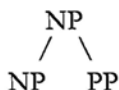


BASQUE HOSPITALITY AND THE SUFFIX *-KO**

Consider such English noun phrases as:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) a. <i>Mothers for peace</i>
b. <i>Ties with the enemy</i>
c. <i>The tables for the customers</i> | d. <i>Bread from heaven</i>
e. <i>The road from Vitoria to Bilbao</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>*PaꞤ-paq mama-kuna</i>
b. <i>*Anqa-wan watay-kuna</i>
c. <i>*Rantikuq-paq mesa-kuna</i> | d. <i>*HawaꞤpacha-manta t’anta</i>
e. <i>*Vitoria-manta Bilbao-man ñan</i>
f. <i>*Castillassimi-manta Ingliissimi-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</i> <i>peace.gen for</i> | d. * <i>Ogia</i> <i>zerutik</i>
<i>bread</i> <i>heaven.el</i> |
| b. * <i>Loturak</i> <i>etsaiarekin</i>
<i>ties</i> <i>enemy.soc</i> | e. * <i>Bidea</i> <i>Gasteiztik</i> <i>Bilbora</i>
<i>road</i> <i>Gasteiz.abl</i> <i>Bilbao.all</i> |
| c. * <i>Mahaiaik</i> <i>bezzeroentzat</i>
<i>tables</i> <i>costumers.ben</i> | f. * <i>Itzulpenak</i> <i>gaztelaniatik</i> <i>ingelesera</i>
<i>translations</i> <i>Spanish.el</i> <i>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 *Elizen 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 mahaia*

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, ceruetacoo, ceruticacoo, 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 ardua* (6:37) “the concern for the need to cultivate it” (Spanish version: “la conciencia de la necesidad de su cultivo”) (*landu behararekin dugun ardua*); *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 zai* (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-

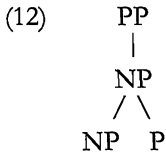
doubtedly originate from *harrigarritzeko*, *izugarritzeko*. Likewise, *gaitzkeko* "terrible" must have been derived via *gaitzezkeko* from the instrumental form of the noun *gaitz* "evil", not from the innocuous adjective *gaitz* meaning "difficult". Finally, the common expression *zorioneko* "fortunate" (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 *hogetamairu 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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