

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>eliz 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 bekaturik 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 barrenean:</i>	inside the small room
<i>eliz barrenean:</i>	inside the church, within the church
<i>zortzi egun barrenean:</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); *Bizkaitik 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); *txabolatgetitik 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 portaleaz 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 *hiriaz landa(n)*²¹ or *hiriaz 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; *Jeynoaz 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 bebarraz landan* “except for mortal sin alone” (*Dh*, 415); *aurrez ta’ martzotzuez landa* “beside women and children” (*Mt.* 15, 38; *Echn*); *ophezen lurraz landan* “except for the land of the priests” (*Gen.* 47, 22; *Dv*); *zutaz landan* “except you” (*Gen.* 39, 9; *Dv*); (*1 Sam.* 2, 2; *Dv*); (*2 Sam.* 7, 22; *Dv*); *nitaz landan* “besides me” (*Is.* 45, 5; *Dv*); *hartaz landa* “besides him” (*Lh*, 648); *horretaz 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*)); *ebetaz landara* “besides these” (*ETZ*, 23.332 (*Orrio*)); *bizimodu onaz landara* “apart from a good way of life” (*LE, Urt*, 298); *nitaz landara* “besides me” (*Zeph.* 2, 15; *Dv*); *untaz landara* “apart from this” (*Flr*, 163); *hitzaurreaz 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 Dioesaco 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 offensatoco okhasionetaric campoan iqaitoco* “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); *hizkuntzaz 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 hilveco bidia, landan* has no meaning besides “after”. To express “outside” only *kanpoan* is used *bekhaturik 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”: *biritik 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 bazterreara:</i>	to the shore of the sea
<i>munduaren bazterreraino:</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 *esku* and *eskuina* 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 dakar*" (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 atzean*" (*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 gubiletic*", 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*.