo, en que éste se usa sólo con pacientes o acusativos». In his later work *Morfología vasca* (1923), he uses the term ‘artículo abstracto’ for *-rik*, and opposes it to the “artículo genérico” *-a* and the ‘artículo concreto’ (he also says “concretivo”) *-o* (§ 427).

Nearly a century earlier, Lécuse (*Grammaire basque*, 1826) also made a threefold distinction, not between three kinds of articles, but between three kinds of nominatives: “nominatif”, “nominatif actif” (i.e. ergative *-k*) and “nominatif négatif”, his name for the suffix *-rik*. He remarks (p. 83): “Ce nominatif négatif peut être considéré comme un partitif; en effet, si l’on veut exprimer en basque ces phrases: *Je n’ai pas d’argent, a-t-il de l’argent?* on ne peut dire autrement que: *Ez dut diruric, badu diruric?*”

The same two examples *Ez dut diruric, badu diruric?* had already occurred in Harriet’s *Gramatica escuaraz eta francesez* (1741), from which Lécuse probably took them. Harriet, however, contents himself with stating: “*aitaric, aitarenic* signifient le [sic] non possession de la personne ou de la chose” (p. 450) and then cites a few examples.

The parallel Lécuse draws between *-rik* and the partitive in French meets with stern disapproval on the part of Van Eys. The Dutch bascologist expresses his views as follows:

Ik, par conséquent, à ceux qui expliquent le basque par la langue française, a paru correspondre à ‘de’. Mais *ik* correspond plutôt à un pluriel indéfini. Dans la plupart des cas, l’indéfini est un pluriel ou peut s’expliquer par un pluriel et *ik* n’est pas un suffixe correspondant à la préposition ‘de’, *ik* est, croyons-nous, le signe de pluralité *k* précédé de *i*. (*Grammaire comparée des dialectes basques*, Paris, 1879, p. 39).

It is not necessary for us to criticize this idea in any detail. Van Eys speaks of *i* as an intermediary vowel characteristic of the indefinite plural (p. 35), but his whole theory of the intermediary vowels *a*, *e*, *i* and *o* in Basque (Chap. VI, § 3, 4, 5, 6) has no factual basis. His *i* cannot be identified with the dative suffix *-ri*, which is always word-final. Moreover, noun phrases ending in the suffix *-rik* are always syntactically singular, never plural. On the preceding page (p. 38), Van Eys himself quotes an

example (from Mendiburu) that shows this: ...*ez dute bear lukeen enskarasko libururik* "They don't have the Basque books he would need". If *enkarasko libururik* "Basque books" was plural, the verb forms *dituzte* and *liukeen* would have been used instead of *dute* and *lukeen*. But with *dituzte* and *liukeen* the sentence would have been ungrammatical, since nouns with the suffix *-rik* are not construed as plural in Basque.

We now leave Van Eys and pass on to another grammarian, Jean Ithurry, a parish priest of Sara, who devoted the last years of his life to composing a Basque grammar. He died in 1895, but his work did not come out as a book until 1920. The first part of his *Grammaire basque* deals with case suffixes. Among them we find *-rik*, explicitly referred to as "le suffixe du partitif" (Chap. I, Art. II, p. 2). The third part of the book deals with syntax.¹⁰

The partitive is treated in § 470 (p. 431), where we find enumerated four circumstances under which it is used:

Au partitif se place:

- 1.º Le nom qui vient après l'interrogation, il y a? et il n'y a point?.¹¹
- 2.º L'état, la position, la posture dans lesquels on est, a, reste, demeure, laisse.¹²
- 3.º Après assez de...¹³
- 4.º Après le superlatif.

Aside from a dozen examples taken from the literature, which I have not reproduced, this is all the author has to say about the use of the partitive.

We get better results with the next two authors. Gavel and Lafitte. With them, of course, we are reaching well into the twentieth century. Henri Gavel, in his *Grammaire basque* (Bayonne 1929), a truly outstanding work, has a five-page section (Chap. II, § 54) entitled "Le discédent et le partitif" where he treats the suffixes *-tik* "from", "through", and *-rik*. These two, according to him, were originally one and the same. That is certainly plausible, but a discussion of this would lead us beyond

¹⁰ I can't refrain from mentioning as a curiosity that the first chapter of this part is headed: "Chapitre I, Syntaxe des noms des saints".

¹¹ After this, the author gives four examples, none of them interrogative. I will transcribe the first one here, because it contains no less than five partitive forms: *Prudentei gobernatzen bazare ez da izanen ez aitarik, ez amarik, ez senbarrik ez emazterik maiz komuniatzetik debekatu nabiko zaituenik*, "If you behave wisely, there won't be any father, any mother, any husband or any wife who will want to stop you from receiving Holy Communion often". Especially interesting is the partitivization of the pseudo-extraposited relative clause *maiz komuniatzetik debekatu nabiko zaituen* "who will want to stop you from receiving Holy Communion often". For the notion of pseudo-extrapolation see pages 129-131 of my paper "Relative Clauses in Basque: A. Guided Tour", in Peranteau, Levi, Phares (eds), *The Chicago Which Hunt* (C.L.S., Chicago, 1972), pp. 115-135. [Included in this volume].

¹² None of the Basque grammarians, not even Gavel or Lafitte, distinguishes partitive *-rik* from stative *-rik*. There are, however, both semantic and syntactic reasons for doing so, as can be seen from the end of section III of this paper.

¹³ The phrasing here, of course, is nonsensical. Such a lapsus reminds us of the fact that Ithurry's treatment of syntax in Part III, or at least a great deal of it, is best considered as a collection of notes of the author to himself, to be worked out later, rather than as a manuscript ready for publication. Ithurry, unfortunately, died before he could bring his task to a proper end.

the scope of this paper, which is not concerned with etymology. Certain is that nowadays all Basque dialects do distinguish ablative and partitive.

Gavel had, of course, read Van Eys's *Grammaire comparée*; even so, he is not afraid to use the French partitive as a term of comparison in describing the use of the Basque suffix. We quote:

Le partitif a plusieurs emplois, assez différents les uns des autres. Le plus important est de rendre, dans les phrases négatives ou interrogatives, l'idée exprimée par le partitif français formé à l'aide de la préposition *de* (combinée ou non, suivant les cas, avec l'article défini), lorsque ce partitif français est, au point de vue basque, sujet réel du verbe. Ex:

Ogirik nabi duzuia? 'Voulez-vous du pain?'

Etzen urik 'Il n'y avait pas d'eau'. (Chap. II, p. 32).

Now, we may criticize Gavel's formulation, and rightly so, for it is somewhat infelicitously phrased; yet, he succeeds in making clear three things: (i) *-rik* is a semantic equivalent of the French partitive, but (ii), unlike the latter, it is restricted to negative and interrogative contexts and (iii) to the absolutive (i.e. nominative) case. Of all previous studies, only Azkue's (*Diccionario vasco-español-francés* I, p. 400) achieved this much insight.

On page 34. Gavel mentions what he calls another use of the partitive in Basque, namely, with past participles and some adjectives in the function of an ablative absolute. I consider this a separate suffix, not synchronically related to the partitive; cf. the end of my section III. There are still a few other observations on the partitive in Gavel's book; I will mention some of them further on in this paper.

Finally, in Pierre Lafitte's *Grammaire basque* (Bayonne, 1944), we find the partitive as one of the twelve cases the author distinguishes in Basque (Chap. VII, § 122). Like his predecessors, he collapses partitive *-rik* and stative *-rik*, which together make up his partitive case. He presents a bare list of its various uses in Chap. XXXIV, § 856, and gives a slightly more extensive treatment in Chap. III, § 160, on how to translate the French partitive article into Basque, and in § 161: "Emplois particuliers du cas partitif basque" ("Some special uses of the Basque partitive case").

I am indebted for some valuable information to these and other sections of Lafitte's book, but I will make no attempt to summarize them here, as the book is readily available and should be part of the library of anyone interested in Basque.

We have seen that many Basque grammarians use the term "partitive" when talking about the suffix *-rik*. I will do the same, for the similarity with the French partitive is too striking to be ignored: even though the conditions under which the Basque partitive occurs are much more restricted than those that govern the use of the French construction of the same name.

A partitive is a form typically used for presenting a quantity the exact size of which is not known or is irrelevant. To illustrate with a French example, we have: *Il y a des gitans en France*. "There are gypsies in France". With a well-defined quantity the partitive preposition *de* cannot be used: *Il y a vingt mille gitans en France*. "There are twenty thousand gypsies in France" and not: **Il y a des vingt mille gitans en France*.

In Basque, the use of the partitive suffix in affirmative contexts is subject to severe limitations:

(1)a *Ijitorik ba da Frantzian.

If uttered with normal, purely declarative, intonation, (1)a is ungrammatical in all dialects.¹⁴ The partitive *-rik* cannot appear here, the plural article¹⁵ *-ak* must be used:

(1)b Ijitoak ba dira Frantzian. "There are gypsies in France".

The verb form here is plural too: *dira* "are" instead of *da* "is", since the subject of the existential verb *izan* "be" is the plural form *ijitoak* "gypsies".

In the Northern dialects of Basque, the partitive can be used with declarative intonation in affirmative contexts when the head of the noun phrase carries a modifier of certain types, as we will see in section V.

III. Basic uses of the partitive

Most instances of partitive *-rik* arise as the result of a transformation, which I will call Partitive Assignment, to be discussed in section IV. The theoretical status of *-rik* in the grammar, however, is not merely that of a transformationally introduced element. Some instances of *-rik* are basic; that is, they are to be accounted for by the base rules of the grammar.¹⁶ The basic uses of *-rik* can be distinguished from the derived uses by means of two criteria, both of which must be satisfied:

¹⁴ Contrary to this affirmation, I know of one Guipúzcoan author, Salvador Garmendia born in Zaldibia, who does use the partitive in purely declarative sentences such as (1)a. In a play, published in the journal *Egan*, he writes: *Beti izan degu borondaterik* "We have always had will" *Egan* 29 (1969), p. 111). Cf. French: *Nous avons toujours eu de la volonté*. His sentence is rejected by all my informants. According to L. Michelena, in Zaldibia like everywhere else, people would say: *Beti izan degu borondatea*, without the partitive.

Garmendia has translated various literary works from French into Basque, among those Camus, *Les Justes* and St. Exupéry, *Le Petit Prince*. Thus it is possible that Garmendia has allowed the syntax of his native language to be influenced by that of French. He seems to have developed a particular predilection for the partitive construction, for in his translation of *Le Petit Prince*, he used it, creating an ungrammatical sentence, where the original French version does not have a partitive: *Hemengo ibiztariek ba dute ritorik: ...* "The local hunters have rites:..." (p. 70). The French has: *Il y a un rite, par exemple, chez mes chasseurs*. Thus, it seems that the statement in the text can be left without further qualifications.

¹⁵ The singular article *-a* and its plural *-ak* are usually definite. However, in the morphologically unmarked case (i.e. the absolutive, or nominative), they can also be indefinite, as e.g. in existential clauses, such as (1)b. I cannot go into the details here, since the conditions under which this happens are highly complex and there are at least three geographically coexisting systems. I am hoping to throw some light on this problem in a later publication.

¹⁶ I do not mean to take a stand here with regard to the controversial question as to just how categories such as prepositions, postpositions, case endings and the like are to be generated, either in universal grammar or in the grammar of Basque. All I want to say is that some instances of *-rik* are generated in the same way, and exist at the same level of structure, as the other postpositions of Basque.

- (i) In its basic use, *-rik* functions as a postposition: it indicates a grammatical relation between two constituents.
- (ii) The basic use of *-rik* can occur in all sentence types, including positive assertions.

In accordance with these criteria, two —possibly related— uses of *-rik* are clearly basic; namely, the use of *-rik* in superlative constructions, and the use of *-rik* in quantifier constructions.

a) *Superlative constructions*

- (2a) Arantxa emakumerik ederrena da. "Arantxa is the most beautiful of women".

-en being the superlative suffix, *ederren* is the superlative form of *eder* "beautiful", *-a* is an article; the noun *emakume* "woman" carries the suffix *-rik*.

- (2b) Ijitorik geienak ederrak dire. "Most gypsies are beautiful".

The form *geien* "most" contains the superlative suffix *-en*, and also acts like a superlative form in allowing the partitive *-rik* on the preceding noun *ijito* "gypsy". *-ak* is the plural of the article *-a*, added here to the adjective *eder* "beautiful" by a rule of concord operative in all Basque dialects except Souletin and Roncalese.

- (2c) Zugaitz onen fruturik leena ijitoari eman bear zaio. "The first fruit of this tree must be given to the gypsy".

The adjective *leen* "first" functions as a superlative. It induces the partitive on the noun it modifies, in our example, *frutu* "fruit". The same is true for the adjective *azken* "last", but not for the ordinals *bigarren* "second", *irugarren* "third", and so on. Thus, we can have: *zugaitz onen fruturik azkena* "the last fruit of this tree", but never **zugaitz onen fruturik bigarrena* "the second fruit of this tree".

In contemporary usage, at least in Guipúzcoa and Bizcaya, the partitive in superlative constructions is optional. Instead of it, the bare noun may be used, with no difference in meaning: *emakume ederrena* "the most beautiful woman"; *ijito geienak* "most gypsies"; *zugaitz onen frutu leena* "the first fruit of this tree".

b) *Quantifier constructions.*

- (3a) Ijitorik askorekin itzegin degu. "We have talked with many gypsies".
- (3b) Axeterrik aski duzu. "There are plenty of doctors" (Etxepare, *Linguae vasconum primitiae*, p. 100).
- (3c) Naiko gerlarik degu. "We have got enough war".
- (3d) I bezelako euskaldunik ba dek makina bat. "There are a lot of Basques like you" (D. Aguirre, *Gara*, p. 95).

These are all positive assertions where the presence of a quantifier induces the partitive form of the quantified noun phrase. Thus in (3)d, *euskaldun* "Basque" has

the partitive postposition because it is in construction with the quantifier *makiña bat* ‘a lot’. Most parts of Northern Guipúzcoa (e.g. Zarauz, San Sebastián, Oyarzun) have abandoned this use of the partitive in affirmative sentences. They say *ijito asko* instead of *ijitorik asko*.¹⁷ To (3)d, they prefer (3)e or (3)f.

- (3)e I bezelako makina bat euskaldun ba dek.
 (3)f I bezelako euskalduna ba dek makiña bat.
 (The meaning of (3)e or (3)f is the same as that of (3)d).

This practice is to be viewed as an innovation. That the partitive in quantifier constructions was once common all over the area, is shown by frozen expressions such as *eskerrik asko* ‘many thanks’, alongside of which there is no **esker asko*.

In this subsection, too, belongs the use of the partitive in exclamations. Consider the sentences:

- (3)g Ba da ijitorik Españían! ‘There are in Spain an awful lot of gypsies!’
 (3)h Ijitorik ba da Españían! ‘An awful lot of gypsies there are in Spain!’

To account for the partitive in these examples, I will assume the underlying presence of a quantifier, meaning something like ‘a lot’. This quantifier is then deleted by a presumably late rule of Quantifier Deletion operating specifically in exclamatory sentences.

The same process can be found in other languages. In Dutch e.g. sentence (3)h will be rendered as: *Een zigeuners dat er in Spanje zijn!*

In this sentence, the singular form of the indefinite article, unstressed *een*, seems to clash with the plural form *zigeuners* ‘gypsies’. Here too, an understood quantifier, probably *een (bele) boel* ‘a (whole) lot’ nicely accounts for this morphological peculiarity as well as for the meaning of the sentence.

There is a difficulty with this solution in the case of Basque. Exclamations like (3)g,h are used also by speakers who do not allow the partitive with quantifiers in positive contexts. This difficulty is not insurmountable. We have seen that, in certain regions, the use of the partitive with quantifiers has the status of an archaism. But, for archaisms to survive only in exclamatory contexts is not uncommon. Basque itself offers another example of that: In the Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan dialects, the old non-emphatic possessive pronoun *ene* ‘my’ has been totally replaced by the form *nera*, which used to be emphatic, or by *nire*, an analogical formation on the pronoun *ni* ‘I’. With one exception, namely exclamations: *ene Jainkoa!* ‘my God!’, *ene ama!* ‘my mother!’, *ai ene!* ‘oh my!’. The Northern dialects still make use of *ene* in all contexts. Clearly, syntactic theory must have devices for dealing with this type of situation.

By this account, the use of *-rik* in exclamations is a basic one, in spite of the apparent violation of our criterion (ii). Of course, the restriction to exclamatory

¹⁷ Already Leizarraga’s New Testament translation (1571) has quantifier constructions with and without the partitive. So we find: ...*anbitz gauza banuen-ere zuer skribatzekorik* (2, Jn. 1.12) ‘though I had many things to write to you’. But: *oraino anbitz gauza dut zuer erraiteko* (Jn. 16, 12) ‘I have still many things to say to you’.

contexts here has nothing to do with the occurrence of the partitive as such, but only with the fact that the rule of Quantifier Deletion is restricted to those contexts.

From example (3)a, *ijitorik askorekin* “with many gypsies” we see that the use of *-rik* with quantifiers does not require the whole noun phrase to be in the absolutive (i.e. nominative) case. Postpositions in Basque are always added to the end of the whole noun phrase: therefore, the quantifier *asko* “many” and not the noun *ijito* “gypsy” receives the postposition *-rekin* “with”. It is not possible to pile another suffix on top of the partitive itself. Therefore, in example (3)c, where the quantifier *naiko* “enough” precedes the noun *gerla* “war”, it is essential for the whole noun phrase *naiko gerlarik* “enough war” to be in the absolutive case.

What I have called stative *-rik* (see section II, footnote 12) is an entirely different morpheme. We find it added to past participle forms, mainly in the Northern dialects: *ikusirik* “having seen”, from *ikusi* “seen”. For more examples and some remarks on the use of these forms, see P. Lafitte, *Grammaire basque*, § 498. In all dialects, stative *-rik* can be added to certain adjectives and a few nouns. The resulting form always denotes a state, hence the name stative *-rik*. Examples are: (from adjectives) *alperrik* “in vain”, *bakarrik* “alone”, *bilutsik* “naked”, *bizirik* “alive”, *isilik* “silent”, *osorik* “complete”, *zabalik* “wide open”: (from nouns) *baraurik* “empty-stomached”, *bidurrik* “afraid”, *pozirik* “happy”. To many of these forms, the relational suffix *-ko* may be added, the result being a prenominal modifier of a noun phrase: *bilutsik ikusirikako ijitoa* “the gypsy seen naked”, *alperrikako esamesak* “vain gossip”. The *a* appearing in front of the suffix *-ko* is an indication that the underlying form of *-rik* is *-rika*,¹⁸ showing that the phonological rule of Vowel Truncation which I proposed on page 339 of my article “Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?” (*FLV* 1 (1969), 319-351) is not restricted to verb forms.

We thus notice an important difference between stative *-rik* and partitive *-rik*: the former can be followed by the suffix *-ko*, while the latter cannot be followed by any suffix. There is an exception to this statement, but it is not a very interesting one. In certain dialects, and especially in Guipúzcoan, the syllable *-an* (or, rather, the segment *-n*, since the underlying form of *-rik*, *-tik* is *-rika*, *-tika*), possibly identical with the inessive ending *-n* “in”, can be added freely to any

¹⁸ In the modern dialects, Vowel Truncation is a strictly obligatory rule. But, in several 16th and 17th century texts, we find many instances of undeleted *-a*, at least with the suffixes *-rik* and *-tik*. So in Etxepare's poem “Emazten Fabore” (*Linguae vasconum primitiae*, 1545): *ixilika* “silent”, *zerutika* “from heaven”. Also in a poem awarded the first prize in a contest in Pamplona in 1610, we find: *guñonica* “any man”, *alegerica* “joyous”, *jarririca* “seated”, *jancirica* “clothed”, *pobregarica yrtenica* “having come out of poverty”, *arturica* “having taken”, alongside of forms without final *-a*: *fantasiaric* “any phantasy”, *echiric* “closed”, *cumplituric* “fulfilled”. L. Michelena, who quotes this poem in his book *Textos arcaicos vascos*, §3.1.21, remarks: “Llama la atención la frecuencia con que aparece —en parte, acaso, *metri causa*— la desinencia *-(r)ica* de ‘partitivo’. En el v. 67 tiene claro valor de ablativo, *pobregarica* (‘salidos’) de la pobreza.” In the same work, § 3.2.11, we find the text of a Credo in High Navarrese, published in Rome in 1614. It has the form *andica* “from there”, but *concevituric*, *vaytatíc*, *vitaricic*, *jarreríc* with deleted *-a* (op. cit. p. 163). In “Beraiyn's *Tratado de cómo se ha de oír missa* (a bilingual book, whose Basque is Southern High Navarrese, probably from Uterga, published in Pamplona in 1621), there is an instance of *jakinika* “knowing” for *jakinik* (p. 71).

suffix ending in *-ik*, causing no change in meaning whatsoever (cf. Azkue, *Morfología vasca*, § 441). Thus, we meet forms like: *ijitorikan asko* “many gypsies”, *pozikan* “happy”, *ikusirikan* “having seen”, *orregatikan* “therefore”, *oraindikan* “still”, *dirurikan*¹⁹ *gabe* “without money”, *ardoa duelarikan* “while he has wine” (the suffix *-larik* “while” consists of the complementizer *-la* “that”, “while”, together with stative *-rik*).

Some speakers will even iterate the process, producing forms like *pozikanen* from *pozikan*, from *pozik*. The advantage of this free extra syllable is eagerly exploited by the *bertsolaris* (Basque bards) in their improvised poetic productions, where a correct meter is imperative. It also occurs in normal conversational style, albeit in certain regions it is a lot more frequent than in others. In particular, the coastal area seems to be quite fond of it.

Its use is already attested in Etxepare's *Linguae vasconum primitiae* (1545) *biderikan lizatenex* “if there was a way” (*Amore gogorraren despita*, line 4). Also e.g. in Gazteluzar's *Eguia Catholicac* (1686): *maiteagorikan* “more loved” (p. 300).

One important observation before closing this section. The partitive postposition *-rik* is restricted to indefinite noun phrases. It is therefore incompatible with demonstratives and other definite determiners. Thus, while, as we saw, the English phrase *the most beautiful of women* readily translates as *emakumerik ederrena*, the phrase *the most beautiful of these women* can be translated in several ways, but not with the partitive.²⁰ We get: *emakume auetan ederrena* (locative plural), *emakume auetatik ederrena* (ablative plural), *emakume auetako ederrena* (“relational” genitive plural), *emakume auen artean* (or: *artetik*, *arteko*) *ederrena* (literally: “the most beautiful (from) among these women”). Similarly, *the most beautiful of the women* will be translated as: *emakumeetan ederrena*, *emakumeetatik ederrena*, *emakumeetako ederrena*, or, *emakumeen artean* (*arteko*, *artetik*) *ederrena*. Here too, the partitive cannot be used.

A last remark: in all cases, the postposition *-rik* is added directly to its theme. It does not take an intervening marker of indefiniteness, like the locative postpositions do. For the inessive *-n*, e.g., we have the definite forms *zuloan* “in the hole” and (*bi*) *zuloetan* “in the (two) holes”, but also the indefinite (*bi*) *zulotan* “in (two) holes”. For the partitive, only one form exists: *zularik*.

¹⁹ This example may seem like a real counter-example to the claim we just made. It appears that partitive *-rik* is followed by another postposition: *gabe*. There are, however, many reasons for considering *gabe* an adjective (similar to *bete* “full”) and not a postposition. I will mention just three: *Gabe* can receive the determiner *-a* by the rule of concord mentioned under example (2)b, which applies to nouns and adjectives, but not to postposition:

(i) *Ijito ori dirurik gabea da*. “That gypsy is without money”. Postpositions do not take stative *-rik*, but *gabe* does: *dirurik gaberik* “being without money”.

Some dialects allow *gabe* to occur without a preceding head noun:

(ii) *Pipa nerekin daramat, ezin naiteke gabe ta*. “I am carrying my pipe with me, as I cannot stand to be without” (from: P. Berrondo, Oyarzun).

In no Basque dialect, however, can a postposition ever survive without a supporting head present in surface structure. We conclude that *gabe* is not a postposition.

²⁰ The existence of the forms *emakume hauetarik* and *emakumeetarik* in the Northern dialects should not lead us astray. These are ablative plural forms. In these dialects, *-tarik* replaces *-etatik* (and even the animate *-engandik*) as the plural form of the ablative postposition *-tik*. The partitive postposition *-rik* has no plural.

We are ready to turn now to the main part of this paper, section IV, where we will deal with the transformational process of Partitive Assignment.

IV. Derived uses of the partitive

Consider sentence (4):

(4) *Ijito ori ikusi degu*. "We have seen that gypsy" (gypsy that seen have we).

Negating (4), we get sentence (5):

(5) *Ez degu ijito ori ikusi*. "We haven't seen that gypsy".

The word order in (5) is different from that in (4), because the negative-*ez* attracts the auxiliary *degu*, thus forming one phonological word: *eztegu*. In the same way, we would expect the negation of (6)a to be (7)a, and that of (6)b, to be (7)b:

(6)a *Ijitoa ikusi degu*. "We have seen a gypsy".

(6)b *Andaluziko ijito bat ikusi degu*. "We have seen a gypsy from Andalusia".

(7)a *Ez degu ijitoa ikusi*. "We haven't seen the gypsy".

(7)b *Ez degu Andaluziko ijito bat ikusi*. "We haven't seen one gypsy from Andalusia".

But, as we see from the glosses, this is not the case. (7)a is not the negation of (6)a, and (7)b is not quite the negation of (6)b. The negations of (6)a and (6)b are (8)a and (8)b, respectively:

(8)a *Ez degu ijitorik ikusi*. "We haven't seen a gypsy".

(8)b *Ez degu Andaluziko ijitorik ikusi*. "We haven't seen a gypsy from Andalusia".

This is a strange, or, at least, unexpected, situation. Can we account for it? Yes, we can, if we avail ourselves of the resources of Transformational Grammar. One way, indeed, of clarifying what is going on, is to postulate the existence of a grammatical transformation. I will call this transformation Partitive Assignment. It applies to an indefinite noun phrase, and is triggered by a negative commanding²¹

²¹ The notion of "command" is due to R. W. Langacker. In his paper "On Pronominalization and the Chain of Command" (published in Reibel and Schane: *Modern Studies in English*, pp. 160-186) he defines the concept as follows: "We will say that a node A 'commands' another node B if (1) neither A nor B dominates the other; and (2) the S-node that most immediately dominates A also dominates B" (p. 167).

The condition that the negative commands the noun phrase to which the partitive is assigned will explain e.g. why in the following sentence *oilloa* "a chicken" cannot be changed to *oillorik* in spite of the preceding negative *ez*:

Ikusi ez nauen ijitoak oilloa arrapatu du. 'They gypsy who hasn't seen me has caught a chicken'. In this example, the negative *ez* does not command the noun phrase *oilloa*, since the clause (i.e. S-node) that most immediately dominates *ez* is the relative clause (*ijitoak*) *ikusi ez nau* "(the gypsy) has not seen me", which does not contain (i.e. does not dominate) the noun phrase *oilloa*.

this noun phrase. What it does is Chomsky-adjoin the postposition *-rik* to the right of the noun phrase. (See Fig. 1.)

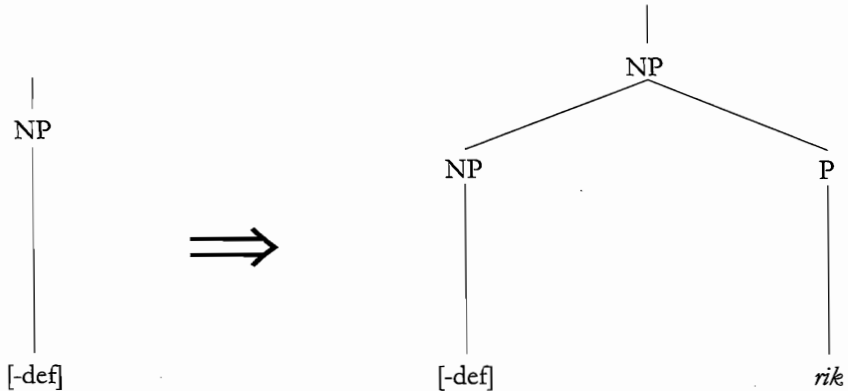


Fig. 1. Partitive Assignment

Formulated in this fashion, Partitive Assignment is a standard type rule, allowed by any theory of transformational grammar: Chomsky-adjunction of a designated element. The restriction to indefinite noun phrases is also well known in transformational practice, cf. e.g. the rule of *there*-insertion in English. The requirement that the triggering negative must command the NP node affected by the rule needs no comment. It merely expresses the fact that Partitive Assignment is upward bounded in the sense of Ross (*Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, section 5.1ff), as is the case of the great majority of transformational rules.

Partitive Assignment is blocked when the noun phrase already has a postposition attached to it. Whether this restriction has to be incorporated into the statement of the rule in a more or less ad hoc manner, or can be deduced from some general principle of grammar, is not clear to me at present. If a universal constraint is involved, however, it should be weak enough to allow for the double case-marking which constituents inside relative clauses are subjected to in some Australian languages. (Data from Prof. K. L. Hale, M.I.T.).

Our formulation of Partitive Assignment makes it necessary to postulate a rule of Determiner Deletion. This rule deletes indefinite determiners (indefinite *-a* and its plural *-ak*, *bat* "a", and *batzuek* "some") whenever they are followed by the postposition *-rik*. This way, we get the correct form *ijitorik* in examples (8)a and (8)b. Otherwise of course, we would end up with the non-existent forms **ijitoarik* and **jito batik*.

Determiner Deletion, however, is needed anyway, regardless of how we formulate Partitive Assignment. It serves to express the fact that *-rik* is unique among the postpositions of Basque in that it is always added directly to the last noun or adjective of the affected noun phrase, without any intervening determiner. This is true for both basic *-rik* and derived *-rik*. We may contrast this with the behavior of the dative postposition *-ri*. In certain syntactic environments, *-ri* can be added directly to the noun: *iru ijitori* "to three gypsies", but usually a determiner

intervenes: *ijito bati* “to a gypsy”, *ijito batzuei* “to some gypsies”, and with a definite determiner: *ijitoari* “to the gypsy”, *ijitoai* “to the gypsies”. With dative *-ri*, there are thus five possible forms; with Partitive *-rik* only one: *ijitorik*.

It is, of course, not surprising that there is a rule of Determiner Deletion associated with the postposition *-rik*. From section III, we know that *-rik* is incompatible with definite determiners. The feature indefinite is therefore redundant and needs no manifestation in surface structure. Whether it is actually deleted, or just prevented from being spelled out, is of little importance here.

I am well aware that this treatment of the Partitive in Basque is not the only one possible. It is, however, a very natural one, and it provides us with a framework that enables us to describe the distribution of *-rik* in a fairly coherent way. In a sense, our transformational approach reconciles the conflicting views of the native grammarians discussed in section II. Since the combined effect of Partitive Assignment and Determiner Deletion amounts to the substitution of a postposition for an article, we can say that those who, like Azkue, consider *-rik* to be an article, are looking at the deep structure, whereas those who, like Lafitte, consider *-rik* to be a case ending are looking at the surface structure.

Let us now return for a moment to our example sentences (6)-(8).

The theory we have given explains why the negations of (6)a and (6)b have the form of (8)a and (8)b, and not of (7)a and (7)b. But why are (7)a and (7)b still grammatical sentences? The answer is that *-a* in (6)a is ambiguous between a definite and an indefinite article, and *bat* in (6)b between a numeral (“one”) and an indefinite article (cf. footnote 15). The indefinite reading of (7)a and (7)b is removed by the obligatory application of Partitive Assignment, and only the other reading remains.

In these examples, Partitive Assignment is triggered by the negative *ez* “not”. This, however, is not the only negative that can trigger Partitive Assignment. Two others are *ezin* “impossible” and *nekez* “hardly”:

- (9)a *Ijito onek ezin du jantzi berririk erosi.* “This gypsy cannot buy new clothes”.
 (9)b *Nekez arkituko dezu emen ijitorik.* “You will hardly find gypsies here”.

We have seen Partitive Assignment applying in negative contexts. Actually, there is a much wider class of contexts in which Partitive Assignment can apply. There, however, its application tends to be optional, and occasionally subject to idiolectal variation. These contexts can be listed as follows: (i) - (vi):

- (i) Presence of a word meaning “only”: *bakarrik*, *soillik*, *txoilkiki*.

Example:

- (10)a *Orrelako astakeririk Nixonek bakarrik egingo zukean.* “Only Nixon would have made such a blunder”.

It is likely that an underlying negative accounts for the occurrence of the partitive in this example; especially if the underlying structure of (10)a is similar to that of (10)b:

- (10)b *Inork ez zukean egingo orrelako astakeririk, Nixonek bai.* “Nobody would have made such a blunder, (but) Nixon has”.

(ii) Presence of the word *beste* "other" modifying the noun phrase partitivized:

(11)a Ba det beste adiskiderik. "I have other friends".

(11)b Gaur, berriz, beste konturik dago. "Today, however, it's a different story"
(A. Zabala, *Bertsolarien Txapelketa* 1960, p. 10).

(iii) Yes-no questions:

(12)a Ijitorik ikusi al dezu? "Have you seen gypsies?"

(12)b Ogirik ba al dezu? "Do you have bread?"

(12)c Ardorik nai al dezu? "Do you want wine?"

If the widely held view among transformational grammarians is correct that the derivation of yes-no questions involves a disjunction of a positive clause with its denial; an underlying negative may be responsible for the occurrence of the Partitive here.

It is important to note that the partitive in this type of questions may or may not be associated with negative presuppositions or expectations. In other words, the examples given under (12) do not betray a negative expectation on the part of the speaker. They are negative only in so far as the possibility of a negative answer is left open. Indirect yes-no questions also allow the partitive:

(12)d Ijitorik ikusi duen (or: duenetz) galdetu diot. "I have asked him if he has seen gypsies".

(12)e Aitak dirurik emango ote didan ari naiz. "I am wondering if father will give me money".

(iv) Some Wh-questions, namely those that are equivalent to a negative assertion (queclaratives, see footnote 4), or, at least, indicate strong disbelief or consternation on the part of the speaker. Neutral Wh-questions do not allow the partitive:

(13)a Noiz esan du itzik? "When has he said a word?"

(13)b Nun arkituko dezu emen artzik? "Where will you find bears here?"

(13)c Zergatik esan bear zizuten itz gaiztorik? "What did they have to say nasty words to you for?"

(13)d Zeiñek eman dio dirua? (*dirurik) "Who has given him money?"

Note the contrast between (13)e and (13)f:

(13)e Eliza ori zarberritzeko, zeinek emango luke dirurik? "Who would give money to renovate that church?"

(13)f Eliza ori zarberritzeko, zeिñek eman du dirua? (*dirurik). "Who has given money to renovate that church?" (spoken after the renovation of the church).

(v) Conditionals:

(14)a Ijitorik ikusten badezu, esaiezu eztaietara etortzeko. "If you see gypsies, tell them to come to the wedding".

(14)b Babarrunik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitudala itzematzen dizut. "If you eat beans, I promise that I will take you to the movies".

(vi) A special class of predicates allow the partitive to occur inside their sentential complements, but not inside the main clause of the predicate. Using a term introduced

by E. Klima for a similar situation in English, we may call them "affective" predicates. (see: E. S. Klima; "Negation in English", XV, 41, in J. A. Fodor, J. J. Katz: *The Structure of Language*, pp. 246-323). Some members of this class are: all adjectives with the suffix *-egi* "too"; *sinisgaitz* "unbelievable", *arrigarri* "surprising", *zail* "difficult", *zoro* "foolish", *arritu*, "to be surprised", *bildur izan* "to be afraid", *debekatu* "to forbid", *ukatu* "to refuse". Examples:

- (15)a *Ijito au pobreegia da jantzi berririk erosteko*. "This gypsy is too poor to buy new clothes".
- (15)b *Sinisgaitza da artzik emen ikustea*. "Seeing bears here is unbelievable".
- (15)c *Arrigarria da Don Primitivok euskerazko libururik irakurtzea*. "It is surprising that Don Primitivo reads Basque books".
- (15)d *Egun auetan zailla da bizimodurik eskuratzea*. "It is difficult these days to obtain a living".
- (15)e *Ijitorik ezkongai gelditzea zoroa iruditzen zait*. "It seems foolish to me for a gypsy to remain unmarried".
- (15)f *Arritzen naiz ijitorik emen arkitzea*. "I am surprised to find gypsies here".
- (15)g *Martini errurik ezarriko zioten bildur zan*. "He was afraid that they would put blame on Martin" (D. Aguirre, *Garoa*, p. 184).
- (15)h *Legeak debekatzen du artzik iltzea*. "The law forbids killing bears".
- (15)i *Ijito onek ukatu egin du ardorik edatea*. "This gypsy has refused to drink wine".

This terminates our listing of the contexts in which Partitive Assignment can operate. We should still point out in this connection that Partitive Assignment can reach down into complement clauses. What this means is that, whenever the partitive can occur in a clause, it can also occur in a sentential complement below that clause. Here are some examples that illustrate this:

- (16)a *Ijitorik ikusi dezula uste al du Mirenek?* "Does Miren think that you have seen gypsies?"
- (16)b *Egia al da ijitorik ikusi dezula?* "Is it true that you have seen gypsies?"
- (16)c *Ijitorik ikusi dezula egia bada, zergatik ez dituzu ekarri?* "If it is true that you have seen gypsies, why didn't you bring them?"

In fact, the triggering element, e.g. the negative *ez* or the interrogative *al*, can be separated from the affected noun phrase by any number of intervening clauses. Thus, the partitive is possible in (16)d, but not in (16)e:

- (16)d *Ijitoai dirurik ematera alkatea beartu nai izan zuela esan zidala sinisterazten ez naiz saiatuko*. "I won't try to make people believe that he told me that he had wanted to force the mayor to give the gypsies money".
- (16)e *Ijitoai dirua (*dirurik) ematera alkatea beartu nai izan zuela esan zidala sinisterazi bear det*. "I must try to make people believe that he told me that he had wanted to force the mayor to give the gypsies money".

This fact, of course, was the reason why we used the notion of command in the formulation of Partitive Assignment given at the beginning of this section. That the triggering element commands the affected noun phrase, however, is a necessary but

not a sufficient condition for partitivization to be possible. A relative clause may be commanded by a negative; but if this relative clause has a definite head noun phrase, it forms a syntactic island opaque to Partitive Assignment. Note the following contrast:

- (16)f Artzik il duen ijitorik ez degu ezagutzen. "We don't know a gypsy who has killed bears".
 (16)g Artzak il dituen ijtoa ez degu ezagutzen. "We don't know the gypsy who has killed bears".

In (16)g the Partitive could not be used: **artzik il duen ijtoa ez degu ezagutzen*.

From the fact that the triggering element need not be in the same clause with the noun phrase Partitive Assignment operates on, it can be inferred that this transformation must be postcyclic, that is, unless one accepts a proposal recently made by P.A.M. Seuren. This author argues that for the purpose of deciding whether a certain cyclic transformation can apply or not on a given cycle, the grammar must be allowed to make use of information that is not present in that cycle but is present in some higher one. (See P.A.M. Seuren, "Negative's Travels", in Seuren (ed.), *Semantic Syntax*, Oxford 1974). If his view is right, Partitive Assignment could still be a cyclic rule.

Up to now, we have talked about Partitive Assignment as if it were a process completely unique to Basque. The moment has come to bring up a parallel that will have occurred to many readers: the rule that accounts for the distribution of unstressed *any* (and some related forms) in English. This rule was introduced under the name of "Indefinite Incorporation" by E. S. Klima in his pioneering article "Negation in English", published in its final form in 1964 (J. A. Fodor, J. J. Katz (eds.), *The Structure of Language*, pp. 246-323), although based on research done nearly five years earlier. In subsequent years, the rule repeatedly figured in linguistic discussions. J. R. Ross used it in his dissertation *Constraints on Variables in Syntax* (1967) as a typical example of a feature-changing rule (section 5.1.3). R. T. Lakoff discussed it in her dissertation *Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation* (M.I.T. Press, 1968), and compared it with a similar rule in Latin (sections 4.1 and 4.5). She called it "some-any change" (pp. 111, 113), a clear misnomer, since neither is the output of the rule necessarily *any*, nor its input *some*, as Klima was careful enough to point out in his section 25. R. T. Lakoff also wrote an article in *Language* under the title "Some Reasons Why There Can't Be Any *some-any* Rule" (*Lg* 45 (1969), 608-615). In it she shows, not that there is no "*some-any* Rule", as the title would lead one to expect, but, rather, that there is such a rule, and that it has the property of being sensitive to presuppositions held by the speaker.

The differences between Basque Partitive Assignment and English Indefinite Incorporation are clear. The latter does not introduce any preposition (the English counterpart of the Basque postposition), and, accordingly, is not restricted to prepositionless noun phrases. But no less clear are the similarities. Both rules act on indefinite noun phrases, without, however, moving them from whatever position they may have in the sentence. Most importantly, they apply in virtually identical environments.

This latter similarity is so striking that it can hardly be due to chance. Basque and English are not genetically related; nor is it likely that a rule of this scope and complexity should have made its appearance in either language by way of some superficial process of borrowing. Thus, the connection between the two processes must be a structural one.

We do not know just what underlying factor characterises the contexts in which Indefinite Incorporation can apply in English. Klima's introduction of "the grammatico-semantic feature *Affective*" (op. cit. section 41) —a convenient move that greatly simplified later discussions— did not solve the problem but merely named it. Still, whatever its nature, the same factor that triggers Indefinite Incorporation in English also triggers Partitive Assignment in Basque.

At this point, a question must arise. If the exact same factor triggers both rules, why, then, are not the environments exactly identical? We know indeed that they are not. On the one hand, English *other* does not induce Indefinite Incorporation: *I have some other friends*, not **I have any other friends*, but Basque *beste*, which means "other" does allow Partitive Assignment (see example (11)a). On the other hand, Indefinite Incorporation can apply in the term of comparison in an English comparative: *Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy*. This is not the case for Partitive Assignment in Basque. We have:

(17)a Miren ijitoa (*ijitorik) baino ederragoa da. "Miren is more beautiful than a gypsy".

In this construction, the partitive form cannot be used. One can use indefinite forms with the prefix *edo* "any", such as *edozein* "any kind of" (Spanish *cualquier*), or *edonungo* "from anywhere". However, these forms correspond more closely to English stressed *any*, than to the unstressed forms produced by Indefinite Incorporation. See examples (17)b and (17)c.

(17)b Miren edozein ijito (*ijitorik) baino ederragoa da. "Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy whatsoever".

(17)c Miren edonungo ijitoa (*ijitorik) baino ederragoa da. "Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy whatsoever" (literally: "than a gypsy from any place whatsoever").

Our task is now to account for the discrepancy we observed between the two rules. I will attempt an explanation in terms of certain differences in structure between Basque and English. If this explanation is correct, we can maintain that both rules are triggered by an identical underlying factor. My explanation is based on a generalisation of a well-known constraint. I want to generalize the constraint on backward pronominalization (for which concept see J. R. Ross, "On the Cyclic Nature of English Pronominalization", *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, II, pp. 1.669-1.682) to cover all non-movement rules that make crucial use of variables. "Non-movement rules" is a more general term than "feature-changing rules", a designation I would like to avoid anyway, because the status of features in syntax generally is not very clear. I will start from a formulation of this constraint given by J. R. Ross in his dissertation *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. I quote from section 5.3.2:

(5.152) *Condition on backward pronominalization*: If one element precedes another, the second can only pronominalize the first if the first is dominated by a subordinate clause which does not dominate the second.

I submit that this can be generalised to all non-movement rules that make crucial use of variables, as follows:

Causality Constraint: If an effect precedes its cause, the effect must be dominated by a subordinate clause which does not dominate the cause.

Corollary: When cause and effect are clausemates, the cause must precede the effect.

It is possible to formulate a weaker form of the Causality Constraint which is reminiscent of Langacker's version of the constraint on backward pronominalization. For this version, see R. W. Langacker, "On Pronominalization and the Chain of Command", in Reibel and Schane, *Modern Studies in English*, or Ross's paraphrase of it in *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, section 5.3.2, formula (5.153).

Causality Constraint (second version): No effect can both command and precede its cause.

For a rule like pronominalization, which is not upward bounded, the second version of the constraint is weaker than the first. The second, but not the first, would allow backward pronominalization from the rightmost into the leftmost of a pair of conjoined sentences, something we know does not happen.

For upward bounded rules, however, it is easy to see that the two versions are fully equivalent.

My phrasing of the Causality Constraint was, of course, very loose and informal. By "cause", I mean the smallest constituent indicated in the structural description of the rule which can be said to trigger the change. By "effect", I mean the smallest constituent indicated in the structural description of the rule which undergoes the change the rule is designed to carry out. I do not propose the Causality Constraint as a global constraint, to be valid throughout the derivation, but as a purely local one, to hold only at the point where the rule in question applies. Even with these qualifications, my formulation of the constraint leaves much to be desired, but it will do for the purpose at hand.

Consider the problem with *beste* and *other*. Since Basque *beste* "other" can induce the partitive on the noun phrase it introduces, we will infer that English *other* has the same virtue with respect to Indefinite Incorporation. However, because of the Causality Constraint, this virtue will never be actualized. Compare the order of terms in the corresponding phrase *beste adiskide batzuek* and *some other friends*. In Basque, there is no problem. The partitive is a suffix on the noun phrase, and *beste* invariably precedes the head noun. Therefore, the partitivized form *beste adiskiderik* can be generated. But, in English, the determiner *some* precedes *other* in the surface structure, and, in all likelihood, in every underlying structure as well. Hence our Corollary prevents *other* from changing the preceding *some* to *any*.

For the comparative, the same situation obtains in reverse. In the English phrase *more beautiful than any gypsy* the factor that triggers Indefinite Incorporation necessarily precedes the noun phrase *any gypsy*, which can be, indeed, the rightmost constituent of the sentence. But in the Basque phrase *ijitoa baiño ederrago, baiño* “than” always follows the noun *ijito*, which could be sentence initial. Assuming that at the moment when Partitive Assignment should apply, *ijitoa* is no longer dominated by a subordinate clause, the Causality Constraint will bar the rule from applying.

It is true that this argument is not absolutely airtight, since I do not know in detail how comparatives are derived, either in English or in Basque. To destroy it, one might argue that the surface structure order does not reflect the deep structure order, and that Indefinite Incorporation or Partitive Assignment apply early enough as to be dependent on this deeper order. That this may be the case is perhaps not entirely inconceivable. Yet, for the time being, I can see little reason to believe in this counter-argument, especially if Partitive Assignment is indeed, as I think it is, a postcyclic rule.

We have left to show that the Causality Constraint is consistent with the way Indefinite Incorporation and Partitive Assignment apply in the other cases. We do not have to worry about “affective” predicates (cf. examples (15)a - (15)i), since they take effect only inside their sentential complements. No matter what the linear order is between the affected noun phrase and the affective predicate, the Causality Constraint is automatically satisfied.

For English Indefinite Incorporation, the matter is relatively clear with respect to the other conditioning environments of the rule. Conditionals show an initial marker, the conjunction *if*, which can be taken to trigger the rule. Questions of all types are introduced by a Wh-complementizer or something of the sort,²² probably at all levels between deep and shallow structure. As for negation, it is generally agreed that it passes through sentence-initial position, and, then, goes on to preverbal position by the transformation of Neg. Placement. Now, if Indefinite Incorporation precedes Neg. Placement, we have no problem, for the negative morpheme will precede any noun phrase in the sentence. But if it follows, there is also no problem; the Causality Constraint will explain nicely why *Some gypsy is not happy* cannot be converted by Indefinite Incorporation to *Any gypsy is not happy*.

So much for English. We now turn again to Partitive Assignment in Basque. We will first look at conditional sentences. Consider (14)a.

(14)a *Ijitorik ikusten badezu, ...* “If you see gypsies, ...”

Sentence (14)a seems to contradict the Causality Constraint, because the Partitive noun phrase *ijitorik* “gypsies” precedes the conditional morpheme *ba*. Note, however, that there is a more emphatic variant of (14)a, namely (14)aa, which has another conditional morpheme *baldin* “if” in sentence-initial position:

²² For relevant discussions on the structure of English questions, see C. L. Baker, “Notes on the Description of English Questions: The Role of an Abstract Question Morpheme”, *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), 197-219, and J. W. Bresnan, «On Complementizers: Toward a Syntactic Theory of Complement Types», *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), 297-321.

Naturally, one need not accept the whole theoretical framework of either of these authors, in order to agree that English questions have an initial marker of some sort.

(14)aa Baldin ijitorik ikusten badezu, ... "If you see gypsies, ..."

I will assume, now, that all conditional sentences are introduced by *baldin* at some level of underlying structure. Partitive Assignment, then, takes place before *baldin* is deleted, generating (14)a; or is moved onto the finite verb, generating: *ijitorik ikusten baldin badezu*, which is also a grammatical sentence.

To account for the Partitive in questions, I will take a similar tack. There is a particle *ea* (often glossed in Spanish as "a ver"), which optionally introduces dependent questions:

(12)dd Ea ijitorik ikusi duen galdetu diot. "I have asked him if he has seen gypsies".

Independent questions have emphatic variants with *ea*. So (12)a has the variant (12)aa:

(12)a Ijitorik ikusi al dezu? "Have you seen gypsies?"

(12)aa Ea ijitorik ikusi dezun? "I am asking you: have you seen gypsies?"

On the basis of this evidence, I will assume that all questions are introduced by *ea* and that Partitive Assignment precedes the process by which *ea* is converted to preverbal *al* in Guipúzcoan, to preverbal *abal* in Labourdin, and to postverbal *-a* in Low Navarrese and Souletin. Cf. Low Navarrese *xitorik ikhusi duzuya?* "have you seen gypsies?", where *duzuya* derives from *duzu* + *a*.

In this connection, it is interesting to report an observation made by H. Gavel in his *Grammaire basque*, Chapter II, p. 33. Gavel noticed that questions that are not syntactically marked as interrogative, but are marked only by intonation (e.g. *etorriko zera?* "you'll come?" instead of *etorriko al zera?* "will you come?"), as a rule, do not admit the partitive: **Ogirik nabi duzu?* "You want any bread?" It is natural to interpret the absence of the syntactic marking as the absence of *ea*. What is left is only a suprasegmental question morpheme realized as a rising intonation at the end of the sentence. Being sentence-final, it is barred from inducing the partitive by virtue of the Causality Constraint.

We will now consider negation. The English sentence *No gypsy came* can be translated in three ways, depending on considerations of topic and focus. We have (18)a, (18)b and (18)c:

(18)a Ez zan etorri ijitorik (semantically unmarked form). "No gypsy came".

(18)b Ez zan ijitorik etorri (*ijito* in focus). "No gypsy came" (i.e. "It was (the) gypsies who didn't come").

(18)c Ijitorik ez zan etorri (*ijito* as topic). "As for gypsies, none came".

I will postulate that at one stage²³ of their derivation, all negatives have the form *Ez S*. In other words, Basque, which is an underlyingly verb final language, nevertheless has presentential negation at some point in the derivational history of

²³ I subscribe to a view of grammar in which negation starts out as a higher predicate and is then lowered into its sentential complement by a cyclic rule. As this rule, in all likelihood, is early enough to precede Partitive Assignment, and as we defined the Causality Constraint as a local constraint, these considerations are irrelevant to our present concern.

its negative sentences. If this is correct, an underiving order for all three sentences above is given in (18)d:

(18)d *Ez ijitoa etorri zan.

(18)d is not a possible surface order, because the negation *ez* will obligatorily attract the auxiliary *zan*. (18)c, then, is derived by Topicalization. In Basque, topics conserve any case-marker they may have. Hence, Topicalization follows all Case-Marking Rules. It is therefore not surprising to see, from example (18)c, that it also follows Partitive Assignment.

Thus, in Basque as well as in English, we have found the operation of the respective rules consistent with the Causality Constraint (*quod erat demonstrandum*). I have not shown, of course, that the Causality Constraint must be valid. Nor have I shown that the differences we observed between Basque and English cannot be explained any other way. All I can hope to have shown is that the Causality Constraint stands up to preliminary scrutiny, explains some otherwise puzzling facts, and therefore deserves closer investigation.

This conclusion ought to have marked the end of this section. But there is one aspect of Partitive Assignment we have still to discuss, namely, its restriction to indefinite noun phrases. We will now study cases where it seems that a definite noun phrase has undergone Partitive Assignment.

Elderly informants from Northern Guipúzcoa reported sentences like the following as used by their parents:

- (19)a Ez da gaur gure aitarik Donostira joango. "My father won't go to San Sebastian today".
 (19)b Gaur gure aitarik Donostira joango balitz, legatza ekarriko liguke. "If my father were to go to San Sebastian today, he would bring us codfish".
 (19)c Gaur gure neskarik ikusi al dezu dantzan? "Have you seen our girl at the dance today?"

In these sentences, the partitive noun phrase has a unique referent: there is only one father in (19)a and (19)b, and (19)c could be spoken by a member of a family with only one girl. So it seems that Partitive Assignment has applied to underlying definite noun phrases.

When I asked younger speakers about these sentences, their reactions varied. Some considered them totally unacceptable. Others found that they could be used, but only in case the speaker is very angry or intensely impatient. One informant gave me this sentence as one he would be apt to use himself:

(19)d Ez da gaur nere emazterik Donostira joango! "No wife of mine will go to San Sebastián today!"

He commented that this was a very emphatic emotional statement, which must be pronounced with an angry intonation. However, there is nothing particularly emphatic or emotional about the next example, which is taken from a foreword written by A. Iturria to the third edition (1956) of the famous novel *Garoa*:

(19)e Bera ez mintzeko, ez det emen bere izenik aipatuko (p. vii). "Not to hurt his feelings, I won't mention here his name".

In the examples we have seen so far, we found the partitive occurring on an inalienably possessed noun phrase. There are also examples of the partitive with a proper name. In the translation of the four Gospels, *Lau ebanjelioak* (Zarauz, 1961), brought out by the Franciscans of Aránzazu, we read in a footnote to Lk. 2.43:

- (19)f ..., orduan konturatuko ziran Maria ta Jose Jesus-ik etzala an eta billa asi ziran. "..., it was then that Mary and Joseph must have realized that Jesus was not there, and began to look for him".

We find such examples in other dialects too. The next example is from the Souletin dialect of Tardets. It is taken from a story told by Fabien Hastoy and cited by R. M. Azkue in his work *Euskalerriaren jakintza*, II, p. 317.

- (19)g ...Sanctificetur-ik eztüzü haboro, barda otsuak yen beiteit. "... there is no Sanctificetur anymore, for he got eaten by a wolf yesterday night".

The following example is cited by H. Gavel in his *Grammaire basque*, Chapter II, p. 34. He does not indicate the source of his quotation, which is undoubtedly Labourdin.

- (19)h Besubioko mendiak aurthiki zuen su eta hauts, eta etzen Pompeirik gehiago izan. "Mount Vesuvius threw up fire and ashes, and there was no Pompeii anymore".

Another example from Labourdin is found in the play *Hilla esposatu* (ed. Auspoa, 1965) written by Piarres Larzabal (born in Ascain):

- (19)i Ttanta Adelak, ez du gehiago aitarik nahi (p. 118). "Aunt Adela doesn't want father anymore".

Here *aitarik* stands for *gure aitarik*: the sentence is concerned with the father of the speaker, the girl Mayi, not with the father of Aunt Adela. Domingo Aguirre's famous novel *Garoa* ("Fern") abounds with examples of the type we are studying. With those, we are back in the Guipúzcoan dialect, which Aguirre, though himself a speaker of Bizcayan (born in Ondárroa), used in this novel, written around 1907. We will quote six examples from it:

- (19)j I ba-ua, Moxolorik ez den agertuko (p. 253). "If you go, Moxolo isn't going to appear".
- (19)k Ez nion nere baimenik inola emango (p. 228). "Under no circumstances would I give him my permission".
- (19)l Ez da Kataliñek eta amonak nai dutenik gertatuko oraingoan (p. 217). "This time, what Katalin and grandmother want, will not happen".
- (19)m Baiña gaur ez dezu nere arrebarik ikusiko (p. 247). "But you are not going to see my sister today". (Meant as a prohibition, not as a prediction.)
- (19)n Ez zan geiago Pedro Migelen izenik entzun Azkarragako baserrian (p. 207). "The name of Pedro Miguel wasn't heard anymore on the Azkarraga farm".
- (19)o Ez siñistu nere burua botako dedanik, ez siñistu! Ez nere bururik, besteren batena, zurea, botako det... (p. 214). "Don't believe that I will throw my head (i.e. myself) down the cliffs, don't believe it! Not my head, but that of someone else, yours, I will throw...".

Should we now relax the condition on Partitive Assignment, and claim that the transformation applies to noun phrases which are either indefinite, or proper names, or inalienably possessed? I think not, for more than one reason. First of all, we are bound to suspect that there is something wrong with any rule plagued by a disjunctive condition. More often than not, either two or more rules have been mashed together, or a significant generalization has been missed. Secondly, if we simply make Partitive Assignment applicable to definite noun phrases, we fail to account for the typical flavor of our example sentences. Compare e.g. (19)d with the more common (19)dd:

(19)dd Ez da gaur nere emaztea Donostira joango! "My wife won't go to San Sebastian today!"

While there is no doubt that (19)d and (19)dd are cognitively synonymous, (19)d is certainly more than a mere variant of (19)dd generated by an optional application of Partitive Assignment to the definite noun phrase *nere emaztea* "my wife".

Thirdly, our whole argument is based on a misconception in the first place. What reason do we have, after all, to assume that in the examples we gave Partitive Assignment has applied to definite noun phrases? Surely no reason of grammatical form, since possessed noun phrases and proper names occur in definite as well as in indefinite constructions: *gure neska* bat "a girl of ours" and *Albert Einstein* bat "an Albert Einstein". Nor do semantic considerations involving reference imply anything about definiteness or indefiniteness. *Henry Kissinger* and *a certain Henry Kissinger* are both uniquely referring noun phrases. Yet, one is definite and the other is indefinite.

We thus find we have no real basis for the claim that Partitive Assignment can apply to definite noun phrases. Still, our examples are exceptional in some way, and we must try to account for that. For this purpose, we return to sentence (19)d and ask what happens when we substitute a transitive verb, say *egin* "do" for the intransitive verb *joan* "go". We do this because the subject of a transitive verb will be in the ergative case, and, thus, unable to undergo Partitive Assignment.

(20)a Nere emazteak ez du olakorik egingo. "My wife won't do any such thing".

(20)b Nere emazte batek ez du olakorik egingo! "A wife of mine won't do any such thing!"

Now, (20)a with the definite noun phrase *nere emazteak* "my wife (ergative)", while a possible sentence, does not match (19)d in emotional emphasis. Rather, what we get, with the same angry intonation of (19)d, is (20)b, which has the indefinite noun phrase *nere emazte batek* "a wife of mine (ergative)". Of course, neither (20)b nor (19)d contradicts the pragmatic assumption that a Basque husband cannot have more than one wife. On further analysis, (20)b turns out to be ambiguous. It may mean (i) or (ii):

- (i) It is inconceivable that someone who is married to me would do any such thing.
- (ii) It is inconceivable that someone who is like my wife is, would do any such thing.

On interpretation (i), (20)b can be derived from (20)c by *dalako*-Deletion.

(20)c Nere emaztea dalako batek ez du olakorik egingo! "A wife of mine won't do any such thing!"

The adjective *dalako* consists of three elements: the relational suffix *-ko*, the complementizer *-la* and the copula *da* "is". It serves to emphasize the functional character of the noun *emazte* here; in other words, it brings out the opaque reading of (20)b. The normal relativized form of the copula, *dan* "who is", does not distinguish between opaque and transparent readings.

I will not try to analyse the phrase *nere emaztea dalako bat* here in terms of underlying structure. I may note, though, that apart from the meaning we are concerned with here, namely the opaque reading of "one who is my wife", it can also have the meaning of "one who passes for my wife". *Dalako*-Deletion does not apply to this counterfactual *dalako*.

On interpretation (ii), (20)b can be derived from (20)d by *bezelako*-Deletion.

(20)d *Nere emaztea bezelako batek ez du olakorik egingo!* "Someone like my wife won't do any such thing!"

Bezela means "like"; the relational suffix *-ko* is needed to turn this into a prenominal modifier.

When the head of the partitive noun phrase is a proper noun, we are usually dealing with a case of *bezelako*-Deletion. For instance *jesus-ik* in (19)f probably derives from *jesus bezelakorik* "anyone like Jesus". (Note that *like* is a reflexive predicate).

Yet, proper names can also co-occur with *dalako*, even though they do not denote functions. Mugica's *Diccionario castellano-vasco* gives this example (under *tal*, p. 1.695): "me lo ha dicho un tal Antonio: Andoni dalako batek esan dit" ("A certain Anthony has told me so"). And under *llamado* (p. 1.125): "un hombre llamado Zacarías: Zakarias izeneko (izendun, dalako, ...) gizon bat" ("A man called Zacharias"). L. Michelena has used this construction in one of his essays: "Zapata delako baten emaztea..." ("The wife of a certain Zapata...") *Mitxelaren idazlan hautatuak*, p. 242. In that example, the word *delako* (an eastern dialectal variant of *dalako*) could have been dispensed with. It is only there to make clear that the preceding word *Zapata* is the name of a person. It is likely that in all of these constructions, some form of the word *izen* "name", has been deleted. Most probably the instrumental *izenex* "by name".

With these rules of *bezelako*-Deletion and *dalako*-Deletion (to which we may add *izeneko*-Deletion), we have enough machinery to account for the indefiniteness of the partitived noun phrases in our examples. In the case of (19)e, *bere izenik* "any name of his", or (19)n, *Pedro Migelen izenik* "any name of Pedro Miguel", however, we can also think of the fact that someone may be identifiable by more than one name: a nick-name, or a special name as a *bertsolari* ("bard") or as a poet.

A last question remains. Why would the speaker have chosen an indefinite noun phrase where he could have used a definite one? The answer is interesting. Note that our set of examples consists of negations, conditionals, and questions. Now, a negative statement about some non-specific noun phrase implies the corresponding negative statement with any specific noun phrase (taken from the range of that non-specific noun phrase) substituted for the non-specific one, but not vice-versa. So e.g., the statement "I don't want any book" implies "I don't want this book". For positive statements, of course, this does not hold: "I want a book" does not imply "I want this book". But for conditionals it does hold: "If you want to read any book, you are an intellectual" implies "If you want to read this book, you are an

intellectual”. Therefore, in negations and conditionals, indefinites make for stronger statements than definites do. We now see the connection with the emotional ring attached to many of the examples in our set. In an emotional frame of mind, we tend to make stronger (more “emphatic”) statements than would be strictly necessary.

It is therefore not surprising that we find English examples similar to the Basque ones. As J. D. McCawley has pointed out to me, it may be just because he realizes that he has only one gallbladder, that an unwilling patient says to his surgeon: “You shan’t take out any gall-bladder of mine!”.

I do not see any general relationship between definites and indefinites in questions. But in the case of our example (19)c, the matter is clear enough. There, any answer to the indefinite question will also be an answer to the definite question: *Gaur gure neska ikusi al dezu dantzaz?* “Have you seen our girl at the dance today?”, without loss of information, because of the pragmatic knowledge on the part of the speaker that there is only one girl in the family. The indefinite question is, therefore, at least as strong as the definite one would have been.

Now that we know that Partitive Assignment applies only to indefinite noun phrases, it is interesting to note that sentential nouns, namely those ending in *-te* or *-tze* (depending on the verb), can take the partitive ending in certain contexts without any special intonation. This means that those sentential nouns (a type of embedded sentence) must be construed as indefinite, at least in affective contexts.

Examples are (with the verbal nouns *joate* “going, to go”, *ikuste* “seeing, to see”, and *siñiste* “believing, to believe”):

- (21)a Ijitoak bere alaba Donostira joaterik ez du nai. “The gypsy does not want his daughter to go to San Sebastian”.
 (21)b Nere emazteak ijito ori ikusterik uste al dezu? “Do you think that my wife would see that gypsy?”
 (21)c Ipui au siñisterik ezin dizut eskatu. “I cannot ask you to believe this story”.

V. Partitive Modifiers

Except for a few marked otherwise, all examples in the preceding pages were taken from Guipúzcoan. But the phenomena we discussed are not restricted to any particular dialect. In fact, the use of the partitive in affective contexts is a constant feature of all Basque dialects from the earliest texts on.

This is not the case for the use of the partitive suffix which we are going to consider in this section, namely, that on (postnominal) modifiers. In affective contexts, the assignment of the partitive ending to a postnominal modifier was implicit in our treatment in section IV. As suffixes in Basque are always added to the last constituent of a noun phrase, the partitive will occur on the modifier, if there is one, and not on the head noun. E.g.

- (22) Ez det ijito itsusirik ezagutzen. “I don’t know an ugly gypsy”.

This section, however, will concern the use of the partitive on postnominal modifiers in purely affirmative, usually existential, contexts. This is found in the

Northern dialects: Labourdin, Low Navarrese and Souletin. It does not happen in Guipúzcoa and Bizcayan. For the High Navarrese area, I do not dispose of enough data to warrant any conclusion. As in all other cases, here too, the partitive ending appears only on indefinites and only in the absolute case.

Is this modifier *-rik* a basic use of *-rik* or a derived one? Strictly speaking, it is neither. It is not a basic *-rik*, because it does not function as a postposition. (Cf. our criterion (i) of section III.) And if it is a derived *-rik*, it must be derived by some rule other than Partitive Assignment, since this rule only applies in affective contexts, and makes no special provisions for modifiers. In fact I have no theory to propose to account for this use of *-rik*. This being so, I will limit myself to illustrating the use of this *-rik* by means of examples.

As demonstratives, being restricted to definite noun phrases, do not qualify, there are only two kinds of postnominal modifiers left: adjectives and (pseudo-)extraposed relative clauses. We will first look at adjectives.

Consider the following sentences in Labourdin:

- (23)a Ijitoak ba dire Frantzian. "There are gypsies in France".
- (23)b *Ijitorik ba da Frantzian. (Only possible as an exclamation, see section III.)
- (23)c Ijito ederrak ba dire Frantzian. "There are beautiful gypsies in France".
- (23)d Ijito ederrik ba da Frantzian. "There are beautiful gypsies in France".
- (24)a Arnoa ba dugu. "We have wine".
- (24)b *Arnorik ba dugu. (Same remark as for (23)b.)
- (24)c Arno goxoa ba dugu. "We have sweet wine".
- (24)d Arno goxorik ba dugu. "We have sweet wine".
- (25)a Sagarrak ba ditugu. "We have apples".
- (25)b *Sagarrik ba dugu. (Same remark as above.)
- (25)c Sagar onak ba ditugu. "We have good apples".
- (25)d Sagar onik ba dugu. "We have good apples".

According to the grammarian P. Lafitte (*Grammaire basque*, § 160.3), the *d*-sentences are emphatic, whereas the *ɛ*-sentences are not. He does not explain in what way they are emphatic, i.e. in what circumstances the *d*-sentences would be used preferably to the *ɛ*-sentences.

Separate mention must be made of the partitive appearing on adjectives in the comparative degree (suffix *-ago*), for this happens also in some regions where ordinary adjectives do not take the partitive in positive contexts. A case in point is the border area between Guipúzcoa and High Navarrese. Luis Michelena who was born in that area (in Renteria), has written this sentence:

- (26)a Erabaki gogorragorik artu bearrean aurkitu ziren bai Cesar Rubicon ibaia igozterakoan eta bai Cortés ontziak zulatu aurrean (*Egan* 1956, p. 52, reprinted in *Mitxelena-ren idazlan bantatuak*, p. 325). "Both Cesar about to cross the Rubicon river and Cortés before sinking the boats, found themselves having to make a harder decision".

In this dialect, it is not possible to change *gogorrago* "harder" to *gogor* "hard" while keeping the partitive. Here is a shorter example, acceptable to Mr. Michelena, but rejected by speakers from more central parts of Guipúzcoa:

- (26)b Geroago liburu zaillagorik irakurriko dezute. "Later on, you will read more difficult (harder) books".

With this, we leave adjectives and turn to relative clauses.

Relative clauses in Basque normally precede their antecedents. However, they can become postnominal by a process I have called "pseudo-extraposition", which is such that the relative clause and its antecedent each carry their own determiner. (See my paper: "Relative Clauses in Basque: a Guided Tour", in Peranteau, Levi, Phares (eds.), *The Chicago Which Hunt* (C.L.S., Chicago, 1972) 115-135 [reprinted in this volume], especially pp. 129-131.)

When its antecedent is indefinite, a pseudo-extraposed relative clause can optionally take the partitive in some, but not all, northern (sub)dialects.

The two examples that follow have been taken from a Basque translation of Saki's short story "The Story-Teller" made by the late Souletin author Jon Mirande, and published in the Basque literary review *Egan*.

- (27)a ...neskatxa ttipi bat ba zen ona zenik, (*Egan* 1956, p. 20). "...there was a little girl who was good".
 (27)b Behin ba zen Bertha izeneko neskatxa ttipi bat ohi ez den bezala ona zenik (*Egan* 1956, p. 21). "Once upon a time, there was a little girl called Bertha, who was extraordinarily good".

Examples of this type abound in Leizarraga's New Testament Version (1571):

- (27)c Izan da gizon bat Iainkoaz igorria, Ioanes deitzen zenik (Jn. 1.6). "There was a man sent by God, who was called John".
 (27)d Zen bada Phariseuetarik edozein bat, Nikodemo deitzen zenik (Jn. 3.1). "There was, then, somebody of the Pharisees, who was called Nicodemus".

And an example with two relative clauses on the same antecedent, *ikhuzgarri bat* "a (washing) pool":

- (27)e Eta da Ierusalemen ardi plazán ikhuzgarri bat, Hebraikoz Bethesdá deitzen denik, bartz galeria dituenik (Jn. 5.2). "And there is in Jerusalem by the sheep market a pool, which is called Bethesda in Hebrew, which has five porticoes".

With the possible exception of (27)a, all preceding examples involved non-restrictive (i.e. appositive) relatives. Here is one with a restrictive relative:

- (27)f Bertze bat da testifikatzen duenik nitzaz (Jn. 5.32). "There is another who bears witness to me".

There is another circumstance, not requiring pseudo-extraposition, under which relative clauses can take the partitive ending. This is when we have a so-called free relative, i.e., a relative clause with a pronoun as its antecedent. When this pronoun is indefinite, the relative clause may take the partitive in existential contexts. According to L. Michelena (personal communication), this happens in the Eastern dialects, that is, in all dialects except Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan. We start with an example from Leizarraga's New Testament Version:

- (28)a Ba da bilhatzen duenik eta jugeotzen duenik (Jn. 8.50). "There is one who seeks it and who judges (it)".

A modern Souletin version has a different construction with no partitive here:

- (28)b Ba da nurbait hura txerkhatzen diana eta jüjatzen diana (*Üskaldünaren gi-thünak*, p. 94). "There is someone who seeks that and who judges (it)".

But Miss Madeleine de Jauréguiberry, born and raised in the High-Souletin dialect area (near Tardets), has informed me that a construction similar to (28)a, namely (28)c, is possible in that dialect:

- (28)c Ba da hori txerkhatzen dianik eta jüjatzen dianik. "There is one who seeks that and who judges (it)".

The next example is taken from Axular's famous work *Gero*, first published in 1643.

- (28)d Izatu da erran duenik denbora eztela deus, hartzaz orhoitzapenik eta pen-satzerik eztenean (Chapter XII, p. 219). "There have been some (people) who have said that time is nothing when one does not remember it and think about it".

In connection with this example, L. Michelena has told me that a similar sentence is acceptable in his dialect:

- (28)e Esan duenik ba da, denbora eztela deus. "There are some (people) who have said that time is nothing".

In fact, the following example occurs in his writings:

- (28)f Ba da oraindik haren ateraldi eta erantzunak gogoan dituenik Erreterian (Epilogue of *Mitxelaren idazlan bautatuak*, p. 367). "There are still some (people) in Rentería who remember her witty remarks and repartees".

VI. Concluding Remarks

It will be obvious to any reader that this essay is not much more than a preliminary study of the problems surrounding the suffix *-rik*. Various matters of great interest had to be ignored. Thus, no mention was made of the "partitivized" complementizer *-nik*, which, in the Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan dialects, may substitute for the unmarked complementizer *-la* in what appears to be a subset of the class of affective contexts. A few examples to illustrate this:

- (29)a Ez det uste laister itzuliko diranik. "I don't think that they will come back soon".
- (29)b Iñorik ez daki ezkondua naizenik. "Nobody knows that I am married".
- (29)c Gezurra dirudi Mirenek ori esan duenik. "It seems a lie that Miren has said that".
- (29)d Uste al dezute dirua rik ostu dedanik? "Do you think that I have stolen the money?"

Examples of a different type are shown in (30)a and (30)b.

- (30)a Ez dakigu nor danik (*Lan ebanjelioak*, p. 246). "We don't know who he is".
 (30)b Noiz etorriko zeranikan ere ez dakit. "I don't even know when you will come".

The problems that these constructions raise will have to await their solutions elsewhere. Another topic for further research is the role of presuppositions in those contexts where Partitive Assignment seems to be optional. This role seems to be less important than it is in the case of English Indefinite Incorporation. The informants I have asked did not discriminate between (31)a and (31)b:

- (31)a Sagarrrik jaten badezu, autsiko dizkizut ezurrak. "If you eat (any) apples, I will break your bones".
 (31)b Sagarrrik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitut. "If you eat (*any) apples, I will take you to the movies".

Remember that these informants also accept (14)b, which I repeat here for convenience:

- (14)b Babarrunik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitudala itzematen dizut. "If you eat (*any) beans, I promise that I will take you to tile movies".

Last but not least, Basque Partitive Assignment should be compared with similar rules in other languages. Among the candidates are: Finnish Partitive Introduction (See Ross, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, Formula (5.85)) and Russian Genitive Introduction (idem, Formula (5.92)). Talking about these non-movement rules, a lot more research is also needed to test the Causality Constraint which I proposed as a putative universal for all such rules that make crucial use of variables.

But, "gero gerokoak".²⁴

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²⁴ A Basque saying: "Later things for later". Right now, however, I wish to thank my many friends and patient informants all over the Basque Country for the great help they have been to me in the process of gathering the data. They are too many to list here, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the names of few who have been especially helpful in this connection: Miss Mari-Carmen Garmendia, Miss Mari-Pilar Lasarte, Mr. Xabier Unzurrunzaga, Mr. Felipe Yurramendi. I am also greatly indebted to Prof. Dr. Luis Michelena for a great deal of valuable information and help, generously offered. I am very grateful too to Prof. Dr. William H. Jacobsen, Jr. and Mrs. Virginia Jacobsen for their constant encouragement and for many substantial suggestions, stylistic corrections, and proof-reading.

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TOPIC FRONTING, FOCUS POSITIONING AND THE NATURE OF THE VERB PHRASE IN BASQUE*

Sección 1. Grammatical Preliminaries**

1. As there will be in this paper a good many Basque sentences used as examples, it will be convenient to start with a number of remarks on the grammatical structure of the language, so as to avoid surrounding each example with lengthy explanations irrelevant to the issue at hand. Although most of what I have to say will be valid for all present-day varieties of Basque, the examples will be taken from the Guipuzcoan dialect, unless a different dialect is expressly mentioned.

To facilitate the pronunciation of the examples, the following hints are offered: Vowels and diphthongs are pronounced as in Spanish. *j* is a voiceless velar fricative, like Dutch *ch* or Spanish jota. *s* and *ʒ* are both voiceless fricatives. They differ only in the point of articulation. *s* has an apico-alveolar articulation, and *ʒ* a dorso-alveolar one. *x* is a palatal fricative, comparable to English *sh*. The letter combinations *ts*, *tʒ* and *tx* denote simple phonemes, namely, the affricates corresponding to *s*, *ʒ* and *x*, respectively. *ʎ* indicates a palatalized *l*. Like in Spanish, there are two *r*-sounds, a strongly trilled one, spelled *rr*, and a weak flapped *r*, spelled *r*. Before consonants and in final position, the two sounds do not contrast phonetically, and both are then spelled *r*. Thus, we have *aur* "child", and *aurra* "the child" (*-a* being the definite article). This is merely an orthographic convention: the *r* of *aur* sounds the same as the *rr* of *aurra*.

1.1. The Structure of the Noun Phrase

Basque has a definite article *a* and an indefinite article *bat*, which follow the noun. The former is a bound form written together with the preceding noun, while the latter is an independent word meaning "one" (both as a numeral and as an

* In: Frank Jansen (ed.), *Studies on Fronting* (Lisse, 1978), 81-112.

** I would like to thank my Basque informants, teachers and friends for their constant readiness to give thoughtful answers to my numerous questions about their language. Above all, I gratefully acknowledge the valuable assistance of Professor Dr. Luis Michelena, Dr. Francisco Altuna S.J., Mari-Pilar Lasarte, José Manuel Odriozola and Felipe Yurramendi. All errors, of course, are mine, and mine alone.

Part of the research for this paper was carried out while I was supported by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), project No. 39-37.

anaphoric pronoun) written separately. Thus: *sendagille* "doctor", *sendagillea* "the doctor", *sendagille bat* "a doctor" or "one doctor".

Grammatical relations are indicated by postpositions. With the postposition (*r*)i "to", we have: *sendagilleari* "to the doctor" and *sendagille bati* "to a doctor". The plural lacks the *r* even after a vowel: *sendagilleai* "to the doctors".

Genitive modifiers (like relative clauses) precede their heads, but adjectives follow the noun they modify. E.g., *sendagille onaren liburu eder au* "this beautiful book of the good doctor" (*on* "good", *liburu* "book", *eder* "beautiful", *au* "this").

When a noun phrase consisting of several parts is modified by a postposition, this postposition is not distributed over the various parts, but attaches only to the last item of the phrase.

Hence: *sendagille ona* "the good doctor", *sendagille onari* "to the good doctor"; *liburu gorri ederraren jabeari* "to the owner (*jabe*) of the beautiful red (*gorri*) book".

1.2. Ergativity

dator is the 3rd pers. sg. present tense form of the intransitive verb *etorri* "to come"; *dakar* is the 3rd pers. sg. present form of the transitive verb *ekarri* "to bring".

Compare now sentences (1)a, (1)b and (1)c:

- (1)a *Sendagillea dator.* "The doctor is coming."
 (1)b *Sendagillea dakar.* "He (she, it) is bringing the doctor."
 (1)c *Sendagilleak dakar.* "The doctor is bringing it (him, her)."

The noun phrase *sendagillea* in the unmarked case is subject in the intransitive sentence (1)a. The same form, however, when used in a transitive sentence, is interpreted as the direct object of the verb. To make it a subject, as in (1)c, it needs a special case marker *k*. This special case, used only for the subject of a transitive verb, is called the "ergative". In contrast to it, the unmarked case is called the "absolutive". From a morphological point of view, we do not find in Basque a contrast between a "subject case" (nominative) and an "object case" (accusative), but rather between an absolutive case and an ergative case. This holds true in Basque in all tenses and moods of the verb, and applies to nouns as well as to pronouns. Accordingly, Basque is called a fully ergative language.

However, there is more to a language than just its morphology. There is a whole realm of grammatical phenomena named syntactic processes, whose connection with morphological categories cannot be taken for granted without investigation. And when we do investigate these processes, it turns out that in most of the ergative languages studied, the notion of subject in the classical sense must be recognized, and, in fact, all but totally eclipses the notion of absolutive, which is, at best, of marginal importance in the syntactic functioning of those languages. There are exceptions such as some ergative languages of Australia (e.g. Dyrbal described by Dixon 1972), but they are a small minority. Basque is no exception. At least the following syntactic processes are found in Basque and involve the category of subject: Equi-NP Deletion, Subject Raising, the interplay of Conjoining and Pronominalization, Reflexivization and Reciprocalization. Note that it does not matter whether we describe the distribution of reflexives and reciprocals by means of

transformational rules or by invoking interpretive mechanisms. In either case, the category of subject will play a crucial role in the description.

Demonstrating this for the rules I just mentioned would require too much space to be attempted here. The interested reader is advised at this point to turn to a quite interesting and lucidly written exposition by Stephen Anderson: "On the Notion of Subject in Ergative Languages" (Anderson 1976). This author discusses syntactic rules of various ergative languages, and includes a two page discussion of Equi-NP Deletion in Basque. I may add that, having long since repudiated my unpublished paper of 1966 *Redefining the Ergative* mentioned by Anderson, I find myself in complete agreement with his conclusions.

Bollenbacher (1977) criticises Anderson's views. This criticism, however, is marred by faulty data and must be discarded in toto. To mention just one important point, contrary to Bollenbacher's claims, there is no Passive rule in Basque, and hence no Passive marker *k*. There is a resultative "Passive": *umea gizonak arrapatua da* "the child has been (*not: was*) caught by the man" (never: *gizonak umea arrapatua da*), derived from a bi-clausal source by means of Relative Clause Reduction, as Bouda (1973: 27) and, no doubt, many others too, have recognized.

A few more words to conclude our discussion on ergativity. We saw that, in spite of the ergative morphology, we are forced to recognize the syntactic relevance of the classical notion of subject in Basque. This, it is fair to warn, does not imply that we also accept a base rule of the form $S \rightarrow NP + VP$, which, in the more orthodox versions of generative grammar, formally defines the notion of subject. Whether or not such a rule operates in English syntax is a question I would rather leave open. But this traditional subject predicate dichotomy is much too coarse to accommodate the subtle workings of Basque syntax. This insight, indeed, will be an interesting by-product of our treatment of focus in section 4 of this paper.

1.3. More on the Structure of the Verb

Simple conjugated verb forms, such as *dator* and *dakar* in sentences (1)abc, are possible for not much more than a dozen verbs. In our later examples, we will still meet the verbs *jakin* "to know" and *irudi* "to seem", with simple forms such as *daki* "he (she) knows", *dakite* "they know", *dakit* "I know", *dirudi* "he (she, it) seems", *dirudite* "they seem".

All verbs (with one or two exceptions) admit a periphrastic conjugation, made up of a participle and an auxiliary verb form. There are three participles: an imperfect participle ending in *-ten* or *-tzen*, a perfect participle identical with the citation form of the verb, and a future participle ending in *-ko* (or *-go* after *n*, as in *emango*, from the verb *eman* "to give"). The auxiliary verb indicates tense and mood. In positive sentences the auxiliary follows the participle; in negative sentences the auxiliary precedes, at least, in main clauses. With the intransitive auxiliary verb form *da* "is" (also used as a copula), we can have:

- (2) Sendagillea gutxitan etortzen da. "The doctor comes seldom."
 (2)b Jabea etorri da. "The owner has come."
 (2)c Umea etorriko da. "The child will come."

With the transitive auxiliary verb form *du* "has" (also used to express possession), we can have:

- (3)a Sendagilleak ekartzen du. "The doctor brings it."
 (3)b Jabeak ekarri du. "The owner has brought it."
 (3)c Umeak ekarriko du. "The child will bring it."

The morpheme *ez* "no, not" takes care of negation. In the presence of a finite verb, it obligatorily turns into a proclitic, and its final voiceless sibilant influences the pronunciation of the following consonant. The spelling may or may not indicate this fact:

- (4)a Umea ez tator. "The child is no coming."
 (4)b Sendagillea ezta beti etortzen. "The doctor does not always come."
 (4)c Jabea ez da etorri. "The owner has not come."

During our discussion on ergativity, many a reader will have wondered whether there is a rule of Verb Agreement in Basque, and, if so, what kind of noun phrase a verb agrees with. This question is answered easily enough. There is an obligatory rule of agreement in person and number. Any finite verb simultaneously agrees with its subject (with morphological differences according to the subject being absolutive or ergative), with its direct object, and with its indirect object.

In just those syntactic functions, unemphatic personal pronouns are not preserved in the surface form of the sentence. Agreement takes place regardless. It applies to nouns and pronouns alike, whether overtly expressed or not. As this paper does not deal with morphological details, a few examples will do to illustrate all this:

- (5)a Ume batek liburu bat ekarriko du. "A child will bring a book."
 (5)b Bi umek liburu bat ekarriko dute. "Two children will bring a book."
 (5)c Ume batek bi liburu ekarriko ditu. "A child will bring two books."
 (5)d Bi umek bi liburu ekarriko dituzte. "Two children will bring two books."

(Note: *ume bat* "one child, a child", *bi ume* "two children", *bi umeak* "the two children" as the article *a* has the plural form *ak*)

- (6)a Jabeak umeari bi liburu ekarriko dizkio.
 "The owner will bring the child two books."
 (6)b Jabeak umeai bi liburu ekarriko dizkie.
 "The owner will bring the children two books."
 (6)c Jabeak bi liburu ekarriko dizkizu.
 "The owner will bring you two books."
 (7)a Jabeak ezta karkio liburua umeari.
 "The owner is not bringing the book to the child."
 (7)b Jabeak ezta karkio liburua. "The owner is not bringing the book to him."

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--|
| (7)c | Jabeak eztakarkio. | “The owner is not bringing it to him.” |
| (7)d | Eztakarkio. | “He is not bringing it to him.” |
| (7)e | Eztakar. | “He is not bringing it.” |

1.4. Subordinate Clauses and Complementizers

Given the limited purposes of this paper, we need not bother about non-finite complement clauses and nominalizations, important though they are in Basque syntax. Finite complement clauses, on the contrary, will play an essential role in the discussion. In those, a complementizer suffix is always added to the subordinate verb. Two basic complementizers will appear in the examples. Embedded questions, with or without a Wh question word, are characterized by the Wh complementizer *-n*. With the Wh question word *nor* “who”, we have:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (8)a | Nor il da? | “Who died?” |
| (8)b | Eztakit nor il dan. | “I don’t know who died.” |
| (8)c | Eztakit il dan. | “I don’t know if he died.” |

The unmarked complementizer, corresponding to English *that*, is the suffix *-la*:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| (9)a | Il dala diot. | “I am saying that he died.” |
| (9)b | Il dala uste det. | “I think that he died.” |
| (9)c | Il dala dirudi. | “It seems that he died.” |

When the main clause is negative or interrogative, instead of *la*, *nik* may be used:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (10)a | Ez diot il danik. | “I am not saying that he died.” |
| (10)b | Ez det uste il danik. | “I don’t think that he died.” |
| (10)c | Ez dirudi il danik. | “It doesn’t seem that he died.” |

The governing main verb may precede or follow the complement clause and need not be contiguous to it. Often, the subordinate clause precedes when the main verb is positive, and follows when it is negative. But this is not a hard and fast rule, as considerations of focus and length or complexity of the various constituents figure heavily in determining superficial word order.

In the next section, I will argue that Basque is underlyingly a verb final language. As complementizers are invariably added to the subordinate verb, it is reasonable to assume that Basque has clause final complementizers, i.e. that there is a base rule of the form $\bar{S} \rightarrow S + \text{Comp}$.

Section 2. The Order of Major Sentence Constituents

In intransitive sentences, the subject (in the absolutive case) may either precede or follow the verb:

- (11)a Sendagillea atzo il zan. "The doctor died yesterday."
 (11)b Atzo il zan sendagillea. "The doctor died yesterday."

In these examples, the main verb is *il* "to die", "to kill", *zan* is the 3rd pers. sing. past intransitive auxiliary, and *atzo* is an adverb meaning "yesterday".

In transitive sentences, both the subject (in the ergative case) and the object (in the absolutive case) may either precede or follow the verb. The order between subject and object also being free, this results in a total of six possibilities.

One example will do to illustrate this. The English sentence (12) *a doctor killed two dogs right here yesterday* can be rendered into Basque in a number of ways differing only in word order.

The major constituents will be: *sendagille batek* "a doctor" (ergative), *bi txakur* "two dogs" (absolutive), *il zituen* «killed», where *zituen* is transitive past auxiliary indicating 3rd pers. sing. subject and 3rd pers. plur. object. Among the possible translations of (12) are the following:

- (12)a Sendagille batek bi txakur ementxe il zituen atzo.
 (12)b Sendagille batek ementxe il zituen bi txakur atzo.
 (12)c Bi txakur ementxe il zituen sendagille batek atzo.
 (12)d Bi txakur sendagille batek ementxe il zituen atzo.
 (12)e Ementxe il zituen sendagille batek bi txakur atzo.
 (12)f Ementxe il zituen bi txakur sendagille batek atzo.

All of these versions are fully grammatical and acceptable. The adverbs *ementxe* "right here" and *atzo* "yesterday" too can take various positions in the sentence. We have kept them in a fixed position, as their behavior is of no interest at this point.

The statistical predominant order is that of (12)a: (1) Subject, (2) Object, (3) Verb. This order is about as frequent as the other five taken together (De Rijk 1969: 321-5 [included in this volume]).

Greenberg (1963), tabulates Basque as a non-rigid type III language, that is, as a language with dominant (but not exclusive) order Subject Object Verb. Furthermore, Basque obeys the three generalizations Greenberg states about type III languages: it is postpositional, it lacks obligatory Wh-preposing, and the auxiliary follows the main verb (at least in positive sentences). For a discussion of these points, see De Rijk (1969: 325-35).

Can we go further and maintain that there is only one deep structure order in Basque: Subject Object Verb? To be sure, to date there is no incontrovertible proof for this. Nonetheless, I am very much inclined to believe that Basque really is verb final in deep structure. With the exception of imperatives (in which an object normally follows the verb), there are no constructions where verb final order is excluded, and there are some where it is required, as, e.g. in relative clauses with lexical heads. This fact alone, it seems to me, strongly speaks in favor of an underlying verb final order. Note also that relative clauses in Basque always precede their heads, as they should do in a verb-final language. (For a detailed discussion of relative clauses in Basque, see De Rijk 1972 [included in this volume]).

While I have assumed an underlying Subject Object Verb order throughout this paper, none of its conclusions have to be modified if this assumption is not made. In particular, the theory arrived at in section 4 about focus and the structure of the verb phrase is quite independent of it.

Section 3. Topic Fronting

In this section, we establish the existence of a syntactic rule of topic fronting in Basque and study some of its properties.

In a simple sentence, sentence-initial position of any one constituent may be due to a possible scrambling process to be made responsible for the vicissitudes of surface word order. But when we find examples where a constituent has been moved out of a subordinate clause into initial position in the main clause, there can be no doubt as to the existence of a special fronting rule. Such examples will be presented below.

The constituent to be moved will be *sendagille ori* "that doctor". In our examples, the *a* sentences show the original position of this constituent inside the subordinate clause. The *b* sentences demonstrate the movement to the front of the main clause. Note that the moved constituent keeps whatever postposition it had in the subordinate clause, so that its original grammatical function is still recoverable. We therefore find the forms: *orrek* (ergative), *orri* (dative), *orreniztat* (benefactive), *orrek* (sociative), *orrenгатik* (causal) as oblique forms of the demonstrative adjective (and pronoun) *ori* "that".

This is not the place to enter into the intricacies of the verbal system. Suffice it to say that the main verbs in the examples will be: *uste du* "(he) thinks", *ez daki* "(he) doesn't know", *iruditu zait* "(it) has seemed (to me)", *bildur naiz* "(I) am afraid", *ez det uste* "(I) don't think", *ba al dakizu* "do (you) know".

We recall from section 1.4. that the verb of the subordinate clause (*da* "(he) is", *egingo du* "(he) will do", *bildur diote* "(they are afraid (of him)", *ez dago* "there is not", *joango naiz* "(I) will go") is provided with a complementizer suffix *-n*, *-la* or *-nik*. This complementizer, of course, is still present after fronting has applied.

- (13)a Nere anaiak uste du sendagille ori oso ona dala.
"My brother thinks that doctor is very good."
(13)b Sendagille ori, nere anaiak uste du oso ona dala.
"That doctor, my brother thinks is very good."
(14)a Iñork ez daki sendagille orrek zer egingo duen.
"Nobody knows what that doctor will do."
(14)b Sendagille orrek, iñork ez daki zer egingo duen.
"That doctor, nobody knows what (he) will do."
(15)a Askotan iruditu zait sendagille orri danak bildur diotela.
"It has often seemed to me that everybody is afraid of that doctor."
(15)b Sendagille orri, askotan iruditu zait danak bildur diotela.
"Of that doctor, it has often seemed to me that everybody is afraid."

- (16)a Bildur naiz sendagille orrentzat emen lanik ez ote dagoen.
 "I am afraid that there may be no work for that doctor here."
- (16)b Sendagille orrentzat, bildur naiz emen lanik ez ote dagoen.
 "For that doctor, I am afraid that there may be no work here."
- (17)a Ez dut uste sendagille orrekin, beintzat, iñoiz mendira joango naizenik.
 "I don't think that I will ever go to the mountains with that doctor, at least."
- (17)b Sendagille orrekin, beintzat, ez det uste iñoiz mendira joango naizenik.
 "With that doctor, at least, I don't think that I will ever go to the mountains."
- (18)a Ba al dakizu sendagille orrengatik nor il dan?
 "Do you know who died because of that doctor?"
- (18)b Sendagille orrengatik, ba al dakizu nor il dan?
 "Because of that doctor, do you know who died?"

Such instances of topic fronting out of subordinate clauses can be found in Basque literature from the oldest texts on. We will give two examples. From Axular's work *Gero*, first published in Bordeaux in 1643, we can cite (Villasante's edition, Barcelona 1964: 219):

- (19) Ethorkizunekoa eztakigu emanen zaikunz.
 "That (i.e. the time) of the future, we don't know if (it) will be given us."

The next example is taken from Tartas book *Onsa hiltzeko bidia*, which was first published in Orthez in 1666. We quote it here according to Eguskitzza's edition (Oñate, 1975) p. 7:

- (20) Ene euskara, eta lengajia eztakit aprobata izanen denéz, bai ala ez...
 "My Basque and my way of speaking, I don't know if (it) will be approved of, yes or no..."

Sentences (19) and (20) do not belong to the Guipuzcoan dialect. The ending *ez* in *dénez*, which *z* in *zai^{kun}z* is a variant of, is typical of indirect questions in the Northern dialects. The form *den* corresponds to *dan* in Guipuzcoan.

The rule of Topic Fronting should not be thought of as a kind of Left Dislocation. Left Dislocation is a rule in the grammar of English (and many other European languages) responsible for such sentences as *That doctor, I don't think I would like him to treat me.*

Left Dislocation always leaves a pronoun behind. In Basque, however, this is quite impossible:

- (21) Sendagille orrekin, beintzat, ez det uste berarekin iñoiz mendira joango naizenik.

To appreciate the force of this counter-example, we must keep in mind that, although there is a rule for deleting unstressed pronouns in the absolutive, ergative

or dative case, no such rule applies to the sociative case: *berarekin* "with him" ought to stay in the surface structure, if at all present in an underlying structure.

Another important difference is that Topic Fronting can apply to indefinite noun phrases, whereas Left Dislocation never does. To show this, we make use of the partitive noun phrase *sendagillerik* "any doctor(s)". In De Rijk (1972a), I showed that partitive noun phrases are necessarily indefinite. Yet they can undergo Topic Fronting:

(22)a Ez det uste sendagillerik iñoiz bearko dedanik.
"I don't think that I'll ever need any doctor."

(22)b Sendagillerik, ez det uste iñoiz bearko dedanik.
"Any doctor, I don't think that I'll ever need."

Topic Fronting may raise a noun phrase out of several embeddings. In that event, the intermediate stages are grammatical too:

(23)a Ez det uste iñork esango duenik sendagille ori oso ona dala.
"I don't think anybody will say that doctor is very good."

(23)b Ez det uste, sendagille ori, iñork esango duenik oso ona dala.
"I don't think, that doctor, anybody will say that (he) is very good."

(23)c Sendagille ori, ez det uste iñork esango duenik oso ona dala.
"That doctor, I don't think that anybody will say that (he) is very good."

To make sure topic Fronting has applied here and not Focus Positioning (to be explained in section 4), we will add the word *beintzat* "at least" after *sendagille ori* in sentence (23)c. This will exclude focus interpretation on the preceding noun phrase.

(23)d Sendagille ori, beintzat, ez det uste iñork esango duenik oso ona dala.
"That doctor, at least, I don't think anybody will say that (he) is very good."

So far, we have argued the existence of a transformational rule fronting noun phrases. Calling it *Topic Fronting*, however, implies more. It suggests that the noun phrase so fronted is invariably the topic of the sentence as a whole.

This now, in Basque, is clearly the case. It is the reality referred to by this noun phrase that the sentence is truly about. It is what has been called "psychological subject" or "theme" in some grammatical traditions. In declarative sentences, the remainder of the sentence can be viewed as a comment on the given topic. The topic quite often is the same in two adjacent utterances of a connected discourse. Accordingly, we often find it in pronominal form. In Basque, in the absolutive, ergative or dative case functions it will then be deleted. If it is a new topic, however, or a contrastive topic, it will not be deleted even in those functions.

The notion of topic is bound up with the intention of the speaker, as it can be loosely characterized as that noun phrase in an utterance that refers, at least approximately, to what the speaker means to talk about at the moment of his utterance.

Defined in this way, a topic noun phrase need not stand at the beginning of a sentence in Basque. It can occur in almost any position in the sentence, with the

probable exception of some syntactic island positions in the sense of J. R. Ross. Such a topic need not be marked in Basque by any particular syntactic device, and its topichood is discoverable, if at all, only by the context of discourse or by non-linguistic factors of the actual speech situation.

Yet, a speaker has the option of overtly marking topichood by shifting the topic noun phrase to the front of the sentence, that is, by applying Topic Fronting. Noun phrases to which Topic Fronting has applied, we will call henceforth "emphatic topics". Topic Fronting is possible even when the topic noun phrase is already in front of the sentence, since this transformation, as we will see later on, lifts the noun phrase out of the sentence, raising it above its original clause. Thus, emphatic topics are always raised topics. This, of course, results in intonational differences between an unmarked initial topic and an emphatic initial topic. The writing system usually signals these differences by putting a comma after an emphatic topic, but not after an unmarked initial topic, unless the latter is rather long or complex.

Basque grammarians, as a rule, do not talk about topic. Yet Altube (1929: 21) states that the first constituent of a sentence should be one that provides a link (*eslabón*) uniting it with the immediately preceding sentences. In the one example he adduces, this link happens to be the topic. This, however, is by no means always the case. Non-topical elements, such as *ala* "in that way", *orreatik* "therefore", *beraz* "so" and many others, can also act as initial linking elements. In that event, the topic may occur later on in the sentence.

Perhaps the reader will have wondered how an indefinite noun phrase like *sendagillerik* "any doctor" in (22)b can function as a topic, as we claim it does. It is precisely the notion of topic, however, that accounts for the particular shade of meaning conveyed by the word order of (22)b, which can be expressed in English by the paraphrase: *Talking about the class of doctors, I don't think I will ever need any.*

Continuing our discussion of topic Fronting, when the topic changes from one sentence to the next, the new topic is often emphatic in its first occurrence. We will illustrate this observation by citing the last paragraph of a folktale published by J. M. de Barandiarán in his work *El mundo en la mente popular vasca* (III, p. 77). It is a tale that Doña María de Ayerbe, the mother of this illustrious ethnologist, told him around the year 1900. The orthography of the original, which we have kept, indicates the local pronunciation of Ataun (Guipuzcoa). In the English version of sentences (ii) and (iii) the word order has been partly adapted to that of the Basque original.

- (i) Geo erregêri agertu ementzion zertan bê alabak oñetakôk urratzen zittûn.
"The he (i.e. the little cobbler) disclosed to the king what his daughter had been getting her footgear torn by."
- (ii) Da alaba oi, plazên erdiñ erre ementzoên.
"And that daughter, in the middle of the marketplace they burnt."
- (iii) Zapataitxikîri beiz erregek abeastasun aundîk ema' ementziotzan.
"To the little cobbler, on the other hand, the king gave great riches."

Those are consecutive sentences at the end of the folktale, which closes directly after (iii) with the ritual formula *oi ala bazan, sartu deilla kalabazan* ("if it was so, let it go into the pumpkin"). The sentences in the tale directly preceding (i) are all about

the little cobbler. Sentence (i) is too, but its topic, having been pronominalized, is not overtly expressed in the surface form of the sentence.

In sentence (ii) there is no question of the cobbler. Its topic is *alaba oi* "that daughter". It is marked as such by the pause following it, indicated by the comma. As there is only one clause present, the comma in this position can have no other function than that of indicating topichood rather than mere subjecthood.

In sentence (iii) reversal is made to the former topic *zapataitxiki* "the little cobbler". This reversal is signalled in two ways. First, the topic is emphasized by Topic Fronting, as its occurrence before the ergative subject *errege* "king" is anormal. Second, the particle *beiz* (usually written *berriz*) whose literal meaning is "again" serves to make clear that a former topic is reintroduced, and hence that a change of topic has taken place.

Before ending this section we ought to offer at least a few remarks on account of the derived structure of sentences where Topic Fronting has applied.

As we do not countenance discontinuous constituents, it is clear that the moved noun phrase no longer belongs to the lower clause. Native speakers, however, strongly insist that the fronted noun phrase does not become a clause mate of the main verb. Intonational facts too speak against that. An emphasized topic seems to require a distinct pause behind it, indicated in writing by a comma. The topic itself may show an intonation of suspense, with its last syllable being drawn out on a sharply rising pitch.

None of this is odd, however, if only we accept Langacker's (1974: 642) proposal that fronting always involves raising. In other words, all we have to do is to stipulate that what Topic Fronting actually does, is to Chomsky-adjoin the topic to the main clause. In that way, the presence of a major syntactic break after the fronted topic will be fully accounted for.

Some transformational grammarians might not allow transformations to build structure in this way. We should therefore point out that it is not necessary to assume that the higher clause we need is actually built by the rule of Topic Fronting. Indeed, provided we grant the validity of some syntactic version of the Performative Analysis, the appropriate higher clause is already there waiting for us. In deep structure there will be a performative clause on top of the sentence S:

I DECLARE to you about Δ that S.

or

I ASK of you about Δ whether S.

or something similar according to the type of speech act involved.

Now, the processes that account for the erasure of the performative clause from surface structure will fail to delete Δ just in case it has been lexically filled by our rule of Topic Fronting.

In some languages, e.g. in those that Li and Thompson (1976) call "Topic-Prominent", the topic may occur as such in surface structure in a position in front of the sentence proper. The topic noun phrase is either provided with a special topic marker (as e.g. in Lisu), or else, is unmarked. In Basque, however, we obser-

ved that the topic occurs with a case marking that varies with its syntactic function. Thus even in case there should be a fixed topic position for emphatic topics in Basque, at least the case marking of the noun phrase appearing there must be adjusted by transformational means. That is, we still need a rule analogous to Topic Fronting.

Lastly, Topic Fronting appears to be a fairly late postcyclic rule. Yet, there are grammatical processes that follow it. Generally, an emphasized topic is the absolute first noun phrase in a sentence. However, native speakers I have consulted do not reject sentences where a Time or Place adverbial precedes a topicalized noun phrase. Some examples are:

- (24) Lengo urteetan ere, sendagille orrek, bere eritarrak uste dute jende asko lurperatu zuela.
 “In former years too, that doctor, his fellow-citizens believe that (he) buried many people.”
- (25) Bere gaztedenboran, Ameriketan, sendagille orrek, ia inork ez daki zer gaiztakeri egin zuen.
 “In his youth, in America, that doctor, almost nobody knows what a horrible thing he did.”
- (26) Orain dala urte asko, sendagille orrek, askori iruditzen zaie bere emaztea il zuela.
 “Many years ago, that doctor, it seems to many people that he killed his wife.”

Examples such as these I take as an indication that Topic Fronting can still be followed by some of the rules distributing adverbial modifiers over the sentence. In Basque, the position of adverbials of Time and Place is quite free, as long as they are not in focus. (See Section 4).

Note that in the examples given the adverbials all belong semantically to the lower clause. Just like the emphatic topic, they are felt not to be simply clause mates of the main verb. For that reason, what I consider to be the main clause is sometimes viewed as merely an insert of qualifying material into the main clause all the other sentence constituents are then said to belong to.

Whatever psycholinguistic plausibility this idea may possess, it can hardly be accepted by the analyst of grammatical structure. The alleged insert has all the properties of a main clause, and, even more to the point, the obligatory presence of the complementizer suffix on what is alleged to be the main verb, argues against any such analysis.

Section 4. Focus and the Structure of the Verb Phrase

Considerably more important in Basque syntax than the notion of topic is that of focus. To explain this concept and show its relevance to Basque grammar, let us start by looking at a fairly simple English sentence:

(27) *Xaviera will take Virginia to Reno tomorrow.*

To be able to translate (27) into Basque, we have to know more about its meaning that can be inferred from the written form of the sentence in isolation. We must know what particular inquiry motivates the utterance. In more precise terms, we must know just what informational gap on the part of the audience the speaker is trying to fill. Sometimes, the object of inquiry is inferrable from the preceding discourse, especially when the sentence is uttered by way of answer to an actual question. At other times, contextual information is insufficient to predict what the point of the utterance will be. Now, in Basque, the object of inquiry, present in the mind of the speaker, will determine the surface form of the sentence with regard to word order. If the implicit question is: *Who will take Virginia to Reno tomorrow?* (27) will be translated as (27)a:

(27)a *Xavierak eramango du Virginia Renora biar.*

If the implicit question is: *Who will Xavier take to Reno tomorrow?* (27) will be translated as (27)b:

(27)b *Xavierak Virginia eramango du Renora biar.*

If the implicit question is: *Where will Xavier take Virginia to tomorrow?* (27) will be translated as (27)c:

(27)c *Xavierak Renora eramango du Virginia biar.*

If the implicit question is: *When will Xavier take Virginia to Reno?* (27) will be translated as (27)d:

(27)d *Xavierak biar eramango du Virginia Renora.*

Focus can now be defined as that constituent of an utterance that corresponds to the question word in the associated question. Thus, in (27)a *Xavierak* is focus, in (27)b *Virginia*, in (27)c *Renora* and in (27)d *biar*. It follows from this definition that the focussed noun phrase is presented by the speaker as contributing totally new information. One should not make the assumption, however, that the other noun phrases in the sentence necessarily deal with old information. In (27)b e.g., where *Virginia* is focus, the other constituents, the time adverb *biar* among others, need not be presupposed. The question defining focus, then, should not be as detailed as we have just made out. It could have been just as well: *Who will Xavier take somewhere sometime?* In fact, even an excessively vague question like: *Who will someone take somewhere sometime?* would still be firm enough a basis to establish *Virginia* as focus in (27). In short, the semantic import of focus is that the focussed constituent is presented by the speaker as being the relatively most important piece of new information given in the utterance.

Sentence (27) may be uttered as an answer to still other questions. E.G.: *What will Xavier do about Virginia going to Reno tomorrow?* In that case, the verb will be focus, and the Basque translation will have *eraman egingo du*, “take will do” instead of *eramango du* “will take”. Or the associated question may be: *Will Xavier take Virginia*

to *Reno tomorrow, or won't she?* In that case, the sentence modality (its truth-value, so to speak) is focussed on, and no special word order is required.

The various possibilities for focus and its manifestations in surface grammar are extensively discussed by Altube (1920, and 1929). See also De Rijk (1969: 342 ff) and Donzeaud (1972). For our present purposes, however, it will be sufficient to consider those cases where the focus consists of a noun phrase.

Since we subsume postpositional phrases under noun phrases, most adverbials will also be noun phrases. Moreover, in accordance with the guidelines laid down by the editor, we will limit our considerations to positive declarative sentences.

We now return to our examples (27)a, b, c, d. As the order of constituents in each of the examples is not the only one consistent with the intended focus, we still have to make clear just what the syntactic correlate of the semantic notion of focus consists of. It is simply this: Whatever constituent is focus must immediately precede the verb.

The verb in all the examples is *eramango du* "(she) will take (her)".

In (27)a *Xavierak* is focus, and we have: *Xavierak eramango du...*

In (27)d *Virginia* is focus, and we have: *Virginia eramango du...*

In (27)c *Renora* is focus, and we have: *Renora eramango du...*

In (27)d *biar* is focus, and we have: *...biar eramango du...*

The same rule also applies to interrogative words (wh-items) in questions. They too must immediately precede the verb. In fact, we will widen the scope of our definition of focus to include all wh-constituents. In view of the way focus is defined, this seems quite a natural extension of the concept. Naturally, we do not preclude the possibility that wh-constituents may have additional properties over and above those they share with other focus constituents.

So far, the focus in our examples has been one single constituent. As a matter of fact, Basque grammarians generally conceive of focus in that strain. Yet, it may happen that the implicit question associated with an utterance contains more than one interrogative word. If so, the utterance will have a focus consisting of more than one constituent. As an example, let us consider (28):

- (28) *Maiburuak ezpatadantzariari lenengo saria eman dio.*
 "The chairman has given the sword-dancer the first prize."

One possible way of interpreting (28) is to think of it as a partial answer to the question: *Which prize has the chairman given to whom?* In that interpretation, both *ezpatadantzariari* "to the sworddancer" and *lenengo saria* "the first prize" will be focus, but not *maiburuak* "the chairman".

Professor José Basterrechea, well known for his thorough study of intonation (bound up with focus) in his native Guernican Basque (see Basterrechea 1974, 1975), has confirmed this in a letter to the author, describing also the intonation pattern of (28) typical of that interpretation. It thus turns out that multiple focus is possible, even though it may be somewhat rare in practice.

There are several ways in which one might account for the facts of focus as far as word order is concerned. One way would be to add an output constraint on Scrambling. A sentence will be thrown out as ungrammatical, unless, after Scrambling, the focussed constituents end up directly in front of the verb.

One might also go at it the other way. Rather than having focus determine word order, we could let word order determine focus. We could set up interpretive rules assigning focus on the basis of word order and the presence or absence of certain morphemes. This is the solution sketched by Donzeaud (1972) in section 5 of her paper.

Now, I do not wish to delve into arcane controversies as to the organization of grammar or the directionality of rules. Rather, I want to bring out the true significance of focus phenomena in Basque, while keeping the account as simple and straightforward as possible. Accordingly, my approach will be to assume that noun phrases can be marked by a syntactic feature *Focus* in underlying structures. At some stage in the derivation, a movement rule, called Focus Positioning, will apply and put noun phrases marked +*Focus* in front of the verb.

Focus Positioning is a close analogon to Wh-Movement in English. The status of the feature *Focus* is quite comparable to that of *Wh* in English, and both rules move marked noun phrases into preverbal position. But the different location of the verb in these languages obscures the similarity between the rules. In English, preverbal position happens to coincide with sentence-initial position. In Basque, this is not so. Therefore, Focus Positioning, unlike Wh-Movement, cannot be thought of as a fronting rule. In fact, if my assumption of verb final order in Basque is correct, Focus Positioning will usually involve rightward movement.

Interesting though it may be, Focus Positioning is only half the story. A fact that so far seems to have escaped everybody's attention, is that focus in Basque is not just a matter of word order, but also, and primarily, a matter of constituent structure.

The argument for showing this runs as follows. Our exposition has made clear that it is impossible to insert any constituent susceptible of bearing focus between a focussed noun phrase and the verb, without thereby a change in focus taking place.

Nothing we have said, however, accounts for the fact that it is impossible to insert anything at all between a focussed nominal and the following verb. Consider, for instance, the following sentence adverbials: *noski* "of course"; *beintzat*, *beinipein*, *bederen*, all meaning "at least"; *batez ere*, *batipat*, both meaning "especially"; *alaxe* "for all that"; *gainera* "moreover"; *alegia* "surely"; *bada* "well eh".

In general, the items of this list, when semantically appropriate can be freely intercalated between most of the constituents of a Basque sentence. But, although they cannot possibly bear focus, these items cannot be intercalated between the focus and the verb.

There is a short list of items that can be intercalated between the focus and a simple finite verb form. They are: *ez* "not", *omen* "reportedly", *bide* "apparently", *ote* "by any chance", and *ah*, a yes-no-question marker. If the verb form is periphrastic, these elements always appear in front of the auxiliary, never in front of the participle. As I showed in De Rijk (1972a: 131-132), they are proclitics to the finite verb, and hence will end up dominated by V. Becoming thus part of the verb itself, they do not constitute counter-examples to the claim I am here making.

The examples below will demonstrate the imperviousness of the focus verb combination. Candidates for insertion will be the extremely common adverbs *beintzat* "at least" and *noski* "of course".

- (29)a Txerri oiek zenbat balio duten nik dakit.
 "I know what those pigs are worth."
 (29)b *Txerri oiek zenbat balio duten nik, beintzat, dakit.
 (29)c Txerri oiek zenbat balio duten nik, beintzat, badakit.
 "I, at least, knów what those pigs are worth."

Example (29)b, the result of inserting *beintzat* in (29)a, is ungrammatical. While the simple verb form *dakit* "I know" without the prefix *ba* requires a nominal focus, the presence of *beintzat* blocks it. Informants, when confronted with (29)b, will automatically change it to (29)c. The prefix *ba* on the verb underlines the affirmative character of the utterance: "yes, I knów..." and implies the absence of a nominal focus.

Likewise (30)a, but not (30)b, is a normal answer to question (30):

- (30) Aitak gona gorria nori eman dio?
 "Who has father given the red skirt to?"
 (30)a Aitak gona gorria amari eman dio, noski.
 "Father has given the red skirt to mother, of course."
 (30)b Aitak gona gorria amari, noski, eman dio.

There is a suffix *xe*, appearing on demonstratives and certain adverbials of time, place and manner, just in case they are in non-contrastive focus. With the demonstrative pronoun *ori* "that" we get:

- (31)a Orixe dakit. "I know thát. (i.e. that's what I already know)."
 (31)b *Orixe, noski, dakit.
 (31)c *Orixe, beintzat, dakit.
 (31)d Ori, noski, badakit. "That, of course, I know."
 (31)e Ori, beintzat, badakit. "That, at least, I know."

Not even a pause can be intercalated between the focus and the verb, as the eminent Basque linguist Professor Luis Michelena observes when discussing the intonation of the sentence *gaur izan dute* "they had it today", where *gaur* "today" is focus (Michelena 1976: 149).

These facts, it seems to me, can only lead to one conclusion. There is a syntactic constituent X in surface structure that consists of the nominal focus and the verb. Thus, in (27)a there is a constituent *Xavierak eramango du* "Xaviera will take (her)"; in (27)b, *Virginia eramango du* "(she) will take Virginia"; in (27)c, *Renora eramango du* "(she) will take (her) to Reno"; and in (27)d, *biar eramango du* "(she) will take (her) tomorrow".

What kind of constituent is this? What is its category label X? To find the answer, let us proceed by elimination. X has none of the properties of a noun

phrase, hence $X \neq NP$. Obviously, $X \neq V$. Surely, putting $X = S$ will not do, our whole point being that X does not behave like an S with regard to the insertion of adverbs and interjections. Now, X is the next higher node above V . Moreover, it also dominates one or more NP 's. What else, then, could it be but VP ?

Assuming this is correct, the surface structure of a Basque sentence will consist of a VP with several NP 's outside of it; not just the subject noun phrase as in the traditional analysis of English or Dutch sentences. In fact, all of the major noun phrases of a Basque sentence may remain outside of VP , as in (32):

- (32) Aitak amari gona gorria biar ekarriko dio.
 "Father will bring mother the red skirt tomorrow."

Here, the ergative subject *aitak* "father", the direct object *gona gorria* "the red skirt", and the indirect object *amari* "mother" are all outside of the verb phrase *biar ekarriko dio* "will bring tomorrow". It follows that no phrase structure rule of the form $S \rightarrow NP + VP$ defines the notion of grammatical subject in Basque.

We are touching here upon a rather important point of universal grammar. Let us, therefore, elaborate on it a little. As we argued in section 1.2., in both English and Basque sentences have subjects. As we have just shown, in both English and Basque sentences have predicates (i.e. VP 's) in surface structure. The essential difference between English and Basque is this: VP in English always seems to function as a unitary predicate, whereas VP in Basque is an n -ary predicate, where n can take, at least, the values 0, 1, 2, 3. In (32), there are three major sentence constituents outside of VP , hence $n = 3$. In the sentence *ni noa* "I'm going" (with *ni* "I" as focus: It's me who's going.), VP coincides with S , and hence we have $n = 0$.

The term "predicate" should not lead to confusion in this context. I use it in the sense of traditional grammar, as a synonym of verb phrase. I am not talking about semantic predicates or verbs in deep structure. On that level, I do not expect to find much divergence between Basque and English. Certainly, both languages have all sorts of semantic predicates, including ternary ones like, say, GIVE. What I am here talking about is the VP and the number of noun phrases it takes to complete the sentence.

Now, quite apart from our treatment of focus as a feature in underlying structure, it is obvious that VP in Basque cannot be taken as a deep structure node, as long as deep structure is defined as a level where underlying grammatical relations are systematically specified. Which NP in a sentence will be dominated by VP cannot be predicted from the grammatical relation it bears to the verb, but only from the semantic concept of focus. In Basque, therefore, VP is a transformationally introduced node.

The initiated, of course, are aware that the Generative Semantics school has regarded VP as a derived node all along. The suggestion repeatedly made in those circles that VP is merely an S that has lost its subject, however, is seen to be quite inadequate in the light of our present discussion.

I would like to propose a transformational rule of Verb Phrase Formation. Its operation will be shown by the following two diagrams, using sentence (32) as an example.

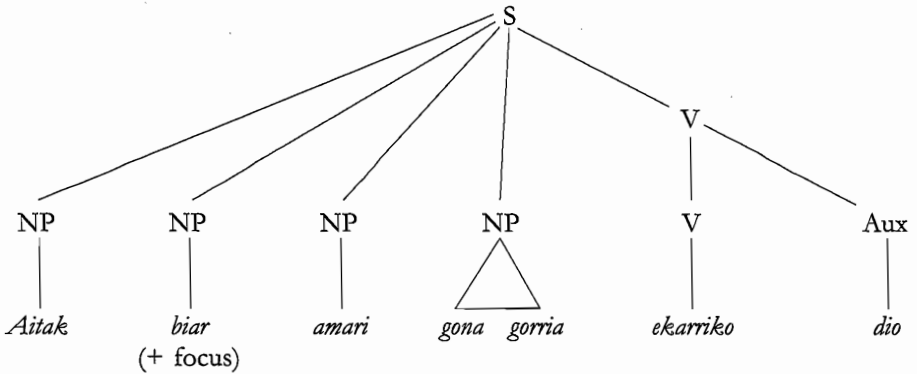


Diagram 1. Before Focus Positioning

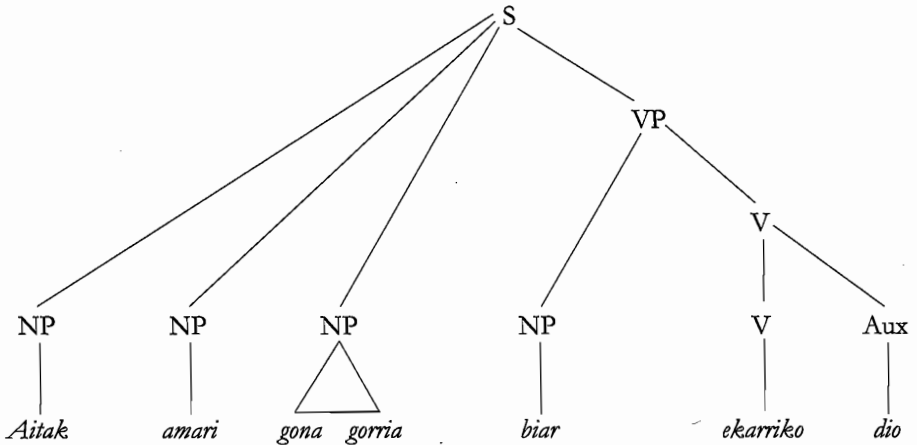


Diagram 2. After Focus Positioning and Verb Phrase Formation

At this point, the reader may ask why Focus Positioning and Verb Phrase Formation have been treated as two separate rules? Why not collapse these two into a single process?

Separating the two components of the process was done for two reasons. One reason was simply ease of exposition. A more important reason was that I do not wish to exclude on the outset the possibility that under highly special circumstances Focus Positioning might take place without being followed by Verb Phrase Formation. It would take up too much space to speculate here on what those circumstances might be.

If the theory set forth here is basically correct, languages may differ widely as to the character of their verb phrases. The question then arises what other aspects of grammatical structure correlate with the occurrence of non-unitary predicates as found in Basque. More precisely, what other characteristics of grammar, present in

Basque, make it possible for a verb phrase of this nature to emerge? And, vice versa, are there properties in Basque, conditional upon precisely this kind of verb phrase? Just to mention one example, what about the multiple agreement exhibited by the verb in Basque? Can it be shown to be connected in some way with the structure of the predicate?

It seems to me that these important questions constitute an interesting program for future research. Needless to say, the investigations should not be confined to Basque. There are other languages that deal with Focus in a way essentially like Basque. Hungarian, to all appearance, is a case in point.

Research of this kind can be a step on the road to our ultimate goal: the discovery and study of the invariants of linguistic structure underlying the amazing variety of the syntactic systems of the languages of mankind.

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ERLATIBOAK IDAZLE ZAHARRENGAN*

Aurreko hitz bi:

Idazburu hau lan honi ekitean baino lehen emana nuen eta zen bezala utzi dut. Hala ere, zabalegia da nere lan apal honentzako. Euskal idazle zaharrek erabilitako erlatibo-sistema behar bezala aztertzeko lan luze-luze bat beharko litzateke, eta gaiak merezi lukeen hainbat egiteko astirik eta kemenik ez dut izan.

Bidaliko nuen ala ez, zalantzan ibili naiz, eta azkenean lantxo hau dagoen bezala argitaratzen badut, arrazoi bakar batengatik dela aitortu beharrean nago. Euskal joskera sailean hainbeste zor diodan Altube-tar Seber maisuaren oroimen argitsua ospatzen dutenen artean huts egin nahi ez nukeelakoa, alegia.

I. Erlatiboa zertako?

Berehala gaian sartzearren, begira diezaiogun honako esaldi honi:

1. Aitak irakurri nahi du amak erre duen liburua.

Zer jakiten dugu hori entzunik? Aitak liburua irakurri nahi duela, alegia. Jakite hau perpaus nagusiari dagokio:

1a. Aitak irakurri nahi du liburua.

Jakin ere, gehiago dakigu. Zein liburu irakurri nahi duen aitak dakigu ere: amak erre duena. Hori, perpaus erlatiboari esker dakigu:

1b. Amak liburua erre du.

Ohar gaitезen, bidenabar, (1)b hau egiazat ematen dugula nahitaez, esaldi (1) esatean. Eta egiazat ematen duguna ez da «amak zerbait erre duela» bakarrik, «amak liburua erre duela» ere bai.

Esaldi (1) entzutean, *liburu* hitza behin baizik ez dantzugu. Gramatikalariek dioteenez, esaldiaren azaleko egituran *liburu* hitza behin baizik ez dager. Bainan esaldi horrek daukan erlatiboa berez ikertu nahi badugu, hor *liburu* hitza sartzea egoki zaigu

* *Euskera* XXV-2 (1980), 525-536.

analisi egiteko. Horrengatik perpaus erlatiboa *amak liburua erre du* dela esan dugu, ez *amak erre du* bakarrik.

Hori dela eta, esaldiaren sakoneko egituran *liburu* hitza bitan dagerrela diote gramatikariek. Honelatsu, alegia:¹

(1^o). Aitak irakurri nahi du amak liburua erre duen liburua.

Era berean, esaldi (2^o)-ri begiratzten badiogu, sakonean (2^o) dela ikus dezakegu:

(2^o). Atzo etxea saldu nion gizonak dirurik ez du.

(2^o). Atzo etxea gizon bati saldu nion gizonak dirurik ez du.

Azaleko egituran ez badago ere, sakoneko egituran agertzen den izen sintagma hau «isilekoa» deituko dut. Hemen, beraz, *gizon bati*.

Azaleko egituraraino irauten duen izen sintagma «ondokoa» deitzen du Goenagatar Patxi irakasleak bere *Gramatika bideetan* deritzan liburuan, eta nik ere hala deituko dut.

Azken adibidean ikusten denez, isilekoak eta ondokoak atzizki ezberdinak eraman ditzakete: *gizon bati* eta *gizonak*.

Ba-liteke, esaten ez den zerbait sakoneko egituran sartzeak gramatikarieren joko huts bat iruditzea. Bainan ez dut uste hala denik. Hitzun arruntak ere, esaldia ulertzeko beste horrenbeste egiten duela uste izateak bidezkoa baitirudi. Bihur gaitzen orain lehengo harira.

Esaldi (1)-ean eta beste honelakoetan, perpaus erlatiboaren eginbeharra bistan dago. Perpaus nagusiak liburu bat aipatzen digu eta erlatiboak adierazten nongo liburua den. Eginbehar hau, ordea, nola betetzen du erlatiboak?

Erlatiboak, perpausa baita, egokera nahiz egikera marrazten digu. Lehengo adibidean, amak liburua erre duelakoa, eta bigarrenean, atzo etxea gizon bati saldu niolako. Erlatiboak, nolabait esateko, dei egiten digu: begira nik aurkezten dizudan egikera horretara, hor aurkituko baituzu bilatzen duzun zera. Nongo liburua? Amak liburua erre duelako kontu hartan dagoen liburu bera. Nongo gizona? Atzo etxea gizon bati saldu niolako kontu hartan dagoen gizon bera. Holaxe laguntzen digu erlatiboak esaldia ulertzen.

Aurten Mundaizen egindako mintzaldian² azaldu dudanez, erlatibo-atzizkia *-n* da, lokatibo-atzizkia bezala. Honen zergatiaz orain erraz jabetzen gara, erlatiboaren egin-kizuna ikusirik. Perpaus erlatiboak ondokoaren nor-izatearen giltza non dagoen erakusten baitigu, bera lokatiboan jarritako perpaus bat izateak ezin egokiago dirudi.

Neurria ez pasatzeko, gauzatxo bat euki behar dugu gogoan, hala ere. Erlatiboa genitibotzat jo dutenak ugari badira ere, lokatiboa dela ez du inork orain arte baieztatu. Horrekin ikusten da ez direla gaurko euskaldunak erlatiboak lokatiboarekin duen zer-ikusiaz konturatzen. Egia esateko, lokatibo atzizki hutsa tokiuzenetan bakarrik

¹ Esaldiaren egiazko sakoneko egitura, hori baino askoz korapilotsuagoa da. Baina ematen dudana forma hau gure oraingo xedeetarako nahikoa da.

² "Euskal morfologiaren zenbait gorabehera" izeneko mintzaldi haren testua E.U.T.G.-k sarri argitaratuko duelakoan nago. (Ikus liburu honetan ondorengo artikulua).

agertzen den ezkerro, bestetan beti (*g*)an edo *-tan* erabiltzen delarik, ez da batere harri-garri oraingo hiztunak erlatiboan den lokatiboaz ez ohartzea.

Izan daiteke, beraz, gaurko hiztunen gogoan erlatibo-atzizkia eta lokatibo-atzizkia bat ez izatea, baina euskarazko erlatiboa lokatiboaren bitartez sortu dela ez dut zantzarik egiten.

Orain, argibide horietarik zer ondore atera dezakegun ikus dezagun.

II. Erlatibo mugatuak eta mugagabeak

Ba omen dira bi erlatibo mota: mugatuak edo restriktiboak eta mugagabeak edo esplikatiboak. Zer alde dago horien artean? Hona hemen: bigarren motako erlatiboa duen esaldian, ez dugu erlatiboaren beharrik ondokoa zertaz mintzo den jakiteko. Adibidez:

(3). Guztia dakien Jaungoikoak barkatuko dizu.

Hemen, erlatiboa kenduta ere, esaldia lehen bezain argi dago:

(3)a. Jaungoikoak barkatuko dizu.

Beraz, erlatiboa hemen mugagabea dugu. Erlatibo mugatuetan bestela gertatzen da:

(4). Goizean ikusi dudana emakumea zure izeba al da?

Hor, erlatiboaren beharrea gaude *emakume* hitzaz nor aipatzen dugun jakiteko:

(4)a. Emakumea zure izeba ahal da?

Esaldi (4)-ren ordez (4)a esaten badut, «ez dakit zein emakumez ari zaren» egoki erantzun lekidake. Mugatua da, beraz (4)-k daukan erlatiboa.

Gorago esan dudana egia bada, hiztunak erlatiboaren jatorriaz ohartzen zireino, *-n* atzizkia duten erlatibo guztiak mugatuak izan behar zuten nahitaez, erlatiboaren eginkizunaz niona mugatuei baitagokie soil-soilik. Behialako batean, beraz, ez bide zegoen *-n* atzizkiarekin moldaturikako erlatibo mugagaberik.

Abialdiak honaino ekarri gaituelarik, ideki dezagun Goenagatar Patxi irakasleak idatzi duen liburu bikaina, *Gramatika bideetan* deritzana. Hor, hauxe irakur daiteke 297. orrialdean: «Euskaraz, *bait-* erabiltzen ez badugu, ez dugu *erlatibo ez restriktiboak* (edo *esplikatiboak*) sortzeko modurik».

Hori esanez, gaurregun ere *-n*-dun erlatibo arrunta beti mugatua dela aitortzen digu gramatikalaririk horrek. Hizkuntza-sen hutsak gidaturik ote dio hori? Ez dakit, baina hala dirudi, ezpaitigu beste zernolarik ematen. Ba-daiteke, beraz, Goenagaren mintzaeran dioen bezala gertatzea. Hala balitz, indartu egingo lirakete erlatiboa dela eta agertu ditudan sinisteak. Beste zenbait indargarri ere ba-da. Izen-ordain pertsonalak ondoko dituzten erlatiboak mugagabeak izango dira nahitaez. Honelakoetan, *bait-* ez baliatzen diren euskalkiek ez dute eragozpenik:

(5). Lehenago hi baitintzan lengoajetan azkena, orai, aldiz, izanen iz orotako lehena. (Etxepare.)

Besteek bai, ongi baitakigu ez dagoela inongo euskaran (6) bezalako esaldirik:

(6). *Berandu etorri naizen nik ez dakit zer gertatu den.

Honen ordez (7) bai erabiltzen da:

(7). Berandu etorri naizen honek ez dakit zer gertatu den.

Erlatibo honen ondokoa *hau* erakuslea dugu, azaleko egituran behintzat. Erakusledun ondokoek erlatiboak nola onartzen dituzten ez da erraz esaten. Hemen auzi horretan ezin sar gaitzek. Behar bezala garbitzeko, erakusleek sakonean nola jokatzaren duten zehatz-mehatz aztertu beharko litzateke eta. Goazen, bada, aurrera.

Pertsona bati dagokion berarizko izena edo izen propioa ondoko duen erlatibo mugagabea da beti, ezpaitu izen horrek erlatiboren beharrik izendatzen duena aipatzeko. Beraz, hurrengo esaldi honek daukan erlatibo mugagabea da, ondokoa *Meltxor* baita:

(8). Ala, batian, nere gantzontzilluak jartzera dijuela, esan zion erdiko gelan dagon Meltxorrek...³

Orobat, mugagabea da (9) hau:

(9). Nik asko maite zaitudan Andone:⁴

Lehenago batean, erlatibo mugagaberik ez bazen, 8 eta 9 bezalakorik ere ezin izan zitekeen. Hau Larramendi ospetsuak egiaztatzen du:

Quando el nombre que viene con relativo de persona que hace es nombre propio de hombre o mujer, no se hace en bascuence la oración por relativo, sino por otros modos equivalentes. 1.º por ablativo absoluto: *Pedro aimbeste izanic, certacó naidu gueiago?* Pedro que tiene tanto, para qué quiere más? 2.º con la partícula pospuesta de los verbos determinantes y determinados: *Pedroc aimbeste duela, certacó*, etc. 3.º Con las partículas condicionales: *Pedroc aimbeste baldin baden, certaco*, etc.⁵

Horiek ditugu erlatibo mugagabeak betidanik ez direlako aurkitzen ditudan seinaleak. Onenean gehiago ere aurki dezake ni baino jakintsuagoak. Dena dela, behialako batean ez zela *-n* atzizkidun erlatibo mugagaberik erizten zait, aipatu ditudan arrazoiengatik. Behialako batean diot. Ba-dakit erlatibo mugagabe hek ez dutela huts egiten, ez gaurko gipuzkeran, ez eta iparraldeko idazle zaharrengan.

Gaurko gipuzkeraz denaz bezain batean, (3), (8) eta (9) adibideak ba-direla ikusi dugu. Gainera, euskaldun askori erakutsita ere, ez zizkidan inork esaldi hauek gaitzetsi, nere tesia egiten nuenean:⁶

(10). Egunero kilo erdi bat txokolate jaten duen Beobide-tar Pantxika ez da bat ere gizentzen.

³ Ikus, Iraola Aristiguieta: *Oroitzak ta beste ipui asko* (Tolosan 1962), 15. orr.

⁴ Ikus Lopez Mendizabal Ixakak egindako *Erdel-euskel alkarrizketako idaztitxoak*, 222. orr.

⁵ Ikus M. de Larramendi: *El Imposible Vencido* (Bigar. Argit.), 152. orr.

⁶ Ikus, Rudolf P. G. de Rijck: *Studies in Basque Syntax: Relative Clauses*. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Sept. 1972), 153. orr. [Bilduma honetan argitaratua].

- (11). Egunero kilo erdi bat txokolate jaten duen Beobide-tar Pantxikak txokolate-gile batekin ezkondu nahi du.

Ba-dirudi, beraz, ez direla gipuzkoarrak erlatibo mugagabeen hain etsai.

Iparraldeko idazle zaharretan, Leizarraga hautatu dut. Hor ere adibide franko agertzen dira. Liburu osoa ez dut aztertu, baina zerrenda hau nahikoa da erlatibo mugagabeen ugariak konturatzeko. (Adibide hauetan erlatibo mugagabeak azpimarkatuko ditut).

- (12). ...*Jesus Christ gure Iaunac bere domesticoei eta fidelei baicen emaiten eztrauzten* vianda saindu hauc pollui eta satsu ez titzatençat. (Cenaz, Biii (v).)
- (13). Gaineracoaz, *trebucatu gabe beguira, eta bozçariorequin irreprensible bere gloria aitzinera eraman ahal çaitzaiçqueten* Iainco zuhur bakoitzari. (S. Iuda, 24.)
- (14). Baldin nehorc erran badeça, Maite dut Iaincoa: eta bere anayeari gaitz bada-ritza: gueçurti da: ecen bere anaye dacussana maite eztuenac, *ikusten eztuen* Iaincoa nola maite ahal duque? (S. Ioan. I, IV-20.)
- (15). ...*laudorio gucia appartenitzen, çayon* Iaincoa baithan glorifica ledinçat. (Advertimendua, o.)
- (16). Haur da *beguiraz dituen ardiez arrangura handia duen* Iacob artzain iratzarria. (Advertimendua, vii (v).)
- (17). Haur da *bere gloria guciarequin bere anaye bachoén eta on-beharrén eçagutzea eta recebitzea laido içan etzayon* Ioseph anaye gogaberá eta ona. (Advertimendua, vii (v).)
- (18). Haur da *bethierecotzat bebingoaz sacrificio eguin ukan duen* Melchisedech Sacrificadore eta Ipizpicu handia. (Advertimendua, vii (v).)
- (19). Haur da *bere Leguea gure bihotzetzco tauletan bere Spirituaz scribatzen duen* Moyses Legue-eçarle subiranoa. (Advertimendua, vii (v).)
- (20). Haur da *puissança desobedient gucia bere suiiectionera erekartan duen* David victoriosoa eta noblea. (Advertimendua, vii (v).)
- (21). Haur da *baque eta prosperitate onetan bere resumá gobernatzen duen* regue Salamon triumphanta eta magnificoa. (Advertimendua, viii (r).)
- (22). Haur da *bere herioaz bere etsayac accablatu eta deseguin dituen* Sanson erscona eta verthutetsua. (Advertimendua, viii (r).)

Ohargarria da, bestalde, *bait-* aurrizkiarekin moldatutako erlatiboak mugatuak izan daitezkeela Leizarragaren lumapean:

- (23) Baina ethorriren dirade egunac edequiren baitzaye ezcondua eta orduan barur eguinen baituqueite. (S. Matheu, IX-15.)

Eta berriz ere,

- (24) Baina ethorriren dirade egunac edequiren baitzaye ezcondua, eta orduan barur eguinen duté egun hetan. (S. Marc II-20.)

Erlatiboa mugagabea eta ez mugatua dela adierazi nahi duenean, beti *zein* hitzaz baliatzen da Leizarraga: Adibidez:

- (25) ...emanen draucat iatera vicitzeco arboretic cein baita Iaincoaren paradisoaren erdian. (Apoc. II-7.)

Hor «Iaincoaren paradisoaren erdian den vicitzeco arboretic emanen draucat iatera» ipini balu, beste zenbait tokitan ere bizitzeko arboreak daudela pentsa zitekeen, erlatiboa mugaturik bezala hartu ezkeroz. Leizarragaren joskera uste izaten den baino garbiagoa dela esatera ausartuko nintzateke hemen. Nabari baita ez duela *zein* eta abar nolnahi erabiltzen, beti jakinaren gainean baizik, esaldia ilunegi edo itsusiegi geldi ez dadin. Esate baterako (26) bere *zein* eta guzti ez dago batera gaizki, nere us-tez:

- (26). Eta eriden ceçan han Eneás deitzen cen guïçon bat ia çortzi urthez ohean cetzanic, cein baitzén paralytico. (Apos. Act. IX-33.)

III. Erlatiboetan isiltzen diren posposizioez

Erlatiboaren isilekoa zer den gogora gaitzen. Posposizio edo erlazio-atzizkia eraman dezake isileko honek. Adibidez:

- (27). Gutiago barkatzen çayonac gutiago onhesten dic. (Leiz. S. Luc. VII-47.)

Erlatibo honetan, isilekoa *hari* da, noritasun atzizkiarekin. Isilekoa isiltzen dugu azaleko egituran, eta horrengatik, noski, daukan atzizkia ezin daiteke edozein izan, erlatiboa ongi ateratzea nahi badugu. Esate baterako:

- (28). *Eskerrak ematen ditudan liburuak laister irakurriko ditut.

Esaldi hau ezin ontzat eman, ezin igarri baitzaio liburu horrengatik eskerrak ematen ditudala. Beraz, erlatibo pasagari baten isilekoak zein posposizio eraman ahal dezake? Nere tesia egiterakoan [ikus liburu honetan bertan], galdera honi erantzuten saiatzen nintzenez, bi euskaldun mota direla idoro nuen.

Ba-dira soilki erlatiboko aditzean eskuhartzen duten isilekoak onartzen dituzten hitzunak. Horiek ez dute onartzen (29) hau:

- (29). Jaio nintzen herria maite dut.

Besteek, ordea, erizpide zabalagoa dute, lehengoez gainera *-n*, *-ra*, *-tik* eta *-z* atzizkia duten isilekoak ere onartzen baitituzte. Adibide bana ipiniko dut:

- (30). Laister joango aiz, Arantxa, beste maitasun batzuek izango ditunan etxera. (Martin Itziar Aguirre, *Larraundiko sendia*, 23. orr.)
- (31). Eta ziur egon, zu lekaime sartuko zeran etxe ura nik kixkali-eraziko dedala su ta gar. (A. Albisu Ayerdi. *Erreka-çaloan...*, 43. orr.)
- (32). Zoaz etorri zinan lekura! (A. Labayen, *California... ku-ku!*, 149. orr.)
- (33). Zuek ez zenduten gu ohartu ginen arriskua ikusten.

Jo dezagun orain idazle zaharregana, auzi honetan nola jokatzen duten ikusteko. Isilekoa lokatiboan duten adibideak non-nahi agertzen dira. Aurkitu ditudan guztiak ezartzea luzeegi litzateke eta, baten batzuek bakarrik aipatuko dizkizuet:

- (34). Arech asco dan urtea, besteac baño ez ohea. (R.S. 109.)
 (35). Hora il daguien mendian guçona idoro ez didila. (Garibay, G. 139-52.)
 (36). Aca donde yo estoy: ona, ni nagoan lequra. (Landuchio, 227 v, 50. orr.)
 (37). Andre hona den lekhura ailtxa itzak begiak. (Etxepare.)
 (38). Eta hec bethiere usatzen çuten bere lehen ceuden hirico leguéz, çuçenéz eta privilegioéz. (Leizarraga, ã, ii (v).)
 (39). Eçagut eraci ieçaguc ebili behar garen bidea. (Leiz. ABC, *Othoitzak*, Ps 143.)

-ra atzizkia duen isilekoa daukan erlatiborik ez dut aurkitu idazle zaharren testuetan, bai, ordea, -*tiê* atzizkia duen isilekoko bat:

- (40). Itzuliren naiz neure ilkhi naizen etxera. (Leiz. Mat. XII-44.)

Isileko instrumentala duten adibideak ere ba-dira. Hona bi:

- (41). Eta ecin phoroga citzaqueé ni orain accusatzen nauten gauçac (Leizarraga, *Apost. Act. XXIV-13.*)

Leizarragaren mintzaeran *accusatu* aditzak atzizki instrumentala eskatzen du: *Eta anbitz gauçaz accusatzen çuten hura Sacrificadore principaléc.* (Marc, XV-3); *Hura cerçaz accusa lutençát.* (S. Ioan., VIII-6); *Hilén sperançáz eta resurrectioneaz ni accusatzen naiz.* (Apost. Act. XXIII-6); *Mereci onez arintassunez accusa abal neinde.* (Eskein-hitzak, 1).

- (42). Nic igorri çaituztet nekatu etzaretenaren biltzera. (S. Ioan. IV-38.) («Ego misi vos metere quod vos non laborastis.»)

nekatu aditzak instrumentala eskatzen du, hala nola: *eskerrak ematez ez zen nekatzen.*

Dakigunez, erlatibo baten isilekoak eta ondokoak atzizki bera dutenean (edo hobeiki esateko, era berdineko atzizkia), erlatibo hau ontzat hartzen da beti. Hona hemen, horri esker ongi dagoen erlatibo bat:

- (43). Cergatic gaichto iudicatzen naiz nic esquerrac emaiten ditudan gauçagatic? (Leiz. 1 Cor. X-30).

Gehienetan, isilekoak -*gatiê* atzizkia daramanean, erlatiboa ez da ongi ateratzen, esaldi (28)-an ikusi dugunez. Baina hemen bai isilekoak bai ondokoak *gatiê* atzizkia daramatelako, oso ongi gelditzen da (43) hau.

Azkenean, adibide guzti horiek ikusita, sistema zahararen eta gaurkoaren artean ez dela alde haundirik nabaritzen esango nuke, orain gagozkion arlo honetan behinik behin.

IV. Joskera bitxia

Erlatiboa bere ondokoaren aurrean ipini ohi dugu:

- (44). Behin ba-zen hiru seme zituen errotari bat.

Egitura hori apur bat aldatzen ere ba-dakigu:

(45). Behin ba-zen errotari bat hiru seme zituen.

Bainan erlatiboa bere ondokoaren atzean daukan esaldi (46) hau, ez da, dakidanez, gaur asko erabiltzen:

(46). Behin ba-zen errotari hiru seme zituen bat.

Idazle zaharren testuetan, ordea, erruz aurki daiteke (46) bezalakorik. Adibide batzuek aipatzera noa:

(47). Artu-eguisu beyñ onaco trapu iqusleac ecarritusana. (Micoleta, *Modo breve de aprender la lengua Vizçayna*, 30 orr.)

(48). Memoria ene gasaben trapu ycusleac eroan eguisanena. (Micoleta, 30 orr.)

(49). Cure pena dioçunoc...⁷ (Etxepare)

(50). Monument agueri eztiradenac beçala çarete. (Leiz. *S. Luc.* XI-44)

(51). Prophetén hitz Sabbath guciac iracurtzen diradenac complitu ukan dituzté. (Leiz. *Apost. Act.* XIII-27)

(52). ...ceren ezpaitituc sinhetsi ene hitz bere demborán complituren diradenac. (Leiz., *S. Luc.*, I-20)

(53). ...bere anaye dacussana maite eztuenac... (Leiz. *I Ioan*, IV-20)

(54). Ceren ikustera ilki içan çarete desertura? canabera haiceaz erabilten den baten? (Leiz. *S. Luc.* VII-24)

(55). ...guiçon abillamendu preciosoz veztitu baten? (Leiz. *S. Luc.* VII-25)

San Mateoren itzulpenean bestela jokatu du, ordea:

(56). Ceren ikustera ilki içan çarete desertura? haiceaz erabilten den canabera baten? (Leiz. *S. Mat.* XI-7)

Baina *Mat* XI-8, *Luc* VII-25 bezalaxe dago.

(57). ...emazte testificatu çuenaren erranagatic. (Leiz. *S. Ioan*, IV-39)

Erronkarin joskera hau ere ezaguna zen. Azkuek honela ematen digun esan zaharra: *min emoiten daian agina arranka çak*, Urquijok hola ematen baitigu:

(58). Agin min emoiten dayana arranka zak.⁸

Bitxia deritzaigun joskera hau erdalkeriatzat jotzekoa ahal da? Ba-da halaxe uste duenik, baina nik ez dakit hala ote den. Har beza hitza nik baino gehiago dakienak.

⁷ Lino Akcsolok prestatu duen argitalpen berrian, hitz horiek zeharo aldaturik agertzen dira. Akesolok *çure penak diotzunak* jarri baitu, (45) esaldiaren eredura.

⁸ Ikus, R. M. de Azkue, *Particularidades del dialecto roncalés*, 278 orr. eta J. de Urquijo *Los Refranes de Garibay*, xxi. orr.

EUSKAL MORFOLOGIAREN ZENBAIT GORABEHERA*

Jaun-andreok:

Biziro eskertzen dut zuen aurrean hitz egiteko ematen zaidan aukera hau, eta hitz ematen dizuet ahaleginak eginen ditudala aspergarriegi gerta ez nakizuen.

Hizkuntza guztiek dituzte beren legeak. Lege batzuk hizkuntza guztiek betetzen dituzte. Lege horiek, Goenaga irakasleari jarraituz, «betiko legeak» dei genitzake. Betiko lege horiek alde batera utzita, hizkuntza ezberdinek lege ezberdinak izaten dituzte. Esate baterako, gaztelaraz hitza *r*-rekin has daiteke: *rey*. Euskaraz, ordea, ez: *errege*. Edo eta, gaztelarazko hizkalki batzuetan hitza *d*-rekin buka daiteke: *sed*, *maldad*. Euskaran, ordea, ez dago *d*-rekin bukatzen den hitzik (Bidankozeko *dud* hartzaz ahazten bagara, behintzat). Gisa berean, ez dago euskaran *g*-rekin bukatzen den hitzik.

Gramatika-arauek edo erregelek hizkuntza baten legeak adierazten dituzte markakera edo notazio orokor eta egoki batean. Gramatika-sail honetan, tajuz hautatuko laburpen batzuek, bai eta ikur edo marka berezi batzuek, lana askoz errazten digute. Entzuleak ez nekatzearren horietarik ahalik gutxien erabiliko dut. Baten batzuk ageriko dira alabainan, apropos direnean. Halaxe, komeni zaigulako, orain «#» delako markaz hitzaren mugak adieraziko ditugu. Beraz # *etxea* # eta # *didazu* # idatz ditzaitegu *etxea* eta *didazu*-ren ordean.

Lehen aipatu dugun legea orain honela idatz liteke: *...d # eta *...g #.

Hori ulertzeko, hizkuntzalariet zerbaiten aurrean *izartxoak jartzen dutenean, «hori ez dagoela gure hizkuntzan» esan nahi dutela jakin behar duzue.

Zer ez dago, bada, hemen? Lehen esan duguna: *d*-rekin nahiz *g*-rekin bukatzen den hitzik. Bainan, hori bera esateko, beste era bat hobe ere ba-da. Honelaxe:

d # → t # eta g # → k #.

«→» delako ikurra «bihurtzen da» irakurri behar da.

Formula edo erabide horiek diotena hau da: *d* eta *g* fonema biguinak gogortu egingen direla hitzaren bukaeran gertatzen direnean. Aipatu dugun hori adierazteko zergatik da hobe hau bestea baino? Hona hemen arrazoi bat: *dit* eta *didazu* hitzak alderatzen ditugunean, *dit*-eko azken *t* hori eta *didazu*-ko bigarren *d* hori, nahiz eta ahozkeraren berdinez ez izan, nolabait gauza bera direla senditzen dugu: biek «neri», noritasuna «ni» dela, adierazten baitute. Eta hain zuzen ere, gure formulak sortzen digu uste hori finkatzeko bidea: *dit*-eko *t*-a hitzaren bukaeran gertatu delako *d* gogortua besterik ez delakoan egoteko eskubidea eskeintzen baitigu.

* *Euskal linguistika eta literatura: bide berriak* (Bilbao, 1981), 83-101.

Horrelako formulak ezkerretik eskubira irakurri behar dira, ez eskubitik ezkerrean. Hitzaren bukaeran dagoen *d*-a derriorez *t* bihurtzen dela dio, baina ez du esaten hitzaren bukaeran gertatzen diren *t* guztiak *d*-tik datozenik, *bat*-eko *t*-a, esate baterako, *t* besterik ez da: *bata*, *bati* esaten baitugu, *bada* hitz hura zeharo besterik da, *bat* hitzarekin zer ikusirik ez duena.

«Gogorpena» deituko dugun arau hori beti kunplitzen da, hitzinguru guzti-guztietan. Beti kunplitzen diren arauak, bai eta salbuespen banaka batzuk baizik ez dituzten arauak, «arau zabalak» deituko ditugu. Ba-da beste arau-mota bat. Ba-dira gehienetan ez, baina nunbaitetan bai, gertatzen diren aldaketak. Aldaketa horiek adi erazten dituzten arauak «arau estuak»¹ deituko ditugu. Honelako arauak salbuespenetan bakarrik betetzen direla esan dezakegu.

Ekar dezagun adibide egoki bat hona. Ba-dakigu bi bokalaren artean aurkitzen den *g* fonema gehienetan gorde egiten dela, hizkera txukun edo dotorean behintzat: *dago*, *laga*, *gogo*, *bego*, *egan* eta abar. Baina *g* hori zenbait hitzetan derriorez kendu egiten da, ezpaititugu *dagode* eta *begode* esaten, *dauden* eta *bende* baizik. Hemen gertatu dena honela idatz daiteke:

...V g V ... → ... VV ..., V/ horrekin edozein bokale adierazten delarik.

Geroago, beste arau baten bidez, *ao* eta *eo* *au* eta *eu* bihurtzen dira, dakigunez.² Gaurko hizkuntzalari askok gauza bera bestela idatzi ohi dute. Honela:

$g \rightarrow \emptyset / V - V.$

Erabide honek *g* fonema bi bokalaren artean suntsitzen dela esan nahi du. Bestetan ere aldaketa horretaz beraz baliu gaitzke. Ergatibo plurala (edo norksintagma askoizta, nahiago baduzue) sartaldeko euskalkietan *ak* dugu eta sortaldekoetan, berriaz, *ek*. Zergatik ote? Ergatibo plurala *ak* formatik datorrela dirudi; *ae* hori sartaldean *a* eta sortaldean *e* egiten baita, *dan* eta *den*, *zan* eta *zen* hitz tankerek erakusten dituzten bezala. Baina *ak* hori nundik dator? Berez, ergatiboa *k* da bakarrik, eta ez *ek*: *norke*, *zerke*, *askok gutxiak* esaten baitugu, ez **norek*, **zerrek*, **askoek*, **gutxiak*. Korapilo hau askatzeko, demagun mugahitz askoiztaren forma *ag* dela, ez *ak*.³ Orduan, sistema guztia argi aski ikus dezakegu:

Norsintagma askoizta: *gizonag*, eta hau *gizonak* egiten da lehenago aipatu dudan gogorpenaren bidez.

¹ «Arau zabala» eta «arau estua» hitz bikote hau Lasarte-tar Mari Pilarri zor diot. Ingeleseko «major rule» eta «minor rule» direlakoak euskaratzeko oso hitz egokiak dira inola ere.

² *El Cantar de Breña* deritzaizen bertsoen hizkuntzak artean *ao* hori den bezala gordetzen zuen. Hor, *da o de* eta *daode* irakurtzen baitugu. Ikus *FLV* VII, 19, 44. orr.

³ Jakina, euskararen bilakabidea kondairan zehar ikertu nahi zuten euskalarien artean, batzutasuna adierazten duen mugahizkia den *ak* hori, *-ag* edo *-aga*-tik datorrelakoa aspaldiko ustea dugu, Campión, Gavel, Lafon eta Mitxelena, gutxienez, horretaz mintzatuak baitira. Ikus, esate baterako, Gavel: «Éléments de phonétique basque», *RIEV* 12 (1921), 339. orr. Mitxelena: *Apellidos vascos*³, 36. orr.; Mitxelena: *Fonética histórica vasca*, 238. orr. Baina, fonología sinkroniko mailan ere, *-ak* mugahizkia *-ag*-en erakarkizuna delakoa argibide berriagoa da, lehenengoz, dakidanez, «Is Basque an S.O.V Language?» deritzaion nere lantxo batean agertzen dena. Ikus *FLV* 3 (1969), 338. orr [eta baita bilduma honetan ere]. Geroago, Rotaetxek eta Doneux-k, nere lantxo hori ezagutu gabe, bururapen bera izan zuten, bai eta horiek orduan epentesiak hor zuten zereginaz ni baino askoz hobeki ohartu zirela ere ezin dut ixildu. Ikus, K. Rotaetxe, J. Doneux, «Sur un point de morphologie nominale du basque», *FLV* 9 (1971), 269-290.

Norksintagma askoitz: *gizonag* + *k*. Hemen epentesiak, euskal gramatikan oso ezaguna den arau batek, burua jasotzen du. Epentesi honek bi kontsonanteren erdian *e* bat sartzen du. Arau horren ondorea: *gizonagek*. Gero, bi bokaleen arteko *g* biguina erori egiten da. Azkenik, orain daukagun *aeke* honek *ake* eta *ek* ematen dizkigu, gorago azaldu dugunez.

Har dezagun beste adibide bat eta goazen aditzlagun iragankorraren forma batzuk aztertzeraz.

1. hark hari dio	guk hari diogu
2. hark zuri dizu	guk zuri dizugu
3. hark guri digu	zuk guri diguzu
4. hark neri dit	zuk neri didazu
5. hark hiri din	guk hiri dinagu
6. hark hiri dik	guk hiri diagu

Lehenengo hiru lerroei bakarrik begiratu ezkerro, hauxe nabari dezakegu: noritasunaren adierazleak, *o*, *zu*, *gu* atzizkiak, alegia, ez dira itxuraz aldatzen, aditzjabea aldatzen denean.⁴ Gainera, aditzjabea *hark* dela adierazten duten formak oinharritzat hartuta, beste guztiak osa daitezke hauei aditzjabearen adierazlea erantsiz, besterik gabe: *diogu* = *dio* + *gu*.

Azken hiru lerroetan, ordea, ez dela berdin gertatzen dirudi. Esate baterako: *dit*, baina *didazu*, eta are okerrago: *dik* eta *diagu*. Baina okerra, okerrik bada, azalean baizik ez datza. Ikus ditzagun lerrook banaka. Aurrean daukagun *dit* hori *did* dela esan dugu. Orain, *did*-en ordez *dida* jartzen badugu, laugarren lerroa beste hirurak dauden sistema berberaren barruan sartzen zaigu: *dida*, *didazu*, *didate*. Bostgarren lerroa berdin, *din*-en ordez *dina* jarri ezkerro. Baita ere seigarrena, *dik*-en ordez *diga* ipintzen badugu. Honela: *diga*, azkeneko *a* kenduta, *dig* egiten da. Jakina, *g* hori gogortu egiten da hitzaren bukaeran: *dik*. Eta *digagu*, berriz, *diagu* ahozkatzen da, *dagode daude* bihurtzen den bezala. Honela, pertsonak adierazten dituzten atzizkiak beti itxura bera dutela ohartzen da, nahiz aditzjabetasuna nahiz noritasuna adierazi: *da*, *ga*, *na*, *zu*, *gu*.⁵ Hirugarren pertsonako *o*-az gero mintzatuko gara, mintzaldi honen azken zatian.

⁴ «Aditzjabea» aditzaren norksintagma da, bai eta «aditzgaia» aditzaren norksintagma. Erdaraz, «sujeto agente» eta «sujeto paciente», alegia. «Noritasuna» datibotasuna dela, ez da esan beharrik, noski.

Izen tekniko hauek, dakienak dakienez, Oregi Aranburuk egindako ikerlanetatik hartu ditut, guztiz egoki eta politak direlakoan. Ikus, besteak beste, Oregi Aranbururen lan hau: «Euskal-aditzaz zenbait goeata», *FLV*17 (1974), 265-283.

Eta euskal-euskalari horren izena aipatu dudana ezkerro, erants dezadan horren idazlanak arreta haundiz irakurtu ditudala eta gogo-adimen zorrotza salatzen duten gramatikari buruz daukadan ohartzapen sakonek behin baino gehiagotan miraz utzi nautela. Izendatu dudana lanean, esate baterako, *da* aurrizkia dela-eta dioena funtsean aski zuzen deritzat, eta, dakidanez, inork artean esan gabea.

⁵ Arestian aipatu dudana idazlan horretan ikusten denez, Oregi Aranburuk atzizkiok behinola noritasunaren adierazle hutsak zirela uste du, aditzjabeak aditzean esku hartu aitzineko garairen batean. Horren aburuz, beraz, norikun flesioak, oro har, noridunak baino berriagoak lirateke.

Egia esan, bide honetan ezin jarrai natzaio. Ematen dituen arrazoiak ez dira, ez eta hurrik eman ere, ustekunde hori tinkatzera heltzen. Aldez aurretik ere, eta Kaukasoko zenbait hizkuntzatan gerta daitekeena gorabehera, ez diot egituraz haundirik aurkitzen tesi horri. Flesio batzuk besteak baino berriagoak izatekotan, alderantziz ez ote den askoz hartzekoagoa nago: noridunak berriagoak, alegia. Dena dela, euskal-aditza ez dugula «noizbait bere osotasun osoan sortu edo asmatutakoa, bizi izateak berak denporaren denporaz mamitu baizik» dioenean, hizpidē osoa dauka Oregi Aranburuk. Baina bilakabide haren gorabeherak ilunbetik eguerdiratzea sekulako lan gaitza dugu, batipat, euskal morfologia ez ezik, euskal sintasia, hizkuntzaren egitura orokorra ere, denboraren denboraz, aldakuntza mugagaitzen menpean gertatzen delako.

Oraingoz, gauzatxo bat bakarra egiaztatu nahi izan dugu: *g* fonema bi bokaleren erditik erortzea ez dela behingo gertakari bitxia,⁶ arautzat jo beharrean garena. Baina *arau estutzat* etsi behar noiz jokutzen den fonologi-mailan zehatz mugarrizten ez daki-gun bitartean.

Bidenabar beste arau estu bat topatu dugu: bukaerako *a*-ren kenketa. Gero ikusiko dugunez, *a* ez ezik, beste bokale batzuk ere ken ditzake arau honek: euskalki gehienetan *e*, eta erronkariaraz *o* ere bai. Beraz, arau honek bokale beheitiak ditu menpeko. Goitiak diren *i* eta *u* ez dira inoiz kentzen, *iturbegi* bezalako hitzalkartuez kanpora behintzat.

Bukaerako bokale kenketa delako arau hau bestetan ere behar dugu: *erdatatik datarren hitza* laburkiago esan nahi badugu, ez dugu *erdatikoko hitza* esaten, *erdatikoko hitza* baizik.⁷ Beraz, *tik* atzizkia *tika* da berez, baina *a* hori bukaeran gelditzen denean ezer erantsi gabe, kendu egiten da. Berdin *rik* atzizkia *rika* da: *aipaturikoko hitza*. Testu zaharretan *rika* eta *tika* behin baino gehiagotan bere *a*-rekin azaltzen dira. Ikus, esate baterako, Etxepareren *Emaxten Fabore* olerki famatuaren lerroetan *ixilika* eta *zerutika*, edo eta Mitxelenaen *Textos Arcaicos Vascos* deritzan liburuan irakur ditzakegun 1610 urteko bertsoak (119-121. orr.). Ez da, beraz, batere harrigarri *dit*, *dik*, *din* aditzlaguntzaileflesioak berez *dida*, *diga*, *dina* izatea. Bukaerako bokale kenketa hau arau estua dugu, bukaerako *a* gehienak ez baitira kentzen: *eta*, *hala*, *gizona*.

Erara datozelako, Mitxelena gogorazi dizkigun Sabino Arana Goiriten hitzok aipatuko dizkizuet, erdaraz izan arren: «Asi *dot* (lo he) y, sin excepción, todas las flexiones verbales que terminan en *t*, revelan al mudar ésta en *d*, en muchos casos de sufijación vocal, que primitivamente terminaron en *d* + vocal» (Ikus, *Euskera* XX (1975), 357. or.). Hor, «primitivamente» hastapenean dio. Baina ez da hori bakarrik, zerbait gehiago ere esan zezakeen. Aditzgai pluralaren adierazlea *z(a)* da bizkaiaraz, ez *az(a)*; ikus *dawz*, *jakuz* eta abar. Orduan, *dot*-en plurala *dodaz* izateak argi eta garbi erakusten digu *dot* flesioa oraindik-orain *doda* dela hiztunen gogoetan, *dot* ebakitzen badute ere. Izan ere, berehala ikusiko dugunez, gramatika egitean bi forma hartu behar dira kontuan: azaleko forma (hemen *dot*) eta sakonekoa (hemen *doda* edo *da*-rekin bukatzen den beste zerbait).

Ikus dezagun orain zer den morfologia. Morfemak zer diren badakizuelakoan nago: hitzaren zatiak, alegia. Esate baterako, *herbesteratua* hitz honek bost morfema ditu: *herr(i)*, *beste*, *ra*, *tu*, *a*. Ez da orobat morfema eta silaba: *beste* hitzak bi silaba ditu, baina morfema bakarra da. Morfema izateko, hitzatal batek esan-nahi jakin bat behar baitu. Morfema hitzaren zatiak direlako, euskaraz «hizkiak» dei genitzake. Erabilera hau askoz hobe da letra adieraztekoa baino. Hitz bat ez baitute letrek osatzen, morfemek baizik.⁸

Morfologia morfemez aritzen den jakintza dugu. Eta, gorago esan duguna hainzakotzat hartu ezker, idazkera ohituak ez digula beti morfema baten egiazko tankera edo forma ematen bistan dago. Morfologiaren eginkizunik nagusia morfema

⁶ Hona oraindik beste adibide bat: Testu zaharretan (bai eta ez hain zaharretan ere) *duk*-en erlatiboan *duan* da, *dek*-ena *dean*, eta *dok*-ena *doan*: *Eguiten duana eguic fitetz* (Leizarraga, Jo. XIII-27); *Yrezat narzoana besteri ez opaesi* (R.S. 470) (Hau da: Hiretzat nahi ez doana besteri ez opaetsi). Flesio hauen *k* hura berez *g* da, ikusi dugunez. Erlatiboan *g* hori, bi bokaleren artean egonik, erori egiten da.

⁷ Egia esan, *erdatikoko hitza*, *aipaturikoko hitza* diotenak bai ba-dira. Azkue ospetsuak, esate baterako, gehienetan hola, *a* gabe, erabiltzen ditu.

⁸ Ikus, besteak beste, Mitxelena, *Zerbait hitzaldi*, 24-25. orr.

bakoitzaren egiazko edo sakoneko forma bilatzea da. Ahal den neurrian, morfema baten sakoneko forma bera agertzen den inguru guztietan berdina izango da.

Arestian ikusi dugun adibidean, forma hori beti *da* da, ez batzuetan *da* eta beste-tan *t*. Ahal den neurrian diot. Esate baterako, ikusi ere, ez da aisa ikusten *da* hau eta *ni* hura nola batera genitzakeen.

Hitz bat osatzen duten morfemei bere sakoneko forma banaka emanaz, hitz horren sakoneko forma aurkitzen dugu. Eta, hitzaren sakoneko tankera hori oinharritzat harturik, arau-pila ordenatu batek hitzaren azaleko itxura emango digu. Azaleko itxura horrek hitzaren ahozkeraren arrunta markatzen du. Hona hemen adibide bat:

Sakoneko forma: # *d* + *i* + *ga* + *da* #

Lehenengo araua: *g*-ren kenketa. Ondorea: # *diada* #.

Bigarrena: bukaerako *a*-ren kenketa. Ondorea: # *diad* #.

Hirugarrena: gogorpena. Ondorea: # *diat* #.

Sakoneko *digada*-tik azaleko *diat*-eraino iristeko, hiru arau behar ditugu. Eta *diat*-en ordeztuz *dyat* esaten baduzue, beste arau bat beharko duzue hiruren atzetik.

Arauek ordenatuak direla, hots, ez direla nolana jokatzeko, jarraikera jakin batez baizik, honela ikus daiteke: Euskalki batzuetan *mendia* hitza *mendiya* (edo *mendixa*) ahozkatzen da. *Etxea* hitza, berriz, *etxia*, behin ere ez *etxiya*, *mendia*-ren *ia* *iya* eginez aldatzen duen arauak ez du *etxia*-ren *ia*-rik aldatzen.⁹ Hori dela-ta, arauak honela ordenaturik izan behar dute:

Lehengoa: *ia* → *iya*

Bigarrena: *ea* → *ia*

Eta, horixe da koska, bigarren arauak jokatu dueneko, lehenengoaren aldia pasa baita, ezin du jokatu bigarren arauaren ondorearekin.

Sarrera luze hau bukatzean, esan duguna hizkuntza baten egoera jakin bati bakarrik dagokiola aipatu gabe ezin naiz gelditu. *Dit*-eko egiazko tankera *dida* dela badiot, ez dut inola ere esan nahi behialako denboraren batean *dida* esaten zenik. Egia esan, aspaldiko euskaldunek *dida* esatea izan daiteke. Ez ninduke horrek behintzat batera harririk. Baina halakorik ez dut esaten sakoneko forma *dida* dela diodanean. Sin-kroniaz bakarrik ari naiz. Oraingo euskaldunak konturatu ere gabe buruan daukan hizkuntza daukat aztergai bere lege eta guzti. Gaurko euskalsistimaren barruan morfemak zeintzuk diren eta nola alkatzen diren argitu nahi dugu euskalmorfologia sin-kroniko horretan.

Eta orain, ariketa moduan, bi galdera hauei erantzun nahi nieke:

I. Zer da lokatibo mugatuaren sakoneko forma?

II. Zein da erlatibo¹⁰-atzizkiaren sakoneko forma, *-an*, *-en*, ala *-n*?

⁹ Holakoetan zehaztasun gehiago ikusi nahi duenak nere lantxo bat irakur lezake. Ikus de Rijk: «Vowel Interaction in Bizcayan Basque», *FLV* 5 (1970), 149-167. [Liburu honetan emana].

¹⁰ *Erlatibo* idazteak min ematen dit, hitz honi arrotz eta itsusi samarra baiteritzat. Sarasolari jarraituz, ezinbestean erabiltzen dut, hitz egokiagorik aurkitu ezinez, alegia. Bai ba-dakit Oregi Aranburuk «arazko atzizkia» deitzen duela (Ikus, «Birdeklinaketa», *FLV* 26 (1977), 215. orr.) eta Zatarainek «aipatze-atzizkian edo «aipa-atzizkia» (Ikus, «Aipatze-atzizkiari buruzko txostenaren aurreidazpena», *Euskera* XXIV (1978), 813. orr.) Ez didatela hitz horiek gogoia bete aitortzea ausarkeria al litzake?

I. Gramatika-sailean gogoia harriminetara emana duen batek lokatiboaren inguruan aurki dezake zertaz harri. Erruz gogoratzen zaizkigun galderen artean, bi hauek dira nabarmenenak:

1. *Zeruan* esaten badugu, zergatik ez *lurran*? Edo, alderantziz, *lurrean* esan beharra bada, zergatik ez *zeruean*?
2. Bizkaitarrek zergatik esaten dute *gonan*, giputzen antzera? Ez al du *gonea* esateak *gonean* esatea eskatzen?

Azkue haundiak galdera bera egin eta honela jarrai zuen: «Anomaliatxo honen iturburua non da? Buruak txinpartxo bat ere ez dit eman nahi».¹¹

Aurki ikusiko dugunez, gaur ez zaigu zailegi, sakoneko egituraren berri dakigunoi, Azkue aho bete aginekin utzi zuen galdera horri erantzuten. Erantzuna William Jacobsen ameriketar hizkuntzalariak eman digu bere «The Basque Locative Suffix», deitutako idazlan polit batean.¹² Lan hori irakurri ez banu, ez nizuke agian gaur lokatiborik aipatuko. Bestalde, gero azaldu beharko dudanez, zenbait pundutan ez nago hark dioenarekin osoro konforme.

Orain, aurrera gabe, euskalari askotxo saihestu diren okerbide bat salatu beharrean nago. Lokatibo mugatuaren azaleko forma *an* delako, toki-izenekin *n* bakarrik agertzen delarik, *an*-eko *a* hura mugahizkitzat hartu dute atzoko eta gaurko gramatikagile eta euskalari askok. Bainan, nola izan liteke egia horrelako usterik? Beti tarteko sarkizunik gabe atxekitzen baitzaio mugahizkia hitzerroari: *lurra*, *lana*, behin ere ez **lurrea*, **lanea*. Gainera, morfologiaz kanpoko arrazoiak ere erakarri litezke. Begira diezaiogun honako esaldi honi:

(1)a. Hori bere liburuakin eta paperekin agertzen da.

Esaldi honetan lehenengo *kin* atzizkia ken eta *a* mugahizkia bakarrik utz dezakegu.¹³ Honela:

(1)b. Hori bere liburua eta paperekin agertzen da.

Orain begira beste honi:

(2)a. Hori bere liburuan eta paperetan agertzen da.

Hemen, ordea, ezin orobat egin:

(2)b. *Hori bere liburua eta paperetan agertzen da.

Hau ez da esaten ez ulertzen euskaraz.

Horrek frogatzen du argi eta garbi *-an* atzizkiko *a*-ak ez duela mugahizkiarekin zer ikusirik. Bere kideko atzizkiek (*-ra*, *-tik*, *-ko*) bezalaxe, *-an* atzizkiak ez du mugahizki ageririk erakusten, nahiz eta mugatua izan esan-nahiaren aldetik.

Orain, gehiagorik gabe, eman dezadan egin ditugun galderei erantzuteko behar den giltza. William Jacobsen hizkuntzalari jakintsuak idatzi duenez, *-an-en* jokabideak

¹¹ Ikus bere «Azkaingo lanttoaren yarraipena», *Euskera* XI (1930), 317-318.

¹² Ikus: Douglass, Etulain, Jacobsen (biltzaleak), *Anglo-American Contributions to Basque Studies. Essays in Honor of Jon Bilbao* (Reno-n, 1977-gn urtean) 163-168.

¹³ Hualde Mayo apaizak erronkarietaz egindako San Mateoren itzulpenean hauxe irakurtzen dugu: *...eta bere elia edo itzarequin egochtanztion espiritu gasstua...*, «Hitz bat» ele bat dugu Erronkarin, *elia*-k, beraz, *a* mugahizkia dauka.

sakonean kontsonante batez hasten dela erakusten digu. Eta, kontsonante horrek bi bokalaren artean erraz erortzen diren horietakoa izan behar du.

Hizkuntza guztietan *g* fonema *b* eta *d* baino aisago erortzen dela erakutsi digu Foley hizkuntzalariak,¹⁴ eta euskaran, hain zuzen ere, *g*-ren kenketa delako arau lehen ikusia digu. Beraz, lokatibo mugatuaren sakoneko tankera *gan* delako usteak txit bidezkoa dirudi. Eta hori ontzat ematen badugu, lokatiboko mixterioak oro elurra eguzkitan bezala hurtzen zaizkigu:

Zergatik *lurrean*? Honela: sakoneko forma: *lurr* + *gan*, gero epentesiaren bidez: *lurregan*. Hortik *g*-gen kenketaren bidez: *lurrean*.

Zergatik *zeruan*? Honela: sakoneko forma: *zeru* + *gan*. Hortik, *g*-ren kenketaren bidez: *zeruan*.

Zergatik *gonan* bizkaieraz? Honela: sakoneko forma *gona* + *gan* da. Gogora gaitzen orain arauak ordenatuak direla, eta egin dezagun *a* + *a* > *ea* bihurtzen duen arau zaharra *g*-ren kenketaren aurrean datorrela. Orduan, kenketa horren bidez lortzen dugun *gonaan* ezin da **gonean* bihurtu, pasa baita arau horren aldia. Gero, *gonaan* > *gonan* bihurtzen da bakunketa edo sinplifikazi-arau baten bidez.¹⁵

Sakoneko forma *gan* izateak hobeki ulertarazten digu, gainera, hitzerroa biziduna denean gertatzen dena. Ba-dakigu zernahiren tokia zehazteko erabiltzen diren beste hitz batzuk (*aurre*, *atze*, *azpi*, *gain*, *ondo*, *aldamen* eta abar) nola jokutzen diren. Bizigabekoei artez atxekitzen zaiena, bizidunei posesiboaren bidez erantzi ohi zaie. Adibidez: *gona-atzean* bai, bainan **seme-atzean* ez, *semearen atzean* baizik. Orobat gure *gan*-ekin: *gonagan* (→*gonan*) bai, bainan *semegan* (←*semean*) ez, *semearen gan* (hau da *semearengan*) baizik. Bizigabe eta bizidunen jokabideen arteko posesiboaren agerpenean soil-soilik datzala ikusten digu.

Singularrean, noski, posesiboa ken daiteke, bainan orduan mugahizkia gelditzen zaigu: *semeagan*, ez **semegan*. Posesiboaren kenketa hau arau berandu samartzat jo behar digu, *g*-ren kenketa baino beranduago, noski. Horrengatik, *semeagan* ez da **semean* bihurtzen.

Posesiboaren atzizki-ondoan *g* ez da behin ere erortzen. Halako gehienetan, *n* baten ondotik datorrenetan, *g* hori ezin erori dela bistan dago. Bainan, izenordainekin, morfologiaren sistimako araukortasunak edo irau erazten dio bokale ondotik ere bai. Forma hedatuena *guregan* baita; nahiz eta *gurean* agertu ere.

Esanak esanik ere, lokatibo mugatua *gan* bada, lokatiboa berez *n* baizik ez dugula ziur nago. *Eibarren*, *Orion*, *Oñatin* beti esan baita, eta euskalki batzuetan *etxen* eta azaltzen dira. Horrengatik gure *gan* horrek *ga* + *n* izan behar du. Analisi hau Jacobsen-ek aipatzen du eta baztertzen bere lokatiboari buruzko idazlan horretan. Tokiizenekin lokatiboaren tankera *n* bakarra izatea, hitzune *an*-en *a* hura mugahizkitzat hartzearen ondorea bezala ikusten du.¹⁶ Hori aitortzean, alabainan, bere buruari uko giten dio.

¹⁴ Ikus, D. L. Goyvaerts: *Present-Day Historical and Comparative Linguistics*, liburuaren zortzigarren atalburuan (VIII).

¹⁵ Zenbait hizkalkitan bakunketa hau ez zen nahitanahiezkoa. Ikus, Mitxelena, *Fonética histórica vasca*, 113 horr.: «*elaxaan* "en la iglesia" (V.J.), *guisaan* "en la manera" (Moguel), etc.»

¹⁶ Horixe da bere lerro horien muina, oso oker ezpanago: «After **g* had been lost, the occurrence after *-a*, and especially after *-ta*, led to the perception of a locative shape *-n*. Occurrence of *-an* after other vowels and *-ean* after consonants would have led to their linkage with the definite category, leading ultimately to the equating of this *-a*- with the definite article and its analogical removal to give the *-n* on place names». (William H. Jacobsen, Jr., «The Basque Locative Suffix», 165. orr.)

Mugahizkia ez da kontsonante batez hasten, lokatiboa, bere analisi sinkronikoan, bai. Analisi sinkroniko horrek zer balio luke gero, hiztunek berek bestela jokatu balute? Ez, lokatiboko *a* hura ezin da mugahizkitzat jo, gorago ikusi ditugun arrazoiengatik.

Bestalde, Jacobsen-en ikusbidea zuzen balego, behialako batean, *gan* (edo gutxienez *an*) toki-izenekin ere derriorezkoa izan behar zen, berak dioen gezurrezko analogia horrek jendeari iruzur egin baino lehen. Bainan erabilera horren arrastorik ez da inon ere kausitzen. Eta 1284gn urtean ere bai lokatiboa toki-izenekin *n* zela ba-dakigu: «..., Larrantorenen bi saröhe, ydoyluçota, Arun Urriztoyen bi saröhe...».¹⁷

Nere aburuz, bada, lokatiboa *n* da, eta lokatibo mugatua *gan*, hau da *ga* + *n*. Zer arraio dugu mugahizkia ez den *ga* hau? Argibide bila norabait jo beharrez, bide honi deritzat egokiena: Ba omen da *aga* delako atzizkia toki-izenetan. Atzizki honek ez du, nere ustez, batzutasunaren adierazlea den *ag* ($\rightarrow ak$) harekin zer ikusirik, Mitxelenak¹⁸ eman dizkigun bi arrazoi hauengatik:

1. Atzizki hau gauza bakar bat adierazteko erabilia da: *Andrearriaga*, *Arespacochaga* (hau da *Areitx* + *bakoi* + *aga*). Ikus, *Apellidos vascos*³, 36-39 horr.
2. Bizkaieraz, *aga* eta *ag* atzizkiek ez dute jokabide berdina: *Oleaga*, bainan *olaak* ($\rightarrow olak$). Ikus, *Fonética histórica vasca*², 529 horr.

Orduan, «leku», esan nahi duen hitz bat al da *aga* hau? Hala dirudi. Bainan zergatik ez die orduan hitzalkartuei buruzko legee men egiten? Zergatik dugu *Iturriaga* eta ez *Iturraga*; *Iturralde*, *Iturbe*, *Iturburu* eta abarren antzera? Galdera honi erantzun bat baizik ez dut ikusten. *Iturriaga* ez da *Iturri* + *aga*, baizik eta *Iturria* + *ga*, lehenengo *a* hori hitzerroaren mugahizkia delarik. Hau egia bada, «leku», esan nahi zuen atzizkia ez da *aga*, *ga* baizik; hots, lokatiboan aurkitu dugun atzizki berbera. Atzizki hori, lokatiboko *n*-arekin erabilia, mugahizkirik gabe dator: *iturriagan* (\rightarrow *iturrian*), *iturritik* bezala. Bestelakoetan, ordea, aurretik mugahizkia eskatzen du: *Iturriaga*. Mugahizki honen *a*-ren ondotik dagoen *ga*-ko *g* fonema ez da erori egiten, holako toki-izenek *g*-ren kenketa aurreko egoera zaharra gorde egin dutelako edo.

Orain, dirudienez, bakarrarenean edo singularrean baizik agertzen ez den *ga* atzizkiaren egitekoa zer dugu? Atzizki honek toki-izena ez den hitza toki-izen bihurtzen du. Jadanik toki-izena den hitz batekin ez dauka zer eginik. Hortan datza *lurrean* eta *Eibarren* bitarteko aldea. *Eibar* hitzak ez du ezer behar toki-izena izateko, bainan *lur* hitzak bai. Agi denez, garai batean lokatiboan *ga* erabiltzea edo ez erabiltzea aukerakoa zegoen, hasieran dagokien ezberdintasun batekin esan-nahiaren aldetik, eta gero ezberdintasunik batere gabe. Tartasek, behintzat, bere *Onsa hilzoko bidia*-n, «*kürützia soiñen karreiatü*» idatzi zuen, *soiñen* testuinguru honetan *soiñian* baino artezago eta aproposago zirudiolako edo. Zuberoan oraindik-orain *etxan* eta *etxean* (\rightarrow *etxian* \rightarrow *etxin*) berezten dira.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ikus Mitxelena, *Textos Arcaicos Vascos*, 36-37. orr.

¹⁸ Halaz ere, «Notas lingüísticas a “Colección diplomática de Irache” deitutako lan garrantzitsu batean, hauxe dio Mitxelenak: «*aga*, a falta de otra correspondencia, tendrá que igualarse con *-ak-* del nominativo plural» (*FLV* 1, (1969), 26. orr.)

¹⁹ Ikus J. Larrasquet: *Le Basque de la Basse-Soule Orientale*, 108. orr.

Ga atzizkiaren balioa leku batez mintzatzen garena adieraztekoa izanik, lokatiboan ez ezik, alatiboan edo norakoan eta ablatiboan edo nondikakoan ere agertzea espero genduke. Hori dela-eta, zer esan dezakegu? Sartaldeko Euskalherrian inoiz hala gertatzen ote zen ez dakit. Ezetz esango nuke, ezpaitugu hor *ga*-ren arrastorik izan litekeenik ezagutzen.

Sortaldeko Euskalherrian, Erronkarin, Zuberoan eta Zaraitzun, alegia, beste kontua da, ordea. Begira dezagun lehenbizi Erronkarira. Hualde Mayo apaizak egindako San Mateo-ren itzulpena hartuko dut lekuko, bertako euskara, zorigaitzez, hilik dagoelako. Itzulpen honetan, toki-izenekin, alatiboa beti *-ra* dugu: *Jerusalenera, Belenera, Egiptora*. Bestetan, ia beti, *ara* azaltzen da: *Isrraeleko lurriara*, esate baterako. Hemen, sakoneko forma *lur + ga + ra* dugu. Gero, epentesiaren bidez, *lurregara*, orduan *g*-ren kenketaz: *lurreara*, eta azkenik: *lurriara*.

Zuberoan, *-ra* eta *-ala(t)* erabiltzen dira alatiboa adierazteko.²⁰

Euskalari hanitzen esanak gorabehera, *alat*-eko *a* hura ez dela mugahizkia erraz egiazta daiteke, lehen *-an* atzizkiari buruz egin dugun bezalaxe. Hemen ere, sakoneko forma *gala(t)* da. Hona hemen deribazio bat: *oiban + galat* → *oibane galat* → *oibanealat* → *oibanalat*, eta hortik Zuberoa beheitian: *oibanilat*.

Erronkariko *-gara* erraz ulertzen da, hori baita *-ga + ra*. Baina Zuberoako *-gala* nondik dator? Ikus dezagun. Bokale-arteko *l* batek *r* ematen du, Mitxelenak bere *Fonética histórica vasca*-n azaldu duenez. Beraz, *gala* horrek *galla* izan behar du iturburu. Eta *galla* hori ez ote da *-gan + la*-tik etorriko? Nik baietz. Era berean, *horrela* hitzak *borrenla* (hau da *borren modura*) eta *dela* hitzak *den + la* dukete iturburu. Hemen agertzen den *la* hori gure *-ra* berbera da, zalantzarik gabe, beti bokale-artean egoten baita *l* hau. Esan-nahiaren aldetik ere, ez dago eragozpenik. Izan ere, orobat dira *-ra, -ga + ra* eta *ga + n + ra*.

Zaraitzun ere *-gala* hori erabiltzen dela erants dezaket, Campión-en eraginez Otxagabiako Urrutia-tar Joxe-k euskaratu zuen *Orreaga* baladan hauxe irakur baitaiteke: *urruemeala su andi batzurrek argitzen dizje mendienartean*.

-ti(ka) atzizkiarekin *ga* ezer gutxitan erabilia da. Tartasen *Onsa hilzkeko bidia*-n irakurtzen den *establiatik* ez ote dugu holako bat? Gaur, *-tika* atzizkiak bizidun izenekin *-gan* eskatzen du, baina, itxuraz, ez da betidanik horrela izan. Erronkariko atsotitz batek honela dio: *aurretik eta erotik egia*. (Ikus, Azkue, *Particularidades del dialecto roncalés*, 227 horr.).

Lokatiboa dela eta gaurkoz nahikoa esan dudalakoan, jo dezagun orain erlatibo-auzira.

II. Erlatiboaren sakoneko formaren bila goazela, aditz guztiekin forma bakarra nahi dugula gogora dezagun. Hori horrela izanik, forma hau ezin izan daitekeela ez *-an* eta ez *-en* erraz ikusiko dugu.

- a) Ez *-an*. Beti *datorren, dakarren* esaten da. Erlatiboa *-an* izango balitz, *datorran* eta *dakarran* hartu beharko genituke oinharritzat. Baina ezin. Ez baitago araurik euskarari *datorran datorren*-ean alda dezakeenik.

²⁰ Atziki hau *-lat* dela uste izaten da. Baina, Allières jakintsuak zuzen dio: «il nous semble désormais nécessaire de postuler pour toute la Soule un *berrialat*, analogique de *berri-an*, qui se réduit à *berrilat* là où *herrian* devient *herrin*». Ikus J. Allières, «Petit Atlas Linguistique Basque Français "Sacaze"», *Via Domitia* VIII (1961), 97. orr.

- b) Ez *-en*: Lehendik ikusita ba-dakigu *dut* eta *dun*-en sakoneko formak *duda* eta *duna* direla. Horien erlatiboak *dudaen* eta *dunaen* izango lirake, erlatiboaren sakoneko forma *-en* izango balitz. Bainan, ikusi dugunez, sortaldeko euskalkietan *ae* beti *e* egiten da. Beraz *dudén* eta *dunén* arkitu beharko genituke, azaleko formak bezala. Ez dago horrelakorik, ordea. Beti *dúdan* eta *dúnan* arkitzen dugu, bai Zuberoan bai beste sortaldeko euskalkietan. Horrengatik, erlatiboaren sakoneko forma ez da *-en*.
- c) Beraz, erlatiboak forma bakar bat eukitzekotan, *n* besterik ezin liteke izan.

Ikus dezagun orain *n* bakar honekin nola konpontzen garen.

Dator + *n* → *datorren* eta *dakar* + *n* → *dakarren*, epentesi ezagunaren bidez. *Dut* eta *dun*-en sakoneko formak *duda* eta *duna* direlako, *-n* erlatiboarekin *dudan* eta *dunan* dira.

Da + *n* *dan* da noski. Eta sortaldeko *den* hori nondik datorkigu? Dakizuenez, *daen*-etik dator. Bainan hori ez da *da* + *en*, orain-arte uste izan den bezala, ez, hori da *dae* + *n*. Horrekin esan nahi dut *den* esaten duten euskalkietan *da*-ren sakoneko forma *dae* dela. Eta atzizkirik ez dagoenean, zerk kenduko digu bukaerako *e* hori? Oroit gaitezen bukaerako *a*-a kentzen duen arau estuaz. Araua zenbat eta orokorrago hainbat hobe. Beraz, zabal dezagun arau hori eta utz diezaiogun *e* ere ken dezan. Honela: *dae* # → *da* #.

Dago dela-eta, ezberdintasuna dago euskaldunen artean. Batzuek, batez ere, Bizkaitarrek, *dagoan* esaten dute, beste batzuek, batez ere, lapurtarrek *dagoen*, eta gainerrontzekoek *dagon*. Nola hori? Hara:

dagoa + *n* → *dagoan*

dagoe + *n* → *dagoen*

dago + *n* → *dagon*

Erlatiboa beti *-n* delarik, *dago*-ren sakoneko forma aldatzen da euskalki batetik bestera: *dagoa*, *dagoe*, *dago*, nahiz eta denek *dago* esan. Aditz iragankor batzuetan bitasuna aurkitzen dugu:

dakia + *n* → *dakian*

dakie + *n* → *dakien*

eta, batipat:

dua + *n* → *duan*

due + *n* → *duen*

Esan bezala, *dakia* eta *dakie* *daki* bihurtzen dira atzizkirik ez denean, *dua* eta *due*, berriz, *du*. «Orixe» zaharrak hain gogoko zituen *dakin* eta *dun*-en antzeko formak, zenbait lurraldetako, azalaz hurrengo fonologi-arau bereziek sortutako, forma laburtuak baizik ez dira; *errian*-en ordez *errín* eta *buruan*-en ordez *burín* esan daitekeen bezalaxe.

Errokarin, *daki*-ren sakoneko forma *dakio* da. Bertan *dakion* baita erlatiboarekin hartzen duen forma; Uztarrotzen ezik, hor, *o* horren ordez *e* erabili ohi zuten: *dakien*.²¹

²¹ Ikus Azkue: *Particularidades del dialecto roncales*, 254 horr.

Bainan *edun* aditzarekin Erronkari osoan erabiltzen zen *o* hori: *dion* gure *duen*-en orde, eta *zion*, gure *zuen*-en orde. Gure *zion* han *zaun* (← *zaon*) esaten zuten.

Horrengatik, Erronkariko *du*-aren sakoneko forma *duo* da. Bi arau ditugu hemen jokoan. Bukaerako bokale kenketa, *a*, *e* eta *o* kentzen dakizkiena,²² lehenengoa. Eta *u* bat *a*, *e* edo *o* baten aurretik *i* egiten dakien araua, bigarrena.

Honela: *duo* # → *du* #, eta: *duo* + *n* → *dion*.

Daukagun arau-pilan, ikusten denez, *o*-aren kenketa *uo*-aren aldaketa baino lehen hurrenkaturik dago. Era berean, Zuberoan *dúa* dugu *dü*-ren sakoneko forma: erlatiboarekin *dian* egiten baitu.

Erronkarin agertzen den *o* hau zer dugu? Nere ustez, *o* hori txit zaharra da, erronkariaraz beste euskalkietan *a* edo *e* bihurturik. Hots, gure *dio*-aren *o* berbera dela baieztatuko nuke. Eta ez da hau, izan ere, uste izan genezakeen bezain harrigarri. Noan nere pentsakera hemen ahalik laburkien azaltzera.

Norkdun flesioak euskalkietan berdintsuak dira, guztietan berdin-berdinak ez bada ere. Bai eta *edun*-en flesioak ere: *dut* (*dot*, *det*), *dun*, *duk*, *du*, *dugu*, *duzu*, *duzue*, *due*. Horrengatik euskara zahar bakunetik datozkigulakoan egoteak zilegi dirudi. Noridun flesioei, ordea, ez zaie orobat gertatzen: *deust*, *dit*, *deraut* eta abar franko ezberdinak baitira.²³ Ez ote da hori flesio hauek besteak baino berriagoak direlako seinalea? Nik baietz. Gainera, arestian ikusi dugunez, horiek dituzten atzizkiak aditzjabearenak bakar dira, salbuespen bakar bat kenduta. Ba-dirudi beraz noridun flesioak noizbait norkdunen egitura kontuan hartuta eratuak zirela. Orduan, salbuespentzat jo dugun *dio* hori benetako salbuespena ote zen? Nik ez dut uste. Aitzitik, aditzjabea bezala ere, hirugarren pertsona *o* atzizkiaren bidez adierazi ahal zela sartu zait buruan. Zehatzago esanaz, hona hemen nere iritzia: behinolako garairen batean, *a*, eta *o* izan zitezkeen hirugarren pertsonaren adierazleak, aditzjabea denean: *bark dua* bainan *horrek duo* eta *honek duo*. Orduan ere bukaerako bokale kenketa baldin bazen, erlatiboarekin soilik ageriko zen alde hori: *duan* eta *duon*, bestela beti *du*.

Gero, Erronkariko euskalkiak *duon* forma noiznahitaratu du, *duan* forma galtzera utziz. Beste euskalkiek, ordea, denboraren denboraz *duon* forma utzi zuten, *duan* forma bakarrik gorderik. Ez dut oraingo hontan, *duen* forma beharrik ere. Askoren aburuz, erdi-erdiko Euskal Herrira mugatua den forma hori *duan*-en aldakuntza bat besterik ez baita.

Guzti hau nere iritzia da, behin eta betikoz frogatua ez dena. Ez da, haatik, zeharo funtsik gabeko pentsabidea.

Zenbait aditzekin bederen, bai *o* bai *a* noritasunaren adierazleak bezala nahiko ezagunak dira bizkaieran eta gipuzkera zaharrean. Aski dugu Añibarroren *Gramática bascongada* irekitzea. Bertan honako flesio hauek irakurtzen dira: *dacarcat*, *dacarrot* (47. orr.); *daroacat*, *daroacot* (59. orr.), *dericho*, *dericha* (62. orr.). Eta Otxoa de Arinen *Doctrina*-n bai *deritzā* bai *deritzo* aurki ditzakegu.²⁴

²² Bukaerako *o*-aren kenketa hori Erronkariko berezitasuna dugu. Beste euskalki guztietan, bukaerako bokale kenketak ez dio, dirudienez, *o*-ari behin ere jaramonik egiten, *dion* eta *dio*, *darion* eta *dario* bezalakoak lekuko.

²³ Ikus A. Irigoyen: «Sistema perifrastikoaren laguntzaile batzuen jatorriaz», *Euskera* XXII (1977), 655-657.

²⁴ Ikus Oregi Aranburu: «Otxoa-Arinen "Doctrina"- (1713)», *FLV* 12 (1972), 353-369.

Bitasun horren iturburua norkdun flesioen jatorrizko bitasunean ikusten dut. Añi-barroren gramatikaz baliatuko naiz berriro. Zenbait aditzetako norkdun flesioetan, hirugarren pertsonetan bi forma datoz: *dauco*, *danca*, beste pertsonetan, ordea, forma bakarra: *daucat* (51. orr.). Berdin: *dantso*, *dantsa*, bainan *dantsat* bakarrik (77. orr.).

Ba-dugu beraz, Bizkaian bederen, hirugarren pertsonako aditzjabe bakarraren adierazlea izan daitekeen *o* atzizkia. Eta ezin esan hori berrikeria denik, Bizkaiko tes-tu zaharrek erakusten digutenez. Hona hemen zenbait egiaztabide: ...*edoceynec dauco vere lecua bete* (R.S. 69), bainan ...*oza daucat nic* (R.S. 478). ...*dauco obligaciñoa* (Capanaga, 87. orr.). *Se galantic dauco guelau berrorec* (Micoleta, 26. orr.). Eta Mitxelenaren *Textos arcaicos vascos-etik: bere idea dauco* (75. orr.), eta: *Doncella eder batec... dauco sabelean* (139. orr.).

Mitxelenak berak beste ikuskera bat dauka flesio horiei buruz. «Nota sobre algunos pasajes de los *Refranes y Sentencias de 1596*» deritzaion idazlan batean hauxe dio: «...las formas de tipo *dauco*, originalmente tripersonales, se convirtieron en bipersonales al borrarse en la mente de los que hablaban la lengua la idea de que contuvieran una referencia a un objeto indirecto (3.^a pers.): de significar “se lo ha”, “se lo tiene” pasaron a significar “lo tiene”, “o posee”». Ikus *ASJU I* (1954), 27.

Iritzi honekin ezin naiz bat etorri. Behialako hiztunen gogoei egozten zaien guztiz itxuragabeko aldakuntza horri zeharo sinesgaitza deritzat. Idazlan horren egileak *dauco* bezalako formak jatorriz noridunak zirelako aurre-iritzia zeukan, Lafonekin batera; eta aurre-iritzi huts honek bultzatu bide zion asmakeria horretara.

Ba-liteke orain esatera noana baten bati ere asmakeria iruditzea. Halarik ere, ez naiz atzeratuko, begien aurrean ipini nahi nizuekeen ipotesiari egiantz haundi samarra aurkitzen baitiot. Orain, Gipuzkoan eta Bizkaian naiz erabiltzen den *dario* flesioa hartzen dut ikergai. Aditz inguruan sekulako nahaspila ikusten da. Batzuek *hark dario*, besteak *hari dario* esaten dute. Larramendik *dariot* «yo me voy de» eta *nerion* «yo me iba de» ematen dizkigu bere *El imposible vencido* deritzan gramatika liburu famatuan (139. orr.), bainan Añibarrok *darit* «a mi se me está cayendo» eta *zeridan* ere aipatzen ditu gipuzkerazko flesioez mintzatzen den bere gramatikaren seigarren atalburuan (140. orr.). Nahaspila hau nondik nora sortua zaigu?

Hemen *o* atzizkiari buruz esaten dudana egia bada, testu aurreko sistema zaharra honelatsu izan zitekeen:

Aditza: *erin*

nik darit	nik	nerion
berak dario	berak	(z)erion
guk darigu	guk	generion
zuk darizu	zuk	zenerion

eta abar.

Berak dario? Ez ahal dio zure teoriak *hark daria*, *horrek dario*, *honek dario izan* behar lukeela? Horixe galde egingo didazue noski baino noskiago.

Bai —erantzungo nuke— horrela izango zen lehenbizian. Bainan *izerdia dariola* eta *odola dariola* esanaz adierazten dugun egokera begiz ikustekoa izanik, mintzagaia ikusbegian eta hurbil samarrean izango dugu ia beti. Eta jakina, *hura* izenordainari dagozkion formak. alderantziz, oraingoan ikusten ere ez dena aipatzeko erabili ohi ditugu. Horrengatik inoiz gutxitan azalduko zen hizketan *dario*-ren kidea zen *daria*

forma hura, eta azken batean zeharo galtzea ere erraz gerta zitekeen. Hori dela-eta, *berak dario* besterik gabe ipini dut nere sistema honetan.

Orain, sistema hau oinharritzat harturik, geroko jokaerak nola uler ditzakegu? Hara. Dakigunez, *o* atzizkiak aditzjabea adieraz zezakeelako sentipena denboraren denboraz galtzen zen. *O* hori bera ez zen galtzen, ordea, maiz erabiltzen ziren *dariola* formak iraun erazten ziolako edo. Egokera honetan, *o* hori lehenaz bestela aditu beharra zen. Horretarako bi aukera ba-ziran hiztunentzat:

Bata: *o* hori aditzaren sustraiko zatitza jotzea.

Bestea: *o* hori noritasunaren adierazlea bezala hartzea.

Aditzaren sustraia aldatzean, igaroaldiko flesio guztiak dauden bezala gelditzen dira. Orainaldian maizenik erabilitako *dario* formak aldatu gabe dirau, beste formak oro, *o* bat erantsiz, aldatzen direlarik. Ondorea dugu Larramendiren sistema:

Aditza: *erion*

nik dariot	nik	nerion
berak dario	berak	zerion
guk dariogu	guk	generion
zuk dariozu	zuk	zenerion

eta abar. Bestalde, *erion*-en flesioak noriduntzat eukitzeak orainaldiko flesioen itxura aldatu gabe uzten du, igaroaldiko gehienak aldatzen direlarik. Horra bada nola jaio zen sistema hedatuena:

Aditza: *erin*

neri darit	neri	zeridan
berari dario	berari	zerion
guri darigu	guri	zerigun
zuri darizu	zuri	zerizun

eta abar. Horrelaxe, herrialde batzuek lehenengo aukera eta besteak bigarrena eginaz, sortu bide zen gaurko nahasketa.

Jakin ere, ongi dakit ipotesia besterik ez dela esan dudana. Bainan, *dario*-ri buruzko nahaspila harek ulerpide edo azalpena eskatzen, eta horixe ematen du nere hipotesiak aski poliki.

Honezkero luzegitu ez ote naizen bildurrak nago. Laster bukatzera noa, ba-da garaia eta. Bainan bukatu gabe, zati honen muina gogoratu nahi nuke: erlatiboaren sakoneko forma beti *n* bakarra dela, alegia. Iritzi hau ez da berria. Besteak beste, Lafon ezagunak honela zioen bere tesi luzean: «Le suffixe relatif est proprement *-n*; l'*e* de *-en* et l'*a* de *-an* sont des voyelles de liaison...»²⁵

Tamalez oraindik argitara gabe dagoen «Historical Implications of the Western Basque Tonal Accent» deritzan hitzaldi biziki interesgarrian, William Jacobsen hizkuntzalari, bidenabar, iritzi honen aurka mintzatzen da. Zuberoako azentoera aipatuz, *gira* flesioaren erlatiboa *girén* izateak erlatibo-atzizkia *-en* dela erakusten duela dio

²⁵ Ikus René Lafon: *Les formes simples du verbe basque dans les principaux textes du XVII^e siècle*. (Bordelen, 1943gn urtean), 457. orr.

azken horrialdeen batean. Arrazoa al du? Arrazoa luke, azentoaren lekua fonologi-arau ororen aurretik erabaki beharra baldin balitz. Euskaran, alabainan, ez da halako beharrik. Edozein euskalki barruan arautasuna edo sistimatasun osoa nabari zaio azentoerari, Jacobsenek, hain zuzen ere, inork baino hobeki dakienez. Arautasun hori arau baten bidez agertu behar dugu gramatikan. Zuberoako euskalkian behar dugun arau horrek azentoa azkenurrengo silaban ezarriko digu beti. Azentoketa deituko dugun arau, fonologi-araua baita, fonologi-araupila hurrenkatuan sartua egongo da. Mintzaldi honen sarreran esan dudanez, beti jarraikera jakin batez jokatzeko baitira arauak deribazioetan.

Araupila honetan azentoketaren tokia nontsu den galdetu beharrean gaude, Jacobsen-en hitz haiei erantzuna biribiltzeko. Ikus dezagun bada.

Dakigunez, ba-da *a + e e* bakarra bihur erazten duen arau bat. Azentoketa arau horren aitzinean kokaturik dago, *alhabén* hitzaren azentoerak garbi erakusten digunez (\leftarrow *alhaba + en*). Ez dugu argibide gehiagorik behar *girén*-en deribazioa egiteko. Hona hemen: sakoneko forma: *girae + n*. Orain, azentoketaren eraginez, *giráen* lortzen dugu, eta hortik, arau ezagunaren bidez azaleko forma den *girén*. Eta *gíra*-ren deribazioa nola egingen dugu? Erraz. Sakoneko forma: *girae*. Gero, bukaerako bokale kenketa medio delarik: *gíra*. Azkenik, azentoketak *gíra* egiten du. Azentoketa, beraz, bukaerako bokale kenketa ondoren eta *a + e*-ri buruzko arau aitzinean hurrenkatu da. Horixe erakusten du *gíra* eta *girén* hitz haien azentoerak, ez erlatibo-atzizkiak *-en* izan behar duenik.

Erlatibo-atzizkia *-n* da, beraz. Lokatiboa ere bai. Halabehar hutsa ahal da hori? Nik ez dut uste. Bainan arazo hau beste saiakera baterako utzi behar dugu.

Gaurko aztergaia zen euskalmorfologiatik ateraz, euskaljoskerara jo beharko litza-ke eta. Honenbestez esanik nago.

UN VERBE MÉCONNU*

C'est un phénomène archiconnu en basque, qu'un verbe qui a perdu sa conjugaison synthétique maintient encore longtemps des formes simples au mode impératif. Tel est le cas, semble-t-il, des verbes *erosi* «acheter», *igorri* «envoyer», *i(n)hardetsi* «répondre» et *utzi* «laisser». Ou bien, si l'on est de l'opinion que ces verbes-là n'ont jamais connu de conjugaison synthétique dans le parler réel, et que les formes simples *derosa* et *neroske*, *nigorra*, *zinhardetsan* et *dutzkeizu* ne sont que des monstruosités sans histoire nées de la cervelle ingénieuse du Sieur d'Oihenart — opinion qui n'est pas la mienne et que M. Michelena a relevée sans, paraît-il, s'y ranger¹ — il suffit de changer d'exemple en prenant des verbes tels que *eman* «donner», *erakutsi* «montrer», *esan* «dire», dont les formes simples sont abondamment attestées dans le passé, mais ne subsistent plus guère dans l'usage parlé, sauf, justement, à l'impératif.

Dans ces pages, respectueusement dédiées au professeur Michelena, dont l'oeuvre ainsi que la personnalité ont été pour moi une source continue d'inspiration pendant vingt-cinq ans bien comptés, je démontrerai que c'est bien dans le cadre que je viens d'esquisser qu'il faut insérer les formes impératives du type *indazu* «donnez-moi», *iguizu* «donnez-nous». Après une analyse minutieuse de ces mots et de toutes les formes attestées qui s'y rapportent, j'arriverai à la conclusion qu'il ne s'agit aucunement de formes contractées du verbe *egin* «faire», comme depuis Julien Vinson un nombre surprenant de basquistes se sont obstinés à croire, mais, au contraire, d'authentiques survivances d'un verbe ancien, identifiable d'ailleurs au verbe *jin*, dont le sens actuel est «venir».

De plus, je parviendrai à expliquer pourquoi ce verbe n'est utilisé dans ce sens-là que dans le nord du pays, et notamment dans la région du nord-est, et pourquoi il manque de formes synthétiques.

Entrons d'emblée dans la matière en revoyant d'abord les données de la question. Comme nous le verrons plus tard, il faudra faire entrer en ligne de compte aussi des formes non-impératives, mais, pour le moment, limitons-nous aux formes impératives, qui sont les plus répandues en temps modernes. Il ne fait aucun doute que les formes qui nous occupent, *indak*, *indan*, *indazu*, *iguk*, *igun*, *iguizu*, étaient autrefois

* J. L. Melena (ed.), *Symbolae Ludovico Mitscelena septuagenario oblatae*, II (Vitoria, 1985), 921-935.

¹ Voir sa conférence «Arnaut Oihenart», recueillie dans *MIH* (pp. 233-256) à la page 251.

communes à tout le pays basque. Notons d'ailleurs que les formes *indaztu* et *iguztu* sont toujours comprises çà et là dans le pays, notamment en Soule et dans la région guipuzcoane de Tolosa, grâce aux formules traditionnelles de la liturgie catholique: *indaztu grazia* «donnez-moi la grâce», *iguztu bakea* «donnez-nous la paix». Aussi le grammairien Azkue déclare-t-il en 1935 à propos de ce qu'il appelle «de verbe *in*»: «En impératif nous l'employons encore aujourd'hui: *indak* "donne-moi", *iguztu* "donnez-le-nous"» («Evolución de la lengua vasca», dans *Euskera* 16, 1935, p. 84). Quant aux témoignages textuels, c'est la mer à boire. Les formes susdénommées ont été employées par les auteurs suivants: J. B. Aguirre, Añibarro, Argaignaratz, Axular, Barrotia, Capanaga, Duhalde, Duvoisin, Etxeberri de Ciboure, B. Etxepare, Gazteluzar, Haraneder, Harriet, Lardizábal, Larréguy, Leizarraga, Lizarraga d'Elcano, Materre, Mendiburu, Micoleta, Oihenart, Pouvreau, Ubillos, Uriarte, Voltoire; et la liste est loin d'être complète.

Dans la fameuse collection de proverbes basques, le livre des *Refranes y Sentencias* de 1596, on trouve *yndac*, et deux fois *yndauz*, corrigé par Lafon en *yndaçuz*; dans une poésie galante biscayenne du 17^e siècle publiée par M. J. M. Satrustegui, on lit: *despedidan indaçu lastan bat* «donnez-moi une embrassade pour le départ»; dans le premier glossaire islando-basque, également du 17^e siècle et apparemment labourdin apparaît deux fois *indasu*: *indasudan: gef mier ad drecka* («donnez-moi à boire») et *indasupisavat: gef mier nochud* («donnez-moi quelque chose»); dans un catéchisme salazarais de la première moitié du 19^e siècle publié par M. Michelena (*FLV* 14, 1982, No 39), on note: *iguztu egunoroçco oguia egun* «donnez-nous aujourd'hui le pain quotidien»; dans un catéchisme souletin paru en 1942: *iguztu egun goure eguneko ogia* «donnez-nous aujourd'hui notre pain du jour» (*Baiounako Diozesako Katichima*, Tours, Mamé, 1942); et dans les sermons de Muzqui (entre Pampelune et Estelle), dont le style reflète, suivant M. Lecuona qui les a publiés, la langue parlée de cette région, il y a plusieurs exemples de la forme *iguztu* (M. Lecuona, «Textos vascos del siglo XVIII ...», *FLV* 5, 1973, 369-390).

Terminons enfin cette énumération en citant la ligne *Ama, indazut athorra* «Mère, donnez-moi une chemise» de la chanson souletine de Berterretx, que Henri Gavel, d'après les recherches de J. de Jaurgain, date du milieu du 15^e siècle, ce qui constituerait donc le témoignage le plus ancien des formes de cette classe.

Ainsi, on peut affirmer que ces impératifs sont attestés depuis la Biscaye à la Soule, en passant par le Guipuzcoa et le Labourd, sans oublier ni le salazarais, ni le haut-navarrais méridional. C'est à dire au pays basque tout entier, ou peu s'en faut. Il s'ensuit que nous sommes en présence d'éléments très anciens dans la langue.

De plus, on ne constate qu'une variation minime au niveau de la forme. Pour «donnez-nous», on a *iguztu*, forme qui n'admet qu'une variante rare *eguztu* dans certains textes haut-navarrais et une fois dans les *Refranes y Sentencias*. Pour «donnez-moi», on a généralement *indaztu*, sauf chez Etxepare, Voltoire et Lizarraga d'Elcano, qui écrivent *idaztu*. Nous reviendrons plus bas sur cette variante.

À ce point, il convient d'ouvrir une parenthèse, pour nous occuper de la dualité de forme qu'on a pu constater: *indaztu* avec *n*, *iguztu* sans *n*. Cette dualité, l'éminent grammairien Azkue trouvait si curieuse (voir *Morfología vasca* II, p. 559) que, pour en rendre raison, il s'est plu à élaborer une explication délicieusement fantaisiste en invoquant «le principe égoïste *do ut des*» (*Morfología vasca* III, pp. 111-112).

Quant à moi, j'avouerai franchement que je préfère appliquer, ici comme ailleurs, les principes —égoïstes ou non, mais plus scientifiques— de la phonétique historique, telle que nous la connaissons à l'heure actuelle. En effet, à la suite de la thèse admirable de M. Michelena, utilement complétée par une multitude de recherches ultérieures provenant du même auteur ou inspirées par lui, la phonétique historique basque est arrivée au point de maturité où elle est capable d'expliquer nombre de détails qui devaient inexorablement frapper de perplexité les bascologues d'antan.

Aidés ainsi du progrès de la science, fort notable en ce domaine au cours du demi-siècle qui nous sépare de la *Morfología vasca*, procédons à la recherche d'une solution satisfaisante du problème qui passionnait tellement l'abbé Azkue. Remarquons en premier lieu que le problème ne se pose que si l'on retient la forme traditionnelle du suffixe de la première personne du singulier. Si, par contre, on partait de la supposition que la forme *indazu* est un précieux archaïsme montrant que la forme originelle du suffixe *-da* était *-nda*, le problème s'évanouirait tout entier.

L'hypothèse, d'ailleurs, a bien de quoi séduire: une forme prénasalisée *-nda*, derrière laquelle on pourrait entrevoir *-nida*, constituerait en somme le chaînon manquant entre le suffixe *-da* et le pronom personnel correspondant. Après tout, on ne voit pas du tout pourquoi l'homonymie si naturelle entre pronom et suffixe personnel aurait été limitée au pluriel. Malheureusement, si séduisante qu'elle soit, la conjecture s'avère inacceptable. C'est que le vieux texte des *Refranes y Sentencias*, où se trouve en effet la forme *yndac*, contient aussi la forme correspondante d'impératif futur: *yquedac*, archaïsme s'il en fut. Or, cette forme-là est en flagrant conflit avec l'hypothèse proposée, qui exigerait *yquendac*. Par ailleurs, on aurait bien de la peine à préciser par quel mécanisme la forme hypothétique *-nda* se serait partout réduite à *-da*. Pour ces raisons, il faudra bien nous en tenir à la forme traditionnelle *-da*, et poursuivre notre analyse à partir de là.

Afin de ramener dans ces conditions la dualité concrète des formes à l'unité, ce qui est l'idéal professé de la phonologie diachronique aussi bien que synchronique, il faudra supposer ou bien que la nasale est de trop dans *indazu*, ou bien qu'elle fait défaut dans *iguzu*.

Pour ce qui est de la première possibilité, remarquons que la génération spontanée d'une nasale est un phénomène bien connu, mais tout de même assez rare, toujours dû à des causes spéciales, parmi lesquelles l'étymologie populaire joue le plus grand rôle. Comme on ne voit pas du tout comment des causes de cet ordre auraient pu intervenir dans notre cas, nous préférons explorer la seconde possibilité. Nous partirons donc d'une racine de la forme *in*, tant pour *iguzu* que pour *indazu*. Le problème se pose maintenant dans les termes suivants: comment expliquer la perte de la nasale dans *iguzu*, à la fois que son maintien dans *indazu*?

On sait qu'en basque le *n* non-géminé est tombé en position intervocalique à une époque antérieure au onzième siècle (*FHV*, 15.3). Ce qui est moins connu, c'est qu'à une date difficile à préciser mais sûrement assez ancienne, il y a eu au moins une ébauche d'amuissement de la nasale en position intérieure préconsonnantique. Cette tendance paraît avoir affecté uniquement la nasale à réalisation vélaire, et semble s'être imposée surtout quand celle-ci était en contact avec une voyelle fermée. Aux exemples fournis par M. Michelena: *igel* «grenouille» de *ingel* (*FHV*, 15.9), *ikatz* «charbon» de *inkatz* (*FHV*, 17.10, *FLV* 3, 1971, p. 265), *ukendu* «onguent» du latin

unguentum, (*h*)*ukitu* «toucher» de *hunkitu*, on peut ajouter *mikatx* «amer» de *minkatx*, et *txikar* «menu» de *txinkar*.

Il est vrai que dans sa thèse M. Michelena penche pour une interprétation de ces faits qui ne coïncide pas avec la mienne. À ce qu'il semble, il est porté à regarder ces nasales comme autant d'intruses. Et c'est précisément à propos de l'exemple *hunkitu* qu'il affirme nettement sa position: «La nasale doit être secondaire, car, sinon, il serait étrange que *nk* ne se soit sonorisé nulle part en *ng*» (*FHV*, p. 215). À ceci on peut objecter d'abord que le groupe *nk*, quoique sensiblement moins fréquent que *ng*, ne manque totalement dans aucun dialecte basque comme l'a déjà observé Campión (*Gramática*, p. 75), et, ensuite, qu'il s'agit là d'une position plutôt paradoxale, car elle revient à expliquer un mystère, savoir, la non-sonorisation de l'occlusive, par un mystère autrement formidable, celui de l'origine de la nasale, jugée secondaire.

Du reste, le mystère de la non-sonorisation n'est peut-être pas si insondable qu'il ne paraît à première vue. Remarquons que la chute de la nasale n'opère déjà plus dans les emprunts romans, tels que *inguru* «alentours» et *ingude* «enclume», qui sont pourtant toujours sujets à la sonorisation, comme le montre l'exemple même du mot *ingude*, qui provient du latin vulgaire **incude*. Il est donc plus que probable que la perte de la nasale fut suffisamment ancienne pour avoir priorité temporelle sur la sonorisation. D'autre part, les formes à nasale attestées en période moderne ne constituent pas, comme on pourrait le croire, des résidus conservés intacts de la période primordiale d'avant la chute. En un sens, la nasale est, en effet, secondaire: elle a été rétablie à partir de la voyelle précédente, pour autant que celle-ci était restée nasalisée, par-ci par-là à travers le territoire basque, en souvenir de la consonne nasale perdue depuis des siècles. Bref, durant tout le règne de la sonorisation, *hunkitu* dut s'être prononcé *hũkitu*, forme sur laquelle la règle n'avait pas de prise.

Je conclus qu'il n'y a aucune difficulté à admettre l'existence à une certaine période d'une règle d'amuissement de la nasale vélaire, nasale qui est la plus instable de toutes, tant dans les langues romanes que dans les langues germaniques. Nous pouvons rappeler, à ce sujet, les participes passés *gebracht*, *gedacht* des verbes allemands *bringen* «apporter» et *denken* «penser». Je m'aperçois d'ailleurs, soit dit en passant, que je n'ai fait ici que réitérer une vieille thèse qu'un savant amsterdamois, l'illustre jonkheer Van Eys, soutenait, il y a plus de cent dix ans, en affirmant qu'en basque le *n* disparut devant *k*.

À présent, la solution de notre énigme est claire: La nasale du mot *indazu*, étant de réalisation dentale, n'est pas affectée par la règle que nous venons de formuler; par contre, la nasale de la forme **inguzu*, devenue vélaire à la suite d'une assimilation régressive normale en basque, tombera sans laisser de traces, et cela à une période bien avant nos premiers textes.

Tout cela est bel et bien, m'objectera un lecteur quelque peu malin, mais comment expliquez-vous le maintien de la nasale vélaire des formes verbales *baitinguzquet* et *eztinguztequen* dans Leizarraga, et *enguztaçu* du premier poème d'Etxepare? Eh bien, dirai-je, rien de plus facile. La forme *ingu* est évidemment une contraction de la racine *inguru*, qui signifie «entourer», et cette racine est exempte de la règle d'amuissement en tant qu'emprunt roman. À l'appui de cette hypothèse, que je crois nouvelle, je traduirai ici les passages en question:

Uste duc ecin othoitz daidiodala orain neure Aitari, eta baitinguzquet bertan hamabi legio-ne baino guebiago Aingerm? «Penses-tu que je ne puisse invoquer maintenant mon Père, qui m'entourerait à l'instant de plus de douze légions d'anges?» (Leizarraga, *Mt.*, 26, 53).

Eta baldin anayea edo arrebá billuciac badirade, eta peitu egumeco vitangaren: Eta guetarie cembeteic haey erran diecén, Çoaçte baquerequin, bero çaitexzte eta asse çaitexzte: eta extinguzteçuen gorputzaren necessario diraden gauçac, cer probetchu duqueite? «Si un frère ou une soeur sont nus et manquent de leur nourriture quotidienne, et que l'un d'entre vous leur dise: Allez en paix, chauffez-vous, rassassiez-vous, et que vous ne les entourez pas de ces choses qui sont nécessaires pour le corps, quel profit auront-ils?» (Leizarraga, *Jac.*, 2, 16).

Othoy iauna enguztaçun lagun çure saynduyac

Enexayac venci enaçan neure azquen finian.

«Je vous en prie, Seigneur, entourez-moi de vos saints comme assistants, pour que mon ennemi ne me vaille point au terme de ma vie.» (Etxepare, *LVP I*, vers 72-73).

Comme on peut le constater sans peine, le sens d'*entourer* convient parfaitement à tous ces exemples. Bien sûr, on n'acceptera cette hypothèse que si l'on admet deux choses: qu'un mot d'emprunt comme *inguru* peut figurer comme racine d'un verbe conjuguable, et aussi que, si le verbe français *entourer* doit être construit avec un complément prépositionnel (*entourer qn de qch*), il n'en est pas nécessairement de même pour le verbe basque qui le traduit: *liburuak badinguzkeçut*, «je vous entourerai de livres». Notons finalement que, si le sens de la racine *ingu* est en effet celui d'*entourer*, cela expliquera aussitôt pourquoi tous les emplois que nous en connaissons ont leur objet direct au pluriel: c'est une simple conséquence du sens du verbe *entourer*. Ce fait-là serait, au contraire, une coïncidence pure et simple, si on attribue à ce verbe le sens de «donner», comme jusqu'à présent on a eu coutume de le faire.

Fermons ici la parenthèse sur l'histoire du mot *iguzu* qui nous a menés si loin, et revenons à notre inventaire des formes impératives, d'autant plus que nous pouvons le faire sans quitter ni la phonologie basque ni l'oeuvre si fascinante de Leizarraga.

Nous savons que seules les formes impératives à objet indirect à la première personne, comme *indazu* et *iguzu*, ont survécu jusqu'à nos jours. Cependant, dans sa version du *Nouveau Testament*, Leizarraga emploie, outre des formes de ce type: *indac*, *indan*, *indaçue*, *iguc*, *iguçun*, aussi des formes où l'objet indirect est à la troisième personne du pluriel: *eyec* «donne-leur» et *eyeçue* «donnez-leur». Ces formes, que je n'ai rencontrées nulle part ailleurs, ont rapidement disparu de l'usage, sans doute parce que la racine du verbe n'y était plus reconnaissable. Il s'agit pourtant de formes parfaitement régulières, comme il résulte de la dérivation que nous allons présenter. Omettant des détails sans conséquence, tels que la dérivation du *k* final de *ga*, et la dérivation possible de l'*e* de la seconde syllabe d'une forme *o* + *de* ou *o* + *te*, on peut dire ceci: De la forme de base **e* + *in* + *e* + *k*, où l'*e* initial a été considéré comme la marque de l'impératif, on aura **eiek* en vertu de la chute de la nasale, d'où *eyek* par consonnification de l'*i* devenu intervocalique. Remarquons encore que pour *indak*, on a aussi une base **e* + *in* + *da* + *k*, ce qui laisserait prévoir une forme à diphtongue **eindak*, mais «la diphtongue *ei* a donné *i* sans exception en position initiale absolue» (*FHV*, 4.11).

Le moment est venu de dire deux mots à propos de la variante *idazu* déjà citée. Là, il ne s'agit pas d'un développement phonétique. Il n'y a aucune indication qui permette de croire que notre règle d'amuissement ait pu s'étendre aux nasales dentales. Des mots communs comme *mendi*, *indar*, *sendo*, *mando* n'ont jamais enfanté de variantes de la forme **medi*, **idar*, **sedo*, **mado*. Il s'agit plutôt d'un autre type de changement, un changement dit morphologique, au niveau donc des formes de base. Pour le comprendre, il faut reconnaître un fait essentiel: Mises à part les formes verbales où la première personne du singulier détient le rôle datif, toutes les autres formes du verbe s'expliquent tout aussi bien, et bien plus simplement, à partir d'une racine de la forme *i*.

Dans ces circonstances, la tentation d'une restructuration morphologique ne peut pas ne pas s'offrir. Et c'est ainsi qu'en acquérant la langue maternelle, chaque génération nouvelle aura le choix de résister ou non à la tentation de simplifier le mécanisme du système verbal en posant une racine de forme *i* pour *in*, ce qui ne changerait rien à la morphologie de ce verbe, sauf qu'on dira désormais *idazu* au lieu de la forme traditionnelle *indazu* de la génération des parents.

Or, il faut dire que cela ne s'est produit qu'à une échelle extrêmement limitée, du moins en ce qui concerne ces formes impératives. Les formes sans *n* sont exclusivement navarraises. Nous les connaissons surtout par l'oeuvre de Bernard Etxepare, qui était du pays de Cize en Basse-Navarre. On en trouve un seul exemple chez Voltaire. On les rencontre également dans les nombreux ouvrages de Joakin Lizarraga, originaire d'Elcano, au coeur de la Haute-Navarre, non loin de Pampelune. C'est le même écrivain qui nous a transmis les formes *bida* 'qu'il me donne' et *bigu* 'qu'il nous donne', formes qui dans le traitement dit «berorika» correspondent aux formules de «zuka» *idazu* et *iguzu*. Bref, les formes du type *idazu* sont, en somme, assez rares.

C'est sans doute un signe de plus du conservatisme notoire des basques en matière de langue, que cette résistance tenace qu'ils ont opposée en masse, ici comme ailleurs, à ce qu'on a appelé la pression du paradigme. Mais il faut se méfier des grammairiens. L'abbé Ithurry, dont la grammaire a été saluée par M. Krutwig comme «sans conteste la meilleure de celles qui ont été consacrées à la langue basque jusqu'à ce jour», ne donne que les formes sans *n*, du moins dans le texte principal. Certes, il ne manque pas de nous renvoyer à une note en bas de la page ainsi conçue: «Au lieu de *Idak*, etc., tous les auteurs, à part Dechepare, disent *Indak*, *Indan*, *Indazu*, *Indazue*. Je suis d'avis que Dechepare a raison et que le thème verbal est non *In* mais *I*; car tous disent *Iguk* "donne-le-nous"...». L'Académie basque actuelle semble bien s'être rangée à l'avis d'Ithurry, car elle écrit: «Nous préférons les formes sans *n*, à cause de leur régularité» (voir: «Aditz Sintetiko», *Euskera* 22, 1977, p. 850). Sans prétendre ériger la réalité purement historique en critère codificateur hors duquel il n'y a point de salut, je trouve quand même surprenant que la docte Académie rejette une forme qui naguère faisait partie du basque commun, et qui est au surplus toujours employée, en faveur d'une forme qui, tout en remontant au vieil Etxepare, n'en est pas moins un particularisme purement local.

Quittant maintenant l'impératif pour nous élargir un peu l'horizon, il est utile de rappeler la formule toujours courante *Egun on dizula Jainkoak* «Dieu vous donne bonne journée». Comme l'a très bien vu M. Azkue, la forme *dizula* se rattache à la

même racine que la forme *indazu* («Gipuzkera osotua», *Euskera* 15, 1934, p. 136). Dans l'usage contemporain, le syntagme est en grande partie fossilisé: on le trouve toujours avec le suffixe *-la* à valeur optative, et, généralement, avec Dieu comme sujet grammatical exprimé ou sous-entendu. Mais il semble bien qu'on disposait autrefois d'une conjugaison complète, comme en témoigne encore la multitude des formes de même racine figurant dans les textes anciens.

Il y a cependant deux observations à communiquer, dont voici la première:

Toutes les formes attestées contiennent un indice datif. Pour expliquer cet état de choses, il faut tenir compte du fait que la racine *in* était perfective, comme nous allons le voir à la fin de cet article. Il s'ensuit de là que ses emplois se rapportent généralement à une situation concrète et unique, où, par conséquent, le destinataire du don est identifiable. On aura donc la possibilité d'incorporer un indice datif, possibilité de laquelle on se sera servi d'autant plus volontiers que la racine, réduite à *i* seul, manquait de substance phonique, si bien que dépourvue d'indice datif la forme verbale risquerait d'être trop courte pour être aisément intelligible.

Au reste, tout cela ne signifie nullement que des formes non-datatives comme *din* «qui donne» étaient forcément agrammaticales. Tout ce qu'on peut affirmer, c'est qu'elle étaient trop rares pour trouver place dans le cabinet en somme assez modeste que constitue l'ensemble de nos textes anciens. En fait, j'estime que la forme verbale *din* «qui donne», d'où «qui ressemble», est bien à la base du suffixe *-din*, qu'on trouve dans *urdin* «bleu» («qui ressemble de l'eau»), *oztin* «bleu» («qui ressemble le ciel»), *berdin* «pareil» («qui donne le même»), *txitxardin* «anguille» («qui ressemble un ver»), et le mot *gordin* «cru» («qui paraît rouge») s'il s'est appliqué d'abord à la viande: *haragi gordina* «viande crue» (Lhande, *Dictionnaire*). Le mot *zardin* «svelte» semble à écarter, à cause de la variante *zardain*. Quant au suffixe biscayen *-duin* de sens comparable, j'y vois également une forme verbale, que je serais enclin à rapprocher de la forme orientale *daugin*.

Au demeurant, signalons, pour être scrupuleusement exact, qu'une forme verbale *din* se trouve bien dans le texte des *Refranes y Sentencias*, mais, elle y est toujours employée comme auxiliaire, sauf, paraît-il, dans le proverbe numéro 249, où *din* semble signifier «devient»: *asto dina zordun* «qui se porte garant est débiteur».

La seconde observation à faire, c'est que, très souvent, les formes qui nous intéressent sont pourvues d'un suffixe tel que *-la* ou *-n*, qui leur confère une valeur optative. Là encore, je ne pense pas qu'il s'agisse d'une restriction formelle. La rareté des formes purement indicatives dans ce domaine représente, en dernière analyse —comment dirai-je?—, un reflet de l'ingratitude humaine. L'expression par la parole du don à l'accomplissement duquel on continue d'aspirer —domaine de l'optatif— est infiniment plus fréquente que celle du don duquel l'accomplissement est déjà contemplé ou, à plus forte raison, consommé. Rappelons que l'expression du don en cours, tant au présent qu'au passé, se fait au moyen du verbe imperfectif *eman*.

Dressons maintenant le tableau des formes appartenant à la racine *in* que nous présentent les textes les plus anciens. Je procéderai par ordre antichronologique: commençant par Mendiburu (1760), choisi comme représentant d'une période intermédiaire, passant ensuite à Leizarraga (1571), puis à Etxepare (1545), et, finalement, au livre des *Refranes y Sentencias*, collection de proverbes qui, bien qu'imprimée en 1596, révèle un état de langue beaucoup plus ancien.

Pour ces trois derniers, l'énumération intégrale des formes qui nous intéressent a été grandement facilitée par les très utiles travaux de Lafon, Altuna et Soto Michelena. Nous omettrons les formes d'impératif, déjà amplement commentées ci-dessus.

On trouve chez Mendiburu au moins les formes suivantes:

didan, *didala* «qu'il me donne»; *digula* «qu'il nous donne»; *diguzula* «que vous nous donniez»; *dizun*, *dizula* «qu'il vous donne» (cf. Azkue, «Mendibururen adizkiak eta idaztankera», *Euskera* 9, 1928, p. 140).

Dans Leizarraga on a:

eztidala «qu'il ne me donne pas»; *digula* «qu'il nous donne»; *digunçat* «pour qu'il nous donne»; *diçuela* «qu'il vous donne»; *diçunçat* «pour qu'il vous donne»; *deyegunçat* «pour que nous leur donnions»; *ezteyeçuela* «que vous ne leur donniez pas»; *hidan* «qu'il me donnât», *ligunçat* «pour qu'il nous donnât».

Dans Etxepare on peut lire:

didan «qu'il me donne» (une fois optatif, deux fois relatif); *deyen* «qu'il leur donne»; *digun* «qu'il nous donne»; *dizun* «qu'il vous donne»; *eztidaçula* «que vous ne me le donniez pas»; *badidaçu* «si vous me donnez»; *eneyen* «que je ne leur donnasse»; *balit* «si elle me donnait»; *leyan* «qu'il te donnât»; *nequeye* «je leur donnerais»; *vaytequegu* «qui nous donnera».

À propos des deux dernières formes, Lafon, qui soutient que la racine *i* est une contraction de *egi*, fait la remarque suivante: «...chez Dechepare, on trouve, comme trace de *egi*, *e*, et non *i*, devant une syllabe contenant un *e*: *vaytequegu*, *nequeye* contre bisc. *diquec*, *baniqueçu*» (*Le système du verbe basque au XVI^e siècle* I, p. 228).

Notons d'abord que l'observation, même exacte, ne prouverait rien. La racine *in* peut très bien provenir de **ein*, sans, pour autant, remonter à *egim*.

Puis, l'observation est contestable. Ce que les formes d'Etxepare semblent indiquer, c'est une permutation de la racine *i(n)* avec le suffixe *ke* par rapport à *dikek*, *banikeçu*, formes, du reste, communes plutôt que seulement biscayennes. La forme *nequeye* s'analyse de la même façon que la forme impérative *eyec*, c-à-d: *n* + *e* + *ke* + *i(n)* + *e*; et la forme *vaytequegu* (*LVP* II, 50) a l'air d'être un lapsus pour *vaytequeygu*, s'analysant *bait* + *da* + *e* + *ke* + *i(n)* + *gu*.

Dans les *Refranes y Sentencias* on trouve les formes qui suivent:

diada «je te donne»; *dienean* «quand ils te donnent», *diquec* «il te donnera», *diqueada* «je te donnerai»; *baniqueçu* «je vous donnerais bien»; *baçint* «si vous me donniez»; *balinde* «s'il me donnaient» (remontant à **balindade*).

La forme verbale *deyc* du proverbe numéro 116: *Astoagaz adi quirolan, ta deyc burzta-naz biçarrean* traduit dans l'original: *regozijate con el asno/darte ha en la barba con el rabo*, que Lafon fait entrer sous «*eman* et racines supplétives» à cause de cette traduction, appartient plutôt à *egim*, tant pour le sens que pour la forme (cf. le mot *beyçut* «je vous le ferai» du proverbe num. 410, qui doit s'analyser: *ba* + *da* + *e* + *gi* + *çu* + *da*).

La forme *deyque* du proverbe num. 136 est également une forme du verbe *egin*, utilisé pour mettre en relief le verbe précédent: *kendu egingo dik* en guipuzcoan moderne. Remarquez que le proverbe numéro 91 *Neurrez ez dot, balinde baniquegu* «Du mien, je ne l'ai pas, s'ils me le donnaient, je vous le donnerais» fournit une illustration parfaite du mécanisme phonétique que nous avons postulé: la nasale de la racine *in* est maintenue devant *d*, mais tombe devant *k* et *g* (ainsi qu'à l'intervocalique).

À ce propos, je signale encore la phrase *dinden penitencie* «la pénitence qu'ils me donnent», que M. Michelena a relevée dans un catéchisme biscayen du 17^e siècle, connu sous le nom de *Viva Jesus*, qu'il fit réimprimer en 1954. À comparer la phrase d'Etxepare: *compliceo didan penitencia* (LVP I, 194).

De *diqueada* du proverbe numéro 233: *yquedac ta diqueada* «tu me donneras et alors je te donnerai», il existe une variante plus moderne *diqueat*, qui figure dans une menace attribuée à Martin de Uterga dans un procès de l'an 1602: *Badiqueat orraa bofeton bat aurrari beçala* «je te donnerai bien là une gifle comme à (un?) enfant» (voir l'article de J. M. Satrustegui dans FLV 9, 1977, n.° 25, p. 111).

Il est inutile de souligner que ce témoignage non-littéraire, dû à l'historien Florencio Idoate, est de la plus haute importance: Il atteste on ne peut plus clairement qu'au moins dans la région autour de Pampelune, les formes verbales de ce type étaient absolument courantes même dans le langage le moins soigné, encore au début du 17^e siècle.

Montrons finalement que deux textes datant du 15^e siècle, qui figurent donc parmi les premiers documents de quelque étendue que nous possédions de la langue basque, présentent des exemples du type étudié.

Le monde linguistique aussi bien qu'ethnographique doit une gratitude éternelle au chevalier Arnold von Harff, à cause du récit savoureux qu'il nous a laissé de son grand pèlerinage, qui l'amena d'abord à Rome, puis à Jérusalem, et enfin, vers 1499, à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle. Dans ce récit, des spécialistes en diverses langues ont puisé une foule de renseignements précieux, notamment dans le domaine de l'albanais, précision que je tiens du professeur E. P. Hamp. Le curieux chevalier de Cologne n'oublia pas non plus notre champ d'études. En traversant le pays de Navarre, allant de Saint-Palais à Logroño par Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, Burguete et Pampelune, il composa à son usage personnel un petit-vocabulaire basque, qu'il a eu la bonne idée d'inclure dans son récit. Là dedans, on lit la phrase: *gangon dissila*, traduite *got gbeve dir guden morgen*, ce qui veut dire «Dieu te donne bonne matinée». La phrase, il faut l'admettre, est peu claire. J'expliquerais volontiers *gangon* par *gau(h)on* avec *o* nasalisé, donc «bonne nuit», mais, en vérité, on s'attendrait plutôt à *egun on* «bonne journée». Quoi qu'il en soit, il n'y a aucun doute que *dissila* correspond bien à *dizula* (ou, à la rigueur, *dizuela*) «qu'il vous donne», forme optative toujours en usage (voir TAV, 2.2.18).

L'exemple suivant est encore plus ancien. L'historien Étienne Garibay (1533-1599) nous a transmis le texte d'une élégie composée à l'occasion de la mort de Madame Milia de Lastur, ou possiblement, quelque temps après. J'en cite les lignes 31 et 32: *Bidaldu dogu cernetara cartea: / Arren diguela gure andrea*. Ce qui veut dire «Nous avons envoyé une lettre au ciel, priant qu'ils nous donnent notre dame».

Comme écrit M. J. C. de Guerra, nous ignorons la date exacte de la composition, mais elle date indubitablement de la première moitié du 15^e siècle (cf. TAV, 3.1.5).

Par conséquent, il semble bien que la forme *diguela* (provenant de **diguđela*) «qu'ils nous donnent» constitue le témoignage le plus ancien des formes verbales qui nous intéressent.

La documentation terminée, la question se pose de savoir si la racine *in* peut, en quelque manière, s'expliquer. Voyons à ce sujet les opinions des bascologues, dont beaucoup se sont intéressés à la question.

La plupart des grammairiens du 19^e siècle ne mentionnent que les formes impératives, celles du type *indak*, et les traitent sans commentaire comme appartenant au verbe *eman* «donner». Ainsi Añibarro (p. 94 pour le biscayen, et p. 148 pour le guipuzcoan); Lardizábal (p. 52), d'où les prendra plus tard Campión (p. 462); Inchauspe (p. 459) considérait *indak* une contraction de *eman izáđak*, il faut savoir qu'il soutenait que toutes les formes synthétiques d'un verbe sont des contractions des formes périphrastiques correspondantes: *banoa*, dit-il, est un mot composé de *joan* et de *niz* (p. 446). Gèze (p. 238) ne fait que citer Inchauspe. L'abbé Ithurry, que nous avons déjà cité, signale encore que le thème verbal, *i* d'après lui, pourrait bien être identique à celui de la «conjugaison relative du verbe *du*» en dialecto guipuzcoan (*dit, dik, din, dio, digu, dizu*, etc.).

L'année 1896, où mourut l'abbé Ithurry, est aussi celle qui vit la réimpression par le jonkheer Van Eys du vieux texte des *Refranes y Sentencias*, exactement au tricentenaire de sa première parution. La réédition fut saluée par Vinson, dans la section de bibliographie linguistique de la *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* du même an. J'y relève la remarque suivante: «Dans les formatifs de *eman* «donner», on observe une fois de plus la substitution du radical *eguin* «faire»: *eguçu* ou *iguçu* par exemple est pour **inguçu*, **eguinguçu* «faites-le à nous» pour «donnez-le à nous». Dans *azauenac* et *ezauñ adi* le *g* du radical *ezagun* est tombé comme dans **ein*, **in*, pour *eguin*. Je laisse au lecteur le soin de compléter et d'étendre ces observations» (*Rev. de Ling.* 29, 1896, pp. 214-215). Voilà donc la théorie de Vinson sur la matière.

Dans son introduction, justement célèbre, à la réimpression des oeuvres de Leizarraga (1900), Schuchardt rapporte l'opinion de Vinson, mais ne s'y conforme point (pp. lxxiii-iv). Il pense plutôt aux formes datives du verbe signifiant «avoir», et rend la formule *egun on digula Iaincoac* par «Dieu vous ait bonne journée». Il ajoute que la forme *inda* est difficile à réconcilier avec les formes sans *n* en dehors de l'impératif.

Plus de vingt ans plus tard, Schuchardt y revient dans son opuscule *Primitiae linguae vasconum* (1923). Dans son analyse grammaticale aux fins didactiques portant sur tous les mots de la parabole de l'enfant prodigue dans la version de Leizarraga, il écrit à propos de la forme *indak* du verset *Lc* 15, 12 ceci: «*in·da·k* “donne-le-moi”. Une forme irrégulière et toujours inexpliquée». Puis, après un exposé succinct sur la formation de l'impératif en général, il continue: «*E·m·o·k* est pour *e·ma·ki·o·k*, auquel devrait correspondre **emék* «donne-le-leur» (cf. *egiok* «fais-le-lui», *egiék* «fais-le-leur»), au lieu de quoi on a *eiek*, et au lieu des formes attendues **emadak* «donne-le-moi» et **emaguk* «donne-le-nous» nous avons *in·da·k* et *i·gu·k*. Le *n* de la première personne du singulier cause une difficulté particulière: il fait défaut en *didan*, *lidan* «qu'il me le donne», «qu'il me le donnât». Il est permis de penser à une suppression totale du verbe, de sorte que *ogia iguk* «donne-nous le pain» serait à proprement parler «de pain à nous par toi!» (das Brot uns von dir!)» (*Primitiae linguae vasconum, Einführung ins Baskische*, p. 8).

Si remarquable que fut l'autorité du maître dans d'autres points de linguistique basque, son scepticisme marqué vis-à-vis de l'idée de Vinson n'a pas fait école. Même l'abbé Azkue, qui l'admirait pourtant puissamment, l'appelant «de grand bascologue allemand» ou encore «de maître» tout court, ne se lassera jamais de répéter à toute occasion qui se présente que le verbe *in* est une contraction de *egin* «faire» (par exemple, *Morfología vasca* II, p. 559; «Gipuzkera osotua», *Euskera* 15, 1934, p. 36; «Evolución de la lengua vasca», *Euskera* 16, 1935, p. 85).

À la suite d'Azkue souscriront à la thèse vinsonienne: Lafon (*Le système du verbe basque au XVI^e siècle* I, pp. 228 et 430); Lafitte (*Grammaire basque*, § 623.1); Bouda (*BAP* 24, 1968, p. 267), et plus récemment, et non sans quelque hésitation, F. M. Altuna (*Etxepareren hiztegia*, p. 60).

D'où lui vient cette popularité parmi les basquistes de plusieurs générations? Je dirais que, plus qu'à la solidité de la thèse, sa faveur semble due à la passion si naturelle à l'homme, et endémique au grammairien, de ramener l'inconnu au familier. Voilà bien la seule vertu de cette thèse, que la moindre réflexion critique suffirait à éliminer.

Commençons par le plan sémantique, qu'on pourrait aussi appeler dans ce cas le plan distributionnel. Bien sûr, il n'est pas difficile de trouver des contextes où *egin* peut remplacer *eman*, comme les partisans de la thèse n'ont pas manqué de faire. Il y a le *pot egin* «baiser» d'Etxepare et de Leizarraga, à côté du *musu eman* du guipuzcoan. En Biscaye, on dit indifféremment *mosu emon* ou *mosu egin*. Pour traduire la locution latine *gratias agere*, on peut se servir tant de l'expression *eskerrak egin* que de l'expression *eskerrak eman*. Pour «Dieu vous donne la santé!», on peut dire *Jaungoikoak osasuna egin deizula!*

Mais c'est là l'exception plutôt que la règle; exception, ajouterai-je, qui se fait impossible dès que l'objet du verbe préexiste à l'action de donner comme entité séparée. Le basque distingue parfaitement, n'en déplaise au père Altuna, entre *ur egin* et *ur eman*: à l'instar de *indan edatera* (Jn. 4, 7) on ne rencontrera jamais **edatera egin behar didan*; ni **egidak hemen platean Ioannes Baptistaren burua* au lieu de la forme du texte: *Indac hemen platean Ioannes Baptistaren burua*. Sur le plan de la forme également, on peut formuler de graves objections.

Il est vrai, comme fait valoir Lafon, que «dans nombre de parlars actuels, *egin*, *egiten* et *eginen* sont couramment réduits à *in*, *iten*, *inen*», et que «l'on emploie des formes comme *soik* (monosyllabe) «fais attention, regarde» au lieu de *so egik*, *so'gik*. Seulement, pour que ce phénomène rende compte des formes qui nous occupent, il faudrait que la triple contraction (de *egi* à *e'i*, puis *ei*, puis *i*) fût ancienne, et, surtout, systématique, ce qui est plus que douteux.

Par ailleurs, même acceptant l'hypothèse de la triple contraction systématique, comment expliquera-t-on la forme *indak*, plus répandue et plus primitive que sa variante navarraise *idak*? L'impératif du verbe *egin* était de tout temps *egidak* sans nasale (cf. *eguidac iustitia*, Lc. 18, 3). Ira-t-on jusqu'à proposer comme source la forme périphrastique *egin iezadak*, en souletin *egin izáadak*? À la rigueur, on pourrait y arriver en partant de la forme périphrastique *egin egidak* d'où, par hypothèse, *in idak*, ce qui donnerait peut-être *indak*, mais l'emploi du verbe *egin* comme auxiliaire est totalement inconnu aux dialectes septentrionaux.

Cet auxiliaire propre au biscayen, s'employant encore dans la partie occidentale du guipuzcoan, est attesté aussi dans certains textes haut-navarrais, mais, bien enten-

du, sans contraction: *erran egidazu* «dites-moi» et *erakutsi egiguzu* «montrez-nous» (voir l'article du père Policarpo de Iráizoz, «Versos euskéricos del siglo XVIII», *FLV* 8, 1976, n.º 22, p. 73).

En dehors de l'impératif, on se heurte à des difficultés non moins pénibles. Voici ce qu'affirme Lafon: «En vieux biscayen, les formes simples de *gi-* où le *g* est tombé entre voyelles se confondent avec les formes signifiant «être donné» et qui paraissent appartenir à la racine *i-*» (*Le système du verbe basque* I, p. 430). C'est absolument faux. La confusion est entièrement du côté de Lafon, qui a classifié avec *eman* la forme *deyc* du proverbe num. 116, bien à tort, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut. Dans les formes de *in*, le préfixe *e* qui caractérise les formes datives a été absorbé par la racine, tandis que dans les formes correspondantes de *egin*, la diphtongue *ei*, plus récente, se maintient généralement intacte.

Au demeurant, autre fait désagréable pour l'hypothèse de Lafon: Pour ce qui est du texte des *Refranes y Sentencias*, principale source dont disposait alors Lafon pour l'étude du vieux biscayen, on constate que dans une grande majorité des cas, 47 sur un total de 74, le *g* de la racine *gi* de *egin* «faire» ne tombe point.

De nos jours, il peut y avoir des régions limitées où *deizula* se prononce toujours *dizula*, mais, en général, on distingue encore très bien en Guipuzcoa entre *deizula*, forme de *egin*, et *dizula* signifiant «donner», comme me l'a assuré M. Michelena, qui ajoute que, pour sa part, il n'a jamais accordé de crédibilité à la thèse vinsonienne. Cette discussion suffit. Nous voyons bien que le savant professeur Lafon, dont les mérites pour la bascologie sont par ailleurs indéniables, a fait ici fausse route. Débarrassée d'une hypothèse intenable, la piste est libre pour nous engager dans la bonne voie.

D'un point de vue purement formel, on dirait que la racine *in* ne pourrait appartenir qu'à un verbe de la forme *jin*. Or, ce verbe-là existe, seulement, il ne signifie pas «donner», mais «venir». S'agit-il là d'un obstacle insurmontable? Je ne le pense pas.

Mettons-le en parallèle avec un autre verbe, tout à fait semblable, et, on peut dire, de la même sphère: *joan*. Ce verbe signifie «aller», mais il a aussi connu un emploi transitif, où il veut dire «emporter», «enlever», «prendre». Je rappelle les phrases d'Etxepare: *Ioan duzuna egbardazu* «apportez-moi ce que vous m'avez pris» (*LVP* IX, 4); *Ioan darandazu leben viboga* «vous m'avez d'abord ravi mon coeur» (*LVP* X, 33); la phrase de Leizarraga: *norc cer ioan legaqueen* «qui emporterait quoi»; et celles d'Axular: *kameluak eta bertze onak ere ioan zituztela ohoinek* «que les brigands ont enlevé les chameaux et aussi les autres biens» (*Gero*, Chap. XXIV, § 0); *Egun batez ioan zituen filosofo batek zapata batzuk bere etxera* «Un jour un philosophe emporta une paire de souliers chez lui» (*Gero*, Chap. XLV, § 4).

L'éditeur de la grammaire d'Ithurry en parle encore au présent: «*Ioan* prend souvent le sens de *Ereman* "porter", "emporter". Ex. *orhoitzapen bat ioan dio* "il lui a porté un souvenir"; *Makila ioan daut*, "il m'a emporté le bâton"; *Zaldia berekin iohan du* "il amène le cheval avec lui"» (Ithurry, *Grammaire basque*, p. 404).

Tandis que l'emploi transitif de *joan* est assez connu grâce aux exemples d'Axular, le fait qu'il a aussi existé un emploi transitif de *heldu* «parvenir», «faire parvenir» et même du verbe *etorri*, synonyme plus répandu de *jin*, est largement ignoré. C'est l'érudite Bouda qui, dans sa longue étude intitulée *Das transitive und das intransitive Ver-*

bum des Baskischen (1933), attire l'attention sur les passages suivants: *Nazarete hirira etbor zedin berri haren Mariaren beltzeke beharrira* «Il vint à la ville de Nazareth pour faire parvenir cette nouvelle à l'oreille de Marie» (Oihenart, O 189); *Gauza gaski irabaziek ez tute sekulan etortzen jin onik* «Les choses mal acquises n'amènent jamais bonne fin» (Voltaire, *Prov.* 39).

Par conséquent, si le verbe *etorri* admettait jadis le sens transitif traduit par *amener*, on pourra estimer de même que le verbe *jin* a eu autrefois un sens similaire, peut-être identique, un sens donc qui est proche d'«amener», et par là même, à «fournir» ou, disons-le, «donner». Il reste à préciser que les cas des deux verbes *etorri* et *jin* ne sont pas parallèles, mais, pour ainsi dire, inversement parallèles. Dans quel sens?

Il est aisé d'observer qu'un verbe n'a de formes simples que pour sa diathèse primaire: Il aura des formes simples transitives ou bien intransitives, mais jamais les deux. Ainsi il y a une forme simple correspondant à *eramaten dut* (*daramat*), à *ekartzen dio* (*dakarkio*), à *ezagutzen du* (*dazagu*), mais non à *eramaten naiz*, *ekartzen zaio* ou *ezagutzen da*. S'il est permis d'étendre cette observation au basque ancien — et il n'y a aucune raison pour ne pas le faire — force nous est de conclure que les verbes *joan* et *etorri* étaient des verbes intransitifs permettant, en conjugaison périphrastique, un emploi causatif, tandis que *jin* était un verbe transitif admettant, en conjugaison périphrastique, une construction unipersonnelle, interprétable comme réflexive.

À l'origine, la phrase basque *jiten da* correspondait donc très exactement à l'expression française *il s'amène* (On peut comparer encore l'emploi réflexif du verbe latin *afferre* «apporter» attesté chez Virgile: *se afferre huc* «se rendre ici», «s'approcher»). Ce petit résultat nous expliquera bien des choses. Les énigmes, en effet, ne manquent pas autour du verbe *jin*. Voyons un peu en quoi elles consistent.

Tout d'abord, il paraît étrange qu'un verbe si courant et avec un sens aussi élémentaire que «venir» n'ait jamais connu de formes simples. À en croire l'abbé Lhande, *jin* serait une contraction de *jaugin* (*Dictionnaire*, p. 497), et pourrait, à ce titre, réclamer les formes simples *baugi* «viens» et *daugin* «qui vient». Mais, comme a écrit M. Michelena: «Il paraît tout de même trop forcé de supposer que *jin* n'est qu'une variante, née de contractions violentes, de son synonyme *jaugin*» (*FHV*, p. 516).

Donc, aucune forme simple de *jin* au sens de «venir». Eh bien, nous savons maintenant que cette absence est due au fait que le sens primitif du verbe était transitif, proche de «donner», sens du reste attesté par de nombreuses formes simples.

Mais il y a une autre énigme, plus foncière: Pourquoi faut-il qu'il y ait deux verbes pour dire «venir»? S'il est vrai que le verbe *etorri* n'existe pas en souletin moderne, au début du XVII^e siècle, le poète Oihenart, né à Mauléon en 1592, s'en sert encore librement: *zu zatorz* «vous venez» (O 38); *banatorra* «si je viens» (O 53); *betor betor berioa* «que vienne, que vienne la mort» (O 65); *hanti datorra* «de là vient» (O 155); *etorria* «venu(e)» (O 169); *datorrala* «qu'elle vient» (O 244). De toute façon, personne ne songerait à nier que le verbe *etorri* ne fut jadis commun à tout le pays basque. D'où alors surgit le verbe *jin*? Étudions d'abord sa distribution géographique.

Il est pratiquement le seul terme pour «venir» en Soule (*beltii* signifiant plutôt «arriver»); il est beaucoup employé en Basse-Navarre orientale, mais en Basse-Navarre occidentale, *etorri* est déjà bien plus normal. En Labourd, on le connaît çà et là, parfois sous la forme *jen*, due peut-être à une réinterprétation de la voyelle au temps de sa dénasalisation. Cependant, en Labourd, le terme d'emploi courant est uniquement *etorri*.

Au pays basque péninsulaire, on n'emploie nulle part le verbe *jin*, à l'exception du sous-dialecte roncalais, prolongement du souletin, et du salazarais, prolongement du bas-navarrais oriental (pour ces variétés, voir Lafon: «Sur la place de l'Aezcoan, du Salazarais et du Roncalais dans la classification des dialectes basques», *Pirineos* 11, 1955, 109-133). L'aezcoan, prolongement du bas-navarrais occidental, ne semble pas avoir connu l'emploi de *jin*. Ainsi, le prince Bonaparte nota pour «il est venu des champs»: aezc. *alorreteik etorri da*; salaz. *alorretarik ñin zu*; ronc. *alorretarik ñin da* (*Études sur les trois dialectes basques des Vallées d'Aezcoa, de Salazar et de Roncal*, Londres 1872, p. 24).

Pour ce qui est des textes anciens, le verbe *jin* «venir» est l'apanage exclusif des auteurs bas-navarrais et souletins. Le premier poète basque à se voir imprimé (1545), Bernard Etxepare, en use souvent, bien qu'il se serve aussi du verbe *etorri*. Nous avons vu qu'il en est de même chez Oihenart. Chez l'écrivain Tartas l'usage de *jin* est également fréquent. En revanche, on n'en trouve aucune trace, ni chez Leizarraga, ni, plus tard, chez Axular. Cet état de choses, comment s'explique-t-il?

Nous avons vu que la forme *jiten da* correspondait originellement à l'expression française *il s'amène*. Or, il faut noter que la langue castillane ne connaît pas de locution de ce type. Le verbe réflexif *traerse*, pour prendre un exemple, a plusieurs significations, mais ne s'utilise nulle part comme variante expressive de *venir*.

Par contre, en français l'expression *s'amener* est populaire (*Petit Larousse: s'amener* pop. «venir»). Et, ce qui nous intéresse tout particulièrement, en béarnais le verbe réflexif *amià-s* est très courant dans le sens de «venir», comme m'a confirmé le professeur J. Allières. Dans le *Dictionnaire du Béarnais et du Gascon modernes* par Simin Palay, on peut lire: «*amià, mià*; v. —Amener, mener, conduire; faire venir; *amià-s venir*» (p. 34).

Le fait est significatif, et la conclusion inévitable. La locution à base de *jin* ne s'est imposée dans le sens de «venir» que là où existait le modèle roman, c.-à-d., dans les dialectes septentrionaux. C'est avant tout le bilinguisme basco-béarnais qui a favorisé l'usage de *jin* dans ce sens.

De plus, personne n'ignore que c'est dans la zone nord-est, y comprise toute la Soule, que l'influence du Béarn s'est fait sentir avec le plus de force, et cela dès le moyen âge, dans le domaine du langage tout autant que dans d'autres domaines de la vie. Au pays de Labourd, par exemple, le bilinguisme basco-béarnais a toujours été beaucoup moins important.

C'est donc la réalité sociolinguistique du passé, qui, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, rend compte de la distribution géographique actuelle du verbe *jin*.

On voit que le cas de *jin* présente un romanisme d'un ordre tout à fait singulier: le verbe *jin* est authentiquement basque; les constructions qui s'y rapportent sont authentiquement basques; mais son emploi intransitif en tant que variante, plus pittoresque à l'origine, du verbe *etorri* a été propagé par influence romane.

L'identification entre la racine *in* «donner» et celle du verbe *jin* «venir» pouvait paraître hasardeuse tant qu'elle était fondée sur la seule coïncidence des formes. L'absence de toute confirmation directe est frappante. Ce que nous aimerions bien trouver, ce sont des formes périphrastiques transitives du verbe *jin*. Or, on n'en trouve nulle part aucune trace. On dirait même qu'il s'agit là d'une lacune systématique, et que ces formes étaient grammaticalement impossibles. Le cas ne serait pas

isolé: la même lacune systématique semble obtenir pour le verbe *ion «dire». Est-ce peut-être pour la même raison? Existait-il jadis entre *ion et erran (*esan*) une relation analogue à celle qui relie *jin* et *eman*?

On peut bien le soupçonner. Cependant, dès nos premiers textes, les deux paires présentent un comportement différent. Ainsi, à l'inverse de *jin*, le verbe *ion ne semble pas admettre de formes impératives. (L'Académie basque donne pourtant les formes en «berorika» *biost*, *biotso*, *biotsu*, etc. J'ignore où elle les a puisées).

Quoi qu'il en soit, si la confirmation directe de notre thèse est impossible, la confirmation indirecte s'est révélée assez nette. Sans l'hypothèse unissant les deux racines, il n'y aurait plus moyen d'expliquer ni l'absence de formes synthétiques du verbe *jin*, ni sa distribution géographique.

Il nous reste à élucider un dernier point. À la question posée tout à l'heure, pourquoi deux verbes pour dire «venir», ne faut-il pas maintenant en opposer une autre: pourquoi deux verbes pour dire «donner»? J'y répondrai en ces termes: Nous ignorons le sens primitif exact de *jin*. À l'époque de nos premiers textes, ce verbe a clairement le sens de «donner». Il est alors en relation avec *eman*, mais ne fait pas double emploi avec lui, car, dans leurs formes synthétiques, il y a entre ces deux verbes une opposition aspectuelle très nette, du moins à l'origine: *jin* est perfectif, et *eman* est imperfectif, et je prétends utiliser ces termes au sens précis qu'on leur donne en grammaire slave. On le voit le plus clairement à l'impératif: les règles générales de conduite s'expriment toujours avec *eman*, tandis que les ordres et prières s'appliquant à une occasion particulière présente s'énoncent généralement au moyen du verbe *jin*. On peut le montrer à l'aide d'exemples pris soit dans les *Refranes*, soit dans Etxepare, soit dans Leizarraga. Exemples avec *eman*, illustrant l'aspect imperfectif:

yraunic ce emac yñori «ne donne insulte à personne» (*RS*, 189); *Iac, emac, erac ta çeguioc trancart* «frappe, donne, tue, mais ne lui fais pas de perfidie» (*RS*, 272); *Regla eçac egun oroç onsa heure etchia, eure gauça gucieta emac diligencia:* «règle bien, chaque jour, ta maison, mets du zèle dans toutes tes affaires» (*LVP* I, 206); *fama gayciç etxemala lagunari falsuqui* «que tu ne donnes pas de mauvaise réputation à ton prochain fausement» (*LVP* I, 221). *Norc ere utzi-ren baitu bere emaztea, bemó separationeco letrá* «Quiconque délaisse sa femme, qu'il lui donne un acte de séparation» (*Leiz. Mt.* 5, 31); *dohainic recebitu duçue, eta dohainic emaçue* «donnez gratuitement, car vous avez reçu gratuitement» (*Leiz. Mt.* 10, 8); *baldin gosse bada hire etsaya, emóc iatera: baldin egarri bada, emóc edatera* «si ton ennemi a faim, donne-lui à manger, s'il a soif, donne-lui à boire» (*Leiz. Rom.* 12, 20).

Exemples avec *jin*, illustrant l'aspect perfectif:

Ama, indazut athorra «Mère, donnez-moi une chemise» (*Berteretx*); *yndac micabat orban бага, diada nesquea gajpaga* «donne-moi une pie sans tâche, je te donnerai la fille sans défaut» (*RS*, 174); *indan edatera* «donne-moi à boire» (*Leiz. Jn.* 4.7); *indac hemen platean Ioannes Baptistaren burna* «donne-moi ici sur le plat la tête de Jean Baptiste» (*Leiz. Mt.* 14, 8), *indac onbassunetic niri beltzen çaitadan partea* «donne-moi la part qui me revient des biens» (*Leiz. Lc.* 15, 12); *indazue niri ere botbere hori* «donnez-moi aussi ce pouvoir» (*Leiz. Act.*, 8,

19); *gure eguneco ognia iguc egun* «donne-nous» *aujourd'hui* notre pain du jour» (Leiz. *Mt.* 6, 11); *iguque çuen oliotic* «donnez-nous de votre huile» (Leiz. *Mt.* 25, 8); *eyec congît gendetzey* «donne-leur congé aux gens» (Leiz. *Mt.* 14, 15); *eyeque ceuroc iatera* «donnez-leur vous-même à manger» (Leiz. *Mt.* 14, 16).

À l'impératif, la valeur de l'aspect est souvent facile à apprécier. Mais la différence aspectuelle existe tout aussi bien en dehors de l'impératif:

Harc ebori eztemayo oren vaten epphia «Il ne donne à personne ni une heure de délai» (*LVP* I, 148) (Aspect habituel, donc imperfectif).

Niotsala lidan liburutchoa «lui disant qu'il me donnât le livre» (Leiz. *Ap.* 10, 8) (l'action de donner est vue sous sa totalité, aboutissant à un terme: perfectif). En tout cas, on ne saurait souscrire à l'affirmation de Lafon: «La racine *ma-* désigne un changement qui aboutit à un terme...» (*Le système du verbe basque* I, p. 430). En réalité, ce serait plutôt le contraire. Fausse pour *eman*, l'affirmation de Lafon s'applique parfaitement à *jin*, du moins pour les textes du XVI^e siècle.

Arrivé à ce point, qui parachève notre analyse de la racine *in*, je me dispenserai volontiers d'une récapitulation inutile, et je terminerai un peu abruptement avec ces mots à la manière de Vinson: Je laisse au lecteur, dont j'ai déjà assez éprouvé la patience, le soin de compléter et d'étendre ces observations.

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EUSKARA ETA HIZKUNTZ TIPOLOGIA*

Hizkuntza bat beste batekin parekatzea betidanik atsegin ohi dute bat baino gehiagoren berri dakitenek. Ba omen dira hizkuntza politak eta itsusiak. Egokiak eta moldakaitzak. Bizkorrak eta baldarrak. Krutwig jaunarentzat grekera zaharra dugu munduko mintzaerarik finena; erizle arruntentzat, ordea, norbere amaren hizkuntza izaten da denetan politena, bizkorrena, eta egokiena. Eta amaren hizkuntza hori euskara baldin bada, are gehiago. Euskaldunek euskara maitatzeak eta goratzeak ez du harrigarririk.

Entzun orain nonbaitetan irakurri ditudan hitz hauek: «mintzaeraren bat munduhizkuntza orokortzat eraikitzeko beharra sor baledi, eta hizkuntzaz kanpoko arrazoirik gabe, beraren edertasuna eta egokitasuna izango balitz irizpide bakarra, lehenetasuna ez luke merezituko inolaz ere ingelesak, bere ebakiera sor-ilun ikaskaitz eta bere gramatika hondatuakin; bai ordea euskarak, gehiegi sarrarazten duen bere aditz sintetikoegia gorabehera, beste guztiak baino gailentasun gehiago beregan biltzen baititu, eta deus ere osoro iristen ez den hizkuntzeredura ongienik hurbiltzen baita.»

Hitzok nork idatzi zituen? Larramendi batek? Astarloa batek? Ez. Mahn izeneko hamaika hizkuntza zekizkien alemandar letretako dotore ezagun batek idatzi zituen mila zortziehun eta berrogeitazazpigarrenean. Ikusten dugunez, alemaniar jakintsu honek, zekizkien hizkuntzak elkarrekin parekatu ondoren, euskarari ematen zion nau-sitasuna, gogoan zeukan hizkuntzeredutik hurbilena zelako.

Mahn jaun hura bezain euskaltzale erizten diot nik neure buruari; halarik ere, aitortu behar dizuet ez naizela egun zuen aurrera agertu, beste hizkuntzak gutxietsiaz euskararen laudamenak egitera. Denborak aldatuak dira. Gure egunotan, hizkuntzalaritza zientzizigizonen arazoa bihurtua da, letretakoena bainoago. Objektibotasuna da nagusi, eta auzi frogagaitzak alde batera utziak gelditu dira. Hori dela eta, gaurko hizkuntzalaririk ez dabilta ez hizkuntza baten eder-itsusirik, ez egoki-baldarrik neurtzen.

Oraintxe entzun ditugun Mahn jaunaren hitzek bere garaian ausarkeriaren usaina bazuten ere, gaur umekeriatzat hartzen dira horren antzeko esaera guztiak. Hizkuntza baten edertasunaz hizkuntzalaritzak ezertxo ere esan ezin dezake, egokitasunaz, berriaz, oso gutxi. «De gustibus et coloribus non disputandum» esan zahar hura datorkigu

* P. Salaburu Etxeberria (ed.), *Euskal morfositaxia eta fonologia: eztabaida gaiak* (Bilbao, 1987), 157-173.

hemen gogora. Mintzaile bezala frantsesa ederrets dezaket ingelesa baino gehiago. Baina hizkuntzalari bezala ezingo dut baieztu frantsesa ingelesa baino politagoa, bizkorragoa edo egokiagoa denik.

Sarreratxo hau amaitzerakoan, galde dezagun hizkuntzalariek ea zertarako diharduten hizkuntzak elkarrekin parekatzen, balio-epairik ematen ez badute.

Hizkuntzalaria konparatista bada, elkarrekin ahaidegoa duten mintzaerak parekatuko ditu, horien historia eta historiaurrea ahalik ongien argitan ipintzearren. Honela, bada, euskalki guztiak elkarrekin arretaz parekatuz, zuzenean ezagutzen ez dugun antzinako euskara nolakoa izan zitekeen erdi-ikustea lor genezake hein apal batean.

Esan dezagun kondairagile hutsa baino gehiago ere badela konparatista: hizkuntzaren, edozein hizkuntzaren, bilakabideko lege orokorrak bilatu nahi ditu eta.

Konparatista ez den hizkuntzalaria beste zerbaiten atzetik dabil hizkuntzak parekatzean. Hizkuntzaren egitura bera mugatzen duten lege orokorrak aurkitu nahi ditu honek, eta aurkituz gero, teoria baten barruan beren tokian kokatu. Xede honekin hizkuntzak parekatzen ari direnei tipologistak deitzen diete. Tipologista batzuk baziren hemeretzigarren mendean, bai eta lehenago ere. Izen ospetsu bat aipatzeko, hor dugu Wilhelm von Humboldt, euskalaritzan ere arras poliki aritua zen alemandar jakintsu hura. Haren ondotik ere, aldi gehienetan tipologistaren bat edo beste aurkitzen dugu, batez ere Alemanian.

Baina tipologi-arazoak berriro modan jarri dituena Joseph Greenberg izan da, ameriketar hizkuntzalari handienetako bat, Afrikako hizkuntzetan espezializatua dena. Aurten duela hogeitabost urte hain zuzen ere, Ipar-Amerikako hizkuntzalari ezagunek hitzaldi bana izan zuten unibertsalei buruzko eraturako bilera batean. Hamaika hitzaldien artetik eraginkorrena Greenbergena gertatu zen, izenburu honekin: «Esanguradun atalen ordenari bereziki dagozkion gramatikako zenbait unibertsal» («Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements»). Lan bikain honek izugarriko arrakasta izan du, batez ere «Hizkuntzaren unibertsalak» deritzan liburu batean argitaratu zenetik.

Horrez geroz Greenbergen unibertsalak, edo nahiago baduzue, unibertsalgaiak, hedatu, zehaztu eta argitu nahiaz ibili dira hizkuntzalari asko eta asko. Arlo honexetaz arduratu diren ororen izenak ematea aspergarri bailitzateke, batzuren batzuk bai-zik ez dizkizuet aipatuko. Greenbergen ondoreko tipologistak bezala oso ezagunak dira honoko hauek: Edward Keenan, Bernard Comrie, Theo Vennemann, Winfred Lehmann, Sandra Thomson, John Hawkins. Jakina, ez dugu uste izan behar aipatutako hizkuntzalari hauen lan guztiak edo gehienak tipologiazkoak direnik. Aitzitik, ia beti hizkuntz-jakintzako beste soroak landurik nabarmendu dira, baina, tipologia arloan, besteak beste, txit ezagunak dira. Goazen orain tipologisten lanaz zehaztasun gehiago eskaintzera.

Beren azterketak aurrera eramateko, sarritan hizkuntzak sailkatu egiten dituzte. Hain zuzen ere, irizpide jakin baten arabera egin duten hizkuntz sailkapen banari tipologia bat dei dakioko.

Tipologiarik asko da beraz. Hizkuntzek ea preposiziorik ala posposiziorik daukaten: tipologia bat. Ea aurritzirik ala atzizkirik daukaten gehienik: beste tipologia bat. Garrantzi haundiko tipologia aditzaren arauzkoa dugu batez ere. Izan ere, aditza esaldian non agertzen den kontuan hartuta, hiru hizkuntz mota bereiz daitezke:

1. *Aditz aurrenekoak*: keltar hizkuntzak eta polinesiarrenak, besteak beste.
2. *Aditz erdikoak*, subjektua-aditza-objektua ordena dutenak, alegia. Horien artean: ingelesa, frantsesa, indonesiera, guaraniera, eta beste asko.
3. *Aditz atzeneoak*, subjektua-objektua-aditza ordena dutenak: turkiera, japoniera, sumeriera, eta beste asko eta asko.

Ez al da, bada, laugarren hizkuntz mota bat, aditz nonahikoak? Baietz dirudi. Hizkuntza batzutan ordena bat baino gehiago gertatzen baita, latinean eta sanskri-tean, esate baterako. Erantzuna, hala ere, ezezkoa da. Honelakoetan tipologistek dau-den ordenetan bat aukeratuko dute, nagusitzat jotzen dutena. Eta hementxe tipolo-gisten akats batekin topa egiten dugu. Nagusitzat mugapenik gutxienekin edo sarrienik agertzen den ordena hartuko dute beti. Gramatikaren ikuspegitik, ordea, as-kotan interesgarriagoa oinarritzko ordena dugu, hots, transformazio guztien aitzineko ordena.

Oinarritzko ordena hau eta tipologisten ordena nagusi hori ez dira sarri aski inola ere berdinak. Keltar hizkuntzek, esate baterako, aditza-sujektua-objektua ordena nagusia badute ere, oinarritzko ordena subjektua-aditza-objektua dela ikusia da, azaleko ordena nagusia aditza aurreratu egiten duen transformazio bati esker sortzen baita.

Zoritzarrez, tipologista gehienak ez ditugu transformaziozaleak, azaleko egiturari bakarrik begiratu ohi diote. Hori bidenabar esanda, segi gaitzen tipologisten lanaren berri ematen. Greenberg-ek berak hogeitalau tipo nagusitan sailkatzen ditu munduko hizkuntzak. Lau irizpidez baliatzen da:

Lehenengoa: gorago aipatu dudan aditzarena.

Bigarrena: Zerk du hizkuntza horretan garrantzi haundiago: preposizioak ala pos-posizioak?

Hirugarrena: Adjetiboa izenaren aurrean ala izenaren atzean etortzen da normal-ki?

Laugarrena: Genitiboa izenaren aurrean ala izenaren atzean etortzen da?

Guztitarra: $3 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 = 24$ aukera.

Horrela bereiz daitezkeen hogeitalau tipoen arteko batzuk hutsak dira, esan nahi baita, ez dela munduan hizkuntzarik ezagutzen lau tasun horiek dauzkanik. Ez dago, esate baterako, aditza aurrenik, adjetiboa eta genitiboa izenaren atzean dauzkan pos-posiziodun hizkuntzarik. Beraz, hogeita lau tipo ez, hamasei edo dira bakarrik. «23» zenbakiaz markatutako tipoa oso zabaldua da munduan: Aditza atzean, posposizioa nagusi, adjetiboa izenaren aurrean eta genitiboa ere izenaren aurrean daukaten hiz-kuntzak. Horrelakoen artean: turkiera, japoniera, eta beste hizkuntza asko.

Azkeneko tipoari, hogeitalaugarrenari, Greenberg-ek berak euskal tipoa deritza: «Basque type». Hogeita hirugarren tipoaren antzekoa da, alde bakar batekin, adjetiboa izenaren atzean etortzea, alegia. Askotaz bakanagoa da tipo hau beste hori baino: Euskara eta beste hamar bat hizkuntza, gehienaz ere. Dena den, gauza bat argi dago: aintzakotzat hartzen zuela Greenberg-ek euskara.

Aurrera jarraitzeko, eta abstraktuegi mintzatzeko arriskutik ihesi beharrez, esaldi zehatz bat emanen dizuet adibide: *gaur etorri diren gizon aberatsek hiru oilo haundi hauek jango dituzte*. Hona hemen esaldi honen gutxi gorabeherako itzulpena hamabi hizkun-tzatan:

ARGIDIBEAK

ALEMANIERAZ:

Die reiche Männ-er die heute gekommen sind werden diese drei grosse Hühn-er auf-essen.
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Erak. aberats gizon-Plur. Erl. gaur etorri dira Lag.+Fut. Erak. hiru haundi oilo-Plur. Asp. jan

Gaur etorri diren gizon aberatsek hiru oilo haundi hauek jango dituzte.

TURKIERAZ (A. H. Nauta, Leiden-en)

Bu-gün gelen zengin adam-lar bu üç büyük tavuğ-u yiyecek.
 \ / \ / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Hau-egun etorritako aberats gizon-Plur. Erak. hiru haundi oilo-Akus. jango dituzte

Gaur etorri diren gizon aberatsek hiru oilo haundi hauek jango dituzte.

HUNGARIERAZ (L. M. Marác, Groningen-en):

A gazdag férfiak akik ma eljöttek meg fogják enni ezt a három nagy csirket.
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Art. aberats gizon+Plur. Erl. gaur etorri+dira Asp. Lag+Fut. jan Erak. Art. hiru haundi oilo

Gaur etorri diren gizon aberatsek jango dituzte hiru oilo haundi hauek.

JAPONIERAZ (Noriko Shiratsuki, Kyoto-n):

Kyo kita kanemoti no hito-tati wa korera no san-wa no okina tikin o taberu-darou.
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Gaur zetorren aberats Gen gizon-Plur. Tpo. Erak.+Plur. Gen. hiru-Klas. Gen. haundi oilo Akus. jan-Futur.

Gaur etorri diren gizon aberatsek hiru oilo haundi hauek jango dituzte.

TXINERAZ:

Jǐntiān lái de lǎo rén yào chī zhèi sān zhī dá jī
 \ / \ / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Orain-egun etorri Gen. zahar gizon(ak) Furur. jan Erak. hiru Klas. haundi oilo

Gaur etorri diren gizon zaharrek jango dituzte hiru oilo haundi hauek.

LIMBUERAZ (G. van Driem, Leiden-en):

En ke-da-ba ke-gop-pa mēna-ha'-re kong sumsi yamba wa (-ha) me-dzo.
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Gaur etorritako aberats gizon-Plur.Erg. Erak. hiru haundi oilo (Plur.) Plur.-jan+Abs.3.

Gaur etorri diren gizon aberatsek hiru oilo haundi hauek jango dituzte.

KETXUERAZ (W. F. H. Adelaar, Leiden-en):

Ĉay žičku nunakuna kanan šamuq kay kimsa hatun walpa-ta-š mika-paaku-nga.
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Erak. aberats gizonal orain etorri(ak) Erak. hiru haundi oilo-Akus.-omen jan Plur. Fut.
 Orain etorri diren gizon aberats horiek hiru oilo haundi hauek jango omen dituzte.

GUARANIERAZ (W. F. H. Adelaar, Leiden-en):

Umĩ kuimba'ẽ touiša ko'ága oú va'ẽ-kue ho'u-ta ko mbohapy' ryguasu guasú
 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Erak. (Pl.) gizon garrantzitsu gaur dator Erl.-Iragana jan - Futur. Erak. hiru oilo haundi
 Gaur etorri diren gizon garrantzitsu horiek jango dituzte hiru oilo haundi hauek.

TXIRKASIERAZ (H. J. Smeets, Leiden-en):

Nepe qe-k° a-ge c'əfə-bayə-xe- m- e mə keta- f°- əy- š- er y- a- šxə -n.
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Gaur hona-etorri-tako gizon-aberats-Plur-Erl+Erg-Pl. Erak. oilo-haundi-Pos. -hiru-Abs. Erg3-Plur-jan-Futur.
 Gaur etorri diren gizon aberatsek hiru oilo haundi hauek jango dituzte.

INDONESIERAZ (A. Brotherton, Amsterdam-en):

Orang kaya yang telah datang hari ini, akan me-makan ke-tiga ekor ayam besar in.
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Gizon aberats Erl. jadanik etorri egun hau, futur. Asp-jan guzti-hiru Klas. oilo haundi Erak.
 Gaur etorri diren gizon aberatsek jango dituzte hiru oilo haundi hauek oro.

BABILONIERAZ (V. de Rijk - Chan. Amsterdam-en):

Awēlū dannūtum ša ūmam šāti illikūnim šalāšat arabē rabūtīm šuṇuti ikkalū
 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Gizonak garrantzitsu Erl. egun hauxe zetozen hiru ahate + ak. haundi + Ak Erak + Pl+ak. Fut. + jan
 Gaur etorri diren gizon garrantzitsuek hiru ahate haundi hauek jango dituzte.

SUMERIERAZ (Th. J. H. Krispij?, Leiden-en):

Lú-mah u, -ne-na im-re -eš - a -ne dar-galgal-eš, -am-e i-kū- e -ne.
 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 Gizon-garrant. egun hon-etan hona-etorri-Pl3- Erl.-Erg. oilo-haundi(Plur)-hiru-izanik-Erak. M-jan-Imperf. Plur.
 Gaur etorri diren gizon garrantzitsuek hiru oilo haundi hauek jango dituzte.

Honako esaldi hauek hizkuntzek duten nabartasuna argi eta garbi erakusten digute. Aipatutakoen artean, limbuera, txirkasiera eta sumeriera ergatiboak dira, euskara den bezala, gainerakoak ez.

Oraingo honetan, izen sintagma osatzen duten hitzen ordenari bagagozkio soil-soilik, nolako ezberdintasuna ez dugu nabaritzen! Euskarak izen sintagmaren barruan jarraikera jakin bat badu, adibide honen bidez erraz ikusten denez: *gaur etorri diren aitaren atzerriko hiru lagun aberats haiek*; ordena beraz: erlatiboa—genitiboa—izenlaguna—zenbakia—izena—izenondoa—erakuslea. Beste hizkuntzek, ordea, bestela lerrokatzen dituzte sintagma horiek. Erakuslea, esate baterako, beti izenaren aurrean ezarriko du hizkuntza batek: beste batek, alderantziz, izenaren atzean. Berdin esan daiteke zenbakiaz eta adjetiboaz. Hori horrela izanik, nola atera, bada, lege orokorrik?

Galdera horri Greenbergekek eman dio erantzun egokia bere hitzaldi famatsu hartan. Hark adierazi digunez, unibertselek ez dute nahitaz bakunak edo baldingabeak izan behar. Aitzitik, idoro ditzakegun lege gehienak tankera honetakoak dira: hizkuntza batean hau eta hau egia gertatzen bada, hizkuntza horretantxe hori eta hori egiazta daiteke. Beraz, ondorio izaera izaten dute lege horiek.

Adibide bat emateko: aurrean dauzkagun datuek honako lege hau finkatzeko bide ematen digute. Hizkuntza batean, adjetiboaren leku normala izenaren aurrean baldin bada, erakuslea eta zenbakia berdin izenaren aurrean etortzen dira beti.

Goazen, bada, datuetara, lege hori egia ote den aztertzerara. Ikus dezakegunez, argibidetzat hartu ditugun hizkuntzen artean, adjetiboa izenaren aurrean daukatena hauexek dira: alemaniera, turkiera, hungariera, japoniera, txinera, limbuera eta ketxuera. Guzti horiek bai erakuslea bai zenbakia izenaren aurrean ipintzen dituztela erraz egiazta daiteke.

Ohartu beharrekoa da, Greenbergekek aurkitutako lege hau, norabide bakarreko ondorioa dela. Hau da, alderantzizkoa ez dela egia. Erakuslea eta zenbakia izenaren aurrean egon arren, adjetiboa izenaren atzetik joan daiteke, guranieran gertatzen den legez.

Egia esan, aurrean daukagun hizkuntz kopuruxoa —euskara barne, hamahiru— ez da aski lege orokorrik finkatzeko. Bere legeak eratzeko, Greenbergekek berak hogei-tamar hizkuntza erabili zituen, geroago beste anitz hizkuntza aztertu bazituen ere.

Orainago, *Word Order Universals* deritzan liburu mardula idatzi duen John Hawkins izeneko hizkuntzalari batek hirurehun hizkuntza baino gehiago ikertu ditu. Horrenbeste hizkuntzaren artean ere ez omen du gorago aipatu dugun legea hausten duen hizkuntzarik aurkitu. Zeharo salbuespenik gabea dugu lege hori, beraz.

Hawkins hori ahalegindu da lege berriak aurkitzen. Horretarako erlatiboa ere hartu du aztergai. Lehenbizikoz, erlatiboaren eta adjetiboaren lekuak elkarri lotzen saiatu zen. Baina hor ez dagoela lege jakinik aitortu behar izan du. Izan ere, lau posibilitate dira, eta denak gauzatuak, gure aurreko hamahiru hizkuntzetan garbi ikusten denez: adjetiboa eta erlatiboa izenaren aurrean: turkierak, japonierak, txinerak eta limbuerak. Adjetiboa eta erlatiboa izenaren atzean: guranierak, indonesierak, babilonierak eta sumerierak.

Adjetiboa aurrean eta erlatiboa atzean: alemanierak, hungarierak eta ketxuerak.¹

¹ Jon Ortiz de Urbinak ohartarazi nauenez ketxuerako erlatiboa burugabeko horietakoa dugu. Beraz «gizonak» esan nahi duen hitza, *numakuna* alegia, erlatiboaren barruan gelditzen denez, erlatiboa izenaren atzean etortzen den ala ez ezin esan.

Adjetiboa atzean eta erlatibo aurrean: txirkasierak eta euskarak. Beraz ordena guztiak zilegi dira: legerik ez.

Orduan beste zerbait asmatu behar eta erakuslearen lekua eta erlatiboarena parekatzera abiatu zen Hawkins. Erizpide honen arabera gure hamahiru hizkuntzak honela sailkatzen dira: Erakuslea eta adjetiboa izenaren aurrean: turkierak, japonierak, txinerak, Limbuerak eta Txirkasierak; erakuslea eta erlatiboa izenaren atzean: indonesierak, babilonierak eta sumerierak; erakuslea aurrean eta erlatiboa atzean: alemanierak, hungarierak, kexuerak (ikus 1. oh.) eta guaranierak; erakuslea atzean eta erlatiboa aurrean: euskarak.

Horretan ez dago harrigarrik. Baina harrigarria hau da: Hawkinsek aztertu dituen hirurehun eta hogeitamasei hizkuntzen artean ere euskara izan omen da erakuslea atzean eta erlatiboa aurrean daukan hizkuntza bakarra. Horrengatik Hawkinsek lege orokor hau finkatzen du. Salbuespen bakarra euskara dela oharturik: hizkuntza batek erakuslea izenaren atzean baldin badu, erlatiboa ere izenaren atzetik etorriko da.

Ez dakigu zuzen lege hau jatorra den ala itxurazkoa. Baina, hainbeste hizkuntzatan egia gertatzen denez gero, badaiteke jatorra izatea. Orduan euskaraz zer diogu? Bada hemen benetako salbuespena ez dela uste izateko arrazoi bat. Gramatikalariek ongi dakitenez, erakusleek erlatibo mugatuekin baino mugagabeekin, hots, esplikatiboak direlakoekin, zerikusi gehiago dute. Eta, behialako batean, erlatibo mugagabeak beti *bait-* aurrizkiaren bidez eratzen omen ziren. Bada, *bait-*aurrizkidun esaldiak, beti ez bada ere, gehienetan, izenaren atzetik joaten dira, honako adibide hauetan ikusten denez:

Hor heldu zaio Basajauna, neska hartu eta eremaiten baitu berekin. (Jean Barbier, *Ichtorio-Michterio*, 129. horrialdean).

Hiru tatxa baditut nik, batekin aski bainuke. (Kanta ezaguna).

Horrela, euskaraz ere, erakusleari doakion erlatiboak izenaren atzean bide du bere leku jatorra.

Tipologia zer den apur bat ikusirik gaude, eta honatuz gero, hauxe esango didazue agian:

—Tipologia azterketa horiek txit interesgarriak dira, eta guk ere pozik sartuko ginituzke eskuak arlo horretan. Baina euskaldunok nola iritsiko gara hainbeste hizkuntzaren berri jakitera? Ez baitugu Ken Hale bezalako irakaslerik, eta hemengo liburutegiak ere oso urriak ditugu horrelako gauzetan. Hainbat hobe, badiotsuet, hainbat hobe. Tipologistak, teoria gabe lan egiten baitu, itsasorratzik gabeko marinela dirudi: zail izaten zaio lehorra heltzen, eta heldurik ere, non heldua den ezin jakin.

Halaxe da, izan ere, haren egoera. Eskuartearen erabiltzen dituen hizkuntzak asko izanik, gaingiroki eta zatika baizik ezin die begiratu. Azterlaria bidera dezakeen teoriarik ezean, zail zaio hurrengo hizkuntzak gezurtatuko ez duen legerik aurkitzen, eta ustekabeen zerbait aurkitu badu ere, nola jakin egiazko lege orokorra ala sasilegea ote den? Gezurra badirudi ere, hizkuntzaren lege orokorrak aurkitzeko aukera onena ez du anitz hizkuntzari azalkiro begiratzen dien tipologistak, hizkuntza bat arretaz eta sakonkiro ikertzen duen gramatikalariek baizik. Horretarako teoria bat behar du, ez, noski, begiak hertsirik jarraitzeko, baina bai begiak norantz jakiteko. Eta gaurregun, funtsean, teoria bat besterik ez da: Chomsky eta eraikitzen ari direna, haur batek bere lehen hizkuntza nola ikas dezakeen adierazteko sortua.

Gainerako teoria izeneko hurbilkerak, bai eta «Gramática Funcional» direlakoak ere, teoriak ez, ikusmoldeak dira. Eta noizean noiz lagungarri gerta badakigukete ere, ikusmolde haiek ez dute indarrrik aski hizkuntzaren egiturazko lege izkutuak larrugorritan ipintzeko.

Ez noakizue orain Chomskyren teoriaren berri ematera. Luzetxo litzateke, eta bazuze bazterretan horretarako ni baino gaiago denik. Ohar bat egitea, halaz ere, zilegi bekit. Chomskyren teoria ez da inondik inora amaitua. Dagoeneko, zureria erdijaso delako ere esan liteke. Bada zalantzazkorik ugari, batez ere, mugadura-uztardura osagaietan. Gramatikaren osagai horiek beharrezkoak direla ez dago dudarik, baina osagai horien barruan legetzat jotako baieztapen batzuk ez genituzke beharbada dauden-daudenean onartu beharko, nik uste. Dena dela, soro hori landu nahi dutenentzat bada lana franko. Gainera, Chomskyren teoriako osagai horiek behar bezala tajutzeko, euskararen ekarpena oso kontutan hartzekoa delakoan nago, harira datozen zenbait gauzatan guztiz ohargarria baita gure euskaljoskera.

Gaurko teorian garrantzia duten arazo bi aipatuko ditut hemen: Euskaraz esan daiteke: *Adiskideek badirudite joango direla*. Italianoz, ordea, ezin esan: **Gli amici sembrano che partiranno*. Zergatik ote?

Alderantziz, ingelesaz esan daiteke: *Peter and John hate each other's wives*. Zergatik euskaraz ez **Pellok eta Jonek elkarren emazteak gorrotatu egiten dituzte*.

Bi galdera hauei egiazki erantzuten lekiekeenak «burura behar du erramuboneta», Oihenarte olerkariaren hitzokin bukatzearren hitzalditxo hau.

BASQUE SYNTAX AND UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR*

Although the term “universal grammar” has been with us for a very long time, the reality it currently conveys has emerged fairly recently. Up to then, it was a powerless dream, cherished by philosophers, but largely ignored by practical linguists. That being so, it is not altogether surprising that the contacts occasionally established between general linguists and Basque grammarians did not have much impact on the way those grammarians set about their task. This is not to imply that those contacts were fruitless. They were quite useful on other counts. No one can deny the importance for Basque linguistics of the extensive contacts between the great universalist Wilhelm von Humboldt and the erudite grammarian Pedro Pablo Astarloa, as was rightly recognized by Luis Michelena in his noteworthy article “Guillaume de Humboldt et la langue basque”. Similarly, the scholarly interaction between Hugo Schuchardt and Resurrección María de Azkue contributed substantially to the present shape of Basque studies. Nonetheless, in the more confined area of grammatical description, the influence of general linguistics remained rather limited.

Even when, thanks to Chomsky’s methodological insights, universal grammar came out of limbo about thirty years ago, it was still not very easy for practical grammarians to assess its significance for their daily toil and moil. Why not? One would think that the idea of a general linguistic theory intending to constrain all particular grammars —a conception conspicuously present throughout Chomsky’s writings then and now— would be of absorbing interest to any working grammarian. One would think so, but for one little detail. Despite all the interesting work carried out in those times by Chomsky and his disciples, the actual content of the metatheory remained so disappointingly vague and unsubstantial that for many years it was not up to doing much in the way of constraining particular grammars, except in the most trivial fashion.

Fortunately, this situation has changed dramatically over the past decade. What brought about the change was the development of the modular conception of grammar. Linguistic theory is henceforth taken to include a set of highly specific subtheories, called modules, each of them largely autonomous, i.e., characterized by its own pertinent principles, yet interacting in such a way as to provide a neatly articulate theory of universal grammar. The set of modules consists of X'-theory, θ -theory, Case

* *Proceedings of the Conference on the Basque language* (Vitoria, 1988), I, 69-88.

theory, Binding theory, Bounding theory, Control theory, Government theory, and perhaps still other subtheories yet to be discovered. Each module contains a small number of discrete parameters, whose values, usually two or three, are to be adjusted so as to accommodate the structural differences between the languages of the world. It follows that there exists only a finite number of possible grammars: languages with the same setting of parameters will be grammatically isomorphic.

Starting about 1980, the research carried out in this framework by many inspired investigators using various languages has been eminently fruitful. While it is quite obvious that a lot of work remains to be done, satisfactory explanations have already been found for a host of syntactic phenomena hitherto poorly understood.

It is against this background of justifiable optimism that, taking into account the mixed character of the present audience consisting of theoretical linguists on the one hand and Basque grammarians on the other, I decided to choose as the theme of my communication the relation between Basque syntax and universal grammar.

The perspective from which we mean to approach this theme requires a little clarification. We must discard the abstract point of view that regards the two conjuncts in my title as finished theories, for in that case there would be very little to talk about. By definition, Basque syntax conforms to universal grammar and universal grammar encompasses Basque syntax, and that is all there is to it.

Since, however, such finished theories do not exist and probably never will, it is much more productive and realistic to address oneself to the theories as entities in progress—as mental constructions incessantly being shaped and reshaped—. In other words, the realities we want to bear in mind are the respective activities of the ambitious theorist aiming at a universal theory of grammar, and of the humble Basque grammarian who is just trying to find out how his language really works. These two kinds of research activities have traditionally been pursued in close to complete separation from each other. Recent years have seen some breaches opened, but, on the whole, too much isolation still persists.

The main purpose of this paper is to plead for an intensification of cooperative interaction between universal grammarians and students of Basque grammar. The arguments for this are obvious. Basque grammarians need the help of universal grammar, and, conversely, Basque grammar has a lot to offer to universal grammarians who are always in danger of being led astray by the insufficient data base furnished by their mostly Indo-European native languages.

A cogent illustration of the need Basque grammar has for the useful insights of universal grammar comes readily to mind. Although Basque grammarians had been looking at Basque verbs for centuries, yet it took a theoretician working on the universal grammar of ergativity, Beth Levin,¹ to discover that all intransitive verbs in Basque are unaccusative,² a fact with far-reaching implications for the whole realm of Basque syntax.

¹ See Levin (1983a) and (1983b).

² The term "unaccusative" is due to the British linguist Geoffrey K. Pullum and first appeared in print in Perlmutter (1978). A good explanation of this concept, which originated in Relational Grammar, is found in Rosen (1934), first published in Zaenen (1982). For its use in a Chomskyan framework, see Burzio (1981), and also Levin (1983a) and (1983b).

A privileged special case of the dialogue that I am advocating would be where the meeting between the two fields of inquiry takes place within a single mind. This, of course, is an ideal situation, arising only out of exceptional educational opportunities, never possible on a large scale. A splendid example of what can be achieved when competence in Basque and familiarity with universal grammar are found united in one person is presented by Jon Ortiz de Urbina's recent dissertation *Some Parameters in the Grammar of Basque*.

The benefits accruing to the understanding of Basque syntax from the general insights of universal grammar are amply demonstrated throughout this work. What it also shows quite clearly, however, is that the working relationship between the two scholarly interests is by no means a one-way street. The grammatical analysis of Basque is able to make quite substantial contributions to universal grammar too. As an example of this I would like to cite Ortiz de Urbina's approach to case-marking in Basque. He argues that the mechanics of case-assignment is directly related to the structure of verbal inflection, from which it follows that the particular case system of Basque is possible only thanks to the multiple agreement shown by the finite verb. If Ortiz de Urbina's view is indeed correct, which is not in the least unlikely, this discovery constitutes a significant addition to case-theory in general, and, hence, to universal grammar.

Another area where the study of Basque syntax is likely to provide an important contribution to universal grammar consists of base categories and their combinations, a topic to which I would like to devote the remainder of this paper.

In what is by far the most stimulating work on syntax I have read in the past decade, which taught me more than any other book I have seen in that period, Joseph Emonds' book *A Unified Theory of Syntactic Categories*, the author makes out an extremely general claim, a slightly more restricted version of which he credits to Edwin Williams. Emonds phrases this claim in the following way: "a defining distributional characteristic of P^{\max} is that it can appear freely as the daughter of essentially any phrase, not just in a few stipulated positions..." (page 27).

For those not familiar with this terminology, I must explain that P^{\max} is a prepositional or postpositional phrase in its most elaborate form. However, before going on from here, we must stop and pay attention to a basic ambiguity in this formulation that often remains undetected, and is all but ignored by Emonds, apparently as a matter of principle. When talking about the most elaborate form of an adpositional phrase, what exactly do we mean? Do we mean the most elaborate form such phrases take in the particular language we are investigating, or—which is by no means the same—the most elaborate form licensed by universal grammar? The wide-spread tendency to ignore this kind of distinction on the part of syntactic theory builders³ can be seen as an outcome of their all too frequent concentration

³ Emonds himself pays some hesitant lip service to this distinction, as when, on page 20, he alludes to "the possibility that some languages may be 'flatter' than others; that is, the value of 'max' might be less for some languages than for others...", but then goes on to say, "It will not be concerned with these possibilities here." On the same page he states, "I do not totally exclude the possibility that a base composition rule may be language-particular", but then limits this to the "expansions of non-phrasal nodes". See also the discussion of his Bar Notation Uniformity Principle, pages 157-159.

on familiar Indo-European languages with remarkably similar structures. No wonder then that the categories of these languages have once more begun to figure as moulds for all other languages to fit into, regardless of how Procrustean such a fit may be in actuality.

A perfect example of what I am denouncing is found in the publication we are here considering. While there is no question at all that Emonds' book is an immensely valuable treatise on grammatical theory, brimming as it is with profound insights into the common syntactic patterns of some familiar Indo-European languages, it nonetheless betrays a singular lack of appreciation of the rich diversity of linguistic structures throughout the world. A glaring instance is found on page 157 in chapter 4 where the author asserts a principle amounting to a minutely weakened version of the Universal Base Hypothesis. I quote: "Bar Notation Uniformity: The dominance relations permitted in deep structures among the categories X_i and $SP(X)$ are the same in all natural languages, and are determined by the principles of a universal categorial component".

As a partial recapitulation of the results of his work, this principle, if restricted to the languages investigated, would be both valid and interesting. Whether it holds true for all Indo-European languages is an intriguing question nothing short of extensive research can hope to answer. But surely, only a crass ignorance of other language types could have prompted the author to affirm its validity for all natural languages.

Let it be understood that I do not mean to preach any return to the kind of attitude prevalent in earlier American linguistics when all theorizing that was not directly involved with segmentation and classification of the data was anathema —this under Martin Joos' delightfully simplistic motto: "Languages differ from one another without limits and in unpredictable ways"—. Clearly, theory building is necessary. That it is the hallmark of science is a platitude, but nonetheless true.

Even if we could resign ourselves to having aims and standards for grammatical analysis different from those governing other sciences, we would still remain in need of just the kind of abstract theory that universal grammar consists of. Indeed, few of us would care to deny that we want to view human languages and their grammars not merely as "objects of wonder" whose fascinating properties we are somehow committed to describe, but rather first and foremost as manifestations of a faculty of Language shared equally by all human beings —a true mental organ able to account for a child's ready acquisition under proper conditions of any possible natural language. Thus, universal grammar is a highly worthwhile pursuit in itself, quite aside from the benefits to be gained from it for the investigation of particular grammars.

Theory building, then, is to be encouraged, not curbed. What I would like to insist on here and now is a better balanced data base. Instead of trying to build extremely detailed general theories on the sole basis of English, German, French, Italian, and Spanish, theorists should make a real effort to take full account of the grammatical characteristics of a much wider sample of languages, for example, Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, Arabic, Bantu, Kabardian, Aymara, Greenlandic, and —need I add?— Basque.

Enough of this sermonizing! Let us return to our P^{\max} and the virtual omnipresence asserted for it in the base component as designed by Emonds. This claim is embodied in the base rule schema $X_i \rightarrow X_i^k, P^{\max}$, which, in Emonds' own words, allows "PP to

occur very freely across languages, phrasal types, and bar notation levels" (page 27). Now, while this thesis constitutes a fairly essential part of Emonds' theory concerning the structure of the base component in universal grammar, and seems to hold well enough for the familiar Indo-European languages, I submit that it cannot survive a confrontation with the facts of Basque.

Note that Emonds' rule schema subsumes four different rules: $V^j \rightarrow V^k, P^{\max}$; $A^j \rightarrow A^k, P^{\max}$; $N^j \rightarrow N^k, P^{\max}$; and $P^j \rightarrow P^k, P^{\max}$. The rules involving V, A, and P seem to be valid in Basque for at least some value of j and k. A more precise statement will have to await the determination of the number of bar levels operative in Basque, as I can see no good reason to assume in advance that the number of bar levels for a particular category must be the same in all languages.

I would like to concentrate on the rule $N^j \rightarrow N^k, P^{\max}$. My contention is that this rule is not part of the grammar of Basque for any value of j or k.

Since a full investigation of Basque noun phrase structure would lead us too far afield, I will limit our discussion to maximal projections, that is, to the rule $N^{\max} \rightarrow N^{\max}, P^{\max}$, or, put into more traditional terms, $NP \rightarrow NP + PP$ – a rule familiar enough in English and many other Indo-European languages. It generates such noun phrases as:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1)a. the tables for the customers | (1)d. the road to Bilbao |
| (1)b. ties with the enemy | (1)e. the impulse towards mathematics |
| (1)c. bread from heaven | |

A straightforward transposition of these examples into Basque results in ungrammaticality. The following expressions do not make up a noun phrase in Basque, no matter what order they are put in:

- (2)a. *mahaiak bezeroentzat, *bezeroentzat mahaiak
- (2)b. *loturak etsaiarekin, *etsaiarekin loturak
- (2)c. *ogia zerutik, *zerutik ogia
- (2)d. *bidea Bilbora, *Bilbora bidea
- (2)e. *bultzada matematiketarantz, *matematiketarantz bultzada.

True enough, in the telegraphic style of chapter headings, newspaper headlines and the like, expressions of this ilk occur with great regularity. So it happens that the sixth section of the first chapter of Lardizabal's classic *Testamentu berriko kondairna edo historia* is headed *Mariaren bizitza Nazaret-en*, meaning "Mary's life in Nazareth", and the eighth section, *Jose eta Mariaren joanera Belen-era*, meaning "Joseph and Mary's journey to Bethlehem". Nonetheless, expressions of this nature are not commonly used by reliable native speakers in actual speech or normal writing.

Isn't there any way to render the English noun phrases of example (1) into idiomatic Basque? If not, Basque would be a most cumbersome language indeed. Happily, the challenge can be met easily enough.

One solution is to add a suitable verb and expand the postpositional phrase into a relative clause based on a finite verb or a past participle. Applying this solution to our examples, we obtain complex noun phrases such as:

- (3)a. bezeroentzat diren mahaiak: "the tables that are for the customers"
- (3)b. etsaiarekin diren loturak: "ties that are with the enemy"

- (3)c. ogi zerutik etorria (title of hymn): “bread come from heaven”
- (3)d. Bilbora doan bidea: “the road that goes to Bilbao”
- (3)e. matematiketarantz daraman bultzada: “the impulse that leads toward mathematics”.

This way out of the problem is, in fact, repeatedly resorted to in actual translation practices. To give an example, Prince Bonaparte’s Labourdin translator, Captain Duvoisin, translated the Latin noun phrase *charitas uniuscuiusque vestrum in invicem* from the New Testament text of 2 Thessalonians 1: 3 meaning “the love of every one of you for one another” as *batbederak elkharrentzat duzuen amodioa*, that is, “the love that you each have for one another”. The modern translators Marcel Etchehandy and Robert Puchulu, while working directly from the Greek, arrive at a similar result: *guziek elkarrengana duzuen maitasuna*, “the love that you all have for each other”, showing the same relative verb form *duzuen* “that you have”.

However, translating the noun phrases of (1) in this fashion may constitute a somewhat dubious move in the teeth of Chomsky’s well-known caveat against deriving noun phrase complements from underlying relative clauses.⁴ And indeed, there is no guarantee that a properly fitting relative clause can be found, as is evident from the unsatisfactoriness of example (3)b. Furthermore, even if a suitable candidate does present itself, it inevitably introduces some undesirable overspecification, if only because any relative clause will require a tense marker absent from the original noun phrase.

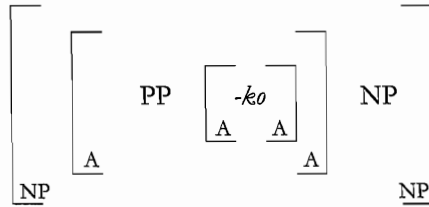
Fortunately, Basque syntax allows a more convenient automatic way to deal with the problem in hand. It is the adjectival suffix *-ko*, almost certainly borrowed from a Pre-Roman Indo-European language—quite possibly Celtic—that saves the situation. It does so by converting the whole postpositional phrase into an adjectival modifier, usually put in front of the head noun phrase. Hence, grammatical counterparts to the ungrammatical expressions under (2) are:

- (4)a. bezeroentzako mahaiak: “the tables for the customers” (from: Oñatibia, *Neketa poz*, p. 36)
- (4)b. etsaiarekiko loturak: “ties with the enemy”
- (4)c. zerutiko ogia: bread from heaven (from: *Elizen arteko biblia*, John 6: 31)
- (4)d. Bilborako bidea: “the road to Bilbao”
- (4)e. matematiketarantzko bultzada: “the impulse toward mathematics” (from: *Mitxelaren idazlan hantatuak*, p. 195).

For these examples, and all other phrases with adjectival *-ko*, I propose the structure given in:⁵

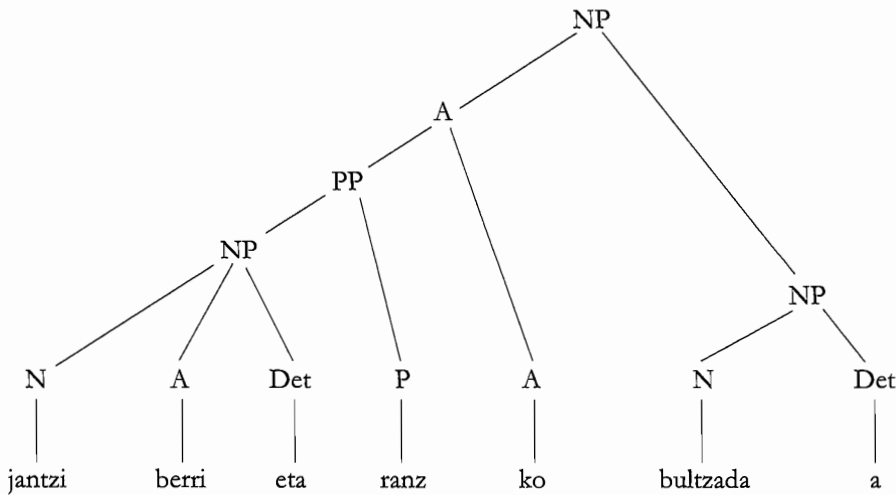
⁴ I am referring here to Chomsky’s polemic paper “Remarks on Nominalization” (Chomsky 1970), which ushered in the approach that came to be known as lexicalism, extremely controversial in the late sixties when the paper was already circulating.

⁵ My proposal is not essentially different from that of other recent grammarians such as Michelena, Wilbur and Goenaga. Structure (5) merely formalizes Goenaga’s remark: “Edozein aditzlagun, *-ko* atzizkia erantsiz gero, izenlagun bihurtzen dugu”, that is, “We turn any adverbial into an adjective by adding the suffix *-ko*” (Goenaga 1980: 95).



The structure proposed reflects my position that *-ko* is a derivational suffix with the subcategorization features + A and + PP-.⁶

For the sake of clarity we will present an approximate tree diagram for the noun phrase: *jantz_i berrietaranz_{ko} bultzada* "the impulse toward new clothes".



The prenominal position of the *-ko* phrase accords with a general tendency Basque has towards the order where the modifier precedes the head, a characteristic of SOV languages. This order is exemplified by genitival constructions: *bezeroen mahaia* "the table of the customers", as well as by participial and finite relatives: *atz_o ikusi mahaia* "the table seen yesterday", *han ikusi dugun mahaia* "the table we saw there". Yet, plain ordinary adjectives run counter to this pattern, and follow instead the head noun (except for *gaixo* "pitiful").

⁶ Examples such as *arta-puska baino gozoagoko gizona* "a man sweeter than a piece of corn", or *izarra baino ederragoko andrea* "a lady more beautiful than a star" (Euskaltzaindia 1985: 243) may seem to indicate that *-ko* can also follow an AP. Since only comparative AP's appear to allow *-ko*, an alternative to be explored is to claim that *-ko* is, in fact, licensed by the postposition *baino* "than". That is, the latter example cited above would be derived from something like **ederrago izarra bainoko andrea* by one or more obligatory rules. Examples without any comparative, such as *indar handiko* "of great strength", *harrigarriko* "astonishing", have an underlying sociative or instrumental postposition, as will be explained later.

The fact that *-ko* phrases do not follow their governing noun phrase is no ground, however, for refusing them adjectival status. Undeniable adjectives, such as those marked with the derivational suffixes *-dun* or *-tar*, can also precede their head noun: *bizardun jendea* “bearded people”, *menditar jendea* “mountain people”. Postnominal order is also possible here: *jende bizarduna*, *jende menditarra*, but so also for *-ko* phrases: *ogi zerutikoa* “bread from heaven”, *Amasei seme Euskalerriko* “sixteen sons from the Basque country” (title of a book by Yon Etxaide). For an older textual example of this postnominal order, see the phrase *gende vicitze gaichtotaco guciac* “all people in an evil way of life” from Leizarraga’s version of Luke 15: 1, published in 1571. There the *-ko* phrase *vicitze gaichtotaco* is put into the normal adjective position between the noun *gende* “people” and the quantifier *guciac* “all”. Examples of this kind are still quite common in 19-th century Guipuzcoan texts, e.g., in Iztueta’s *Guipuzcoaco provinciaren condaira*. One example out of many: *Itzguera utsunerik bagueco onec...* “this language without flaws...” (p. i.)

We have assigned to the suffix *-ko* the subcategorization feature + PP $\bar{}$. This decision may appear questionable in the light of the examples under (6), where *-ko* seems to be preceded not by a postposition but by a noun:

- (6)a. *etxe*ko alaba: the daughter of the house
- (6)b. *buru*ko mina: a headache
- (6)c. *Bilboko* eguraldia: Bilbao’s weather
- (6)d. *Bayonako* hiria: the city of Bayonne.

Appearances, however, are deceptive. It has been shown that in all these examples there is an underlying locative postposition, absent from the surface.⁷ Accordingly, more literal translations are:

- etxe*ko alaba: a daughter in (or: *from*) the house
- buru*ko mina: a pain in the head
- Bilboko* eguraldia: the weather in Bilbao
- Bayonako* hiria: the city at Bayonne.

Helped by his native dialect which has preserved some occurrences of the inessive postposition before *-ko*, such as the *n* in *etxenko alaba*, the famous Souletin lexicographer Pierre Lhande was well aware of the underlying postposition, as can be seen from the structure of the entry *-ko* in his *Dictionnaire basque-français*, p. 614-615 (1926). The insight was shared by the Labourdin grammarian Pierre Lafitte, but remained totally neglected until it was revived and discussed in detail by the great *praeceptor Vasconiae* Luis Michelena in the early seventies. First touched upon in 1970 during the fourth lecture of a linguistic summer course taught by him on these very premises and published in Basque translation as Michelena (1972a), the concept of the deleted locative played an essential role in his paper “Egunak eta egun-izenak” (Michelena 1971). The diachronic perspective introduced here was further developed in Michelena (1972b), reprinted as part of Michelena (1985).

⁷ While I concur with Wilbur’s claim that the deletion of the inessive ending in this context originated as “a fluke of historical phonology” (Wilbur 1979: 94), it is clear that the process has by now evolved into a morphological one.

In all present-day varieties of Basque except Souletin, deletion of the inessive ending *-an* or *-n* in front of *-ko* is strictly obligatory. Optionally deletable are the dynamic counterparts of the inessive, i.e., the ablative ending *-tik* "from", and the adlative ending *-ra* "to". Interestingly, already in Pierre d'Urte's seventeenth century *Grammaire cantabrique* (published only in 1900), we read: "du ciel: *cerucoa* ou *ceruticacoa*". With two important exceptions to be treated later, other postpositional endings are not deletable.

Neither Lhande, who believed that *-ko* could be added to adjectives also (Lhande 1926: 615), nor Michelena, who expressed reservations about the derivation of those *-ko* phrases that correspond in meaning to the Genitivus Qualitatis in Latin (Michelena 1972b: 314), —for that matter, no one that I know of— has ever claimed postposition deletion to be responsible for all seemingly postpositionless *-ko* phrases existing in the language. This, however, is just the claim I want to make and defend in this paper. Disregarding the synchronically unrelated use of *-ko* as a diminutive, and, occasionally, augmentative suffix, I maintain that +PP — is the only subcategorization feature for *-ko* aside from +A.

Taking this subcategorization feature seriously has implications for the categorial status of other elements in Basque grammar. Not only must the stative⁸ suffix *-(r)ik* of such expressions as *alferrik* "in vain", *etorrik* "having come", *eginik* "(having) done" be granted postposition status, but the same conclusion must be drawn for the synonymous suffix *-ta*, as found in *nabita* "willing", *etorrita* "having come", *eginda* "(having) done", the historical origin of which is undoubtedly the conjunction *eta* meaning "and".

Moreover, at this point Basque provides evidence in favor of Emonds' controversial claim that S' is actually a PP. This is because S' is also allowed to precede *-ko*. The question *Hau zer da?* "What is this?" (where the topic *hau* "this" precedes the question word *zer* "what") is an S' (for this see Emonds 1985: 319), and precedes *-ko* in *hau zer dako bazkari bat*, literally: "a lunch of what is this", i.e., a lunch so splendid that it causes people to exclaim "What is this!". The example is taken from Jean Barbier's story "Hachko eta haren bi lagunak" in *Légendes du Pays Basque* (2n ed., p. 131). I can add that it is not an isolated idiom, but representative of a productive pattern. Noun phrase complement clauses of the usual type also make the same point, as the presence of the complementizer *-la* clearly shows that the constituent preceding *-ko* is indeed an S':⁹ *eguin zituztelako urrikimenturic gabe*, "without any remorse that they committed them" (Mendiburu, *Jesusen amore-nekeei dagozten zenbait otoi-gai*, II, p. 488), *bizi garelako seinale*, "a sign that we are alive" (*Mitxelena-ren idazlan hauetatik*, p. 66). Basque has a language particular transformation that adds an extra postposition *-ko* on top of any PP modifying an NP, after which the original

⁸ For the distinction between partitive *-(r)ik* and stative *-(r)ik*, see de Rijk (1972).

⁹ The strength of the Basque grammatical tradition, concentrated almost entirely on morphology, can be assessed from the ambiguous attitude towards *-ko* that we notice in a recent Basque grammar, the collective work of a dozen experienced grammarians, published under the auspices of the Basque Academy. After correctly pointing out that the *nongo* "case" (i.e., the *-ko* phrase) is nothing but the adjectival form of the *non* case (i.e., the inessive), the authors nevertheless proceed to include it under the locative cases, calling it "leku-genitiboa", and explicitly claim psychological reality for this inclusion (Euskaltzaindia 1985: 347). Note finally that the term *nongo* case obscures the issue as other cases than the inessive are often deleted in front of *-ko*.

postposition will sometimes undergo deletion. Leaving aside the consideration that structure-building transformations of this type are not countenanced by universal grammar as currently understood, there remains the unsolvable mystery as to why such a postposition should be added at all.

The traditional position is solely based on the morphological behaviour of *-ko*: it can follow the indefinite marker *-ta*, and it can take *-eta* (a combination of *-ta* with the plural allomorph *-e*) used instead of the plural definite article —two properties peculiar to locative postpositions. It is quite clear, however, that this behaviour is not to be ascribed to the element *-ko*, but rather to the deleted underlying inessive postposition *-(a)n*: *hirietako* “from the cities”, because of: *hirietan* “in the cities”. Note that the plural *-ko* phrase of example (4)a does not show the plural allomorph *-eta*, but (4)e does, as it is brought on by the locative postposition *-rantz* “towards”, since the word for mathematics is plural in Basque.

The syntactic behaviour of *-ko* phrases clearly indicates their adjectival status. Like other adjectives they can be used independently, that is, with a zero pronoun as head, and then take the full determiner system: *hirikoa* “the one from the city”, *hiriko bat* “one from the city”, *hiriko hori* “that one from the city”, and so on, exactly similar to *handia* “the big one”, *handi bat* “a big one”, *handi hori* “that big one”, and so on.

It will now be obvious that *-ko* is not an inflectional morpheme at all, but rather a derivational one,¹⁰ in that it constitutes the head of an adjectival phrase.¹¹ As we have seen, its “Sitz im Leben” is simply this: Postpositional phrases are prohibited from modifying NP’s by the base structure rules of Basque, and thus I presume that the suffix *-ko* was hailed into the language to enable it to get around this prohibition.

By precisely what mechanism *-ko* phrases are synchronically generated by the grammar is unessential for my purpose. Goenaga as well as Wilbur propose to generate them by transformational reduction of various types of relative clauses. To cite Goenaga’s examples:

mendian dagoen gizona (“the man who is on the mountain”) ⇒ *mendiko gizona* (“the man on the mountain”)

Bilbora doan trena (“the train that is going to Bilbao”) ⇒ *Bilborako trena* (“the train to Bilbao”)

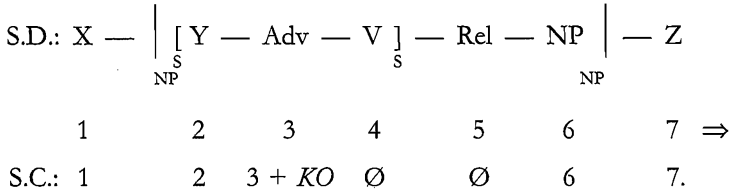
zurekin ditudan harremanak (“the relations I have with you”) ⇒ *zurekiko harremanak* (“the relations with you”).

¹⁰ This insight was already formulated by Lafon, who, not realizing the full import of his own statement, attempted to reconcile it with the traditional conception: “Le suffixe *-ko* est donc bien un suffixe de dérivation, qui a été intégré à la déclinaison et affecté au singulier, par conséquent au défini, et qui a reçu un correspondant à l’indéfini, *-ta-ko*, et un au pluriel, *-eta-ko*” (Lafon 1965: 142). Wilbur comes closer to the truth when he remarks, “It is all too evident that *ko* is not an inflexion in the traditional sense. It is a noun phrase complementizer and, what is more, a noun phrase dominated by the *locative* node” (Wilbur 1979: 94). Regrettably, whatever insight is concealed under the designation “noun phrase complementizer” is fated to remain there, since no concept corresponding to that term exists as yet within universal grammar.

¹¹ If the inherent case endings of postpositional phrases are considered inflectional suffixes —and what else could they be?—, *-ko* phrases constitute an irregular case with respect to Emonds’ generalization: “Inflectional suffixes follow derivational suffixes in all regular cases” (Emonds 1985: 201).

These examples are found in Goenaga (1980: 134, and repeated in part on p. 291).

In the summary of rules at the end of the book, Goenaga formulates a transformation T_{ko} (p. 388), which simultaneously deletes the relativized verb form and inserts a segment *-ko*, adjoining it to a constituent described as adverbial:



It must be clear that T_{ko} , as formulated here by Goenaga, is much too general. Surely, not just any V can be deleted in this process. Furthermore, T_{ko} , is theoretically objectionable for doing too many things at once. Any attempt to refine the formulation of T_{ko} would run into great difficulties, and would, in my opinion, be misguided, because, as hinted at earlier, I reject for semantic reasons the existence of any transformational relationship whatsoever between *-ko* phrases and relative clauses. In particular, it seems obvious that the suffix *-ko*, being derivational in character, must be present in deep structure and be described in the morphological component of the grammar.

Yet even if, against my expectations, a transformational source could be established, my main claim about the functioning of *-ko* would not be invalidated at all, as long as the adverbial to which it is joined is defined precisely as what it is: a postpositional phrase. To be sure, the postposition in question is not always morphologically realized. This, however, is hardly a problem. That locational adverbs, such as *non* “where”, *hemen* “here”, *hor* “there”, *han* “yonder”, whether morphologically so marked or not, are indeed inessives, can be taken for granted. It is hardly controversial, either, to assume that time adverbs such as *gaur* “today”, *bihar* “tomorrow”, *etzi* “the day after tomorrow” are underlyingly inessives. The inessive ending shows up in other time phrases, such as *une honetan* “this moment”, *aste hartan* “that week”, and also in compound forms, such as *gaur-biharretan* “today and/or tomorrow”, *bihar-etzietan* “tomorrow and/or the day after tomorrow”. For many other time adverbs, the inessive is optional: *antzina* or *antzinan* “in former times”, *luzaro* or *luzaroan* “a long time”, *sekula* or *sekulan* “never”, *ardura* or *arduratan* “often”, and its synonyms, *usu* or *usutan*, *sarri* or *sarritan*. For *noiz* “when”, compare the expression *noizean behin*. (Historically, the *-z* of *noiz* is, of course, the instrumental case ending, still used with time adverbials in the Northern dialects: *egun batez* “one day”). Modal adverbs, such as *nola* “how”, *hala* “so”, etc., are also underlyingly postpositional. The dispute as to whether the modal suffix *-la* is still to be analysed as the adlative postposition it once undoubtedly was, need not be settled here. If it cannot be so analysed, we must postulate a deleted or zero postposition. Notice that various dialects tend to realize this postposition, either as the instrumental *-z*: *nolaz*, *halaz*, or as the inessive *-tan*: *nolatan*, *halatan*. The morpheme *-ko*, however, cannot be joined to adverbial constituents ending in a derivational suffix not analysable as a postposition, such as the suffix *-kei(ro)* of *ederkei* “fine”, or, for some speakers at least,

the suffix *-ka* of *apurka* “by bits and pieces”. We should, of course, expect the distinction between postpositional morphemes and derivational affixes to be liable to change in time, and thus, subject to dialectal, and even idiolectal, variation.

A longstanding crux for a transformational derivation of *-ko* phrases has been examples where they indicate inalienable possession. Instances of this type are *bibotz oneko (emakumea)* “(the) kindhearted (woman)”, *hamar urteko (ardoa)* “ten year old (wine)”, or the *-ko* phrases in this gem of ancient Basque wisdom: *Hamortz eguneko ogiari hirur asteko gosea* “For fifteen day old bread, a three week old hunger”. This type too Goenaga derives from relative clauses, but without the adverbial phrase required by the previous type of examples. What he does, is use the verb **edun* “to have” with its corresponding absolutive object, i.e., he derives *bibotz oneko emakumea* “the kindhearted woman” from *bibotz ona duen emakumea* “the woman who has a kind heart”, whether by a suitably generalized T_{ko} or by some new transformation is never made explicit.

In a paper read september 27, 1984 in Pamplona, Robert Trask took Goenaga’s suggestion a step further, and proposed a rather drastic solution, doing away with the problem entirely. What Trask did was dissociate totally the latter type of *-ko* phrase from the one dealt with earlier, claiming the existence of a second suffix *-ko*, also adjectival in nature, which is joined, not to adverbials, but to N' (see Trask 1985).

The first thing to be said about this proposal is that it doesn’t work. The free occurrence of numerals and quantifiers shows that *-ko* must be added to a projection higher than N' , cf. examples such as *biru asteko gosea* “a three week old hunger”, *urte askoko bizia* “a life of many years”, *bera baino lau urte gutxiagoko anaia* “a brother four years younger than himself”, etc. What actually precedes *-ko* in this type of example is a subset of N^{\max} from which definite noun phrases appear to be excluded —a subset not coinciding with any intermediate projection of N .

As to the remaining aspect of Trask’s analysis, the thesis that there are two distinct suffixes *-ko*, both of them adjectival, seems to me highly counterintuitive. True, intuitions about grammatical structure are far from infallible —as indeed any practising grammarian knows only too well. Nevertheless, the following maxim expresses well the attitude of most modern linguists: Any analysis that brings divergence instead of expected unity should be regarded with suspicion, and only be adopted as a last resort, when everything else has failed. The question to ask is then: Does everything else fail? Is there no alternative analysis that upholds the unity of the morpheme *-ko* by showing that this type of *-ko* phrases can be derived also from underlying postpositional phrases? I claim there is. Just consider the following sentences:

- (7)a. Andre hori oso bihotz onarekin jaio zen, baina biziak garraztu egin du.
“That lady was born with a very kind heart, but life has embittered her”.
- (7)b. Leandro hogeitabost urterekin ezkondu zen. (A. Zavala: *Errenteriako bertsolari zaharrak*, p. 49).
“Leandro got married at (lit. *with*) twenty-five years”.
- (7)c. Gure lagunartea oso txikia da zazpi lagunekin.
«Our club is very small with seven members”.
- (7)d. Jaunak harrabots ikaragarri batekin ihurtzuria karraskarazi zuen... (Duvoisin, *I Sam.* 7: 10). The Lord made the thunder crack with a frightening noise...’.

According to the theory presented earlier, we expect to be able to turn the postpositional phrases ending in *-(r)ekin* "with" occurring in these examples into adjectival modifiers ending in *-(r)ekiko*. This, however, does not appear to be possible:

- (8)a. *oso bihotz onarekiko emakumea: a woman with a very kind heart
- (8)b. *hogeitabost urterekiko gizona: a man at twenty-five
- (8)c. *zazpi lagunetikiko taldea: a group with seven members
- (8)d. *harrabots ikaragarri batekiko autoa: a car with a frightening noise.

There are, however, noun phrases of a slightly different form that have just the meaning we expected (8) to carry:

- (9)a. oso bihotz oneko emakumea: a very kindhearted woman
- (9)b. hogeitabost urteko gizona: a man of twenty-five
- (9)c. zazpi laguneko taldea: a group of seven members
- (9)d. harrabots ikaragarri bateko autoa: a car with a frightening noise.

What can we make of all this? Well, we already know that certain postpositions are deleted in front of *-ko*: the inessive *-(a)n* obligatorily, and the ablative *-tik* as well as the adlative *-ra* optionally. All we have to do now is assume that the sociative postposition can also be deleted in the same context, subject to a semantic condition as to the nature of the relationship between the lexical head of the postpositional phrase and the head of the following NP. Whenever this relationship is inalienable, or otherwise very close, the sociative ending will be deleted, as in examples (9). But if the relationship is purely external, the sociative ending is usually retained: *Madrilekiko loturak* "ties with Madrid", *apaizekiko jarrera* "the attitude towards priests", *gure gauzekiko iritziak* (*Mitxelaren idazlan hautatuak*, p. 292) "our opinions with regard to the things". The relationship between articles of clothing and their wearer constitutes a borderline case, where the deletion is optional:

- (10)a. jantzi gorriarekiko gaztea: the young person with the red suit
- (10)b. jantzi gorriko gaztea: the young person with the red suit.

(Examples (10)a,b are taken from Euskaltzaindia (1987), a recently published appendix to Euskaltzaindia (1985), which came to my attention after the bulk of this section had already been written).

For some speakers retention of the postposition is possible even for some of the inalienable instances. As emotions cannot exist apart from the person who has them, one would expect (11)a to be ungrammatical. Indeed, (11)b is much more common than (11)a, which, nevertheless, is also attested in the works of Orixe, if I am not mistaken.

- (11)a. bihotzaldi handiekiko olerkaria: a poet with great emotions
- (11)b. bihotzaldi handiko olerkaria: a poet with great emotions.

Examples such as (10) and (11) where deletion is optional for at least some speakers, lend strong support to the analysis proposed here.

A few questions still remain. We may ask what happens to the article in these derivations. Why *bibotz oneko* from *bibotz onarekiko*? The answer is that the article and

the postposition have undergone amalgamation prior to deletion of the latter. Evidence for such amalgamation can be found in conjoined noun phrases:

- (12)a. Emaztearekin eta ohaidearekin etorri zen.
 “He came with his wife and his concubine”.
 (12)b. Emazte eta ohaidearekin etorri zen.
 “He came with his wife and his concubine”.
 (12)c. *Emaztea eta ohaidearekin etorri zen.

Once the postposition on *emazte* has been deleted under identity with the one on *ohaide*, the article *-a* has to go too, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (12)c.¹²

We may ask also why demonstratives appear to be ruled out from this construction. An answer may be attempted along the following lines. Notice that in the properly inalienable type, as exemplified by *bihotz oneko emakumea* “a kindhearted woman” and *hamar urteko ardoa* “ten year old wine”, demonstratives are excluded on semantic or pragmatic grounds. In practice then, among the PP constructions subject to *-(r)ekin* deletion, only very few semantic types allow demonstratives at all, the main example being the one involving articles of clothing and the like, where the deletion rule is at most optional anyway:

- (13) Txapel gorri horiekiko mutilak karlistak dire.
 “The boys with those red berets are Carlists”.

Since the occasion to use truncated demonstrative *-ko* forms presents itself so rarely, the supporting surface morphology was never developed: **honeko*, **horreko*, **hareko*, **haueko*, **horieko*, **baieko* do not exist.

The grammar of Basque, then, must express this restriction by means of an output filter on just these forms, or, equivalently, by blocking the *-(r)ekin* deletion rule just in case the NP governed by this postposition ends in a demonstrative element.

We must now ask whether the sociative postposition is the only non-locative one that can be deleted in front of *-ko*. It turns out that also the instrumental postposition can be deleted in this context —again under certain conditions. In the northern dialects the instrumental phrase *indar handiz* “wish great strength” is utilized instead of *indar handirekin*, yet, here too, the adjectival phrase *indar handiko* “of great strength” is in common use. Also with regard to those same dialects, Lhande asserts that *-ko* can be added to adjectives when one wants to place them before the noun (Lhande 1926: 615). This, however, is utterly incorrect. Nobody would ever say **handiko katu* instead of *katu handia* “the big cat”, nor **urdingo begiak* instead of *begi urdinak* “blue eyes”. The two examples he cites are both instances of instrumental postposition deletion. The first one is *gizon gaitza* or *gaitzeko gizona* “the terrible man”. The form *gaitzeko* here is derived via *gaitzezko* from the noun *gaitz*

¹² It may seem that in the now extinct Roncalese dialect, sentences like (11)c were grammatical, witness this example: *eta bere elia edo itzarekin egotxian ztion espiritu gaxtuak* (Hualde Mayo, Matt, 8:16), where *elia* is the definite form of *ele* “word”. This, however, is not a genuine counterexample. The conjunction *edo* “or”, as used here, introduces a metalinguistic phrase. The sentence should be read: *eta bere elia* (or, we can also say: *itzza*) *-rekin egotxian ztion espiritu gaxtuak*.

“evil”, not from the adjective *gaitz* “hard”, “difficult”. As to his other example, *gizon harrigarria* or *harrigarriko gizona* “the astounding man”, it is well known that all derivatives with the suffix *-garri* are nouns as well as adjectives. The form *harrigarriko* derives from the noun *harrigarri* “something causing astonishment” via the instrumental *harrigarri_z*. The form *harrigarri_zko* with undeleted instrumental is also frequently used.

It is clearly not feasible, nor necessary at this point, to continue and provide an exhaustive catalogue of all types of *-ko* phrases together with their derivations. We have set up a deletion rule, for which there is a lot of evidence, applying to the inessive, ablative, adlative, sociative, and instrumental postpositions —a rule usually optional, but sometimes obligatory. A certain amount of research is still needed to elucidate various details (e.g., the extent and validity of *bakoitz* deletion as proposed in Euskaltzaindia 1987: Part 2, p. 11-12), but on the whole, I get a strong impression that the machinery developed here suffices —or very nearly so— to derive all *-ko* phrases, including the Basque equivalents of the Latin *Genitivus Qualitatis*, which seem to have puzzled Michelena (Michelena 1972b: p. 314); also (1985: 305). Thus, our uniform analysis appears to work rather nicely. In opposition to Trask’s inherently implausible¹³ and factually incorrect proposal requiring the existence of a second morpheme *-ko*, with the same meaning as its homonym joined to PP, but to be combined instead with an NP provided the latter has the internal structure of an N’, we maintain, on the contrary, that there exists only one adjectivizer of the form *-ko*, always combining with a PP in deep structure.

To prevent misunderstanding, one more remark must be added. In section 4 of his article, Trask states that his second *-ko* is not fully productive. I am not quite sure that this is correct, for it is at least conceivable that the restrictions observed, to the extent that they are more than idiolectal, can be explained on systematic semantic grounds. But even if Trask’s statement should turn out to be right, that situation would not favor his approach over mine in any way. In my analysis, *-ko* is not transformationally introduced either. It is present in deep structure; and deep structure combinations can be either productive or lexically restricted (Emonds, p. 196).

It will have been noticed that we have considered Basque case endings as postpositions, even calling them by that name. They are in fact the translational equivalents of the most frequent English or Spanish prepositions. Yet, they differ from such prepositions in one important respect, aside from linear order. Whereas a preposition has a certain degree of syntactic independence, a Basque case ending will stand or fall with the physical presence of its corresponding noun phrase. In English or Spanish conjoined prepositions are possible, but conjoining is impossible for Basque case endings.

An attractive way to account for this difference is to assume along with Emonds (p. 224) that an inherent (i.e., adverbial) case ending is not a postposition but a mere desinence, the result of a late morphological rule spelling out a syntactic feature complex associated with a postulated lexically empty P governing the NP involved.

¹³ One indeed wonders whether a subcategorization feature of the form N’— is needed in the grammar of any language.

Such a rule cannot operate on an NP, unless the latter is physically present (in Basque, like in Japanese, case is realized on N^{\max} , not on SP(N) or N.) Moreover, the fact that the desinence comes about by means of a late spelling-out rule following all syntactic rules that affect NP's, guarantees the persistence of the marked NP all the way up to the phonological level. Since nothing even faintly resembling a preposition is found in Basque, the postulated lexically empty P must be taken to be a postposition. Thus, there is a one-to-one —or perhaps many-to-one— correspondence between the set of lexically empty postpositions (distinguished by their syntactic feature content) and the totality of case endings in Basque. In particular, an inherent case ending on the surface points to the presence of an empty postposition in deep structure, unless, of course, it is due to a following lexical postposition.

Now, it only remains to check and see if, with regard to the matter in hand, lexically realized postpositions behave the same way as empty postpositions. It appears they do indeed. Consider the lexical postpositions *alde* "in favour of", and *kontra* "against". Their projections occur as complements to NP only when followed by *-keo*, not otherwise.

- (14)a. *erregeren aldeko gudariak*: the soldiers in favour of the king
- (14)b. *zakurren kontrako lagunartea*: the society against dogs
- (14)c. *kanpandorreari kontrako saguzarrak*: the bats against the belfry.

Without *-keo*, one has at the most truncated sentences, not noun phrases:

- (15)a. **gudariak erregeren alde*
- (15)b. **lagunartea zakurren kontra*
- (15)c. **saguzarrak kanpandorreari kontra*.

Lexical postpositions are never deleted in front of *-keo*. This prompts the question as to whether the postposition deletion rule we have been working with is actually necessary. Could one not assume instead that the element *-keo* sometimes can or must fill an empty P, after which the spelling-out rule simply blocks? The idea sounds attractive, but the fact that *-keo* is an A, not a P, makes it somewhat implausible.

At any rate, we see that, at least for the purposes of our discussion, we were justified in treating inherent case endings as postpositions. Are perhaps all case-marked NP's in Basque to be analysed as PP's? What about the grammatical cases, that is to say, those that are assigned by V or SP(V), and which, in Basque, happen to coincide with the ones involved in the agreement system of the finite verb? According to this definition, there are three grammatical cases in Basque: the absolutive, the ergative, and the dative. Clearly, analysing an absolutive NP as a morphologically unmarked PP would be tantamount to giving up the distinction between PP and NP altogether,¹⁴ and must be rejected for that reason. But what about the other two, the ergative and the dative? Their status is somewhat unclear. Here we will make use of an old technique in generative grammar; we will let the grammar itself resolve the unclear cases (cf. Chomsky 1957: 14). The grammatical cases

¹⁴ This, however, is precisely what Wilbur does in his Fillmorean Case Grammar approach to Basque syntax (Wilbur 1979).

never occur in front of *-ko*, as Azkue already noticed (Azkue 1933: I, 344), nor are they ever replaced by *-ko*. Given the theory of this paper, a straightforward conclusion is that the grammatical cases are not PP's but NP's.¹⁵ Consequently, the dative or ergative case endings are not associated with postpositions, empty or not. Another way to express this is to say that the ergative and dative in Basque are not oblique cases.

Since in the absence of a governing verb or postposition, no NP can acquire case, the case filter prevents ergative, dative, or even absolutive, noun phrases from modifying another NP, unless the latter is a nominalization inheriting the case marking power of the verb it is based on. Thus, the equivalents of the English constructions *the letter by mother* and *the letter from mother* are ungrammatical in Basque: **amak eskutitza*, **amari eskutitza*. Both these concepts must be expressed in Basque by the genitive construction: *amaren eskutitza* "mother's letter".

This brings us to the genitive case, which forms the last hurdle in our analysis. If the genitive marker *-r(en)* of *amaren* "mother's" were a postposition, any genitive construction would constitute a counterexample to our claim that, in Basque, postpositional phrases cannot modify noun phrases directly. Fortunately, granted the conclusion above that not all case endings represent postpositions, there is no a priori reason to assume the genitive case marker to be a postposition. At first sight, it is no more to be so analysed than is the English possessive marker *-s*, which is treated by Emonds not as a postposition but as a case ending to be inflicted on any NP dominated by SP(N). Yet, this may not be the right analysis for Basque, either. It turns out that there are important structural differences between the English possessive and the Basque genitive. English possessives do not allow demonstratives: **those Peter's books* has to be rephrased as *those books of Peter's*, whereas Basque genitives admit the full determiner system: *andre bonen liburu horiek* "those books of this lady". I assume therefore that Basque genitives are not dominated by SP(N).

Comparing now genitives with *-ko* phrases, we find that they are entirely parallel in distribution. First of all, while normally preceding the noun phrase they modify, both of them can also occupy the regular adjective position behind the following noun: *Peru gurea* (title of folksong) "our Pete", *Jaun zerukoa* "the Lord in heaven". Furthermore, genitives, too, can be used independently, and then take the full determiner system: *andrea* "the one belonging to the lady", *andrea* *bat* "one belonging to the lady", *andrea* *hori* "that one belonging to the lady", etc. Notice, incidentally, that these forms provide evidence against considering the genitive marker —or, for that matter, the suffix *-ko*— a postposition, as no article or demonstrative is ever added to a postposition in Basque.

Given the obviously adjectival character of most genitive phrases, I would like to suggest for them structure (16)a, quite parallel to the one I proposed earlier for *-ko* phrases ((16)b):

$$(16)a: \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{A} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{A} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [-ren] \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right] \quad (16)b: \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{PP} \\ \text{A} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{A} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [-ko] \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right]$$

¹⁵ A similar claim for dative noun phrases in Spanish is made by J. Strozer in her UCLA dissertation *Clitics in Spanish* (Strozer 1976). Obviously, the objection voiced by Emonds (p. 62, note 34) does not apply to the Basque case.

If (16)a is correct, the genitive marker *-(r)en*, like *-ko*, constitutes a derivational suffix, not an inflectional ending. This idea, of course, is hardly new. It must be what Michelena had in mind when he wrote: "... un indice de génitif du type basque ou kartvélien, ou, ce qui revient au même, un suffixe de dérivation, formant une nouvelle base nominale qui peut à son tour recevoir d'autres suffixes casuels, plutôt qu'un suffixe flexionnel." (Michelena 1985: 351).

We discover strong support for the analysis of (16)a, when we compare the status of the Basque genitive with that of its counterpart in Indo-European languages such as Latin, Russian, and German. Unlike what happens in those languages, a Basque genitive is never assigned a θ -role by the verb: no Basque verb is subcategorized for genitive noun phrases. Accordingly, the genitive case in Basque is never assigned by V or SP(V), although in the northern dialects it optionally replaces the absolutive case of direct objects in certain nonfinite clauses (see Heath 1972). As a matter of fact, it would be unreasonable to call the morpheme *-(r)en* a case marker at all, but for a historical accident. Since many lexical P's are historically derived from nouns, the genitive figures prominently among the cases assigned to NP's by lexical P's: absolutive, dative, instrumental, ablative, inessive, and, quite often, genitive, as for instance in our examples (14)a and (14)b.¹⁶ Thus, the morpheme *-(r)en* seems to be both a derivational suffix and a case marker.

Ironically, the quandary we are in appears to justify a Traskian analysis, although not one Trask himself proposed. I am tempted to claim that there are two distinct morphemes *-(r)en* in Basque, historically, but not synchronically, related. One is the derivational suffix of (16)a, the other a case marker induced by certain lexical P's.

However this may be, the genitive construction as such, which is the only one we have to deal with, contains only the derivational suffix *-(r)en*, and, hence, constitutes no counterexample to our general claim about postpositional phrases.

We have finally reached home base. We have established our main result: PP's in Basque do not modify NP's. We have also specified in great detail what Basque does about it, primarily to show that the restriction in question does not overly impoverish the expressive power of the language.

The limited PP distribution demonstrated here for Basque is in no way exceptional. It is found in many languages across the world. From the scanty information at my disposal, I have been able to ascertain that Quechua,¹⁷ Japanese,¹⁸ Turkish,¹⁹ and older Hungarian²⁰ are similar to Basque in this respect (modern Hungarian, like Finnish, has lost the restriction under the influence of the neighbouring Indo-European languages, chiefly German).

As to the strategies these languages use to make up for this restriction, we have seen them all exemplified in Basque already. Quechua has nothing but participial

¹⁶ A case can be made for also including the partitive, occurring with *gabe* "without", as well as the adlative, occurring in the somewhat dialectal *oibanera buruz* "facing the woods", "in the direction of the woods".

¹⁷ P. C. Muysken: University of Amsterdam, personal communication.

¹⁸ Noriko Shiratsuki: Kyoto, personal communication.

¹⁹ A. H. Nauta: University of Leiden, personal communication.

²⁰ L. K. Marác: University of Groningen, personal communication.

relatives to help it out. Japanese makes use of possessive *no*, a very general particle combining the functions of Basque *-ko* with those of the Basque genitive. Turkish and older Hungarian mainly use participial relatives, but can also utilize a morpheme similar in function to Basque *-ko*, but more restricted in distribution. In Turkish the relativizer *ki* can be joined as a suffix to a genitive or locative noun phrase: *evdeki* "of the house" is comparable to Souletin *etxenko*, and *düinkü* "yesterday's" corresponds to *atzoko* in Basque. Hungarian has available a derivational suffix *-i*, as used in: *égi kenyér* "bread from heaven" (Basque: *zeruko ogia*), *Pariszi* "Parisian" (Basque: *Pariseko*), *tegnapi* "yesterday's" (Basque: *atzoko*).

We have shown that the unrestricted distribution of PP is but one of the options open to universal grammar. To account for those options, a parameter will be needed somewhere. To find out where exactly in the general theory this parameter is located will still require a great deal of research. As one of the paths to be explored, the following suggestion may be promising. Let us rephrase Emonds' claim, using P" instead of P^{max}, and take as the relevant parameter the independently needed one that specifies the number of projections of P. Then we have for the English type of language P^{max} = P", and for the Basque type, P^{max} = P'. In point of fact, there are deeply rooted differences between English PP's and Basque PP's, which can be explained on the basis of the assumption that Basque lacks SP(P), and, hence, that P' = P^{max} in Basque. English SP(P) is made up of measure phrases and adverbs such as *right*, *straight*, *clear*, etc. No such adverbs can modify PP's in Basque. The same effect is obtained by reduplicating the NP in construction with P: *eguerdi-eguerditan* "right at noon", *etxe-etxeraino* "right up to the house". As for measure phrases, those are themselves PP's in Basque, and are not contained within other PP's, but are dominated directly by S:

- (17) Elizatik itsasoa bostehun metrora dago.
 "The ocean (itsasoa) lies five hundred meter from the church (elizatik)."

Of course, the suggestion offered here will have to be checked for many languages besides Basque before it can be adopted with confidence.

The conclusion of this paper, however, is clear. Universal linguists and Basque grammarians can ill afford to neglect each other's work —indeed, they have a lot to learn from one another.

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HOW RELIABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE IS THE DGV?*

The appearance, in the last month of 1987, of the first volume of the long-awaited *Diccionario General Vasco* constitutes a great event in the history of Basque Studies. Were it not for the widely felt sorrow caused by the tragic circumstance that its principal compiler Dr. Luis Michelena was not fated to see its publication, this would have afforded a splendid occasion for a truly Decheparean celebration: *Hiztegia da kanpora eta goazen guztiok dantzara*.¹

There is no question at all that the completed work will be an impressive monument of scholarship as well as a most useful tool for all who are engaged in Basque linguistics or philology. Even students of Basque literature or ethnography, and more generally, anyone whose work or interest touches in any way upon matters of Basque idiom, will be impelled to resort to this unique work of reference and consult it time and time again.

Yet for all its merits, having used the published volume assiduously in my own research over a period of several months, I have become acutely aware of certain shortcomings—all the more annoying as they could have been so easily avoided.

Considering that many further volumes are slated to be published over the years to come, so that suggestions for improvement need not remain fruitless but can be readily implemented, I feel that blithely overlooking these blemishes would be a rank disservice to the compilers of the dictionary and to the Basque community at large. Therefore, I find myself obligated to embark on a critical assessment of the dictionary, an unenviable task which may lead to some dampening of the generally prevailing satisfaction.

As the remarks that follow tend to be rather critical in nature, I wish it to be clearly understood that they are by no means intended to disparage the work in its totality, nor to belittle the efforts expended in its realization.

As I do not relish writing book reviews of any kind, much less engaging in polemics, I dare hope that these criticisms will be regarded as reflecting but a single ambition, shared, no doubt, by all concerned: to help make the present work into the exemplary dictionary the Basque nation deserves.

* *ASJU* XXII-2 (1988), 695-700.

¹ (Added in proof): The second volume, *Ama-Askun*, came out in march 1989, the third volume being scheduled to appear later in the year.

I will begin by recalling an early statement referring to the preparation of this very dictionary: "Se examinará en lo posible la totalidad de los testimonios antiguos, por lo menos hasta 1700, para tratar de completar la parte histórica del diccionario" (*BAP* 13 (1957), p. 359).

Why, then, I now venture to ask, was this not done? Although on page xiv of the introduction we find asserted: "De una manera general, para el período que abarca hasta 1745, hemos despojado casi exhaustivamente toda la documentación conocida y disponible", a quick glance at the list of exhaustively examined texts on page xlv reveals that nothing could be farther from the truth. A large part of the seventeenth-century texts has not been exhaustively examined, and, incredible though it may seem, a sizable portion of even the sixteenth-century texts has been most cavalierly dealt with. I am referring here, of course, to the appalling decision to dispense with Leizarraga's New Testament translation, at least as far as exhaustive analysis is concerned. Instead, quotes are supplied from Gabriel Aresti's article "Léxico empleado por Leizarraga de Briscous" (*FLV* V (1973), No. 13). Thus, all the *DGV* has to report about *abiroin* is this: "Espacio o tiempo aproximado" en Leizarraga sg. Aresti, *FLV* 1973, 63". I, for one, expect considerably more from a dictionary of this scope. If it is too much to ask for a full listing of the corresponding New Testament citations, one instance, at least, ought to have been provided. To be sure, *abiroin* is a Romance loan —an obvious relation of Old French *à virom*; has not been heard of again since Leizarraga; was never included in any dictionary; and is thus of no interest at all to the average speaker of Basque. All the same, is the *DGV* not intended to be more than just a practical dictionary? Should it not also serve the needs of linguists and philologists? For a student of loan phonology or loan semantics, the case of *abiroin* might very well prove to be of uncommon interest.²

As for the seventeenth-century texts, seven books have not been adequately dealt with: *Ama Virginaren officioa* by Cristobal de Harizmendi; the second part of the *Manual Devotionezcoo* and the whole of *Eliçara erabiltceco liburua* by Joannes Etcheberri of Ciboure; *Guiristinoaren Dotrina* by Silvain Pouvreau —his *Gudu espiritual* being nowhere even mentioned; *Arima penitentaren occupatione devotaq* and *Onsa hilceco bidia*, both by Jean de Tartas.

Since no defense is offered for this neglect, one can but guess at the underlying motivation. Is it a belief that those seventeenth-century texts that have been examined already give a complete enough picture of the vocabulary of those times? Yet, the compilers themselves have found out otherwise, since several examples from the neglected texts did somehow find their way into the dictionary. But, as only chance dictated what was included and what was not, the end result is not really all that satisfactory.

One requirement a dictionary of this kind is supposed to fulfil is that it correctly indicate the date of first appearance of a lexical item. The *DGV* does indeed address itself to this important task. However, handicapped as it is by its arbitrary

² I am happy to hear that, beginning with the *DGV*'s second volume, Leizarraga's works, including his New Testament translation, are indeed exhaustively analysed.

neglect of so large a proportion of the seventeenth century's literary legacy, the dictionary's performance is sometimes wide of the mark, as borne out by the following three examples:

For *aldikal*, it cites Belapeyre's *Catechima Laburra* of 1696, but not Tartas's *Onsa bilceco bidia*, written not later than 1657: *apairu aldikal* (p. 40 in Eguzkitza's edition).

For *aitormen*, it cites the Burgos catechism of 1747, whereas the word already occurs in Tartas's *Onsa bilceco bidia: Aithormen eta kofesione bura egin du Apostoliak berak*,... (pp. 135-136 in Eguzkitza's edition).

For *abalquesun*, it cites Pouvreau's *Iesusen Imitacionea* written circa 1660, but not Etcheberri's *Manual Devotionezcoa II* of 1627, where it appears on page 204: *Abalquesun ez betheric humillqui otboiztera*,...

Incidentally, for later periods too the accuracy of the *DGV*'s information leaves here and there something to be desired:

The first appearance of *almen* is not in the Burgos catechism of 1747, nor in the *Diccionario Trilingüe* of 1745, but in Cardaberaz's early work *Cristavaren vicitza* first published in 1744: *ta almen edo potencia bata ez da bestea*... (p. 89, in the 1850 edition).³

The first mention of *adimen* occurs not in Añibarro's *Voces bascongadas*, generally dated around 1820,⁴ but on the next to final page of J. A. Moguel's *Confesino ona* of 1803: *Aditu, Adimena Entender, Inteligencia*. (Under the heading "*Verba Batzuben Adividia*").

Blunders of this sort clearly illustrate that a dictionary aiming for historical accuracy can ill afford to neglect any of the existing sources, especially the earlier ones. Nor did it need to do so, as the total collection of texts up to 1700 or thereabouts is, after all, quite manageable. An increase of the dictionary's basic corpus by a mere 5% would have been sufficient to save it from doling out all this misinformation.

It would be a more than excellent turn of events if the compilers could be persuaded to extend forthwith the corpus to embrace without exception all documentation prior to 1700, thus enabling the *DGV* to approach the definitive achievement it is meant to be.

For the texts after 1700, exhaustive sampling is obviously out of the question. Accordingly, which texts to include and which to exclude becomes a debatable issue. While, I am happy to say, I concur with many of the choices that have been made, I would like to offer some suggestions as to which additional texts I consider essential to exploit in full detail. My desiderata are no more than five in number:

³ As J. A. Lakarra pointed out to me, I am making the assumption, possibly unwarranted, that the word *almen* found in the 1850 edition of Cardaberaz' work goes in fact back to the first edition of 1744. Regrettably, this uncertainty is not easily cleared up, as there is no evidence that any copies of this edition still exist.

⁴ Thanks to recent investigations by B. Urgell, it must now be assumed that Añibarro's *Voces bascongadas* is approximately twenty years older than previously thought. If so, Añibarro's mention of the word *adimen* may well be prior to that of Moguel.

1. The vocabulary at the end of Martin de Harriet's *Gramatica escuaraz eta francesez* of 1741 constitutes an important document, the more so as it is known to be among the sources of Larramendi's *Diccionario trilingüe*. That the *DGV* has not paid it all the attention it deserves, results from the following observation. Discussing the word *aipamen*, the *DGV* refers to "la acepción larramendiana de 'proposición'". This is misleading on two counts. First, "proposición" is not the only meaning for *aipamen* in the *DT*; it is also found as one of the Basque equivalents of "mención". Second, the meaning "proposition" for *aipamen* originates with Harriet (*Voc.*, p. 410: proposition: *aipamena*), from which Larramendi took it.

2. For the sake of establishing the first occurrences of typical Guipuzcoan words and expressions, it seems necessary to include Cardaberaz's early work *Cristavaren vicitza* of 1744 in its entirety, as Ochoa de Arin's *Doctrina* is much too meager on which to base our knowledge of early Guipuzcoan vocabulary.⁵

3. Granting that the totality of Mendiburu's writings is too extensive to be included as such in the dictionary's corpus, I would make a special plea for *Jesusen bihotzaren devocioa* of 1747, the reason being that it is the earliest testimony of Mendiburu's characteristic variety of Basque.

4. According to the list on page xlv, three works by Duvoisin have been exhaustively sampled: *Dialogues basques*, *Laborantzako liburua* and *Liburua ederra*. Not included, however, is Duvoisin's Bible translation. This decision may now have to be reconsidered, as it has led to the regrettable absence of quite a number of words that ought to have been present. Some instances I noted are the following:

abalkagarrikeria in Jer. 3,24: *Gure haurtasunetik, abalkagarrikeria batek iretsi ditu gure aiten lanak* (*Confusio comedit laborem patrum nostrorum ab adolescentia nostra*);

abalkagarritasun in Jer. 3,25: *Gure abalkagarritasunean lo-eginen dugu* (*Dormiemus in confusione nostra*);

abalkamendu in *Erran-zabarrak* (Proverbs) 10,14: *...aldiz, zoroen aboa abalkamenduari burbil dago* (...os autem stulti confusio proximum est), and in Dan. 3,40: *...zeren abalkamendurik ez baita zure gaineko sinbestean biziz direnentzat* (...quoniam non est confusio confidentibus in te);

abalkapen in Jer. 11,13: *abalkapenezko aldare* (aras confusionis);

aldatzapen in Job. 14,14: *Orai gudutan daramaztan egun guztiez ene aldatzapenari begira nago ethor dadien arteo* (*Cunctis diebus, quibus nunc milito, expecto donec veniat immutatio mea*);

akipen does occur in the *DGV*, but lacks a proper citation. Duvoisin's translation of Daniel 9,27 provides one: *...eta akhipeneraino eta akhabantzaraino irahmen du desmasiak* (...et usque ad consummationem et finem perseverabit desolatio);

aldapen is also mentioned in the *DGV*, but the only example given is one in Lizardi's *Itz-lauz*, omitting a much earlier example in Duvoisin's translation of Hebrews 7,12: *Alabainan aldatu denaz geroztik aphezatasuna, premia da egin dadien legearen aldapena ere*. (*Translatio enim sacerdotio, necesse est ut et legis translatio fiat*).

Those five words that are not in the *DGV*, I found by sheer accident, without any systematic search. They must therefore be indicative of many more. It thus

⁵ Unfortunately, it is quite possible that the first edition of *Cristavaren vicitza* is no longer extant.

seems to be the case that quite a number of words in Duvoisin's Bible translation have not reached the *DGV* from any other source either. This fact alone constitutes the strongest possible argument for including this work among those to be exhaustively analysed.

5. I noticed very few citations from the writings of Koldo Mitxelena himself.

This modesty, while understandable, is scientifically unsound. More than anyone else, Mitxelena has shaped present-day Batua usage, and he has done so mainly through the alluring example of his own style of writing, in which a careful, even meticulous, choice of words is an outstanding characteristic. For this reason *Mitxelena-ren idazlan hautatuak* should definitely be included in the *DGV*'s basic corpus, if not the complete collection of Mitxelena's Basque compositions.⁶

Now that I have given full scope to airing my main complaint about the *DGV*, namely the unwarranted narrowness of its basic corpus, I shall go on to voice some lesser complaints and make some additional comments.

To begin with, there is the matter of morphological variants. To treat them all under one single heading, as the *DGV* does, seems indeed to be the only sensible policy. However, the question as to which forms constitute morphological variants of each other can be a matter of serious controversy, as it is in the case of the notorious suffixes *-pen* and *-men*. One may well wonder why *agerpen* has been deemed a variant of *agermen*, whereas *aitormen* and *aitorpen* have been allotted separate entries.

To enable the reader to find what he is looking for, cross-references have sometimes been provided, e.g. on page 637: "*albin, albinu, v. albainu*". Quite often, however, there is no cross-reference where one is sorely needed. For instance, since there is no reference to it between *abalkeria* and *abalketaratu* on page 38, and since it is not listed as a variant of *abalketasun*, I thought for weeks that the item *abalkesun* was not in the dictionary at all, until one day I finally found it on page 36 as a variant of *abalkeizun*. Similarly, on page 811, one could use an entry *almen* referring the casual reader to *abalmen*. In general, I would like to register a plea for a vastly more liberal use of cross-references in the *DGV*, since not all users of the dictionary will be qualified philologists.

The *DGV* is praiseworthy in scrupulously acknowledging its indebtedness to previous lexicographers wherever this is the case. Quite naturally, it has made full use of the data gathered by the recent *DRA*. Fortunately, it is not wholly uncritical in its borrowing, as we can see from a parenthetical comment on page 262:

"*Bana ori egin due, Jaungoikoaren inspirazio edo agermen egiazkoarekin Gco II 199 (ap. DRA, pero no se encuentra en esta página)*". Disappointingly, we are not informed as to where the citation does come from.

Yet, sometimes errors from the *DRA* did find their way into the *DGV* without comment or correction. On page 386, following the *DRA*, the citation from Pierre d'Urte, *Egin diozokoon nitax aiphamen Faraoni*, is wrongly marked as *Ex* 40, 14. Urte never got this far in his translating, the text is from *Gen* 40, 14.

This quotation, with its misprinted *diozokoon*, brings us to the next point. In general, the *DGV*, prepared with the utmost care, is suprisingly free of misprints, especially in

⁶ *Mitxelena-ren idazlan hautatuak* have been fully analysed as of the second volume of the *DGV*.

the Basque citations. English ones are a different matter; e.g., on page 625, for *on the other Land* read: *on the other hand*.

Finally, since no dictionary can achieve completeness, no matter how hard it may try, any user will be able to produce a list of words he has looked for to no avail. Mine includes the following:

- abasailamendu* “vassalage”;
- abatandre* “abbess” (Plácido Múgica, *Dic. Castellano-Vasco*, p. 2);
- abela* in the meaning “person leaving without paying” (Cf. *Euskera* XII (1961), p. 25);
- abelazkuntza* “cattle breeding”;
- aitzinaldi* “precedence over others” (Lhande: “tour de faveur”);
- alamu*: Variant of *aldamu*? (Cf. *Auek, e, alamu, z etorriko zian Atauna...*, in: A. Arrinda Albisu (Anes Lazkauko) *Semeno de Lazkano*, p. 22);
- alun* “alum”, and its many compounds, such as *alunarri* “aluminum”.

Since I have quoted Etchepare in my opening paragraph, it is only fitting that I should end my closing paragraph with another quote from the same source. Harsh as it is, it aptly summarizes what I have wanted to convey: *Debile principium melior fortuna sequatur.*⁷

⁷ Disturbing rumors have come my way that the official sponsorship of the *DGV* has decreed that its corpus must henceforth be closed —no more material to be added under any circumstance— so as to be able to finish the project as soon as possible. As important texts of various periods and literary genres are being discovered every year, such attitude appears ludicrous and irresponsible. Truly, the traditional wisdom of *lan lasterra lan alperra* applies here in full severity.

LOCATION NOUNS IN STANDARD BASQUE*

Introduction

Whereas the possibility that this article may be of some interest to the Basque grammarian need not be discounted altogether, the emphasis in the following pages is not on the discovery of new facts nor on the elaboration of novel analyses. Its aim, rather, is to provide a reasonably methodical exposition of a set of well-known facts, presented in a way suited to the needs of an English-speaking learner of the language. Hence, in however modest a fashion, the present essay would like to portray itself as a contribution to language teaching, focussing, to be sure, on concrete practice rather than on abstract theory.

I, for one, do not believe that in teaching a language there is one way demonstrably superior to all others. Clearly, the most effective method of teaching can only be worked out after the existing circumstances have been taken into account, and, above all, with respect to a particular audience. As we observe time and again, a method that succeeds quite well with one kind of audience will not work at all for a different type of learner.

What, then, is the audience that I have in mind for the approach to language teaching exemplified in this article? I am thinking of an audience consisting of linguistically fairly sophisticated speakers of English who not only aim to reach an adequate understanding of the structure of Basque, but might even wish to acquire a reading knowledge of it, provided that task is not made too difficult. While a certain ease in coping with grammatical abstractions of the traditional ilk can be properly expected of such a readership, no acquaintanceship with modern grammatical theory developed by any particular school needs to be required.

The material to be taught here is composed of the repertory of location nouns in standard Basque together with the most elementary syntactic and semantic properties of each of the items included. As to the type of knowledge that this teaching may aim for, trying to impart an operational reading knowledge seems to be a sufficiently ambitious goal to start with.

Our term "location noun" refers to any member of a set of frequently occurring nouns involved in specifying a spatial relationship, such as the nouns *back*, *bottom*,

* *ASJU* XXIV-1 (1990), 3-20.

front, rear, side, top in English. Their interest in Basque lies in the fact that they seem to be the only structural device sanctioned by the syntax of that language to express spatial relations. This contrasts sharply with the situation in English, where the role of spatial prepositions such as *above, before, behind, between, on, over, under*, etc. is at least as important as that of location nouns.

Because of their frequency and relatively simple behavior, location nouns can and should be taught at an early stage in the teaching of Basque. They can, in fact, be treated as soon as the nominal declension has been fully covered, well before any part of the verbal system has been introduced. Although there is no compelling need to do so, in my own teaching practice location nouns receive full attention before even personal, possessive or demonstrative pronouns have been touched upon.

This habit has resulted in the absence from my presentation of such common examples as *nire aurrean* "before me", *zure atzetik* "after you", *haren ondoan* "near him", and so on. There is no harm in this, however, since other examples, like *amaren aurrean* "before mother", *neskatxaren atzetik* "after the girl", *zezenaren ondoan* "near the bull", will do just as well.¹

A more serious drawback to the early introduction of location nouns would appear to be found in the observation that such interesting sentence constructions as *Miren jarri zitzaidan aurrean* "Mary put herself in front of me" or *Norbait aldamenean eseri zitzaion* cannot be analyzed yet at this point. These, however, are instances of the so-called possessive dative, and, as such, are more properly taken up in a section devoted to the syntactic behavior of dative verb forms, part and parcel of a general analysis of the morphosyntax of the Basque verb. Accordingly, in the present context a discussion of such constructions has been omitted without regret.

I have asserted in my opening paragraph that the facts I will seek to deal with are well-known. That is true, however, only up to a point. No one, of course, would deny that these facts are known to native speakers. But, then, who can claim to be a native speaker of Euskara Batua, the supradialectal standard? To a large extent, this noble language is still in statu nascendi. At any rate, normative grammarians have not so far offered us a systematic account of location nouns to be used in Euskara Batua. This essay, therefore, can be seen also as a first attempt to fill that gap.

By and large, the material covered below represents my opinion as to what ought to be incorporated into Euskara Batua and what not. Thus, certain items have been left out deliberately, such as the location nouns *eretz(e)* and *kantü* "side", restricted to Souletin —my most favorite dialect— and also *leko(re)* "outside", a term frequent in Leizarraga's New Testament Version, and perhaps for that reason, dear to the late father Olabide s.j., but nowadays utterly rare. Thus, Sarasola's *DFrec*, based on a 1977 corpus, counts only 3 instances of it, as against 37 of *landa* and 429 of *kanpo*.

It hardly needs saying that I have taken grateful advantage of all the relevant material I was able to find. By far the most helpful has been Ibon Sarasola's *Hautal-lanerako euskal-hiztegia*, an extremely handy work, of which, however, only four volumes were

¹ The footnotes to this article, however, are not restricted by any pedagogical considerations; they have been conceived specifically with the enlightened readership of this journal in mind. Hence, for brevity's sake we will leave Basque citations often untranslated.

available to me. Furthermore, the first three tomes of the magnificent,² *DGV*, Michelena's *Diccionario general vasco*, provided copious information about the attested uses of the location nouns beginning in *a. aitzin, albo, aldamen, arte, ate, aurre, and azpi*. Of this rich data base, relatively little, however, was of such a nature as to percolate into the kind of elementary treatment envisaged here. Quite useful in its own way was also Gorka Aulestia's fine *Basque-English Dictionary*, especially by helping to supply accurate English translations for some idiomatic uses of several location nouns. Euskaltzaindia's *EGLU-1* has also been consulted, but was found to provide disappointingly little by way of detailed information on the use and meaning of location nouns.

I hope and wish that the publication of this rather limited presentation will stimulate native Basque grammarians to gratify us with more substantial contributions to this area of investigation.

Part One: The Syntax of *aurre* and *atze* "front" and "back"

The nouns *aurre* "front",³ and *atze* "back"⁴ may be considered as prototypical location nouns. Their syntactic behavior is typical of the whole class, although it need not be shared in all respects by every member.

Part One is accordingly devoted to a fairly detailed exploration of these prototypes. The other location nouns and their separate properties will be examined a little more briefly in Part Two.

An inherent property of location nouns is that they express a spatial relationship; hence their reference is always relative to some contextually given object X. Specifically applied to *aurre* and *atze*, we get:

<i>aurrea:</i>	the frontside of X (viewed from the exterior), the space in front of X,
<i>atzea:</i>	the backside of X (viewed from the exterior), the space behind X.

Thus:

<i>etxe zuriaren aurrea:</i>	the frontside of the white house (seen from the exterior), (or) the space in front of the white house
<i>eliza handiaren atzea:</i>	the backside of the big church (seen from the exterior), (or) the space behind the big church.

² My critical appraisal of this work in *ASJU* XXII-2 (1988), 695-700 was based on an examination of the first volume only. I am delighted to see that most of the shortcomings I was obliged to point out in that volume have been rectified in the second or third volume. My warmest congratulations to the compiling team and its sponsors for setting out to achieve what may now be extolled as a lexicographers' dream. Their highly professional approach combining linguistic perceptiveness, historical concern and painstaking discipline truly deserves the utmost praise.

³ Relict forms (such as *aurrez aur* "right in front" and many others) provide abundant evidence in favor of Azkue's hypothesis (*Morf* I, p. 11), also accepted by Michelena (*FHV*, p. 133), that the original forms of *aurre* and *atze* were *aur* and *atz*, the final vowel *e* having crept in from the locative case forms.

⁴ Azkue's etymological identification of *atze* "backside" with *atz* "track" finds a neat parallel in Finnish, where the inessive or illative forms of *jälki* "track" are the most commonly used postpositions to indicate posteriority.

Therefore:

<i>etxe zuriaren aurrean:</i>	in front of the white house, before the white house
<i>eliza handiaren atzean:</i>	behind the big church

Note this: When its governed noun phrase denotes one or more persons, the meaning of *aurre* weakens to “presence”:

<i>aita eta amaren aurrean:</i>	in the presence of father and mother
<i>emakumeen aurrean:</i>	in the presence of (the) women

The genitive-based construction illustrated above is always correct, yet sometimes an alternative expression is available. If the governed noun phrase is inanimate and ends in a noun—as opposed to an adjective or numeral—, a type of compound construction can be employed:

<i>etxe aurrean:</i>	in front of the house
<i>ispila aurrean:</i>	in front of the mirror.
<i>mendi atzean:</i>	behind the mountain
<i>leibo atzean:</i>	behind the window
<i>Pelloren begi aurrean:</i>	Before Pete’s eyes
<i>Mirenen ate atzean:</i>	behind Mary’s door
<i>Yolandaren jauregitxo aurrean:</i>	in front of Yolanda’s villa (Oñatibia, <i>Neke</i> , 37)
<i>Pilatosen etxe aurrera:</i>	(to) in front of Pilate’s house (<i>PasSant</i> , 131)

Judging from these examples, preceding modifiers do not block the construction. (Even a preceding relative clause is possible: *Feldman bizirik den etxe aurrean*, “before the house where Feldman lives”, example taken from Gotzon Garate, *New York, New York*, 159).⁵

With animate noun phrases the compound construction is generally excluded. In particular, no compounds occur on the basis of either personal pronouns or personal proper nouns. An exception must be made, however, for semantically indefinite expressions of the following category:

<i>lagun aurrean:</i>	in the presence of companions
<i>testigu aurrean:</i>	before witnesses
<i>neska atzean:</i>	(chasing) after girls

Also:

<i>errege aurrean:</i>	before the king
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An interesting fact about Basque compounds is that their first members are subject to certain formal changes in their final syllable as a result of phonological rules, some productive, some no longer so. Naturally, those rules that are productive also apply when the second member of the compound happens to be a location noun. In particular, there is a rule, to be called “Major Apocope rule”, that regularly

⁵ This example is given only between parentheses since the learner is not as yet acquainted with the verb form *den*, nor can he/she be expected to unravel the structure of relative clauses at this point.

deletes the final vowel of words containing more than two syllables. Taking *itsaso* "sea" and *eliza* "church" as examples, we get:

<i>itsas aurrean</i> . ⁶	in front of the sea
<i>eliza atzean</i> :	behind the church

In some instances, consonants too can change after application of the Major Apocope rule:

<i>afari</i> :	evening meal, supper	<i>afalaurrean</i> :	before supper
<i>bazkari</i> :	midday meal, lunch	<i>bazkelaurrean</i>	before lunch
<i>gosari</i> :	breakfast	<i>gosalaurrean</i> :	before breakfast
<i>atari</i> :	doorway	<i>afalaurrean</i> :	before the doorway

Also part of the phonology of compounds is a minor rule: Minor Apocope, which turns a final vowel of a two-syllable first member into *-a*, except for a high vowel (*i* or *u*), which drops altogether. Application of this minor rule in front of a location noun is quite rare and lends the text an archaic flavor. Thus, a stylistically marked *betaurrean* "before the eyes" can be employed instead of the unmarked *begi aurrean*.

A note on spelling: Location nouns are written separately from the preceding noun even in compounds, except when a consonantal change has taken place: *itsas aurrean* "in front of the sea", but *afalaurrean* "before supper".

A location noun can take any locative ending, not just the inessive one:

<i>mendi atzean</i>	behind the mountain
<i>mendi atzetik</i>	from behind the mountain
<i>mendi atzera</i>	(to) behind the mountain
<i>mendi atzeraino</i>	all the way to behind the mountain
<i>mendi atzerantz</i>	towards behind the mountain

When the governed noun phrase designates a moving object (or at least an object normally conceived of as moving), instead of the inessive, the elative may be used on the location noun:

<i>zezen gorriaren aurretik</i>	in front of the red bull
<i>zaldi zurriaren atzetik</i>	behind the white horse
<i>trenaren atzetik (korritu)</i>	(to run) after a train
<i>neska baten atzetik (ibili)</i>	(to chase) after a girl

In all of these examples, however, the inessive case could have been used without it seems, any difference in meaning. Thus, the phrases *neska baten atzetik ibili* and *neska baten atzean ibili* can both be used for the literal meaning "to walk behind a girl", and for the metaphorical one "to chase after a girl". Similarly, "to chase after money" can be either *diru atzean ibili* or *diru atzetik ibili*.⁷

⁶ Hybrid expressions like *itsaso aurrean*, which are syntactically compounds, but not morphologically, can also be found here and there. If I am not mistaken, a tendency can be discerned to banish such hybrids from the more formal registers of Euskara Batua.

⁷ See the Appendix.

A governed noun phrase need not be overtly expressed when its reference is clear from the rest of the sentence,⁸ the context or the situation. Moreover, the various case forms of location nouns can be self-supporting, that is, they can be used independently, without any governed noun phrase at all either present or understood. Used that way, they correspond to various spatial adverbs or particles in English.

By way of illustration we now offer the paradigms of *aurre* and *atze* together with some English equivalents. The choice between them depends, of course, on the sentence in question. The first translation given corresponds to the case of an understood governed noun phrase, the others to that of independent use.

<i>aurrean:</i>	in front of X, in (the) front, up front, ahead, present
<i>aurretik:</i>	away from X, away from here, before, beforehand, in advance.
<i>aurrera:</i>	(to) in front of X, to the fore, forwards, ahead
<i>aurrerantz:</i>	towards the front of X, forward, advancing

In the meaning "beforehand", "previously" the indefinite instrumental *aurrez* also occurs.

As an answer to a knock on the door, *Aurrera!* is the situational equivalent of English *Come in!* (cf. Spanish *Adelante!*)

<i>atzean:</i>	behind X, at the back, in the rear, behind
<i>atzetik:</i>	from behind X, from the back, from the rear, from behind, behind
<i>atzera:</i>	(to) behind X, to the back, to the rear, backwards, back
<i>atzerantz:</i>	towards the back of X, backward, retreating

N.B. When *backward* means "in reverse", it is usually rendered by the expression *atzetik aurrera*, literally "from back to front".

Independently used *atzera* can serve to indicate a return to a previous state: *atzera biburtu* "to turn back", *atzera bildu* "to gather back", *atzera ekarri* "to bring back", *atzera eman* "to give back", *atzera erosi* "to buy back", *atzera eskatu* "to ask back", *atzera ikasi* "to relearn", *atzera irabazti* "to gain back", *atzera itzuli* "to return back", *atzera izkuntatu* "to hide back", *atzera joan* "to go back", *atzera saldu* "to sell back", *atzera sartu* "to enter back".

A slightly different meaning of *atzera* show: *atzera deitu* "to call back", *atzera erantzun* "to answer back", *atzera esan* "to say back", "to reply". (Data from DGV III, 285-286).

Independent *atzera* is sometimes used to express mere reiteration, corresponding to *again*, *anew* or *once more* in English. In this meaning *berriaz* or *berriro* are perhaps more common in Batua. Pleonastic *atzera berriaz* also occurs.

⁸ Some examples of this are *Ex nabilkeio atzetik*. (Lab. TOE, I 67), *Madiani izkolaka xiboazkiten ondotik* (Jg. 7, 23; Dv), *Ohakiti begien aitzinetik!* (Jnn, SBi, 536), or the sentence *Miren jarri xitzaidan aurrean* cited in the introduction.

Neither *aurre* nor *atzé* is used in the northern dialects. These dialects make use instead of *aitzin* “frontside” and *gibel* “liver”, “backside”, employed in very much the same way as *aurre* and *atzé*:

<i>gizonen aitzinean:</i>	before (the) men
<i>begi(en) aitzinean:</i>	before the eyes
<i>gerla(ren) aitzinean:</i>	before the war
<i>etxe(aren) gibelean:</i>	behind the house
<i>Pelloren gibelean:</i>	behind Pete

The allative forms are *aitzina* or *aitzinerá*, *gibela* or *gibelera*. The latter two forms share all the meanings of *atzera*. In independent use *aitzina* is much more common than *aitzinerá*.

Etymologically an inessive form (of *aitzi*, now sometimes used as a postposition meaning “against”), *aitzin* itself may occur instead of *aitzinean*:

<i>negu aitzin:</i>	before the winter
<i>joan aitzin:</i>	before going

Typical of the Biscayan dialect is the form *oste* “backside”, “behind”, used as a synonym of *atzé*, equally common there. Thus:

<i>etxe osterá:</i>	(to) behind the house
<i>mendi ostein:</i>	behind the mountain
<i>nekearen ostein:</i>	after the effort, after the suffering
<i>bazkalostean:</i>	after lunch
<i>etorri ostein:</i>	after coming

The allative *ostera* has every meaning of *atzera* (“backwards, ‘back’, ‘once more’, ‘again’) and a few more in addition: ‘besides’ (when constructed with a preceding instrumental noun phrase), ‘on the other hand’, ‘however’”.

All forms mentioned above are employed and accepted in Euskara Batua.

Part Two: Other Location Nouns

We will now survey the remaining location nouns. Unless otherwise indicated, the general system studied in Part One applies to these also.

An important spatial opposition is expressed by the word pair *gain* “upper part”, “top” and *azpi* “lower part”, “bottom”. The latter term will be discussed first, as its use is by far the simpler of the two.

Some typical uses of *azpi* are:

<i>lurraren azpian:</i>	under the earth, below (the) ground
<i>eguzkiaren azpian:</i>	under the sun
<i>komunismoaren azpian:</i>	under communism
<i>obe azpitik:</i>	from under the bed
<i>belain azpiraino:</i>	down to below the knee

With inanimate noun phrases, there is an alternative phrasing which makes use of a suffix *-pe*.⁹ *lurpean* “under the earth”, *eguzkipean* “under the sun”, *oinpean* “under the foot”, “underfoot”, *zeru zurbilpean* “under the pale sky”, etc.

About *azpi* nothing more needs to be said here except that it shows the same type of metaphorical use found for English *under*: *legeen azpian* “under the laws”, *zigorraren azpian* “under the punishment”, *aitzaki ederren azpian* “under fine pretexts”.

Constructions based on *gain* serve for “on” as well as for “over”:

<i>asto baten gainean:</i>	on top of a donkey, on a donkey
<i>liburuen gainean:</i>	on top of the books, on the books, over the books
<i>hiriaren gainean:</i>	over the city, above the city
<i>belar gainean:</i>	on the grass, over the grass
<i>mahai gainetik:</i>	from (on) the table
<i>Jonen buruaren gainetik:</i>	over John's head

Like *azpi*, *gain* is often employed in a non-spatial, metaphoric sense, corresponding to English metaphorical uses of *upon*, *over above*. In such metaphoric uses, the uninflected form *gain* tends to occur, especially in formal style: *gizonaren gain* “upon (the) man”, “above (the) man”, “(hanging) over (the) man”.

In particular, uninflected *gain*, in construction with an animate noun phrase in the genitive, may express accountability.¹⁰ This concept is to be taken here in a rather broad sense, the several shades of meaning being covered by such English translations as *up to*, *on*, *at the expense of*, etc.: *alkatearen gain* “up to the mayor”, ‘on the mayor’. (E.g. task to be carried out, or, simply, drinks offered).

The inessive form *gainean* is often used to signal the topic of a verb of saying, i.e., *gainean* can serve as the equivalent of English *about*, a function for which the literary style prefers the instrumental case ending. Thus: *emakumearen gainean* “about the woman” (*emakumeaz*); *ijito batzuen gainean* “about some gypsies” (*ijito batzuez*); *Jesu-Kristoren gainean* “about Jesus Christ” (*Jesu-Kristoz*).

There is also the option of using the instrumental of *buru* governing the dative, a construction originally meaning “facing”: *emakumeari buruz* “facing the woman”, “about the woman”, *Pellori buruz* “facing Pete”, “about Pete”.

When constructed with a preceding noun phrase in the instrumental, the allative *gainera*, and also *gain* itself, acquires the meaning “in addition to ...”: *diruaz gainera* (or *diruaz gain*) “in addition to the money”: *Patxiuz gainera* (or *Patxiuz gain*) “in addition to Frank”. Used independently, *gainera* signifies “besides”.

Note finally the use of the instrumental in construction with the elative *gainetik* (or, again uninflected *gain*), as in *bost milaz gainetik* “over five thousand”, *oroz gain* “above all”, “especially”.

⁹ Rather than a suffix, *pe* appears to be a location noun itself, judging from such examples as *Jainkoaren justiziaren eta kolera zuzenaren pean* “under God's justice and rightful wrath” (Lap. p. 275), *Mitxelenaen promesaren pean* “under Mitxelena's promise”. Its etymological connection with *bebe* seems evident from Capanaga's phrase *Poncio Pilatosen podereen bean* “under the powers of Pontius Pilate” (Cap. 6).

¹⁰ Cf. the delightfully idiomatic translation of Jn 8, 46 given in *Jesu Kristoren Berri Ona: Zuetarik nork emanen du bekatuрик ene gain?* (p. 263). Literally in English: “Who among you will put any sin on me?”.

A third spatial opposition is that between *barren* "inside", "interior" (also "inner self") and *kanpo* "outside", "exterior" (obviously borrowed from Spanish *campo* "field"). The declension of *barren* is regular, with the sole provision that before the endings *-tik* and *-ra* epenthetical *e* insertion may or may not occur: *barrendik* or *barrenetik*, *barrena* or *barrenera*; but always *barreneraino* and *barrenerantz*. Some examples are:

<i>gela txikiaren barreanean:</i>	inside the small room
<i>eliz barreanean:</i>	inside the church, within the church
<i>zortzi egun barreanean:</i>	within eight days
<i>leize baten barrenera:</i>	(to) inside a cave
<i>mabuka barrendik:</i>	from inside the sleeve, down the sleeve

The allative *barrena* (or its northern variant *barna*, but not *barrenera*) following an inessive noun phrase serves to express the meaning "through" or "throughout". (Compare the phrases *kalean gora* "up the street" and *kalean behera* "down the street", constructions which the learner is assumed to be already familiar with.)

Some representative examples are:

<i>munduan barrena:</i>	through the world, throughout the world
<i>oibanean barrena:</i>	through the forest, throughout the forest
<i>liburuan barrena:</i>	through the book, throughout the book ¹¹
<i>kaleetan barrena:</i>	through the streets
<i>hezurretan barrena:</i>	through the bones

In this construction the adverbs *zehar* "across" or *gaindi* "over" may substitute for *barrena*: *Nafarroa osoan zehar* "through the whole of Navarra", *urtean zehar* "throughout the year", *urteetan zehar* "through the years", *etxean gaindi* "through the house", *Zuberoan gaindi* "through Soule".

Synonymous with *barren* are *barne* (*barnean*, *barnetik*, *barna* or *barnera*) and *barru* (*barruan*, *barrutik*, *barrura*). Uninflected *barru* can occur in time adverbials without the need for a preceding genitive: *hiru egun barru* "within three days". The regular *hiru egunen barruan* is also used in the same meaning.

Barren's opposite *kanpo* displays a vastly different behavior from that of the other location nouns treated so far. It does not follow the system set out in Part One, since it hardly ever governs the genitive case¹², but rather the elative or the instrumental. Moreover, the compound construction is not available for *kanpo* or its synonyms. The noun *kanpo* itself can remain uninflected, or else, take an inessive or allative ending. The allative case can occur even when no motion is implied. Thus, the phrase meaning "outside the city" can be rendered in no less than seven ways, of which the first two appear to be, in Euskara Batua, the most common: *hiritik*

¹¹ Taken from *MEIG* III, 48. Cf. also: *Nafarro-Gipuzkoetan barrena* "through Navarra and Guipuzcoa" (*MEIG* II, 105) and *aldirietan barrena* "through the environs" (*MEIG* IX, 94).

¹² The use of the genitive case is attested, however rare. Beginning with Leizarraga, it runs via Duvoisin all the way down to Kerexeta: *Erta deus guizonaren campotic...* "these is nothing from outside a man..." (*Mk.* 7, 15; Lz); *gizonaren kanpotik* "from outside a man" (*Mk.* 7, 15; Dv); *Daviden hiriaren kanpotik* "outside the city of David" (2 *Chr.* 33, 14; Dv); *oial orren kanpoan* "outside that veil" (*Ex.* 26, 35; Ker).

kanpora,¹³ *hiritik kanpoan*,¹⁴ *hiritik kanpo*,¹⁵ *hiriaz kanpora*,¹⁶ *hiriaz kanpoan*,¹⁷ *hiriaz kanpo*,¹⁸ *hiriaz kanpotik*.¹⁹

The noun *landa*, commonly used in the meaning “field”, functions in the eastern dialects (and in Euskara Batua) as a location noun analogous to *kanpo*. Like the latter, it governs either the elative or the instrumental case. But in contrast to *kanpo*, *landa* shows a clear semantic differentiation between these two case frames. In its more concrete sense “outside”, *landa* always governs the elative, but when used in

¹³ *Euskalerriatik kanpora* “outside the Basque Country” (MEIG I, 59); *Bizkaitetik kanpora* “outside Biscaye” (MEIG VII, 145; *hortik kanpora ere* “even apart from that” (MEIG V, 133; VII, 153)); *hiritik kanpora* “outside the town” (Iparg. *Agur Euskalerriari*, 1), (PasSant, 186), (Gen. 24, 11; Ur), (Lev. 14, 41; Ur), (Rev. 14, 20; IBK); *Jerusalendik kanpora* “outside Jerusalem” (Lk. 13, 33; EAB, IBK, LanEb, Ker); *hiritik kanpora* “outside the city” (Rev. 14, 20; EAB); *gorputzetik kanpora* “outside the body” (1 Cor. 6, 18; EAB). A study of the contexts (not included for the sake of brevity) would show that none of these examples involves motion, so that the elative ending *-tik* and the allative ending *-ra* have no justification outside this construction.

¹⁴ This construction seems to be much older than the previous one. It occurs in Axular as well as in Pierre d’Urte and Tartas: *Elizatik kanpoan* “outside the Church” (Ax, 8); *erresumatik kanpoan* “outside the kingdom” (Ax, 27); *munduko egitekoetarik kanpoan* “outside the worldly concerns” (Ax, 149); *sasoietik kanpoan* “outside the season” (Ax, 211); *zentzutik eta adimendutik kanpoan* “out of sense and reason” (Ax, 309); *bere sensu onetik kanpoan* “out of his good sense” (Tt, Onsa, 17); *hantik kanpoan* “out of that” (Tt, Onsa, 130); *hiritik kanpoan* “outside the city” (Gen. 24, 11; Ur); *belotik kanpoan* “outside the veil” (Ex. 26, 35; Ur); *egonlekutik kanpoan* “outside the camp” (Ex. 29, 14; Ur); *atetik kanpoan* “outside the gate” (Feb. 13, 12; Ker); *kanpetarik kanpoan* “outside the camp” (Ex. 29, 14; Dv); *Jerusalemetik kanpoan* “outside Jerusalem” (Neb. 13, 20; Dv); *gorputzetik kanpoan* “outside the body” (1 Cor. 6, 18; Dv).

¹⁵ This construction pertains to the northern dialects only. Although Kerexeta occasionally makes use of it in his Bible translation, it is not part of the Biscayan colloquial: *etxetik kanpo* “outside the house” (Elzb, Po, 196: “Nere etxea”); *beren hiritik kanpo* “outside their city” (Jnn, SBi, 113); *karpaldetik kanpo* “outside the camp” (Ex. 29, 14; Bibl); *hiritik kanpo* “outside the city” (Gen. 19, 17; Dv), (Lev. 14, 41; Bibl); *Jerusalemetik kanpo* “outside Jerusalem” (Lk. 13, 33; Dv, JKBO); *belatik kanpo* “outside the veil” (Ex. 26, 35; Dv); *olbetarik kanpo* “outside the tents” (Feb. 13, 13; Dv); *haren gorputzetik kanpo* “outside his body” (1 Cor. 6, 18; Bibl); *bere gorputzetik kanpo* “outside his body” (2 Cor. 12, 2; Bibl); *txabolatagetik kanpo* “outside the camp” (Ex. 29, 14; Ker); *uritik kanpo* “outside the city” (Num. 35, 5; Ker); *Jerusalendik kanpo* “outside Jerusalem” (2 Kg. 23, 4; Ker), (Neb. 13, 20; Ker).

¹⁶ *Orduaz kanpora* “outside the proper time” (AA II, 121); *sistemaz kanpora* “outside the system” (MEIG VII, 136). The closely related meaning “apart from” is already found in Oihenart: *zure artatzex, zerbitzatzex, et onbestex kanpora* “apart from loving you, serving you and taking care of you” (O, Po, 13). See also: *Etxaidez kanpora* “apart from Etxaide” (MEIG II, 50) and *bere lurreko aberastasun ugariex kanpora ere* “even apart from the abundant richness of its soil” (MEIG I, 134).

¹⁷ The oldest citation I have found for this construction is again from Oihenart: *herriaz kanpoan* “outside the country” (O, Po, 174). The other examples derive from Echenique and Duvoisin: *tenpluz kanpoan* “outside the temple” (Rev. 11, 2; Echn); *ciudadex kanpoan* “outside the city” (Rev. 14, 20; Echn); *Judeako mugex kanpoan* “outside the borders of Judea” (1 Macc. 15, 30; Dv) *Jerusalemex kanpoan* “outside Jerusalem” (2 Kg. 23, 3, Dv); *atez kanpoan* “outside the gate” (Feb. 13, 12; Dv); *hiriaz kanpoan* “outside the city” (Lev. 14, 41; Dv), (Lev. 14, 45; Dv), (2 Chr. 32, 3; Dv), (Jud. 7, 6; Dv), (Rev. 14, 20; Dv). It may be of some interest to note that Duvoisin renders *extra urbem* of Lev. 14, 41 and *extra oppidum* of Lev. 14, 45 as *hiriaz kanpoan*, while he rendered *extra civitatem* of a directly preceding verse (Lev. 14, 40) as *hiritik kanpoan*.

¹⁸ *Elizaz kanpo* “outside the Church” (Lap, p. 252); *fedez eta erlijioneaz kanpo* “outside faith and religion” (Lap, p. 75); *ate kanpo* “outside the gate” (Acts. 16, 13; Dv), (Feb. 13, 12; IBK); *hiriaz kanpo* “outside the city” (Gen. 24, 11; Bibl); *bidez kanpo* “outside the road” (Lh, p. 582); *adinez kanpo* “past the age” (DRA VI, 2422, s.v. *kanpo*).

¹⁹ Attested in Leizarraga: (*suffritu uekan du portalez campotic* “(he has suffered) outside the gate” (Feb. 13, 12; Lz).

its less concrete sense “apart from”, “besides”, “except”, the instrumental case frame is required. Thus, *hiritik landa(n)*²⁰ means “outside the city”, whereas *hiriax landa(n)*²¹ or *hiriax landara*²² must be translated *apart from the city*, *besides the city* or *except (for) the city*. In construction with an instrumental noun phrase, *kanpo* can also (but need not)²³ assume this meaning:

<i>Etxaidez kanpora:</i>	apart from Etxaide (<i>MEIG</i> II, 50)
<i>zenbait kasuz kanpoan:</i>	except for certain cases (<i>Cat. Lav.</i> , p. 142)
<i>mirakuluz kanpoan:</i>	except for a miracle (<i>Tt, Onsa</i> , p. 73) ²⁴

Whenever a preceding elative noun phrase admits a temporal interpretation, *landa(n)* (but not *kanpo*) carries the meaning “after”: *lanetik landa* “after work”.²⁵

²⁰ *Eliza katolikotik landa ere* “even outside the catholic Church” (*Kristau Bidea*, 331); *uretik landan* “out of the water” (*Etxamendi, Azken elurra*, 102); *gorputzetik landa* “outside the body” (*1 Cor.* 6, 18; *IBk*); *hemendik landa* “out of here” (*EGLU-1*, 442).

²¹ The oldest example known dates from 1545; *Jeynoax landan* “apart from God” (*E*, II 36). Although unattested in Axular, this meaning of *landa* seems quite common in later “Navarro-labourdin” literature: *bebarrez edo bertze cembait arrazain onex landan* “except our of necessity or some other good reason” (*Dh*, 54); *bekhatu mortal bekbarrax landan* “except for mortal sin alone” (*Dh*, 415); *aurrez ta’ martzotziaz landa* “beside women and children” (*Mi.* 15, 38; *Echn*); *ophezen lurraz landan* “except for the land of the priests” (*Gen.* 47, 22; *Dv*); *zutax landan* “except you” (*Gen.* 39, 9; *Dv*); (*1 Sam.* 2, 2; *Dv*); (*2 Sam.* 7, 22; *Dv*); *nitax landan* “besides me” (*Is.* 45, 5; *Dv*); *hartax landa* “besides him” (*Lh*, 648); *horretax landa* “apart from that” (*MEIG* VII, 162).

²² This construction seems to be found mainly in Navarra: *Maria Jaungoicuaeren Amas landara* “apart from Mary, the Mother of God” (*ETZ*, 37.4 (*Aralar*)); *ebetax landara* “besides these” (*ETZ*, 23.332 (*Orrio*)); *bizimodu onax landara* “apart from a good way of life” (*LE, Urt*, 298); *nitax landara* “besides me” (*Zeph.* 2, 15; *Dv*); *untax landara* “apart from this” (*Flr*, 163); *hitzaurreax landara* “besides the foreword” (*MEIG* III, 59).

²³ See footnotes 16-19 for many examples of *kanpo* governing the instrumental case in a purely spatial context. On the other hand, it may well be that in the early 18th century Labourdin represented by *CatLav* (*Bayonaco Diocesaco Bi-garren Catichima*, Bayonne, 1733) a sharp contrast did exist between *kanpoan* “outside” governing the elative, and *kanpoan* “except for” governing the instrumental case. The 6 instances of *kanpoan* I found there —with the much appreciated help of P. Aranguren’s vocabulary in Villasante’s edition— seem to corroborate this: *kehorotic campoan* “outside the choir” (p. 38); *Eliza hartaric campoan* “outside that Church” (p. 79); *Eliçatic campoan* “outside the Church” (p. 80); *eta haren offensatueco okhasionetaric campoan iqaituco* “and in order to be outside the position to offend him” (p. 84); *cenbait kasuz campoan* “except for certain cases” (p. 142); *bekhatu mortal batez kanpoan* “except for one mortal sin” (p. 215).

Supposing this to be indeed the situation in older Labourdin, we must note that it never seems to have prevailed in Souletin —Oihenart’s counterexample *herriz kanpoan* “outside the country” dates from before 1657— and that it must have been lost by the middle of the 19th century, since *hiritik kanpoan* and *hiriz kanpoan* are clearly synonymous in Duvoisin’s Bible translation (cf. footnote 17).

²⁴ Further examples are: *bekhatu mortal batez kanpoan* “except for one mortal sin” (*CatLav*, p. 215); *Igandez kanpo* “except Sundays” (*Hb, Esk.* 165); *mirakuluz kanpo* “except for a miracle” (*Etchb, Berriz ere beretarik...* 34); *bere lurreko aberastasun ugarietz kanpora* “apart from the abundant richness of its soil” (*MEIG* I, 134); *hizkuntzax kanpora* “apart from the language” (*MEIG* V, 110); *Axularrez kanpora beste asko* “many others besides Axular” (*MEIG* V, 55); *Jakite-lanex kanpora ere* “even apart from works of erudition” (*MEIG* V, 40).

²⁵ In Tartas’ brilliant work *Onsa hilueco bidia, landan* has no meaning besides “after”. To express “outside” only *kanpoan* is used *bekhatu rik kanpoan* “out of sin” (p. 52) and *bekhatutik kanpoan* (p. 58); more examples in footnote 14, which also serves for “except”; *mirakuluz kanpoan* “except for a miracle” (p. 73).

The occurrences of *landan* are: *mundu bontarik landan* “after this world” (p. 8); *obetik landan* “after getting up” (p. 45); *betarik landan* “after them” (p. 67). Some later examples are: *pronotic landan* “after the sermon” (*Bp*, 20); *Errosariotik landa* “after Rosary” (*A, EY* III 265); *mezatik landa* “after Mass” (*Lh*, 648); *lanetik landa* “after work” (*Lrq*, 168); *eskolatik landa* “after school” (*Etcheb, Berriz ere beretarik...*, p. 231); *elizatik landa* “after church” (*EGLU-1*, 442).

The meaning “outside” can also be conveyed by the location noun *ate* “door”, governing the elative or the instrumental. The traditional constructions are *elizatik atean*²⁶ or *elizaz atetik*²⁷ “outside the church”, but, propagated by Azkue’s famous dictionary (1905), *elizatik ate*²⁸ and *elizaz ate*²⁹ are also occasionally found in that meaning. Much more common than those, however, is an etymologically related postposition *at* governing only the elative case. It can be employed in contexts of motion as well as non motion: *elizatik at (izan)* “(to be) outside the church”, *elizatik at (bota)* “(to throw) out of the church”, *etsetik at (bidali)* “(to send) out of the house”.³⁰

In independent use, *kanpo*, *landa* and *ate* must carry the case endings imposed by the context and can not be used bare: *kanpoan*, *landan*, *atean* “outside”; *kanpotik*, *landatik*, *atetik* “from outside”; *kanpora*, *landara*, *atera* “(to) outside”; *kanporantz*, *landarantz*, *aterantz* “outward”; *kanporaino*, *landaraino*, *ateraino* “all the way out”.

The location noun *alde* “side” (amply provided with secondary senses: “difference”, “region”, “support”, and many others) occurs quite frequently in all varieties of Basque. It follows the system of Part One and typically serves to express lateral location (with respect to the referent of the governed noun phrase). Often, however, *alde* indicates nothing more than proximity or, by metaphoric extension, comparison. The inessive *aldean*, when used alone, can also mean “right near”, “close by”. A few examples must suffice:

<i>obearen aldean:</i>	beside the bed, next to the bed, in comparison to the bed
<i>eliz aldean:</i>	beside the church, next to the church
<i>amaren aldean:</i>	beside mother, next to mother, in comparison to mother
<i>aitaren aldetik:</i>	from father’s side, on the part of father
<i>etxe aldera:</i>	to the side of the house, towards the house

²⁶ This is the construction found in Axular: *eguiatic athean* “outside the truth” (Ax. 296); *handic athean* “out of there” (Ax. 311). See Villasante, *Estudios*, p. 58.

²⁷ *Baxa artaz atetik* “outside that sandbank” (*INav*, 107); *uriaz ateti* “outside the city” (*Acto*, 153); *Elizaz atetik* “outside the Church” (A, *Ardi*, 141). Data from *DGV*, III, p. 165.

²⁸ See Azkue, *Diccionario*, I, 95 and 466. All examples of this construction are modern: *urietatik ate* “outside the cities” (A, Y, 1934, 6); *Euskalearriatik* (sic) *ate* “outside the Basque Country” (Ldi, *IL* 40); *bidetik ate* “outside the road” (Ldi, *IL* 76); *emendik ate* “out of here” (Ldi, *BB*, 124); *nigandik ate* “outside myself” (NETX, *LBB*, 244).

²⁹ *Sariketaz ate* “hors concours” (Ldi, *IL* 98) is the only example I know of.

³⁰ According to the information contained in the *DGV* (III, 165), the first occurrence of *at* is in a dictionary: E. Bera and I. Lopez-Mendizabal’s *Diccionario vasco-castellano* (1916) includes *at* with the example *Bilbaotik at biraldu dira asko* “Many have been sent out of Bilbao”.

From there, *at* quickly became fashionable among Guipuzcoan Biscayan writers with puristic leanings, who wished to avoid the “foreign” word *kanpo*. As to its present status in Batua, its relative popularity as well as its novelty can be gauged from its use in *Kristau Bidea* (1975), where the word *at* occurs no less than ten times, ...each time with an explanatory footnote “*at*: kanpora”: *biratik at* “outside the city” (p. 173); *testuingurutik at* “out of the context” (p. 252); *bidetik at* “outside the road” (p. 302); *elkartetik at* “outside the community” (p. 330); *Elizatik at* “outside the Church” (p. 361, p. 429); *Eliza katolikotik at* “outside the catholic Church” (p. 410); *gure denbora honetatik at* “outside this time of ours” (p. 495, p. 557); *Jainko erreinutik at* “outside the kingdom of God” (p. 560).

Uninflected *alde* functions as a postposition governing the genitive and translating “in favor of”, “for”, “pro”, “on behalf” of:

<i>ijitoen alde:</i>	in favor of the gypsies, on behalf of the gypsies
<i>sozialismoaren alde:</i>	in favor of socialism, for socialism
<i>alde ala kontra:</i>	for or against

The meaning of the nouns *saihets* and *albo*, originally “side of the body”, has been extended to “side in general”. Correspondingly, they are used as location nouns with the exact meaning of *alde*: *neskatxaren saibetsean*, *neskatxaren alboan* “beside the girl”, “next to the girl”, “in comparison to the girl”. Unlike *alde*, *saihets* and *albo* do not appear as postpositions, although the uninflected form *albo* is occasionally used instead of *alboan*: *aitaren albo* “at father’s side”, “next to father”.

The location noun *aldamen* with the meaning “nearness”, “vicinity” serves to translate the English preposition *near*. *Aldamen* does not allow the compound construction and invariably governs the genitive:

<i>etxearen aldamenean:</i>	near the house
<i>astoaren aldamenera:</i>	(to) near the donkey
<i>otso baten aldamenetik:</i>	away from (near) a wolf

The inessive form *aldamenean* frequently occurs alone as an adverb meaning “near at hand”, “nearby”.

The location noun *ondo* indicates contiguity: adjacency in space, or succession in time. Adjacency is often weakened to mere nearness:

<i>eliz ondoan:</i>	next to the church, near the church
<i>sutondoan:</i>	near the fire (irregular compound of <i>su</i> “fire”)
<i>amaren ondoan:</i>	at mother’s side, near mother
<i>amonaren ondora:</i>	to grandmother’s side, (to) near grandmother
<i>aitaren ondotik:</i>	away from father’s side, away from father

A context of motion actualizes the fundamental meaning of *ondo*, a location noun basically denoting the position of being next in line. In such a context, *ondoan* and its motional variant *ondotik* are to be translated into English as *behind* or *after*: *aitaren ondotik* “behind father”, *diruaren ondotik* “after money”. Since time itself is conceived as forward motion, this explains why, in a temporal context, *ondoan* and *ondotik* acquire the meaning “after”:

<i>gerlaren ondoan:</i>	after the war
<i>afal ondoan:</i>	after supper
<i>bazkal ondoan:</i>	after lunch
<i>hil ondoan:</i>	after dying

Aldamenean too can occur in a temporal context, but, lacking the fundamental meaning characteristic of *ondo*, it always retains its usual sense “near”: *mende-mugaren aldamenean* (MEIG VI, 48) “near the turn of the century”.

The location noun *inguru* (borrowed from the late Latin phrase *in gyrum* “in a circle”) means “circumference”, “periphery”, but also “vicinity”, and, in the plural,

“surroundings”: *hiriaren inguruak* “the outskirts of the city”. Constructions with *inguru* seem to correspond to all uses of the English preposition *around*:

<i>gasteluaren inguruan:</i>	around the castle, in the vicinity of the castle
<i>ibaiaren inguruan:</i>	to the vicinity of the river
<i>euskararen inguruan:</i>	around Basque, about Basque
<i>sorginen inguruan:</i>	around the witches, about the witches

Just like English *around*, *inguruan* (and also uninflected *inguru*) can mean “approximately”. In that meaning, there is never a genitive on the preceding noun phrase: *bostehun sorgin inguru(an)* “around five hundred witches”.

The location noun *arte* meaning “gap”, “crevice”, “interval”, “opportunity” helps to express the concept “between” or “among”. *Arte* follows the system explained in Part One in that it optionally governs the genitive. Some typical examples are:³¹

<i>templearen eta aldarearen artean:</i>	(Mt. 23, 35; Lz): between the temple and the altar
<i>Gasteiz eta Bilbo artean:</i>	between Vitoria and Bilbao
<i>hiru ibairen artera:</i>	(to) between three rivers
<i>itsuenartetik:</i>	from among the blind
<i>zakurren artean:</i>	among the dogs, among dogs
<i>zakur artean:</i>	among dogs
<i>jende artean:</i>	among the people
<i>esku artean:</i>	between the hands, in hand
<i>malko artean:</i>	between tears, in tears, tearfully

In a temporal context, uninflected *arte* (or, less commonly, inessive *artean*) serves to express a time limit. Its translation depends on the character of the verb phrase in the clause: *as long as* in a stative context (including continuous or habitual action), *until* otherwise. Temporal *arte*, whether inflected or not, governs the nominative and never the genitive, characteristic of the spatial use of *arte*. The compound form, detectable by the absence of article, however, does occur when its conditions are met. *Arte* itself never governs the allative; examples such as *Baionara arte* “until Bayonne”, *heriotzera arte* “until death”, *igandera arte* “until Sunday” are readily explained as due to an intervening abstract verb of motion with the sense of *heldu* “to arrive”. Illustrations of the temporal use of *arte* and *artean* are:

<i>munduaren azkena arte:</i>	until the end of the world
<i>goizetik arrats artean:</i>	from the morning until the evening
<i>1893garren urtea arte:</i>	until the year 1893
<i>1893garren urte arte:</i>	until the year 1893
<i>goiz artean:</i>	until the morning, during the morning
<i>bazkalartean:</i>	until lunch, during lunch

³¹ An interesting example is furthermore *suaren eta urarenartetik* “through between fire and water”, which is how León León translated the Latin expression *per ignem et aquam* in Kempis’ *De Imitatione Christi* (I, 22, 5).

The more advanced student will be able to appreciate also Arantxa Urretavizcaya’s exquisite phrase *kontua zure belarriaren eta nire bibotzaren artean dagoelako* “because the tale is between your ear and my heart” (*Maitasunaren magalean*, 28).

Note also the common phrases: *noiz arte* "until when", *atzo arte* "until yesterday", *gaur arte* "until today", *orain arte* "until now", *ordu arte* "until then". The following phrases are used as greetings: *aurki arte* "see you shortly" ("until shortly"), *bihar arte* "see you tomorrow" ("until tomorrow"), *gero arte* "see you later" ("until later"), *laster arte* "see you soon" ("until soon"), *sarri arte* "see you soon" ("until soon"), *urren arte* "see you next time" ("until next time").

The inessive *artean* can be used alone as an adverb of time meaning "still (at the time)".

The noun *erdi* with meaning "middle" or "center" as well as "half" regularly functions as a location noun, witness the following examples:

<i>egunaren erdian:</i>	in the middle of the day
<i>hiriaren erdian:</i>	in the middle of the city, in the center of the city
<i>itsasoaren erdian:</i>	in the middle of the sea
<i>itsas erdian:</i>	in the middle of the sea
<i>otsoen erdira:</i>	into the midst of (the) wolves
<i>lagunen erditik:</i>	from out of the midst of his fellows

The noun *pare*, meaning "pair" and also "counterpart" or "likeness", can serve as a location noun referring to the "opposite side":

<i>eliza ederraren pare:</i>	across from the beautiful church
<i>etxe parean:</i>	across from the house
<i>ijitoen parean:</i>	across from the gypsies, in comparison to the gypsies

As we observe in the preceding example, *parean*, when constructed with the genitive, can also mean "in comparison to ...". Furthermore, the uninflected form *pare* functions as a postposition meaning "like", as in: *zilar finaren pare da pilotaria* (beginning of a song written by Etxahun Iruri) "a ballplayer is like pure silver". Some other examples:

<i>asto baten pare:</i>	like a donkey
<i>ur garbiaren pare:</i>	like clean water (<i>MEIG</i> VII, 153)
<i>deabruaren pare:</i>	like the devil

The location noun *bazter* means "corner", "fringe", "margin", "edge". Hence:

<i>bidearen bazterrean:</i>	on the shoulder of the road, at the edge of the road
<i>itsas bazterrera:</i>	to the shore of the sea
<i>munduaren bazterrerraino:</i>	to as far as the edge of the world

Almost synonymous to *bazter* is *ertz* "edge", "hem", "margin", "shore", "bank". It too functions as a location noun:

<i>gona gorriaren ertzean:</i>	on the hem of the red skirt
<i>ibai handiaren ertzera:</i>	to the bank of the big river
<i>itsas ertzean:</i>	at the sea shore, at the coast

The noun *begi* has the same meanings as *ertz*, in addition to that of “mountain ridge”. Some examples are:

<i>itsas begian:</i>	at the coast
<i>su begian:</i>	at the edge of the fire
<i>munduaren begira:</i>	to the edge of the word

Obvious location nouns are *eskuin*³² “right side”, “right hand” and *ezker* “left side”, “left hand”:

<i>Jainkoaren eskuinean:</i>	at the right hand of God
<i>zubiaren ezkerrean:</i> ³³	to the left side the bridge
<i>elizaren ezkerrean:</i>	to the left of the church

While these definite forms are traditional and still in common use, the indefinite forms *eskuinetan* and *ezkerretan* are also quite frequent. In independent use, the indefinite forms seem to be preferred: *eskuinetara* (*eskuinera*) “to the right”, *ezkerretara* (*ezkerreara*) “to the left”. Note therefore: *zubitik ezkerretara* “from the bridge to the left”, rather than *zubitik ezkerreara*, which is, however, also possible.

It is not clear whether *buru* “head” should be considered a location noun meaning “end” in such expressions as the following:

<i>bidearen buruan:</i>	at the end of the road
<i>hamar urteren buruan:</i>	at the end of ten years
<i>denboren bururaino:</i>	to the end of time

Despite the existence of such seemingly inflected forms as *kontran* and *kontrara*, *kontra* is usually thought of as a postposition governing the genitive, not as a location noun. Its meaning is “against”, in an oppositional as well as in a spatial sense:

<i>apaizen kontra:</i>	against (the) priests
<i>hotzaren kontra:</i>	against the cold
<i>barriren baten kontra:</i>	against some stone (<i>Mt.</i> 4, 6; <i>LauEb</i>)
<i>hormaren kontra:</i>	against the wall

In the spatial sense, *kontra* governs the dative in the northern dialects, a usage that may be carried over into Euskara Batua:

<i>hormari kontra:</i>	against the wall
<i>amari kontra:</i>	“(leaning) against mother”

In some expressions *kontra* governs the instrumental: *gogoz kontra* “against the will”, “reluctantly”.

³² No mention is made of the well-known synonymes *eskuibi* and *eskuima* in view of I. Sarasola’s explicit banishment of these terms from Euskara Batua. (See *HLEH*, 334, 335).

³³ I do not know whether *eskuin* and *ezker* can now or could ever have been used in what I have called the compound construction, resulting in such expressions as *zubi ezkerreara* ‘to the left of the bridge’.

Appendix on *atzean* and *atzetik*

The abundant documentation in the *DGV* (III 268, s.v. *atzean*, III 275, s.v. *atzetik*) seems to indicate that from the 19th century on *atzean* and *atzetik* are interchangeable in practically all contexts, not just those of motion. In such a context, however, we observe that the same author may use both forms in the same work. Whether or not a difference in meaning is thus signalled remains unclear. In his first novel, *Añemendiko lorea* (1898), Aguirre wrote "*Riktrudisen atzean dabile-ta*" (p. 28), but also "*bere atzetik dakarx*" (p. 46) and "*eidaroa bere atzetik*" (p. 77). Almost a century earlier, in his work *Ongui iltzen laguntzeco itzgiaic* completed in 1807, Joakin Lizarraga wrote "*ta ibili miserien ta vanidadeén atzean*" (p. 117v) but also "*Naiduénac joán berarén atzetik*" (p. 15r) and "*joatecò Christorén atcètic Cerúra*" (p. 63v). For the contemporary Biscayan author Kerexeta there seems to be no difference in meaning between the two forms, since he translated "*Et ivit post eos...*" in *Neb.* 12, 32 as "*arein atzean onexek joiazan...*", but "*Venit fortior me post me*" in *Mk.* 1, 7 as "*Neure atzetik dator ni baino indartsuago dana*".

Granted that *atzean* and *atzetik* enjoy equal rights synchronically and are both fully acceptable in Euskara Batua, it is nonetheless true that, diachronically, *atzean* can be seen to have priority over *atzetik* even in contexts of motion. In such contexts, *atzetik* does not seem to be attested before the end of the 18th century, while *atzean* is attested from 1609 on: "*dabil beti gure atzean*" (*Poesias premiadas en Pamplona en 1609, TAV* 3.1.20. 124), "*...partitu zen lagunén atzean*" (*Ber, Trat* (1621), 112v), and "*Iru errege Mago izar baten atzean*" (*Acto* 376).

Furthermore, Bartoli's norm of lateral areas also favors *atzean* over *atzetik*. We know that in the Biscayan area *atzean* is at least as common as *atzetik*, whereas in the Roncalese dialect only *atzean* is attested: "*norbaitek nai badu xin ene atzian*" (*Mt.* 16, 24; *Hual*).

A similar situation obtains in the northern dialects. Although Echenique, Bonaparte's Baztanese translator of Matthew's gospel, rendered the text "*venite post me*" of *Mt.* 4, 19 as "*segai zazue nere guibeleitic*", the usual northern counterpart of *atze* in such context is *ondo*, not *gibel*. The fight is thus between inessive *ondoan* and elative *ondotik*. Let us briefly survey the evidence of some of the more extensive texts.

In Leizarraga's New Testament version, there seem to be no instances of *ondotik*, but quite a few of *ondoan*: "*çatozte ene ondoan*" (*Mt.* 4, 19), "*Baldin nebor ene ondoan etborri nabi bada*", (*Mt.* 16, 24), "*Ethorten da ni baino borthitzago dena ene ondoan*" (*Mk.* 1, 7), "*Çatozte ene ondoan*" (*Mk.* 1, 17), "*Baldin nebor ene ondoan etborri nabi bada*" (*Lk.* 9, 23), "*...ethorten da ene ondoan*" (*Acts* 13, 25).

In Tartas' work *Oña hilceco bidia* (1966), only *ondoan* occurs: "*berzeren emaztiaren ondoan ibilli baitzen*" (*Ed. Eguzkitza*, p. 38), "*bere kapitainaren ondoan joanik*" (*Ib.* p. 96), "*Ene ondoan jin nabi denak*" (*Ib.* p. 97).

Similarly, in Etcheberri's *Manual Devotionezgoa* I have found *ondoan* only: "*ar-thatsuquiago ibill nadin çure ondoan*" (*Man* II, 81). In his phrase "*Semeari ondotic travallutan iarraiquia*" (*Man* II, 176), *ondotic* is used as an independent adverb meaning "closely".

The first instance of *ondotik* I know of in the meaning we are concerned with occurs in Axular's *Guero*, published in 1643: "*abiatu cen berehala erdiaren ondotic*" (*Ax.* 87).

The purely temporal phrases *bere ondotik* "after him" (Ax. 236) and *zure ondotik* "after you" (Ax. 248) are, of course, less interesting. Apparently, Axular was able to use *ondoan* in the same type of context: "*zazpi urtebex haren ondoan eta zerbitzuan ibiltzea*" (Ax. 487) Later Labourdin authors generally prefer *ondotik* to *ondoan*. Thus Laphitz has "*Eta abiatzen da Mahometanoaren ondotik*" (Laph, 31) and "...*dabiltza orai Inazioaren ondotik*" (Laph. 112).

In Duvoisin's Labourdin translation of the Bible *ondotik* is much more frequent than *ondoan*. Duvoisin utilizes *ondotik* in all the passages cited from Leizarraga. Some further examples are: "*jainko atzean ondotik ibiliko...*" (Dt. 6,14), "*bekien ondotik goan ziren*" (Neb. 12, 32), "*gure Jainkoaren ondotik ez goateko*" (Is. 59, 13), "*jainko arrotz ezagutu ez dituzuenen ondotik zabiltzate*" (Jer. 7, 9), "*ez goan jainko arrotzen ondotik*" (Jer. 25, 6). "*goaten baitzen bere galayen ondotik*" (Os. 2, 13) There are, however, a few, examples of *ondoan*: ... *Jerusalemara itzuli ziren haren ondoan* (Lk. 2, 45), *Huna zure aita eta ni bibotzminekin ginabiltzala zure ondoan* (Lk. 2,48).

A modern Labourdin gospel version, *Jesu Kristoren Berri Ona* (Ezkila, 1974) also uses *ondotik* to the exclusion of *ondoan*, employed in its temporal meaning only. See *Mt. 4, 19; Mt. 16, 24; Mk. 1, 7; Mk. 1, 17; Lk. 9, 23; Acts 13, 25*.

In modern Souletin, *ondoan* and *ondotik* coexist. The introduction of *ondotik* seems fairly recent. There are no traces of it yet in Topet-Etxahun's poetry, where *ondoan*, on the contrary, appears several times, e.g.: "*enün ebiltzen ez ihuren ondun*" (*Bi abizpak*) and *Aspaldian ebili bizia dendariaren ondun*" (*Ahargo eta Kanbillu*), according to the text established by J. Haritschelhar in his monumental work *L'oeuvre poétique de Pierre Topet-Etxahun*.

In Euskara Batua, both *ondoan* and *ondotik* are freely used in this context: *nor bere ebiztaren ondoan ibili da* (MEIG IV, 92), *alde egingo du amaren etxetik, norabait, arlotearen ondotik*. (MEIG I 164).

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NB. I have followed most scrupulously the abbreviations used in the *DGV*, with one excepción: *Itun Berria, Elizen Arteko Biblia* has been abbreviated *EAB* instead of *IBe*, so as to distinguish it more clearly from *Itun Berria*, abbreviated *IBk* in the *DGV*.

FAMILIARITY OR SOLIDARITY: THE PRONOUN HI IN BASQUE*

One of the many matters a foreigner learning Basque has to worry about consists in the proper selection of pronouns used in addressing others. Since the inventory of Basque pronouns is not overly rich, the problem looks manageable. Indeed, a choice of four is all he has to cope with: *hi*, *zu*, *zuek* and *berori* (with its plural *beroriek*).

This last form, however, need not retain his attention for very long, as it is merely an instance of the well-known practice of making use of a third person form for the purpose of signifying something more than the usual level of politeness.¹ The form *berori* can be analysed as consisting of two morphemes: *ber* "same" and *ori* "that one", with the demonstrative pronoun corresponding to the addressee. This term is but slightly less deferential than the English expression *Your Lordship*, and is traditionally used by farmers to address priests and other dignitaries. Our foreigner, too, may occasionally be addressed in this way, in which case it would be proper for him to protest and insist upon the use of *zu*.

The form *zuek*, used if and only if there is more than one addressee, conceals no mysteries either, although a linguist or a historian might be interested in the evidence² showing this pronoun to be a relatively late addition to the language, despite its presence in all dialects and its early attestation —already in the oldest Basque volume printed: *Linguae vasconum primitiae* of 1545.

At this point, only two pronouns are left for consideration: *hi* and *zu*. On the important question as to precisely how these two modes of address function in Basque society, remarkably little has been written in the grammatical literature, from its early beginnings in the seventeenth century up to the present day.

* *RIEV* XXXVI (1991.2), 373-378.

¹ Quite often, superpolite forms later turn into ordinary polite forms. A typical example is the Italian pronoun *Lei*, once used to express special courtesy, now the usual form of polite address, still requiring, of course, a third person verb form. A similar evolution for Basque *berori*, however, does not appear at all likely. Quite the contrary, its use seems to be rapidly disappearing, as may be seen from the results of a survey carried out by J. Alberdi Larizgoitia in the Markina region, that may very well be typical of the situation in general. See pages 462 and 463 of the article cited in footnote 5.

² For this evidence, see J. W. van Eys, *Grammaire comparée*, pp. 92-93; A. Campión, *Gramática*, p. 162; and, especially, *DRA* (*Diccionario Retana de autoridades del euskera*), 9, pp. 4067-4068.

What little hints are sometimes given seem to suggest that the difference between *hi* and *zu* closely corresponds to that between Spanish *tu* and *usted*, or that between French *tu* and *vous*.³

Any such conviction, however, is likely to prove itself a source of trouble to its bearer. To see this, listen to the aforesaid foreigner complain:

When they are talking to me, my French cronies all say *tu*; my Spanish buddies say *tu*; so why can't my Basque friends, whom I have known for so long, finally make up their minds to do likewise and call me *hi*? What is the matter with them? Are they afraid of me? Don't they like me enough, or what?

There can be no doubt that a better insight into the cultural background of this aspect of linguistic behaviour would help to forestall perplexities of this sort. It stands to reason that only native scientists are in a position to evaluate the finer nuances of the cultural attitudes governing interpersonal behaviour, the more so as these are known to vary a great deal according to geographical area. Thus, it is only natural for linguists and other social scientists to await with eager anticipation the results of an ongoing study by the young Biscayan scholar Jabier Alberdi Larizgoitia.⁴

Given that Alberdi's work is still in progress and his results as yet unavailable,⁵ there should be little objection to my going ahead and sharing with the reader a line of thought that seems to me rather promising. Needless to say, no detailed study can be envisaged here, as I am only too sorely aware of my lack of sociological expertise and that intimate knowledge of Basque culture essential to such an enterprise.

I take my starting point from the traditional conception in which the pronoun *zu* is said to be polite, and the pronoun *hi* familiar. At first blush, this view seems tenable enough. A standard analysis along the lines of Roger Brown and Albert Gilman's seminal paper "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity"⁶ does seem to afford at least a first approximation to the sociolinguistics of pronominal address in Basque. Here, too, inequality of "Power" gives rise to asymmetrical forms of address: one-sided *hi* downward from above and one-sided *zu* upward from below.

Actually, in view of the firmly egalitarian ethic of traditional Basque society, such asymmetry is, in my experience, quite rare. Even between employer and employee mutual *zu* prevails, or, more rarely, mutual *hi*. Only within the family context does the power dimension play a significant role: parents wilt address their teen-age children with *hi*, but not vice versa.

³ The renowned eighteenth century jesuit scholar Larramendi is exceptional in pointing out with admirable caution that *zu* is to be situated somewhere in between *usted* and *tu*: "...es del modo y trato medio entre usted, y tu..." (*El imposible vencido. Arte de la lengua bascongada*, p. 62)

⁴ Reference is made here to a forthcoming doctoral dissertation entitled *Tratamenduak euskaraz*, to be presented by Javier Alberdi Larizgoitia at the University of the Basque Country (Vitoria).

⁵ Concerning the area surrounding the Biscayan town of Markina, some preliminary results have already been made public. See Javier Alberdi Larizgoitia: "Alokutibotasuna eta tratamenduak euskaraz: II. Markinaldeko kasua" *ASJU* 20, 2 (1986), 419-486.

⁶ R. Brown and A. Gilman, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", in: Th. A. Sebeok (ed.), *Style in Language*, MIT Press, 1960, pp. 253-276. Reprinted in: P. P. Giglioli (ed.), *Language and Social Context*, Penguin Books, 1972, pp. 252-282.

The other dimension introduced by Brown and Gilman, "Solidarity", will serve very nicely to elucidate the symmetrical use of the pronoun *bi*, on the understanding, however, that its definition be tailored to the Basque cultural situation. Here, solidarity must be conceived of as an objective social reality: psychological factors play very little part in it. In particular, friendship, no matter whether close or not, is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the use of mutual *bi*. The kind of solidarity that is relevant consists, above all, in being subject to similar living conditions: children raised in the same family, hamlet or neighbourhood, workers on the same farm or in the same factory, and so on. Age differences strongly hamper solidarity: a gap of fifteen years or more is known to virtually block the use of *bi* among adults.

This idiocratic concept of "solidarity" may well explain some of the rather striking divergencies between the use of *tu* in Romance and that of *bi* in Basque:

1. According to traditional practice, nowadays no longer universal but still widely observed, the allegedly familiar form *bi* is never used by adults to small children,⁷ not even by their own parents.⁸ The critical age for the transition from *zu* to *bi* may vary from roughly six to as much as fifteen years of age. Could the reason be that even for asymmetrical *bi* some measure of solidarity is needed, which is lacking in the case of fairly young children? A conceivable alternative explanation of the origin of this practice could be that young children were fed the forms they are supposed to use to their elders, a phenomenon not unknown elsewhere, e.g. in Bulgarian culture. However, the relative lateness of the subsequent transition to the regular one-sided *bi* would seem to militate against this alternative.
2. Aside from some surprisingly rare individual exceptions often motivated by ideological considerations, spouses never use *bi* to each other, although they may have done so prior to marriage. Apparently, the vastly different role patterns assumed in marriage are felt to preclude solidarity between husband and wife.

Such patent dissimilarity between the Basque and the Romance systems adequately accounts for a remarkable fact: the absence of interference in bilinguals. Nearly all speakers are perfectly bilingual, using Romance at least as often as Basque. Yet not the slightest tendency can be observed to equate Romance *tu* with Basque *bi*, or Romance *usted/vous* with Basque *zu*.

What has happened, however, is that in some rather limited regions the *bi* mode of address has fallen out of active use altogether, leaving *zu* as the sole form of singular address. But social factors other than Romance linguistic interference could quite well be responsible for this state of affairs, restricted as it appears to be to a few urban and semi-urban areas.

⁷ Note the exclusive use of *zu* in traditional lullabies: *haurra egizu lo, lo, lo; txakur aundia etorriko da, zue ez badezu egiten lo*. The recent Souletin composition by Etxahun Iruri *Lo hadi aingüria* constitutes a clear break with tradition.

⁸ An eminent Basque priest of my acquaintance holds this use of *zu* to reveal the deep respect Basque parents nourish toward their children, this in alleged contrast to Romance speaking parents. What a pity, then, to see this respect abruptly vanish with the children reaching puberty!

However that may be, in most of the Basque speaking territory, the pronoun *hi* is being kept very much alive. Its general survival is all the more noteworthy as mastering the corresponding morphology is no mean task. Indeed, an outstanding feature of the Basque language in all its dialects consists in the obligatory use of allocutive verb forms, so that any conjugated main verb, be it in the first, second or third person, must change to a special form as soon as the utterance is directed to someone requiring *hi*.⁹ For that reason it is just as well that non-native speakers are but seldom required to employ this form of address.¹⁰

As a conclusion to this brief discussion, I submit that the traditional conception of *zu* as a polite form and *hi* as a familiar form is seriously misleading inasmuch as it leads one to expect more conformity with neighbouring Romance practices than is in fact the case.

What I propose instead is that we view *zu* as the normal, pragmatically unmarked, form of address, and *hi* as a marked substitute, encoding the feature "Solidarity", as defined by the social realities of local Basque culture.^{11, 12}

⁹ For a recent cross-dialectal study of the morphology of allocutive verb forms, see Iñaki Gaminde, *Aditx etikoa*, Bilbao, 1984. The syntactic constraints on their use are touched upon in René Lafon's informative essay "Place de la 2.^e personne du singulier dans la conjugaison basque", *BSLP* 54, 1 (1959), 103-129.

¹⁰ Of the many thousands of otherwise competent non-native users of Basque, only a few appear to have mastered the intricate allocutive morphology. Yet, even these few almost invariably betray themselves by overusing such forms, that is, by using them in subordinate clauses also. A case in point is that of the late scholar Father Olabide s.j. whose meticulously prepared Basque Bible translation, published in 1958, is literally plagued with errors of this sort. Cf. L. Mitxelena's pointed criticism in *Egan* 1959 (1-4), p. 94, reprinted in *MIH*, p. 353 and in *MEIG II*, p. 122.

¹¹ The term "local" has been deliberately inserted here to take into account the, mostly minor, differences in the definition of "solidarity" from one region to the next, or even from hamlet to hamlet. A typical illustration of the nature of such differences is furnished by the fact that in the Baztanese area one does not use *hi* to one's sister, whereas in most other regions one does. Cf. Genevieve N'Diaye, *Structure du dialecte basque de Maya*, Mouton, 1970, p. 96.

¹² I should very much like to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Mr. Javier Alberdi Larizgoitia, whose expert comments on an earlier draft of this article resulted in more than one improvement.

DEUX SUFFIXES CAPRICIEUX: *-PEN* ET *-MEN**

Préambule

Le présent travail s'inscrit dans le cadre de la morphologie, synchronique aussi bien qu'historique. Je me propose d'étudier le comportement des éléments de dérivation *-pen* et *-men*, tout d'abord dans l'usage littéraire actuel, mais aussi, quoique d'une façon plus rudimentaire, dans la tradition antérieure. Cette étude, qui touche ainsi directement la lexicologie, frôle aussi la phonologie, car elle s'efforce de montrer comment le problème que pose la distribution des formes *-pen* et *-men* se laisse résoudre au moyen de certains processus phonologiques, notamment d'assimilation et de dissimilation.

Dans la seconde partie du travail, je ferai part au lecteur du matériel historique que j'ai réuni en vue de l'analyse diachronique ébauchée dans la première partie. Ce matériel, assez copieux, embrasse la période qui s'étend des premiers textes connus jusqu'à l'oeuvre de Duvoisin.

Au risque de paraître imbu de vanité, j'aimerais remarquer qu'une étude de ce genre ne semble guère hors de propos et pourrait même comporter une certaine utilité. Dans l'usage littéraire actuel, les suffixes *-pen* et *-men* sont entièrement productifs, témoin nombre de mots nouveaux tels que, par exemple, *aplikapen* «application», *balioztapen* «évaluation», *desbiderapen* «déviation», *deskeribapen* «description», et pour *-men*: *mintzamen* «faculté de langage», joli terme créé vers 1972 par Txillardegi afin d'exprimer la même réalité pour laquelle, en 1785, le père Ubillos inventa le terme *bitzmen* «parole», désignation, à coup sûr, bien moins appropriée. Or, si l'emploi de ces suffixes dans la langue littéraire est assez courant, on n'en constate pas moins une certaine hésitation quant à la question de savoir quelle est la forme correcte à utiliser dans des cas concrets. Quand on a besoin des termes pour «confession» et «pardon», faut-il écrire *aitormen* et *barkapen* avec les deux volumes de *Diccionario general y técnico* de Luis María Múgica Urdangarin, ou, au contraire, *aitorpen* et *barkamen* avec le *Hiztegia 80* de Xabier Kintana et ses collaborateurs?

Ainsi surgit la question des normes. Et puisque les normes de la langue littéraire de nos jours tendent à s'inspirer largement de celles d'un passé encore proche, il

* J. A. Lakarra (ed.), *Memoriae L. Mitselena magistri sacrum* (San Sebastián, 1991), 709-751.

s'ensuit qu'une meilleure connaissance de l'usage des écrivains classiques ne saurait apporter que des bénéfices aux auteurs contemporains.

C'est à dessein que je me suis décidé à traiter ce thème à cette occasion précise. En voici la raison: La lexicologie, la phonologie, la perspective diachronique, et le souci de normalisation des moyens d'expression en vue de la création d'une langue littéraire basque digne de ce nom, voilà en somme les constantes de la longue activité professionnelle de notre maître Koldo Mitxelena, dont le destin terrestre s'accomplit l'année dernière. C'est pourquoi j'ose espérer que cet essai, malgré sa nature limitée, s'accorde parfaitement avec les intentions de ce recueil qui vise à honorer la mémoire de ce glorieux savant; tâche à vrai dire bien superflue, car son oeuvre est là, vaste et solide, lui rendant un hommage autrement magnifique que nous ne saurions le faire.

Et quant à nous, ses disciples, qui sommes appelés à continuer ses efforts et qui éprouvons à présent le besoin de nous rallier ensemble à l'aide de cette publication dédiée à la mémoire de ce maître inoubliable, qu'il nous soit permis d'exprimer ce vœu: Pussions-nous avoir double part de son esprit.

Première partie: Essai d'analyse

Imaginons un débutant sérieux —une de ces âmes hardies engagées à fond dans la voie ardue qui doit mener au titre glorieux d'euskaldunberri— imaginons ce débutant en train de feuilleter la plus récente traduction du *Nouveau Testament*, intitulé *Itun Berria. Elizen arteko Biblia* (1983). Dans cette version, excellente autant que je puis en juger, son oeil peut tomber sur le verset 12, 17 de la première épître aux Corinthiens: *Gorputz guztia begi balitz, non entzumena? Eta dena belarri balitz, non usaimena?*

Si, par hasard, il préfère une version de provenance labourdine, il consultera le volume *Jondoni Paulo*, également publié en 1983, et faisant partie d'une traduction en cours de toute la Bible par Marcel Etchehandy et Robert Puchulu. La verset y est rendu de façon à peu près identique: *Gorputza osorik begi balitz, nun liteke entzumena? Osorik entzumen balitz, nun liteke usaimena?*

Si, par contre, il se passionne pour le dialecte biscayen —dialecte vivant, s'il en est— il est naturellement amené à manier l'impressionnante *Euskal Biblia* (1976) du prêtre d'Elorrio Jaime Kerexeta, où il trouvera sensiblement la même formulation: *Gorputz osoa begi ba'litz, nun egongo litzateke entzumena? Eta gorputz osoa entzumen (belarri) ba'litz, nun legoke usaimena?*

Cette petite expérience¹ suffirait à elle seule pour prouver qu'à l'heure actuelle le suffixe *-men* dans le sens, disons, de «faculté» est compris du Labourd à la Biscaye.

¹ Pour compléter la documentation, observons que les autres versions du *Nouveau Testament* que j'ai pu consulter ne font pas usage ici du suffixe *-MEN*. Ainsi l'*Itun Berria* (1980) de l'épiscopat basque traduit: *Gorputz guztia begi belitz, nola entzun? Eta gorputz guztia belarri balitz, nola usaitu?*

Olabide: *Soin osoa begi ba'litz, zerez entzun? Soin osoa belarri balitz, zerez usaindu?*

Duvoisin: *Gorputz guztia begi balitz, non liteke adia? Dena adi balitz, non liteke usna?*

Leizarraga: *Baldin gorputz gucia beguia bada, non ifanen da ençtea? baldin gucia ençtea bada, non ifanen da senditza?*

Encore serait-ce dire trop peu, car de la popularité de ce suffixe dans la langue écrite de notre temps les preuves foisonnent, surtout dans les textes d'inspiration philosophique, tels qu'on les rencontre depuis 1956 dans la revue *Jakin*. Citons, à titre d'exemple, l'article intitulé *Ederraren Atsegina* du père carmélite Albizuri dans le n.º 15, paru vers l'été de 1961, où se trouvent réunis dans un espace d'à peine cinq pages les mots *adimen*, *alkarmen*, *almen*, *entzumen*, *ezagumen*, *ikusmen* et *irudimen*.

Le n.º de *Jakin* que je viens de nommer mérite d'ailleurs d'être signalé pour une raison bien plus éminente. C'est qu'il a l'honneur de contenir le début littéraire du célèbre écrivain Rikardo Arregi, penseur autant que journaliste, dont la mort prématurée, survenue en 1969, mit en émoi le Pays Basque entier. L'essai en question, qui traite d'épistémologie, s'intitule «Balmes eta Kant jakinduriaren asieran». Indépendamment de l'intérêt philosophique, dont je ne peux être juge, ce texte nous intéresse vivement pour des motifs purement linguistiques. En effet, ce n'est pas seulement que, comme dans l'article d'Albizuri, on y rencontre nombre d'exemples du suffixe *-men*. Ce qui nous intéresse particulièrement, c'est que l'auteur y pose une opposition sémantique très nette entre les dérivés en *-men* et les dérivés en *-pen*, suffixe distinct que certaines autorités tendent à confondre avec le premier. Ainsi Arregi distingue clairement *ezagumen* «cognition» (c.-à-d. la faculté de connaissance) et *ezagupen* «notion» (c.-à-d. la connaissance qu'on a de quelque chose). Il distingue également *sentsumen* «faculté des sens» et *sentsupen* «perception sensorielle». De même pour *entendimen* et *entendipen*, qu'il sépare ainsi: «Entendimena entendipenen sustraia da. Entendimenak entendipenaren bitartez gauzaren sustraia irakurtzen du.» À l'aide du petit vocabulaire imprimé à la fin du numéro (p. 88), même notre débutant arriverait à traduire ces lignes, qui veulent dire: «L'entendement est la base des intellections. L'entendement aperçoit l'essence de l'objet au moyen de l'intellection».

Des telles lectures, qu'on pourrait multiplier à souhait, sont taillées à la perfection pour aiguïser la curiosité de notre basquisant en herbe. Aussi décide-t-il de s'adresser aux grammaires basques pour mieux s'orienter dans la matière, espérant qu'à leur aide il parviendra à élaborer des vues claires et nettes sur l'emploi et la valeur des deux suffixes.

Dès qu'il se met en cours de réaliser ce programme, notre débutant studieux découvre un état de choses assez décevant. Les grammaires qu'il consulte ne font aucune mention de ces suffixes, ou si elles en parlent, ne se montrent guère à la hauteur de leur tâche.

Pour que le lecteur puisse se rendre compte lui-même des limitations de la tradition grammaticale à cet égard, je m'en vais rappeler ici les principaux témoignages que fournissent les grammaires basques. Je me limiterai à les transcrire sans commentaire. Les critiquer un par un serait assez facile, mais entraînerait nombre de répétitions inutiles et anticiperait fâcheusement sur l'analyse que j'aurai à proposer par la suite.

Nous commencerons la liste par le témoignage d'Arturo Campion, qui est, à ma connaissance, le premier en date à s'occuper de nos suffixes. Son explication est contenue dans ce grand monument de la bascologie espagnole du dix-neuvième siècle, sa *Gramática de los cuatro dialectos literarios de la lengua euskara*, publiée en 1884. Je traduis:

MEN: veut dire «puissance, pouvoir, juridiction». Il sert à former des noms qui indiquent «la capacité», soit au sens propre, soit au sens figuré; par

exemple: *eskumen* «poignée», d'*esku* «main»; *abomen* «bouchée», d'*abo* «bouche»; *baimen* «approbation», de *bai* «oui»; *ichodomen* «espoir», d'*ichodon* «espérer»; *idurimen* «imagination», d'*iduri* «imaginer»; *sinismen* «foi» de *sinistu* «croire», et MEN. (I, p. 151).

PEN: sert pour former des substantifs avec des noms verbaux; par exemple: *erospen* «achat», d'*erosi* «acheter»; *iduripen* «soupçon», d'*iduri* «sembler»; *oroipen* «souvenir», d'*oroitu* «se souvenir»; *bastapen* «début», de *basi* «débuter» et PEN (I, p. 157).

Suivant la ligne chronologique, nous arrivons chez le célèbre abbé Resurrección María de Azkue, duquel je cite d'abord l'*Euskal-izkindea (Gramática eúskara)* publiée en 1891, ouvrage qu'il appelait plus tard son péché de jeunesse.

MEN, PEN. Exprime ordinairement une opération continue de l'homme: c'est l'acte même issu de l'homme. Lorsque les actions de l'homme restent en soi-même, *men* est ordinairement comme *facultad*, *potencia* du castillan et *almen* basque.

Irazmen+a = *Iraztea* (erakina) = «agglutination».—*Itxaromen* (*itxaropen*) = «espoir».

Atalmen+a = «division (la)» = *ataldutea* ou «de diviser».—*Gogamen* = «pensée».

Ondamen = «ruine, perte».—*Adimen* = «discernement», au dire du frère Uriarte.

Sinismen = «foi, croyance».—*Baimen* = «permission ou approbation».

Parkamen = «pardon, indulgence».—*Argimen* = «preuve», selon le père Larramendi.

Pour savoir encore quand *men* est «faculté», il faut que je présente quelques exemples.

Almen = «puissance, faculté de pouvoir».—*Oroimen* = «mémoire, faculté de se rappeler».

Ikusmen = «vue, vision, faculté de voir».—*Irudimen* = «imagination, faculté».

Entzumen = «Oùie, audition, faculté d'ouïr».—*Usaimen* = «odorat, faculté de sentir».

Ikusmen = «tact, faculté de toucher». (*Euskal-izkindea*, p. 60).

Tura et *men* sont semblables, mais *men* indique opération et mouvement intellectuels, *tura* opération et mouvement réels. (*Euskal-izkindea*, p. 61).

En 1905, dans son *Dictionnaire basque-espagnol-français (DBEF)*, le même auteur s'exprime en ces termes:

-*Men*, suffixe dérivatif de noms verbaux. Ce mot dénote tout simplement l'action, et avec certains verbes il indique même une certaine puissance. Cette deuxième acception n'est pas aussi courante que la première. Ce suffixe admet trois variantes: *-mendi*, *-mendu*, *-pen*. Il n'est pas possible, à ce qu'il semble, d'établir une différence essentielle entre les quatre. Il fait sans doute partie d'un plus grand nombre de mots que *-mendi* et *-mendu*. *Aipamen*

(AN, G), *Aiphamen* (BN L, S) «mention». *Eramen* (B-mu) «insistance», «obstination». *Gahmen* (AN, BN, G, Ur. *Ex* xxxiv-12, L,...), «perdition». *Ondamen* (G), «ruine». *Pairamen* (BN, L), «souffrance». *Entzumen* (?): «ouïe», «sens auditif». *Ikusmen* (B, Mog., G): «vue», «puissance visuelle». *Irudimen* (B?, G), «imagination». (*DBEF*, II, pp. 28-29).

-*Pen* (c), suffixe dérivatif du nom verbal, qui signifie l'action. *Erospen* (c), «achat». *Irakaspen*, «enseignement» (Joan. *Saind.* I-16-31) *Iraupen* «durée». (*Per. Ab.* 207-21) *Luzapen*, «retard». (Ur. *Gen.* xliii-10.) *Oroiipen* (AN-arak-oy, G), «souvenir». *Salpen*, «vente». (Duv. *Labor.* 41-14.) (*DBEF*, II, p. 162).

Il est curieux de noter que, vingt ans plus tard, l'abbé Azkue, dans aucune des 1.080 pages de sa grande étude *Morfología vasca*, ne se réfère plus à la forme *-pen*. Que cette omission soit volontaire ou non, nous l'ignorons. De toute façon, il n'existe plus pour lui que la forme *-men*, qu'il explique ainsi:

Men. Suffixe important qui forme des noms verbaux dans deux acceptions distinctes: a) d'acte, b) de puissance, la seconde étant moins étendue. (*Morf. vasca*, p. 68).

Là-dessus, l'abbé Azkue donne non moins de 44 exemples de la première acception, puis continue en affirmant ceci:

Dans l'acception de puissance («potencialidad») il (c.-à-d. *men*) jouit de moins de popularité et n'intervient que dans peu de mots. *Entzumen* (B, G) «ouïe», «sens auditif»; *ikusmen* (B, G), *ekusmen* (R) «vue», «faculté visuelle»; *irudimen* (B? G) «imagination»; *naimen* (?) «volonté». (*Morf. vasca*, p. 69).

Le successeur de l'abbé Azkue à la présidence de l'Académie Basque, l'ingénieur Ignacio María Echaide, était l'auteur de plusieurs ouvrages compétents sur la langue basque. À défaut de la première édition, qui est introuvable, je citerai la deuxième édition, corrigée et notablement augmentée, de son livre *Tratado de sufijación, prefijación y composición en el idioma euskaro*, qui est de 1932.

Suffixe *men*. Dans notre opinion c'est le même suffixe étranger *menu* ou *mentu*, et la preuve c'est que beaucoup de mots prennent indistinctement l'un ou l'autre suffixe. Ex. *baimen* = *baimendu* = «consentement», *barkamen* = *barkamendu* = «pardon», *begiramen* = *begiramendu* = «considération», *luzamen* = *luzamendu* = «délai», *nabasmen* = *nabasmendu* = «confusion».

Il faut tenir compte du fait que *men* est un mot qui est en usage dans tous les dialectes excepté le biscayen et le guipuzcoan et signifie «puissance», «pouvoir», «libre choix» («arbitrio»), «portée» et peut s'employer avec ce sens en composition, comme sera expliqué dans la cinquième partie. (*Tratado*, p. 175).

Suffixe *pen*. S'unit aux adjectifs verbaux pour indiquer un acte et équivaut à la terminaison castillane *on*. Se trouve dans tous les dialectes. On peut se demander si ce suffixe *pen* ne serait une variante du *men* que nous avons réputé d'origine latine. (*Tratado*, p. 190).

Echaide termine la section en donnant onze exemples de mots en *-pen*: *atzerapen* «retard», *aurrerapen* «progrès», *auspen* «rupture», *berrerospen* «rédemption», *biurpen* «conversion», *egopen* «séjour», *ikuspen* «vision»; *galpen* «perte», *ondapen* «ruine», *sinispen* «croissance», *irixpen* «arrivée». Dans son chapitre sur la composition, Echaide écrit encore:

men. Signifie «puissance», «pouvoir», «libre choix» ou «portée». L. Mendizabal, dans son vocabulaire, fait observer très correctement qu'il ne faut pas le confondre avec le suffixe *pen* qui indique l'acte:

<i>irudi</i> = «ressembler»	<i>irudi-men</i> = «imagination (faculté)»
	<i>irudi-pen</i> = «imagination (acte)»
<i>aditu</i> = «entendre»	<i>adi-men</i> = «intelligence»
	<i>adi-pen</i> = «acte d'entendre»

(*Tratado*, p. 273).

L'abbé Pierre Lafitte, dont la *Grammaire basque* vise à décrire la navarro-labourdin littéraire, se borne à remarquer ceci:

-men, *-pen*, *-tzapen*, *-mendu*, servent à former des termes abstraits. Ex.: *aiphatu*, «citer»; *aiphamen*, «citation»; *orhoitu* «se souvenir»; *orhoipen*, *orhoitzapen* «souvenir»; *erakutsi* «montrer»; *erakuspen* «indication»; *erakatsi* «enseigner»; *erakaspen* «enseignement»; *kebechatu* «inquiéter»; *kebechamendu* «inquiétude». (*Grammaire basque*, édition revue, § 442.)

Mentionnons encore la *Grammaire basque pour tous*, confectionnée par l'équipe de Haize Garbia, livre plus récent (1978), où l'on peut lire dans le tableau de suffixes basques:

-MEN action: *barka* («pardon») = *barkamen* («pardon, action de pardonner»);
luzā («moyen dilatoire») = *luzamen* («délai, ajournement»);
aipa («mentionner») = *aipamen* («mention»);
 faculté de l'âme: *orroi* («se souvenir») = *orroi-men* («mémoire, souvenir»);
irudi («imaginer») = *irudimen* («imagination»).

(*Grammaire basque pour tous*, I, p. 266).

Et à la page 268 du même volume, nous lisons:

-PEN action: *eros* («acheter») = *erospen* («achat»); *ikus* («voir») = *ikuspen* («regard»).

Et finalement, l'auteur de la *FHV*, parlant du rôle réduit du son *m* dans la morphologie basque, nous assure dans une petite parenthèse que *-men* est synonyme de *-pen*. (Voir *FHV*, 13, 8).

Après la lecture de toutes ces citations, qui représentent le meilleur que j'aie pu trouver, le lecteur ne sera pas surpris à apprendre que, terminée son enquête à travers les grammaires basques, notre débutant ne se sent en aucune manière satisfait. Bien que ces témoignages grammaticaux comportent tous une part de vérité, leur totalité ne lui permet point de former une représentation claire et distincte de la réalité linguistique qu'il aspire à connaître. Il y voit comme à travers d'un brouillard. Combien y-a-t-il donc ici de suffixes, et quel est leur sens précis?

Eh bien, s'il a de la peine à y voir clair, c'est qu'il y a une pièce qui manque. Aucun des grammairiens ne s'est avisé d'établir une distinction claire et nette entre le niveau morphologique et le niveau phonologique. Pourtant cela est indispensable. Il y a certes deux suffixes *-PEN* et *-MEN*, dont les sens restent à préciser. Seulement, l'unité morphologique *-PEN* est capable de se réaliser phonologiquement comme *-men*, et l'unité morphologique *-MEN* comme *-pen*. En d'autres termes, ce qui se passe, c'est que dans certains contextes phonologiques il y a neutralisation de la distinction formelle entre les suffixes *-PEN* et *-MEN*. Quels sont ces contextes, et à quoi se doit leur action sur la première consonne du suffixe, voilà ce qui nous reste à élucider.

Mais avant de nous pencher sur ces questions, il faudra d'abord analyser un peu les sens du suffixe *-MEN*, car là encore les grammaires que nous venons de parcourir sont loin de procurer toute la clarté désirable.

Le sens primaire du suffixe *-MEN* —et un des sens du mot indépendant *men*, là où il existe— est «capacité», comme déjà l'a correctement observé Arturo Campión. Les premiers composés que nous en connaissions sont à base nominale: *abamen* «bouchée» et *eskumen* «poignée». Le mot *abamen* se trouve déjà dans les proverbes de Zalgiz (Sauguis) (n.° 17), dans le Nouveau Testament de Leizarraga (Jn 13, 26 et 13, 30), dans le *Gero* d'Axular (Ch. xlix, p. 625), et dans Oihenart (O 245). Le mot *eskumen* est également dans Axular: *eskumenak edo eskutarak* (Ch. lvii, p. 748). Le second sens que rapporte Lhande «portée de la main» est plus récent et provient sans doute d'une réduction phonétique de la forme locative *eskumendean* à *eskumenean*. Les composés à base verbale sont bien plus nombreux. Ils désignent la capacité ou la possibilité par rapport à l'action du verbe. Je me sers à dessein du terme *capacité* plutôt que de celui de *puissance* ou de *faculté*. C'est qu'il nous permet de rendre compte d'exemples comme *bedamen* «extension», «étendue» de *bedatu* «étendre» (*lurraren bedamen guciaren gainean* «sur toute l'étendue de la terre», Leizarraga, *Apost. Actear*, 17, 26), ou *helmen* «portée» de *heldu* «arriver», «atteindre» (*ezpataren helmenetik* «de l'atteinte de la glaive», Duvoisin, *Biblia*, Job 5, 20), où il n'est pas question de faculté, mais d'une capacité d'ordre purement physique. Bien sûr, cela n'empêche nullement que pour la grande majorité des verbes nous aurons affaire à une capacité qui est ancrée dans un sujet, capacité qu'on appellerait communément une faculté. Les dérivés² qui suivent en sont des exemples évidents:

² Comme les formes en *-MEN* s'emploient particulièrement en Guipuzcoa et dans la Biscaye, et que ces régions ont perdu d'assez bonne heure le mot indépendant *men*, je leur appliquerai dès ce moment l'appellation de dérivés plutôt que de composés.

- adimen*: «raison», «intelligence»: “(aditu, adimena, entender, inteligencia”, Mogel, *Verba batzuben adividia*, à la fin de son ouvrage *Confesiño ona*, Vitoria, 1803.)
- ahalmen*: «puissance», «pouvoir» (Larramendi, *DT*, v. poder, fuerzas, poderio potencia, Cat. Burgos: *animaren potencias, abalac, edo almenac* (p. 42), Cardaberaz, *Cristauaren bicitzza: almen edo potencia* (p. 89), pour plus de documentation, voir le *DGV*).
- asmamen*: «ingéniosité» (Bera, López Mendizabal (1916): facultad de inventar, inventiva, ingenio, genio, d'où Lizardi, *Itz-lauz*, p. 82, cf. *DRA*).
- aukeramen*: «libre arbitre» (Eguzkitza, *Gizarte*, p. 15, 102, cf. *DRA*).
- dastamen*: «faculté gustative» (Première mention en 1957, selon le *HLEH*).
- entzumen*: «faculté auditive» (Ubillos, *Christau...*, p. 80. (1785)).
- eragimen*: «impulsion», «influence» (analogue à *hedamen*; employé par Terese Deunaren Pi Aba dans *Antz-bidea*, p. 297 (1926), cf. *DRA*).
- ernalmen*: «fécondité» (*Kristau bidea*, p. 413 (1975)).
- ezagumen*: «faculté cognitive» (Guerrico, *Cristau doctrina...* I, p. 394: *adimentua, edo ezagumena*).
- gozamen*: «usufruit», «possession» (Larramendi, *DT*: «deporte, diversión, holgura, socrocio, delectación, usufruto». Déjà Pouvreau, *Imit*. IV 1, 11).
- bitzmen*: «faculté de parole» (Ubillos, *Christau...*, p. 80 (1785)).
- ikasmen*: «capacité intellectuelle» (Selon le *DBEF* «étude» (B, Ast.)).
- ikusmen*: «faculté visuelle» (Ubillos, *Christau*, p. 80 (1785)).
- irakurmen*: «faculté de lecture» (Elgoibarko Euskara Mintegia, *Euskal hizkuntza eta literatura*, p. 8).
- irudimen*: «imagination» (un des sens du *DBEF*, avec la note B?, G).
- mintzamen*: «faculté de langage» (Txillardegi, *Hizkera eta pentsakera*, p. 8 [1972]).
- nabimen*: «volonté» (*naimen edo borondate oso-osoarekin*, Mendiburu, *Otoitz-gai* II, p. 15, 2.^{me} éd. p. 22, cf. *DBEF*).
- obarmen*: «conscience», «attention» (Mendiburu, *Otoitz-gai*, II, p. 191, cf. *DBEF*).
- oroimen*: «mémoire» (Ubillos, *Christau...*, p. 200: *oroizmen, edo memoria*; Guerrico, *Cristau doctrina...*, I, p. 394: *memoria, edo oroimena*).
- sentimen*: «faculté sensitive», «sentiment» (*Corpus* 1977).
- sormen*: «créativité» (*Corpus* 1977).
- ugalmen*: «fécondité» (Supplément *DBEF*, p. 582; *Corpus* 1977).
- ukimen*: «faculté tactile», «toucher» (*Corpus* 1977).
- ulermen*: «intelligence» (P. Múgica, *Dic. cast. vasco*, v. *inteligencia*; *Corpus* 1977).
- usaimen*: «odorat» (P. Múgica, *Dic. cast. vasco*, v. *olfato*).
- zentzumen*: «faculté sensorielle» (*Corpus* 1977).

On s'étonnera peut-être que les mots *sinesmen* (*sinismen*) «foi» et *itxaromen* «espérance» n'aient pas été recueillis sur cette liste. La foi et l'espérance, ne constituent-

elles pas aussi des facultés? On peut fort bien le soutenir. Quoi qu'il en soit, les dérivés *sinismen* «foi» et *itxaromen* «espérance» apparaissent assez tôt dans les textes religieux du Pays Basque péninsulaire. Le mot *sinismen* figure dans le catéchisme de Burgos: *fedea, sinismena* (p. 43), dans le livre du père Ubillos (pp. 17, 20, 102, 119, 143, 148, 150, 172, ainsi que *sinistmen* pp. 39, 43, et *sinitsmen* pp. 49, 54), et dans le manuscrit du dictionnaire basque-castillan du père Larramendi: «*sinistanza, sinistea, sinismena, "creencia", "fe", "crédito"*.» (Dans le *DT*, on ne trouve que *sinistamen* «artículo de la fé (principio de la fé)»).

Le mot *itxaromen* «espérance» ne figure nulle part dans l'oeuvre de Larramendi, mais il se rencontre dans l'ouvrage d'Añibarro *Lore-sorta espirituala (: ta Jangoicoagan icharomena ...* p. 183) datant de 1803, et une vingtaine de fois dans sa traduction du *Guero Guero* d'Axular. Dans son dictionnaire *Voces bascoingadas diferenciales* on le trouve sous la forme *itxedomen* de son parler biscayen méridional.

De toute façon, la question de savoir si ces deux vertus théologiques peuvent s'assimiler à une faculté de l'homme, pour intéressante qu'elle soit d'un point de vue philosophique, ne revêt pour nous qu'un intérêt académique. Car, ce qui est indéniable, c'est que la foi et l'espérance sont des dispositions de l'esprit. Or, on constate que le suffixe -MEN exprime tout aussi bien le sens de «disposition» —de l'âme, de l'esprit, ou même du corps— que celui de «capacité». Que le contenu primitif du suffixe -MEN ait été suffisamment vague pour embrasser à la fois ces deux sens, ou qu'il faille postuler un élargissement ultérieur de sa signification originelle, c'est bien difficile à déterminer. Quant à moi, j'inclinerais plutôt vers la seconde alternative. Quoi qu'il en soit, les mots où -MEN indique une disposition de l'esprit, un état de l'âme ou du corps, sont assez nombreux. On peut citer:

- abazmen*: «oubli», «insouciance» (Guerrico, *Cristau doctrina*, I, p. 138, II, p. 41: *azmen*, voir le *DGV*).
- aitormen*: «reconnaissance», (Lardizabal, p. 10, Xenpelar p. 215, voir le *DGV*).
- apalesmen*: «humilité» (*Prop.* 1897, cf. *DRA*).
- aztoramen*: «consternation» (*Corpus* 1977, voir Sarasola, *HLEH*).
- begiramen*: «circonspection», (Iztueta, *Guip. Kondaira*, pp. 22, 28, 35, 99, 182, 211, 242. Voir aussi *DRA*).
- dolumen*: «chagrin», «douleur» (Maister, *Jesu-Kristen Imitacionia*, cf. *HLEH*, 266).
- eromen*: «folie» (Anabitarte, *Poli*, p. 61, cf. *DRA*).
- etsimen*: «désillusion», «désespoir» (Guerrico, *Cristau Doctrina*, II, p. 128: *esperanzaren falta edo etsimena edo desesperazioa...* cf. *DRA*).
- gozamen*: «jouissance», (Pouvreau, *Imit.* IV 1, 11; Martin de Harriet, p. 376: *joiissance: goçamena*; Larramendi, *DT*: «deporte, diversión, holgura, socrocio, delectación, usufruto»).
- barrimen*: «étonnement», (*DBEF*, Ametzaga, *Hamlet*, p. 17; cf. *DRA*).
- igurikimer*: «attente», «espérance» (Duvoisin, *Biblia*, 30 fois, voir mon *Appendice*).
- itomen*: «suffocation» «étouffement» (Voir *DBEF*, note: Bc, G).
- itsumen*: «aveuglement» (Cardaberaz, *Cristauaren bicitza*, p. 80; Mogel, *Confesiño ona*, pp. 218, 290; Guerrico, *Cristau doctrina*, I, pp. 4, 193, 398, 408, 417, 445, etc.).

- itzaromen*: «espoir» «espérance» (Voir plus haut).
jabalmen: «complaisance» (Duvoisin, *Biblia*, Ekl. 39, 23).
nahasmen: «confusion» (Larramendi, *DT*: permixtion: *naasmena*).
pairamen: «résignation», «patience» (Maurice Harriet, Lhande).
sinesmen: «foi», dérivé de *sinetsi* (*DBEF*).
sinismen: «foi», dérivé de *sinistu* (voir plus haut).
zoramen: «ravisement» «extase» «folie» (Echeverria, *Ongui bizitzeko*, p. 165, cf. *DBEF*).

Comme j'ai affirmé plus haut, le suffixe -MEN peut se réaliser phonologiquement comme -*pen*. Il s'agit alors d'un changement phonétique, provoqué soit par assimilation, soit par dissimilation. (Voir *FHV*, 13, 10).

Il y aura assimilation lorsque la base qui précède -MEN finit par une occlusive, car on sait qu'en basque une occlusive en contact avec *m* peut durcir celui-ci en *p*. Un exemple qui nous intéresse particulièrement est fourni par Michelena, dont je traduirai le passage suivant:

Pour -*t* + *m* > *p*, voir 13.10. Conformément à cela, l'alternance dans le suffixe -*men* / -*pen* pourrait être née dans des cas comme h.-nav.guip. *oroipen* «souvenir» («recuerdo») < **oroit-men*, cf. soul. *orhitmen* (*Onsa*, 158). (*FHV* 18.2.)

Ce texte nécessite un commentaire. On remarquera que le mot castillan par lequel Michelena traduit *oroipen* est ambigu. Il peut désigner aussi bien le souvenir que la mémoire. Or, en guipuzcoan, le mot *oroipen* veut dire «souvenir» et ressortit clairement au suffixe -PEN. En haut-navarrais, le mot *oroipen* peut avoir le sens de «mémoire», comme dans la traduction du catéchisme d'Astete par le père Damaso Legaz, publiée à Pampelune en 1880, où l'on peut lire à la page 50: *oroipena, adimentua eta borondatea* «la mémoire, l'intelligence et la volonté». Pour cet exemple l'analyse de Michelena garde toute sa valeur. Ici *oroipen* «mémoire» vient en effet de *oroit* + -*men*, car le suffixe -MEN est précédé par le radical du verbe, et le radical du verbe *oroitu* est toujours *oroit* dans une bonne partie de la Haute Navarre. Le terme guipuzcoan pour «mémoire» *oroimen* repose sur une décomposition plus moderne de *oroitu*: *oroi* + *tu*.

Il est intéressant de noter que le mot roncalais *guarpen* présente la même ambiguïté que le mot *oroipen* en Haute-Navarre. Dans le conte numéro 2 de l'étude d'Azkue «Particularidades del dialecto roncalés», il ne peut qu'appartenir au suffixe -PEN: *guarpen kaur emon daiguk*, traduit par Azkue: «te damos esta advertencia» (p. 309), «nous t'avons donné cet avertissement». Mais dans le vocabulaire à la fin de l'étude, *guarpen* est traduit «memoria», ce qui supposerait l'analyse *guart* + -*men*. Or, le radical du verbe *guartu* «se souvenir» est en effet *guart*, car nous lisons dans le *Catéchisme roncalais*: *Guart guitian artax* (p. 67) «pour que nous nous souvenions de lui» («para acordarnos de él»).

Passons maintenant à la dissimilation. Ce phénomène se produit lorsque la base qui précède -MEN commence par *m*. La langue évite la suite des deux *m*, d'où le changement de l'initiale du suffixe en *p*. À titre d'exemple, on peut citer la troisième vertu théologique, l'amour. Le terme normal est, bien entendu, *maitasun*, sinon *karitate* dans certains contextes, et *amorio* dans d'autres. Cependant Lhande cite aussi le mot *maithapen*, qu'il a trouvé dans le dictionnaire manuscrit de Maurice Harriet. Comme il

s'agit bien d'une affection de l'âme, on s'attendrait à la forme **maithamen*, configuration inexistante à cause de la dissimilation obligatoire.

Une dernière remarque reste à faire avant de nous tourner vers le suffixe -PEN. Il y a eu un autre suffixe -MEN, dont je n'ai pas fait mention jusqu'ici, parce qu'il ne joue aucun rôle dans le basque contemporain.³ C'est le suffixe des mots archaïques *edermen* «beauté» et *itcusmen* «aideur». Il fait double emploi avec le suffixe *tasun* (-*tarzün* en souletin), et on ne le rencontre que dans quelques textes souletins et périsouletins, tel que le livre de Tartas: *Onsa hilceco bidia*, publié en 1666 et écrit une dizaine d'années avant. (Dans l'édition d'Eguzkitza, on trouve *edermen* aux pages 17, 47, 132, 133, 145 et 146, et *itcusmen* aux pages 132 et 145.) Le mot *itsumen*, très répandu et attesté depuis Cardaberaz (1774), n'a rien à voir ici. Ne signifiant pas «cécité» —cela serait *itsutasun*— mais «aveuglement», il dérive de la racine du verbe *itsutu* «aveugler», et non pas directement de l'adjectif *itsu* «aveugle».

Il est temps de nous occuper du suffixe -PEN. Les grammaires lui donnent le sens d'acte ou d'action, mais on doit tout de même exiger un peu plus de précision. Le suffixe -PEN ne dénote jamais l'action en cours, comme peut le faire le nom verbal ou le suffixe -*keta*, il dénote l'action vue comme accomplie. Je dirais volontiers qu'il indique l'aboutissement du procès, ou encore, le résultat, matériel ou non, de l'action désignée par la base verbale. En d'autres termes, -PEN constitue en quelque sorte un suffixe perfectif, tandis que -*keta* est plutôt imperfectif.

Quant à la forme du suffixe, il faut remarquer que la consonne initiale de -PEN change assez souvent en *m* sous l'influence de certains processus phonologiques, comme l'assimilation et la dissimilation.

Toute tentative de formuler ces processus en termes de règles phonologiques précises se heurte au fait incontestable que ces règles ne sont pas les mêmes dans tous les dialectes ni à toutes les époques.

Néanmoins, on peut esquisser les contours d'un système qui reflète assez bien les tendances du labourdinois classique et peut s'adapter sans peine aux habitudes de la plupart des usagers du batua contemporain. Ce système, que nous appellerons «le système régulier», se compose des trois règles suivantes:

1a. Règle d'Immunitisation.

Si le phonème précédant le *p* de -PEN est une consonne quelconque, ce *p* est renforcé et devient inaltérable.

2a. Règle d'Assimilation.

La consonne initiale de -PEN s'adoucit en *m*, s'il y a un *n* initial ou une nasale implosive dans la dernière ou avant-dernière syllabe de la base.

Dans la pratique, il n'y a changement que si la nasale se trouve dans l'avant-dernière syllabe, car si la nasale implosive se trouve dans la dernière syllabe de la base, celle-ci ne peut que se terminer par une consonne, et le *p* serait renforcé.

³ Cette affirmation risque d'être trop absolue, car le mot *edermen* dans le sens de «beauté» figure dans le conte «Eresi kantari» de l'auteur souletin Mirande, publié en 1960 (*Egan* XVII, 1960, p. 148). Mais une hirondelle ne fait pas le printemps.

Remarquons que la nasale implosive de la base ne suffit sans doute pas à elle seule à provoquer l'adoucissement du *p*. Il paraît hautement probable que la nasale finale du suffixe contribue de manière essentielle au déclenchement du changement assimilatoire. En outre, il faut observer que dans certains cas, le changement en *-men* se trouve favorisé par l'existence préalable d'une forme synonyme en *mendu* ou *-mendi*.

Dans l'usage général du batua actuel, l'assimilation n'est que facultative. On admet: *hondamen* ou *hondapen* «ruine»; *sendamen* ou *sendapen* «guérison»; *sentimen* ou *sentipen* «sentiment»; *testamen* ou *testapen* «épreuve»; *ukamen* ou *ukapen* «refus», «désaveu»; *ukimen* ou *ukipen* «attouchement».

Il arrive, bien que rarement, que la variante prédite en *-men* n'existe pas. Tel est le cas, semble-t-il, du mot *izendapen* «nomination», tiré du dictionnaire manuscrit de Duvoisin et popularisé par le *DBEF*. De même, le mot *bedeinkapen* «bénédiction» échappe à l'assimilation, peut-être à cause de sa nasale vélaire.

3a. Règle de Dissimilation.

La consonne initiale de *-PEN* se change en *m*, si la base contient une occlusive labiale à moins de deux syllabes de distance du suffixe; la distance se calculant sans compter la syllabe à la labiale.

Notons qu'ici encore la finale du suffixe joue un rôle essentiel. La dissimilation n'aurait sans doute pas lieu si elle n'était en même temps une assimilation à la nasale finale. Ainsi le mot *barkabera* ne se prononce jamais **barkamera*.

Du fait de l'action de la règle énoncée, *-PEN* se prononce *men* dans les mots suivants: *abiamen* «démarrage», *aipamen* «mention», *baimen* «permission», *barkamen* «pardon», «indulgence», *bildumen* «sommaire», «paquet», *gibelamen* «retard», *pentsamen* «pensée», *prestamen* «préparatif»; *prezamen* «estimation», *proposamen* «proposition», «projet», *salbamen* «salut», «sauvetage».

Depuis une cinquantaine d'années on rencontre ça et là des formes où la Règle de Dissimilation n'a pas été appliquée. Il s'agit généralement de formes artificielles, fondées sur un préjugé théorique oubliant que la distinction formelle entre *-PEN* «acte» et *-MEN* «puissance», pour réelle qu'elle soit, ne s'exprime pas nécessairement au niveau superficiel de la prononciation.

Citons le cas du mot *barkapen*. C'est une forme rare, attestée une seule fois dans le *Corpus* 1977 dans un texte guipuzcoan, contre 16 citations de la forme régulière *barkamen*. Pour se rendre compte de la force du préjugé auprès de certains grammairiens, il suffit d'observer que c'est la forme anormale *barkapen* qui, au rebours de l'usage général, a obtenu le monopole dans le *Hiztegi orokor-teknikoa* (*Diccionario general y técnico*) de Luis María Múgica Urdangarin, où nous lisons à la page 113: *barkamen* «facultad de perdonar»; *barkapen* «absolución», «venia», «condonación», «perdón».

La forme anormale *epaipen* «jugement» dans l'article déjà cité de Rikardo Arregi s'explique par les exigences du discours philosophique, où il fallait distinguer à tout prix entre *epaimen* «faculté de jugement» et *epaipen* «sentence de jugement». Le mot *baipen*, qu'on utilise parfois dans le sens d'affirmation, mérite un peu plus de discussion, car son historique est assez curieux. On le rencontre d'abord dans le *DBEF* comme mot roncalais. Le sens indiqué est «consentement», «approbation», sens qu'Azkue répétera plus tard dans son étude «Particularidades del dialecto roncalés»:

consentimiento, *baipen* (p. 352). Il faut y voir une variante de *baimen* au *p* renforcé, qui doit reposer sur *bait* + *pen*, pour la forme *bait*, réduction de *baita*, comparez le verbe souletin⁴ *baitetsi* «approuver», de *bait(a)+etsi*.

Puis, tout à coup, dans le dictionnaire de Bera et Lopez Mendizabal paru en 1916, le mot *baipen* se voit attribuer un sens supplémentaire, celui d'affirmation («afirmación, aserto»), sens qui manque encore dans le dictionnaire du seul Bera de l'an 1909. Cette tête de pont une fois établie, le mot *baipen* au sens d'affirmation a effectué des incursions occasionnelles dans la langue littéraire. Ainsi, en 1930, on le trouve sous la plume du poète Lizardi quand il écrit en prose: *Beste baipen edo afirmazio bat...* (*Itz-lauz*, p. 144). Rikardo Arregi en use aussi dans l'article cité (p. 42). Pourtant il est aisé à voir que le sens imputé ne répond pas à la formation du mot. Le dérivé *baipen* suppose une base verbale, qui ne peut être que le verbe *baitu*. Ce verbe existe et possède plusieurs sens, mais point celui d'affirmer. Pour ce sens on se sert de *baiezpatu* ou de *baieztu*. Félicitons donc le *Hautala-lanerako enskal hiztegia* d'Ibon Sarasola d'avoir omis la forme *baipen* et de laisser aux locuteurs du batua le choix entre *baiezpaten* et *baiezpen* pour «affirmation», distinguant celui-ci de *baiespen*, qui vient de *baietsi* et veut dire «approbation». Le *HLEH* n'a fait d'ailleurs que codifier l'usage de la majorité, comme il ressort des données du *Corpus 1977*, qui recueille 9 fois *baiezpaten*, 4 fois *baiezpen*, et une seule fois *baipen*.

Pour en revenir à la dissimilation, notons enfin que la forme non-dissimulée **aipapen* au lieu d'*aipamen* «mention» n'est attestée nulle part, comme nous confirme le *DGV*. C'est une forme tout à fait impossible.

En fin de compte, on peut affirmer ceci: La Règle de Dissimilation est toujours de rigueur dans les dérivés traditionnels que nous avons cités; par contre, elle ne s'applique plus aux dérivés nouveaux à base romane, tels que, par exemple, *aplikapen* «application», *deskribapen* «description», *errepikapen* «répétition».

Outre le système régulier que nous venons de décrire, il existe un système différent, qu'on dirait plus ancien, et que nous appellerons le système périphérique.

Il se caractérise par une règle d'Immunsation plus restreinte et une règle d'Assimilation plus générale:

1b. Règle restreinte d'Immunsation:

Si le phonème précédant le *p* de -PEN est une occlusive, affriquée ou fricative, ce *p* est renforcé et devient inaltérable.

Donc, d'après la règle restreinte, le *p* n'est renforcé ni par une liquide (*l, r, r*) ni par une nasale (*n*).

2b. Règle généralisée d'Assimilation:

La consonne initiale de -PEN s'adoucit en *m*, s'il y a un *u* initial, une liquide ou une nasale dans la dernière ou avant-dernière syllabe de la base.

3b. Règle de Dissimilation: La même que celle du système régulier.

⁴ Référence à supprimer, car, comme l'a montré M. Michelena, ce prétendu verbe, marqué «BN, L, S» dans le *DBEF*, ne dérive que d'une interprétation erronée d'une phrase d'Oihenart: *Otsaak zer baitetsa, otsamak donbetsa* (Oihenart, N. 390).

Rien que par la forme des règles énoncées, il est aisé à voir qu'un *p* tournant en *m* sous l'empire du système régulier, en fera de même sous le système périphérique. Mais la proposition inverse est fautive. Il est clair qu'un *p* tournant en *m* sous le système périphérique, ne le fera pas nécessairement sous le système régulier. Il y a bon nombre de *p* invariables sous le système régulier qui changent en *m* sous le système périphérique. Car, par l'effet combiné des règles 1b et 2b, il suffit de la présence de l'un des phonèmes *l*, *r* ou *n* à la finale de la base pour provoquer le changement du *p* en *m*. De là les mots suivants:

- agermen*: «manifestation», «apparition», «révélation» (Voir *DGV*).
agurmen: «salutation» (M. Soroa Lasa, *Anton Kaikeu*, viii, cf. *DGV*).
aitormen: «confession» (Tartas, *Olsa*, pp. 15, 16, 135, voir aussi *DGV*).
egimen: «action» (E. Arrese, *Olerki Berr.* 8, Azkue, *Bein*, 44, voir *DRA*).
egomen: «résidence».
egormen: «envoi» (Lhande, voir *DRA*).
erantzumen: «réponse».
galmen: «perte», «ruine» (Lardizabal, Uriarte).
hitzarmen: «convention» (Lhande).
salmen: «vente» (*DBEF*).
sarmen: «entrée», «introduction» (*Guernicaco Gabon* [1764], *BAP* xxii, 1966, p. 164).
zuzemen: «préparation».

Comme on voit, la nasale *n* qui a provoqué le changement du *p*, tombe elle-même devant le nouveau *m*.

À moins que le *p* de -PEN ne soit renforcé, le changement à -*men* est aussi déclenché par ces mêmes phonèmes en position non-finale. Pour la nasale, je renvoie aux exemples déjà cités à propos du système régulier: *sendamen* «guérison», etc. Pour la latérale, on peut citer:

- alamen*: «irritation» «réprimande» (Etcheberri de Sare, Pouvreau, Larr.).
aldamen: «changement» (Monho, Duvoisin, Arbelbide, Azkue, voir *DGV*).
dolamen: «lamentation» (Axular, D'Argaiñarantz. Etcheb. de Sare, Haraneder).
luzamen: «délai» (*DBEF*).

Pour la vibrante:

- argimen*: «explication» (Larramendi *DT*, cf. *DRA*).
aurkimen: «découverte» (cf. *HLEH*).
gerthamen: «événement» (*DBEF*: Duvoisin).
gezurtamen: «démenti» (Larramendi: *Carta a Mendiburu*).
goramen: «exaltation» (*DBEF*).
kardamen: «cardage» (Larramendi, *DT*, cardadura).

Tâchons maintenant de déterminer, du moins approximativement, quelle est la répartition géographique des deux systèmes. Pour ce faire, nous allons nous servir

de quelques mots diagnostiques, comparant la distribution des formes *agermen* et *agerpen*, *aitormen* et *aitorpen*, *galmen* et *galpen*, *salmen* et *salpen*.

En ce qui concerne *agermen* et *aitormen*, nous n'avons qu'à mettre à profit l'information surabondante réunie dans les pages du magnifique *DGV*, qui porte le nom de l'éminent savant que nous commémorons. D'après l'article combiné *agermen* — *agerpen*, on observe les faits suivants: La forme *agermen* se trouve chez les auteurs biscayens, notamment J. A. Mogel, V. Mogel, P. Añibarro et D. Aguirre, et chez l'écrivain guipuzcoan J. Guerrico (1740-1824). La forme *agermen*, déjà attestée dans le *DT* de Larramendi (voir *aparecimiento*), se trouve chez des auteurs labourdins, notamment chez Duvoisin, et chez les auteurs guipuzcoans d'époque plus moderne: A. Zabala, T. Alzaga, J. Barandiarán, N. Etxaniz, et j'en passe encore. Pour les formes *aitormen* et *aitorpen* il y a deux articles séparés dans le *DGV*, sans doute parce que le sens de «reconnaissance» ne s'attache qu'à la seule forme *aitormen*. Dans le sens de «confession», *aitormen* (ou sa variante biscayenne *autormen*) est attesté chez Mendiburu, chez le père Ubillos, et chez nombre d'auteurs biscayens et guipuzcoans du dix-neuvième siècle: Añibarro, Lardizabal, Iztueta, Arrue, Zabala, Otaegi, Antia, Arrese Beitia, D. Aguirre, etc. Également chez les septentrionaux Jauretche, Laphitz, Larzabal et Mirande. Chose curieuse, le *DGV* néglige de nous informer que le premier témoignage du mot *aitormen* provient de Tartas, *Oña hilceco bidia*, pp. 15, 16 et 135.

La forme *aitorpen*, mentionnée dans le dictionnaire de Bera de 1909, ne paraît avoir été employée que depuis 1919, et, semble-t-il, uniquement par des auteurs guipuzcoans. L'absence de cette forme chez tout auteur labourdin peut choquer à première vue. Elle s'explique cependant en observant que dans le dialecte labourdin la forme simple *aithor* est encore pleinement vivante comme substantif, rendant par là les dérivés *aitorpen* et *aitormen* parfaitement inutiles. Notez que les auteurs qui emploient *aitormen* sont bas-navarrais ou souletins plutôt que labourdins.

Pour nous renseigner sur *galmen* et *galpen*, il faut tourner vers le *DBEF* et le *DRA*. Le *DBEF* ne connaît que *galmen*, caractérisé comme «BN, Cc, L», avec pour toute citation la phrase d'Uriarte: *Izango da zure galmenerako* (Ex. 34,12). Ajoutons au moins de notre part Lardizabal, *Testamentu berriko kondaira edo historia*, pp. 57, 173 et 232.

Pour trouver la forme *galpen*, il faut ouvrir le quatrième volume du *DRA*, où sont cités trois auteurs, tous labourdins: Duhalde (*Meditacioneac*, p. 407), Lapeyre (*Jesusen bibotz*, 6) et Duvoisin, *Lk* 2,34). Dans mon *Appendice* on trouvera indiqués 40 autres passages de la Bible de Duvoisin où figure la forme *galpen*.

Pour «vente», le *DBEF* donne *salpen* comme du labourdin commun, et *salmen* comme AN?, B-m; avec l'exemple *salmenean daukagu* (B-m) «nous le vendons».

En tant que témoignages du système régulier, citons encore Axular qui emploie la forme *iratzarpentasun* «exhortation» (Chap. viii, 1; p. 159), et Pouvreau avec les formes *isurpen* «effusion» (*Pet. Oeuvres*, p. 62) et *itzulpen* (ibid., p. 75).

Il semble donc bien que le système régulier existait déjà au dix-septième siècle. Alors, les données que je viens de rappeler au lecteur nous mènent à la conclusion suivante: À l'origine, ce que j'ai appelé le système régulier était limité au Labourd. Ailleurs on trouvait ce que j'ai dénommé le système périphérique, caractérisé par un nombre plus élevé de formes en *-men*. Le système périphérique dominait aussi bien la Basse-Navarre et la Soule que la Biscaye et le Guipuzcoa.

Il est sans doute le plus ancien, le système régulier étant une innovation labourdine. Pourtant, on constate que depuis le début du vingtième siècle le système régulier gagne de plus en plus du terrain dans les publications au Sud des Pyrénées. Les données numériques du *Corpus* 1977 le démontrent clairement: *agermen*: 2, *agerpen*: 43; *aitormen*: 14, *aitorpen*: 23; *egimen*: 1, *egipen*: 4.

Je conclus qu'on peut affirmer sans risque d'erreur que le système régulier prédomine aujourd'hui, non seulement en Guipuzcoa, mais encore dans la Biscaye. A mon opinion, cela se doit moins au rayonnement culturel du Labourd qu'à des raisons purement structurales. En effet, le système régulier est plus transparent, en tant que les formatives de surface *-pen* et *-men* correspondent directement aux morphèmes *-PEN* et *-MEN* beaucoup plus souvent que dans le système périphérique. Or, on sait que l'horreur de l'opacité est un facteur de changement, l'évolution linguistique tendant la plupart du temps vers la simplification et la transparence. C'est dans ce sens qu'il faut entendre les paroles de Michelena à la tête de l'article *aitorpen* du *DGV*:

Pero, según la teoría, *-pen* indica acto y *-men* facultad, por lo que, en estas y otras palabras, se tendió a sustituir *-men* por *-pen* siempre que se hablara de actos, acciones, etc. y no de facultades y capacidades. (*DGV*, I, p. 434).

C'est aussi en accord avec cette tendance, prépondérante à présent parmi ceux qui écrivent en langue batua, que j'ai préféré proposer comme norme le système régulier plutôt que le système périphérique, prédominant dans le passe.

Notre analyse ne peut se terminer sans consacrer quelques lignes à la forme *-tzapen*, propre du labourdin ainsi que des dialectes de la Navarre, mais assez rare en souletin. Dans son livre *Palabras vascas compuestas y derivadas*, le père Villasante, à l'instar du père Lafitte, traite cette forme comme suffixe autonome (p. 138). Il est clair, cependant, qu'entre *-PEN* et *-tzapen* il n'y a aucune différence de sens. Dans sa traduction de la Bible, le capitaine Duvoisin emploie indifféremment *agerpen* ou *agertzapen* pour «révélation», *aldapen* ou *aldatzapen* pour «changement», *argipen* ou *argitzapen* pour «interprétation», *biburpen* ou *biburtzapen* pour «restitution», *erreberripen* ou *erriberritzapen* pour «rénovation», *errepén* ou *erretzapen* pour «brûlure», *galpen* ou *galtzapen* pour «perte», *garbipen* ou *garbitzapen* pour «purification», *orhoi(t)pen* ou *orhoitzapen* pour «souvenir», *urrikalpen* ou *urrikaltzapen* pour «miséricorde» (Pour plus de détails, voir mon *Appendice*).

Il faut aussi observer que la forme *-tzapen* ne peut s'unir qu'à une base verbale dont le participe passé termine par *-tu* / *-du*, ou une voyelle autre que la voyelle *i*. On connaît *egipen* «acte», mais non pas **egitzapen*; il y a *ekarpen* «apport», «contribution», mais non pas *-ekartzapen*; *erospen* «achat», mais non pas **erostapen*. Une seule exception: *hastapen* «début», plus fréquemment employé que *haspen*, du verbe en *-i* *hasi* «commencer». Le dérivé *hertsapen* «oppression» (Duvoisin, *Ekli*. 40, 9) provient de *hertsatu* «opprimer», et non pas de *hertsi* «serren», qui produit le dérivé *hertsipen* «embarras». La situation rappelle, comme l'a noté Michelena, l'alternance des deux variantes du suffixe agentif, *-le* et *-tzaille*, également conditionnée par la forme du participe passé, et cela d'une façon à peu près identique.

Bien sûr, le choix entre les variante *-le* et *-tzaille* se trouve totalement déterminé par la forme du participe. Dès que la forme *-tzaille* est permise, elle est obligatoire; ainsi l'on dira *esnatzaille* «réveilleur», et non pas *esnale*, n'en déplût à l'*Euskal Eснаlea* d'illustre mémoire.

Il n'en est pas de même pour *-tzapen*, dont l'usage n'est jamais obligatoire, sinon pour des motifs purement stylistiques.

Dans cet état de choses, plutôt que de postuler l'existence de deux suffixes autonomes, mais synonymes et partiellement identiques, il semble préférable de s'en tenir au seul suffixe -PEN. Il suffit de dire que, pour des raisons historiques, certaines bases verbales qui font leur participe passé en *-tu* ont l'option d'intercaler entre elles et le suffixe -PEN un formant *-tzat-*, sémantiquement vide, servant à renforcer le suffixe.

Le *t* final de *-tzat-* renforce le *p* de -PEN, ce qui explique que le résultat est invariablement *-tzapen*, même à l'intérieur du système périphérique où l'on trouvera *galmen* mais *galtzapen*. Ce *t* final que nous venons d'invoquer risquerait de sembler un expédient trop facile, s'il n'était en fait attesté. Dans le *Dictionnaire françois e basque* inséré dans la *Gramatica escuaraz eta francesez* de Martin de Harriet (1741) on lit «souverance: orroitzapena» (p. 427). Remarquons finalement que du point de vue historique l'identité formelle entre notre formant *-tzat-* et la désinence du prolatif ou destinatif n'est sans doute pas tout à fait fortuite.

Voilà enfin complétée l'analyse des suffixes -PEN et -MEN. Voyons pour terminer comment elle arrive à rendre compte de la confusion, ou du moins l'indécision, qui semble régner à leur égard dans l'usage actuel.

À ce propos, il faut d'abord attirer l'attention sur un fait essentiel. Pour la majorité des habitants du Guipuzcoa et de la Biscaye, les suffixes -PEN et -MEN appartiennent au style littéraire plutôt élevé. On ne les emploie guère dans la conversation courante. Il est vrai que le locuteur moyen connaît suffisamment de dérivés formés avec eux pour que ces suffixes acquièrent une certaine réalité psychologique. Néanmoins, pour beaucoup de locuteurs, les deux suffixes pourraient fort bien ne pas faire partie de la compétence linguistique au sens propre, qui est intuitive et dont les règles s'appliquent de façon automatique et inconsciente. C'est à dire que leur comportement dans l'usage se laissera facilement dicter par des facteurs conscients. Des considérations de tout ordre interviendront dans un sens ou l'autre, y compris, bien entendu, les préjugés fomentés par les auteurs de traités de grammaire. Comme le lecteur qui a suivi mon exposé devinera sans peine, il est question de deux préjugés contraires mais également faux. D'une part, le préjugé qui, faisant table rase du jeu complexe de la phonologie synchronique, veut que la formative *-men* soit invariablement réservée pour exprimer la «puissance», l'«acte» s'exprimant toujours par *-pen*; et d'autre part, le préjugé, non moins pernicieux, qui prétend que les formatives *-pen* et *-men* ne sont que des variantes plus ou moins arbitraires d'un seul et même suffixe. Il ira sans dire que la tenacité de ces préjugés divergents constitue un facteur indéniabla de désordre à l'intérieur du style littéraire.

Comme je viens de le suggérer, les suffixes que nous traitons ici souffrent d'intégration imparfaite dans la compétence linguistique d'un grand nombre de sujets parlants. C'est pourquoi la moindre complication qui se présente s'érige en obstacle presque infranchissable. Et si notre analyse est correcte, les complications ne manquent pas.

Commençons par le moindre des maux, les complications du côté sémantique. Le sens de -PEN et celui de -MEN sont tous deux des plus abstraits, et, par là même, en quelque sorte difficile à assimiler. En outre, le sens de -MEN en particulier se présente assez compliqué par son manque apparent d'uniformité: capacité, puissance, disposition de l'âme, émotion, etc.

De plus, si l'emploi correct des deux suffixes exige de bien distinguer leurs sens, il est un peu fâcheux qu'il y ait des notions qui se laissent considérer tout autant comme disposition de l'âme, donc suffixe -MEN, que comme terme d'un procès ou d'une activité d'ordre psychologique exprimé par le verbe, donc suffixe -PEN.

Dans cette situation d'ambiguïté, l'usage contemporain semble favoriser la forme en -PEN. L'expression de la notion d'espoir ou de celle de son absence en fournit un bon exemple. Le *Corpus* 1977 ne recueille aucune citation d'*etsimen* ni d'*itxaromen*, tandis que la forme *etsipen* y figure 23 fois, et la forme *itxaropen* non moins de 117 fois. Pour celle-ci, on ne peut que soupçonner que l'importance de la maison d'éditions *Itxaropena* n'est pas étrangère à sa popularité. De plus, on peut se demander si la prépondérance actuelle de la forme *itxaropen*, attestée déjà en l'an 1891 dans un cantique de Noël d'Abando (Cf. A. Irigoyen, «Bilbo eta euskara», *Euskera* XXII 1977, p. 422) et plus tard chez Uriarte (*Bula alavesa*, p. 50), ne représente pas simplement le passage du système périphérique au système régulier, car, après tout, on ne peut exclure la possibilité que la forme *itxaromen*, employée tant de fois par l'écrivain biscayen Añibarro dans sa traduction du *Guero Guero*, appartienne au domaine du suffixe -PEN, la liquide *r* de la base *itxaron* (ou encore sa nasale finale) déclenchant la Règle généralisée d'Assimilation à l'intérieur du système périphérique.

Cependant, une telle explication ne saurait valoir pour la relative popularité de la forme *etsipen* au dépens de la forme *etsimen*, forme abondamment attestée chez les auteurs guipuzcoans du dix-neuvième siècle, comme Guerrico (*esperanzaren falta edo etsimena edo desesperazioa*, *Cristau Doctrina*, II, p. 128, cf. *DRA*), Lardizabal, Antia et Iztueta (*Guip. Prov. Kondaira...*, p. 448, mais *etsipen* aux pages 240 et 261).

De toute façon, ce que j'ai voulu faire observer, c'est qu'il y a une classe de dérivés où les sens respectifs de -PEN et -MEN se confondent tout naturellement, et que cette confusion pourrait bien contribuer à créer l'impression que les formes *-pen* et *-men* ne sont que des variantes arbitraires d'un même suffixe.

Laissons là les questions sémantiques, et passons à l'aspect phonétique de notre analyse. Ici, il faut bien l'avouer, l'existence de plusieurs systèmes phonologiques qui se disputent le terrain —le système régulier, le système périphérique et sans doute aussi des systèmes de transition— représente une complication formidable qui, à elle seule, même sans l'intervention maladroite des grammairiens, suffirait à provoquer la confusion que nous avons évoquée.

L'analyse que j'ai élaborée dans l'essai qu'on vient de lire reste tentative sous bien des rapports. Toutefois, il me semble qu'elle contient des éléments indispensables pour l'intelligence du comportement si varié des suffixes discutés. Il faut dire que le langage, en général, est moins capricieux qu'on ne pense; et c'est pourquoi j'ose affirmer que, dans chaque parler où nos suffixes se trouvent vraiment intégrés, il y aura des règles précises gouvernant leur sens et leur emploi.

Comme un essai de ce genre doit rester sur un plan assez général, il est plus que probable que des inexactitudes, voire des incorrections, pour ne pas dire des erreurs, aient été involontairement commises à cause des limitations de l'information dont j'ai pu disposer. C'est à déplorer, encore qu'inévitable, et je le regrette on ne peut plus profondément. La réalité linguistique étant trop complexe pour la saisir tout d'un coup, je serais heureux si cet essai, malgré ses défauts, pouvait servir de base provisoire à ce qui serait une première approximation vers une description adéquate des phénomènes étudiés.

Bien des lecteurs éprouveraient de la déception si je concluais cette exposition sans proposer d'étymologie pour les suffixes dont les vicissitudes ont si longtemps captivé notre attention. Je pense ici surtout aux lecteurs basques, puisque chez eux l'ardeur passionnée pour les questions étymologiques tient lieu de vice.

Comme un lecteur qui s'est donné la peine de m'accompagner aussi loin dans mes errances mérite sûrement des égards, il faudra bien que je m'exécute. Je ne le fais cependant qu'avec la plus grande hésitation, car, il faut bien le dire, dans l'état pitoyable de nos connaissances, les étymologies que l'on sait avancer pour des suffixes dont la genèse antédater nos premiers textes, relèvent le plus souvent de la pure spéculation.

Sous ces réserves, j'aimerais faire les suggestions suivantes. Les dérivés de -MEN surgirent originellement comme des composés formés à l'aide du mot indépendant *men*⁵ signifiant «sujétion» et «occasion», d'où la forme dérivée *menpe* «autorité», «subordination» dans les dialectes guipuzcoan et biscayen, qui perdirent assez tôt la forme originelle *men*. Ainsi, le parler du père Larramendi ne le connaît plus, si bien que celui-ci, en composant son dictionnaire, en fut réduit à déduire le fantôme *menea* de *menean*: «poder; dominio: *menea, mendea, boterea, poderea*» et encore: «Patria, potestas: *aïta ménea*» (*DT*, II, 141), pourtant il donne aussi *guremena* «nuestra fuerza, potestad, dominio» (*DT*, II, p. 30). Dans les dialectes septentrionaux, le mot *men* a survécu jusqu'à nos jours au sens de «juridiction». Le capitaine Duvoisin s'en servit dans sa traduction de la Bible, par exemple, *eta ez jar bekhatura eramanen zaituen gizonaren meneko* correspond à la phrase latine *et ne subiicias te omni homini pro peccato* (*Ecclésiastique*, 4, 31). Cela, bien entendu, n'est que le début de l'histoire. Il me semble indéniable que la propagation du suffixe -MEN, et notamment son application aux états de l'âme, doit beaucoup, sinon tout, à l'existence préalable du suffixe d'origine romane -*mendu*/-*mentu* de sens voisin. Ainsi, *adimen* «intelligence», qu'on rencontre d'abord chez J. A. Mog(u)el (dans le vocabulaire inséré à la fin de son ouvrage *Confesiño Ona*, Vitoria 1803: *Aditu, Adimena*: «Entender, Inteligencia»), est précédé du mot de même sens *adimendu* (attesté dès Etxepare et Beriayn, cf. le *DGI*); *begiramen* «circonspection» (*Iztueta, Kondaira*, pp. 22, 28, 35, 99, 182, 211, 242, de l'an 1847) est précédé de *begiramentu* (*Aguirre Asteasu, Eracusaldia*, de l'an 1808); de même pour *etsimen, itsumen, nabasmen, zoramen* etc., qui avaient été précédés des mots *etsimendu, itsumendu, nabasmendu, zoramendu*, etc.

Précisons bien qu'il n'y a pas lieu de croire que le suffixe -*mendu* se soit réduit à -*men* par apocope de la syllabe finale, par usure phonétique. Il y a eu plutôt substitution morphologique. Le motif de cette substitution réside dans le souci de pureté, souci qui ne date pas d'hier et qui semble être l'apanage des gens cultivés, de ceux donc qui emploient le plus de mots abstraits. Parmi ceux-ci, les dérivés en -*mendu* tenaient une grande place, si bien que les cercles cultivés ne pouvaient aucunement s'en passer, quoi que le suffixe en question fût de filiation plus que suspecte. Dans ce dilemme, les courants puristes ont sauté sur le suffixe -MEN, disponible et tout proche de sens, qu'on considèrerait plus basque, et par là préférable au suffixe «barbare» -*mendu*.

⁵ Quel est l'étymologie de ce *men*? Aurait-il quelque chose à voir avec le gascon *man* ou le français *main*? Duvoisin traduit par *gure etsayen menetik* la phrase latine *de manu omnium qui oderunt nos* de Luc 1, 71. Notez aussi la phrase *Premia da ura menean izan dezaten beithi* (*Laborantzako liburua*, p. 288), également de Duvoisin.

Les premiers exemples de cette substitution se seraient produits, si je ne me trompe, dès la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle, étant donné que la forme *itsumen* est attestée chez Cardaberaz (*Cristauaren bicitza*, p. 80, de l'an 1774). Notons toutefois que le purisme n'a pas réussi à extirper le barbare. Dans le Guipuzcoa et la Bizcaye, régions où l'emploi de -MEN est le plus diffusé, le vieux suffixe *-mendu*, toujours jeune, n'en finit point de lui faire concurrence.

Quant à -PEN, il faut situer son origine dans les régions du Nord, car c'est là que la langue basque était en contact avec le français et d'autres parlers romans où le suffixe latin *-mentum* était devenu monosyllabique. Par l'emprunt continu de mots romans avec ce suffixe — *laudamen* «douange» provenant du gascon en fournit un exemple— le suffixe *-men* s'est introduit dans les parlers basques du Nord, qui l'ont assimilé et s'en sont servis aussi pour des racines purement basques. C'est ce suffixe *-men* qui, moyennant la chute d'une voyelle intermédiaire posttonique, donna naissance au suffixe -PEN. Ainsi l'on a: *sinistamen* > *sinistmen* (Ubillos) > *sinispen*; *ikustamen* > *ikustmen* > *ikuspen*; *berezamen* > *berezmen* > *berezpen*, par la chute de la voyelle posttonique suivie d'assimilation consonnantique. La chute de la voyelle posttonique ne relève pas du basque commun, elle ne s'est produite que dans des territoires isolés à l'intérieur du domaine où régnait l'accent d'intensité. C'est donc à partir d'une ou plusieurs régions assez limitées que le suffixe -PEN s'est diffusé dans une bonne partie du Pays Basque.

Notons, en guise de conclusion, le décalage frappant qui se manifeste entre l'analyse étymologique et l'analyse synchronique. Pour celle-ci la forme fondamentale du suffixe est *-pen*, pour celle-là c'est *-men*.

Seconde partie: Aperçu historique

Du moment que l'analyse proprement dite a été complétée dans la première partie, dans cette partie finale du travail la parole est aux textes. Les dérivés en -PEN et -MEN, quand et par qui ont-ils été employés?

Voilà une question qui invite à une grande promenade à travers les textes littéraires, promenade que j'ai entamée moitié par curiosité, moitié pour croire à son utilité pour l'analyse théorique présentée dans la première partie de ce travail. Il faut avouer d'emblée que le terrain que j'ai été en mesure de parcourir n'a pas toute l'ampleur qu'on aurait pu souhaiter. Malgré les belles bibliothèques de mes illustres prédécesseurs W. J. van Eys et C. C. Uhlenbeck, laissées à la bibliothèque universitaire de Leyde, la documentation basque disponible aux Pays-Bas laisse encore quelque peu à désirer.

J'ose croire néanmoins que les données que j'ai réunies mériteraient d'être communiquées à d'autres chercheurs, ne fût-ce que pour leur épargner la peine de battre les mêmes sentiers.

J'en ferai donc ici l'exposé, en procédant, comme il est naturel, par ordre strictement chronologique. Je commencerai par l'étude des premiers textes, et, sans pousser plus avant par souci de ne pas allonger cet essai outre mesure, je finirai par un bref examen de l'oeuvre du capitaine Duvoisin.

Quel est le texte basque le plus ancien? Il y a d'abord les textes mineurs recueillis par Michelena dans son étude fondamentale *Textos arcaicos vascos (TAV)*.

De la lecture de ce livre je ne me rappelle aucun exemple des suffixes qui nous intéressent.

Ni d'ailleurs dans les additions de María Milagros Bidegain parues dans *ASJU* I (1967) ou dans celles d'Ibon Sarasola publiées dans *ASJU* XVII (1983). Pour ce qui est des textes de plus grande envergure, on cite habituellement l'ouvrage d'Ettxepare, *Linguae vasconum primitiae*, publié en 1545, comme le plus ancien. Cependant, du point de vue de l'évolution de la langue, j'accorderai volontiers la priorité aux proverbes de la collection connue sous le nom de *Refranes y Sentencias de 1596 (RS)*. Que ces proverbes antéditent de beaucoup leur année de publication est un fait garanti a priori par leur caractère traditionnel et démontré a posteriori par l'état de langue archaïque qu'ils nous révèlent.

Je commencerai donc par eux. L'étude de leur vocabulaire a été grandement facilitée par le travail de M. J. Soto Michelena, paru dans *ASJU* XII-XIII (1978-79), 15-86. Grâce à lui, on s'aperçoit immédiatement qu'il n'y a dans *RS* aucun exemple de -PEN ou -MEN, et non plus de -mendu ou -mendi. Il en est de même pour les Proverbes de Garibay (RG), dont le vocabulaire a été étudié par J. R. Zubiaur et J. Arzamendi dans *ASJU* X (1976), 47-144. Egalement pour la collection d'Isasti, publiée dans *TAV* (3.3.3).

Il serait par trop téméraire d'en conclure que ces suffixes n'existaient pas à l'époque où ces proverbes se formèrent. L'argument ex silentio est toujours des plus précaires —avertissement sur lequel aimait tant à insister notre Maître regretté— et particulièrement dans le cas d'une collection de proverbes, genre qui affectionne un langage concret et pittoresque, et tolère mal les termes abstraits. D'autre part, l'enquête ne s'avère pas négative pour toutes les collections de proverbes. Dans les proverbes de Zalgiz, il y a *abamen* «bouchée»: *Abamen gaitzak, begiak gorri*. (Proverbe N.º 17). Aucun autre exemple de nos suffixes, ni de -mendu, dans ces proverbes, comme on peut voir de l'étude de J. Arzamendi et M. Azkarate: «*Léxico de los refranes de B. de Zalgiz*», *ASJU* XVII (1983), 265-327.

Dans la collection d'Oihenart, par contre, il y a trois exemples: *gorapen* et *beberapen* dans le numéro 160, et *ibardespén* dans le numéro 373.

Examinons maintenant le premier livre basque imprimé qu'on connaisse: *Linguae vasconum primitiae* du prêtre Bernard d'Ettxepare, datant de l'an 1545. Nous le ferons à l'aide du *Lexicón decheperiano*, confectionné par le spécialiste dans la matière, F. M. Altuna Bengoechea S.J. Résultat: il n'y a aucun exemple de -PEN ni de -MEN; pourtant les mots abstraits ne manquent pas. Parmi ceux-ci figurent huit mots en -mendu: *adimendu, barkhamendu, endelgamendu, estamendu, konplimendu, luzamendu, manamendu, salbamendu*.

La seconde place dans la chronologie des publications basques est tenue par les oeuvres de Leizarraga de Briscous, publiées en 1571. Comme ces oeuvres sont d'un volume considérable, comprenant une traduction complète du *Nouveau Testament* ainsi que de longs traités d'instruction religieuse, notre enquête aurait été des plus pénibles sans le secours du lexique complet dû aux généreux efforts du célèbre poète Gabriel Aresti, et publié dans *FLV* V (1973), N.º 13, 61-128. Grâce à lui, nous pouvons aisément découvrir qu'il y a dans Leizarraga deux dérivés en -MEN:

abamen (bouchée): *S. Ioan* 13, 26; 13, 27; 13, 31.

bedamen (étendue): *Apost. Acteac* 17, 26.

et quatre exemples de -PEN:

aiphamen (mention): *Catechismaea*, E V r.

galtzapen (perte, ruine): *Advertimendua*, première page, 6^e ligne du bas.

iziapen (crainte, timidité): *S. Mat.* 28,8; *S. Marc* 16,8; *Cor.* II 5,11; *Tim.* II 1,7; *Apoc.* 11,11.

orhoitzapen (souvenir): *Philip.* 1,3.

Comme le lexique d'Aresti ne fournit aucun détail, il ne fut pas toujours facile de localiser ces mots. Ainsi la localisation d'*aiphamen* provient du *DGV* (p. 386), et je dois celle de *galtzapen* aux bons soins de mon érudit ami Felipe Yurramendi de St. Sébastien, qui ajoute le renseignement que ce mot ne se présente qu'une seule fois dans toute l'oeuvre de Leizarraga.

Pour l'explication de la forme *iziapen*, je renvoie à la thèse de Michelena, qui la dérive de la forme attendue **izitzapen* au moyen de la perte dissimilatoire d'une sifflante à l'intérieur du mot, (*FHV*, p. 293).

Continuons notre promenade. Dans la *Doctrina christiana* de Betolaza, publiée à Bilbao en 1596, et republiée par Michelena en 1955, il y a des mots d'emprunt en -mentu (*juramentu*, *mandamentu*, *pensamentu*, *prometimentu*), mais aucun exemple de -PEN ni de -MEN.

Bien que la *Doctrina christiana* de Materre publiée à Bordeaux (première édition 1617, seconde 1623) ne m'ait pas été directement accessible, je dispose de toute l'information nécessaire grâce à l'effort de M. J. A. Lakarra, qui a bien voulu dépouiller le texte de la seconde édition. Il n'y a aucun exemple du suffixe -MEN, mais on relève nombre de dérivés en -mendu: *adimendu*, *barkamendu*, *manamendu*, *salbamendu*, *tentamendu*, *urrikalmendu*, *urrikimendu*. Il y a, par contre, trois dérivés en -PEN: *erospen* (rédemption) p. 231; *hatsbeberapen* (soupir) p. 6; *orhoitzapen* (souvenir) p. 132, p. 188, p. 252.

Pour l'oeuvre de Beriayn, je n'ai pu consulter que le *Tratado de como se ha de oyr misa*, publié à Pampelune en 1621, où je n'ai trouvé aucun exemple de -PEN ou -MEN. M. Lakarra m'a communiqué que sa lecture de l'autre ouvrage qu'on connaît de Beriayn, la *Doctrina christiana* publiée à Pampelune en 1621, est également restée sans résultat. L'étendue de ces deux textes étant assez considérable pour exclure les effets de l'hasard, on peut conclure ceci: Beriayn n'a pas utilisé de dérivés en -PEN ou -MEN, soit que, lui-même, il ne les connaissait point, soit qu'il savait que les fidèles des régions que touchait son ministère les ignoraient. Comme Beriayn était curé d'Uterga, situé tout près de la limite sud du domaine bascofphone de son temps, cette conclusion s'harmonise parfaitement avec l'origine nettement septentrionale que nous avons postulée pour les suffixes en question.

Nous arrivons maintenant à l'oeuvre de Joannes Etcheberri de Ciboure, dont le premier livre parut en 1627. J'ai pu examiner la première partie du *Manual devotioez-coa* (*M*), dans l'édition d'Altuna, ainsi que *Noelak* (*N*), dans l'édition d'Akesolo. Voici le résultat (pour *M*, les numéros se réfèrent au vers, pour *N*, aux pages):

aiphamen (mention): *M* 1741, *M* 2401, *M* 3130, *M* 3139, *M* 3339, *N* 156.

iduripen (ressemblance): *M* 2328.

iraupen (constance, durée): *M* 942, *M* 1871, *M* 2999 (rubrique)

itxurapen (apparence): *M* 2624.
nabastapen (confusion): *M* 2928, *M* 2944.
orboitzapen (souvenir): *M* 995, *M* 1285, *M* 2661, *M* 3148, *N* 43, *N* 121,
N 125, *N* 149, *N* 174.

La deuxième partie du *Manual devotioezcoa*, que M. J. A. Lakarra a eu la bonté de dépouiller, n'offre rien de nouveau. On y trouve quatre exemples supplémentaires du mot *orboitzapen* (p. 40, p. 43, p. 80, p. 99) et un autre exemple du mot *aiphamen* dans le sens de «mention» (p. 51).

Le dernier livre d'Etcheberri, *Eliçara erabiltceco liburua*, fut publié à Bordeaux en 1636. M. Lakarra a bien voulu en examiner la seconde édition, qui date de 1665. Il y a découvert les dérivés suivants:

aiphamen (mention): p. 87, p. 163, p. 335, p. 406.
beherapen (déclin de la lune): prologue.
desirapen (désir): p. 419.
iduripen (soupçon): p. 289 (2 fois).
irapen (constance): p. 122, p. 241.
itxurapen (apparence): p. 263, p. 264.
orboitzapen (souvenir): passim. (Quelquefois, par faute d'impression, *orboitçapen* ou même *orboitçapen*).

C'est encore à M. Lakarra que je dois les renseignements qui suivent sur un important ouvrage paru en 1635, le *Devocino esnarra* de Joannes Haranburu. Voici la liste des dérivés qui nous occupent:

desirapen (désir): p. 303, p. 373, p. 382.
dolamen (lamentation): p. 320.
hatsapen (commencement): p. a 7v.
hatsbeherapen (soupir): p. 7, p. 250, p. 327 (2x).
orboitzapen (souvenir): p. a 8r, p. 63, p. 68, p. 70, p. 135, p. 147 (2x), p. 194,
p. 204, p. 289, p. 290, p. 296, p. 341, p. 406, p. 407, p. 430.

Il se fait temps que nous saluions Axular et son livre unique *Gero*, paru en 1643. Pour son étude, il y a une véritable voie royale, le dictionnaire du père Villasante, *Axular-en hiztegia*, paru en 1973. Citant le *Gero* d'après les pages de la première édition de Villasante (Barcelone, 1964), nous trouverons:

aiphamen (mention): p. 46, p. 349, p. 702.
beberatzapen (baisse): p. 315.
dolamen (lamentation): p. 675.
erakuspen (enseignement): p. 538.
eskumen (poignée): p. 748 (et *eskumenka*, p. 314).
galtzapen (partie): p. 315.
goratzapen (hausse): p. 315.
hatsbeherapen (soupir): p. 102, p. 147, p. 284, p. 431, p. 638, p. 744.
iratzarpen (*tasun*) (exhortation): p. 159.

iraupen (durée, persévérance): p. 170, p. 175, p. 588.
itsurapen (apparence): p. 283, p. 425, p. 439, p. 651.
jautsapen (chute): p. 201.
oroiñzapen (souvenir): p. 219, p. 479, p. 498, p. 525, p. 739.

Dans les *Pregariac Bayonaco Diocexacoç* de l'an 1651, il n'y a aucun exemple de -PEN ou -MEN, sauf deux fois *orboiñzapen* (p. 1, p. 14).

Suivant l'ordre chronologique, j'ai examiné de suite le livre de Micoleta *Modo breve de aprender la lengua vizcayna*, écrit en 1653, et la *Doctrina christiana* de Capanaga, publiée à Bilbao en 1656. Ni dans l'un, ni dans l'autre n'ai-je pu découvrir aucun dérivé en -PEN ou -MEN.

Voici maintenant la récolte pour les ouvrages basques d'Oihenart, publiés en 1657:

ahamen (bouchée) O 245.
beberapen (baisse): N 160.
berretzapen (augmentation): *Notes, RIEV* IV (1910), p. 222.
ekoizpen (produit): O 241.
gorapen (hausse): N 160.
ihardetspen (réponse): N 373.

Dans le livre de Harizmendi, *Ama Virginaren hirur officioac* (Bordeaux 1658), il y a trois exemples de mots en -PEN:

erospen (rédemption): p. 88 (texte original: 170)
gorapen (élévation): p. 88 (t.or. 170): «*bihoiñ gorapenetan*» (dans la présomption).
orboiñzapen (souvenir): p. 58 (t. or.: 122)

De l'oeuvre de Silvain Pouvreau, j'ai pu examiner le livre *Gudu espirituala (G)*, paru à Paris en 1665, les *Petites oeuvres (P)*, publiées par Vinson en 1892, et la traduction du Kempis, *Iesusen Imitacionea*, faite vers l'an 1660, livre que je cite par sections. Les dérivés en -PEN et -MEN ne manquent pas:

ahamen (bouchée): G 55.
aiphamen (mention): G 5, G 63, P 35.
gogorapen (considération, méditation): G 148.
gozamen (jouissance, lat. *fruitio*): IV, 1, 11.
batsbeberapen (soupir): I 24, 1; III 21, 3; III 22, 2; III 47, 2; III 48, 2; III 48, 4; III 49,3; III 59, 1; IV 7, 2; IV 12, 3; G 305, P 12.
batsgorapen (soupir): G 280.
iduripen (idée): III 7, 3; III 28, 1; IV 7, 3.
ihardetspen (réponse): III 38, 2; III 59, 9; IV 1,1.
iraupen (durée): G 75.
isurpen (effusion): P 62.
itsurapen (phantasme): III 48, 5.
itzulpen (retour): P 75.
orboiñzapen (souvenir): I 23, 1; III 12, 3; III 48, 5; IV (introduction), IV 2, 5; G 169; G 284; G 287; P 93.

Notons que la forme *burupenic* qu'on lit dans la section I 7, 3 de l'édition Hordago doit être une faute de lecture pour *buruperic*, mot sorti de l'usage. La phrase de Pouvreau *Eztuçula buruperic çure obra onac gatic* traduit la phrase latine *Non superbias de operibus bonis*, phrase où le sens «infatuation», «présomption» de *burupe* convient fort bien. La forme *burupenik* dans l'édition de 1964 du *Gero* (page 690) est également une faute d'impression pour *buruperik*, comme j'ai pu confirmer en examinant la première, seconde et troisième édition du *Gero* à la bibliothèque universitaire de Leyde.

J'ai pu dépouiller encore le fameux dictionnaire manuscrit de Pouvreau, grâce à la bonté du professeur Enrique Knörr, qui a bien voulu me prêter sa précieuse copie. Je présenterai la liste des mots qui nous intéressent en orthographe moderne avec les traductions fournies dans le texte même. Si pour un certain mot la traduction manque, c'est que Pouvreau ne la donne pas. Voici la liste complète:

<i>abamena</i> : morceau, bouchée (p. 9)	<i>hatzbeherapena</i> : soupir; <i>hatzperrena</i>
<i>aiphamena</i> : bruit, renommée (p. 10)	Oih. (p. 121)
<i>aithamena</i> : <i>albamea</i> (p. 10)	<i>hatzgorapena</i> : aspiration (p. 121)
<i>alhamena</i> = <i>aiphamena</i> (p. 14)	<i>jautzapena</i> : chute (p. 134)
<i>beherapena</i> : déclin (p. 38)	<i>izzapena</i> : frayeur, Mt. 28.8. (p. 134)
<i>hatz-beherapena</i> : soupir (p. 38)	<i>iduripena</i> : soupçon (p. 136)
<i>beheratzapena</i> : A 239 (p. 38)	<i>ihardetspena</i> - O: réponse (p. 138)
<i>berrerospena</i> : rachat (p. 41)	<i>illargiaren gorapena</i> : le croissant de la
<i>desirapena</i> : (p. 71)	lune (p. 139)
<i>dolamena</i> : doléance (p. 73)	<i>illargiaren beherapena</i> : le déclin de la
<i>erakuspenna</i> : A (p. 82)	lune (p. 139)
<i>erospena</i> : achat, emptio (p. 86)	<i>iraupena, irantea</i> : durée (p. 143)
<i>eskumena</i> : poignée, manipulus (p. 91)	<i>itsurapena</i> : semblant (p. 145)
<i>galtzapena</i> : perte, <i>perditionea</i> (p. 102)	<i>nabastapena</i> : mélange, confusion
<i>gorapena</i> : élèvement (p. 108)	(p. 169)
<i>goratzapena</i> : A (p. 108)	<i>orhoitzapena</i> : commemoratio (p. 181)
<i>hatsapena, pitztura</i> : principe, com-	<i>billaren orhoitzapena</i> : mémoire qu'on
mencement (p. 120)	fait d'un trépassé (p. 181)

Relevons encore ceci:

mena: instant, *men-menean*: au même instant.
menea: puissance, autorité. *Ene menekoa da*: il est sous mon pouvoir.
Bere menera ekbarriko du: il l'amènera en sa puissance.
Hura bere meneraz gero: Après l'avoir réduit en son pouvoir.
Jainkoaren menean erortzea: tomber entre les mains de Dieu (p. 163)

Comme l'a établi Julio de Urquijo dans son article «Las citas del diccionario de Pouvreau» (*RIEV* III, 1909, 504-519), le sigle *A* réfère à Axular, *O* à Oihenart.

Dans le *Devoten breviarioa* (1665) du père d'Argaiñaratz nous trouvons:

- dolamen* (lamentation): p. 5; p. 7; p. 28.
iraupen (durée): p. 33.
orhoitzapen (souvenir): p. 12; p. 15; p. 49; p. 56; p. 70; p. 72.
sentimen (sentiment): p. 29; p. 84; p. 91.

Nous examinons ensuite le livre *Eguia catholica* de Bernard Gasteluçar, publié à Pau en 1686, que nous citons d'après l'édition de L. Akesolo, Bilbao 1983. La récolte est bien maigre: elle se réduit à deux mots:

- beheraspén* (soupir): p. 47; p. 144; p. 158, p. 171.
beheraspén (soupir): p. 43; p. 45; p. 136.
orhoitzapén (souvenir): p. 84; p. 117; p. 126; p. 127.

Il n'y a aucun exemple de nos suffixes dans le bref ouvrage de Mongongo Dasañça datant de 1692. Dans le *Catechima laburra* de Belapeyre, ouvrage souletin de 1696, il n'y a que deux mots qui nous intéressent. Je citerai ces pages d'après le facsimilé inclu dans l'édition de J. L. Davant (Bilbao, 1983):

- sortzapén*: I, 98 (origine): *sortzapenez, edo izatez...*
ürüpen: I, 145 (apparence); II, 26 (semblant); II 79 (opinion).

Les oeuvres du docteur J. Etcheberri de Sare, auxquelles Julio de Urquijo assignait la date de 1712, sont bien plus fertiles en mots dérivés par -PEN. Ayant consulté l'édition originale d'Urquijo (Paris, 1907) ainsi que celle de Kintana (St. Sébastien, 1972), je citerai celle-ci pour être plus répandue, car les sections omises par ce dernier ne contiennent aucun exemples de -PEN ou -MEN.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>aierupen</i> (soupçon): p. 78. | <i>iraupen</i> (durée): p. 59. |
| <i>aiphamen</i> (mention, citation): p. 53;
p. 61; p. 72; p. 82; p. 108; p. 143;
p. 191. | <i>itzurapen</i> (semblant, apparence):
p. 88; p. 163; p. 175; p. 187;
p. 207. |
| <i>albamen</i> (murmure): p. 205. | <i>jautsapen</i> (soumission): p. 59. |
| <i>beheratzapen</i> (déclin): p. 34; p. 36. | <i>laudamen</i> (louange): p. 122; p. 139
(mot d'emprunt gascon) |
| <i>dolamen</i> (chagrin): p. 128; p. 246. | <i>orhoitzapen</i> (souvenir): p. 70; p. 145. |
| <i>hasperapen</i> (aspiration): p. 229. | <i>urrikaltzapen</i> (pitié): p. 207; p. 286. |
| <i>hatsapen</i> (rudiment, début): p. 219 et
passim. | |

Dans le premier livre guipuzcoan, la *Doctrina...* de Ochoa de Arin de 1713, il n'y a aucun exemple de -PEN ou -MEN, non plus que dans les *Lasarteko bertsoak* de 1716. Rien non plus dans le «premier sermon en basque navarrais» de 1729, rien dans la *Doctrina christiana* d'Astete traduite par Irazusta (1739), ni dans les vers de Gamiz. La traduction labourdine faite par Harosteguy du catéchisme de Lavieuxville (1733) se révèle plus intéressante. Elle contient le premier exemple du mot *baimen* «consente-

ment». J'ai utilisé le vocabulaire confectionné par le père Aranguren, inclus dans l'édition du père Villasante du catéchisme, que je citerai par pages:

- baimen* (consentement): p. 120. (Cf. *baimendu*, p. 119)
erospen (rédemption): p. 56; p. 72; p. 73; p. 289.
haisbeberapen (soupir): p. 289.
iraupen (durée): p. 172.
orboitzapen (souvenir): p. 137; p. 199; p. 211; p. 264; p. 283; p. 286; p. 294;
 p. 315.

Le petit dictionnaire d'environ deux cents pages qui fait partie de la *Gramatica escuaraz eta franceses* de Martin de Harriet (1741) est une des sources utilisées par Larramendi pour son *Diccionario trilingüe*. Les mots en -PEN n'y manquent pas:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>aipamena</i> : proposition (p. 410) | <i>iraupena</i> : persévérance (p. 401) |
| <i>erditzapena</i> : accouchement (p. 325) | <i>itxurapena</i> : suspicion (p. 430). vision (p. 437) |
| <i>ezzapena</i> : disette (p. 349) | <i>orroitzatpena</i> : souvenance (p. 427) |
| <i>galtzapena</i> : perte (p. 400) | <i>salpena</i> : vente (p. 318, p. 426) |
| <i>gozamena</i> : jouissance (p. 376), possession (p. 406) | <i>saltzapena</i> : vente (p. 436) |
| <i>hartzapena</i> : capture (p. 337) | <i>urrikaltzapena</i> : piété, miséricorde (p. 402) |
| <i>hastapena</i> : commencement (p. 341) | |

Ce dictionnaire —à ne pas confondre avec celui de Maurice Harriet plus récent— se compose de deux parties: *Dictionarioa escuaraz eta francesez* (p. 268-323) et *Dictionarioa francesez eta escuaraz* (p. 324-440). Comme M. J. A. Lakarra m'a fait observer, il convient de remarquer que tous les exemples proviennent de la seconde partie, du *Dictionnaire françois e basque*, sauf le mot *salpen* «vente» qui est dans les deux parties.

Il est temps de jeter un coup d'oeil sur le monumental *Diccionario trilingüe*, chef d'oeuvre de l'infatigable jésuite Larramendi, publié en 1745. La liste suivante est le résultat d'un dépouillement complet du dictionnaire. Comme le *DT* est essentiellement un dictionnaire du castillan au basque, je me bornerai à citer pour chaque forme basque tous les mots castillans qu'elle sert à traduire, estimant superflu d'ajouter des équivalents français. Je me dispenserai d'indiquer les pages, étant donné l'ordre strictement alphabétique du dictionnaire. Entre les parenthèses on trouvera les acceptions et les mots qui, manquant dans le *DT*, sont contenus dans le manuscrit du dictionnaire basque-castillan auquel Larramendi travaillait dans les années précédant sa mort, survenue en 1766. (Voir F. Altuna, S.J. «Larramendi-ren iztegi berria», *Euskera* XII, 1967, 139-300)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>agerpen</i> : aparecimiento | <i>aitzindapen</i> : adelantamiento |
| <i>aierupen</i> : indicio | <i>alamen</i> : detracción, murmuración |
| <i>aipamen</i> : mención, proposición | <i>almen</i> : poder, fuerzas, poderío, potencia |
| <i>aitamen</i> : mención | |
| <i>aitzinapen</i> : adelantamiento | <i>apartamen</i> : apartamiento |

- argimen*: argumento, (argumentación)
artapen: encargo
arturapen: encargo
asberapen: suspiro, (respiración)
aurrapen: adelantamiento, avanza
aurrerapen: adelantamiento, avanza
(auspen: concienciaren auspena: cargo de conciencia)
baimen: permisión, licencia
barkamen: parce (entre gramáticos), perdón
beerapen: bajeza, abatimiento, humildad
beeratzapen: abatimiento, aviltación, bajeza, humildad
berezipen: apartamiento
bersioplen: vejamen
berteripen: recaída de enfermedad
(bildumen: envoltorio, rollo)
(bilgumen: envoltorio, rollo)
biltzapen: cosecha
biraumen: conjuro, exorcismo
bortapen: bastardía
desprestamen: desapercibimiento, (desprevención)
(doamenturapen: bienaventuranza)
dolamen: lamentación
ekomen: prez, honor que se gana por alguna acción gloriosa
(erakaspen: instrucción,)
erakuspén: doctrina, instrucción
erauspén: descendimiento
erdiztapen: parto
eskumen: manojo
galtzapen: destrucción, pérdida
galtzepen: ruina
garaipen: vencimiento, victoria
gertapen: acaecimiento, aventura, (caso, suceso, acontecimiento)
(gogaipen: aburrimento, despecho)
goratzapen: elevación, acto de levantar, levantamiento
gozamen: deporte, diversión, holgura, socrocio, delectación, usufructo
(gupidespen: piedad, compasión)
- iduripen*: representación, figura, imagen
igermen: adivinación
ikustamen: visita, visitación
illeipen: emergencia
(illarazipen: amortiguamiento)
(illarazopen: amortiguamiento)
(irakaspén: doctrina, instrucción, educación)
irapen: dura, duración, perseverancia, estabilidad
irizpen: censura, juicio, parecer, nota, (dictamen)
irudipen: representación, figura, imagen, fantasía, vano ofrecimiento, fantasma
(itsasmen: conexión)
itsapén: prendimiento, presa, acción de agarrar
jaispen: descendimiento
jauspén: caída, caimiento, (bajada, descendimiento)
jautsapén: sumisión, bajada
kardamen: cardadura
naasmen: permixtión
nasmen: mixto, compuesto de diversos elementos
onesgumen: limosna, caridad
oroipen: recuerdo
(otoizmen: ruego encarecido)
pairamen: pasión —de Cristo
paramén: paramento, adorno, (apuesta)
prestamen: apercibimiento, apresto, aprontamiento, (aparejo, disposición, prevención)
(sinisemen: creencia, fé, crédito)
sinistamen: artículo de la fe, (principio de la fe)
sorgauspen: descendencia
suertapén: acaecimiento
tontapén: atontamiento
trasumen: mal galardón
urrijalpen: abstinencia
(zuzemen: aderezo)

Notons que dans sa lettre à Mendiburu du 15 mars 1747 Larramendi se sert du mot *gezurtamen* «démenti», qui ne figure pas dans son dictionnaire. (Cf. Mendiburu, *Jesusen bibotzaren devocioa*, p. 15).

Il faut mentionner à ce point l'auteur guipuzcoan Cardaberaz, également jésuite, dont le livre *Cristavaren vicitza* (1744) est antérieur au *DT*. C'est là que nous trouvons les premiers exemples des mots *almen* (*ta almen edo potencia bata ez da bestea*, p. 89), *atzerapen* (*Epeltasunaz, erreparo, edo, atzerapenaz asitzen bacera*, p. 8, aussi p. 34), et *itsumen* (p. 80). (Citations d'après la troisième édition, Tolosa 1850). Ajoutons qu'il y a un exemple du mot *iduripen* (*orandanoko mamu izugarri ta egiazko iduripenak*) tout à fait à la fin du chapitre V de son livre *Euskeraren berri onak*, qui date de l'an 1761.

Dans le catéchisme dit de Burgos, traduction du catéchisme d'Astete faite par un troisième jésuite, Mendiburu (1708-1782), datant de 1747, on trouve les mots suivants:

aitormen (confession): p. 36, p. 37, p. 46.

almen (puissance): p. 42 (*animaren potenciac, aabalac, edo almenac...*)

prestamen (préparation): p. 36.

sinismen (foi): p. 43.

Il est intéressant de remarquer que le mot *aitormen* se rencontre dans un sens assez différent, à savoir, «profession de foi», dans un autre ouvrage de Mendiburu, paru la même année (1747): *Jesusen bibotzaren devocioa* (p. 405 et 406).⁶

La pièce biscayenne *Acto para la Nochebuena* de Pedro Barrutia, nous offre, à part de la forme peu intéressante *alamen* à la ligne 241, la forme *alamen* à la ligne 135. Cet exemple se trouve inséré dans le *DGV* sous la rubrique *alamen*, «tormento, pesadumbre, lata», par contre, M. Lakarra semble traduire *alamen* ici tout simplement par «conversation».

Le catéchisme d'Astete traduit par Antonio Aguirre, curé d'Oïquina, datant de 1759, n'apporte rien de nouveau, à moins qu'on ne répute comme tel la forme *aalmen* (*aalmen edo potenciac*, p. 11) au lieu de l'*almen* du *DT*. Il y a aussi deux exemples du mot *iraupen* au sens de «persistance» (p. 10 et p. 17), et un seul du mot *atzerapen* au sens d'«indolence»: *gauza oneraco atcerapena* (p. 54).

Nous voici maintenant arrivés à la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle. À partir de cette période la documentation littéraire se fait tellement abondante qu'un relèvement tant soit peu complet devient impraticable. Par conséquent, il faudra nous contenter de quelques sondages, pour lesquels je choisirai les auteurs qui me paraissent les plus significatifs: Ubillos, Moguel, Añibarro, Guerrico, Iztueta et Duvoisin.

Le père franciscain Juan Antonio Ubillos (1707-1789) est l'auteur d'un seul livre basque: *Christau doctrin berri-ecarlea...*, paru en 1785. C'est ici que nous trouvons les

⁶ On sait que Larramendi, qui jouissait d'une autorité sans conteste, a corrigé d'un bout à l'autre l'original de Mendiburu. M. Lakarra est donc bien fondé à penser que le sens de «confession» pour *aitormen* est dû à Larramendi plutôt qu'à ce dernier.

premiers exemples d'utilisation de dérivés au suffixe *-MEN*: *entzumen*, *bitzmen*, *ikusmen*, *oroizmen*. Voici la liste complète des formes en *-pen* ou *-men*; (notons incidemment que la plupart de ces mots ne figurent pas dans le *DT* de Larramendi):

- aitormen* (confession): p. 164, p. 167. (*Aitormena, edo confesioa*)
barkamen (pardon): p. 151, 152, 153, 162, 164, 212 (*Indulgenciac edo barkamenac*)
entzumen (ouïe): p. 80 (*gorrai entzumena*)
erospen (rédemption): p. 129, 130, 165, 168 (*Erospena edo erredencioa*)
bitzmen (parole): p. 80 (*eta mutuai bitzmena*)
ikusmen (vue): p. 80 (*itsuai ematen cien icusmena*)
irudipen (chimère): p. 83 (*irudipenezco lan onacquin*)
oroitzapen (souvenir): p. 180 (*gauz hoen oroitzapena*)
oroizmen (mémoire): p. 200 (*oroizmen edo memoriara*)
sinismen (foi): p. 17, p. 20, p. 102, p. 119, p. 143, p. 148, p. 150, p. 172.
sinistmen (foi): p. 39, p. 43.
sinitsmen (foi): p. 49, p. 54.

De la production littéraire de Juan Antonio Moguel (1745-1804) j'ai pu dépouiller les ouvrages suivants: *Cristanbaren icasbidea edo doctrina cristiania*, le catéchisme dit d'El-goibar, publié en 1987 par Villasante; *Versiones bascongadas...* datant de 1802, pour lequel j'ai utilisé l'édition de C. A. F. Mahn dans *Denkmaeler der baskischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1857); *Peru Abarca* écrit en 1802, que je cite selon la première édition de 1881, et *Confesino ona* publié à Vitoria en 1803. Dans la liste alphabétique qui suit je me servirai des abréviations *CI*, *VB*, *PA* et *CO*.

- adimen* (intelligence): *CO* 300: *Aditu, Adimena, Entender, Inteligencia.*
agermen (parution): *CO* iv: *liburu onen agermeneraco...*
agertamen (déclaration): *CI* 213, *CI* 245: *pecatuben aguertamena, edo declaracioa...*
asipen (commencement): *CO* 53.
atzerapen (indolence): *CI* 112, *CI* 130, *CI* 159, *CI* 204, *CI* 245, *CI* 256, *CO* 67, *CO* 162, *CO* 271, *CO* 295.
aurrerapen (progrès): *CO* 36, *CO* 50, *CO* 283: *egunoro aurrerapenac eguiteco.*
baimen (licence): *CI* 195: *oquelia jateco baimena, edo licencia...*
ekusmen (vision): *Confessio ta Comunioco sacramentuen ganean...* 84 (*DBEF* I, 230)
eragozpen (empêchement): *VB* 48, *PA* 204, *CO* 281.
erospen (rédemption): *CI* 99, *CI* 112: *Erospen, edo Redencioa...*
eruapen (patience): *PA* 49: *eruapen andicua...*
ezkutapen (secret, mystère): *CI* 103: *Misterio, edo ezkutapen miragarritzco au...*
galtzapen (perdition, perte): *Nomenclatura: Galtzapena: Pérdida, VB* 49 (*PA* 207: *ondamendi*)
gagamen (pensée): «Pascal-en Gogamenak» traduction de Moguel.
igaropen (patience): *CI* 203: *paciencia, edo igaropena*
irauapen (persévérance, durée): *CI* 212, *CO* 282, *PA* 207 (Cf. *VB* 50: *sendotasuna*)
itsaspen (attachement): *CO* 288: *pecatu venialetaraco itsaspenic...*

- itsumen* (aveuglement): CO 218, CO 290. De même: *itsumen*: CI 163, CI 219.
itxarapen (espérance): CI 143, CI 207, CI 255, CI 261, CI 262: *Esperantzia*,
edo—
itxaropen (espoir): CI 219: *gueure icharopen guzña*...
luzapen (dilation): VB 47: *luzapen andia*... (Cf. PA 203: *luzabideak*...)
sinesmen (foi): CI 207: *Fedia, edo Sinesmena*...
sinistamen (foi): CI 255: *Fede, edo sinistamena*...

Le DGV ne rapporte aucun exemple du mot *almen* chez Moguel. Il connaissait pourtant cette forme, car il l'a utilisée comme second membre de deux composés: *gomutalmen* «mémoire» (CI 110, CI 113) et *guralmen* «volonté» (CI 110), mots qui n'ont été recueillis dans aucun dictionnaire.

Le vocabulaire d'Añibarro (1748-1830) ne diffère pas sensiblement de celui de son contemporain Moguel. D'Añibarro j'ai dépouillé les textes suivants: *Escu-librura* (E^o) de 1802, ainsi que la troisième édition assez différente *Esculiburua* (E³) de 1827, *Lora-sorta espirituala* de 1803, la traduction du *Guero Guero* (G) d'Axular, que je citerai par chapitres et paragraphes, et finalement le dictionnaire castillan-basque *Voces bascongadas* compilé vers 1800, qu'il conviendra de traiter séparément. Voici la moisson de ce dépouillement:

- almen* (puissance): L 44; L 96; L 132; G 4, 4; G 8, 3; G 52, 3; G 53, 0; G 53, 3 (2x).
atzerapen (recul): L 27; L 58; G 9, 2; G 16, 4; G 19, 3; G 19, 5; G 20, 2; G 46, 2; G 56, 1.
aitormen (confession): G 18, 1. (Cf. *aitormen* Cat AN p. 68)
baimen (permission): G 6, 1; G 9, 1; G 24, 1; G 51, 2.
eragozpen (empêchement): G 48, 1.
eroapen (patience): L 167; G 30, 1. (*eroanpen* idem, G 21.1)
ezkeutapen (mystère): G 9, 1.
gorapen (rehaussement): G 16, 4.
iranpen (persistance): G 9, 1; G 9, 3; G 12, 2; G 43, 1; G 43, 2.
irudipen (semblant): G 15, 4; G 28, 2; G 30, 1; G 46, 4.
itsumen (aveuglement): G 8, 2.
itxaromen (espoir): L 183; G 3, 2; G 4, 3; G 5, 3; G 8, 4; G 9, 1; G 10, 1 (3x), G 11, 2; G 11, 6 (2x); G 12, 1 (2x); G 18, 2 (2x); G 42, 4; G 52, 2; G 54, 1; G 54, 2; G 54, 3; G 56, 2.
parkamen (indulgence): E^o 7; E³ 9; E³ 196; G 8, 1; G 15, 4.
prestamen (préparatif): G 1, 2.
sinismen (foi): E^o 22; E³ 21; L 62; L 71; L 82; L 104; L 116; G 10, 1 (2x); G 54, 3

Pour ce qui est du dictionnaire d'Añibarro, *Voces bascongadas*, je présenterai ici la liste des mots en *-pen* ou *-men* y figurant. Les indications *c* (commun), *b* (biscayen), *g* (guipuzcoan) et *n* (navarrais) proviennent d'Añibarro lui-même. Au lieu d'une traduction française, pour chaque mot basque, je copierai les mots castillans qu'il sert à traduire dans ce dictionnaire.

<i>adimen</i> (c): inteligencia	<i>igermen</i> (c): adivinación
<i>agermen</i> (c): descubrimiento, publicación	<i>ikustamen</i> (c): visitación
<i>aitamen</i> (c): mención	<i>iraupen</i> (c): dura, duración, perseve- rancia, constancia
<i>aitzainapen</i> (n): adelantamiento	<i>iritzipen</i> (g): censura, parecer
<i>almen</i> (c): poderío, potencia	<i>irudipen</i> (c): aprehensión (por imagi- nación), fantasía (vano ofrecimien- to), fantasma (de la imaginación), representación (figura, imagen)
<i>arturapen</i> (c): encargo	<i>itsumen</i> (c): ceguedad
<i>asipen</i> (c): principio	<i>itxedomen</i> (c): esperanza
<i>atzerapen</i> : caimiento	<i>jauspen</i> (b): caída
<i>aurrerapen</i> (b, g): adelantamiento	<i>jausipen</i> (b): caída
<i>baimen</i> (c): licencia, permisión, venia	<i>nasmen</i> (c): mixto (substantivo)
<i>barkamen</i> (g): perdón	<i>oroipen</i> (g, n): acuerdo, commemora- ción, recuerdo
<i>eragozpen</i> (c): dificultad, estorbo, im- pedimento, prohibición	<i>oroitzapen</i> (g, n): acuerdo
<i>erakuspen</i> (c): documento, instruc- ción (doctrina)	<i>paramen</i> (c): apuesta
<i>eretxipen</i> (b): censura, parecer	<i>parkamen</i> (b): indulgencia, perdón, remisión
<i>eroapen</i> (c): paciencia	<i>prestamen</i> (c): aparato (prevención, apresto), aparejo, empréstito (pres- tito), preparación
<i>eroanpen</i> (c): sufrimiento	<i>simismen</i> (c): artículo de la fe, crédito (fe, creencia)
<i>erospen</i> (c): redención (acción de redimir)	
<i>ezkutapen</i> (c): misterio	
<i>galtzapen</i> (c): pérdida, ruina	
<i>galtzepen</i> (c): perdición	
<i>gozamen</i> (c): deleite, gozo	
<i>idoropen</i> (c): encuentro (en que se ha- lla algo)	

Les mots dérivés au suffixe -MEN sont bien plus notables chez les auteurs guipuzcoans que chez les auteurs biscayens. Après la première récolte que nous a apportée le guipuzcoan Ubillos, c'est surtout chez son compatriote Guerrico (1740-1824) que nous les rencontrons en grand nombre. Dans son unique ouvrage *Cristau doctrina guztiaren esplicacioaren sayaquera*, publié en 1858, mais écrit vers 1805, nous trouvons les premiers exemples des mots *azmen* (oubli), *azoramen* (consternation), *etsimen* (désespoir) *ezagumen* (intelligence), *izumen* (effroi), *zoramen* (folie), ainsi que d'autres dérivés semblables que nous avons déjà notés ailleurs.

N'ayant pu me procurer le second volume, j'ai dû me contenter de dépouiller le premier, qui compte 481 pages. Voici le résultat de ce dépouillement:

- agermen* (révélation): II?: *Jaungoikoaren inspirazio edo agermen egiazkoarekin*,
aitamen (mention): II 158: *deitura edo aitamena*, citation du *DRA*.
atzerapen (recul): I 91, I 188, I 205, I 237, I 311, I 354, I 388, I 416, I 417
(2x), I 418.
azmen (négligence, oubli): I 188, II 41, cf *DVG* p. 35.
azoramen (consternation): I 309: *azoramen andi batequin...*
baimen (permission): I 96, I 358: *baimen, edo licencia bague...*

bildumen (résumé): I 447: *compendio, bildumen, edo berritzze labor bat...*
etsimen (désespoir): II 128: *esperanzaren falta edo etsimena edo desesperazioa...* (cf. *DRA*)
ezagumen (intelligence): I 394: *adimentua, edo ezagumena, ...*
gozamen (jouissance): I 210, I 337, I 360, I 361.
irapen (persistance): I 47, I 54, I 115, I 164, I 209, I 247, I 405, I 426.
iduripen (apparence): I 172, I 334.
irudipen (fantôme): I 58, I 353, I 357, I 358 (3x).
iruripen (apparence): I 232, I 267, I 437, I 454, I 471.
iruripen (apparence): I 125, I 293, I 294, I 323, I 324, I 410, I 464, I 473
itsumen (aveuglement): Passim (Plus de 50 fois dans ce premier volume.)
izumen (effroi, frayeur): I 418: *bere izumen, icara, edo bildurtzeco aitzazquiaquin...*
luzamen (délai): I 361 (2x) I 436.
oharmen (attention): I 383, I 403, I 406, I 411: *oharmen edo atencioarequin...*
oroimen (mémoire): I 340, I 394: *bere memoria, edo oroimena...*
sinismen (foi): I 101, I 184: *fede edo sinismenari...* (p. 101)
zoramen (folie): I 399: *eraqueri, zoramen, eta icbumen guciz arrigarria...*

Observons que l'orthographe flottante du mot *irudipen* montre assez clairement qu'il s'agit là, non pas d'un mot transmis par voie savante, mais d'un mot bien vivant dans le parler populaire du temps de Guerrico.

Après tant d'auteurs ecclésiastiques rebattant des thèmes religieux, j'ai cru bon d'inclure un écrivain laïque, dont la thématique différente pourrait bien amener un vocabulaire différent. C'est pourquoi j'ai choisi l'auteur guipuzcoan Iztueta, qui vécut de 1767 à 1845. Je me suis borné à examiner son meilleur ouvrage, *Guipuzcoaco provinciaren condaira edo historia*, livre auquel Iztueta travaillait les trois dernières années de sa vie, et qui fut publié deux ans après sa mort, en 1847.

Aux pages 511 à 519 il y a un lexique basque-castillan, où je relève dès maintenant les mots *itsaspendu*, traduit «prendre», et *señalapenduac*, traduit «Señalados o destinados». Voici la liste des mots qui nous intéressent:

aipamen (mention): 207, 258, 307, 451, 468, 511: «anotaciones».
aitamen (mention): 511: «cita».
almen (puissance): 441: *Holandaco almen guztiaren contra*.
aomen (renommée): 173, 175 et passim. 511: «fama».
atzerapen (recul): 383.
aurrerapen (progrès): 182, 490.
autormen (confession): 72, 287, 318, 373, 450, 481, 512: «confesion».
begiramen (considération, soin): 22, 28, 35, 99, 182, 211, 242.
begirapen (intérêt, importance): 110.
erago(i)zpen (empêchement): 89, 90, 146, 149, 203, 286, 324, 328, 341, 353, 357, 445, 485.
etsimen (désespoir): 448.
etsipen (désespoir): 240, 261.
garai(i)pen (victoire): 261, 266, 359, 365, 444, 445, 464, 515: «victoria».
iduripen (apparence): 240, 343, 377, 380, 392, 403, 411.
ikusmen (visite): 318, 515: «visita».

- iraupen* (persistance): 28, 144, 497.
luzapen (délai): 308, 394.
oarpén (avertissement): 444.
oroi(t)pen (souvenir): x, 294, 309, 425, 457, 462, 465, 479, 482, 489.
prestamen (préparatif): 69, 301, 305, 335, 336, 339, 344, 375, 425, 443, 466,
 518: «preparativo».
sinistmen (foi): 10, 413, 480, 505.
sinistpen (foi): 50, 103, 121, 138.
sinitsmen (foi): 209.
sinitspen (foi): 162, 188, 310.

La présence de trois doublets appelle un commentaire. Dans le cas des quatre formes signifiant «foi», je m'incline à penser qu'il s'agit là d'une hésitation d'ordre graphique pure et simple, le sens étant absolument identique. La synonymie entre *etsimen* (de -MEN) et *etsipen* (de -PEN) a déjà été discutée dans la première partie de ce travail. Iztueta les emploie dans le même contexte: *sendaguinac etsipena emanic* (p. 240) et *bereala eman cioten etsimena sendaguinac* (p. 448). Il n'est pas très clair s'il y a une différence de sens entre *begiramen* (employé sept fois) et *begirapen* (employé une fois). *Begiramen* décrit une attitude mentale: «considération», «sollicitude», «soin», tandis que *begirapen* paraît plus objectif: «intérêt», «importance».

Avec l'oeuvre du capitaine Duvoisin (1810-1891), auteur talenté labourdin, nous assistons à une véritable orgie de dérivés en *-pen* et *-men*. Rien qu'en examinant trois de ses livres, savoir, *Liburu ederra* (1856), abrégé *LE*, *Laborantzako liburua* (1858), abrégé *LL*, et sa traduction de la Vulgate (1858), abrégée *B*, j'ai pu noter plus de cent vingt exemples différents, dont voici la liste. Le lecteur désirant savoir la localisation des exemples dans *B*, est prié de se référer à l'appendice à la fin de cet article.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>adiarazpen</i> (signe): <i>B</i> . | <i>berezpen</i> (séparation, partie): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>agerpen</i> (apparition, révélation): <i>LE</i>
49, <i>B</i> . | <i>berezamen</i> (division): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>agertzapen</i> (révélation): <i>B</i> . | <i>berhatzapen</i> (accroissement): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>ahalkapen</i> (honte): <i>B</i> . | <i>berrerospen</i> (rédemption): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>ahamen</i> (bouchée): <i>LL</i> 225, <i>B</i> . | <i>berritzapen</i> (renovation): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>ahanzpen</i> (oubli): <i>B</i> . | <i>bethapen</i> (accomplissement): <i>LE</i> 42,
<i>B</i> . |
| <i>ahipen</i> (fin): <i>B</i> . | <i>biburpen</i> (restitution, retour): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>aiphamen</i> (renom): <i>LL</i> 194, <i>B</i> . | <i>biburripen</i> (sédition): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>akhipen</i> (épuisement): <i>B</i> . | <i>biburtzapen</i> (restitution): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>aldamen</i> (changement): <i>LE</i> 120. | <i>bururazpen</i> (suggestion): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>aldapen</i> (changement): <i>B</i> . | <i>deitpen</i> (vocation): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>aldatzapen</i> (relève): <i>B</i> . | <i>desherripen</i> (déportation): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>altzapen</i> (élévation): <i>LE</i> 46 (2x), <i>B</i> . | <i>drainatzapen</i> (drainage): <i>LL</i> 108, <i>LL</i>
117. |
| <i>argipen</i> (interprétation): <i>B</i> . | <i>edertzapen</i> (beauté): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>argitzapen</i> (interprétation): <i>B</i> . | <i>eginpen</i> (acte): <i>B</i> : <i>haur-eginpen</i> (accou-
chement): <i>B</i> . |
| <i>bakepen</i> (réconciliation): <i>B</i> . | |
| <i>batpen</i> (rassemblement): <i>B</i> . | |

- eragozpen* (ruine, chute): *B.*
erakhuspen (démonstration): *B.*
erantzupen (proclamation): *B.*
erditzapen (accouchement): *B.*
erospen (achat): *LL 64, B.*
erreberripen (rénovation): *B.*
erreberritzapen (régénération): *B.*
errekeipen (supplication): *B.*
errepen (brûlure): *B.*
erretzapen (brûlure): *B.*
eskumen (poignée): *B.*
ethorpen (venue): *B.*
ezeztapen (ruine): *B.*
frogapen (épreuve): *B.*
gaitzespen (exécration): *B.*
galpen (perte, perdition, ruine): *LE 50, LE 125, LE 131, LE 144, LE 159, LE 164, LE 172, LE 185, B.*
galtzapen (perte, perdition, ruine): *B.*
gantzapen (onction): *B.*
garbipen (purification): *B.*
garbitzapen (justification): *B.*
gogarapen (pensée): *LE 158.*
gogorapen (pensée): *B.*
gorapen (exultation): *B.*
gorespen (éloge): *B.*
gozamen (possession, héritage): *B.*
handiespen (gloire): *B.*
hasbeherapen (soupir): *B.*
hasgorapen (soupir): *B.*
haspen (commencement): *B: uda-haspen* (commencement de l'été)
bastapen (commencement): *LE 80, LE 180, LL 35, B.*
hauspen (fracture): *B.*
hautespen (élection): *B.*
haztapen (élévage): *LL 330.*
helmen (portée): *B.*
hertsapen (oppression): *B.*
iduripen (fantôme, imagination): *LE 106, LE 115, LE 151, B.*
igurikimen (espoir): *B.*
igurikipen (espérance): *B.*
ihardespen (réponse): *LE 149, B.*
iharduken (communication): *B.*
iharduikipen (affaire): *B.*
ikharpen (recherche): *B.*
ikhuspen (vision): *LE passim* (plus de 60 fois), *B.*
ilkehipen (exode): *B.*
irakhasmen (doctrine): *B.*
irakhaspen (doctrine, prédication): *LE 72, B.*
irakurpen (lecture): *B.*
iratxikipen (accusation): *B.*
iraulpen (labourage): *LL 32.*
iraupen (persistance, durée, durée): *LE 41, LE 123, LE 136, LE 159, LE 162, LL 98, LL 381, B.*
irudipen (vision): *B.*
ixurapen (apparence, vision, parabole): *LE 125, LE 140, LE 144, LE 151, B.*
itzulpen (retour): *B.*
itzulpen (salvation): *B.*
ixurpen (aspersion): *B.*
jabalmen (complaisance): *B.*
jabalpen (propitiation): *B.*
jasanpen (patience): *B.*
jauspen (descente, obéissance): *LE 49, B.*
jazarpen (persécution): *B.*
khutsapen (souillure): *B.*
laudamen (louange): *B.*
leherpen (ruine): *B.*
luzamen (délai): *B.*
medeapen (réparation): *B.*
narriapen (souillure): *B.*
oharmen (conseil, discernement): *B.*
oharpen (provision): *B.*
oharraspen (avertissement): *B.*
orhapen (pétrissage): *LE 35.*
orhoi(t)pen (mémorial, stèle): *B.*
orhoitzapen (souvenir): *LE 126, LE 133, LE 147, LE 157 (2x), B.*
pairamen (souffrance): *B.*
prezamen (estimation): *B.*
sainduespen (sanctification): *B.*

saindupen (sanctification): *B.*
salpuespen (immunité): *B.*
salpen (vente): *LL 64, B.*
sariztapen (rétribution): *B.*
sarpen (entrée): *B.*
sendapen (guérison): *B.*
urritzapen (destruction): *LE 170, B.*
urrikalpen (miséricorde): *LE 116, B.*

urrikaltzapen (miséricorde): *B.*
xahupen (purification, liquidation, destruction): *B.*
xehatzapen (description): *B.*
xuripen (justification): *B.*
zainpen (charge): *B.*
zuzenpen (justice): *B.*

Quelles sont les conclusions à tirer de cette multitude d'exemples?

Constatons d'abord que Duvoisin distingue nettement le suffixe -MEN du suffixe -PEN. Appartiennent au suffixe -MEN: *abamen* «bouchée», *eskumen* «poignée», *gozamen* «possession», *helmen* «portée», *igurikimen* «(faculté d')espoir», *ihardukimen* «(faculté de) communication», *irakhasmen* «enseignement» (représenté en tant que faculté), *jabalmen* «complaisance», *oharmen* «discernement». Dès qu'il n'est plus question d'une faculté ni d'un état d'âme, c'est le suffixe -PEN qui apparaît. Ainsi, *igurikipen*, bien que traduisible par «espérance», n'est plus une faculté, mais quelque chose de plus concret situé hors de la personne elle-même: *Orai non da bada ene igurikipena?* est la traduction du texte de *Job 17, 15: Ubi est ergo nunc praestolatio mea?* Ici le mot *igurikimen* signifiant «espoir» ne conviendrait pas. De même, les mots *ihardukipen* «affaire», *jabalpen* «propitiation», *oharpen* «provision» se différencient manifestement par le sens des formes correspondantes en -MEN. Il n'y a qu'une seule exception: la différence formelle entre *irakhaspen* et *irakhasmen* ne semble correspondre à rien de précis sur le plan sémantique. Notons toutefois que les termes latins *dogma*, *praedictio* et *sermo* sont rendus par *irakhaspen*, jamais par *irakhasmen*. (Voir l'appendice).

Les autres dérivés à terminaison -men appartiennent au suffixe -PEN. Il s'agit des mots *aiphamen* «renom», *aldamen* «changement», *bereztagen* «division», *laudamen* «louange», *luzamen* «délai», *pairamen* «souffrance» et *prezamen* «estimation». Le changement phonologique subi par ces mots semble bien correspondre au système régulier, car si la base se termine en une liquide ou nasale, la forme du suffixe reste invariable: -pen; ce qui n'est pas le cas dans le système périphérique.

On peut observer cependant quelques menues déviations du système tel que nous l'avons défini dans la première partie. La principale, c'est qu'un / non final provoque l'assimilation: *luzamen* «délai», *laudamen* «louange», *aldamen* «changement» (mais *aldapen* dans le verset 7, 12 de l'Épître aux Hébreux). À l'encontre de ce qui se passe dans le système périphérique, cette assimilation n'est produite ni par la nasale *n*, ni par les autres liquides: *sendapen* «guérison», *gantzupen* «onction», *gogorapen* «pensée», *irapen* «persistance», *argipen* «interprétation», *garbipen* «purification».

Puis, en ce qui concerne la règle de dissimilation, on constate qu'elle a été appliquée à travers la distance de trois syllabes dans le mot *bereztagen* «division», et qu'elle n'a pas affecté les mots *bethapen* «accomplissement» et *bakepen* «réconciliation», peut-être en raison des phonèmes forts *th* et *ke* intervenants.

⁷ Ce mot *praestolatio* figure trois fois dans la Vulgate. Dans *Erran zaharrak* 11, 23 *gaixtaginen igurikitza* traduit *praestolatio impiorum*, et *praestolatio tua* (ibid. 23, 18) est rendu *igurikitzen duzuna*.

Maintenant que j'ai fini de faire part au lecteur de la documentation dont je disposais et qui n'épuise d'ailleurs nullement le sujet —tant s'en faut!—, il est temps de laisser la parole à des philologues mieux renseignés.⁸

Appendice

Catalogue des dérivés en -PEN ou -MEN dans la Bible du capitaine Duvoisin

Pour chaque dérivé qui nous intéresse j'énumérerai les termes latins de la Vulgate qu'il sert à traduire, régitant ensuite les passages où il figure. Il s'agit d'un enregistrement que j'oserais appeler quasi-exhaustif. Mon intention a été d'être aussi complet que possible, sans pour autant procéder à un dépouillement systématique du texte entier. Tout me porte à croire que les omissions inévitables ne s'avèreront pas assez nombreuses pour compromettre la valeur documentaire de ce travail.

Comme les citations se rapportent au texte basque de Duvoisin, les abréviations dénotant les livres de la Bible ont été conçues en accord avec les titres utilisés par cet auteur. Les voici:

Jen: Jenesa (Genèse);	Is: Isaiasen Profezia (Isaïe);
Eks: Eksodoa (Exode);	Jr: Jeremiasen Profezia (Jérémie);
Lb: Lebitikoa (Lévitique);	Dei: Jeremias Profetaren Deithoreak (Lamentations);
No: Nombreak (Nombres);	Ba: Baruken Profezia (Baruch);
Dt: Duteronoma (Deutéronome);	Ez: Ezekielen Profezia (Ezéchiel);
Js: Josue (Josué);	Da: Danielen Profezia (Daniel);
Juy: Juyek (Juges);	Os: Oseeren Profezia (Osée);
Erru: Erruth (Ruth);	Jl: Joelen Profezia (Joël);
Erre I, II: Erregeak I, II (1, 2 Samuel);	Am: Amosen Profezia (Amos);
Erre III, IV: Erregeak III, IV (1, 2 Rois);	Ab: Abdiasen Profezia (Abdias);
Pa I, II: Paralipomenak I, II (1, 2 Chroniques);	Jon: Jonasen Profezia (Jonas);
Es I: Esdras I (Esdras);	Mi: Mikeasen Profezia (Michée);
Es II: Esdras II (Néhémie);	Na: Nahumen Profezia (Nahum);
Tb: Tobias (Tobie);	Ha: Habakuken Profezia (Habacuc);
Jd: Judith (Judith);	So: Sophoniasen Profezia (Sophonie);
Est: Esther (Esther);	Ag: Agjeoren Profezia (Aggée);
Jb: Job (Job);	Za: Zakariasen Profezia (Zacharie);
Ps: Psalmoak (Psaumes);	Ma: Malakiasen Profezia (Malachie);
E: Erran-zaharrak (Proverbes);	Mak I, II: Makabearrak I, II (1, 2 Macchabées);
Ek: Eklesiastesa (Ecclésiaste);	Mt: Mathiuren Ebanjelioa (Matthieu);
K: Kantiketako Kantika (Cantique des Cantiques);	Mk: Marken Ebanjelioa (Marc);
Zu: Zuhurtzia (Sagesse);	Lk: Luken Ebanjelioa (Luc);
Ekl: Eklesiastikoa (Ecclésiastique);	Jn: Joanesen Ebanjelioa (Jean);

⁸ Je tiens à remercier bien chaleureusement l'éditeur de cette publication, M. J. A. Lakarra, pour son assistance on ne peut plus dévouée, sans laquelle les lacunes de ce travail auraient été plus nombreuses encore qu'ils ne sont à présent.

A: Apostoluen Egintzak (Actes des Apôtres);	Tim I, II: Timotheori I, II (1, 2 Timothée);
Erro: Erromarrei (Romains)	Tit: Titori (Tite);
Kor I, II: Korinthoarrei I, II (1, 2 Corinthiens);	Phi: Philemoneri (Philémon);
Ga: Galiziarrei (Galates);	H: Hebrearrei (Hébreux);
Ep: Ephesoarrei (Ephésiens);	Jk: Jakobe (Jacques);
Fi: Filipestarrei (Philippiens);	Pi I, II: Piarres I, II (1, 2 Pierre);
Kol: Kolostarrei (Colossiens);	Jo I, II, III: Joanes I, II, III (1, 2, 3 Jean);
The I, II: Thesalonikarrei I, II (1, 2 Thesaloniciens);	Ju: Juda (Jude);
	Ap: Apokalipza (Apocalypse);
	Es III, IV: Esdras III, IV (3, 4 Esdras).

Nous avons par ordre alphabétique:

adiarazpen («signe»): *argumentum*; Zu 19, 12.

agerpen («apparition, révélation»): *visio, revelatio, apocalypsim*; No 24, 4; No 24, 16; Dt 4, 34; Erre II 7, 17; Pa I 17, 15; Pa II 9, 29; Dei 2, 9; Erro 2, 5; Kor I, 1, 7; Kor I 14, 26; Kor II 12, 1; Ga 2, 2; Ep 3, 3; Es IV 14, 17.

agertzapen («révélation»): *revelatio*; Erro 8, 19; Erro 16, 25.

ahalkapen («honte, confusion»): *confusio*; Jr 11, 13.

abamen («bouchée»): *bucella*; Erru 2, 14; Erre I 2, 36; Erre I 28, 22; Erre III 17, 11; Jb 31, 17; Ps 147, 17; E 17, 1; E 28, 21; Jn 13, 27.

ahanzpen («oubli»): *oblivio*; Jd 16, 23; Ps 30, 13; Ps 87, 13; Ek 2, 16; Ek 6, 4; Ek 9, 5; Zu 16, 11; Zu 17, 3; Dei 2, 6; Jr 50, 5; Ez 21, 32; Os 1,6; Mak II 12, 42.

ahipen («fin»): *consummatio*; So 1, 18; Mt 24, 14.

aiphamen («renom»): *nomen, fama*; Eks 20, 24; Erre III 8, 65; Jd 11, 21; Jb 18, 17; Ps 144, 7; E 22, 1; Ekl 39, 13; Ekl 39, 15; Mak II 14, 37; Kor II 6,8; The I 2, 13.

akhipen («épuisement»): *consummatio*; Da 9, 27.

aldapen («changement»): *translatio*; H 7, 12.

aldatzapen («relève»): *immutatio*; Jb 14, 14.

altzapen («élévation»): *elevatio*; Ps 140, 2; A 11, 5.

argipen («interprétation»): *interpretatio*; Jen 40, 5; Jen 40, 12; Jen 40, 18; Juy 7, 15; Ekl 47, 18; Da 2, 4; Da 2, 9; Da 2, 36; Es IV 12, 35.

argitzapen («interprétation»): *interpretatio*; Juy 14, 12; Da 2, 30.

bakapen («réconciliation»): *reconciliatio*; Kor II 5, 18; Kor II 5, 19.

baipen («rassemblement»): *congregatio*; The II 2, 1.

berezpen («séparation, partie»): *separatio, distributio, divisio*; Lb 15, 21; No 36, 4; Pa I 26, 19; Pa I 28, 13; Es IV 6, 7.

bereztagen («division»): *schisma*; Kor I 1, 10.

berhatzapen («accroissement»): *augmentum*; E 4, 9; Kol 2, 19.

berreraspen («rédemption»): *redemptio, remissio*; Lb 25, 24; No 18, 16; Ps 48, 9; Ps 110, 9; Ps 129, 7; Is 63, 4; Mk 10, 45; Lk 2, 38; Lk 4, 19; Lk 21, 28; Erro 3, 24; Erro 8, 23; Kor 11, 30; Ep 1, 7; Ep 1, 14; Ep 4, 30; Kol 1, 14; H 9.12.

berritzapen («renovation»): *innovatio, renovatio*; Pa II 24, 5; Mak I 12, 17.

bethapen («accomplissement»): *confirmatio*; Erro 15, 8.

biburpen («restitution, retour»): *remissio, reversio, redditio, conversatio, conversio, assumptio*; Lb 25, 10; Ps 111, 1; Ekl 1, 29; Ekl 18, 21; Ez 46, 17; A 15, 3; Erro 11, 15.

biburripen («sédition»): *seditio*; No 16, 49.

biburtzapen («restitution»): *remissio*; Dt 15, 1; Dt 15, 2; Dt 15, 9; Dt 15, 12; Dt 31, 10; Erre I 12, 3.

- bururazpen* («suggestion»): *suggestio*; Est 16, 7.
- deitpen* («vocation»): *vocatio*; Erro 11, 29; The II 1, 11; Pi II 1, 10.
- desherripen* («déportation»): *transportatio*, *transmigratio*, *emissio*; Jr 1, 3; Ba 2, 25; Mak II 2, 1; Mt. 1, 11; Mt 1, 12; Ez 1, 2; Ez 12, 4; Ez 33, 21; Ez 40, 1; Mt 1, 17.
- edertzapen* («beauté»): *pulchritudo*; Ez 27, 11.
- eginpen* («acte»): Voir *haur-eginpen*.
- ehorzpen* («enterrement»): *sepultura*; Mak II 4, 49; Mt 26, 12.
- eragozpen* («ruine, chute»): *subversio*, *ruina*, *eversio*, *interitus*; Ekl 9, 16; Jr 49, 21; Ez 22, 5; Ez 26, 15; Ez 26, 16; Ez 27, 27; Ez 31, 16; Ez 32, 10; Na 3, 3; Mak I 2, 49; Es IV 15, 49.
- erakibuspen* («démonstration»): *ostentio*, *argumentum*; Is 6, 13; Kor I 2, 4; H 11, 1.
- erantzupen* («proclamation»): *praedicatio*, *exhortatio*, *annuntiatio*; Kor I 1, 21; The I 2, 3; Tim II 4, 17; Tit 1, 3; Jo I 3, 11.
- erdützapen* («accouchement»): *partus*; Erre IV 19, 3.
- erospen* («achat»): *emptio*, *redemptio*; Lb 25, 16; Pa II 1, 17; Jr 32, 12; Jr 32, 14; Mt 20, 28.
- erreberripen* («régénération»): *instauratio*; Erre IV 12, 6; Erre IV 12, 7; Erre IV 12, 12; Erre IV 22, 5; Pa II 24, 27.
- erreberritzapen* («régénération»): *regeneratio*; Mt 19, 28.
- errekeipen* («supplication»): *obsecratio*; Ba 4, 20.
- errepen* («brûlure»): *combustio*; Jr 34, 4.
- erretzapen* («brûlure»): *combustio*; Lb 13, 28; Pa II 21, 19.
- eskumen* («poignée»): *manipulus*; Dt 24, 19; Erru 2, 16; Ps 128, 7.
- ethorpen* («venue»): *adventus*, *praesentia*; Mt 24, 3; Kor I 15, 23; The II 2, 1; The II 2, 8; Tim II 4, 1; Tim II 4, 8; Tit 2, 13; Pi II 3, 4; Pi II 3, 12.
- exetzapen* («ruine»): *convulsio*; Mak II 8, 17.
- frogapen* («épreuve»): *experimentum*, *tentatio*, *probatio*; Jen 42, 15; Dt 4, 34; Dt 6, 16; Dt 29, 3; Dt 33, 8; Tb 2, 12; Tb 3, 21; Tb 12, 13; Ps 94, 9; Zu 18, 20; Ekl 4, 18; Ekl 4, 19; Ekl 6, 22; Ekl 33, 1; Ekl 34, 11; Mak I 2, 52; A 20, 19; Erro 5, 4; Kor II 8, 2; H 11, 17; Jk 1, 3; Pi I 1, 6; Es IV 12, 47.
- gaitzapen* («exécration»): *execratio*; Ekl 19, 20.
- galpen* («perte»): *perditio*, *interitus*, *corruptio*, *ruina*, *amissio*; Dt 32, 35; Pa II 22, 4; Tb 4, 14; Tb 14, 6; Jb 28, 22; Jb 31, 3; Ps 54, 24; Ps 87, 12; E 6, 15; E 14, 27; E 15, 11; E 16, 18; E 20, 25; E 24, 22; E 27, 20; E 29, 27; Zu 1, 12; Zu 1, 13; Zu 5, 7; Zu 14, 12; Ekl 9, 13; Ekl 20, 27; Ekl 23, 21; Ekl 41, 13; Ekl 50, 4; Ekl 51, 3; Ekl 51, 16; Jr 49, 8; Os 9, 8; Ab 12; Mi 6, 13; Mak II 1, 17; Mak II 6, 12; Mt 7, 13; Lk 2, 34; Erro 11, 5; Fi 1, 28; The II 2, 3; Tim I 6, 9; H 10, 39; Es IV 8, 38; Es IV 10, 10.
- galtzapen* («perte»): *amissio*, *ruina*, *perditio*; Juy 16, 28; Est 14, 11; A 8, 20; Tim I 6, 9.
- gantzapen* («onction»): *unctio*; Lb 7, 35.
- garbipen* («purification»): *emundatio*; H 9, 13.
- garbitzapen* («justification»): *justificatio*; Pa II 19, 10; Lk 2, 22.
- gogorapen* («pensée»): *cogitatio*; Ps 145, 4; Pi I 4, 1.
- gorapen* («exultation»): *exultatio*; E 28, 12.
- gorespen* («éloge»): *exaltatio*, *exultatio*, *magnificentia*; Eks 17, 15; Jd 16, 9; Pa I 16, 27; Pa I 29, 13; Ps 110, 3; Ps 149, 6.
- gozamen* («possession, héritage»): *possessio*, *haereditas*; Lb 25, 24; Lb 25, 27; Lb 25, 34; Js 13, 24; Js 13, 29; Js 13, 33; Js 17, 15; Js 18, 7; Js 18, 28; Js 21, 39; Js 22, 33; Juy 2, 6; Juy 2, 9; Juy 11, 24; Pa I 7, 28; Pa I 9, 2; Pa II 11, 14; Pa II 20, 11; Pa II 31, 1; Jd 3, 3; Ps 43, 4; Is 61, 7; Es III 8, 84.
- handiespen* («gloire»): *magnificentia*, *gloriatio*, *gloria*; Pa I 17, 19; Ekl 1, 11; Ekl 39, 20; Is 4, 2; Ju 25; Es III 9, 8.
- hasbeherapen* («soupir»): *gemitus*; Juy 1, 14; Ekl 25, 25; Ekl 30, 21; Mk 8, 12; H 13, 17

- basgorapen* («soupon»): *gemitus*; Mak II 6, 30; Mk 7, 34.
- haspen* («commencement»): Voir *uda-haspen*.
- bastapen* («commencement»): *principium, initium*; Jen 1, 1; Jen 49, 3; Js 15, 2; Jb 20,4; Ps 101, 26; Ps 110, 10; E 16, 5; Ek 10, 13; Ek 10, 15; Zu 6, 18; Zu 12, 16; Zu 12, 19; Zu 14, 6; Zu 14, 12; Zu 14, 27; Ekl 1, 16; Ekl 10, 14; Ekl 10, 15; Ekl 15, 14; Ekl 16, 26; Ekl 24, 14; Ekl 25, 16; Ekl 25, 33; Ekl 45, 15; Ekl 51, 28; Is 45, 21; Is 46, 10; Jr 28, 8; Ba 3, 26; Mak II 4, 13; Mt 13, 35; Mt 24, 21; Mt 25, 34; Mk 13, 8; Mk 13, 19; Jn 1, 1; Jn 8, 44; Fi 4, 15; H 3, 14; Pi II 3, 4; Jo I 1, 1; Jo I 2, 13; Ap 13, 8; Es IV 4, 43; Es IV 6, 1; Es IV 7, 43; Es IV 9, 6.
- haur-eginpen* («accouchement»): *partus*; E 30, 17.
- hauspen* («fracture»): *fractio*; Ez 14, 11; A 2, 42. (Voir aussi *lege-hauspen*, *patu hauspen*)
- hautespén* («élection»): *electio*; Erro 11, 28; Pi II 1, 10.
- helmen* («portée»): *de manu gladii: expataren helmenetik*; Jb 5, 20.
- hertsapen* («oppression»): *oppressio*; Ekl. 40, 9.
- ihuripen* («imagination»): *sententia, imago, adinventio, visum, vanum, parabola, similitudo, proverbium, figura, sensus*; Jb 21, 27; Ps 38, 7; Ekl 40, 2; Ekl 40, 7; Is 56, 10; Mk 13, 28; Lk 5, 36; Lk 6, 39; Lk 8, 4; Lk 21, 29; Jn 16, 25; Kor I 10,6; Fi 4, 7; Tim I 5, 21; Es IV 4, 47.
- igurikimen* («espoir»): *spes, expectatio*; Ps 61, 9; Ps 118, 147; E 11, 7; Zu 17, 12; Ekl 34, 15; Ekl 34, 16; Is 14, 8; Jr 17, 13; Jr 50, 7; Dei 3,18; Dei 3, 25; Dei 3, 29; Mt 12, 21; Lk 21, 26; A 24, 15; A 26, 7; A 28, 20; Erro 5, 2; Kor I 13, 13; Kor I 15, 19; Kor II 1, 7; Kor II 1, 13; Kor II 3, 12; Ep 1, 18; Ep 2,12; Ep 4, 4; Tim I 5, 5; H 3, 6; H 7, 19; Jo I 3, 3.
- igurikipen* («espérance»): *praestolatio*; Jb 17, 15.
- ihardespén* («réponse»): *responsum*; Mak II 4, 23.
- ihardukimen* («communication»): *communicatio*; Zu 8, 18; Ekl 13, 22.
- ihardukipen* («affaire»): *quaestio*; Pa II 19, 10.
- ikharpen* («recherche»): *visitatio*; Jr 27, 22; Jr 46, 21; Jr 48, 44; Jr 50, 27; Jr 50, 31; Jr 51, 18; Os 9, 7; Os 12, 2.
- ikhuspen* («vision»): *visio, visitatio, visum*; Jen 15, 1; Jen 22, 2; Jen 46, 2; Pa II 32, 32; Jb 4, 13; Jb 7, 14; Ps 88, 20; E 30, 1; E 31, 1; Ekl 34, 3; Ekl 34, 6; Is 1, 1; Is 14, 14; Is 21, 2; Is 22, 1; Is 29, 10; Is 29, 11; Jr 14, 14; Dei 2, 14; Ez 1, 1; Ez 1, 13; Ez 1, 16; Ez 7, 13; Ez 7, 26; Ez 8, 3; Ez 8, 4; Ez 11, 24; Ez 12, 22; Ez 12, 23; Ez 12, 24; Ez 12, 27; Ez 13, 7; Ez 13, 16; Ez 13, 23; Ez 40, 2; Ez 43, 3; Da 1, 17; Da 2, 19; Da 2, 28; Da 4, 2; Da 4, 6; Da 4, 10; Da 7, 1; Da 7, 2; Da 7, 7; Da 7, 13; Da 7, 15; Da 8, 1; Da 8, 2; Da 8, 13; Da 8, 15; Da 8, 16; Da 8, 17; Da 8, 26; Da 8, 27; Da 9, 21; Da 9, 23; Da 9, 24; Da 10, 1; Da 10, 7; Da 10, 8; Da 10, 14; Os 10, 4; Os 12, 10; Jl 2, 28; Ab 1; Mi 3, 6; Mi 3, 7; Na 1, 1; Za 1, 8; Za 13, 4; Mak II 15, 12; Lk 1, 22; A 2, 17; A 10, 17; A 10, 19; A 11, 5; A 16, 9; A 16, 10; A 26, 19; Kor II 12, 1; Es IV 10, 40; Es IV 12, 8; Es IV 12, 10; Es IV 12, 11; Es IV 15, 28.
- ilkhipen* («exode»): *egressio, egressus, profectio*; Dt 16, 3; Ekl 38, 24; Mi 5, 2; H 11.
- inakhasmen* («doctrine»): *doctrina, traditio, disciplina*; E 1, 3; E 1, 7; E 5, 2; E 8, 10; E 10, 17; E 13, 15; E 13, 18; E 15, 10; E 15, 32; E 19, 20; E 19, 27; E 21, 26; E 23, 12; E 23, 23; E 24, 14; Zu 3, 11; Ekl Prologue; Ekl 6, 18; Ekl 6, 34; Ekl 8, 10; Ekl 11, 15; Ekl 21, 22; Ekl 21, 24; Ekl 23, 2; Ekl 50, 29; Ekl 51, 34; Ekl 51, 36; Is 29, 13; Jr 3, 15; Jr 7, 28; Jr 17, 23; Mt 7, 28; Mt 16, 1; Mt 22, 33; Mk 1, 22; Mk 1, 27; Mk 6, 2; Mk 11, 18; Lk 4, 32; Jn 7, 16; Jn 7, 17; Jn 18, 19; A 2, 42; A 5, 28; A 13, 12; Erro 6, 17; Erro 16, 17; Kor I 2, 13; Ep 4, 14; Ga 5, 10; The II 2, 14; The II 3, 6; Tim I 4, 1; Tim I 4, 6; Tim I 5, 17; Tim I 6, 1; Tim I 6, 3; Tim II 3, 10; Tim II 4, 3; Tit 1, 9; Tit 2, 1; Tit 2, 7; H 6, 2; Jo II 9, 10.

- irakhaspen* («doctrine, prédication»): *doctrina, dogma, disciplina, praedicatio sermo, traditio*: Eks 28, 30; Lb 8, 8; Dt 33, 3; Jb 13, 4; Jb 20, 3; Ps 17, 36; Ps 49, 17; Ps 59, 1; E 1, 8; E 1, 29; E 4, 1; E 6, 23; E 8, 10; E 8, 33; E 13, 1; E 22, 17; E 23, 9; Zu 1, 5; Ekl Prologue; Ekl 1, 31; Ekl 4, 19; Ekl 16, 25; Ekl 18, 14; Ekl 22, 6; Ekl 23, 7; Ekl 24, 37; Ekl 24, 44; Ekl 24, 46; Ekl 38, 38; Ekl 39, 11; Ekl 41, 17; Ekl 51, 31; Is 6, 13; Is 26, 16; Mi 3, 11; So 3, 2; So 3, 7; Mt 15, 9; Mk 4, 2; Mk 7, 3; Mk 7, 5; Mk 7, 7; Mk 7, 8; A 17, 19; Kor I 2, 4; Kor I 7, 17; Gal, 1, 14; Ep 6, 4; Tim I 1, 10; H 2, 3; H 6, 1; H 13, 9; Ap 2, 14; Ap 2, 15; Ap 2, 20; Ap 2, 24.
- irakurpen* («lecture»): *lectio*; Ekl Prologue.
- iratxikipen* («accusation»): *accusatio*; Es I 4, 6; Es I 4, 18; Tim I 5, 19.
- irauñen* («durée»): *perseverantia, stabilitas, tempora*; Jen 5, 5; Dt 28, 59; Ps 88, 46; Ekl 10, 1; Ekl 28, 26; Ekl 40, 19; Da 7, 12; Mak I 13, 37; Jk 3, 6; Es III 8, 82.
- irudipen* («vision»): *visio*; Da 4, 7.
- iturapen* («vision, parabole»): *figura, visio, forma, parabola, proverbium, exemplar*; No 12, 8; No 23, 21; Jb 20, 8; Is 29, 7; Ez 24, 3; Mk 4, 30; Jn 16, 29; Kor I 10, 11; H 8, 5; Pi I 3, 21; Es IV 10, 59.
- itzulpen* («retour»): *reditus*; Os 11, 7.
- itzurpen* («salvation»): *salus*; Erre II 22, 3; Erre II 23, 10; Erre II 23, 12; Es I 9, 13; Ps 13, 7; Ps 17, 36; Ps 19, 6; Ps 19, 7; Ps 20, 2; Ps 20, 6; Ps 21, 2; Ps 27, 8; Ps 52, 7; Ps 61, 2; Ps 61, 8; Ps 88, 27; Ps 95, 2; E 21, 31.
- ixurpen* («aspersion»): *effusio*; H 11, 28.
- jabalmen* («complaisance»): *placor*; Ekl 39, 23.
- jabalpen* («propitiation»): *propitiatio, placatio*; Lb 25, 9; Ekl 7, 36; Ekl 35, 3; Mak I 1, 47; Jo I 2, 2.
- jasanpen* («patience»): *patientia*; Ap 3, 10.
- jauspen* («obéissance»): *obedientia, observatio, subjectio*; Erre I 15, 22; Pa I 23, 32; Tim I 2, 11; Pi I 3, 6; Pi I 5, 5.
- jazgarpen* («persécution»): *persecutio*; Mt 5, 10; Mk 4, 17; The II 1, 4.
- khutsapen* («souillure»): *contaminatio, fornicatio, coinquinatio*; Ez 14, 6; Ez 43, 7; Ez 43, 9; Os 2, 2; Mak I 13, 50; Mak II 5, 27; Pi II 2, 13; Es III 8, 84.
- laudamen* («louange»): *laudatio*; Ps 144, 1. (mot d'emprunt au gascon).
- lege-hauspen* («transgression»): *praevaricatio*; Lb 16, 16; Js 6, 18; Ez 18, 24; Ez 18, 31; Da 9, 24; Am 3, 14.
- leberpen* («ruine»): *contritio, ruina*; Jr 17, 18; Mt 7, 27.
- luçamen* («délai»): *dilatatio, mora*; Erre II 17, 16; Es I 7, 21.
- medeapen* («réparation»): *piaculum*; Erre II 21, 3.
- nariapen* («souillure»): *praevaricatio*; Dei 1, 7.
- obarmen* («conseil, discernement»): *consilium, monitum*; Dt 32, 28; Erre II 15, 31; Erre II 17, 14; Tb 1, 15; Es III 2, 22.
- oharpen* («provision»): *providentia*; Zu 9, 14.
- oharraspen* («avertissement»): *memoria*; Ekl 45, 11.
- orhoi(t)pen* («mémorial, stèle»): *titulus, memoriale*; Jen 28, 18; Jen 28, 22; Jen 31, 45; Jen 35, 14; Jen 35, 20; Eks 12, 14; Eks 13, 9; Eks 24, 4; Eks 28, 29; Lb 2, 9; No 33, 52.
- orhoitzapen* («souvenir»): *recordatio, memoriale, memoria, titulus*; Eks 13, 16; Eks 28, 12; Lb 2, 2; Lb 2, 16; Lb 5, 12; Lb 23, 24; Lb 26, 1; No 5, 18; No 10, 9; No 10, 10; Es II 2, 20; Est 9, 27; Jb 8, 8; Jb 13, 12; Jb 18, 17; Jb 24, 20; Ps 9, 7; Ps 29, 5; Ps 33, 17; Ps 58, 15; Ps 96, 12; Ps 108, 14; Ps 108, 15; Ps 110, 4; Ps 111, 7; Ps 134, 13; Ps 144, 7; E 10, 7; Ek 1, 11; Ek 2, 16; Ek 9, 5; Zu 2, 4; Zu 4, 1; Zu 4, 19; Zu 5, 15; Zu 8, 13; Zu 10, 7; Zu 10, 8; Zu 11, 13; Ekl 10, 20;

Ekl 10, 21; Ekl 23, 36; Ekl 24, 28; Ekl 35, 9; Ekl 38, 24; Ekl 39, 13; Ekl 41, 1; Ekl 44, 9; Ekl 45, 1; Ekl 45, 13; Ekl 46, 14; Ekl 49, 1; Ekl 49, 2; Ekl 49, 15; Ekl 50, 18; Is 26, 8; Is 26, 14; Is 65, 17; Jr 23, 40; Ba 5, 5; Ez 3, 20; Os 12, 5; Za 6, 14; Za 13, 2; Mak I 3, 7; Mak I 3, 35; Mak I 12, 54; Mak I 13, 29; Mak I 14, 23; Mak II 6, 31; Mak II 7, 20; Mt 26, 13; Mk 14, 9; Lk 22, 19; Erro 1, 9; Erro 15, 15; Ep 1, 16; The I 1, 2; The I 3, 6; Phi 4; Pi II 1, 15; Ap 16, 19; Es IV 16, 21.

pairamen («souffrance»): *passio*; A 1, 3.

patu hauspen («parjure»): *praevaricatio*; Ez 17, 20.

prezamen («estimation»): *aestimatio*; Eks 22, 5; Lb 5, 18; Lb 6, 6.

sainduespen («sanctification»): *sanctificatio*; Erre I 14, 41; Ps 47, 54; Ekl 7, 35; Ekl 36, 15; Is 64, 11; Jr 17, 12; Ez 20, 40; Da 8, 11; Ma 2, 11; Mak II 15, 2; Erro 1, 4; Erro 6, 19; Erro 6, 22; Kor 11, 30; Kor II 7, 1; Es IV 7, 38.

saindupen («sanctification»): *sanctificatio*; The II 2, 12.

salbuespen («immunité»): *immunitus*; Mak I 10, 34.

salpen («vente»): *venditio*; Lb 25, 28; Lb 25, 50; Ekl 37, 12.

sarizzapen («rétribution»): *retributio*; Lk 4, 19.

sarpen («entrée»): *introitus*; Dt 4, 38.

sendapen («guérison»): *integra sanitas*; A 3, 16.

uda-haspen («printemps»): *vernum tempus*; Jen 35, 16.

urrikalpen («miséricorde»): *misericordia*, *miseratio*; Jen 47, 29; Eks 15, 13; Eks 34, 6 No 14, 18; No 14, 19; Dt 7, 9; Dt 7, 12; Js 2, 14; Erre I 20, 8; Erre I 20, 14; Erre I 20, 15; Erre II 3, 8; Erre II 7, 15; Erre II 9, 3; Erre II 10, 2; Erre II 15, 20; Erre II 22, 51; Erre II 24, 14; Erre III 3, 6; Erre III 8, 23; Pa I 16, 34; Pa I 16, 41; Pa I 17, 13; Pa I 21, 13; Pa II 5, 13; Pa II 6, 14; Pa II 7, 3; Pa II 20, 21; Pa II 24, 22; Pa II 30, 9; Es I 3, 11; Es I 7, 28; Es I 9, 9; Es II 1, 11; Es II 9, 17; Es II 9, 19; Es II 9, 27; Es II 13, 32; Tb 3, 2; Tb 3, 21; Tb 12, 9; Tb 13, 8; Jd 7, 4; Jd 7, 23; Jd 10, 12; Jd 13, 18; Jb 10, 12; Jb 24, 20; Ps 5, 8; Ps 16, 7; Ps 17, 51; Ps 20, 8; Ps 22, 6; Ps 23, 5; Ps 30, 8; Ps 39, 12; Ps 50, 3; Ps 68, 17; Ps 91, 11; Ps 102, 4; Ps 106, 43; Ps 118, 156; Ps 118, 159; Ps 144, 9; E 16, 6; E 21, 3; Zu 9, 1; Ekl 16, 15; Ekl 17, 27; Ekl 35, 25; Ekl 36, 1; Is 30, 19; Is 44, 23; Is 57, 1; Is 63, 7; Jr 16, 5; Dei 3, 22; Dei 3, 32; Ba 2, 27; Ba 4, 22; Da 2, 18; Da 4, 24; Os 2, 1; Os 10, 12; Jon 4, 2; Mak I 3, 44; Mak I 4, 24; Mak II 2, 18; Mak II 9, 13; Mt 9, 13; Mt 12, 7; Erro 9, 23; Erro 11, 30; Erro 11, 31.

urrikaltzapen («miséricorde»): *misericordia*, *miseratio*; July 1, 24; Erru 3, 10; Erre I 12, 7; Es II 9, 28; Es II 9, 31; Ps 12, 6; Ps 188, 77.

xabupen («purification, destruction, liquidation»): *subversio*, *purificatio*, *emundatio*, *piaculum*, *purgatio*, *ruina*, *consummatio*, *interitus*, *dissipatio*, *contritio*, *vastitas*, *perditio*; Jen 19, 29; Lb 4, 8; Lb 12, 4; Lb 12, 5; Lb 12, 6; Lb 14, 23; Lb 14, 32; Lb 14, 49; Lb 15, 13; Lb 15, 28; Lb 17, 11; Lb 23, 27; No 6, 9; Erre II 1, 10; Pa II 29, 24; Ps 58, 14; E 12, 13; Zu 16, 4; Ekl 7, 34; Ekl 31, 3; Ekl 31, 28; Ekl 34, 30; Is, 1, 7; Is 6, 3; Is 10, 23; Is 22, 4; Is 24, 3; Is 28, 22; Is 51, 19; Is 59, 7; Jr 4, 6; Jr 20, 8; Jr 48, 5; Jr 48, 16; Dei 3, 47; Dei 3, 48; Ba 4, 31; Ez 7, 7; Ez 7, 10; Ez 21, 15; Ez 32, 9; Da 9, 26; Ab 13; Jl 1, 11; Na 1, 8; Mak I 4, 41; Mak I 1, 18; Mak II 1, 33; Mak II 1, 36; Mak II 2, 16; Mak II 2, 19; Mak II 2, 20; Mak II 10, 3; Mak II 10, 5; Mk 1, 44; Jn 3, 25; The I 5, 3; The II 1, 9; H 1, 3; Pi II 2, 1; Pi II 2, 6; Pi II 3, 7; Es IV 1, 6; Es IV 4, 23; Es IV 10, 48; Es IV 15, 5; Es IV 16, 2.

xebatzapen («description»): *descriptio*, *distributio*; Js 13, 24; Pa I 4, 33; Pa I 28, 11; Ez 43, 11.

xuripen («justification»): *iudicium* Mi 6, 2; *justificatio*; Jb 27, 6.

zainpen («charge»): *custodia*; No 18, 8; Mak II 3, 40.

zuzenpen («justice»): *justificatio, justitia*; Erro 8, 4; Erro 8, 10; Kor II 3, 9; Ga 5, 4; Ga 5, 5.

Note: Lorsqu'un mot basque traduit plusieurs termes latins, ceux-ci sont cités dans l'ordre correspondant à celui des lieux bibliques où ce terme se traduit pour la première fois par le mot basque en question.

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1. El problema

Para denotar el concepto «ahora», todos los dialectos vascos actuales se sirven del mismo adverbio: *orain*. No se puede negar que hay una variante oriental *orai*, atestiguada ya en Echepare (1545) —aunque no en Leizarraga—, pero ésta es, a todas luces, secundaria. En efecto, desde el valioso ensayo de Michelena, titulado «Egunak eta egun-izenak»,¹ ya sabemos que la variante *orai* se explica con suma facilidad a partir de la pérdida de la oclusión nasal en sintagmas tan frecuentes como *oräiko* y *oräitik*, que acabaron por perder su nasalización vocálica hasta en el dialecto suletino.

El vocablo *orain*, sea dicho de paso, merecería mención en los manuales de lingüística comparada por la razón siguiente: por más que su forma no varíe en lo más mínimo de un dialecto a otro, no sería del todo lícito proyectarla inalterada al protovasco. Eso pasa porque dentro del dialecto vizcaíno una forma antigua *orain* se hubiera convertido en *oran* por evolución fonética regular (*FHV*, 7.3.). Como la forma *oran* no existe en ninguna parte —a menos que se trate de un préstamo reciente en vizcaíno— habrá que partir de una protoforma distinta, **oraen*, por ejemplo (*FHV*, 7.4.).

En cuanto a la etimología de *orain*, citemos al mismo Michelena: «Como origen tiene sin duda la palabra *hora* del latín, seguida por algún pronombre demostrativo euskérico».²

Dados los paralelos consabidos en los romances vecinos, como son en castellano *ahora* (< *agora* < *hac hora*, *DCECH*, s.v. *hora*) y en catalán *ara* (< *aora* < *ha hora*, cf. *DECLC*), la sugerencia de Michelena parece altamente aceptable. Parece discutible, sin embargo, la referencia al pronombre demostrativo euskérico final, que

* *ASJU* XXVI-3 (1992), 695-724.

A condensed English version has appeared in: J. I. Hualde, J. A. Lakarra, R. L. Trask (eds.), *Towards a History of the Basque Language*. (Amsterdam, Philadelphia, 1995), 295-311.

¹ L. Michelena, «Egunak eta egun-izenak», *Munibe* XXIII-4 (1971), 583-591, también incluido en *Palabras y textos*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1987 págs. 269-282 y en *MEIG* VII, págs. 93-100.

² «Lat. *hora* du noski iturburu, euskal-izen-ordain erakusleren bat duela ondoko», artículo citado en la nota (1), nota 38, pág. 591.

Michelena postula, basándose sin duda en la forma **oraen*. Se diría que hay también otras posibilidades,³ sobre todo tratándose de un préstamo. De todos modos, sobre la presencia en *orain* de la voz *hora* —quizás no tanto como préstamo directo del latín, sino a través de una forma románica ya evolucionada— no cabe duda alguna, sobre todo si recordamos que *hora* perdió su *h* inicial en la pronunciación latina desde muy temprano, con seguridad desde la época republicana.⁴

Ahora bien, aceptada la etimología, surge un interrogante. Como no es del todo fácil que una lengua carezca por entero de vocablo para el significado «ahora», una curiosidad bastante natural nos incita a preguntar cuál habrá sido el significante que le correspondía a este significado antes de tener lugar el contacto histórico con los romanos y sus vasallos. Nos hallamos, pues, ante el afán de saber cómo decían «ahora» los vascos en época prerromana.

Que esta clase de interrogaciones suele quedar sin respuesta es una de las realidades más lamentables de nuestra vida. Por cierto, no es del todo preciso ejercer el oficio de historiador para ser curioso del pasado. Por desgracia, en historia igual que en el resto del saber humano, lo que se sabe suele ser de muy poca monta frente a todo lo que se ignora sin remedio. Y claro, huelga decirlo, si nos gusta dirigir nuestra natural curiosidad hacia una era tan remota como la época prerromana, la riqueza de los datos a nuestro alcance deja hartos que desear, y más todavía tratándose de las vicisitudes del idioma vasco durante aquella época.

Con todo, y pese a la lejanía de la era que nos interesa, se me antoja que en el caso presente hay buenas esperanzas de éxito. Sí creo que es posible averiguar cuál fue la palabra vasca para «ahora» en época prerromana, con tal que dejemos guiar nuestra investigación por el método llamado de reconstrucción interna.⁵ Como es natural, pertenecerá al lector juzgar a través de las páginas sucesivas si la argumentación desarrollada le parece o no contundente.

Observemos por fin que el vocablo meridional *orast*, aunque antiguo y eclipsado del léxico vasco desde hace siglos,⁶ no contribuye nada a nuestro propósito, ya que también procede del latín, sea de *hora est* como suponía Michelena,⁷ sea de *hora ista* como también cabría suponer.

³ Una posibilidad que, según creo, hay que tener muy en cuenta, parte del vocablo francés antiguo *orains* «hace un momento», compuesto de *or* «ahora» y *ains* «antes». Tiene aspecto de venerable antigüedad, aunque sólo atestiguado a partir del año 1170. Si éste es el origen de *orain*, el préstamo habrá entrado en el vizcaíno cuando el cambio de *-ain* en *-an* había ya dejado de operar.

⁴ Véase W. S. Allen, *Vox Latina*, pág. 44, o bien J. Collard, *Histoire de la langue latine*, pág. 25.

⁵ El método de la reconstrucción interna queda ligado al nombre del lingüista italiano Giuliano Bonfante en virtud de su ensayo pionero «On reconstruction and Linguistic Method», *Word* 1 (1945), 83-94 y 132-161. Para una breve lista de las contribuciones principales al tema hasta 1960, véase la nota (6) en *FHV*, pág. 15. También puede consultarse: R. J. Jeffers y I. Lehiste, *Principles and methods for historical linguistics*, cap. 3, así como R. Anttila, *Historical and comparative linguistics*, cap. 12 y passim. Por regla general, se suele aplicar el método a la fonología, donde se reduce a una interpretación histórica del análisis morfológico tradicional. En cambio, nuestro ensayo se inspira más bien en una variante léxica del método, tal y como lo explicaremos en la sección 2.

⁶ Esta palabra sólo se conoce por el diccionario de N. Landuchio, *Dictionarium linguae Cantabrigiae (Lcc)* del año 1562, editado por M. Agud y L. Michelena en 1958. El adverbio *orast* se da dos veces: «*agora orayn, orast*» (pág. 53), y «*antaño orast urte bete*» (pág. 61).

⁷ Véase la introducción de L. Michelena a la edición de *Lcc*, nota 31, pág. 42.

2. Preliminares metodológicos: el caso del francés

Antes de atacar de frente el tema de nuestro estudio, no habrá perjuicio para nadie si primero dedicamos unas pocas páginas a aclarar en alguna medida lo que entendemos por el método de reconstrucción interna.

El objetivo del método ya queda claro: es el de reconstruir algún dato o rasgo del pasado de una lengua dada, sin asistencia de testimonios históricos —muchas veces porque no los tenemos— y sin invocar el método comparativo —la mayoría de las veces porque en el caso ya hayamos agotado sus posibilidades—. Lo que puede estar menos claro es la naturaleza del método, o sea, su base teórica. No faltarán quienes insistan en calificarlo a lo sumo de arte más bien que de método, por no tratarse de una metodología de rigor suficiente como para programarse en ordenador. Huyendo de enredarnos en un sinfín de exposiciones teóricas, no alimentamos más aspiraciones que demostrar cómo funciona dicho método en la práctica investigadora. A tal fin, un ejemplo concreto valdrá más que toda una pléthora de explicaciones abstractas, máxime dándose la casualidad de que el problema mismo que estamos estudiando, trasladado al francés, nos brinda el mejor ejemplo que pudiéramos desear.

De acuerdo con nuestro propósito, vamos a suponer que tanto el latín como la historia del francés nos fueran desconocidos en absoluto, de modo que sólo puede servir de base a nuestras inferencias el caudal léxico del francés moderno.

Abordando el tema, partimos de lo que es en francés el adverbio corriente por «ahora»: *maintenant*. La coincidencia material de esta voz con el participio activo del verbo *maintenir* (donde se reconocen las palabras *main* «mano» y *tenir* «tener»: «tener por la mano») es un hecho que difícilmente escapará al menos avisado. Además, no sería pecar de audacia sobrada pensar que la coincidencia no lo es tanto, es decir, que aquí acertamos con el origen mismo de nuestro adverbio. Bien es verdad que sin el concurso de datos históricos sobre el uso de la expresión puede haber alguna dificultad en demarcar por qué preciso camino se deja salvar la distancia entre los dos significados, pero no creo que sea ello motivo suficiente para desconfiar de una etimología que, por otra parte, resulta tan obvia. De tal etimología se infiere que *maintenant*, antes de llegar a ser adverbio simple, tenía carácter de modismo adverbial. En otras palabras, se deduce que la voz *maintenant* ha sufrido una evolución en el curso del tiempo: de ser perífrasis marcada para evocar «ahora», ha venido a ser su expresión corriente. Por lo tanto, hay que suponer que, hasta finalizarse la evolución, haya existido otro vocablo, que servía de término no marcado enunciando «ahora», vocablo que posteriormente se fue olvidando a medida que su competidor *maintenant* perdía la fuerza expresiva que al principio tenía. Ahora bien, tal situación nos autoriza a pedir a la reconstrucción interna que nos averigüe la identidad de la palabra postulada como predecesora de *maintenant* y eclipsada por ella.

El éxito de nuestra empresa no puede garantizarse de antemano: todo depende de la constitución más o menos propicia del léxico francés. Hay que tener muy en cuenta que los conceptos lexicalizados, es decir, las nociones comunicables por una palabra única del idioma, suelen diferir no poco de lengua a lengua, como cada persona bilingüe habrá corroborado por experiencia propia. Hasta entre lenguas tan afines como son el francés y el castellano no dejan de abundar semejantes diferencias.

Así es de notar que a las dos palabras sinónimas del francés que hemos de analizar ahora, les falta toda correspondencia en castellano.⁸ Se trata de los adverbios *dorénavant* y *désormais*. Son traducibles, eso sí, pero tan solo por medio de un sintagma entero: «de ahora en adelante», por ejemplo.

Comenzamos nuestro análisis atendiendo a la forma del adverbio *dorénavant*. Mediante el solo conocimiento del léxico moderno logramos descomponerla en cuatro elementos, de los cuales sólo uno resulta, por de pronto, desconocido: *d-or-en-avant*. Está claro que *d* representa la preposición francesa *de* ante vocal, que *or* es un elemento desconocido, que *en* no es otro que la preposición francesa *en* de sentido «en», y, finalmente, que *avant* es el adverbio francés que significa «adelante».

Antes de proseguir nuestro argumento, conviene hacer una advertencia a fin de evitar malas interpretaciones. Se refiere al papel del castellano en nuestro análisis. Importa reconocer que, no obstante las apariencias en contrario, este idioma no figura, en el fondo, para nada en nuestros razonamientos. Lo que sí pasa es que, en vez de la metalengua semántica que nos haría falta para poder diseccionar el significado de las palabras francesas, haremos uso del castellano, ya que este procedimiento simplifica cómodamente el discurso, sin que induzca a errores notables, al menos en el campo limitado en que aquí nos movemos.

Clarificado esto, volvamos al hilo de la argumentación. Queda así la situación: nos encontramos ante dos entidades. De un lado, tenemos el análisis formal *d-or-én-avant*, que podríamos llamar la representación morfológica de la palabra, y del otro, su representación semántica «de ahora en adelante». Ambas representaciones constan de cuatro componentes, y, cotejándolas, se nota que existe correspondencia exacta de significante a significado para tres de los componentes: el significante *d* corresponde al significado «de», el significante *en* al significado «en», y el significante *avant* al significado «adelante». Como también sabemos que el significante total *dorénavant* corresponde al significado total «de ahora en adelante», parece justificarse la conclusión de que es *or* el significante que le corresponde al significado «ahora», por lo menos en este contexto.

Esta conclusión se confirma por otros datos; en primer lugar, por el análisis de *désormais*, sinónimo de uso más corriente que *dorénavant*. Aquél admite una descomposición formal en tres partes: *dés-or-mais*. La parte inicial no resulta difícil de identificar: se trata de una pronunciación apenas alterada de la preposición francesa *dès*, de sentido similar al castellano *desde*. La parte final *mais*, en cambio, parece ofrecer dificultades, ya que no se ve a primera vista lo que la conjunción adversativa *mais* de sentido «pero» tenga que hacer en nuestro análisis del adverbio. Con todo, fijándose en el modismo *n'en pouvoir mais* «no poder más», así como en el adverbio *jamais* «jamás» analizado (*déjà mais* «ya más»), es fácil darse cuenta de que *mais* debe algún día haber significado «más».

Después de esta clarificación se conoce que *dés-or-mais* corresponde a «desde ahora (y) más». Esta correspondencia da claro sentido y nos facilita otra vez la conclusión de que es *or* el significante de «ahora» (compárese el castellano *de hoy más*).

No es menos interesante la frase hecha *d'ores et déjà*, que significa «ya desde ahora». Mientras *et* «y» y *déjà* «ya» son voces corrientes, *ores* es una palabra que sólo

⁸ En portugués sí la hay: *doravante*.

hallamos en esta frase y en la expresión *d'ores en avant*, la cual como sinónimo un tanto arcaico de *dorénavant* ya no necesita comentario. Como *d'ores* corresponde precisamente al significado «desde ahora», y que además el Larousse señala de modo explícito que *ores* se pronuncia [or], queda claro que se trata de una mera variante gráfica del morfema *or* ya descubierto.

Para este punto del argumento es posible que surjan buen número de lectores ansiosos de crítica, protestando de que nuestro uso del término de morfema es algo inconsiderado. ¿Cómo puede hablarse de morfemas mientras no se haya demostrado que los análisis morfológicos propuestos sean dignos de crédito? En este sentido, los desconfiados aducirán que no es raro que el análisis del lingüista no coincida con el análisis del hablante, única realidad válida. Quizás añadan que, por lo tanto, hasta haber pruebas en contrario, nada se opone a que *désormais* y aún *dorénavant* sean palabras inanalizables para la conciencia lingüística del locutor corriente actual.

Sea. El lector escrupuloso queda muy dueño de cambiar el nombre de morfema por el de pseudomorfema, si es que le agrada. Por lo demás, diré que la crítica, errando el golpe, no viene al caso. Si por ventura tuviéramos por objeto sondear la conciencia lingüística del locutor, un buen escepticismo me parecería una actitud de lo más encomiable. Pero la cuestión tan traída y llevada dentro de la lingüística descriptiva acerca de la realidad psicológica de las unidades o divisiones postuladas por el lingüista no nos interesa aquí de ningún modo. No tenemos el menor inconveniente en admitir que, en el caso presente, se trata tan sólo de un análisis de la parte del lingüista, el cual no tiene por qué reflejarse en la mente del locutor del idioma. En efecto, ocupado en su tarea de reconstrucción, el lingüista histórico no intenta describir una realidad presente, sino vislumbrar, en la medida de lo posible, una realidad pasada, esa realidad histórica que, percátese o no el hablante corriente, ha dejado sus huellas en el uso actual.

Sigamos pues imperturbables y resumamos lo conseguido. Buscando la palabra francesa antigua para «ahora», hemos descubierto un morfema, o si se prefiere, pseudomorfema, *or*, de tal sentido. Es verdad que se trata de una forma de distribución muy limitada, ya que sólo ocurre como componente de unos pocos vocablos. Pero aquí es donde interviene la heurística esencial del método, que podemos enunciar así: todos los lexemas nacieron libres.

Decimos «lexemas» a fin de exceptuar morfemas puramente funcionales como serían la marca del plural o la desinencia del caso gramatical, aunque no quede del todo claro que constituyan de verdad excepciones a lo enunciado.

Con la ayuda de la heurística adoptada llegamos a esta conclusión: si *or* tiene el sentido «ahora» como elemento formativo de algunos vocablos por pocos que sean, es que algún día era palabra independiente de sentido análogo.

No estará de más indicar que *or*, todavía hoy, es palabra del francés, aunque no en la acepción de «ahora», sino en la de «ahora bien», conectivo lógico que puede muy bien provenir del adverbio temporal anterior. Recuérdese que el adverbio inglés *now* también se usa en ambos sentidos.

Bien, hasta aquí nos lleva el método de reconstrucción interna aplicado al léxico francés. Veamos ahora hasta qué punto ha acertado.

En cuanto a la historia de *maintenant*, se la encuentra por primera vez en el *Roman de Enéas*, que, aunque difícil de datar con precisión, no parece posterior al año 1160.

Aparece en el texto seis veces,⁹ siempre en conjunción con la preposición *de*. Es de notar que el sentido no es «ahora», sino «en seguida». No es muy distinta la situación en los *Lais* de Marie de France, que suelen datarse entre 1170 y 1180. En éstos, *maintenant* aparece tres veces,¹⁰ siempre con *de* y con significado «en seguida». También en la obra de Chrestien de Troyes, que vivió de 1135 hasta 1183, hay varias docenas de ejemplos, incluso sin preposición, pero siempre significando «en seguida».

Hay que esperar dos o tres generaciones para ver surgir las primeras muestras, bastante raras al principio, del empleo de *maintenant* en la acepción moderna «ahora». Aunque el lingüista suizo J. Blass, autor del estudio *Der Ausdruck der zeitlichen Unmittelbarkeit, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Französischen* (Berna 1960), sostiene (pág. 69) que *maintenant* puede indicar el presente absoluto ya desde comienzos del siglo XIII, los ejemplos aducidos en el *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* de A. Tobler y E. Lommatzsch no parecen corroborar fecha tan temprana.

Por otra parte, no se puede menos de observar que el diccionario etimológico de Bloch y von Wartburg anda descaminadísimo al afirmar que *maintenant* haya tomado el sentido moderno sólo hacia el siglo XVI, ya que hay claros ejemplos de ese sentido hacia el siglo XIII, así como en *Li romans de Claris et Laris*,¹¹ fechado en 1268.

Durante toda la Edad Media, la palabra corriente para «ahora» era *or*, o sus variantes *ore* y *ores*. Siendo del mismo origen que el castellano *ahora*, *or* es voz antiquísima en francés, y, desde luego, muy anterior a *maintenant*. Así leemos en *La vie de saint Léger* del siglo X: «et or es temps et si est biens que nos cantumps de sant Lethgier», que reza traducido: «y ahora es tiempo y ya es propio que cantemos de san Lijero» (verso 5-6). En el mismo texto también se da en los versos 161 y 167.

Hacia el siglo XIV *or* comienza a sufrir la competencia de *maintenant*, con el cual coexistirá en la lengua hablada por lo menos hasta mediados del siglo XVI.¹² Su empleo literario, por otra parte, continuaba hasta muy adelantado el siglo XVII. Todavía en la obra de La Fontaine (1621-1695) el uso de *or* en sentido estrictamente temporal no es del todo raro.

Ya habrá comprobado el lector que los datos históricos que acabamos de presentar cuadran de perlas con lo que ya nos había enseñado nuestro intento de reconstrucción. Por lo tanto no se puede negar que en el caso del francés nuestro método de reconstrucción interna nos haya servido muy bien. El hecho nos inspira confianza, animándonos a tratar en las páginas que restan, de aplicar el mismo método al campo mucho menos labrado de la historia del idioma vasco.

⁹ En los versos 3.628, 5.332, 5.441, 6.726, 7.011 y 9.597 de la edición de Salverda De Grave, París 1925-1929.

¹⁰ *Guigemar*, verso 96; *Equitan*, verso 309 y *Milun*, verso 132, según la tercera edición de Karl Wamke.

¹¹ Está claro que *maintenant* significa «ahora» en el verso 27 del texto: «Et joie a si perdu son pris, / Que nules nouveles n'en oi / Ni en feste ni en tournoi, / Qui maintenant sont seme cler.» «Y la alegría ha perdido a tal punto su aprecio que no oigo noticias suyas algunas, ni en fiestas ni en torneos, que ahora espiadamente son sembrados». (*Li romans de Claris et Laris*, edición de J. Alton, 1884).

¹² En las obras de Rabelais (1494-1553) tan repletas de diálogo, coexisten *or*, *ores* y *maintenant*. No puedo resistir a la tentación de citar la frase *Or dictes maintenant que je n'y say rien!* («Pues, decid ahora que no entiendo de ello»), a pesar de que parezca verosímil que aquí el *or* inicial signifique «pues» más bien que «ahora».

3. Primer vistazo a la solución

La lengua vasca dispone de un tipo de compuestos de que el francés carece por completo, como las lenguas románicas en general. Me refiero a los compuestos llamados «dvandva», o sea, los copulativos. Ninguno de los componentes determina aquí al otro, sino que contribuyen ambos de la misma manera al significado del compuesto, sin que se dé diferencia alguna de nivel. Este tipo de composición, que Lázaro Carreter¹³ calificaba de raro fuera del sánscrito, es corriente en vasco y sigue siendo productivo para no pocos hablantes. Pensamos en ejemplos, generalmente usados en plural o en indeterminado, como *hortzagin* «dientes y muelas», *burubuztan* «pies y cabeza» y también «peripencias», *gogobibotz* «alma y corazón», y *zerulur* «cielo y tierra». ¹⁴ También los hay con adjetivos: *zuribeltz* «blanco y negro», y «blanquinegro», «mulato».

No sólo los nombres entran en este tipo de compuestos, también lo hacen los adverbios. En tal caso, caben dos modelos de formación: el adverbial y el nominal. Al primero le llamamos adverbial porque lo que produce es un adverbio. En ello, cada componente lleva su propia desinencia casual: *han-hemen* «aquí y allí», *hara-bona* «allá y acá», *harantz-honantz* «de un lado a otro», *hala-hola* «así-así».

Al otro modelo le llamamos nominal porque lo que produce es un nombre sustantivo. A la inversa del modelo adverbial, no permite en sus componentes desinencia casual, bien que el compuesto producido, siendo sustantivo, debe llevarla. Este es el modelo que siguen, en particular, los adverbios de tiempo la mayoría de las veces. Así, de los adverbios *gaur* «hoy» y *bihar* «mañana» se forma el compuesto *gaurbihar*, sustantivo que provisto de la desinencia plural de inesivo *-etan* puede emplearse como adverbio: *gaurbiharretan* «entre hoy y mañana».

Compuestos como *gaurbihar* tienen carácter de sustantivo y no de adverbio, ya que éstos no admiten desinencia plural. La desinencia *-etan* de *gaurbiharretan* es plural, no indefinida, como se ve en el análogo *biharretzietan* «entre mañana y pasado mañana», en vez del indefinido *biharretzitan*.

Conviene advertir, sin embargo, que esta clase de sustantivo presenta la singularidad de no ocurrir en el habla normal sino con desinencia locativa, aunque, al sentir de varios locutores, el nominativo *biharretziak*, sería aceptable en estilo poético.

Hay un caso especial que merece atención, el de los sinónimos. Cuando los adverbios de tiempo que se quieren juntar en composición son más o menos sinónimos, parece que se admiten los dos modelos, entendiéndose que el sustantivo, producto del modelo nominal, ya no será plural sino singular. Así, de la composición de los dos adverbios de sentido «hoy», *gaur* y *egun*, resulta el adverbio *gaurregun* de igual sentido, de acuerdo con el modelo adverbial, a la vez que el sustantivo *gaurregun*, derivado del modelo nominal, que sirve de base a la forma declinada de inesivo singular *gaurregumean*, que puede traducirse «en la actualidad».

¹³ Véase F. Lázaro Carreter, *Diccionario de términos filológicos*, s.v. «Compuesto», pág. 102 de la tercera edición.

¹⁴ Y aun *zeru-lur-iferu* «cielo, tierra e infierno» empleado por Duvoisin en su versión del texto de *Fil. 2.10*: «Jesusen izenera, beheiti ditezen belhaun guziak zeru-lur-iferueta»; (ut in nomine Iesu omne genu *flectatur* caelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum.) «A fin de que al nombre de Jesús se doble toda rodilla en el cielo, en la tierra y en el infierno».

Quizás no esté de más insistir en que este compuesto es efectivamente copulativo, en vez de representar un compuesto determinativo de *egun* «día», como pudiera creerse aduciendo su sinónimo *gaurko egunean* «en el día de hoy». Con todo, es fácil de ver que el adverbio *gaur* no entra en tales compuestos. Así, para traducir «la mujer de hoy», jamás oímos *gaurremakumea*, antes es forzoso emplear la forma adnominal de *gaur*, diciendo *gaurko emakumea*.

Teniendo estos datos muy en cuenta, volvamos ya al tema de nuestra investigación. Vamos moviendo cielo y tierra para desenterrar la antigua palabra vasca *X*, ya desaparecida, que significa «ahora».

Para empezar, es muy digno de notar que, en contra de lo que suele pasar con los gobernantes de ciertos países, un vocablo no desaparece de la escena al instante mismo en que surge su sucesor. Antes bien, suele darse un período de coexistencia que puede extenderse a varios siglos. Recuérdese aquí nuestra observación anterior de que los dos adverbios sinónimos *or* y *maintenant* coexistieron en francés durante más de cuatro siglos: desde mediados del siglo XIII hasta finales del XVII. En nuestro caso se trata de una coexistencia más o menos prolongada de la antigua palabra *X* y de la palabra nueva *orain*.

Suponiendo que, como lo sugerimos en la nota (3), el adverbio *orain* se remonte al vocablo francés antiguo *orains* «hace un momento», podemos caracterizar así la evolución subsiguiente: el significado de *orain* y el de *X*, ya bastante parecidos al principio, habrán ido acercándose cada vez más, hasta confundirse por completo, porque, de lo contrario, la palabra *orain* nunca podía haber suplantado a *X*. Además, está claro que se desarrolló, en el fondo, un proceso similar de acercamiento semántico, cualquiera que sea la etimología de *orain*.

A la luz de la exposición que acabamos de hacer, parece natural presumir en tales condiciones que el adverbio *X* podía entrar en composición con otros adverbios, en particular, con su sinónimo o cuasisinónimo *orain*.

¿Para qué insistir tanto en la posibilidad de composición? ¿Cómo se justifica tan singular fascinación? La respuesta no está muy lejos. Si tales compuestos nos merecen tanta atención, es que no cabe excluir la eventualidad de que algunos hayan sobrevivido al mismo *X*, convirtiéndose de tal manera en arcaísmos, es decir, sintagmas fosilizados de análisis incómodo dentro de la gramática sincrónica. Nuestra tarea será, por lo tanto, examinar los adverbios de tiempo vascos en busca de arcaísmos, con la buena esperanza de que uno u otro de éstos nos desvele la identidad de *X*.

Dada la gran multitud de las variedades de la lengua vasca, sería muy cómodo si de antemano pudiéramos escoger algún dialecto que nos ofrezca las mejores posibilidades de éxito. Como el gran lingüista italiano M. Bartoli fue el primero en comprobar,¹⁵ los dialectos geográficamente laterales suelen ser bastante más ricos en arcaísmos que los centrales. Según eso, haremos bien comenzando nuestra búsqueda por el suletino, que es el dialecto lateral que mejor conocemos. En tal plan parece natural recurrir a la obra literaria del canónigo Inchauspe (1815-1902), que fue el más prestigioso corifeo de las letras suletinas de su época.

¹⁵ Véase M. Bartoli, *Saggi di linguistica spaziale*, Torino 1945.

Repasando sus escritos,¹⁶ tropezamos con la forma *oraidara*, arcaísmo por excelencia, y desconocida ya en suletino actual. No tendríamos noticias de la palabra si no fuera por Inchauspe, en cuyos escritos sólo aparece, que yo sepa, dos veces. La primera vez en su hermosa versión del evangelio de San Mateo, que fue publicada en 1856: «halacóric ez-péita izan mundiaren hástetic oraidára», (Mt. 24, 21: «qualis non fuit ab initio mundi usque modo») «cual no fue desde el principio del mundo hasta ahora». Después de largos años, volvemos a encontrar la palabra en la página 391 de la obra *Eguiazco erreligionia*, publicada en 1884: «Salvaçaliaren errana hastetic oraidara complitu iğan da», «Lo que dijo el Salvador ha sido cumplido desde el principio hasta ahora».¹⁷

El sentido de la palabra no admite la menor duda. *Oraidara* corresponde al *usque modo* del latín, por lo que significa «hasta el presente».

La sílaba final *-ra* se identifica, a todas luces, con la desinencia de alativo *-ra*, equivalente a la preposición castellana *a*. Como tema de la palabra nos queda, por tanto, *oraida*, que puede traducirse «el presente». Visto que *orai* es la forma suletina de *orain* «ahora», se impone un análisis en dos componentes: *orai* + *da*.

El residuo final *da* con que aquí tropezamos resulta algo misterioso: no tiene, por los menos, explicación obvia en la lengua tal como la conocemos. Claro está que sería un disparate pensar en la forma conjugada *da* «es» del verbo *izan* «ser», ya que ninguna forma conjugada admite la desinencia *-ra* sin relativizarse primero.

Tampoco vale fijarse en la conjunción *eta*, por más que en ciertos contextos se pronuncie *da*. Sabemos que tras *orai* se pronunciaría *ta*, no *da*. Aún remontándonos a la forma prístina *orain* no atestiguada en suletino, no resolveríamos nada, puesto que no es cierto que la *t* se sonorice tras *n* en este dialecto; compárese el verbo suletino *kehentü* frente al común *kendu* «quitar». En vista de ello, no cabe explicar *oraidara* por *orai eta hara* «ahora y allá», sintagma para el cual falta además todo paralelo.

A mi modo de ver, la solución más natural del problema se alcanza considerando *oraida* como palabra compuesta según el modelo nominal a partir de dos adverbios: *orai* y *da* o *dan*. Una vez admitido esto, se deduce que *da* no puede divergir demasiado de *orai* en cuanto al sentido, porque de lo contrario no se vería cómo el compuesto *oraida* llegue a significar lo que significa: «el presente». De ahí resulta que la forma *da* o *dan* reúne todas las condiciones para ser la incógnita que andamos cazando: fue algún día adverbio sinónimo o cuasisinónimo de *orain*, si bien es verdad que ya no se utiliza como tal en la época de los primeros textos.

La forma *dara* deja abierta la cuestión de saber si la forma básica del adverbio era *da* o bien *dan*. Pero veremos luego en la sección 5 que la forma elativa era *danik*, lo que exige la base *dan*. Contaríamos, según eso, con un adverbio *dan* «ahora» de forma inesiva, que en alativo se declina *dara* y en elativo *danik*. Nuestro vocablo pertenecía,

¹⁶ Estoy sumamente agradecido al doctísimo cura de Altzai, Junes Casenave Harigile, por su singular generosidad en proporcionarme nítidas fotocopias de las obras principales de Inchauspe. Amén de las dos mencionadas en el texto, se trata también de la traducción de la *Imitatio Christi* de Kempis, que apareció en 1883, así como el texto de *María Birginaren bilabetia*, publicado en 1894. Para la lista completa de las obras de Inchauspe, véase L. Villasante, *Historia de la literatura vasca*, § 193.

¹⁷ Ésta es la única referencia que hay para *oraidara* en el *Diccionario Retana de autoridades de la lengua vasca*, donde se la atribuye erróneamente al *Jesu Kristen imitacionia* (DRA, 3138).

por tanto, al paradigma sin duda antiguo que todavía siguen los vocablos también adverbiales *non* «donde» y *han* «allí», con los alativos correspondientes *nora* «a donde» y *hara* «allá», y los elativos *nondik* «de donde» y *handik* «de allí». La ausencia del elativo *dandik* como forma moderna al lado de *danik* se explica, claro está, por disimilación preventiva de la dental.

He aquí, en fin, la hipótesis central de nuestro ensayo. Pretendemos verificarla con más datos en las páginas que siguen.

4. En torno al caso terminativo *-raino*

Mientras conocemos sólo dos ejemplos del alativo *oraidara*, la forma terminativo correspondiente *oraidaraino* no es del todo rara en los clásicos de los dialectos septentrionales. La encontramos en los escritos de Etcheberri de Ciboure (*oraidaraño*, *Man.* II, 23; *oraindaraño*, *Man.* I, 38; y II, 186); por lo menos 17 veces en la obra de Leizarraga (con síncope: *oraindrano*), y en el libro principal de Juan de Tartas (también con síncope: *oradrano*, *Olsa*, 117).

Solamente se tercia una complicación. En el caso alativo, se conocen, además de *oraidara*, también *bihardara*, como en *bihardara gabe* «antes de mañana» (*Xarlem*, 1371, cf. DGV v 206), y *geurzdara* «al año que viene» (Oihenart, *Pr.* 56), donde el morfema *-da-*, claro está, no admite la significación «ahora». Y en el terminativo, aún es más fácil hallar ejemplos opuestos a la etimología que proponemos, como *bihardraino* «hasta mañana» (Tartas, *Olsa*, 35) y *noizdrano* «hasta cuando» que se da hasta cuatro veces en el Nuevo Testamento de Leizarraga (Mt. 17.17, dos veces; *Lc.* 9.41; *Jn.* 10.24).

La dificultad, por cierto, no resulta insuperable. Una vez eliminado el adverbio independiente *dan* por la competencia de *orain*, era natural que, al cabo de cierto tiempo, los hablantes acabaran por olvidarse del papel semántico que, en semejantes compuestos, desempeñaba el morfema *da*. Pero no por ello desaparecieron tales compuestos, antes bien se extendieron a nuevos casos, quedándose borrada de tal manera la distribución originaria del morfema *-da-*. Es que había una clara razón de comodidad: era mucho más cómodo unir la desinencia *-raino* (o *-ra*) a un nombre sustantivo terminado en vocal que a un adverbio terminado en consonante, como sería *noiz* «cuándo» o *bihar* «mañana».

A falta de testimonios explícitos, es difícil comprobar hasta qué fecha los locutores guardaban conciencia más o menos clara de que *-da-* era un morfema que tenía que ver con el presente. Sin duda había diferencias según las zonas. Así, en la obra bastante extensa del sacerdote labortano Etcheberri de Ciboure, *da* sólo se combina con los adverbios *orain(n)* «ahora» y *egun* «hoy», de acuerdo con su etimología, mientras que en la zona oriental del país *bihardrano* «hasta mañana» ya formaba parte de un proverbio, uno de los recogidos por Oihenart: *auco bihardrano* «aguárdale hasta mañana».¹⁸

Aunque no disponemos de los datos necesarios para historiar los detalles de lo ocurrido, estimo que quedan rastros suficientes para que se admita nuestra hipótesis,

¹⁸ Se trata del proverbio número 224 citado por L. Michelena en su ensayo «Los refranes del cuaderno de Oihenart», *ASJU* (1967), 11-44, reeditado en *SHLV* II, 804-823.

a pesar del trastorno ocasionado por la generalización del morfema *-da-* fuera de su órbita originaria. Trataremos de mostrarlo, embarcándonos en un estudio algo detenido de la distribución del terminativo precedido o no de *-da-* en los primeros textos. Pero, para evitar errores de interpretación, nos hará falta una labor de preparación, que posee cierto interés de por sí, aun fuera del contexto de este ensayo: vamos a escudriñar muy de cerca la desinencia terminativo con el objeto de reconstruir la forma más antigua que podamos alcanzar.

A tal fin, dejemos ya el país de Soule para trasladarnos a otra zona vasca no menos conservadora: la Alta Navarra. Es sólo allí donde se documenta un vocablo muy interesante para nuestro propósito: *bateo* (*batio* en aquellas comarcas donde la *e* cambia en *i* ante vocal no alta), que significa «a la vez» o «conjuntamente». Los principales testimonios se recogen en el *DGV* (IV, pág. 200): *argi-erzkilarekin batio* «al toque del alba», *A*, Apend. marcado *AN-erro*; *graciequi batio* «juntamente con la gracia», *CatAe* 52; *nerekin batio* «juntamente conmigo», *Flr* 178 (la sigla *Flr* se refiere a Fermín Irigaray Goizueta, nativo de Burguete); siguen varios ejemplos tomados de Joaquín Lizarraga de Elcano: *ayéqui báteo* «juntamente con ellos», *LE Jn.* 20.26; *Christoréqui báteo* «a una con Cristo», *LE Ong* 52 r; *bateo* «al mismo tiempo», *LE Prog* 122, *LE Kop* 157, *LE Ong* 68 r; y finalmente una cita del catecismo de Uterga: *gracierequi batio* «juntamente con la gracia», *CatUt* 65. Se menciona asimismo la encuesta del padre Cándido Izaguirre en la localidad Alcoz del valle de Ulzama, según la cual la forma *batio* seguía todavía viva en el año 1965: *anayéki batio* «juntamente con el hermano».¹⁹

Se desprende del material citado que *bateo* se emplea exactamente como *batera* en vizcaíno (cf. *DGV* IV 182) o *batean* en los demás dialectos (cf. *DGV* IV 174). Por tanto, a menos que las apariencias engañen más de la cuenta, hay que admitir que la forma *bateo* consta del numeral *bat* «uno», seguido de una desinencia locativa *o*, cuyo sentido exacto queda en tela de juicio. De momento ignoramos si se trata de un inesivo del estilo de *-an*, un alativo del estilo de *-ra*, o un caso sincrético como lo es *à* en francés.

Como también ocurre en el caso del inesivo *-an*, del que hablé largo y tendido en mi conferencia «Euskal morfologiaren zenbait gorabehera»²⁰ de 1979, la presencia de la *e* epentética en *bateo* deja entender que la desinencia *o* antiguamente empezaba por consonante. Con respecto a *-an* estimaba entonces y sigo estimando que en otros tiempos era *-gan*, mas no hay razón similar para suponer que la desinencia *o* fuera anteriormente *go*.

En cambio, hay excelentes razones para sostener que la forma primigénea era *-do*. La mayor prueba nos la ofrecen las voces conocidas aunque poco estudiadas *egundo* y *oraindo*. Admiten varias traducciones según el contexto, pero la acepción originaria de cada una es la que nos da el viejo *Diccionario trilingüe* (1745) de Larramendi: «hasta hoy» y «hasta ahora».²¹

¹⁹ Véase en particular la página 413 del artículo de Cándido Izaguirre, «Utzamako euskeraren gai bazuko», *BAP* 22 (1966), 403-467.

²⁰ Publicada en: Autores Varios, *Euskal linguistika eta literatura: bide berriak*, Bilbao 1981, págs. 83-101. (Incluido en este volumen).

²¹ Véase M. de Larramendi, *Diccionario trilingüe del castellano, bascuence y latín* (San Sebastián, 1745), s.v. *Hasta*: «Hasta ahora: *oraindaño*, *oraindaraño*, *oraño*, *oraindo*. Hasta hoy: *gaurdaño*, *gaurdaraño*, *egundaño*, *egundo*.» También s.v. *Ahora* «Hasta ahora, hasta el día de hoy, *egundaño*, *egundaraño*, *egundo*, *eguno*.»

Nadie puede dudar de la realidad de estas palabras, que todavía siguen en uso: *egundo* (y su derivado *egundoko*) sobre todo en vizcaíno (en Eibar, por ejemplo: Etxba. *Eib*, 214) y *oraindo* en la Alta Navarra, por ejemplo, en Alcoz de Ulzama: *oaindezpaitetorri* (Iz. *Ulz*, 463), que corresponde al común *oraindo ez baita etorri* «pues todavía no ha venido». No hay que olvidar, para más señas, que *oraindo* ha sido el antecesor inmediato de *oraino*, traducción normal de *todavía* en gran parte del país.

Sí se ha dudado mucho, al contrario, de la realidad de otra palabra traída por Larramendi: *ezkerdo*. Sabiendo que el famoso jesuita no era siempre adverso a la broma, no se le ha ocurrido, al parecer, a nadie tomarle en serio cuando afirma *«Izquierdo, viene del bascuence izquierdo, izquierda, que significa lo mismo.»*

De tan universal escepticismo, confieso que se me escapan los motivos. Sólo puedo pensar que se funda en prejuicios de orden, digamos, psicológico, ya que no percibo la menor dificultad lingüística. Como a este propósito me lo ha recordado el erúdito filólogo Joseba Lakarra, no sería la primera vez que el investigador moderno se ha visto obligado a darle la razón a Larramendi contra sus críticos.^{21 bis}

Bastará concretar algo más lo que ya hemos sugerido para que resalte con toda claridad el cuadro preciso para situar la forma *ezkerdo*. Partimos de la suposición de que *báteo* «a una» y *oraindo* «hasta ahora» llevan ambos la misma desinencia *-do*. No hay obstáculo en cuanto a la forma. Sabemos de sobra que la *d* intervocálica siempre es débil en vasco. Si puede caer hasta en posición protónica como vemos en *enki* que viene de *eduki*, lo hará con aún más facilidad colocada entre vocales inacentuadas, como ocurría en *batedo*. Tampoco hay impedimento en cuanto al sentido. Ya hemos observado que puede muy bien tratarse de una alativo del estilo del *à* francés, que abarque también la acepción «hasta»: *à demain* «hasta mañana». Se diría además que el afamado gramático Azkue compartía esta conclusión, ya que, refiriéndose a la palabra *artio* «hasta» (variante de *arteo* que viene de *artedo*) afirmó que es pleonasma (*DVEF* I, 83), lo que viene a decir que *o* es una desinencia de significación «hasta».

Pero, como lo muestra *báteo*, «hasta» no es el único significado de la desinencia *-do*, que sirve más bien de alativo en general. Por eso, al principio, *ezkerdo* debe de haber significado «a la izquierda». En otra época era sin duda esta flexión, antes que cualquier otra, la que oía el viajero forastero cuando se enteró del camino. Se comprende por ello que fuera ésta la palabra a la cual recurrían los vecinos de habla romance, hartos ya de su *sinistra* siniestra. Luego, después de que salieran del uso las flexiones con *-do*, los vascohablantes iban abandonando la palabra en favor de la flexión moderna, o sea, *ezkerrera* en singular o *ezkerretara* en indefinido. El castellano y el portugués, en cambio, han conservado la vieja palabra vasca; el castellano con la diptongación regular de la *e* breve acentuada, que falta en portugués (*esquerdo*).

Ahora, por lo tocante a Larramendi, no niego que a veces resulta bastante difícil saber si está hablando o no en serio. Aquí, sin embargo, la cuestión es ociosa. Visto que el vocablo castellano *izquierdo* no tiene etimología conocida fuera del vascuence,

^{21 bis} [N. del Ed. cf. Pouvreau *ezkerdo* «gaucher».]

y que la voz *ezkerdo* es de tan fácil explicación en esta lengua, habría que postularla como vasca, aún si Larramendi no la trajera.²²

Volviendo un momento sobre las formas *oraindo* y *egundo*, hay que reconocer que nunca han despertado demasiado el interés de los vascólogos, tanto nativos como extranjeros. Tengo la sospecha, aunque no puedo sustanciarla porque falta todo testimonio, que suele creerse que se trate de meras contracciones fonéticas a partir de sus sinónimos dotados del sufijo *-daino*; creencia que, de hecho, no tiene más fundamento que una especie de álgebra de sustracción —*daino* menos *ain* igual *-do*— sin apoyo alguno en la fonética popular. El descuido, con todo, es muy de lamentar. Si las formas en cuestión hubieran sido valoradas por lo que son, preciosos arcaísmos, la investigación etimológica hubiera contado con un recurso valioso más, cuya repercusión desborda los confines de la sola vascología.

Ahora ya estamos suficientemente preparados para que nos encargemos de reconstruir la forma antigua del terminativo *-raino*. Se notará que, a este respecto, el sur ha sido más conservador que el norte, ya que nuestra reconstrucción se llevará a cabo utilizando tan solo las formas burundesas y vizcaínas, incluyendo en el vizcaíno su variante meridional documentada por Landuchio.

En particular, para la reconstrucción de la final bastan las formas terminadas en *-aindo*, documentadas sólo en la Burunda: *zeruaindo* «hasta el cielo», de Olazagutia,²³ *ertzeraingo* «hasta la orilla», de Urdiain,²⁴ y finalmente, *datorren urteraindo* «hasta el año que viene», *Oñatiaindo* «hasta Oñate», *onutzaindo* «hasta aquí», de Alsasua.²⁵

Para la reconstrucción de la consonante inicial, hay que prestar atención a la forma vizcaína *-gino*: *inurria guino* «hasta la hormiga», *RS 81*; *lauçatu guino* «hasta el tejado», *RS 210*; *daneguino* «hasta (lo) que es», *RS 310*; *direaneguino* «hasta (lo) que son», *RS 315*; *puntu oneguino* «hasta este punto», *Cap. 121*. También merece mención el vizcaíno *oraingino* (*orainguino*, *Cap. 90*) «hasta ahora», al cual corresponde el alavés *oraingano*, glosado «hasta aquí» en el vocabulario de Landuchio (pág. 134).

En base a estos datos, reconstruimos una protoforma *-ragaindo*, mejor dicho, *gaindo* precedido o no de un sintagma alativo. Mientras en el sur el alativo terminaba

²² Ya no parece posible averiguar si la desinencia *-do* guarda relación etimológica con un antiquísimo sufijo de derivación *-do*, de que habla Michelena en *Apellidos Vascos*, s.v. *da*. A sus ejemplos *bixkeardo* «jorobado» de *bixkear* «espalda», *mokeardo* «excremento duro» de *mokor* «malga», *ugerdo* «roñoso» de *uger* «roña», se puede añadir *bixardo* «barbón, barbado, barbudo» (Plácido Mugica, *Diccionario vasco-castellano*, I, pág. 491), *gurdo* «blando» de *guri* «manteca», rechazando así la sugerencia de Azkue, quien cita el castellano *gordo* como origen concebible de *gurdo* (*DVEF*, I, pág. 370). Como parece tratarse de adjetivos que denotan una deficiencia física relacionada con el tema de la palabra, es muy posible que haya que incluir también el adjetivo *ezkerdo* que da Larramendi como traducción de *zurdo*: «Zurdo, *ezquerdoa*, *ezguerra*, *ezguertia*». También Añibarro trae la palabra y la considera de uso guipuzcoano: «ZURDO izquierdo: c. *ezquertia*; g. *ezquerdoa*, *ezguerra*». (Añibarro, *Voces bascongadas*, pág. 177).

[N. del Ed. Véase n. anterior; «g.» en Añibarro difícilmente puede considerarse testimonio independiente de Larramendi].

²³ Véase: Arturo Campión, *Orreaga*, pág. 40.

²⁴ Véase: J. M. Satrustegui, «Personajes populares relacionados con la brujería en Navarra», *FLV* II, 5 (1970) pág. 192.

²⁵ Véanse los textos publicados por Cándido Izaguirre O.F.M. en su artículo «Altsasuko euskeraren gai batzuk», *ASJU* 1 (1967), 45-97.

siempre en *-ra*, en el norte podía terminar también en *-rada*, forma antigua de *-rat*, en suletino en *-ala* o *-alada*, que, a su vez, proviene de *-gan* + *la* o *-gan* + *lada*.²⁶

La forma *gaindo* se deja analizar con toda naturalidad como el sustantivo *gain* «cima», «cumbre», seguido de la desinencia *do* «a» sobre la que he insistido tanto, de modo que podemos muy bien interpretarla como «a la cima» o «hasta la cumbre».

De *gaindo* salió *gaño* por evolución fonética regular, forma que después se despalatalizó en ciertas regiones, ante todo en Soule y parte de la Baja Navarra, pero también en la variedad meridional descrita por Landuchio: *oraingano* «hasta ahora». Cabe citar como paralelo la conjunción comparativa *baino* (de *baindo*, como todavía suena la forma burundesa), que ocurre despalatalizada (*bano*) en el texto del catecismo vizcaíno *Viva Jesús*²⁷ del siglo XVII.

A medida que *gaindo* o *gaño* se fue convirtiendo de palabra independiente en sufixo, perdió el acento a la par que la autonomía, resultando la forma átona *gino*, tan copiosamente atestiguada en vizcaíno.

Llevamos dicho que *gaindo* podía emplearse tanto con sintagma alativo como sin él. Aquí, de todos los dialectos, el vizcaíno ha sido el más conservador, puesto que esta última opción se documenta, al parecer, tan solo en Vizcaya. A los ejemplos antiguos ya citados no es difícil añadir otros más modernos: *oraingño* «hasta ahora» en *Peru Abarca* (pág. 43) de J. A. Moguel y *oraingño* «de hasta ahora» en *Mayatz-illeraco berba-aldijac* (pág. 179) de J. J. Moguel; *azken giño* «hasta el fin» en *Lora sorta espirituala* (pág. 10) de Añibarro, y *ainbeste denboragiño* «hasta tanto tiempo» en la traducción de *Ruth* 92.21, en el dialecto de Llodio, por I. Galíndez.²⁸

Es más, según los recientes datos de Iñaki Gaminde,²⁹ la opción sigue en vigor aún hoy en la comarca de Arrigorriaga, ya que cita *etzegiño* «hasta la casa» y *basotagiño* «hasta los montes» como formas usuales en Arrancudiaga, Echévarri y Zollo.

Con todo, el empleo del alativo *-ra* para introducir *gaindo* (o sus descendientes *gaño*, etc.) es por mucho la construcción más extendida en Vizcaya, y la única documentada fuera de ella.³⁰ He allí, pues, el origen de la desinencia del terminativo: el

²⁶ Véase: R. P. G. De Rijk, «Euskal morfologiaren zenbait gorabehera», pág. 94.

²⁷ Véase: L. Michelena, «Un catecismo vizcaíno del siglo XVII», *BAP* 10 (1954), 85-95.

²⁸ Texto publicado por E. Knörr en su contribución «Otro texto de Llodio: El libro de *Ruth* por Ignacio Galíndez (1872)» en J. L. Melena (ed.), *Symbolae Ludovico Michelena Oblatae*, Vitoria 1985.

²⁹ Véase: I. Gaminde, *Abozko bizkaieraz*, Bilbao, 1988.

³⁰ En realidad, el aserto de que la opción sin alativo no se haya ejercido en absoluto fuera de Vizcaya podría estar alejado de la verdad. A mi juicio, habría que dejar abierta la posibilidad de que vocablos comunes como *oraindaino* «hasta ahora» y *egundaino* «hasta hoy» se deban a esta opción. Es verdad que Van Eys, suponiendo un *-raino* anterior, se sirvió de estas voces para ilustrar el paso de *r* a *d* (*Essay de grammaire de la langue basque*, seg. ed. 1867, pág. 8), que esta etimología la aprobó Uhlenbeck (*Baskische Studien* 1891, pág. 25) y ahora también M. Agud y A. Tovar (*Materiales para un diccionario etimológico de la lengua vasca*, X, 6). Fuerza es asimismo reconocer que el paso de *r* a *d* tras las dentales *n* y *z* (y quizás también *ʀ*) parece un proceso hartamente natural, aunque tal cambio sea en vasco mucho más regular tras diptongo (*FHV*, 12.4). Así y todo, cabe preguntarse si estos adverbios, conocidos de una forma u otra (*oraindaino*, *oraindano*, etc.) en todos los dialectos, no serán acaso más antiguos que el mismo *-raino*. Pienso, en efecto, que es muy posible que representen combinaciones directas de *orain-da*, *egun-da* (y también *gaur-da*) con *-gaindo* o *-gaino*. Supongo que vocablos como *bihardaino* «hasta mañana» e *igazdaino* «hasta el año pasado», citados por Larramendi en su diccionario (s. v. *hasta*), resultan formas analógicas de fecha más reciente, formadas sobre el modelo de *oraindaino* después de perderse el sentido del valor temporal de *-da* en *-daino*.

complejo *-ragaindo*, de donde salieron las formas consabidas *-raindo*, *-raino*, *-raño* y *-rano* por pérdida de la *g* intervocálica. Esta velar se ha mantenido sólo en vizcaíno, dialecto donde la forma *-ragiño* compite hasta nuestros días con su sucesora más evolucionada *-ra(i)ño*.

En virtud de tal evolución fonética no constaba ya la presencia de *gain* en el sufijo, pero sí la de *-ra*, que seguía interpretándose como alativo. Ello significa que se imponía un reanálisis: *-ra + indo*, *-ra + ino*, *-ra + iño*, *-ra + ño*, *-ra + no*, surgiendo así un nuevo sufijo de forma distinta según las zonas. Conforme caía del uso la vieja desinencia *do*, quedando fosilizada dentro de unas pocas palabras, el nuevo sufijo se mostraba muy dispuesto a llenar el hueco. Así, al lado del viejo *arteo* «hasta», surgió, *arteiño*, de *arte + iño*, empleado por Materre y Axular (cf. DGV, II, 725) y *arteno* de *arte + no*, forma baja-navarra que encontramos en Leizarraga, 1 *Cor.* 16. 8, por ejemplo.

En varios dialectos, particularmente el bajo-navarro y el suletino, el sufijo en cuestión se combina también con la forma relativa del verbo personal: *dathorreno* «hasta que venga» de *dathorren + no* (Leizarraga, 1 *Cor.* 4. 5 y 11. 26). Bien es verdad que parece difícil averiguar si una forma como *dudaino* «hasta que yo tenga» provenga directamente de una secuencia *duda + -ino*, o se trate, en cambio, de la forma relativa *dudan* seguida por *-ño*, de donde sale *dudaino* por despatalización. Por razones tipológicas me inclino más bien a la segunda posibilidad, elegida también por el vizcaíno de los *Refranes y Sentencias* para el sufijo *-gino*: *direan-e-gino* «hasta que son».

La forma *-ragino* ha desempeñado un papel de peso en nuestra reconstrucción. No así la forma *-radino*, típica del subdialecto mixano del bajo-navarro oriental, y utilizada en la literatura moderna navarro-labortana por autores como J. B. Etcheberry: *noradino* «hasta donde» (*Hazparneko misionestak*, pág. 76).

Como *-radino* se usa precisamente allí donde también se usa el alativo *-rat*, es lógico pensar que esta desinencia se compone del sufijo *-ino* «hasta» precedido de *-rat*. Para que sea así, es menester que *-rat* sea fonológicamente *-rad*, reducción de un *-rada* anterior, como lo es *dut* «tengo» de *duda*. De ser correcto nuestro enfoque, se dejaría prever asimismo una forma *-radano* de *-rada + -no*, y esta forma, con pérdida normal de la *d* intervocálica, *-raano*, es precisamente la utilizada en San Juan de Pie de Pue-reo y las Aldudes (*DVEF*, II, 193).

Si nos hemos extendido tanto sobre la historia del terminativo vasco, ha sido por creerla tan fascinante como desconocida. En el marco limitado del ensayo presente bastaría, sin embargo, con una sola conclusión, por lo demás nada sorprendente: el segmento inicial de *-raino* no es otro que la desinencia alativa *-ra*. Por lo tanto, si en ocasiones tropezamos con inicial distinta, como la *d* de *-draino* o *-drano*, sabremos que se debe tratar de un segmento adventicio, que por necesidad se explica históricamente a base del tema de la palabra, por más que pueda haber llegado a ser parte integrante de la desinencia desde el punto de vista sincrónico. Huelga, sin duda,

En su artículo «Nombre y verbo en la etimología vasca», *FLV* II-2, 1970), pág. 92, L. Michelena califica *-daino* de una forma finita verbal relativada con sufijo terminativo. Pero esta teoría no deja de tropezar con grandes dificultades semánticas y formales. Así se esperaría más bien *-deino* fuera de los dialectos occidentales. Véase, para más señas, mi crítica de la etimología tradicional de *-danik* en la sección 5, que también se aplica *mutatis mutandis* al caso de *-daino*.

recordar al lector lo expuesto en la sección 2 sobre la preponderancia de lo histórico sobre lo sincrónico en materia de reconstrucción.

Terminados los preliminares, ha llegado ya el momento de volver al examen de los textos antiguos para aclarar en la medida de lo posible el origen del morfema *-da-*.

A tal fin, no estará mal empezar con el labortano antiguo, ya que éste parece haber guardado mejor que el bajo-navarro o el suletino la distribución primitiva de *-da-*. Lo verificaremos a lo largo del texto del *Manual devotioñezcoa* de unas 350 páginas, obra de Joannes Etcheberri de Ciboure, nacido hacia el año 1580. Aquí hallamos las formas *oraidaraño* (II, 23), *oraindaraño* (I, 38), *orain daraño* (II, 186) de significación «hasta ahora», y también *egun daraño* (II, 74), basado en un compuesto *egunda*, formado con el adverbio *egun* «hoy», próximo a *orain* por el sentido. Es de destacar que tanto en el *Manual devotioñezcoa* como en *Noelak*, otra obra de Etcheberri, no existen otros ejemplos de *-daraño*. Aparte de los ejemplos citados, el terminativo es siempre *-ra(i)ño*, incluso con adverbios: *etcheràño* «hasta la casa» (II, 117, 118, 119), *ordurairño* «hasta entonces» (I, 62), *huneraño* «hasta aquí» (pássim), y otros muchos ejemplos.

También la obra de Leizarraga y sus colaboradores, no todos labortanos, aporta cierta confirmación a nuestra tesis. Aquí la forma canónica del terminativo coincide con la del suletino: *-rano*. De la abundancia de ejemplos, basta con citar algunos: *beriorano* «hasta la muerte» (*Mt.* 26. 38; *Mc.* 14. 34; etc.), *munduaren finerano* «hasta el fin del mundo» (*Mt.* 27. 51; *Mc.* 15. 38), *ordu hunetarano* «hasta esta hora» (*Actos* 10. 30, 1 *Cor.* 4. 10). Pero existe también otra forma, *-drano*, que ocurre con sólo tres temas, adverbios todos: *orain* «ahora», *huna* «acá», y *noiz* «cuando».³¹ De los tres, *oraindrano* «hasta ahora» es, con gran diferencia, el más frecuente en el texto de Leizarraga, como lo era sin duda en el habla corriente. He notado no menos de 17 ejemplos: *Adv.* 7v; *Mt.* 11. 12; *Mt.* 24. 21; *Mc.* 13. 19; *Jn.* 2. 10; *Jn.* 5. 17; *Jn.* 16. 24; *Rom.* 1. 13; *Rom.* 8. 21; 1 *Cor.* 4. 13; 1 *Cor.* 15. 6; *Filip.* 1. 5; 1 *Jn.* 2. 9; *Ins.* C 7r (2x); *Ins.* F 7r; *ABC* B lv. De *noizdrano* «hasta cuando» he notado sólo cuatro ejemplos: *Mt.* 17. 17 (2 veces); *Lc.* 9. 41; *Jn.* 10. 24, y otro tanto de *hunadrano* «hasta aquí»: *Lc.* 22. 51; *Lc.* 23. 5; *Kal.* 2v (*hunadrano*, dos veces). La forma *oraindrano* equivale al *oraindaraño* de Etcheberri y se explica de igual manera. La síncope de la vocal se relaciona con la mayor intensidad del acento en los dialectos orientales, cuya acentuación fue adoptada en buena parte por Leizarraga. Hay también síncope en *hunadrano*, de *huna-darano*, según toda apariencia compuesto de *huna* «aca» y *dan* «ahora», equivalente vasco de un *usque huc et nunc* latín. La *d* de *noizdrano* «hasta cuando», en cambio, carece de justificación etimológica. A menos que haya que pensar en un mero sonido de transición, como vemos en el nombre bíblico griego *Esdras* del hebraico *Ezra*, debe tratarse de una forma analógica hecha sobre el modelo de *oraindrano*, con mucho el más frecuente de los adverbios terminativos. De ser así, tendríamos confirmación de lo que ya sospechábamos: por lo menos desde la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, ya no se apreciaba el valor etimológico de *da* en una zona importante del país.

³¹ En el texto de Leizarraga no hay ejemplos de *egundrano* como equivalente del *egundarano* de Etcheberri. Lo que sí hay es *egundano*: *Adv.** 8v; *Adv.*** 1r; *Adv.*** 2v; *Adv.**** 1r; *Mt.* 7.23; *Mt.* 9.33; *Mt.* 21.16; *Mt.* 21.42; *Mc.* 2.12; *Mc.* 2.25; *Lc.* 15.29 (dos veces); *Lc.* 19.30; *Jn.* 1. 18; *Jn.* 5.37; *Jn.* 7.46; *Jn.* 8.33; *Jn.* 9.32; *Act.* 10.14; *Act.* 11.8; *Act.* 14.8 ; *Ef.* 5.29; *Heb.* 1.13; 1 *Jn.* 4.12.

Encontramos esencialmente la misma situación si nos fijamos en la obra menos extensa de Oihenart, historiador y poeta suletino, que vivió de 1592 a 1667. Aquí se documentan sólo dos adverbios terminativos: *oradrano* «hasta ahora» (0 20, 0 229) y *bihardrano* (*Pr* 725),³² de igual explicación que la forma *noizdrano* de antes. Como en Leizarraga, la desinencia *-drano* queda limitada a temas adverbiales, ya que con nombres no ocurre más que *-rano*: *aztalerano* «hasta el talón» (0 88), *zerurano* «hasta el cielo» (0 151); *zertarano* «hasta qué punto» (0 144).

En los textos suletinos o perisuletinos posteriores la situación se presenta ya distinta. En el texto de *Onsa hiltzeko bidia*,³³ obra maestra de Juan de Tartas, nacido sólo unos veinte años después de Oihenart, ya no hallamos huella de la forma tradicional *-rano*. Lo que encontramos es *-drano*, *-draño* o *-draino*, tanto con adverbios como con sustantivos. Con adverbios hay tres ejemplos: *oradrano* «hasta ahora» (*Onsa* 117); *egundraiño* «hasta hoy» (*Onsa* 35) y *bihardraiño* «hasta mañana» (*Onsa* 35). Con sustantivo tenemos, por ejemplo: *azken goteladrano* «hasta la última gota» (*Onsa* 125). Hay que destacar que en la lengua de Tartas el valor etimológico de *-drano* había caído a tal punto en el olvido que este sufijo se usa casi siempre precedido del alativo, de modo que surgen las desinencias *-radrano* y *-aladrano*: *hobialadrano* «hasta la tumba» (*Onsa* 6); *burutiniradraiño* «hasta la coronilla» (*Onsa* 46); *egünko egünialadrano* «hasta el día de hoy» (*Onsa* 117); *azken fineradrano* «hasta el fin último» (*Onsa* 148).³⁴

Tales pleonasmos seguirán ocurriendo en no pocos autores suletinos. En el *Catechisma laburra* de Belapeyre, fechado en 1696, hallamos *hara drano* «hasta entonces» (II, 35) al lado de *ordian drano*, idem (II, 34). Con sustantivo no hay más que dos ejemplos plurales, con la desinencia regular *-etrano*: *herri obiletrano* «hasta los pueblos salvajes», (II, 117) y *haur chipietrano* «hasta los niños pequeños» (II, 134). En *Jesus Christen imitacionia* (1756), traducción de la *Imitatio Christi* de Joannes a Kempis por Martin Maister, cura de Licq, no figura más que la forma *-drano*, casi siempre tras alativo. Ya en el prólogo *Iacourgalari* se nota: *hagnbestera drano* «hasta tal punto» (pág. xv), *açken baxiala drano* «hasta el postrer suspiro» (pág. xvii), *orai drano* «hasta ahora» (pág. xix), *çoumbatetara drano* «hasta cuanto» (pág. xix).

Es curioso ver cómo el canónigo Inchauspe, que en 1883 publicó una edición muy revisada de la versión de Maister, corrigió sistemáticamente todos los pleonasmos de este tipo, poniendo *-no* donde Maister tenía *-drano*. Así, la frase del original latino *usque in finem* «hasta el fin» (II, 1; III, 3; III, 15; III, 45) reza en Maister: *açken urrhentziala drano* (páginas 127, 142, 184 y 265), mientras Inchauspe escribe *urhentzialano* (páginas 74, 119, 154) y una vez *azken hatsetarano* «hasta los últimos suspiros» (pág. 223), con plural regular. Otras correcciones de Inchauspe son: *egun bountara drano* «hasta este día» (Mst. 76), *egun artio* (Ip. 65); *oguiaren haustiala drano* «hasta el partir del pan» (Mst. 121), *oguiaren haustialano* (Ip. 100); *calitciaren edatiala drano* «hasta beber el cáliz»

³² Para los proverbios de la colección de Oihenart, sigo la numeración de la edición de Larresoro, San Sebastián 1971. Véase también la nota 18.

³³ Nuestras referencias corresponden a la edición moderna preparada por A. Eguzkitza, *Onsa hiltzeko bidea*, Oñate 1975.

³⁴ En el otro libro menos conocido de Tartas, *Arima penitentearen occupatione devotaq*, que salió en 1672, también se notan ejemplos de esta construcción. Así hallamos, p.e., *okzjenteradrano* «hasta el occidente» (pág. 3).

(Mst. 121), *calitciaren edatialano* (Ip. 100); *celiala drano* «hasta el cielo» (Mst. 132), *celialano* (Ip. 109); *urbentze hounbatetara drano* «hasta un buen fin» (Mst. 145), *urbentze hounialano* (Ip. 122); *orai-drano* «hasta ahora» (Mst. 171), *orano* (Ip. 143); *mesperetchaciala drano* «hasta despreciar» (Mst. 216), *hastiatzialano* (Ip. 181); *certara drano* «hasta qué punto» (Mst. 265), *certarano* (Ip. 222); *lurriala drano* «hasta el suelo» (Mst. 274), *lurrialano* (Ip. 231); *nigar egitiala drano* «hasta llorar» (Mst. 287), *nigarretarano* (Ip. 242); *çagniala drano* «hasta la raíz» (Mst. 300), *çainiala* (Ip. 253); *eçur çhilouetara drano* «hasta los acetábulos» (Mst. 389), suprimido por Inchauspe (Ip. 330).

La forma *-drano* no ha logrado mantenerse en ninguna parte, ni siquiera incorporada a su vocablo de origen, *oraidrano* «hasta ahora», ya que, en Soule hoy se dice *orai artino*.

Resumiendo el argumento de esta sección, sostendría que nuestra tesis acerca del origen del sufijo *-daraino* se ha confirmado en cierto grado, porque los datos, tal como aparecen en los primeros textos, se explican muy bien dentro de ella. Solamente, la intervención bastante temprana de las fuerzas de la analogía hace que esta confirmación no sea todo lo nítida que pudiera desearse. Afortunadamente, aún disponemos de otros indicios claramente más demostrativos, sobre el valor semántico que cabe atribuir al morfema *dan*, a saber, el uso de la forma elativa *danik*.

5. Una etimología para *-danik*

En esta sección vamos a estudiar el sufijo *-danik*, sufijo que puede sustituir al elativo *-tik*, sobre todo, aunque no exclusivamente, en función temporal: «desde». Desde Van Eys hasta hoy día, se suele dar por sentado que este sufijo se explica por una forma verbal relativa sirviendo de base al elativo arcaico en *-ik*.³⁵ Una cita de L. Michelena, propugnando esta posición, nos colocará por de pronto *in medias res*:

Es también razonablemente segura la procedencia verbal del infijo *-dan-* en sintagmas de valor temporal: *guizon ... bere amáren sabeleandanic maingu, egundano ebili etzembat* «vir ... claudus ex utero matris suae, qui nunquam ambulauerat» (Leiz. Act. 14, 8; 7 de la Vulgata). «Esto último tiene razón de ser —escríbe Azkue, s.u.—, pues significa «desde el tiempo en que estuvo en el vientre»: yo diría que es literalmente «desde que está, se halla *uel sim.*, en el vientre de su madre», con verbo finito (que no tiene que ser necesariamente *da*) +*-en*, seguido del suf. *-ik* de ablativo.³⁶

Es cierto que el concepto no carece de atractivo, ya que siempre resulta grato iluminar lo desconocido por lo conocido. Recomendaría, con todo, un dejo de prudencia,

³⁵ Últimamente, es de notar que también M. Agud y A. Tovar han hecho suya esta opinión: se lee en «Materiales para un Diccionario Etimológico de la Lengua Vasca, VIII»: «Como ya vio V. Eys (sic!), se trata de una forma compuesta de *dan*, aunque sea discutible suponer precisamente *danetik*...» (ASJU 24, 1990, pág. 620).

³⁶ La cita proviene del artículo «Nombre y verbo en la etimología vasca», *FLV* 2, 1970, pág. 61. El ensayo ha sido reeditado en: Luis Michelena, *Palabras y textos*, Vitoria 1987. Compárese al respecto la página 227 (23) del ensayo posterior «Miscelánea filológica vasca», *FLV* 10, 1978, 205-228, igualmente reeditado en *Palabras y textos* (Véase pág. 384).

para que evitemos el engaño de cantar victoria sin motivo. Se me antoja que la noción de una relativa latente, a poco que se examine con algo más de detención, suscita cantidad de problemas, por lo que cuesta aceptarla sin mayores pruebas. He aquí algunas interrogantes que se plantean de inmediato:

i) ¿Por qué siempre *-danik* y jamás —ni en escritores más modernos o contemporáneos— *-danetik*, si es que la forma corresponde a *-dan ordutik*?

ii) ¿Por qué siempre *-danik*, forma del presente, y jamás *-zanik*, forma del pasado? Se ve claramente que en el ejemplo mismo que aduce Michelena la traducción por el presente «está, se halla» produce un contrasentido de los más flagrantes.

iii) ¿Por qué siempre *-danik*, de tercera persona, y jamás *-naizenik*, de primera? Citemos al propósito el texto de *Gal. 1. 15* según Leizarraga: *ceinec neure amaren sabeleandanic appartatu baininduen eta deithu bainau bere gratiaz* «quien me apartó desde el vientre de mi madre y me ha llamado por su gracia». ³⁷

iv) ¿Cómo explicar la frase *neure aitziñekoak danik* «desde mis mayores» empleada por Leizarraga en *Act. 26. 5* y *2 Tim. 1. 3*? No sólo hay aquí verbo singular con sujeto plural, sino extraña también la forma intensiva *neure*, la cual, de hallarse dentro de una relativa con sujeto de tercera persona, debiera corregirse en *ene*, eso en virtud de la conocida ley de Linschmann, meticulosamente acatada por Leizarraga en toda su obra. Dicha ley, en cambio, se cumple a la perfección si suponemos que no hay tal relativa, ya que entonces el sujeto sería de primera persona: *vici izan naicen Pharisen* «he vivido Fariseo» en el primer caso, y *cerbitzatzen baitut* «sirvo» en el segundo.

v) ¿Por qué siempre *-danik* y jamás *-denik*? La pregunta se basa en el hecho indudable de que la forma relativa *dan* es únicamente occidental, desconocida por completo fuera de los dialectos vizcaíno y guipuzcoano. Los demás se valen de la forma oriental *den*, forma que, sin duda por su mayor extensión geográfica, se ha elegido también para la lengua unificada. Con todo, la forma elativa correspondiente *-denik* falta por entero en la función que aquí nos interesa. Todos los dialectos orientales, incluso los del norte, no exhiben más que *-danik*, con su *a* inalterable.

En mi opinión, el último reparo resulta el más grave de todos y bastaría ya por sí solo para rechazar de una vez la etimología en cuestión. Parece que el mismo Michelena se dio cuenta de la dificultad, puesto que advirtió entre paréntesis que el verbo finito «no tiene que ser necesariamente *da*». Queda claro, sin embargo, que, ante la falta de candidatos apropiados para el puesto del verbo, la afirmación de Michelena sobre el origen de *-danik* no deja de ser una declaración de fe gratuita, no apoyada por ningún argumento. En efecto, para que *dan* sea forma relativa en los dialectos orientales, salta a la vista que necesitamos un verbo de tema *-a-*. Esto nos dejaría como único candidato el verbo *jan* «comer», que, de toda evidencia, no viene demasiado a cuento. En suma, sólo cabe una conclusión: la etimología tradicional, por más que la defienda una autoridad como Michelena, no sostiene la prueba de la crítica, de modo que haremos bien en salir en busca de otra más prometedora.

³⁷ En una traducción reciente de las epístolas de San Pablo, los traductores M. Etchehandy y R. Puchulu se valen todavía de la misma construcción: *Bainan ene amaren sabeleandanic berexi eta bere graziaz deitu ninduenari atsegin izan zitzaionean bere semea eni agertzea...* (*Jondoni Pauloren Gutunak*, pág. 118). Como veremos más adelante, el giro preciso de esta frase no hubiera sido posible en la lengua más arcaica de Leizarraga.

A tal fin, acudamos otra vez a los textos antiguos, inagotable mina de oro para la investigación etimológica. Como ya vimos de sobra en nuestro estudio de *-daraino*, es fácil que en el curso del tiempo el sentido primitivo de un morfema se pierda en la conciencia de los locutores del idioma, lo que permitirá desde luego a las ciegas fuerzas de la analogía representar con toda libertad su papel enredador. Será, por lo tanto, aconsejable ceñirnos a los textos de mayor antigüedad, es decir, los del siglo XVI. Dándose la casualidad de que faltan ejemplos de *-danik* tanto en las poesías de Echepare como en las colecciones paremiológicas de aquella época, nuestro material se reduce tan solo a la obra de Leizarraga, publicada en el año 1571, cuya extensión, por otra parte, resulta más que suficiente para nuestro propósito.

No sé si será por su contenido religioso, pero se nota que la obra de Leizarraga no abunda demasiado en complementos circunstanciales de tiempo, en general, y menos aún en aquellos que permiten el uso del sufijo *-danik*. Así, el número de ejemplos no es muy elevado; sólo he anotado 55 casos, con otros 11 de uso espacial en vez de temporal: *barnadanic* «desde dentro» y *urrundanic* «desde lejos».

Los ejemplos se reparten en cuatro grupos:

I. Tras sustantivo en inesivo: *batseandanic* «desde el principio», 22 veces;³⁸ *sabeleandanic* «desde el vientre (de su madre, etc.)», 7 veces;³⁹ *goizeandanic* «desde la mañana», 1 vez.⁴⁰

II. Tras adverbio de tiempo terminado en nasal: *lebendanic* «desde antes», 3 veces;⁴¹ *oraindanic* «desde ahora» o «todavía», 5 veces⁴² *orduandanic* «desde entonces» 3 veces.⁴³

III. Tras adverbio de tiempo no terminado en nasal: *aspaldidanic* «desde hace mucho», 1 vez;⁴⁴ *betidanic* «desde siempre», 3 veces;⁴⁵ *haraitzindanic* «desde hace tiempo», 4 veces;⁴⁶ *xazdanic* «desde el año pasado», 2 veces.⁴⁷

IV. Casos especiales: *urrundanic* «desde lejos», 10 veces,⁴⁸ *barnadanic* «desde dentro», 1 vez;⁴⁹ *baurradanic* «desde niño», 2 veces,⁵⁰ *neure aitzinekoakdanik* «desde mis mayores», 2 veces.⁵¹

³⁸ *batseandanic* Adv.* 2r; Adv.** 3r; Adv.*** 3v; Jn. 6.64; Jn. 8.25; Jn. 8.44; Jn. 15.27; Jn. 16.4; Act. 3.21; 2 Tes. 2.13; Heb. 1.10; 2 Pe. 3.4; Jn. 1.1; Jn. 2.7; Jn. 2.13; Jn. 2.14; Jn. 2.24 (2 veces); Jn. 3.8; Jn. 3.11; 2 Jn. 5; 2 Jn. 6.

³⁹ *bere amaren sabeleandanic* «desde (en) el vientre de su madre, Lc. 1.15; Act. 3.2; Act. 14.8; Ins. C 4r. *neure amaren sabeleandanic* «(desde (en) el vientre de mi madre», Gal. 1.15; *amen sabeleandanic* «desde (en) el vientre de las madres: Ins. B 1v; Ins. G 3r.

⁴⁰ *goiceandanic* «desde la mañana» ABC A 8v.

⁴¹ *lebendanic* «desde antes» Act. 8.9; Act. 26.5; Rom. 1.2.

⁴² *oraindanic* «desde ahora» Adv.** 8v; Jn. 13.19; Jn. 14.7; 1 Jn. 2.18. *oraindanic* «todavía»: Adv.* 7v.

⁴³ *orduandanic* «desde entonces»: Mt. 4.17; Mt. 16.21; Jn. 6.66.

⁴⁴ *aspaldidanic* «desde hace mucho tiempo»: 2 Pe. 2.3.

⁴⁵ *betidanic* «desde siempre»: Lc. 1.70; Act. 15.7; Act. 15.21; Ins. B 2v. Ins. B sr.

⁴⁶ *haraitzindanic* «desde hace tiempo»: Act. 15.7; Act. 15.21; Ins. B 2v; Ins. B 5r.

⁴⁷ *chazdanic* «desde el año pasado» 2 Cor. 8.10; 2 Cor. 9.2.

⁴⁸ *urrundanic* «desde lejos» Mt. 26.58; Mt. 27; Mc 5.6; Mc. 8.3; Mc. 11.13; Mc. 14.54; Mc. 15.0; Lc. 16.23; Lc. 22.54; Heb. 11.13.

⁴⁹ *barnadanic* «desde dentro»: Mc. 8.12.

⁵⁰ *baourra-danic* «desde niño» Mc. 9.21; 2 Tim. 3.15.

⁵¹ *neure aitzinekoakdanik* «desde mis mayores»: Act 26.5; 2 Tim 1.3.

El primer grupo con sus treinta ejemplos representa por sí solo más de la mitad del uso de *-danik* en sentido temporal. Ante todo, *batseandanic* «desde el principio» se destaca por su elevada frecuencia, hecho, que deja adivinar que también en la lengua hablada de aquella época su empleo no era del todo raro. Además no hay motivo alguno para pensar que la frase no fuera tradicional a la vez que popular. Por lo tanto, parece lógico partir de la suposición de que el sentido primitivo de *-danik*, de ser aún asequible, lo será por medio de un análisis semántico de este giro, tal como lo usa Leizarraga.

Ahora bien, a consecuencia de semejante análisis, puedo ofrecer la observación siguiente: se trata, en cada uno de los ejemplos, de un estado de cosas que, originado en el pasado, continúa inalterado en el momento «ahora», si por tal entendemos, como es natural, el momento presente de la propia narración, y no el nuestro.

Para comodidad del lector que desee convencerse por sí mismo de la realidad de tal situación, doy a continuación la totalidad de los ejemplos de *batseandanic* en Leizarraga con las traducciones correspondientes: ... *munduaren batseandanic bethiere hura baithan iñan da ... speranza gucia* «... desde el principio del mundo ... toda esperanza ha sido siempre en Él» (*Adv. **2r*); *eta haren ilkitea duc eternitateco egunén batseandanic* «y su salida es desde el principio de los días de la eternidad» (*Adv. **3r*); *ceinetara bere predicationén batseandanic Iesus Christek gomitatzen eta exhortatzen baiquaitu* «al cual nos invita y exhorta Jesu Cristo desde el principio de sus predicaciones» (*Adv. ***3v*); *ecen baqaquian batseandanic Iesusec...* «porque Jesús sabía desde el principio...» (*Jn. 6. 64*); *Hi nor aiz? Orduan erran ciecén Iesusec, Hatseandancoa, badiotsuet.* «¿Tú quién eres? Entonces Jesús les dijo: el de desde el principio, os digo» (*Jn. 8. 25*); *hura guicerbaile cen batseandanic* «él era homicida desde el principio» (*Jn. 8. 44*); ... *batseandanic enequin çarete* «... desde el principio estáis conmigo» (*Jn. 15. 27*); ... *gauça hauc batseandanic eztranzguicuet erran* «estas cosas no os las he dicho desde el principio» (*Jn. 16. 4*); ... *Iaincoac, munduaren batseandanic Propheta saindu gucién aboç erran dituen gauça gucién restaurationeco deboretarano* «... hasta los tiempos de la restauración de todas las cosas que ha dicho Dios desde el principio del mundo por la boca de todos los santos profetas» (*Act. 3. 21*); *ceren batseandanic elegitu baitzaituzte Iaincoac...* «porque Dios os ha elegido desde el principio...» (*2 Tes. 2. 13*); *Hic batseandanic, Iauna, lurra fundatu ukan duc* «Tú, Señor, has fundado la tierra desde el principio» (*Heb. 1. 10*); *gauça guciéc hunela continuatzen duté creationearen batseandanic* «todas las cosas siguen así desde el principio de la creación» (*2 Pe. 3. 4*); *Hatseandanic cena* «lo que era desde el principio» (*1 Jn. 1. 1*); ... *manamendu çabar batseandanic ukan duçuen* «el viejo mandamiento que habéis tenido desde el principio» (*1 Jn. 2. 7*); ... *eçagutu baituçe hatseandanic dena* «habéis conocido a aquél que es desde el principio» (*1 Jn. 2. 13, 1 Jn. 2. 14*); ... *batseandanic ençun ukan duçuen çuetan bego* «lo que habéis oído desde el principio, permanezca en vosotros» (*1 Jn. 2. 24*); *baldin çuetan badago batseandanic ençun ukan duçuen* «si permanece en vosotros lo que habéis oído desde el principio...» (*1 Jn. 2. 24*); *batseandanic deabrnac bekatu eguiten du* «el diablo peca desde el principio» (*1 Jn. 3. 8*); *haur da batseandanic ençun ukan duçuen mandatalgoa ...* «éste es el mensaje que habéis oído desde el principio» (*1 Jn. 3. 11*); *batseandanic ukan duguna* «aquel que hemos tenido desde el principio» (*2 Jn. 5*); *batseandanic ençun ukan duçuen beçala* «como habéis oído desde el principio» (*2 Jn. 6*).

Nuestra conclusión aún se corrobora en mayor grado si también prestamos atención a los ejemplos negativos es decir, a los casos en que Leizarraga no se vale de *batseandanic*, sino de *batsetik*.

Salta a la vista que la inclusión del punto «ahora» no cuadra con el empleo del pretérito indefinido. Pues bien, con este tiempo Leizarraga sólo emplea *hatsetik*: *Ez-tuque iracurri ecen Creaçaleac hatsetik eguin cituela arra eta emea?* «¿No habéis leído que el Creador los hizo desde el principio varón y hembra?» (*Mt.* 19. 4); *baina creatione hatsetic, arra eta emea eguin cituen Iaincoac*, «Pero desde el principio de la creación, Dios los hizo varón y hembra» (*Mc* 10. 6).

Además, dado que *batseandanik* implica una situación continuante, su uso es incompatible con la presencia de cualquier terminativo. De ahí el empleo de *hatsetik* en los ejemplos siguientes: ... *gucia hatsetic finerano diligentqui comprehendituric* «habiendo entendido todo con diligencia desde el principio hasta el fin» (*Lc.* 1. 3); *nolacoric expaita içan munduaren hatsetic oraindrano, ez içanen*, «que no ha sido semejante desde el principio del mundo hasta ahora, ni será» (*Mt.* 24. 21); ... *nolacoric expaita içan Iaincoac creatu dituen gauçen creatze hatsetic oraindrano, eta expaita içanen* «... que no ha sido semejante desde el principio de la creación de las cosas que Dios ha creado hasta ahora, y que tampoco será» (*Mc.* 13. 19).

Al parecer, tan pronto como se trataba de una situación ya cambiada, era imposible el uso de *batseandanik*: ... *baina hatsetic etzén hala* «... mas no fue así desde el principio» (*Mt.* 19. 8).

Resulta de todo esto que *batseandanik* y *hatsetik* distan mucho de ser sinónimos. En cambio, todo sucede como si *batseandanik* hubiera significado en su origen y aún significara para Leizarraga «en el principio y ahora todavía», lo que sería en vascuence actual: *hastean eta oraindik (ere)*.

Pues bien, si *oraindik* «todavía» es el elativo de *orain* «ahora», *danik* lo fue de *dan*. Recordamos al lector lo que dijimos ya al final de la sección 3: que la forma esperada *dandik* no existe⁵² debido a un proceso de disimilación, sea preventiva sea actual, por la cual se explica también *-(e)tarik* en vez de *-(e)tatik* y *handirasun* «grandeza», variante antigua de *handitasun*.

Ahora bien, si, como lo quiere la tesis de nuestro ensayo, *dan* fue el precursor del *orain* actual, de rebote, *danik* lo fue de *oraindik*; lo que nos deja ya con *batsean eta danik*. Pero el cuento no se acaba aquí. Sabemos que la conjunción *eta* se pronuncia *da* tras nasal; lo que nos da como resultado: *batseandadanik*. De ahí salió *batseandanik*, sin duda por el mismo proceso de haplología que ha producido también *sagardo* «sidra» de *sagar-ardo*, y *mugaitz* «destiempo» de *muga-gaitz*.

La inclusión del punto «ahora» también se cumple con todo rigor en los demás ejemplos del primer grupo. Así, con *goizeandanik* «desde la mañana»: *Ençun eraci ieçaguc goiceandanic eure misericordiá, Iauna*. «Haznos oír desde la mañana tu misericordia, Señor» (*ABC*, A 8v).

Para no alargarnos demasiado, dejaremos al lector la tarea de verificarlo para los ejemplos de *sabeleandanik* «desde (en) el vientre», enumerados en la nota 39. Sólo advertimos que en la cita de San Pablo (*Gal.* 1. 15), el sufijo *-danik* se autoriza no por

⁵² En obsequio a la precisión hacemos notar que la forma *dandik*, por rara que sea, no es desconocida por completo, ya que el *DGV* cita *betidandik*, *betiandik*, *betiandi* «desde siempre» como guipuzcoano de Tolosa (*DGV* v, 151). Se ve que también aquí opera la disimilación, sólo que afecta a la primera oclusiva en vez de la segunda.

appartatu baininduen «me apartó», con pretérito definido, sino por *deithu bainau* «me ha llamado», llamada que aún persistía.

El grupo II, basado en adverbios en vez de sustantivos, presupone la existencia del grupo I, y parece, por lo tanto, de introducción algo más reciente. Que en este grupo la analogía ya comience a triunfar sobre la etimología, no es cosa que maraville, dado el hecho de que el valor primitivo de *da*, y por ello de *danik*, ya se iba perdiendo para entonces en el ambiente cercano a Leizarraga, según vimos en la sección 4. Así, la inclusión del punto «ahora» en el intervalo ya no es de rigor, como puede comprobarse por el empleo del pretérito definido *has cedin* con *orduandanic* «desde entonces» en *Mt.* 4. 17 (*Orduandanic has cedin Iesus predicatzén*, «desde entonces empezó Jesús a predicar») y *Mt.* 16. 21 (*Orduandanic has cedin Iesus bere discipuluey declaratzén, ecen ...*, «Desde entonces empezó Jesús a declarar a sus discípulos que ...»).

Nos merece interés especial la palabra *oraindanik* «hasta ahora» y su comportamiento. Queda claro que su origen no está en *orain eta danik* «ahora y todavía», que carecería de sentido. Debe tratarse más bien de la forma elativa del compuesto copulativo *oraindan*, cuya forma terminativa *oraindaraino* ya conocemos. Ahora bien, a pesar de su origen distinto, resulta que se ajusta de modo ejemplar al comportamiento sintáctico de las formas modelo del primer grupo. Por lo menos en la lengua de Leizarraga, el empleo de *oraindanik* parece imposible tan pronto como la oración contenga cualquier terminativo. En tal caso, hallamos *bemendik barat* «de aquí en adelante» en lugar de *oraindanik* «hasta ahora», que es el correspondiente regular del *amodo* latín en otros contextos: *ez nauque ikussiren hemendic barát derraquegueno...* «desde ahora no me veréis hasta que digáis...» (*Mt.* 23. 39); *ez tudala edanen hemendic barát aihen fructu hunetaric, quequin berriric neure Aitaren resumán hura edanen dudan egunerano* «que desde ahora no beberé de este fruto de la vid, hasta el día en que lo beba de nuevo con vosotros en el reino de mi Padre» (*Mt.* 26. 29). Añadamos que al *amodo* latín de *Jn.* 13. 19 y *Jn.* 14. 7, donde no interviene ningún terminativo, sí corresponde el vocablo *oraindanik*.

La existencia misma del grupo III, en el cual la forma *danik* carece de justificación etimológica, nos demuestra que para aquel entonces el sufijo ya había adquirido una identidad propia: venía a considerarse como una especie de desinencia casual capaz de juntarse inalterada a cualquier adverbio de tiempo. Así surgieron *aspaldidanik* «desde hace mucho» y *betidanik* «desde siempre», vocablos aún hoy de uso frecuente en los dialectos orientales: labortano, bajo y alto navarro, y suletino.

Ensanchando ya el horizonte a fin de abarcar también el uso posterior, me permito ahora apelar a la experiencia de todo lector de textos «navarro-labortanos» de la época que sea, para asentar algo muy fácil de comprobar: el uso más común de *-danik*, el que podemos calificar de prototípico —sin que haya de ser por necesidad el más antiguo—, se caracteriza por la unión de este sufijo a un adverbio que sirve para indicar el término *a quo*, es decir, el momento a partir del cual cabe medir el tiempo transcurrido. Lo que aquí llamamos adverbio puede ser un adverbio regular de carácter temporal, como *atzó* «ayer», pero también puede ser algún nombre que, desprovisto de artículo, hace de adverbio, como se ve en: *gaztedanik* «desde joven» (Etcheberri de Ziburu, *Man.* II, 108; Axular, *Gero*, págs. 172, 178, 184), *haurdanik* «desde niño» (Etcheberri de Ziburu, *Noel*, 151; Etcheberri de Sara, *Obras*, 385; Larre-

guy, *Test.* I, 352), *hastedanik* «desde el comienzo» (Pouvreau, *Imit.* IV-11-2; Duvoisin, *Gen.* 2, 8), *sartzedanik* «desde el entrar» (Etcheberri de Ziburu, *Man.* II, 8), *ttipidanik* «desde pequeño» (Etcheberri de Ziburu, *Man.* II, 12; P. d'Urte, *Dict.* I, 8, s.v. *a puero*).

Hay que precisar, sin embargo, que ejemplos semejantes no ocurren en la obra de Leizarraga. En vez de *gaztedanik* «desde joven», el traductor de Briscous siempre usa de *gaztetassunetic* «desde la juventud» (*Mt.* 19. 20; *Mc.* 10. 20; *Lc.* 18. 21; *Act.* 26. 4). Lo que sí emplea Leizarraga, como ya hemos visto, son ejemplos de tipo distinto, como son *haurradanik* «desde niño» (*Mc.* 9. 21; 2 *Tim.* 3. 15) y *neure aitzinekoakdanik* «desde mis mayores» (*Act.* 26. 5; 2 *Tim.* 1. 3); tipo en el cual un sintagma nominal nominativo (o mejor dicho, absoluto) sirve de base a nuestro *-danik*.

Con esta observación ya hemos llegado al grupo IV, donde se documenta también el uso espacial de *-danik*, atestiguado por los ejemplos *barnadanik* «desde dentro» (*Mc.* 8. 12)⁵³ y *urrundanik* «desde lejos».

A mi modo de ver, el mejor enfoque para encuadrar este grupo de ejemplos, es el de admitir que a partir del uso prototípico de *-danik* se desarrollaron otros dos usos que podemos llamar periféricos: de un lado, el uso nominal, en el cual el término *a quo* se expresa por medio de un sintagma de tipo nominal, con artículo incluido, y del otro lado el uso espacial, en el cual el término *a quo* sigue señalándose por un adverbio solo, pero éste, en virtud de una típica trasferencia metafórica de la extensión temporal a la extensión en general, ya no es un adverbio de tiempo, sino que indica más bien un concepto relativo al espacio, sea éste real o mental.

Asistimos, pues, a una evolución lingüística que se ramifica en dos direcciones a partir del prototipo, con la notable particularidad de que las dos ramas no admiten combinarse entre sí, puesto que nadie diría **elizadanik* para «(mirado) desde la iglesia», ni **ezkerdanik* para «desde la izquierda».

Los dos usos periféricos, documentados ya en Leizarraga, han sobrevivido hasta nuestros días; bien que sólo en contadas regiones, a diferencia del uso prototípico que sigue privando en todas partes salvo los dos dialectos más occidentales.

En la lengua actual de la Baja Navarra, el uso nominal todavía está en vigencia, como cabe ilustrar con ejemplos del tipo *haurradanik* «desde niño» y *aspaldi handidanik* «desde hace muchísimo tiempo», facilitados por el escritor y académico vasco E. Larre, natural de Baigorri. De ahí también frases como *iragan urthea danik* «desde el año pasado» en el diccionario de Lhande (p. 196) y *bere amaren sabela danik* «desde el vientre de su madre» en la traducción del texto de *Lc.* 1. 15 en *Jesu Kristoren Berri Ona* (1974), versión navarro-labortana de los evangelios publicada por la editorial Ezkila. Pero, según informes del académico vasco P. Charriton, de Hazparne, el uso nominal no se extiende al labortano de la Costa.

Quizás merezca registrar que Sylvain Pouvreau, famoso escritor del siglo XVII cuyo vascuence no era nativo, a veces confundía la construcción de *-danik* con la de *-ganik* empleando *-danik* con el genitivo: *haste haren danik* «desde aquel comienzo» (*Phil.* 43); *bizitzæ hil behar hunen danik* «desde esta vida mortal» (*POB.* 79). Fue tal vez por imitación suya que el guipuzcoano Ubillos escribió: *haren ondorengoan-danic etorrico*

⁵³ El escritor J. Hiriart-Urruty escribió en 1892: ... *beien otboitza ez dela expainex barnagodanik beldu* «... que su oración no viene de más adentro que los labios» (*Zezenak Errepublikan*, 35).

zala gure Salbatzallea (Christau... p. 41), donde, si no me equivoco, *-danik* tiene también el significado de *-ganik*.

En cuanto al uso espacial, hoy en día parece virtualmente limitado al caso de *urrundanik* «desde lejos» y su contrario *burbildanik* «desde cerca» (*hüllandanik* en suletino).⁵⁴ Aquí también el uso se presenta sólo en ciertas regiones. Es muy instructivo el mapa 7 «de loin» del *Petit atlas linguistique basque français* «Sacaze» confeccionado por el profesor J. Allières. Para *urrundanik* no muestra más de 13 puntos; todos en la Baja Navarra o muy cerca de ella, con la única excepción de San Juan de Luz.

Ya es tiempo, creo, de terminar esta sección, antes de que el tedio acabe por abrumar de una vez a los raros lectores que se hayan tomado el trabajo de seguirme hasta aquí. A modo de conclusión, quiero insistir una vez más en que la vieja construcción *hastean danik*, desde la perspectiva histórica adoptada, proporciona la estructura clave a partir de la cual debe apreciarse todo el desarrollo ulterior.

Aquí ha de notarse una inferencia de máxima importancia para nuestro propósito: de ser correcta la explicación etimológica de *hastean danik* que ofrecimos más arriba, tenemos clara prueba de que *danik* por entonces era palabra independiente y no sólo parte integrante de un compuesto; lo que no consta en el caso de *-dara*, que se conoce, a lo sumo, como parte del compuesto *oraidara*, cuyo análisis sería más bien [*orai* + *da*]-*ra*.

A continuación, en la sección que sigue, observamos algo muy semejante en relación con la forma inesiva *dan*.

6. La forma inesiva

Hasta ahora hemos conseguido reunir testimonios textuales a favor del alativo *dara*, del terminativo *daraino* y del elativo *danik*. Pero ¿qué ha ocurrido con el inesivo *dan*? ¿Queda o no rastro de él? Por fortuna sí queda, y aún de la manera más rotunda. No tardaremos en verlo si nos proponemos estudiar cómo se traduce en vasco el adverbio castellano *ya*.

La mayoría de las veces, la mera flexión verbal basta para expresarlo: *badator gure laguna*, «ya viene nuestro compañero»; *egin dugu dena*, «ya hemos hecho todo». Así y todo, muchos escritores y muy particularmente traductores, sin duda por influjo de los idiomas circunvecinos, se han creído obligados a valerse de una partícula separada para hacer resaltar con mayor claridad este matiz de tipo aspectual. A tal fin, se presentaba la partícula *ja*, escrita también *ia* o *ya*, obvio préstamo del romance, donde continuaba el adverbio latino *iam*.

Lo encontramos ya en el primer libro vasco, *Linguae vasconum primitiae* de Etxepare: *ia aspaldi handian* «ya durante buen rato» (VII, 16).⁵⁵ Hay algún que otro ejemplo

⁵⁴ La palabra *urrundanik* goza de una sólida tradición literaria. Aparte de Leizarraga (véase la nota 48) también la utilizan Etcheberri de Ziburu (*Man.* II, 105), Duvoisin (*Ez.* 23.40; pero generalmente emplea *urrundik*), Echenique (*Mt.* 27.55, pero *urrundik* en *Mt.* 26.58), y sin duda otros muchos. Duvoisin ha empleado *burbildanik* «desde cerca» en *Imit.* I, 8. La forma *hüllandanik* se halla en Maister, *Jesus Christen Imitacionia* (*Dedicatoria*, XX).

⁵⁵ El prestigioso echeperista, el padre F. M. Altuna, incurrió en un infortunado lapsus cuando en su *Lexicón decheperiano* tradujo *ia* par «casi; presque». (*Etxepareren hiztegia*, 105).

en el *Manual* de Etcheberri de Ziburu, así *ia adinetan sarthurik* «ya entrado en edad» (*Man.* II, 181), y algunos más en el *Gero* de Axular (páginas 125, 169, 207, 210 [2 veces], 213, 354, etc.), pero donde la partícula ocurre con verdadera abundancia es en obras traducidas, en particular el Nuevo Testamento de Leizarraga: *Mt.* 3. 10; *Mt.* 14. 15; *Mt.* 15. 32; *Mt.* 17. 12; *Mt.* 24. 32; *Mc.* 6. 35 (2 veces); *Mc.* 8. 2; *Mc.* 11. 11; *Mc.* 13. 28; *Mc.* 15. 44; *Lc.* 7. 6; *Lc.* 11. 7; *Lc.* 19. 37; *Lc.* 21. 30; *Jn.* 3. 18; *Jn.* 4. 51; *Jn.* 5. 6; *Jn.* 6. 17; *Jn.* 7. 14; *Jn.* 9. 22; *Jn.* 9. 27; *Jn.* 11. 17; *Jn.* 13. 2; *Jn.* 15. 3; *Jn.* 16. 32; *Jn.* 19. 33; *Jn.* 21. 14; *Act.* 4. 3; *Act.* 27. 9 (2 veces); *Rom.* 4. 19 (2 veces); *Rom.* 13. 11; *Rom.* 14. 15; *Rom.* 15. 23; *1 Cor.* 4. 8 (2 veces); *1 Cor.* 5. 3; *1 Cor.* 6. 7; *Gal.* 3. 18; *Filip.* 3. 12 (2 veces); *2 Tes.* 2. 7; *1 Tim.* 5. 15; *2 Tim.* 2. 18; *2 Tim.* 4. 6; *2 Pe.* 2.3; *1 Jn.* 2. 8; *1 Jn.* 4. 3; es decir más de cincuenta casos.

En los dialectos septentrionales, también autores más modernos y hasta contemporáneos utilizan el adverbio *ja*, aunque con algo más de moderación. Así se puede citar: Goyhetché (*Fableac*, 19 [2 veces], 102, 156, etc.); Hiribarren (*Esk.* 160); Duvoisin (*Mt.* 14. 15; *Mt.* 15. 32; *Lc.* 14. 17; *Lc.* 24. 29); Hiriart-Urruty (*Zex.* 208); Barbier (*Sup.* 81, 100, 108, etc.).

Además de *ja*, existe un sinónimo *jadan*, usado por varios autores de habla labortana. Los primeros testimonios se hallan en los escritos de Pierre d'Urte, polígrafo nacido en 1664 en San Juan de Luz. También hacen uso de *jadan* ciertos literatos posteriores, al parecer todos labortanos. Goyhetché (*Fableac*, 19, 25, 28, 58, 266, 282) y Lapeyre (*Kredo*, 63, 71, 223) son los más conocidos.

Ahora bien, dado que ya contamos con la partícula *ja* para la función de «ya», ¿cómo explicaremos la forma adicional *jadan*?

Pues bien, voy a insinuar que para averiguar la etimología de *jadan*, hay que fijarse en un detalle de la semántica, digamos contextual, de «ya». El significado que aquí nos interesa admite repartirse en dos acepciones distintas, o cuando menos distinguibles, a saber «ahora ya» y «entonces ya». En el plano de la expresión, se observa que en cualquier oración de presente *ya* resulta intercambiable con *ahora ya*, como lo será con *entonces ya* en cualquier oración de pretérito. Así, cuando leemos en una página de Leizarraga: *eta ia orain munduan da* «y ya ahora está en el mundo» (1 *Jn.* 4. 3), se podría muy bien prescindir de la palabra *orain*, equivalente de «ahora», sin cambiar el mensaje en lo más mínimo.

Con esta observación nada rebuscada ya se aclara el origen de *jadan*. Se ha producido por lo visto una fosilización de la secuencia *ja dan* «ya ahora», secuencia bastante frecuente si, como lo afirma la tesis de nuestro estudio, *dan* era el equivalente de *ahora*, anterior a *orain* y luego coexistiendo con él. La fosilización de sintagmas semejantes se ha dado también en romance. Así, a partir del año 1160 se documenta en francés antiguo el adverbio *jebui*, nacido como secuencia de *ja* «ya» y *bui* «hoy».

La etimología aquí sugerida explica asimismo el hecho de que la forma *jadan* surgió precisamente en el dialecto labortano. Es que ya vimos en la sección 4 que eran los locutores labortanos los que guardaban por más tiempo conciencia del valor originario temporal de *dan*.

La interpretación que presentamos implica que al adverbio *jadan*, al principio al menos, sólo le correspondiera el significado «ahora ya». Pero eso es justamente lo que observamos en el uso mismo de Pierre d'Urte, en cuya obra primero se documenta el adverbio. Efectivamente, se nota que los cinco ejemplos de *jadan* que en-

contramos en sus escritos llevan todos contexto de presente: *Iantut guereciac iadan* «ya he comido cerezas» (Gram. 498); *dembora handia du iadan ikhasten bassi çarela* «hace mucho tiempo ya que has empezado a aprender» (Gram. 514); *Badaquizquit iadan hetaric gueibienac* «Ya sé la mayoría de ellos» (Gram. 517); *...eta Sara ene Iannaren Emazteac eguin dño seme bat ene Iannari iadan çabar eguin dela* «... y Sara, mujer de mi amo, le ha parido un hijo a mi señor cuando ya se ha hecha vieja» (Gen. 24. 36); *berantetsi ican expaldim-baguindu, eguiatz iadan biburtuac içango guintüän bertce aldi batez* «si no hubiéramos sido detenidos por cierto ya estaríamos otra vez de vuelta» (Gen. 43.10).

A modo de corroboración adicional cabe citar el sintagma *jadaneko legeak* que Azkue tomó del diccionario manuscrito de Duvoisin y tradujo por «las leyes vigentes, lit.: las leyes de ahora» (DVEF I, 380).

Huelga decir que, en tiempos más tardíos, una vez borrada la acepción plurisecular de *dan*, el adverbio *jadan* llegó a emplearse como sinónimo de *ja* en la totalidad de los contextos, incluso los de pretérito. Para mentar un caso entre muchos, el escritor L. Goyhetche, labortano de Urrugne, que nació en 1791, usa indiscriminadamente tanto de *ja* como de *jadan* en su libro *Fableac*, que se publicó en el año 1852.

7. Un prefijo verbal

En un meditado artículo titulado «Euskal-aditzaz zenbait gogoeta»,⁵⁶ el cual está lejos de haber atraído toda la atención que merece, J. Oregi Aranburu ha rebatido la opinión tradicional que ve en el prefijo verbal *da-* un índice de objeto⁵⁷ gramatical que se refiere a la tercera persona, como *na-* a la primera persona singular y *ga-* a la primera persona plural.

Los argumentos del señor Oregi pueden resumirse así:

1.º Se sabe que los índices de objeto en el verbo mantienen relación formal con los pronombres correspondientes, así *na-* con *ni*, *ga-* con *gu*, etc. Pero, por lo que toca a *da-*, no se conoce ningún pronombre con que relacionarlo. Hacerlo con los demostrativos *hau*, *hori*, *hura* o con el anafórico *bera* sería pura arbitrariedad.

2.º Los índices de objeto no suelen cambiar de raíz según el tiempo del verbo. Así, los prefijos de la primera persona del singular *nin(de)-* o *nen-* que se encuentran en el pretérito, siguen exhibiendo la raíz *n-* de *na-*. No ocurre así con el prefijo *da-*, que cambia en *ze-* (o *e-* en vizcaíno) y aun en *le-* en ciertos tiempos.

3.º Extraña que no haya forma ergativa ni dativa en relación con *da-*.

4.º El prefijo *da-* no deja de aparecer cuando el verbo no tiene ni puede tener objeto alguno, como ocurre en *çuk surtan diçekazu* «tu ardes en el fuego», donde *diçekazu* viene de *da-* + *içekazu*. También se podría citar el ejemplo *çuk bizirik dirauçu* «tu permaneces con vida», donde todo objeto queda excluido.

El autor del artículo que citamos, antes de pasar a tratar de materias ajenas a la cuestión, concluye sosteniendo que el prefijo *da-* no es ninguna marca de persona

⁵⁶ Publicado en *FLV* VI, 17 (1974), 265-283.

⁵⁷ Entendemos por «objeto» también el llamado sujeto del verbo intransitivo, decisión justificada por la estructura ergativa del idioma, en que el verbo intransitivo es siempre «inacusativo», usando un término de G. Pullum y D. Perlmutter.

gramatical, sino que reviste un claro carácter temporal. Y precisando aún más, afirma que *da-* funciona como indicador de presente, mientras otro prefijo, *e-* caracteriza el no-presente, verbigracia en *etorren* «venía», forma vizcaína que suele reputarse por más antigua que el *zetorren* de los demás dialectos.

Quizás haya quien se lamente de que el señor Oregi no elabore los detalles del mecanismo para implementar su concepción tan justificada como original.

A fin de cuentas, *nator* «vengo», donde parece faltar el prefijo *da-*, resulta tan presente como *dator* «viene», que lo lleva. Ahora, para que las cosas se arreglen, caben varias suposiciones, entre las cuales no es muy fácil elegir.

¿Tal vez diremos que ese indicador de presente no sea obligatorio, sirviendo tan solo de muletilla a la lengua para llenar el hueco posicional que se produce en la morfología del verbo porque no existe índice de tercera persona? O bien, ¿vamos a mantener que una forma verbal como *nator* remonte a una forma más antigua *nadator* con *da-*, con la caída subsecuente de la *d* intervocálica, proceso muy posible en vasco?

Personalmente, me inclinaría más bien por una tercera solución: como forma subyacente del presente de un verbo hay sólo una configuración para todas las personas gramaticales. En el caso de *etorri*, *dator*, con su marca de presente *da-*. Luego, en el componente morfológico, la concordancia de persona se hará por medio de una transformación de sustitución que reemplaza la consonante inicial del verbo finito por la inicial del pronombre en cuestión: *n-*, *b-*, *g-* o *z-*. Cuando se trate de la tercera persona —o mejor, no-persona, según la concepción de Benveniste— la transformación no se aplica. Si hay un objeto plural, cualquiera que sea la persona, se efectuará la concordancia de número, añadiendo el morfema pluralizador en la forma precisa que pide el verbo: *-z*, *-tza*, *-zkei* o *-it*. De todas maneras, la concordancia de persona y la de número son procesos distintos en vasco, ya que la naturaleza de ésta cambia según el verbo lexical, y la de aquélla es invariable.

Que la solución que acabo de bosquejar sea hacedera o no, lo decidirán en su tiempo los especialistas en la materia. Aquí poco importa, porque de todos modos los argumentos del señor Oregi son independientes del mecanismo en cuestión. Lo cierto es que sus razonamientos parecen hartamente fundados, y no veo motivo alguno para dudar de su conclusión cuando afirma que la función primitiva del prefijo *da-* es la de marcar el presente en contraposición a todos los demás tiempos del verbo.

El lector ya habrá visto el enlace con nuestro tema. Considerando que el prefijo *da-* no es otro que la raíz de la forma inesiva *dan* con la acepción «ahora», no extrañará de ningún modo que tal raíz pueda funcionar para marcar el tiempo presente dentro del sistema de la conjugación verbal. Y asimismo a la inversa: el valor que le reconoce ya hace tiempo el señor Oregi al prefijo *da-* viene a reforzar nuestras conclusiones sobre el sentido primitivo de *dan* y de sus derivados.

8. Un dato del Cáucaso

Por mi parte, no estoy del todo convencido de que merezca la pena, por lo menos en el marco de esta investigación, que dirijamos la mirada hacia el Cáucaso en busca de datos. Por más fascinante que sea la exploración minuciosa de los

idiomas preciosos escondidos entre los montes de aquellas regiones, no habrá por qué ocultar que nunca he abrigado grandes ilusiones sobre la fertilidad de la caucología en el campo de los estudios vascos. Parece además que me encuentro en excelente compañía, ya que también Michelena era de la misma opinión, como se desprende de la cita siguiente: «... es indiscutible que... la hipótesis del parentesco lingüístico vasco-caucásico se ha mostrado hasta ahora singularmente infructífera. Los enigmas de la prehistoria del vasco y de las lenguas caucásicas, que no son pocos ni de pequeña entidad, no han recibido luz alguna de los ensayos comparativos hasta ahora realizados.»⁵⁸ Estas líneas datan ya de hace poco menos de treinta años, pero no alcanzo a ver que desde entonces acá la situación haya cambiado mucho.

Con todo, cada persona tiene derecho a formar su propia opinión, y cabe dentro de lo posible que haya lectores más optimistas o mejor informados que el autor de este ensayo. Al fin y al cabo, no hay que olvidar que la llamada hipótesis vasco-caucásica ha inspirado los trabajos de renombrados investigadores como R. Lafon y K. Bouda, y que todavía hoy es tema de serias discusiones entre especialistas. ¿No cabe acaso esperar que llegué el día en que los estudios vascos y los caucásicos se iluminen mutuamente?

Sea lo que fuere, para la satisfacción de aquellos lectores que no renieguen de tales esperanzas, voy a divulgar ahora un dato que puede considerarse sugestivo, a riesgo de que sea tomado, muy injustamente, por la apoteosis de mi argumentación. En la lengua *ubykh*, desgraciadamente moribunda, perteneciente al grupo caucásico del noroeste que también abarca el circasiano, el vocablo normal para expresar «ahora» no es otro que *da*, según información que ha tenido la bondad de comunicarme mi sapientísimo colega y experto en la materia, el profesor H. J. Smeets.⁵⁹

9. Conclusión

Hemos llegado al final de nuestro itinerario. Sólo falta recoger el fruto de nuestros andares. Hemos pasado revista a una multitud de datos lingüísticos susceptibles de convertirse en argumentos a favor de nuestra tesis principal.

El lector avisado se habrá dado cuenta de que cada uno de los argumentos resulta en cierto modo discutible, ya que siempre caben posibilidades de explicación distintas, sin relación con la tesis que venimos sosteniendo.

No diré, por lo tanto, que dicha tesis haya sido probada. Sí diré, sin embargo, que resulta verosímil en alto grado. Aunque cada argumento, cada indicio, no sea decisivo de por sí, la convergencia inequívoca de tantos indicios nos inspira máxima confianza en la corrección esencial de lo postulado, porque costaría creer que la convergencia que observamos sea efecto de la pura casualidad, sin fundamento alguno en la realidad histórica.

⁵⁸ Citado de L. Michelena, *Sobre el pasado de la lengua vasca* (San Sebastián, 1964), págs. 194-195.

⁵⁹ El dato puede verificarse en H. Vogt, *Dictionnaire de la langue oubykh* (Oslo, 1963), p. 111, lema 525.

Afirmamos, pues, como resultado de nuestro ensayo de reconstrucción interna, la existencia en cierta época de una raíz *da-* de significado «momento presente», con las formas declinadas que le corresponden:

Inesivo:	<i>dan</i>	«ahora»
Elativo:	<i>danik</i>	«desde ahora»
Alativo:	<i>dara</i>	«para ahora»
Terminativo:	<i>daraino</i>	«hasta ahora».

Luego, en fecha desconocida, tal vez hacia el final del primer milenio de nuestra era, entró en la lengua de los vascos el préstamo *orain*. En el principio convivía con la voz indígena *dan*, pero sea en virtud de su mayor sustancia fónica, sea a causa del gran prestigio que le confería su condición de préstamo latino-románico, el caso es que pronto logró desalojar por completo a su viejo predecesor. En la época de los primeros textos, la sustitución de *dan* por *orain* parece ya punto menos que cumplida. He aquí la razón por la cual aún los más entendidos vascólogos hasta la fecha no lograron percatarse de la existencia misma de *dan*, omisión que mediante esta contribución me apresuro a corregir.⁶⁰

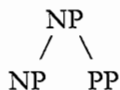
⁶⁰ Doy las gracias a Mari Pilar Lasarte, cuya generosa cooperación ha eliminado numerosas infracciones a la gramática y estilística castellanas debidas a mi falta de familiaridad con este idioma. También a Xabier Etxaide Itarte le agradezco ayuda similar. *Eskerrik asko bizi!*

BASQUE HOSPITALITY AND THE SUFFIX *-KO**

Consider such English noun phrases as:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) a. <i>Mothers for peace</i> | d. <i>Bread from heaven</i> |
| b. <i>Ties with the enemy</i> | e. <i>The road from Vitoria to Bilbao</i> |
| c. <i>The tables for the customers</i> | f. <i>Translations from Spanish into English</i> |

These are all noun phrases of the type



English grammar accomodates such structures quite easily, for, as Emonds (1985) puts it: “a defining distributional characteristic of P^{\max} is that is can appear freely as the daughter of essentially any phrase, not just in a few stipulated positions ...” (p. 27).

It is not quite without ulterior motives that I bring in this quotation from Emonds’ work. Emonds’ formulation is commendable in that it clearly and elegantly reveals an important aspect of the grammatical structure of English and several related and unrelated languages. It is, however, far less commendable inasmuch as it purports to be a principle of universal grammar. As a language universal, Emonds’ principle fails signally. Even such a simple structure as $[\text{NP PP}]_{\text{NP}}$ is totally excluded in quite a few languages. The literal renderings of (1) in Quechua, for instance, are all ungrammatical:¹

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| (2) a. <i>*Paq-paq mama-kuna</i> | d. <i>*Hawapacha-manta t’anta</i> |
| b. <i>*Anqa-wan watay-kuna</i> | e. <i>*Vitoria-manta Bilbao-man ñan</i> |
| c. <i>*Rantikuq-paq mesa-kuna</i> | f. <i>*Castillassimi-manta Inqlissimi-man taku-chi-y</i> |

* J. I. Hualde, J. Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics* (J. Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1993), 145-162.

¹ I am indebted to Prof. P. Muysken of Amsterdam University for these Quechua data.

Other languages in which adjunctive structures like (1) are highly problematic are Japanese, Turkish and pre-modern Hungarian.

If we now turn our attention to the subject language of the present study, we find that (3), the literal correspondents in Basque of (1), do not represent possible noun phrases:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (3) a. * <i>Amak</i> <i>bakearen alde</i>
<i>mothers peace.gen for</i> | d. * <i>Ogia</i> <i>zerutik</i>
<i>bread heaven.el</i> |
| b. * <i>Loturak</i> <i>etsaiarekin</i>
<i>ties enemy.soc</i> | e. * <i>Bidea</i> <i>Gasteiztik Bilbora</i>
<i>road Gasteiz.abl Bilbao.all</i> |
| c. * <i>Mahaiaik</i> <i>bezzeroentzat</i>
<i>tables costumers.ben</i> | f. * <i>Itzulpenak</i> <i>gaztelaniatik ingelesera</i>
<i>translations Spanish.el English.all</i> ^{1bis} |

Reversing the constituent order —English is SVO and Basque is SOV— fails to improve the situation:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| (4) a. * <i>Bakearen alde amak</i> | d. * <i>Zerutik ogia</i> |
| b. * <i>Etsaiarekin loturak</i> | e. * <i>Gasteiztik Bilbora bidea</i> |
| c. * <i>Bezzeroentzat mahaiaik</i> | f. * <i>Gaztelaniatik ingelesera itzulpenak</i> |

To be quite precise, the ungrammaticality judgements set down here call for a little elaboration. While it is quite true that phrases like the above are not readily employed by native speakers in actual speech or normal writing, it must be admitted that expressions like (4) do occur in the telegraphic style of chapter headings, newspaper headlines and similar inscriptions. Thus, in a well-known Guipuzcoan classic, Lardizabal's *Testamentu berriko kondaira edo historia* of 1855, the sixth section of the first chapter is headed *Maria-ren bizitza Nazaret-en* "Mary's life in Nazaret"; and the eighth section of the same chapter *Jose eta Maria-ren joanera Belen-era*, "Joseph and Mary's journey to Bethlehem". Similarly, the fifth section of the same chapter is headed *Jesus-en igoera Jerusalem-era*, "Jesus' ascension to Jerusalem", and the first section of the fifteenth chapter *San Pablo-ren joanera Jerusalem-era* "Saint Paul's journey to Jerusalem". Examples of this type could be cited from many other sources, including modern books and newspapers.

Now, what is extremely interesting is to observe that this same class of contexts gives rise to those otherwise non-occurring phrases in all the languages we have cited. This, I think, is a clear indication that in all these languages we are dealing with the same basic phenomenon.

We thus conclude that there is a dichotomy in universal grammar between languages such as English, whose NP's are hospitable to PP's, and languages such as Basque, whose NP's are not hospitable to PP's.

Actually, as Dr. E. Wayles Browne of Cornell University has rightly pointed out to me, there are good reasons to speak of a hospitality scale rather than a hospitality

^{1bis} The abbreviation *gen* stands for genitive ("of"), *soc* for sociative ("with"), *ben* for benefactive ("for"), *el* for elative ("from"), *all* for allative ("to").

dichotomy. In many languages it so happens that whether or not a PP can modify an NP appears to depend on the exact P that is used. I quote from Browne: "... think of Romanian. Here a noun can be modified by a PP having *cu* 'with', *fara* 'without', or *pentru* 'for'; *un pahar cu apa* 'a glass with water', i.e. 'a glass of water'. A noun can also have a *de*-phrase, covering many of the uses of French *de* (although often the genitive case is used instead of *de*). But PP's with other P's are almost completely prohibited: *pe masa* 'on the table', but **ceasul pe masa* 'the clock on the table'. Instead one says *ceasul de pe masa*, using *de* as a linking device between the noun and the PP."

Browne also considers French, and having reminded us that PP's with *à*, *avec*, *de*, *en*, *entre*, etc. very commonly modify nouns, he goes on to quote J. Darbelnet's *Pensée et structure*: "La relative s'emploie en français là où l'anglais détermine au moyen d'un nom précédé d'une préposition: *Le livre qui est sur le rayon ... The book on the shelf... Les officiers qui l'entouraient... The officers around him...*"² I may add here the example of colloquial Arabic, where some prepositions allow such a structure, whereas others, e.g. *fi* "in" do not.³

We have thus discovered what we may call a hospitality scale governing the NP-modifying behavior of PP's, where Basque occupies one end of the scale and English the other. There are two main devices which the less hospitable languages can muster when it comes to trying to overcome their handicap:

1. The utilization of an intervening relative clause, often in participial form.
2. The assistance of a genitive-like linking morpheme, such as Romanian *de* cited above, or the Japanese genitive participle *no*.

In translating from hospitable languages such as Latin and Greek, Basque translators have exploited both of these devices. To give an example, Prince Bonaparte's Labourdin translator, Captain Duvoisin, translated the Latin noun phrase *charitas uniuscuiusque vestrum in invicem* from the New Testament text of 2 Thessalonians 1:3 meaning "the love of every one of you for one another" as *batbederak elkarrentzat duzuen amodioa*, that is, "the love that you each have for one another". The modern translators Marcel Etchehandy and Robert Puchulu, while working directly from the Greek, arrive at a similar result: *guziek elkarrengana duzuen maitasuna*, "the love that you all have for each other", showing the same relative verb form *duzuen* "that you have". Also the recent *Itun Berria* ("New Testament") of 1980, approved by the Basque bishops, has *bakoitzak besteengana dugun elkar maitasuna*, "the mutual love that each of us has towards the others", where the relative verb form is *dugun* "that we have".

Other translators, however, did not introduce a relative clause into the text, but resorted to another device offered by the grammar of Basque: the handy linking morpheme *-ko*. This is in fact what the earliest translator Joannes Leizarraga did: "... *quen guciotarie batbederaren elkarganako charitatea ...*". Likewise, the recent *Elizén arteko Biblia* has *zuen guztion arteko maitasuna*. Similarly Kerexeta's Biscayan version: "*alkarganako zuen maitasuna*". Olabide's version is the simplest of all; he uses an ordinary genitive

² E. Wayles Browne, personal communication dated 26-8-1989.

³ I am grateful to Prof. M. A. Woidich of Amsterdam University for an enlightening discussion on this topic.

elkarren maitasuna “each other’s love”. To obtain a correct Basque version of our examples in (1), we can avail ourselves of the same option:

- (5) a. *Bakearen aldeko amak* d. *Gasteiztik Bilborako bidea*
 b. *Etsaiarekiko loturak* e. *Gaztelaniatik ingeleserako itzulpenak*
 c. *Bezeroentzako mahaiaik*

Note the absence of epenthesis when *-ko* is joined to a PP ending in a consonant. Thus, from *bezeroentzat* + *-ko* we obtain *bezeroentzako* (from **bezeroentzatko*), not **bezeroentzateko*. The form *-tikako* alongside *-tiko* from *-tik* + *-ko* does not arise by epenthesis, but from *-tika*, an older variant of *-tik*.

As this paper is not devoted to morphophonemics, we will leave aside here the more interesting question as to why we have *etsaiarekiko* instead of *etsaiarekingo*. Returning to our syntactic considerations, I would like to emphasize what I take to be a unique feature of the Basque grammatical system: we find an otherwise unemployed formative, *-ko*, with the sole function of linking to a following NP any syntactic phrase enjoying PP status, including even complementizer-bearing clauses (S'). As a contrast, we may point to the grammar of Japanese, where the role of Basque *-ko* is filled by the particle *-no*, identical to the genitive case marker. In Basque grammar, on the other hand, the “relator” *-ko* and the genitive marker *-ren* are separate grammatical entities, definable by two analogous, yet distinct, structural formulae, *-ren* by the configuration $[[\text{NP } [-ren]_{A}]_A \text{ NP}]_{\text{NP}}$ and *-ko* by the configuration $[[\text{PP } [-ko]_{A}]_A \text{ NP}]_{\text{NP}}$. These formulae explain why *-ren* and *-ko* have both been called genitive endings by previous grammarians, and, more importantly, they embody Michelena’s repeatedly asserted insight that both suffixes are derivational in character rather than inflectional (“*Bai -ren eta bai -ko erator-atzizkiak dira areago deklinabidekoak baino*”, “Both *-ren* and *-ko* are derivational suffixes, rather than inflectional”, Michelena (1988, 6: 177). They are derivational, however, in a sense that is perhaps slightly unusual, inasmuch as they operate on syntactic categories, in fact, so-called “maximal projections” such as NP and PP, rather than on lexical ones such as N or P.

It is true that we will have to stipulate that adjectives ending in the formative *-ren* or *-ko* do not follow but precede the noun phrase they modify. This is surely no objection. Indeed the same stipulation must be made for adjectives ending in *-tar* as well as for ordinals ending in *-garren*, whose adjectival status is hardly open to doubt (cf. Eguzkitza 1993).

In my paper “Basque Syntax and Universal Grammar”, delivered at the II World Basque Congress in 1987, I have defended the strong claim that all occurrences of the formative *-ko* are accounted for by the single formula presented above. I wish to maintain this position here and explore a few of its consequences. Given this monogenetic assumption, it is clear that all instances where *-ko* seems to directly follow an NP must be derived from an underlying structure where a PP rather than an NP is present. In other words, we need a postposition deletion rule, P Deletion, to operate in front of the derivational suffix *-ko*.

Of course, the idea of such rule is not totally new. As a matter of fact, a rule deleting the inessive case ending in just this context was explicitly proposed by Michelena in several important papers, notably (1971), (1972a), and (1972b). Earlier

still, some conception or other of an underlying inessive seems to be implicit in the structure and wording of the entry *-ko* in Lhande's *Dictionnaire basque-français*. Whether this insight goes back to the author himself or to his editors Lafitte and Aranart is not quite clear, although I consider the former possibility the most likely. Having realized the obligatory deletion of the inessive ending in front of *-ko* in all present-day varieties of Basque except Souletin, we need go only one step further to postulate the optional deletion in that same context of several other case endings. This step appears to be well motivated, especially with respect to the dynamic counterparts of the inessive, namely the elative *-tik* and the allative *-ra*.

To the evidence that any native speaker can provide, such as that *bibotzeko agurrak* means the same as *bibotzet(ka)ko agurrak* ("greetings from the heart", i.e., "cordial greetings"), we can add Pierre d'Urte's testimony. We read in his *Grammaire cantabrique* dating from around 1700: "du ciel: *cerucoa* ou *ceruticacoa*" (p. 52). And his *Dictionarium Latino Cantabricum* shows under the entry *Caelestis*: "*çerucoa, ceruetacooa, ceruticacooa, ceruetaricooa....*".

Regarding the optional deletion of the allative ending *-ra*, note that the Vulgata phrase *via maris* of Mt. 4.15 was rendered by Duvoisin as *itsasorako bidea* (similarly Leizarraga: *itsasorraco bide*), and by his Baztanese contemporary Echenique as *itsasoco bidea* (other translators made use of the compound noun *itsasbide*).

Most of what I have touched upon so far may be reckoned fairly commonplace among modern Basque grammarians. I will therefore proceed at once to less familiar grounds. An important point to realize is that not just locative endings can be deleted before *-ko*, but also at least one non-locative ending, namely, *-(r)ekin* «with». As far as I am aware, this claim appeared for the first time in my contribution to the 1987 Basque World Congress, already mentioned above. For those readers who do not have a copy of that paper near at hand, I will briefly detail the relevant argument.

We are interested in sociative noun phrases such as those occurring in sentences (6a,b,c,d):

- (6) a. *Emakume hori oso bibotz onarekin jaio zen, baina bizia garraztu egin du*
 "That woman was born with a very kind heart, but life has embittered her"
 b. *Leandro hogeitabost urterekin ezkondu zen* (Zabala 1968: 49)
 "Leandro got married at (lit.: with) twenty-five years"
 c. *Gure talde oso txikia zen zazpi lagunekin*
 "Our group was very small with seven members"
 d. *Jaunak harrabots ikaragarri batekin ihurtzuria karrazkarazi zuen Filistindarren gainera, ...* (Duvoisin, *Bible Saindua*: Erregeak I, VII 10)
 "The Lord made the thunder crack with a frightening noise over the Philistines, ..."

When we now try to turn these sociative phrases into adjectival modifiers to obtain Basque equivalents of English expressions such as "a woman with a very kind heart", the attempt seems to fail:

- (7) a. **oso bibotz onarekiko emakumea* c. **zazpi lagunekiko taldea*
 b. **hogeitabost urterekiko gizona* d. **harrabots ikaragarri batekiko autoa*

There exist, however, noun phrases of a slightly different form that carry precisely the meaning that (7a,b,c,d) were supposed to have:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (8) a. <i>oso bihotz oneko emakumea</i> | c. <i>zazpi laguneko taldea</i> |
| “a very kindhearted woman” | “a group of seven members” |
| b. <i>hogeitabost urteko gizona</i> | d. <i>barrabots ikaragarri bateko autoa</i> |
| “a man of twenty-five” | “a car with a frightening noise” |

These facts all fall into place if we make the plausible assumption that a sociative ending preceding *-ko* is subject to deletion under certain conditions. Since they have to do with the character of the meaning relationship between the head of the sociative phrase and the head of the containing NP, these conditions appear to be semantic in nature. By way of a first approximation, hopefully to be refined by further research, the following admittedly rather vague formulation may be put forward: Whenever the relationship in question is inalienable, or at least very close, the sociative ending must be deleted. But when the relationship is felt to be purely external, the sociative ending has to be retained. Since closeness of a relationship is a matter of degree, one should expect a grey area of intermediate cases where it is unclear whether this condition is met or not. Such borderline cases indeed exist. A case in point is the relationship between clothes and their wearer:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| (9) a. <i>jantzi gorriarekiko gaztea</i> | “the young person with the red suit” |
| b. <i>jantzi gorriko gaztea</i> | “the young person with the red suit” |

These examples have been taken from Euskaltzaindia's *Euskal Gramatika: Lehen Urratsak* (*Eranskina* 1:54), where it is stated that both versions are found in certain regions, eastern as well as western.

Another borderline case is that of the relationship between emotions and their bearer:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| (10) a. <i>Ez da bihotzaldi haundiekiko poeta</i> | (Orixe 1927: 192; cf. DRA 999) |
| “He is not a poet with great emotions” | |
| b. <i>Ez da bihotzaldi haundiko poeta</i> | |
| “He is not a poet with great emotions” | |

The common feelings that the relationship between a person and his or her emotions is quite intimate is reflected in the greater naturalness of (10b) over (10a). The existence of such borderline cases, it seems to me, provides strong support for an analysis along the lines here proposed. My 1987 observations on the behavior of the sociative when followed by *-ko* did not extend much beyond this point. They clearly do not exhaust the subject. Native grammarians whose intuitions are able to cope with the fine discriminatory judgments required are likely to find this area a fruitful realm of inquiry. Indeed, a thorough semantic investigation distinguishing various types of relationships, although likely to run into a great deal of dialectal—and even idiolectal—variation, may prove well worth the effort, inasmuch as the resulting picture may turn out to be quite interesting.

There is a complicating factor to be noted when analyzing the use of *-(r)ekiko*. It must be recognized that this form has begun a life of its own, with a meaning no longer relatable to that of *-(r)ekin*. Specifically, both in present-day Euskara Batua (Standard Basque) and in its predecessor, literary Guipuzcoan, *-(r)ekiko* occurs quite frequently in the meaning «concerning, about». That there is a real need for such a hyponym of the overly versatile instrumental case can be appreciated in the following example:

- (11) *Kontuan eduki behar genuke, haatik, euskarazkoez gainera, euskararerikoak eta Euskalberriarekikoak bilatzen dituztela horiek, nabiz edozein erdaratan eginak izan* (Mitzelena 1988 [henceforth *MEIG*], 4: 126)
 “We ought to take into account, however, that they, in addition to texts in Basque, look for texts about Basque, or about the Basque Country, no matter what other language they are written in”.

Here the form *euskararekikoak*, conveying the meaning “texts about Basque”, could not be substituted for by an instrumental-based *euskarazkoak*, necessarily interpreted as “texts in Basque”. Moreover, the grammatically correct phrase *euskararen gainekoak* would have been awkward, chiefly on account of the immediately preceding *gainera*, and perhaps also because the literal meaning of *gain* might raise its head here: “texts above Basque”. True, a viable alternative to the wording found in *MEIG* could have been *euskarari eta Euskalberriari buruzkoak*. Actually, this slightly round-about turn of phrase (*-ri buruz* originally meant “facing, towards”) has been to my mind somewhat overused in modern literary style. Did the author reject it here for precisely this reason?

The origin of the semantic extension shown by *-(r)ekiko* is perhaps to be found in contexts where *-(r)ekin* itself translates as “about”: *zerbaitekin amets egin* “to dream about something”; cf. *etorkizunarekiko ameskaitz ikaragarria* (*MEIG* 1:175) “the frightful nightmare about the future”.

A convenient opportunity to study the use of *-(r)ekiko* in what can be considered a particularly authoritative variant or precursor of Euskara Batua is offered by the recent publication of *MEIG*, from which we already have had occasion to quote. In these essays, our form *-(r)ekiko* occurs fairly frequently, with ample representation of both types: (1) the type connected to the sociative, and (2) the semantically extended type, which may perhaps be connected to the instrumental, at least as far as its meaning is concerned.

Among the first type, we can cite: *etorkizunarekiko ameskaitz ikaragarria* (1:175) “the frightful nightmare about the future” (*etorkizunarekin egin zuen ameskaitza*); *bi hizkuntzaren elkarrekiko ahaidetasuna* (1:238) “the kinship of the two languages with each other” (*bi hizkuntzak elkarrekin duten ahaidetasuna*); *hizkuntzarekiko arreta gairekikoaz gainera* (5:97) “the concern for the language in addition to that for the subject matter” (*hizkuntzarekin zuten arreta*); *hiztegiarekiko kezka* (5:103) “the worry about the vocabulary” (*hiztegiarekin dugun kezka*); *landu beharreko ardura* (6:37) “the concern for the need to cultivate it” (Spanish version: “la conciencia de la necesidad de su cultivo”) (*landu behararekin dugun ardura*); *berarekiko jarrera kritiko samarra* (6:41) “a rather critical attitude towards him” (Spanish version: “una actitud más bien crítica para con él”) (*berarekin izan zuen jarrera kritiko samarra*); *hizkuntzarekiko kezka* (6:56) “the

worries about the language" (*hizkuntzarekin zituzten kezkek*); *elkarrekiko lana* (6:93) "work with each other", i.e. "cooperative work" (*elkarrekin egiten dugun lana*); *elkarrekiko lokarriak* (6:110) "ties with each other" (*elkarrekin ditugun lokarriak*); *elkarrekiko borrokok* (7:114) "fights with each other" (*elkarrekin dituzten borrokok*); *besteekiko harremanak* (7:132) "relations with the others" (*besteekin ditugun harremanak*); *gurekiko lotura* (8:87) "a bond (ties) with us" (*gurekin zuen lotura*).

Examples of the second type, involving the semantically extended non-sociative *-(r)ekiko*, also abound in *MEIG*. A particularly clear instance is the phrase *ortografiarekiko borroka* (9:63) used by an interviewer. In its contexts, this phrase does not mean "the struggle with the orthography", but rather "the fight (among Basques) about the orthography". Similarly, *testu kritikarekiko liburua* (5:72), or *euskararekiko liburua* (8:87) do not mean "the book with textual criticism" or "the books with Basque", but "the book about textual criticism" and "the books about Basque". When *auzi* has the meaning "lawsuit", one naturally expects the sociative case (cf. *Ez izan hauzirik gizon ahal handikoarekin, ... Duvoisin, Biblia, Eklesiatikoa* 8.1: *non litiges cum homine potente, ...*) but not when it has the more abstract sense "question, issue", which it usually has in *MEIG*. Here too, however, we find the use of *-(r)ekiko*: *euskara zabarraren jatorri eta iturburuarekiko auzi aspergarria* (1:237) "the tedious question concerning the source and origin of ancient Basque"; *hizkuntzarekiko auziak* (4:33) "questions concerning the language"; *bai sintasisekiko bai estilistikarekiko auziak* (7:151) "questions concerning syntax as well as questions concerning stylistics"; *aditzarekiko auziak* (8:162) "questions concerning the verb".

Other examples of this type are: *giltzatxo batekikoa abaztu zaio* (1:128) "he has forgotten something about a little key"; *gure hizkuntzarekiko oinarriak jakinbeharrak* (1:238) "the basic information about our language"; *literaturarekiko literaturarekin* (4:123) "with the literature about literature"; *Arrataberekiko berriak* (5:82) "information about Arratabe"; *gure gauzekiko iritzia* (5:127) "our opinions about things" (elsewhere in *MEIG* we find *neure horrezazko iritzia* (7:75) "my opinion about that"); *euskararekiko kontuak* (5:144) "the issues about Basque"; *euskararekiko ikerlanak* (6:47) "investigations concerning Basque"; *etorkizunarekiko usteak* (6:72) "beliefs about the future"; *hizkuntzarekiko erabakiak* (7:164) "decisions about the language"; *Eleizalderekiko berririk asko* (8:53) "plenty of anecdotes about Eleizalde".

Actually, one may ask whether the examples with *ardura* "concern" and *kezka* "worry" presented earlier under type 1, do not really belong here. The reason is that the use of the sociative *-(r)ekin* in the complements of these nouns, although possible in colloquial Guipuzcoan, is never found in *MEIG*, and may well be conceived as being outside the range of the literary standard.

A question that arises at this point is how to handle in a formal way the complication posed by the existence of a type of *-(r)ekiko* not related to *-(r)ekin*? As I have no undue interest in formalism, one suggestion will have to suffice, although various other proposals may be equally feasible. As an expedient, we can postulate a new underlying case ending, say *-(r)eki*, carrying the unambiguous meaning "concerning", together with a surface filter discarding all expressions in which this ending is not combined with the connector *-ko*.

There is still another complication needing to be discussed. In addition to the two types of adjectival *-(r)ekiko* dealt with so far, there is also in Guipuzcoan and

High-Navarrese an adverbial *-(r)ekiko*, mostly employed with animate noun phrases, and glossed as “towards” or “to” (Azkue 1905: II, 79, s.v. *nerekiko* “towards me”). This type too is found in *MEIG*: *Batzar lagunekiko dudan eskerra eta zorra ...* (8:97) “the indebtedness and gratefulness that I have towards my fellow committee members ...”. With a main verb of saying or thinking, an adverbial *-(r)ekiko* reflecting upon the subject of the sentence appears to function semantically as a dative of address. Since the addressee coincides with the speaker, its explicit mention induces a connotation of secrecy: *nerekiko ari naiz galdezka ea ...* (4:46) “I am wondering to myself whether...”; *Askotan egiten dut nerekiko...* (5:144) “I often ask myself...”. Another, rather special, meaning of *-(r)ekiko*, namely, “according to, in the opinion of”, is not encountered in *MEIG*. Azkue in his dictionary marks it as Guipuzcoan and cites an example from Lardizabal, to which the *DRA* adds one from Iztueta. This meaning will not be considered here.

The adverbial use of *-(r)ekiko* must be secondary, and is thus to be derived from its adjectival use, diachronically and probably also synchronically. Whether or not the particular proposal I am going to make here will work for all cases, remains, of course, to be seen. But, whatever the details may be, I see no reason to doubt that an entirely satisfactory analysis can be elaborated on these or similar lines. Put into a nutshell, my proposal involves deriving adverbial *-(r)ekiko* from the expression *-(r)ekiko kontutzat*, which then by *kontu* deletion —independently needed to derive *joatekotan* from *joateko kontuan*— yields an intermediate *-(r)ekikotzat*. This now is precisely the form we find in Axular: *Gurequicotzat, guri ezcarela billen sinhets aracitceco, ...* (*Guero*, Cap. IV, 65) “As for us, to make us believe that we will not die...”. A subsequent rule of *-tzat* deletion then gives rise to the modern form *-(r)ekiko*. This deletion, originally a purely optional rule, evolved into an obligatory process, in the same way as it did in purpose clauses (*ikus dezan* “so that he may see it”, from earlier *ikus dezantzatzat*).

Optional *-tzat* deletion may have been applied already by Axular himself, to judge from the following example: *Gauza perilosac dira hauc elccarrequico* (*Guero*, Cap. XLII, 401) “these are dangerous things to each other”, accepting Villasante’s emendation of *elccartequico* to *elccarrequico*. Notice, however, that the example would lose its force if it could be shown that it derives from an underlying *elkharrekiko gauza perilosac dira hauc* by some kind of extraposition. An earlier example *eztira elccarrequico on* (*Guero*, Cap. XLII, 400) “they are not good combined with each other” is not at all conclusive, as it seems to require a very different derivation. If the plausible assumption is made that the adjective *on* has NP status, *elkharrekiko* is adjectival here, not adverbial.

After this lengthy digression, justified by some intriguing complications regarding the use of *-(r)ekiko*, we must return to our main theme: postposition deletion in front of the linking element *-ko*. We have observed that the postposition *-(r)ekin* can be deleted under certain conditions. What about the instrumental postposition *-z*? It is quite clear that in most of its uses the instrumental ending *-z* cannot be deleted before *-ko*. One never encounters **urreko erasztuna* instead of *urrezko erasztuna* “a golden ring”. Nor does anyone say **arrazoiko* or *zentzuko* instead of *arrazoizko* “of reason” and *zentzuzko* “of sense”. Yet, there are some instances where *-z* deletion does seem to have played a role.

A prominent example is furnished by derivatives based on the suffix *-garri*. Abundantly attested forms such as *barrigarriko* “surprising”, *izugarriko* “terrible” un-

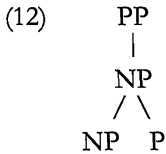
doubtedly originate from *harrigarritzeko*, *izugarritzeko*. Likewise, *gaitzkeko* "terrible" must have been derived via *gaitzezkeko* from the instrumental form of the noun *gaitz* "evil", not from the innocuous adjective *gaitz* meaning "difficult". Finally, the common expression *zorioneko* "fortunate" (often ironic) appears to be derived from an earlier form *zorionezkeko*. As a confirmation, we may note that Latin *beati* of Luc. 12.37 is rendered *zorionezkekoak* by Duvoisin, and *zorionekoak* by the more recent *Itun Berria* of 1980 and the *Elizzen arteko Biblia* of 1983.

In the preceding discussion, we have set up a grammatical rule of postposition deletion, which we have attempted to justify in terms of the Basque data. At this stage, a few theoretical questions need to be posed and answered. The first one involves the status of case endings in Basque. We have treated those as if they were postpositions. Is this justifiable? A categorical answer is hard to give, as I do not know of a precise operational definition of the term "postposition". If, however, we consider "postposition" the exact analogue of "preposition" in the sense it has in English grammar (except, of course, that it follows its governing NP instead of preceding it), then it would seem that Basque case endings do not qualify. The reason is that prepositions enjoy, syntactically speaking, a certain degree of independence. It is true that they presuppose in some sense a directly following noun phrase; yet they are by no means unconditionally tied down to it in their manifestation. This, however, is not so with Basque case endings. Those stand or fall by the material presence of an accompanying noun phrase. When the latter disappears, as happens for instance in relative clause formation, the case ending must vanish with it.

Coordination phenomena likewise illustrate the difference between postpositions and case endings. Conjoined prepositions are quite common. In English one can ask "Did he say with or about the gypsies?", and one can state "This was done for and because of the witch". In Basque, conjoined case endings are never possible. The noun in question must be repeated in full, or, at the very least, resumed by a pronoun: *Ijitoekin ala ijitoez esan al du?* "did he say with the gypsies or about the gypsies", and *Sorginarentzat eta sorginarengatik egin zen hau* "this was done for the witch and because of the witch" (or *Sorginarentzat eta harengatik egin zen hau* "this was done for the witch and because of the her"). Basically, the point we are making here is that postpositions should be words, whereas Basque case endings are quite obviously bound morphemes.

In de Rijk (1988: 83) I construed this behavior of Basque case endings as an argument in favor of Emonds' position on the nature of adverbial case endings in general. In Emonds' view, inherent case endings are not themselves postpositions; they are mere desinences. Each of them constitutes the result of a late morphological rule spelling out a syntactic feature complex associated with a hypothetical lexically empty P governing the NP involved. Whatever the merits of Emonds' proposal in terms of universal case theory, I here wish to call attention to a more simple-minded alternative. Our starting point is the clear intuition that adverbial case-marked NP's in Basque are in a way simultaneously NP's and PP's. To account for this intuition the following analysis can be proposed. To an adverbial phrase such as *elizatik* "from the church" corresponds the usual PP pattern at the D-structure level [NP P]_{PP}. The S-structure, however, is slightly, but significantly, different. Before it is reached, a process of Postposition Incorporation must take place. What this

process does is take the postposition and adjoin it to the NP which it governs. This will result in the following surface structure:



Now, while this may well be true for adverbial phrases of the type shown by *elizatik*, there are good reasons for claiming that dative and ergative phrases do not start out as PP's and must have NP status throughout the derivation.

This indeed would explain why these phrases can be adjectivized only by means of the genitive ending and never by means of *-ko*. Furthermore, we are led to a nicely straightforward conception of verbal agreement: The verb simply agrees with all the NP's in its clausal domain. A more thorough search through the realm of grammatical phenomena in Basque may well reveal further arguments for a distinction between NP and PP along the lines just given. As it stands, I consider our case quite strong already.

A highly interesting corollary is worth pointing out. It is an axiom in case theory that NP's must receive case, and do so either from a governing verb or from a governing P. Now, according to our analysis, Basque ergatives and datives get along without a governing P. Therefore, Basque ergatives and datives can and must receive case from a governing verb only. This means that an abstract verb has to be postulated whenever the surface structure of a sentence does not provide a suitable candidate for one of its dative or ergative phrases. A well known example is the short sentence *Goseak nago* "I am starving", with its ergative *goseak* "hunger" not licensed by the intransitive verb form *nago*. Another common example is the greeting *Egun on Jaungoikoak* "Good day God (grant you)", or the usual response *Baita zuri ere* "Also to you". Basque syntax, it seems, is characterized by considerable abstractness.

Having offered some thoughts on the grammatical status of case endings in Basque, I must now turn to another theoretical issue brought on by our proposed rule of postposition deletion. This is the issue of recoverability. Syntactic deletions must be recoverable: that is, a deletion rule must either delete some substructure under identity with some remaining structure, or delete a specified element. Our rule is clearly of the latter type. Yet it deletes not just one specified element, but any item out of a choice of four or five, depending on whether instrumental deletion is still a synchronic rule. This quandary can be resolved in two ways. The first way is to loosen the recoverability criterion to allow a small finite set of deletion candidates. After all, real languages often show ambiguities. In our Basque case at hand, the phrase *Pariseko tren* is really ambiguous in actual speech between "the train from Paris" (deletion of *-tik*) and "the train to Paris" (deletion of *-ra*).

The second way is to abandon our single rule of postposition deletion and to speak instead of five different rules: locative deletion, elative deletion, allative deletion, sociative deletion and instrumental deletion. Each rule then satisfies the strict recoverability criterion. By doing so we lose something and we gain something.

We lose the insight that what is deleted by each rule is homogeneously a postposition. It is now a mere coincidence that the five items to be deleted are all postpositions. Yet, what we gain is perhaps more important. If we think of postposition deletion as one single rule, we must explain why only five postpositions undergo it, and why the conditions under which each of these postpositions can be deleted turn out to be so different from each other. Whereas these facts are just what we should expect, if we have to do with five separate rules. Therefore, my suggestion here would be to continue using the term "postposition deletion", but merely as an informal designation for the whole cluster of separate rules involved.

To conclude this contribution, I would like to bring out the implications of my analysis of *-ko* for the teaching of Basque. Traditionally, *-ko* is considered a case ending on a par with other case endings pertaining to the locative system. This tradition is, sadly enough, carried on even in the recent study *Euskaltzaindia* (1985: I, 347ff), by a committee of grammarians under auspices of the Royal Basque Academy. That it is theoretically unsound to view *-ko* as a postposition is an insight first formulated by Michelena, and developed in greater detail in de Rijk (1988). I will not repeat those arguments here. What I do wish to point out, however, is that the traditional treatment of *-ko* leads to disastrous results in practice.

Treating *-ko* as a "locative genitive" forces the grammarians to prescribe the following paradigm: *urte-ko* (definite singular); *urte-etako* (definite plural); *urte-tako* (indefinite). What has not been duly realized, however, is that this paradigm is only valid when a locative postposition has been deleted, and not in those instances where the underlying postposition is the sociative or the instrumental. Phrases like (13) are grammatically incorrect:

- (13) a. **zazpi lagun-etako taldea*
 seven friend-def.pl. group
 b. **hogei urte-tako gizona*
 twenty year-indef. man
 c. **bibotzaldi handi-etako poeta*
 inspiration great-def.pl. poet

In this area, even native speakers have been led astray by the force of the prescriptive tradition. The phenomenon of hypercorrection too plays a role here, as many speakers no longer have indefinite locatives in their native dialect. To cite one example, the eminent scholar and grammarian Patxi Altuna (1987: 35) wrote *bogetamairu orrialdetako txostena* "a report of thirty-three pages", with indefinite marking. Just recently, Jose Basterrechea (1989: 185) has denounced solecisms of this very type. He summarizes his brief article in the following terms: "Treatises in Basque declension overlook the case of nouns preceded by numerals when they are used as units, such as years, months, days, hours, minutes, seconds, kilograms, grams, meters, etc. In this case these words do not follow the general rules of indefinite declension". Basterrechea does not address himself to such theoretical issues as postposition deletion; one of his examples is nonetheless highly instructive. He adduces the following contrast: *Bi nazionalitatetako jentea etorri da* "Ha venido gente de dos nacionalidades diferentes" ("People of (indef.) two different nationalities

came”) on the one hand, and *Bi nazionalitateko jentea etorri da* “Ha venido gente de doble nacionalidad” (“People of double nationality have come”) on the other. This example illustrates that the exclusion of indefinite *-ta* is not restricted to phrases headed by a measure noun, contrary to what the author seems to imply in his summary. Furthermore, examples such as *begi urdineko mutila* “the blue-eyed boy” (never **begi urdinetako mutila*, with plural) likewise demonstrate that the presence of a numeral is irrelevant to the issue.

What seems to be going on here is simply that the first form *nazionalitatetako* is based on an underlying elative, just like his preceding example *zazpi herritako jentea* “people from seven villages”, whereas the second form *nazionalitateko* is based on an underlying instrumental or sociative postposition. Obviously, this difference in underlying postposition accounts for the difference in meaning between the two sentences. Actually, I expect the second sentence to be ambiguous between an individual reading and a group reading, as double nationality can be predicated either of individuals in the group or of the group as a whole. This slight criticism addressed to some details does not detract from the fact that Basterrechea’s point is well-taken and ought to serve as a warning to authors of Basque grammars. My own conclusion has been stated already. In an adequate grammar of Basque, pedagogical or otherwise, the suffix *-ko* should definitely not be included under the locative case forms, nor need it even be mentioned at that point.⁴

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⁴ Accordingly, in my own forthcoming grammar of Basque, the analysis of the locative cases and that of the suffix *-ko* occupy chapters 3 and 5 respectively.

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BASQUE MANNER ADVERBS AND THEIR GENESIS*

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", *normalki* "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 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", *hilik* "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", *ihesi* "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

* *ASJU* XXIX-1 (1995), 53-82.

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: Arantzazu 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*.

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 hilik hobeto bago, borren 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 bibotza* (Labayen, *TOE II*, 34) "I Keep my heart young" and in: *Oso zabalik aurkitu dute gure etxekeo 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-butsik* "empty-handed" or *mabuka-butsik* "in shirtsleeves". Here *butsik* 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-buts* and *mabuka-buts*. 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 *gaiizki* "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").

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 *-(f)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".

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 *nagusi* "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 *gaingiroki* "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* "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

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 *xucengi* "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.

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
ezti:	sweet	ezteki:	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 *gaizkei*, derived from the adjective *gaiz*, 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 *gaizkei* “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
mais:	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

In *laburrez*, instrumental form of *labur* "short", the *e* is epenthetic, and will elide before the suffix *-ki*. In *dolorez* and *ohorez*, instrumental forms of *dolore* "sorrow" and *ohore* "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: *zentzuz jokatu* "to act with prudence".

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*

⁵ Examples already appear in Leizarraga's New Testament translation of 1571: *afekzjonatuki* "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.

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 *Etxeparearen hiztegia*, I found 31 of these adverbs. They are: *alegeraki* "joyfully", *banoki* "in vain", *borthizki* "strongly", *debotki* "devoutly", *desoneski* "dishonestly", *dignei* "with dignity", *dolorezki* "sadly", *egiazki* "truly", *erboki* "madly", *eskuiarki* "really", *falsuki* "falsely", *frangoki* "profusely", *gaixtoki* "wickedly", *gaizki* "badly", *justoki* "justly", *karioki* "dearly", *klarki* "clearly", *komuneki* "commonly", *luzei* "for a long time", *ohorezki* "honorably", *ongi* "well", *paizienteki* "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*, *luzei*, etc.; but also, and even more frequently, with recent loans: *debotki*, *paizienteki*, *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.

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 *automaticoki* "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

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 "Léxico 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-*: *indiferentqui*, *indignequi*, *indignoqui*, *injustoqui*, *integroqui*, *interiorqui*; and furthermore: *paissiblequi*, *particularqui*, *patientqui*, *perfectoqui*, *perpetualqui*, *personalqui*, *preciosoqui*, *principalqui*, *proprioqui*, *publicoqui*, *realqui*, *religiosoqui*, *rigorosqui*, and so on, to a total of over 110 forms.

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 *gaiṙki*, 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 *gaiṙki* is not altogether lacking in older Biscayan texts, starting with *Bertso bizkaitarrak* of 1688: *gaiṙki 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-doctrin̄ berri-ecarlea* (1785) published by friar J. A. Ubillos (1707-1789) contains quite a number of *-ki* adverbs: *berexiki* "especially", *egiazki* "truly", *emekei* "gently", *firmekei* "firmly", *gaiṙki* "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", *berexkiro* "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 çabarrecò eta berricò historiao* (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 doctrina guztiaren explicacioaren 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, *Ensqeraren 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 *eskuarki-ro*. 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", *keruelkiro* "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", *keruelkiro* "cruelly", *liberalkiro* "liberally", *partikularkiro* "particularly", *prinzipalkiro* "mainly", *puntualkiro* "punctually", *zertokiro* "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 page— than 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).

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.

The *-ki* forms are: *ausarki* "abundantly", *biribilki* "flatly" (literally "roundly"), *ederki* "nicely", *egiazki* "truly", *errazki* "easily", *gaiizki* "badly", *galaneki* "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 *gaiizki* "badly", we are given the following information: "De *gaiiz* con el sufijo adverbial *-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 *gaiizki* 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 *gaiizki*, which is then supposed to have nominalized at some point so as to produce the noun *gaiizki* "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 *gaiizki* 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 *gaiizki* 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: *abunzki* "piece of goat meat"; with various

nouns, producing culinary terms: *bizkarki* "shoulder cut", *esneki* "dairy product", *odolkei* "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 *agoazilkei* "flesh of a policeman" (p. 24). And in Soule one can hear phrases such as *aragi gorriki* "piece of red meat", *asto zabarki* "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 *-kei* can be assumed to have had a long history in the language, and is therefore available for etymological purposes.

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

As this suffix *-kei* 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 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 *ergelkei* in the sense of "stupidity", nor *itsukei* 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 *gaitzkei* 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:

- (1) a. Nor dago Obaban mediku? (Atxaga, *Obab.* 207)
Who is there in Obaba as a doctor?
- (1) b. Bederatzi urte egon zen erretor(e) Irulegin. (Zerbitzari, *Azkaïne*, 76)
He had stayed in Irulegi for nine years as a parish priest.
- (1) c. Nor dago apaiz? (Irazusta, *Joanixio*, 67)
Who is there as a priest?
- (1) d. Ni Olaberriar 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

⁸ There appears to be one noteworthy exception: the noun *handiki* "magnate", where nominal use of *handi* 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?

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 *gaiṣki* 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 *gaiṣki* 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 L. Akesolo as "ya que Dios todos los días nos hace el bien" ("since God does good to us everyday"). Similarly, *gaiṣki* in line 33 of poem XII is clearly a predicate: *Zurekila gaiṣki baniz, nola bizji nintzande?* In Akesolo's translation: "¿Cómo podría yo vivir estando a mal contigo?" ("How could I live if I am on bad terms with you?").

Even today, *ongi* and *gaiṣki*, 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 *Gaiṣki dago* "He is unwell" instead of the theoretically expected *Onik dago* or *Txarrik dago*. Or, quoting Iztueta, *ez nengoke gaiṣki* "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 **biziriki 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 *gaiṣki* 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 *gaiṣki* 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 *gaiṣki* "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 *gaiṣki*, 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 *gaiṣkei* predated all or most other adverbs of manner, and are ultimately derived from the nouns *ongi* "good" and *gaiṣkei* "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 *luzḡ*, *luzaro*, from *ḡebe*, *ḡeharo*, 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 obligatorily 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

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.

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.

argi:	clear, bright	argiro:	clearly
berri:	new	berriro:	again, newly, recently
bizi:	living, keen, intense	bizi-ro:	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	garbi-ro:	clearly, frankly
geldi:	quiet, slack	geldiro:	quietly, slowly
gozo:	delicious, sweet	gozoro:	sweetly, pleasantly
guri:	soft, tender	guri-ro:	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	nagusi-ro:	principally, mainly
naro:	abundant, lavish	naroro:	abundantly, lavishly
oso:	whole, complete	osoro:	wholly, completely
sendo:	firm, solid	sendoro:	firmly, solidly
ugari:	abundant, copious	ugari-ro:	abundantly, copiously
zêhe:	minute	zêharo:	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
maisú:	master	maisuki-ro:	masterly (<i>MEIG</i> IV 114)
opa:	wish	oparo:	abundantly

3b. Historical background of *-ro*

In its discussion of the adverb *handiro*, the *DGV* (II, 88) delivers the following assessment: “De modo general, *-ro*, conservado en restos en todas partes, tiene que ser más 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 *beazjiro eguina*” (p. 110); “estrechamente *estrechuan, esturo*” (p. 124); “firmemente *firmero*” (p. 126); “llanura o llano *llanoro ibilted*” (p. 147); “magnificamente *andiro*” (p. 149);

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; II, 418).

“notablemente *notablero*” (p. 161); “nuebamente *barrero*” (p. 161); “posiblemente *posiblero*” (p. 174); “puramente *garuero*” (p. 178).¹³

Even that is not the first attestation of this breed of adverb. This honor belongs to an occurrence of *lealkero* “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*, *berrero*, *biziro*, *erbero*, *exiro*, *gozoro*, *handiro*, *bertsiero*, *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, as in *deliberaturo* “deliberately” and *lehiaturo* “speedily” exact parallels to *deliberatuki* and *lehiatuki*, 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”, *berrero* “again”, *betiro* “eternally”, *biziro* “keenly”, *botxikiro* “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”, *zikiro* “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 *hobaro*,¹⁵ identical to the adverbial *-ro* form of the adjective *hobe* “better” (see *FHV* 161, note 12).

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

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

¹⁵ Although the adverb *hobaro* is otherwise unattested, I omit the asterisk in view of the derived verb *oboratu* “to improve”, cited in the *DRA* (p. 3.055).

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”, *garbiri* “distinctly”, *gogorki* “ruthlessly”, *gozaro* “pleasantly” (also *gozoro*), *guri* “richly”, *luzaro* “for a long time”, *maitaro* “lovingly”, *naroro* “copiously”, *oparo* “abundantly”, *osotoro* “wholly”, *santuro* “devoutly”, *zearo* “in detail”, *zorrozki* “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* 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: *abezeki* “alphabetically”, *aizebelaski* “waveringly”, *argiro* “clearly”, *berriro* “again”, *bidebageki* “unjustly”, *doakabero* “unhappily”, *emekiro* “gently”, *errazki* “easily”, *estuki* “tightly”, *gaindi* “eminently”, *garbiri* “distinctly”, *garrazki* “bitterly”, *geldi* “thoroughly”, *gogorki* “ruthlessly”, *guri* “richly”, *ikusgarri* “scenically”, *jakintsuro* “learnedly”, *komunki* “commonly”, *leialki* “loyally”, *lotsabageki* “hamelessly”, *lotsagarri* “shamefully”, *luzaro* “for a long time”, *maitaro* “lovingly”, *moldakait(t)zki* “clumsily”, *naroro* “copiously”, *oparo* “lavishly”, *portizki* “fiercely”, *sarri* “frequently”, *txukunki* “neatly”, *zabalki* “extensively”, *zearo* “in detail”, *zertoro* “certainly”, *zintzoro* “faithfully”, *zuzenki* “directly”, “honestly”.

On the whole, the use of the allomorph *-ki* 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 *miragarri-ki*, Iztueta employs plain *ikusgarri*, *lotsagarri*.

It is to be noted that the ending *-ki* 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: *biurri*, *biurriki* “perversamente” (p. 182). Iztueta shows two examples of this: *emekiro* “gently” instead of *emaro* or *emero*, and *estuki* “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 *-ki*, not *-ro*, even if the noun ended in a vowel. We already met the adverb *abezeki* “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

**argikiró*, **gaindikiró*, **garbikiró*, which the increasing productivity of *-kiró* 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 garbira 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 *maitaroagoririk* (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 hizkuntza 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 oparotan* "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).

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", *egunoró* (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 espiritual* (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(h)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 jùste*, *tout dous*, *tout hort*, glossed "justement, doucement, fortement" by the lexicographer Simin Palay (*DBGM*, 971). Castilian 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 Castilian, 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

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.

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

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 *-to* 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 the suffix *-to*), together with its irregular comparative *bobeto*,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", *gaizto* "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 *urto* "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 Mogel: 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).

¹⁸ A phonetic variant *obato* also appears in the older Biscayan texts, so e.g. in J. J. Mogel's *Baserritarr jakitunaren etxeko 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.

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).

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 harvest —18 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 *Baserritaa jakitunaren etxeke 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 cantabrigae* 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 *osoye*, i.e. the stative

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.

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 betetzera* (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 contemporary 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 *belendal*, 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..." (*Aitorkezunak*, 267). Likewise, Lizardi wrote: *Ta gauza batek arritzen nau oso...* "And one thing completely astonishes me..." (*Itz-lauz²*, 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 *osotoró* 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: *edertò*, *gogortò*, *moteltò*, *otzantò*, 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:	clear	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

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).

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 then 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 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>honela</i> ,	corresponding to: <i>era honetara</i>	(or: <i>era honetan</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 maniere 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). Nolakoa 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 *hola* serving for both *bonela* and *horrela*. It must be mentioned, however, that the Basque Academy strongly opposes the use of *hola* in the standard language, except as part of the expression *bala-hola* (or its variants *hola-bala*, *hola-hola*) 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. (*Txillardeggi*, *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.

²² For the concept of quasifocus, see my paper, de Rijk 1996 (in this volume).

- (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. (*Elizzen arteko biblia. Apokalipsia* 2.16).
Or else, I will quickly come to you.
- (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 berriro 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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FOCUS AND OUASIFOCUS IN BASQUE NEGATIVE STATEMENTS*

I. Introduction

Focus and its role in Basque word order has been the topic of a fair amount of work over the past hundred years. Actually, of course, the concern with the significance of word order among Basque literati reaches considerably farther back. As A. Irigoyen has aptly reminded us, the Biscayan philosopher P. P. Astarloa (1752-1806) truly deserves recognition as an early devotee of such studies, but neither his *Apología de la lengua bascongada* (1803) nor his posthumously published *Discursos filosóficos sobre la lengua primitiva* (1883) are perused much these days, least of all by linguists —whether this be fortunate or unfortunate is not for me to ascertain.¹

Undeniably the classic and, in the main, still authoritative treatment of focus is that found in two publications by the Biscayan scholar S. Altube (1879-1963): his *De sintaxis euskérica* of 1920 and his much better known *Erderismo* of 1929.

Incidentally, it should be noted here that the term “elemento inquirido”, used so much by Altube and through him established in Spanish parlance as the equivalent of English “focus”, was actually coined by another Biscayan scholar, R. M. de Azkue, as appears from page 341 of the latter’s *Euskal-izkíndea (Gramática euskara)* dating from 1891. Strangely enough, however, Azkue misplaced the phrase he had thus labelled, for he assigned it initial instead of preverbal position.

Another fact of historical interest, less widely known, is that the crucial observation commonly referred to as “Altube’s Law” had already been made by the erudite priest and scholar M. Lekuona in note 1 of his inaugural lecture entitled “Métrica Vasca” of September 1918: “La palabra principal de una oración es la inmediata anterior al verbo, ...”.

In the wake of Altube’s pioneering study, several generations of scholars have offered more or less detailed accounts of Basque focus. The first author known to

* A badly garbled version of this article was published in *RIEV* 41,1 (1996). The *RIEV* title for the article is but one of several ill-advised “corrections” perpetrated by the editor. I must disclaim all responsibility for that version, since page-proofs were never sent.

¹ Regarding P.P. Astarloa and his scholarly works, one may consult X. Altzibar, *Bizkaierazko idazle klasikoak*, pp. 211-226. A fascinating miscellany of Astarloa’s linguistic conceptions can be found in A. Tovar, *Mitología e ideología sobre la lengua vasca*, pp. 110-129.

me to have added something to Altube's description was P. Lafitte (1901-1985).² Chapter VI of his *Grammaire basque*—first published in 1944—contains a short but influential exposition of constituent order in the northern dialects, based on the concept "mot de valeur" or, alternatively, "terme requis". Furthermore, for negative clauses a distinction is introduced between "mot de première valeur" (the negation *ez*), "second terme requis" (the main verb of the clause) and "troisième terme requis" (virtually identical to what is generally considered focus).

A quarter of a century later, with R. de Rijk (1969) as a modest start, a host of articles and other publications begins to appear, among which we mention F. Donzeaud (1972), R. de Rijk (1978), A. Arejita (1978, 1980), P. Goenaga (1980), K. Mitxelena (1981), G. Rebuschi (1983), B. Oihartzabal (1984, 1985), S. Tamura (1985), P. Salaburu (1989) and, as a culmination point, E. Osa's impressive dissertation defended in 1988 and published in 1990.

In most of these works, however, only cursory attention at best is devoted to negative clauses and their behavior in regard to focus.³ There are, nonetheless, two outstanding exceptions: Oihartzabal (1985) and Osa (1990). I have benefitted from the work of these two authors to no small extent, but my approach, both in terminology and in spirit, will be found to be sufficiently different from theirs for the present contribution to be other than a mere rehashing of their essays.

My discussion will be geared to the southern variant of Euskara Batua; in other words, I want to deal with the system common in outline to Guipuzcoan and Biscayan. This treatment cannot claim to be in any way exhaustive. No mention will be made of such interesting details as object incorporation and other cases of reanalysis, despite their potential effects on the location of the focus site.

Without much discussion, we will take for granted the basic correctness of Altube's perceptions concerning focus in positive sentences. It is true that Altube's position has been repeatedly criticized by native speakers. They have pointed out that, strictly speaking, the validity of his observations is restricted to one use of language, namely, conversation. In other—and, one might say, less central—uses of language, such as story-telling and similar activities, quite often special effects of style are achieved by breaking Altube's rules.

From a linguistic point of view, this critical annotation, often adduced as invalidating to some extent Altube's analysis, can in fact be seen to support it. Obviously, if special effects can be gained from breaking Altube's rules, of necessity, the rules in question first have to be part and parcel of the linguistic competence of the native speaker. For, while it is easy enough to break nonexistent rules, it is quite hard to see how one can achieve any particular effects by doing so.

In this paper, I will consider only statements. In particular, negative statements assumed to be part of a conversational interchange. The question as to whether or

² As B. Oihartzabal has aptly shown in his admirable essay "Behako bat ezezko esaldieri" (*Euskera* XXX (1985), 103-115), not all of Lafitte's additions can be accepted at face value. (Cf. section III below.)

³ De Rijk (1969, 1978) are quite typical in this respect. In the latter publication, negative clauses are ignored altogether, and in the former, Lafitte's position as to a post-auxiliary focus site is espoused on the tottery basis of a few inconclusive examples (p. 344).

not the results obtained carry over to other speech acts, such as requests or commands, will be left open.

II. Focus in negative clauses

To settle the matter of focus in negative clauses, we need a precise definition of what we are investigating. In positive clauses focus has often been defined as the most prominent part of the comment or rheme; when dealing with negative clauses, however, this definition is by far too vague to be of any use. Rather, in both positive and negative statements, focus must be defined as being that particular constituent of the sentence which matches the *wh*-item in the pragmatically pertinent question. Where no such question exists, neither does focus. No doubt, further refinements will be required eventually, but for the purposes of this exploratory article, this tentatively phrased definition will suffice.

Once this basis has been agreed on, there can be no uncertainty as to the focus site in negative clauses: The focus immediately precedes the first member of the finite verb complex, just as it does in positive clauses.

By way of illustration I will present some question-answer pairs, where the b) sentence is assumed to be an answer to the a) question, which may or may not have been explicitly asked.

- (1)a. Nor ez da etorri? "Who hasn't come?"
 (1)b. Miren ez da etorri.⁴ "Mary hasn't come."
 (2)a. Zuretzat zer ez da arazoa? "What isn't the problem for you?"
 (2)b. Zuretzat hori ez da arazoa. (J. Atutxa, *Arrosa ximeldua*, 62)
 "For you, that isn't the problem."
 (3)a. Zergatik ez doaz gaur ahizpak elizara?
 "Why aren't the sisters going to church today?"
 (3)b. Elurrarengatik ez doaz gaur ahizpak elizara.
 "The sisters aren't going to church today because of the snow."
 (4)a. Noiz ez dute lanik egiten lantegi honetan?
 "When don't they work in this workshop?"
 (4)b. Igandeetan ez dute lanik egiten lantegi honetan.
 "They don't work in this workshop on Sundays."

All these sentences bear focus: the interrogative *nor* "who", *zer* "what", *zergatik* "why", *noiz* "when" in the a) examples, and in the b) examples: *Miren* "Mary", *hori* "that", *elurrarengatik* "because of the snow", *igandeetan* "on Sundays".

⁴ As Lafitte and later Oihartzabal have pointed out, the northern dialects have an additional option here, not open to the southern ones: *Nor da ez etorri?* — *Miren da ez etorri*. The exact derivation of such clauses is unclear to me. It seems as if Auxiliary Attraction has been forgone in favor of a movement of the Focus + Auxiliary complex across the negation marker *ez*.

The restriction to finite verb complexes is essential. Some non-finite clause types show no evidence at all of a preverbal focus site, since even interrogative pronouns can occur separated from the verb:

- (5)a. Zergatik ez gaur itsasora jaits? (or *jaitxi* in spoken Batua)
 “Why not go down to the sea today?”
- (5)b. Noiz ez emaztearen esanetara makur, hori da arazoa (*makurtu* in spoken Batua)
 “When not to bend to one’s wife’s orders, that is the problem.”

The verb itself may be focus in negative clauses, in which event a dummy verb *egin* appears, again just like in positive clauses:

- (6)a. Egia lehendakariak badaki, baina esan ez diot egin.
 “The president knows the truth, but I didn’t exactly tell him.”
- (6)b. Uretara erori ziren guztiak, baina ito ez zen egin inor.
 “All fell into the water, but nobody actually drowned.”

The final clause in (6)a answers the question *Zer ez dut egin?* “What didn’t I do?”, so that *esan* “tell” is focus. Likewise, the final clause in (6)b answers the inquiry *Zer ez zen gertatu?* “What didn’t happen?”, so that *ito* “drown” is focus. The verbal foci *esan* and *ito* are parked in preverbal focus position while a dummy verb *egin* “to do” appears farther along in the clause, thus completing the verbal complex.

III. Focus and quasifocus

In sharp contradiction to the outcome of the previous section, the position *following* the finite verb is commonly held to be the focus site in negative clauses —so e.g. Saltarelli, *Basque*, 67. This position is easily shown to be untenable, since it would wrongly deny focus to *elurrarengatik* “because of the snow” and attribute it to the adverb *gaur* “today” in example (3)b, and, similarly, deny focus to *igandetan* “on Sundays” and attribute it to the noun phrase *lanik* “any work” in (4)b.

The claim, nonetheless, appears to have some justification. In negative clauses there is indeed an unmistakable prominence to a postverbal position.

This paradox readily resolves itself as soon as we delve a little deeper into the pragmatics of negation. Given the definition adopted in section II, the notion of focus is applicable to certain negative clauses only —those, namely, that are appropriately thought of as replies to pertinent questions already negative in form. This is just the type of sentence where the negation, in Oihartzabal’s terms, is preconstructed within the predicate: “... erlazio predikatiboan aitzin eraikia” (Oihartzabal, “Behako bat ezeko esaldietan”, 111).

Sentences of this type, however, are rather in the minority in actual language use. Most negative clauses in daily occurrence are not linked up in the mind with questions at all. They are quite simply denials of positive statements. As Oihartzabal has put it, the negation they contain belongs to the assertion itself: “asertzioari berari dagokion ezetza” (Op. cit. 108). In a similar vein, E. Osa set up a somewhat

misleadingly phrased dichotomy between two kinds of negation: "asertzioaren ezetza" "a denial of the assertion" versus "asertziolari ez dagokion ezetza" "a denial not belonging to the assertion" (*Euskararen bitzordena*, 212).⁵

It is worth noting that Altube himself was already well aware of the distinction we are trying to analyse here. This is clear from the paragraph that introduces his discussion of negative clauses bearing nominal focus—an exceptional occurrence in his view—where he proclaims the negation marker *ez* to be focus in nearly all negative clauses: "Las oraciones en cuya flexión verbal va prefijado el negativo *ez*, presentan casi siempre como elemento inquirido, ese morfema *ez* o sea la cualidad negativa del verbo." (*Erderismos*, 48).⁶

What in this predominant type of sentence may be perceived as focus because of its informational prominence, is not, in fact, the focus of the negative clause. It is the focus of the positive statement denied by the speaker in the utterance he is making. This distinction, the importance of which will be made clear shortly, calls for a terminological innovation. Rather than availing myself of the designation "secondary focus", I prefer to introduce the term "quasifocus"—in Basque, *sasigaldegaita*—by which I mean to underscore that we are not dealing with a lesser degree of focus, but with something quite different, albeit related to it in a certain manner.

The language itself provides ample proof that we are not dabbling in hair-splitting finalities. Basque distinguishes indeed quite clearly between focus and quasifocus, not merely in assigning preverbal position to the former and postverbal position to the latter, but also in other ways.

Focus and quasifocus behave differently with respect to the following three phenomena:

(i). The intensifying suffix *-xe* frequently occurs with focus constituents, but, for many speakers at least, never with quasifocus:

- (7)a. Karmen ez dago hemen (*hementxe), alboko etxean baizik.
"Carmen is not here, but in the house next-door."
- (7)b. Ez dizut orain (*oraintxe) ekarriko, bihar baizik.
"I won't bring it to you right now, but tomorrow."
- (7)c. Alkatea ez zen orduan (*orduantxe) etorri, apur bat geroago baizik.
"The mayor didn't come right then, but a little later."

(ii). In negative sentences, just as in positive ones, emphatic personal pronouns can occur either as topic or as focus, but, there again, for many speakers, never as quasifocus:⁷

⁵ Actually, a more elaborate version of the same distinction is offered on page 204 of Osa's study with due reference to Oihartzabal's work.

⁶ As to the merits of Altube's formulation here, I could not agree more with Oihartzabal's comment: "I don't believe that saying that the negation itself is focus clarifies matters at all." (My translation from "Behako bat ezezko esaldieri", p. 106)

⁷ *EGLU*'s claim that emphatic pronouns tend not to occur in negative clauses at all must be rejected on the basis of examples such as (8)a. Cf. *EGLU* I, p. 84.

For a justifiable criticism of *EGLU*'s choice of examples, see E. Osa, *Euskararen bitzordena*, p. 46.

- (8)a. Nork ez du entzun berri hori? —Neuk ez dut entzun. (Osa, *Eusk. Hitz.* 212)
 “Who hasn’t heard that piece of news? —I haven’t heard it.”
- (8)b. Bihar ez naiz ni (*neu, *neroni, *nihaur) Bilbora joango (, Pello baizik).
 “Tomorrow I myself won’t go to Bilbao (, but Pete will).”

Example (8)a shows an emphatic pronoun as focus in a negative sentence, while example (8)b demonstrates that such pronouns cannot be quasifocus.

(iii). Unlike focus, quasifocus can function as sentence topic.

Whereas topic and focus are clearly mutually exclusive notions, a speaker may very well decide to make the focus of an assertion into the topic of his denial of that assertion. Thus the statement *ardoa edaten du* “he drinks wine” with *ardoa* “wine” as focus, can be negated as (9)a with the subject pronoun as topic, but also as (9)b, where *ardorik* “any wine” has been made topic. In both (9)a and (9)b *ardorik* is quasifocus by our stated definition.⁸

- (9)a. Ez du ardorik edaten. “He doesn’t drink wine.”
 (9)b. Ardorik ez du edaten. “Wine, he doesn’t drink.”

The same type of explanation applies to an example discussed by Osa (*Eusk. hitz.* 212), which presents, in our terms, an instance of verbal quasifocus. The straightforward negation of the assertion *gastatu egin dut* “I have spent it” with *gastatu* “spent” as focus is given by (10)a, but (10)b with topicalization of the quasifocus *gastatu* is also fine:

- (10)a. Ez dut gastatu egin. “I didn’t spend it.”
 (10)b. Gastatu ez dut egin. “I didn’t spend it.”

Since, as we have seen, focus and quasifocus act differently with respect to at least four criteria, we find the distinction between the two concepts fully sanctioned by the very grammar of Basque itself.

IV. Site of quasifocus

This section will establish that Basque syntax need contain no separate rules for the positioning of quasifocus. Its place within the sentence will turn out to be directly predictable from its focus position in the underlying positive clause prior to the application of a movement rule induced by the presence of the negation operator.

As I. Laka has shown,⁹ the syntax of negative clauses can be fully accounted for by starting out from a structure $\bar{E}\bar{z}$ - S(entence), which subsequently undergoes a rule

⁸ In (9)b, of course, it is also possible for *ardorik* to be focus: *Zer ez du edaten? —Ardorik ez du edaten.* “What doesn’t he drink?” “—He doesn’t drink wine”.

⁹ See I. Laka, “Sentence negation in Basque”, published in: J. A. Lakarra and I. Ruiz Arzalluz, *Memoriae L. Mitxelena Magistri Sacrum*, II, 899-926, and also I. Laka, *Negation in Syntax: On the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections* (Ph. D. Dissertation, MIT, 1990).

of Auxiliary Attraction in which the finite verb is moved to the initial *ez*. As a result of this process, the finite verb —prefixed by *ez*— will end up in initial, or if topicalization has applied, post-topic position in its clause.¹⁰

Accordingly, unless it has been topicalized (cf. section III), a quasifocus constituent will necessarily be located after the finite verb of its clause. It can be concluded, furthermore, that a negative clause built on a periphrastic verb has a precise quasifocus site: the preparticiple slot. This follows because this slot, which houses the focus of the underlying positive clause, clearly remains unaffected by the operation of Auxiliary Attraction. It should perhaps be pointed out that a constituent found in this slot is not ipso facto quasifocus. Indeed, a neutral element may appear there just in case the underlying positive clause lacks focus. If, however, there is a quasifocus present in the clause at all, it must be in the preparticiple slot —again, unless topicalized.

Turning now to factual evidence, our a priori deduction as to the location of quasifocus seems to be neatly confirmed; witness the acceptability of (11)a and (11)c as against (11)b:

- (11)a. Amona ez da gaur Bilbora joango, Gasteizera baizik.
 “Grandmother won’t go today to Bilbao, but to Vitoria.”
- (11)b. *Amona ez da gaur Bilbora joango, bihar baizik.
 “Grandmother won’t go today to Bilbao, but tomorrow.”
- (11)c. “Amona ez da gaur joango Bilbora, bihar baizik.
 Grandmother won’t go to Bilbao today, but tomorrow.”

¹⁰ Oihartzabal (“Behako bat ezezko esaldieri, p. 107) reports with evident approval Altube’s opinion to the effect that in an older period of the language the auxiliary must have followed the participle in negative clauses just as much as in negative ones. Despite the arguments adduced by Altube and, in part, repeated by Oihartzabal, I fail to see how Basque, as we know it, provides any solid evidence for this claim, which, I may add, is categorically rejected by Mitxelena, when he wrote: “... *ez dute ikusiko* que es, y *siempre parece haber sido* (emphasis mine, R. de R.), la forma corriente de expresar la negation.» (“Miscelánea Filológica Vasca I”, *FLV* X-29 (1978), p. 224, reprinted in *P y T*, p. 381).

To my mind, it is highly significant that in Leizarraga’s writings, so archaic from many points of view, I have not been able to find a single instance of the type *ikusiko ez dute* in main clauses. In Etxeberri’s *Manual Devotionezkoa*, only half a century later, sure enough, such examples do occur. Yet, in the 3814 lines comprising the first part, only 13 instances appear, a rather small amount in a text all in verse, where the word order is clearly subservient to metrical and rhythmic considerations.

For these and similar reasons, I wish to replace Altube’s hypothesis with a different one giving a better account of the diachronic data. The apparently anomalous word order *ikusiko ez dute* is —or was— indeed fully grammatical, but not as a predecessor of the allegedly more recent *ez dute ikusiko*. Rather, it represents a marked option —almost comparable to the English *See it, they won’t*— connoting strong rhetorical emphasis and brought about by a stylistic rule of VP-Fronting, which is part of the grammar of Basque.

Such rhetorical emphasis was a recurrent feature of the oral delivery style of sermons as practised in Roman Catholic churches —and remains so in the Basque Country to this day. It is therefore no accident that the authors most mentioned in connection with this anomalous word order were all famous preachers: Larramendi, Cardaberaz, Ubillos, Lardizabal. They and their followers so used and overused this rhetorical device that it ended up losing its expressive connotation, and hence, its *raison d’être*. And, as we are dealing with a highly marked syntactic structure, the principle of least effort then saw to it that this construction gradually dropped out of use altogether, particularly in those areas where it had been most abused. In books, however, it can still be encountered up to recent times, e.g. in J. A. Iratzusta’s novel *Bizia garratza da*, dating from 1950: *Zergatik ezkondu ez zinan?* “Why didn’t you marry?”

Verbal quasifocus is characterized by the presence of the dummy verb *egin* “to do”, inherited from the underlying positive assertion. We have already encountered an instance of it in Osa’s example (10)a. More interesting examples can be discovered in contemporary Basque literature:

- (12)a. Oraindik ez naiz Balantzategiko ikuilluan sartu ere egin! (B. Atxaga, *Bebi* 60)
 “I have not even gone yet into the cowshed of Balantzategui!”
- (12)b. ...zokoetan benenoa jartzea ez zaizu burutik pasa ere egiten. (B. Atx. *Obab* 148)
 “...it doesn’t even occur to you to put poison in the corners.”
- (12)c. Niri ez zait burutik pasa ere egiten zu baino geroago hil nintekeenik. (Ib. 165)
 “It doesn’t even occur to me that I could die after you.”

Note the presence of *ere* meaning “even” between the quasifocus and the following participle in all these examples. In positive sentences, however, *ere* meaning “also” always blocks focushood: *Amona ere badator* “Grandmother too is coming” and not **Amona ere dator*. Now, while the problems around *ere* may indicate that at least some negative sentences have a more complicated history of derivation than Laka’s analysis seems to allow for, I can see no reason to doubt the quasifocus status of *sartu* and *burutik pasa* in the examples above. Moreover, it would appear that also nominal quasifocus can be directly followed by *ere*:

- (13)a. Ez dituzte eskolara ere bidaltzen. (B. Atx. *Obab*. 134)
 “They don’t even send them to school.”
- (13)b. Baina Julianek ez zion jaramonik ere egin. (B. Atx. *Obab*. 155)
 “But Julian didn’t even take notice.”

If this is correct, then, under the assumption that there is basically only one morpheme *ere*, we have now discovered another important difference between focus and quasifocus:

- (iv) Focus, but not quasifocus, is blocked by a directly following *ere*.

Returning after this slight digression to our concern with the location of quasifocus, we must now grant some attention to the words of a grammatical scholar of great eminence: P. Lafitte. In his immensely influential *Grammaire basque* dealing with the literary usage more or less common to Labourdin and Low-Navarrese authors, Lafitte made a statement utterly at variance with our findings: “S’il y a plusieurs éléments entre l’auxiliaire et le verbe significatif, c’est le plus rapproché de l’auxiliaire qui domine les autres.” (*Grammaire basque*, § 118.2, p. 49).

The implication in our terms of this statement would be that the northern varieties of Basque differ from the southern ones in having a post-auxiliary instead of a preparticiple quasifocus site.

However, as B. Oihartzabal —himself a user of the literary Navarro-Labourdin dialect— has already pointed out, there is little or no reason to accept this claim. To

convince the reader of this, the following examples, all belonging to the variety described in Lafitte's grammar, should be sufficient:

- (14)a. Ez dut liburutto haur, letratu handientzat eguiten. (Ax. Gero, 19)¹¹
 "I am not writing this booklet for the great scholars."

Here the quasifocus is obviously *letratu handientzat* "for the great scholars", not *liburutto haur* "this booklet", which is clearly topic.

- (14)b. Etxarete alabainan zuek mintzatzen, bainan Izpiritu saindua. (Mk. 13.11; Dv)
 "It is not, however, you who speak, but the Holy Spirit."

Here the subject *zuek* "you" is evidently quasifocus and is to be linked to the following participle *mintzatzen* "speaking" rather than to the preceding auxiliary form *etxarete* "you are not", from which it is separated by the intervening sentence adverb *alabainan* "however".

- (14)c. Altubek, egia erran, ez zien ezezko esaldieri toki handirik eskaini.
 (Oihartzabal, *Behako bat ezezko esaldieri*, 103)
 "Altube, to tell the truth, did not devote much space to negative sentences."

The context in Oihartzabal's article makes it clear that *toki handirik* "much space" is quasifocus in this sentence; not, pace Lafitte, *ezezko esaldieri* "to negative sentences".

Finally, if Lafitte were right in linking quasifocus to the post-auxiliary position, one would naturally expect it to directly follow also any synthetically conjugated verb, since those tend to share in most of the syntactic behavior of auxiliaries. This, however, is not, in general, the case:

- (15)a. Aita ez dator, ordea, oinez, autobusez baizik.
 "Father is not coming, however, on foot, but by bus."
 (15)b. Aita ez dator etxera gaur oinez, autobusez baizik.
 "Father is not coming home today on foot, but by bus."

As a matter of fact, there is no well-defined quasifocus position with respect to a synthetically conjugated verb. The reason for this is easy to grasp. According to Laka's analysis, Auxiliary Attraction—which applies to any conjugated verb, not just to auxiliaries—forces the verb to move forward to join the negation marker *ez*. But in doing so, the verb can leap over any number of sentence constituents, thereby causing the original preverbal focus site to become undetectable.

For the purpose of illustrating that any number of constituents—and therefore any number of words—can be intercalated between a negated auxiliary and its

¹¹ The telltale comma after *haur* is found in the original text, although it is lacking in Villasante's edition.

corresponding participle, we now quote a sentence spontaneously uttered by K. Mitxelena in his address to the ninth congress of Eusko Ikaskuntza held in 1983. In it, no less than 24 words separate the auxiliary *ez ote zuten* "whether they weren't" from the participle *idazten* "writing" occurring at the very end:

- (16)a. Nik neronek ezagutu dut gaztetan gure artean nabari zen halako susmo txarra ez ote zuten azken finean hangoek guk, hain garbiak ginelarik ere (eta batzuek, noski, bestea baino garbiago), idazten genuen baino hobeki, modu jatorragoan, ez hain modu "dorphean", idazten (*MEIG VI*, 58).
 "I myself in my youth have recognized a certain suspicion which was manifest amongst us as to whether those over there weren't after all writing better, in a purer fashion, not in such a "heavy" fashion, than we ourselves were writing, we being so puristic (some, of course, more so than others)".

This already respectable number of intercalated words is easily doubled as soon as one agrees to leave the domain of actually attested examples for the realm of merely constructed ones. Sentence (16)b, inspired by a wellknown children's song, may be a real monstrosity in its length and complexity, but is yet fully grammatical, despite its 48 words intervening between the auxiliary *ez ditu* "has not" and the matching participle *hilko* "(will) kill".

- (16)b. Inork ez ditu gure baratzeko arto goxoa etengabe jaten duen aker txito gaiztoa zorrozki jotzen duen makila lodia erretzen duen su handia itzaltzen duen ur hotza edaten duen idi gorria tinko lotzen duen soka luzea maiz eteten duten sagu beltzak harrapatzen dituzten katu zahar bezain itsusiak, nire uste apalez behintzat, inoiz hilko.
 "Nobody, at least in my humble opinion, will ever kill the as old as they are ugly cats that catch the black mice that often cut the long rope that firmly ties up the red ox who drinks the cold water that quenches the big fire that burns the thick stick that sharply beats the greatly evil billy-goat who constantly eats the delicious corn in our garden".

At this point in our investigation we should perhaps take into account the basic word order typology of Basque, generally assumed to be verb-final. And indeed, if Basque sentence structure were consistently verb-final at the level where Auxiliary Attraction operates, the existing preverbal focus would necessarily entail a clause-final quasifocus at that level. If there is such a level, however, it is not surface structure, as is shown by the fully grammatical examples (17)a and (17)b:

- (17)a. Aita ez dator oinez gaur etxera, autobusez baizik.
 "Father is not coming home today on foot, but by bus."
 (17)b. Nik ez daukat dirurik orain zuretzat, bai, ordea, maitasuna.
 "I do not have money for you now, but I do have love."

In (17)a, *oinetz* "on foot" is quasifocus, and in (17)b, *dirurik* "any money", none of which is clause-final.

This negative result is not altogether surprising. The verb-final character of Basque, after all, is a matter of D-structure mainly. No such verb-final constraint applies to S-structure, although it is true that a slight statistical predominance of verb-final sentences has been detected.¹² As a consequence, there may likewise be a statistical trend towards clause-final quasifocus in clauses with a synthetic verb, but this fact will hardly help us in analysing individual sentences.

Therefore, our investigation in this section has led to the following conclusion: In contrast to the situation in sentences with a periphrastically conjugated verb, where the preparticiple slot definitely acts as the quasifocus site, there is no definable quasifocus position in clauses where the verb is synthetic.

V. Consulting Mitxelena

In the introduction we already had occasion to bemoan the scant attention Basque grammarians have given to the matter of focus in negative sentences, the intricacies of which they may have found hard to come to terms with.

Even Mitxelena was no exception in this respect. In a lengthy paper about topic and focus in Basque, published in *Euskal linguistika eta literatura: bide berriak* (1981, also in *MEIG* VI 167 and *SHLV* II 656), only a short final paragraph is devoted to negative sentences. Still, short as it is, what Mitxelena did say was entirely to the point and contains in a nutshell much of what we have been discussing above.

Taking a negative statement like *Aita ez da etorri* "Father hasn't come", he observes that this sentence can serve as an answer to either *Aita etorri al da?* "Has father come?" or *Nor ez da etorri?* "Who hasn't come?" In my approach, this amounts to the correct observation that *aita* "father" can be either topic or focus in this sentence.

Moreover, Mitxelena adds that for the subject *aita* to stand between the auxiliary and the participle, emphasis on it is required: *Ez da aita etorri, ama baiizik* "Father hasn't come, but mother" This, of course, is tantamount to my claim that *aita*, when placed directly in front of the participle *etorri*, is—or can be—quasifocus, entailing the presence of a contrast of sorts, either overtly expressed or merely understood.

In his somewhat casual formulation, Mitxelena, unlike Lafitte, does not discriminate between preparticiple and post-auxiliary position. From the evidence of his own writing practice, however, it appears that what is involved must be the former and not the latter.

One way of showing this is by observing the behavior of sentence adverbs, most of which, by the very nature of things, are unable to bear focus or quasifocus. Such adverbs are never found in preparticiple position, although they do occur immediately after the auxiliary:

- (18)a. Ez du, dirudienez, hauts gehiegi eraiki Euskalerrian. (*MEIG* III 155 = *MEIG* VIII 25)

"It hasn't, apparently, kicked up too much dust in the Basque Country."

¹² For some, although rather limited, statistical data in support of verb final surface structures, see R. de Rijk, "Is Basque an SOV language?" (*FLV* I-3 (1969) p. 323. [Included in this volume].

- (18)b. ...baina ez da noski guzien belarrietara iritxiko. (*MEIG* IV 26 = *MIH* 38)
 "...but it won't, of course, reach everybody's ears."
 (18)c. Ez zuten, horratik, behinere menderatu. (*MEIG* VIII 81 = *MIH* 46)
 "They, nonetheless, never dominated him."
 (18)d. Ez da, azkenik, elizgizona. (*MEIG* V 36 = *MIH* 234)
 "He is not, in the end, a cleric."

See also example (16)a above, which contains the adverbial phrase *azken finean* "after all" placed in the post-auxiliary position.

VI. Conclusions

(i). Focus must be defined as that constituent which corresponds to the *wh*-element in the —usually tacit— question pragmatically pertinent to the statement we are dealing with, and not simply as the most prominent part of the comment or rheme.

(ii). In negative sentences, focus must be sharply distinguished from quasifocus, the latter being the focus of the positive statement actually denied by the speaker.

(iii). The location of focus in negative sentences coincides with that in positive sentences: immediately in front of the first member of the finite verbal complex —hence directly in front of the negated auxiliary in sentences that contain the negation marker *ez*.

(iv). The quasifocus site is located immediately in front of the participle in sentences whose verb is periphrastically conjugated (i.e. consists of auxiliary plus participle), and anywhere after the verb in sentences whose verb is synthetically conjugated (i.e. consists of one word only).

(v). Quasifocus can be topicalized, in which event it appears before the verb.

A final quotation from B. Oihartzabal, as true of this essay as it was of his: "Anitz errateko gelditzen da oraino." ("There still remains a lot to be told".)

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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PARTITIVE DETERMINER*

1. Introduction

In my 1972 article "Partitive Assignment in Basque" (henceforth referred to as *P. As*), I separated stative *-(r)ik* as in *bakarrik* "alone", *bizirik* "alive", *pozirik* "happy" from partitive *-(r)ik*, calling it an entirely different morpheme and not a different "use" of the same morpheme (section III). In the same section, however, in my discussion of the partitive proper, I distinguish between two "uses", a basic use and a derived use. Yet, since the basic use represents a case-marker and the derived use is more properly thought of as a determiner, it would seem that there is at least as much motivation here to speak of different morphemes as in the first case. And indeed, there is not the slightest evidence in *P.As* that the basic ending *-rik* in *mendirik mendi* "from mountain to mountain" and the derived ending *-rik* in *Holandan ez dago mendirik* "There are no mountains in the Netherlands" constitute anything but an instance of purely accidental homonymy.

The case was not closed, however. Some data that came to my attention after *P.As* had been published neatly vindicate my original intuition that the same morpheme is involved in both the basic and the derived uses of the partitive. These data were found in the novel *Uztaro* (1937) by Tomás Agirre, born in Régil in 1899. The relevant syntactic construction is found in the following sentences:

- (1)a. ..., etzekien Libe'ren biotz-barrengorik ezer. (p. 114)
"..., he knew nothing of what was inside Libe's heart."
- (1)b. Bai al zan, ba, alaingo mutil azkar eta egokiak etzezakeanik ezer? (p. 115)
"Was there then anything that such a strong and proper boy would not be able to do?"
- (1)c. Bai al-da, noski, Gipuzkoa osoan nik ezagutuko ez nukeanik inor? (p. 241)
"Is there now in the whole of Guipuzcoa anybody that I would not know?"

Later on, I noticed similar examples in other sources, mostly prior to *Uztaro*, but also some later ones, including one from 1960 by Ign. Eizmendi (Basarri), who was also born in Régil (1913).

* *ASJU* XXX-1 (1996).

In the present article I will study the partitive case in some detail, and show how examples like the above provide the required link between it and the partitive determiner.¹

2. The partitive case

Originally named "negativus" by Arnaud d'Oihenart in his work *Notitia utriusque Vasconiae* (1638), the case ending *-(r)ik* (i.e. *-rik* after a vowel or diphthong, *-ik* after a consonant) was recognized as a partitive by Fl. Lécuse in 1826: "Ce nominatif négatif peut être considéré comme un partitif"; (*Manuel de la langue basque*, p. 83). This designation, however, did not gain currency until after the publication of Iturry's *Grammaire basque* in 1920.

This partitive case appears to have originated as an ablative or an elative.

A history of this type would account for the presence of *-rik* as an allomorph of *-tik* in the elative case paradigm: original *-tarik* and *-etarik* were retained in the easternmost dialects, while replaced by *-tatik* and *-etatik* elsewhere.

In the modern dialects, including Batua, its independent role as an inherent case-marker is rather limited, inasmuch as it is restricted to indefinite noun phrases and appears in very few contexts. The contexts in question are divisible into two groups: adverbial contexts on the one hand, and quantificational contexts on the other.

(i). Adverbial contexts: The partitive is contained in a productive adverbial pattern of the form *N-ik N*, where *N* is a countable noun. Such adverbials specify the nature of the action as involving at least two separate instances of *N*, which are affected by the action either reciprocally or serially. Examples are:

ahorik aho	: from mouth to mouth (of news going round)
alderik alde	: from one side to the other, right through
aterik ate	: from door to door
bazterrik bazter	: from one corner to the other, here and there
besorik beso	: arm in arm
biderik bide	: to and fro, up and down, along the road
eskurik esku	: hand in hand
etxerik etxe	: from house to house
herririk herri	: from village to village, from town to town
hiririk hiri	: from city to city
kalerik kale	: from street to street
mendirik mendi	: from mountain to mountain
oherik ohe	: from bed to bed
zokorik zoko	: from nook to nook

¹ As on many other occasions, data gathering has been a real pleasure thanks to the eager cooperation of many Basque friends and colleagues, especially Patxi Goenaga, Beñat Oihartzabal, Felipe Yurramendi and Koldo Zuazo. Naturally, they should not be held responsible for the use I made of any data they provided.

With *N* denoting a period of time, the adverbial phrase *N-ik N* also exists and admits three different interpretations. Thus, for *egunik egun*, the *DGV* (VI, 476-477) provides the following meanings:

- a). (serially) : day by day, from day to day
- b). (in comparatives) : by the day
- c). (every day) : day after day

Similarly, for *aste* “week”, *ordu* “hour”, *urte* “year”, *mende* “century”: *asterik aste*, *ordurik ordu*, *urterik urte*, *menderik mende*.

(ii). Quantificational contexts: The partitive may be used to mark a noun phrase indicating the range of quantification. As shown by comparison with case systems in other languages, this is indeed a possible function of the elative or partitive. There are three types of quantification that are pertinent here:

a). Superlative Constructions

The partitive is one of the means to indicate the range of a superlative.

Taking *ederren* “most beautiful”, superlative of *eder* “beautiful” as an example, we get: *Donostiako emakumerik ederrena* “the most beautiful woman of San Sebastian”. Alternatives to the partitive are: the plural elative: *Donostiako emakumeetatik ederrena*, the plural inessive: *Donostiako emakumeetan ederrena*, or even no case ending at all: *Donostiako emakume ederrena*.

The partitive cannot be construed on a definite noun phrase. For “the most beautiful of those women”, we only get *emakume horietatik ederrena* or *emakume horietan ederrena*.

b). Indefinite quantifier expressions

Although the usual form of noun phrases governed by indefinite quantifiers is the indefinite absolutive, as in *emakume eder asko* “many beautiful women”, indefinite quantifiers not containing the determiner *bat* may instead assign the partitive, as in the following examples:

- (2)a. Ametsik asko sortu zaizkigu,... (Lopategi, in Mattin Treku, *Abal dena*, 29)
Many dreams have sprung up in us,...
- (2)b. Onelako esanik aski bazebillen inguruko gazteen artean. (N. Etxaniz, *Antz*, 152)
Plenty of such talk was going around among the young people of the area.
- (2)c. Lengo idazle zarren kartarik gutxi degu. (N. Etxaniz, *Nola idatziz*, 41)
We have few letters of the ancient writers of the past.

This use of the partitive is already found in Leizarraga’s New Testament translation. In the introductory summary of the contents of *Jn*. 21, we read: *Scribatu ezten gauçaric anbitz...* “Many things that have not been written down...”. The plain construction *anbitz gauça*, however, is much more common: *Mt*. 13.3, *Mk*. 6.20, *Mk*. 6.34, *Jn*. 8.26, *Jn*. 16.12, 2 *Jn*. 1.12, 3 *Jn*. 13.

By now, this optional use has virtually disappeared from the modern language, except in the fossilized phrase *eskerrik asko* (never **esker asko*) “many thanks”.

The examples given under (2), however, show that this disappearance is very much a recent phenomenon. Thus, Mitxelena's writings still contain quite a few examples of this partitive. We will cite here only those that occur in a purely affirmative context: *alde ederrik aski* (MEIG II, 47) "enough sunny sides"; *horrelakorik aski* (MEIG II, 94) "plenty of such"; *punturik aski* (MEIG III, 147) "enough points", *liburu inprimaturik aski* (MEIG V, 24) "plenty of printed books"; *gauza jakingarririk aski* (MEIG VIII, 23) "plenty of interesting things"; *lanik aski* (MEIG VIII, 41) "plenty of work"; *Eleizalderekiko berririk aski* (MEIG VIII, 53) "enough news about Eleizalde"; *euskaldunik asko* (MEIG I, 57) "many Basques" *lore ederrik asko* (MEIG IX, 105) "many beautiful flowers"; *horrelakorik franko* (MEIG IV, 77) "a lot of such"; *liburu eta artikulurik franko* (MEIG VI, 62) "a lot of books and articles"; *gauza berririk gutxi* (MEIG I, 54) "few new things"; *horrelakorik gutxi* (MEIG VIII, 179) "few such things".

It is worth noting that in exclamatory sentences an indefinite quantifier may delete with the partitive remaining:

- (3). Bada txakurrik Madrilen! "There are an awful lot of dogs in Madrid!"

c). Existential Quantifiers.

Among the existential quantifiers, only *inor* "anybody" and *ezer* (or its northern synonym *deus*) "anything" allow the partitive on the noun phrase indicating their scope. That is, only the negative polarity quantifiers allow it, not the others such as *norbait* or *zerbait*. Alternatives to the partitive are again the elative and the inessive, which can be used with all existential quantifiers.

The partitive noun phrase, sometimes reduced to a single adjective, may either precede or follow the quantifier. The latter option is both more ancient and more frequent according to the *DGV* (VII, 634), which adds that both options may, and quite often do, co-exist in the same text.

To our earlier examples with *ezer*, (1)a,b, we can add the following:

- (4)a. Ezer gauza onik nigan bada, ... (Kardaberaz, *Eg.* II, 57)
"If there is anything good in me, ... (Lit. anything of good things)"
- (4)b. Baña Fariseoak etzuten, iñork ezer esankizunik,... (Lardizabal, *TB* 62)
"But no one of the Pharisees had anything in the way of recrimination,..."
- (4)c. Otsoko buru gogorrekoa zan, nagı ta motzegia ezer gauza onik ikasteko,... (Agirre, *G.* 61)
"Otsoko was thick-headed, too lazy and stupid to learn anything worthwhile,..."
- (4)d. Ogibiderik ez dauka ezer,... (Agirre, *G.* 368)
"He has nothing in the way of a livelihood."
- (4)e. Beste penarik ez daukat ezer: euskera atzeratua. (Basarri, in Uztapide, *Noizb.* 64)
"I have no other sorrow than the fact that Basque has retreated."
- (4)f. Ez dago ezer txarrik, ... (MEIG II, 114 = *MIH* 344)
"There is nothing bad (about it),..."
- (4)g. Ez zaie besteai ezer ajolarik. (Labayen, *Su Em.* 188)
"They are of no concern whatsoever to the others."

More examples in *DGV* VII, p. 635. Observe that the quantifier *exer* has been extraposed to the end of its clause in examples (4)d,e.

The *DGV* also carries many examples of the same construction with *deus*. Of these, I quote:

- (5)a. Deus gaizkirik gertha eztakidan. (Materre, 293)
"So that nothing in the way of evil happens to me."
- (5)b. Ez dute deus arta bereziren beharrik. (Hiriart-Urruty, *Zezenak*, 72)
"They don't need anything in the way of special care."
- (5)c. Ez da orai Oxaldez orhoitzapenik deus ageri Bidarriko hil-herrietan. (Oxobi, 196)
"There is now nothing in the way of a memorial for Oxalde in the cemeteries of Bidarri."
- (5)d. Deus kontsolamendurik lur huntan badea ? (Mañex Etchamendy, 210)
"Is there anything in the way of consolation in this world?"
- (5)e. Funtsarik deus ez dakit. (Larzabal, *Senpere-n*, 50)
"I don't know anything of substance."
- (5)f. Ez da deus mundu hunetan eskubide osoz on dei dezakegun gauzarik,... (MEIG VIII 60)
"There is no thing whatsoever in this world that we can call good with complete justification."

With *inor*, we have example (1)c as well as the following :

- (6)a. Ama langorik inor eztago lagunik, ... (E. Azcue, *P.B.* 320)
"There is no companion such as mother,..."
- (6)b. Beretzat ez egoan beste gizonik inor. (Agirre, *Kresala*, 190)
"For her there was no other man."
- (6)c. Toki orretan ez eukan inor ezagunik. (Agirre, *Kresala*, 184)
"In that place she had nobody in the way of acquaintances."
- (6)d. Ez dago inor, erri onetan, ezkontzeko nik aña aukera daukan gizasemerik. (Agirre, *G.* 33)
"There is no male in this village who has as much choice in marrying as I do."
- (6)e. Gizon onikan inor badago munduan, ... (Uztapide, *Sas.* 262)
"If there is anyone in the world in the way of a good person, ..."

Many more examples can be found in the *DGV* (IX, 410-411), including some occurring in Etxepare and Leizarraga.

In all the example sentences given in this section, the partitive expresses the meaning relation between a quantifier and its scope. There is no question that this represents a basic use of the partitive, perfectly in line with its origin as an elative case ending.

Now what is crucial for our purposes is the following observation. Given the presence of a partitive noun phrase indicating scope, the indefinite pronouns *exer*, *deus* and *inor* will normally be omitted —nowadays for most speakers even obligatorily— provided they occur in the absolute form, i.e. are not reinforced by a case ending.

This deletion will account quite nicely for the existence and behavior of what is known as the partitive determiner, at least historically, and perhaps synchronically as well. Additional arguments for this claim will be offered near the end of the next section analyzing this determiner.

3. The partitive determiner

So far as surface grammar is concerned, in almost all of its occurrences (i.e. all, except those discussed in the previous section), the partitive ending *-(r)ik* does not act like a case-marker. Given that it attaches only to absolutive noun phrases, considering it a case-marker would force us to give up the generalization that the absolutive case in Basque is invariably marked by zero. Fortunately, there is no need to do this, since the partitive morpheme as used here has all the characteristics of a determiner rather than a case-marker. Syntactically it is a determiner in that it operates like an article on a par with *-a*, *-ok*, *bat* and *batzu*, with which it is incompatible. Its semantic import, moreover, is clearly that of a determiner: it serves to indicate that the noun phrase is construed as indefinite, or more precisely, that its reference is non-specific.

Our task now is to relate this determiner to the partitive case studied in section 2. According to the view set forth at the end of that section, a partitive noun phrase is nothing but a scope indicator for an abstract (i.e. phonetically unrealized) quantifier embodying the meaning of *ezer* "anything" or *inor* "anybody".

This proposal immediately accounts for the non-specific meaning value of the partitive, since the meanings of *ezer* and *inor* are also non-specific, as opposed to the specific indefinites *zerbait* "something" and *norbait* "somebody".

What is also accounted for is the otherwise puzzling fact that the distribution of the partitive noun phrase by and large corresponds to the distribution of *ezer* and *inor*: they are all associated with negative polarity contexts. To show this, we will embark on a brief outline of the use of the partitive determiner, although this may be rather superfluous for many of my readers, since the facts are well-known to Basque grammarians.

To start with negative sentences, use of the partitive there is obligatory for indefinite absolutives. Thus, while the noun phrase *txokolatea* complete with its article *-a* can mean either "some chocolate" or "the chocolate" in the affirmative statement (7)a, the same noun phrase can only be interpreted as "the chocolate" in the corresponding negative (7)b, since for the indefinite meaning "any chocolate" the partitive form *txokolaterik* is required, as seen in (7)c :

- (7)a. Gaur txokolatea erosi dut.
 "Today I have bought some / the chocolate."
 (7)b. Gaur ez dut txokolatea erosi.
 "Today I have not bought the chocolate."
 (7)c. Gaur ez dut txokolaterik erosi.
 "Today I have not bought any chocolate."

Since the partitive determiner is restricted to the absolutive case, subject noun phrases allow it only when the verb is intransitive.² Some examples:

- (8)a. Ez da dudarik. (Labayen, *TOE* II, 262)
 "There is no doubt."
 (8)b. Etxe honetan arratoirik ere ez da gelditzen. (Amuriza, *Hil*, 165)
 "Not even rats are staying in this house."
 (8)c. Baina ez zen Albanian inspektorerik azaldu. (Atxaga, *Obab.* 44)
 "But no inspector appeared at Albania."
 (8)d. Orain ez da lapurrik etorriko. (Garate, *Esku*, 128)
 "No thief will come now."

With transitive verbs only the direct object allows the partitive, never the subject:

- (9)a. Ez dut adiskiderik. Ez da premiarik ere. (*MEIG* IX, 96)
 "I have no friends. There is no need either."
 (9)b. Ez dut saririk eskatzen. (Labayen, *TOE* II, 266)
 "I am not asking for any reward."
 (9)c. Nire aurrean ez zuen inoiz drogarik hartu. (Garate, *Iz.* 35)
 "She never took drugs in my presence."

As confirmed by the verb forms in all the examples given, a partitive noun phrase invariably counts as singular. This is true even for noun phrases otherwise restricted to the plural, such as *dvandva* compounds of the type *anai-arreba* "brother(s) and/or sister(s)":

- (10)a. Baditut anai-arrebak. "I have brothers and sisters."
 (10)b. Ez dut anai-arrebarik. "I have no brothers or sisters."

Even proper nouns are liable to be turned into indefinites by the partitive:

- (11)a. I baua, Moxolorik ezten agertuko. (Agirre, *G.* 314)
 "If you go away, no Moxolo will appear."
 (11)b. Ez da Maria Vöckel-ik sekula egon. (Atxaga, *Obab.* 106)
 "There never has been a Maria Vöckel."

² Dr. Beth C. Levin on page 356 of her impressive dissertation *On the Nature of Ergativity* makes the claim that the subject of the intransitive verb *ari* allows the partitive only if the embedded gerund is also intransitive. Accordingly, she states that (i) is grammatical, but (ii) is not:

- (i) Ez zen gizonik etortzen ari.
 "Not a man was coming." (Better: "No man was (in the process of) coming".)
 (ii) Ez zen gizonik liburua irakurtzen ari.
 "Not a man was reading the book". (Better: "No man was reading the book".)

It turns out, however, that this claim stems from an instance of imperfect communication between Dr. Levin and her Basque informant, Dr. P. Salaburu. A consultation with the latter, a native speaker of the Baztanese (sub)dialect, brought to light that he rejects both (i) and (ii). Apparently, in his dialect, subjects of *ari* cannot take the partitive, while subjects of other intransitive verbs can. Neither he nor I have an explanation for this constraint, which does not seem to be operative in other dialects making use of *ari*.

The following example, contributed by Dr. P. Goenaga, has exactly the same structure as example (ii). It is rejected by Dr. Salaburu, but sounds quite natural to my other informants:

- (iii) Ez zen emakumerik gurekin ardoa edaten ari. "No woman was drinking wine with us."

More in general, a partitive may sometimes be preferred over a more straightforward designation for rhetorical purposes:

- (12)a. Baña gaur nere arrebarik eztezu ikusiko. (Agirre, *G.* 308)
 “But today you won’t see any sister of mine. (Only one sister, Malen, was wanted)”
- (12)b. Apika nire izenik ez dakizue? (Atxaga, *Obab.* 400)
 Maybe you don’t know my name?

The partitive can be freely used in yes-no questions, without any expectation of the answer being negative:

- (13)a. Bai al-dek izenik? (Etxaniz, *LBB*, 264) “Do you have a name?”
 (13)b. Ba al da euskal musikarik? (*MEIG* I, 55) “Is there Basque music?”
 (13)c. Ostu al dezu oillorik? (Urruzuno, *E.Z.* 61) “Have you stolen any hens?”
 (13)d. Zure neurriko soinekorik aurkitu al duzu? (*EGLU* I, 131)
 “Have you found any dresses in your size?”

As long as they are mere requests for information, wh-questions do not admit the partitive. Those wh-questions, however, that are in fact meant as denials, or at least indicate disbelief or consternation on the part of the speaker, may very well contain the partitive. A certain rhetorical style, such as the one pervading Axular’s classical work *Gero*, is particularly conducive to this type of questions:

- (14)a. Non da guiristino goiz-tiarric? (Ax. 172)
 “Where are there any prompt christians?”
- (14)b. Norc edirenendu ene baithan faltaric? (Ax. 448)
 “Who will find any faults in me?”
- (14)c. Norc ičanendu sorbaldaric sostengatceco? indarric iasaiteco? Eta pairuric, eta pacientiaric sofritceco? (Ax. 599)
 “Who will have a shoulder to support him, strength to bear it, and stamina and patience to endure it?”

Modern literature too can provide examples:

- (15)a. Nun arkituko du onelako etxerik? (Labayen, *TOE* III, 203)
 “Where will he find a home like this?”
- (15)b. Non aurkitu holako emakumerik, ordea? (Garate, *NY* 115)
 “Where to find any such woman, however?”

Another negative polarity context is the protasis of a conditional sentence. There too we find the partitive occurring freely:

- (16)a. ...hilko al zenuke gaur, aukerarik bazenu? (Amuriza, *Emea*, 40)
 “Would you kill him today, if you had any opportunity?”
- (16)b. Ijitorik ikusten badezu, esaiezu eztaietara etortzeko. (*P.A.s* 150)
 “If you see (any) gypsies, tell them to come to the wedding.”

Furthermore, the partitive readily occurs on indefinite noun phrases introduced by the determiner *beste* “other”, also in affirmative contexts:

- (17)a. Badu beste kezkarik. (Garate, *NY* 44)
 "He has other worries."
 (17)b. ... baiñan orain ba det beste buruausterik... (Labayen, *TOE* II, 35)
 "... but now I have other troubles..."
 (17)c. Beste aberastasunik zuen harek gogoan! (Arradoy, *S. Frantses*, 151)
 "He had other riches in mind."
 (17)d. Eta besterik esatea da herejia. (J.B. Agirre, *Erac*. I, 550)
 "Saying anything else is heresy."
 (17)e. Hori besterik da. (N. Etxaniz, *LBB* 159, 188)
 "That's something else."
 (17)f. Beste gizonik bihurtu zen. (Orixe, *S. Cruz*, 127)
 "He became another man."

Although *beste* undoubtedly contains a negation in its semantic representation, it may not be immediately obvious that it provides a negative polarity context, since in a purely affirmative clause one normally encounters *beste norbait* "somebody else", *beste zerbait* "something else", and not *beste inor*, *beste ezer*. Yet, this is no proof that we are dealing with a positive polarity context; it merely reflects the fact that a noun phrase introduced by *beste* in an affirmative clause is usually specific in reference, and therefore requires *norbait* or *zerbait* instead of *inor* or *ezer*. The crucial test here lies in determining whether the non-specific meaning embodied in *inor* or *ezer* ever occurs in an affirmative context following *beste*.

As a matter of fact, the sequences *beste ezer*, *beste inor*, while rather rare, do sometimes appear in affirmative clauses. In the relevant sections of the *DGV* (V,92; IX, 411), I found three examples:

- (18)a. Bertze iñor bezain gu ere tresor zale baikare. (Goyhetxe, *Fableac*, 44)
 "As much as anybody else, we too are fond of treasures."
 (18)b. Norbere burua edo beste iñor iltea. (*Krist. Ikasb.* (Zornotza, 1921), p. 68)
 "Killing oneself or somebody else."
 (18)c. ... ba-nebala mendijan beste iñor itzi. (Otxolua, *Bert*. 98)
 "... that I left somebody else in the mountains."

Actually, the relative rareness of such examples may be due in large measure to the general Basque practice of indefinite-deletion after *beste*, a process which has given rise to the so-called indefinite *beste*, as in: *Bestek goraiþa zaitzala* (*Prov.* 27.2) "Let someone else praise you".

The paucity of instances of *beste inor* or *beste ezer* might have been somewhat embarrassing had not the southern dialects come to our rescue. There, *inor*, a negative polarity item par excellence, freely occurs in positive contexts, but carrying a new meaning, to wit, "somebody else":

- (19)a. Iñok beti errua. (*Azkue, Morf.* I, 191)
 "Somebody else is always to blame."
 (19)b. Vici zara iñoren gachaz, iñori min emonaz, iñori odola ateriaz. (*Mogel, P.Ab.* 51)
 "You make a living by somebody else's ailment, by causing somebody else pain, by letting somebody else's blood."

- (19)c. Iñoren lepotic ondo edaten dabeela. (Mogel, *P. Ab.* 53)
 “While they drink lavishly at somebody else’s expense.”
- (19)d. Gosea ill nai dute askok iñoren bizkarretik. (B. Mogel, *Ipui onak*, 118)
 “Many people want to satisfy their hunger at somebody else’s cost.”
- (19)e. Nik iñorekin egin nuena, Jainkoak nerekin egin du. (Lardizabal, *TZ I*, 194)
 “What I did to somebody else, God has done to me.”
- (19)f. Iñoren hizkuntza, gainera, geurea baino begi hotzagoz ikus dezakegu. (*MEIG VII*, 162)
 “Moreover, we can see somebody else’s language with a cooler eye than our own.”

I take these data to be incontrovertible evidence for the underlying presence of *beste inor*, thus establishing that *beste* indeed creates a negative polarity context, which then explains the occurrence of the partitive in the examples under (17). (As to why its English counterpart *other* fails to license the partitive, see *P.As* p. 156).

While in modern usage, as far as I can tell, *ezer* does not show the same behavior as *inor* in this respect, it did so in an older stage of the language, as we may learn from the following early eighteenth century quotation:

- (20). Ezer ekarri bear danean, kriadu izango naiz. (Barrutia, *Acto*, v. 471)
 “When something else has to be brought, I will act as a servant.”³

Another negative polarity context is the one produced by a word meaning “only”, such as *bakarrik* or *soilik*:

- (21)a. Horrelako astakeriarik Nixonek bakarrik egingo zukeen. (*P. As*, 149)
 “Only Nixon would have made such a blunder.”
- (21)b. Seth-en ondorengo gucien artean Noe bacarric arquituzan, Jaincoa urricall cequiqueonic. (Ubillos, 13)
 “Among all of Seth’s descendants only Noe was found whom God could have mercy on.”
 (The point of this example being the partitive on the relative clause, which is licensed by the adverb *bakarrik*.)

Sentential complements of so-called “affective” predicates⁴ constitute another well-known negative polarity context. Instances of such predicates are verbs such as *debekatu* “to prohibit”; *eragotzi* “to prevent”, “to forbid”; *ukatu* “to refuse”, “to deny”; *beldur (izan)* “to be afraid”; adjectives such as *harrigarri* “astonishing”; *sinesgaitz*

³ In view of the immediately preceding mention of other things to be brought by the protagonist (“I will bring a badger’s paw from the mountains” (v. 464), “Every morning I will bring milk to your mother” (v. 467-468)), I find a translation using “something else” more fitting than the one provided by Dr. J. A. Lakarra, who translated “Cuando haya algo que traer” (When there is something to be brought), appropriate only if *zerbait* had occurred instead of *ezer*.

⁴ The term “affective” was introduced for this type of predicate by Edward Klima in his seminal paper “Negation in English”, published in Fodor, J. A. and Katz, J. J., *The Structure of Language*, 1964, pp. 246-323. A more appropriate designation may be “inherently negative”, a term used by Dr. I. Laka on page 192 of her contribution “Negative complementizers: evidence from English, Basque and Spanish” to J. A. Lakarra & J. Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Syntactic Theory and Basque Syntax*.

'unbelievable', *zail* "difficult"; *zoro* "foolish"; as well as all forms with the suffix *-egi* denoting excess: *onegi* "too good"; *merkeegi* "to cheap", etc.

Only a few examples will be given here; more can be found in *P. As*, p. 151.

- (22)a. ... Martini errurik ezarriko zioten bildurrez. (Agirre, *G.* 232)
 "... out of fear that they would put any blame on Martin."
 (22)b. ... eta eragotzi ziola mota hortako irudirik eskolarat ekartzea. (Mirande, *Id.* 297)
 "... and that he forbade him to bring any pictures of that type to school."
 (22)c. Frantziako jaurlaritzak beti ukatu du breizeldunen edozein zenbakunderik egitea. (Mirande, *Id.* 283)
 "The French government has always refused to take any census of Breton speakers."

For some speakers, *beharbada* "perhaps" and its various synonyms also introduce a negative polarity context:

- (23)a. Beharbada, entzungo dut albiste onik.
 "Perhaps I will hear good news."
 (23)b. Agian ikusiko dut inor ezagunik.
 "Perhaps I will see somebody I know."
 (23)c. Beharbada, izango dut semerik haren bitartez. (*Gen.* 16.2)⁵
 "Maybe I will have sons through her."

What we have been seeking to demonstrate is that the partitive determiner occurs in exactly those contexts where the indefinites *ezer* and *inor* are apt to appear, i.e. in all negative polarity contexts. The survey we have just completed, it seems to me, provides overwhelming evidence in support of this claim.

Only one exception has come to light. The indefinites *ezer* and *inor* do not appear in positive exclamatory sentences, whereas the partitive does, as we have seen in example (3). But the partitive in such examples carries a special meaning, which can be captured by assuming that in an exclamatory context a quantity expression like *franko* "plenty" or *asko* "many" has been deleted, not an existential quantifier like in the negative polarity cases.

What I have described so far by no means exhausts the evidence in favor of my proposal regarding the origin of the partitive determiner. Some telling facts remain to be marshalled. What no grammarian ever seems to have noticed is that some putatively eligible noun phrases unexpectedly reject the partitive even in negative or interrogative contexts.

First, noun phrases containing interrogative pronouns can very well occur in purely rhetorical questions; yet such noun phrases never take the partitive determiner:

- (24)a. Zer sari (*saririk) jaso behar du horrek, ba?
 "What reward is he to get, then?"
 (24)b. Zein ogen (*ogenik) du horrek, ba?
 "What guilt does he have, then?"

⁵ This biblical quotation has been taken from *Elizzen Arteko Biblia* (1994). Duvoisin's version of the same text also shows a partitive, licensed by *bea*: *Sar zaitte ene neskeatoaren gana, bea hartarik bederen izan dezakedan semerik.* "Go in unto my handmaid, let's see if I can have sons at least from her."

Furthermore, the indefinites *inor* and *ezer*, while fulfilling all the requirements, never allow the partitive determiner either. In short, just those noun phrases not modifiable by *ezer* or *inor* seem to block the partitive. True, a synonym of *ezer*, the eastern dialect noun *deus*, does allow the partitive, but then, in contrast to the impossible sequence **ezerik ezer*, the combination *deusik deus* is also attested:

- (25). Eta deusik deusek ez ditu geroanean bereziko. (Mirande, *Idazlan bant.*, 142)
 “And absolutely nothing (lit. nothing of nothing) will separate them afterwards.”

Likewise, some speakers allow the diminutive forms *ezertxo* and *inortxo* to occur in the partitive. The *DGV* (VII, 648) shows an example:

- (26). Eta beste ezertxorik ez daki. (Alzaga, *Bern.* 56)
 “And he knows (absolutely) nothing else.”

Crucially, the sequence *ezertxorik ezer* also seems acceptable to many speakers who accept (26):

- (27). Ezertxorik ezerk ez ditu bereziko.
 “Absolutely nothing will separate them.”

Obviously, such facts strongly corroborate my hypothesis that the partitive determiner has evolved out of the partitive case by deletion of the indefinite absolutes *ezer* and *inor*, and may even argue for a synchronic derivation along that line.

4. Conclusion

While early generative grammar postulated a feature-changing transformational rule of partitive assignment, I have been arguing in these pages that the partitive determiner is to be derived from the partitive case marker by means of a deletion rule: deletion of an existential quantifier *ezer* or *inor* in polarity negative contexts, and deletion of a quantity expression such as *franko* or *asko* in the remaining contexts. It transpires from our discussion that rejecting this approach entails the following drawbacks:

1. The relation between the partitive case marker and the partitive determiner would be one of accidental homonymy.
2. The largely parallel distribution between the partitive and the indefinites *ezer* and *inor* would lack an explanation.
3. Neither would an explanation emerge as to why interrogative noun phrases are incompatible with the partitive.
4. The same must be observed with respect to the indefinites *ezer* and *inor*, which, despite fulfilling all the conditions on the use of the partitive, cannot in fact take it.

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SOBRE UN VERSO DE ETXEPARE*

Aunque el homenajeado, que en gloria esté, era una personalidad dotada de numerosos y muy diversos talentos, yo le conocía ante todo como filólogo agudísimo que manejaba los textos clásicos, tanto los greco-latinos como los eusquéricos, con suma facilidad y admirable erudición. Conviene, pues, que honre su memoria con un ensayo de índole filológica, sin presumir en modo alguno de llegar a la altura del maestro fallecido.

En esta coyuntura no he podido ni querido resistir al poderoso aliciente que nos ofrece la inimitable obra de Bernard Etxepare,¹ que en el año 1545 salió a la luz con el título significativo de *Linguae vasconum primitiae*.

Bien es verdad que, como consecuencia de las pesquisas tan cimentadas e iluminadoras de los profesores René Lafon y Patxi Altuna, queda ya muy poco que elucidar en cuanto a la interpretación del texto, de tal manera que el estudioso se puede sentir expuesto a la tentación de rechazar por ociosa cualquier iniciativa nueva en un campo labrado ya con tanto lucimiento. Con todo, hay una línea del texto cuya traducción por parte de aquellos investigadores jamás me ha satisfecho, y sobre ella pienso extenderme ahora. Se trata de la primera línea de la octava poesía, la que se llama *Potaren galdacia*, es decir, la petición de beso. Reza así la línea: *Andria ieyncoac drugaçula oray verdiguirade*.

En esta línea, al menos para el lector de hoy, surgen dos escollos, de esos que los filólogos de oficio suelen calificar de «cruces». Me refiero, naturalmente, a *drugaçu* y a *verdi*.

La primera de estas cruces fue resuelta muy atinadamente por el profesor Lafon, identificando *drugaçu* como una forma conjugada del verbo *urgatzi*, verbo que generalmente significa «ayudar», pero en el suletino, dialecto colindante con el bajonavarro oriental de Etxepare, también «proteger», como nos informa el *DRA*, aduciendo el ejemplo *Artzain batek bere ardiak urgaitzen dütii* «Un pastor protege a sus ovejas», tomado de un texto suletino del año 1706: *Catechima Oloroeco Diocezaren cerbutchbuco ...* (*DRA*, 3690).²

* I. Turrez, A. Arejita, C. Isasi (eds.), *Studia philologica in honorem Alfonso Irigoien*, Deusto (Bilbao), 311-319.

¹ Aunque la portada de su libro le denomina en latín Bernardus Dechepare, seguiré la costumbre actual de designarle con la forma vasca de su apellido, Etxepare.

² Hacia finales del siglo diecinueve, el estudioso alemán Victor Stempf tomaba *drugaçu* por una variante fonética de *draukazu*, en lo que veía él una forma conjugada del verbo *eroan*, «verbo auxiliar que

De ahí la traducción dada por Lafon: “*Dieu vous garde, Madame!*”, y, siguiéndole, la ofrecida por Altuna: “¡Dios os ampare, señora!”

Conviene aclarar, sin embargo, que no hay ningún motivo para pensar que la dama se encontrara en peligro; se trata más bien de un saludo puramente convencional, que nos recuerda el conocido *Dios te salve* de tantas canciones de ronda laburdinas y guipuzcoanas. Que esto sea el caso resulta claramente de una cita de Voltaire datada de 1642: «En hora buena estáis sedero. Dieu vous gard Monsieur. *Iaincoa trugatçula Iauna.*» (for: *Iaincoac drugatçula*). Y también: «Mentengo (sic) Dios a Su M. Dieu vous gard Monsieur. *Iaincoa trogatçula Iauna.*» (Por: *Iaincoac drugatçula*) Ambas citas son originarias del libro intitulado *L'interprète ou traduction du françois, espagnol et basque*, pp. 243 y 278.³

Pasamos ahora al segundo hemistiquio, y con él al verdadero tema de esta contribución, es decir, el problema que supone *verdi*. Nos enfrentamos aquí con una crux filológica bastante notoria, calificada de «expresión oscura» hasta por el profesor Altuna, cuyos esmerados estudios han arrojado tanta luz sobre las particularidades de la lengua de Etxepare.

Por supuesto, es inaceptable la propuesta del erudito alemán Victor Stempf, según la cual *verdi* significaría «verde» en el sentido de «joven». Es elemental que *verdi* no puede resultar de *verde* sino cuando sigue una vocal: *verdia*, *verdiok*, etc.

El eminente euscarólogo francés ya mencionado, el profesor Lafon, opinaba que *verdi* representa una variante de *verdin*, en ortografía moderna *berdin*, de significación «igual», y tradujo por lo tanto: *Maintenant nous sommes égaux* «Ahora somos iguales», traducción adoptada por el profesor Altuna, y con cierta vacilación también por Lino Akesolo.

A primera vista, esa interpretación no carece de credibilidad y hasta puede parecer evidente. En cuanto a la forma, el hapax *verdi* pudiera muy bien deberse a un descuido del tipógrafo, que se hubiera olvidado de la tilde que era lo que distinguía *in* de *i* en muchos manuscritos y aun textos impresos de aquella época. En cuanto al sentido, se observa que la noción de igualdad entre los dos protagonistas se reanuda y elabora en el verso que sigue: *Ny erreque balinbanynz errequina cinate*. «Si yo fuera rey, vos seríais reina».

No obstante, esta interpretación presenta una grave objeción, que irremediablemente da al traste con esa hipótesis atractiva por su sencillez. Y es que en el siglo dieciséis la forma precisa *berdin* aún no existe, faltando por completo en todo texto anterior a 1617.

Para valorar los datos disponibles, hay que fijarse en que de las dos variantes *berdin* y *bardin*, esta última es indudablemente la más antigua. Aun en la ausencia de

van Eys traduce “*emmener*” (Stempf, 131, 151). Tampoco Vinson consiguió mejor resultado cuando tradujo *drugacu* por «que vous puissiez l'avoir à lui», véase la página 114 de su artículo «Formes verbales simples extraites de vieux ouvrages basques», que se publicó en *RIEV* VI, (1912).

De hecho, el velo no se levantó hasta el año 1952, año en que R. Lafon publicó un trabajo modestamente intitulado «Notes pour une édition critique et une traduction française des *Linguae vasconum primitiae* de Bernard Dechepare» (*BAP* VIII (1952), 139-180). Un trabajo suyo del año anterior «La langue de Bernard Dechepare» (*BAP* VII (1951), 309-338) todavía no hace mención de *urgatzi*, a pesar de ofrecer una lista de los verbos «fuertes» empleados por Etxepare.

³ El lingüista austríaco Hugo Schuchardt fue el primero en llamar la atención sobre estas citas con referencia al texto de Etxepare (*Einleitung* LXXIV). Remitiendo a éste, Lafon las aduce en su *Système du verbe basque au XVII^e siècle* (1943); véase la sección encabezada «Formes n'appartenant à aucune racine connue» (*Système* I, 366).

todo testimonio histórico, su prioridad resultaría con claridad de la distribución geográfica lateral de *bardín*, variante que abarca tanto el suletino como el vizcaíno, e incluso parte del altonavarro meridional.⁴

Pero también contamos con el testimonio de los textos para apoyar esta conclusión. Como no puede menos de reconocer el profesor Altuna, partidario, al parecer, de la hipótesis en cuestión, el propio Etxepare no utiliza ni una vez la forma *berdin*, aunque sí, y hasta cuatro veces, la forma *bardín*.

Sí ahora, adelantándonos en el siglo dieciséis, fijamos la atención en la voluminosa obra de Leizarraga publicada en el año 1571, cabe recordar el inventario completo del léxico de éste, publicado por Gabriel Aresti en *FLV*, V-13 (1973), 61-128. Pues bien, Aresti no halló ningún ejemplo de *berdin*, ni de *berdinzkei* o *berdindu*, sino sólo de *bardin*, *bardinzkei* y *bardindu*.

Por otra parte, los ejemplos de *bardín* en Leizarraga son demasiado numerosos para que la ausencia de *berdin* pueda considerarse una mera casualidad. A las cinco citas que ofrece el *DGV* (*Ins.* G 6v; *Decl.* ã 7r; *Adv.* ** 5v; *ABC* B 5r; *Rom.* 14.5), es fácil añadir otras cinco: *Ins.* D 5r; *Mt.* 20.12; *Jn.* 5.18; *Philip.* 2.6; *Apoc.* 21.16 Hay también, según los datos del *DGV*, por lo menos tres ejemplos del adverbio *bardinzkei*, y uno del participio *bardinzzen*, que supone un verbo *bardindu*.

Completando el examen de los textos principales de aquel siglo, hago notar que tanto en los refranes de Garibay⁵ como en los *Refranes y Sentencias de 1596*⁶ falta todo rastro de *berdin*, aunque en ambos textos sí hay un ejemplo de *bardín*.

Por lo visto, hemos de esperar hasta el año 1617 para dar con la forma *berdin*, la cual por fin se encuentra en la *Doctrina christiana* compuesta por el padre franciscano Esteve Materre. Según noticias procedentes del jesuita Larramendi, Materre no era vascongado, y como observa Vinson,⁷ su aprendizaje de la lengua no podía haber empezado antes del año 1606.

Por tanto, podemos dar por sentado que Etxepare, a la par de sus coetáneos, ignoraba la forma *berdin*, y, en consecuencia, queda insaciada nuestra curiosidad respecto al significado de *verdi* en la poesía que comentamos.

Pues bien, ¿no habrá, por ventura, método alguno que permita continuar nuestra indagación con esperanzas de algún resultado más positivo? Tal vez sí, y consiste en que nos olvidemos por un rato de toda filología, para atender más bien a la realidad concreta implicada en el argumento de la poesía.

A tal fin, evoquemos a los dos protagonistas, al mozo y a la moza, y hagamos lo posible para que el cuadro de nuestra visión mental abarque todos los pormenores constituyentes de la situación. En particular, imaginemos al galán empeñándose en que su amada le otorgue un beso, el cual, como reconoce muy avisadamente la moza, bien puede servir de preludio a intimidades de mayor alcance: *hire potac ... berce gauça nabidic* (v. 13), «tu beso pretende otra cosa».

⁴ Este juicio es compartido por K. Mitxelena, como consta en la página 61 de *FHV*.

⁵ Véase: J. R. Zubiaur & J. A. Arzamendi, 1976, «El léxico vasco de los refranes de Garibay», *ASJU* X, 47-144.

⁶ Véase: M. J. Soto Michelena, 1978, «El lexicón de "Refranes y Sentencias de 1596"», *ASJU* XII, págs. 14-86. También: J. A. Lakarra Andrinua, 1996, *Refranes y Sentencias (1596)*, *Ikerketak eta edizioa*.

⁷ Véase: J. Vinson, 1891, *Bibliographie de la langue basque*, pág. 53.

A poco que nos adentremos así en el escenario real, tal y como lo vive la pareja, saltará a la vista que se da un elemento imprescindible inherente a la situación, pero pasado por alto por los comentaristas y traductores del texto. No es otro que el requisito de la privacidad. Claro está, de no encontrarse a solas la pareja, todo el episodio resultaría inconcebible; pero si, de hecho, lo están, sería altamente improbable que el galán tentador dejara de valerse de tal condición para persuadir a la moza de ceder a su capricho. Más bien, con toda naturalidad habrá dicho algo así: «Mira niña, estamos solos, no lo va a saber nadie que viva.»

Suponiendo que hemos acertado a dar con la substancia de lo enunciado por el héroe etxepareano, averigüemos ahora de qué manera ha podido decirlo, en particular, de qué palabra vasca pudo servirse para dar expresión a esa noción de soledad.

No pudo valerse de ningún derivado de la raíz *bakar*, y esto por dos razones. Primero, por no estar en uso en esa región por aquella época. Como expone el DGV: «no se encuentra en la tradición suletina, y es relativamente escaso en los textos septentrionales de los siglos XVI-XVII (no aparece, p. ej. en Dechepare ni en Leizarraga).» Segundo, de acuerdo con su etimología (*bat* + *gar*), *bakar* en los textos de cierta antigüedad se refiere siempre a la unicidad —así *bakarrik* equivale a «únicamente»— o, a lo sumo, a la soledad absoluta. Tratándose de dos personas juntas, el predicado *bakar* no era aplicable en absoluto.

El adjetivo *soil* se descalifica por razones similares. Hasta el siglo dieciocho sólo significa «raso», «calvo», o sea, citando al padre Villasante en su libro *Axular-en hiztegia*, «pelado», «desnudo». De todos modos, ni *soil* ni sus derivados figuran en la obra de Etxepare.

En realidad, el único adjetivo que el galán pudiera haber utilizado es *ber*, palabra que con el significado «solo» aún se emplea en el suletino moderno. Este sentido del adjetivo *ber* está atestiguado en la obra misma de Etxepare, pero resulta un tanto difícil comprobarlo a causa de la ambigüedad de la forma determinada *bera* que significa tanto «solo» como «mismo». No obstante, cierta frase del texto de Etxepare, en apariencia problemática y comentada como tal por el profesor Altuna, podrá servir de prueba de lo afirmado.

Me refiero a los versos 112 y 113 del poema *Amorosen gaztiguya* «Desengaño de amantes», que rezan: *O anderia ecin date ehor çure vardinic / Gaynecoric çuc ezçuçu ieynco veraz berçeric*. El profesor Altuna, que traduce: «¡Oh Señora! Ninguno puede ser semejante a ti, y menos aún superior, sino Dios mismo», manifiesta su perplejidad en una nota al pie de la página 106 de su *Edizio kritikoa*, la cual traduzco aquí en su totalidad: «113. *ieynco veraz*: he aquí lo que dice Lafon: «Nulle part chez Dechepare *ber* ne sert à exprimer l'identité (lat. *idem*). Dans aucun passage de son oeuvre cette notion n'est exprimée. ("La langue de Bernard Dechepare", p. 322). Es decir que en la obra entera no hay nada como el *lapur bera* (*idem fur*) que solemos decir frente a *lapurra bera*. Eso es verdad, pero para nosotros *Jainko bera* es "idem Deus" y *Jainkoa bera* "Deus ipse". Claro está que aquí el poeta quiere decir "alium quam ipse Deus", pero nosotros hoy día diríamos eso *Jainkoaz beraz besterik*. Véase XII, 27».⁸

⁸ El mismo reparo se halla formulado también en una publicación anterior de Altuna, a saber, *Etxeparearen hiztegia* (1979), pág. 36.

Ahora bien, de la referencia que termina la cita, que corresponde al verso *guzaz veraz ezpanadi oray vertan consola* «si ahora mismo no llego a ser consolado por ti mismo», cabe sacar en claro que no sólo nosotros, sino también el propio Etxepare, diría *Jainkoaz beraz*, repitiendo la desinencia del caso instrumental, con tal de querer expresar el significado «Deus ipse». ¿Acaso habrá incurrido en un lapsus gramatical nuestro venerado poeta? ¿Cómo vamos a creer tal cosa, si es notorio que era Etxepare un autor increíblemente correcto, «ein erstaunlich korrekter Schriftsteller», como ya en 1934 destacó el lingüista y euscarólogo alemán Ernst Lewy?⁹

Después de lo que llevamos dicho, el lector atento ya se habrá percatado de la solución del dilema. La frase etxepareana *ieynco veraz berkeric* no debe interpretarse ni por «otro que el mismo Dios», ni por «otro que Dios mismo», sino por «otro que el solo Dios». No es que le falte razón al profesor Altuna al señalar que el poeta quiso decir «*alios quam ipse Deus*»; mas lo que cuenta en el plano de la expresión es que ello, en el contexto negativo presente, equivale a «*Deus solus*». Así, es el adjetivo *ber* en su acepción «solo» que figura en el sintagma *ieynco veraz*, sintagma perfectamente regular compuesto de nombre más adjetivo más artículo más desinencia del caso instrumental, gobernado por *berkeric*.

Hay, en el mismo poema, otro caso de *bera* susceptible de tal interpretación, y que, de hecho, ha sido interpretado así por Lafon. Se trata de los versos 43 y 44: *Amá virgen gloriosa hanbat vada conplitu / Ororençat bera bayta leyalde la abastu*. Tradujo así Lafon: «La glorieuse Vierge-mère est si accomplie / Qu'à tous, loyalement, elle seule suffit», interpretación que estimo hartó probable, aunque, quizás, no enteramente forzosa.

Ejemplos aún más claros de *ber* significando «solo» pueden sacarse en abundancia de la traducción del Nuevo Testamento publicada por Leizarraga en 1571, un cuarto de siglo después del libro de Etxepare. De las dos docenas de ejemplos¹⁰ que una somera búsqueda a través de la obra ha revelado, me limitaré a citar sólo cuatro: *Ezta guizon a ogui beretic vicico* (Mt. 4.4), «No de pan solo vivirá el hombre»; *eta hura bera cerbitzaturen duc* (Mt. 4.10), «y a él solo servirás»; *eriden cedim Iesus bera* (Lc. 9.36), «se halló Jesús solo»; *eta Iesus bera gueldi cedin* (Jn. 8.9), «y quedó solo Jesús».

Por consiguiente, ya no cabe duda de que el término para «solo» en aquel entonces era *ber*, al menos en el habla del norte que nos interesa.

Armados con este conocimiento, volvamos ya la mirada al hemistiquio que nos ocupa. Fijándonos en la palabra oscura *verdi*, es evidente que se puede segmentar en dos partes: *ver* y *di*.

Ahora bien, una breve inspección de la bella edición facsimilar que la Real Academia de la Lengua Vasca ha puesto tan amablemente a mi disposición muestra con suma claridad que la separación de las palabras en el original impreso es algo muy errático; lo que en nada extraña, tratándose de una obra que se caracteriza a sí misma como *Linguae vasconum primitiae*. En el texto, nos encontramos así con las «palabras» *munduyanden*, *iencoarideyen*, *adiorduyan*, *harivereordia*, *veçainbalia* y otros por el estilo.

⁹ Véase: Ernst Lewy, 1934, «Zu Dechepare», *RIEV* XXV, 225-239, en la página 235.

¹⁰ He aquí la lista: *Mt.* 4.4; *Mt.* 4.10; *Mt.* 14.23; *Mt.* 17.8; *Mt.* 18.15; *Mt.* 24.36; *Mc.* 2.7; *Mc.* 6.47; *Mc.* 9.2; *Lc.* 4.4; *Lc.* 4.8; *Lc.* 5.21; *Lc.* 9.36; *Jn.* 5.44; *Jn.* 6.15; *Jn.* 6.22; *Jn.* 8.9; *Act.* 11.19; *1 Cor.* 14.36; *1 Tim.* 1.17; *1 Tim.* 6.16; *2 Tim.* 4.11; *Hebr.* 9.7; *Ins.* G 1r.

Por lo tanto, la forma *verdi* podría muy bien representar dos palabras seguidas: *ver* y *di*. La primera palabra ya la conocemos: se trataría de *ber* «solo», puesto que la diferencia gráfica entre *v* y *b* no correspondía a ningún hecho de pronunciación. Pero, ¿qué decir de la parte final? ¿Qué palabra será *di*? La coincidencia formal con la forma conjugada de la tercera persona del presente del verbo *jin* «dar» no nos sirve de nada, ya que una forma conjugada no puede introducir a otra (aquí *girade*), y además no cabría en cuanto al sentido. Desgraciadamente, tampoco se ofrece ningún otro candidato que confiera substancia al *di* problemático.

En semejante caso, antes de admitir que una vez hubiera una palabra *di* conocida aún de Etxepare, la cual desapareciera luego sin dejar rastro, prefiero creer más bien que se trata de una errata que urge enmendar.

Ahora bien, el verbo del hemistiquio, *guirade* «somos», está en plural y su sujeto gramatical no es otro que nuestros protagonistas, que son dos. Dado esto, ¿qué más natural que suponer que el *di* tan problemático sea una mera falta de imprenta para *bi* «dos»?

Antes de enjuiciar esta propuesta, hay que aducir un dato más que es muy pertinente, ya que, por decirlo así, completa el rompecabezas. La palabra *ber* no sólo es adjetivo, sino también adverbio de significado «solamente», como se puede comprobar en unos ejemplos tomados de Leizarraga: *Ala Induén ber da Iaincoa?* (Rom. 3.28), «¿Es acaso Dios de los Judíos solamente?»; *Eta cergatic hic Iaincoa, gure Aita deitzen duc, eta ez eure ber, particularqui?* (Ins. E 4v), «Y ¿porqué llamas a Dios nuestro padre, y no el tuyo solamente, en particular?»; *Baldin haren abillamenduac hunqui baditzat ber, sendaturren naiz* (Mc. 5.28), «Si tocare sus vestidos solamente, sanaré.»

De modo que, una vez admitida la enmienda de *di* en *bi*, obtenemos, usando la ortografía actual: *orai ber bi girade* «ahora solamente dos somos», es decir, «ahora no hay (aquí) más que nos dos». Como dejamos dicho, parecido enunciado, manejado como argumento persuasivo, era exactamente lo que cabía esperar en el cuadro de la situación así definida.

Quizás se me objetará que la forma del numeral substantivado no sonaba *bi* sino *biga* en el dialecto de Etxepare, como lo demuestra la línea: *Ene dichac hala eguindu ny gathibu bigaren* (IV-4), «Así mi suerte me ha hecho ser cautivo de dos».

La objeción, con ser plenamente justificada, no es, sin embargo, contundente. Según me ha comunicado el académico B. Oihartzabal, mientras él diría *biga jin dira* «han venido dos» y no **bi jin dira*, diría, en cambio, *bi gira* «somos dos» tan fácilmente como *biga gira*. Asimismo, el doctor Oihartzabal añadió que la frase *bai, bi dira*, «sí, son dos, se encuentra en la obra de Piarres Larzabal, que también usa de *biga* (*Idazlanak* IV, 271). Hay otros ejemplos de *bi* por *biga* en el mismo escritor: *Espos-lagun bat ez dine aski, bi bederen behar ditzizten* (Ibíd. 120), «Con una esposa no les basta, necesitan por lo menos dos»; *berehala joan atzue kondenatu hauek: bi presondegirat eta bi gillotinarat* (Ibíd. 306) «Llévate estos condenados enseguida: dos a la cárcel y dos a la guillotina». También me señaló el señor Oihartzabal un ejemplo de Jean Etxepare con fecha de 1903: *Haur bat besoetan, bertze bi ondotik*. (*Buruakak*, 72), «Un niño en los brazos, otros dos al lado».

Así, no falta motivo para pensar que la distribución complementaria de los alomorfos *bi* y *biga* no es tan rígida en el habla real como parece serlo en gran parte de los textos septentrionales. Por tanto, no extraña en absoluto que el poeta, guiado

por consideraciones métricas a la vez que eufónicas, se sintiera plenamente autorizado a valerse de la forma corta del numeral en vez de la larga más usual en el contexto de su frase.

Dados los argumentos aducidos, me atrevo a concluir sugiriendo que la enmienda textual que acabo de proponer es muy digna de ser tomada en consideración.

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