

# THE TRANSITIVITY OF BORROWED VERBS IN BASQUE: AN OUTLINE

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## Abstract

*In this paper I will study the main patterns that Basque speakers follow when they choose the auxiliary used with verbs borrowed from neighbouring languages.*

*In order to do that, the method I follow consists in analyzing the way borrowed verbs appear in the Standard Lexicon (Hiztegi batua) of the Basque Language Academy.*

*First, after exposing the theory of unaccusativity and proposing a typology of Basque verbs, the main tendencies observed in the borrowing of verbs from Spanish will be analyzed groups by groups: 1) borrowed verbs which unique auxiliary is *du* 'have' (a. *adoratu* 'adore', *bisitatu* 'visit'...; b. *estudiatu* 'study', *eskribitu* 'write'...; c) *abdikatu* 'abdicate', *abortatu* 'abort'...); 2) borrowed verbs which alternate the *da* 'be'/*du* 'have' auxiliaries (a. causative alternation: *sikatu* 'dry'; b. intransitive/reflexive alternation: *obligatu* 'oblige'; 3) borrowed verbs that only have the *da* 'be' auxiliary (*burlatu* 'mock', *konformatu* 'be satisfied with'). Among the results of this survey, it appears that the hypothesis which states that Basque borrowed monadic verbs strongly tend to be unergative must be abandoned: when verbs having only one argument are borrowed, the tendency to use them with the *du* 'have' auxiliary is mostly restricted to agentive intransitive verbs that don't have the clitic *se* in Spanish (*saltatu* 'jump', *deskantsatu* 'rest', *dantzatu* 'dance', *olgatu* 'play about'...).*

## 1. Introduction

The main aim of this article is to refute a widespread belief or hypothesis according to which verbs borrowed from Spanish or French enter Basque principally as *du*-type verbs. According to this supposition, borrowed verbs are generally conjugated by means of the same set of auxiliaries (e.g. *du* 'has') which are also used to conjugate transitive verbs of all types. While use of these auxiliaries is expected where syntactically transitive verbs are concerned (such as *ikusi du* '(he/she/it) saw (it/her/him)', *jan du* '(he...) ate (it)', *estudiatu du* '(he...) studied (it)'); I am interested in the claim that they are also being assigned to Romance-origin single-argument (intransitive) verbs. The number of single-argument *du*-type verbs, called unergatives in this paper, would thus seem to be on the increase in modern Basque. Such verbs contrast with Basque "pure" intransitives, which are conjugated with another set of auxiliaries (e.g. *da* 'is': *etorri da*

'(he/she/it) came', *erori da* '(he...) fell', *pasatu da* '(it) happened'). Examples of unergative borrowed verbs are *dudatu du* '(he) doubted'; *erregutu du gu guztion alde* '(he) prayed for all of us'; *ez du funtzionatu* '(it) didn't work'.

If indeed the hypothesis of a general trend towards unergatives turns out to be wrong, what criteria *do* Basque speakers apply to assign transitivity to borrowed verbs? Does any general principle determine the choice between *da* and *du* in such cases? A second aim of the article will be to answer this question.

I shall take as my starting point the borrowed verbs listed in a normative dictionary for modern Basque, *Hiztegi Batua* [Standard Dictionary] (henceforth *HB*). I shall not consider all the borrowed verbs listed but only those with a transparently foreign etymology. I shall supplement that information with additional examples and statistics obtained from other dictionaries and corpora, drawing from the following sources: Sarasola's *Euskal Hiztegia* [Basque Dictionary] (*EH*); the text corpus for the *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia* [General Dictionary of Basque] (*OEH*) of the Basque Language Academy (Euskaltzaindia); and *Egungo Euskararen Bilketa-lan Sistemakoa* [Systematic Corpus of Contemporary Basque] (*EEBS*). I shall limit myself to citing but a few examples for want of space.

It will be necessary to consider how Spanish and French classify verbs, particularly with regard to unaccusative and unergative types. In this I shall follow Mendikoetxea (1999), a summary of whose findings falls outside the scope of this paper. I will also refer to the framework proposed by Levin and Rappaport (1995), the standard work on unaccusativity. The present paper represents part of a larger project, omitting numerous points and illustrations, but it is hoped it will nevertheless prove intelligible and useful as it stands.

## 2. Unaccusativity and the classification of the Basque verb

Linguists classify verbs by different criteria. This section will be concerned with one particular classification developed and used in syntactic studies. In this classification, grammatical terms originating from older traditions, such as 'transitive' and 'intransitive', appear side by side with others arising from generative grammar, such as 'unaccusative' and 'unergative'.<sup>1</sup> This classification aims at a refinement of the traditional 'transitive'-'intransitive' dichotomy. Adopting Gràcia's criteria (2000: 8-10), in the present section I attempt to provide definitions for each verb class in a way that is useful and valid for the analysis of Basque.

### Transitive

Only verbs having two arguments will be considered transitive. Thus I exclude single-argument verbs conjugated with *du*, such as *irakin* 'boil (intr.)' and *iraun* 'last, endure', traditionally classed as transitives in some Basque grammars. Transitive verbs are those that take an argument having the syntactic function of direct object which in Basque is assigned absolutive case (zero). Transitive verbs assign the ergative case (*-k*) to the subject. The object is generated on a sister branch to the V[erb]. Some examples of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *inter alia* Gràcia et al. (2000: 8-10) and Artiagoitia (2000: 169-184).

verbs classified as transitive are *erail* 'kill, murder', *esan* 'say', *maitatu* 'love', *kezkatu* 'worry (tr.)', *ikasi* 'learn, study' and *estudiatu* 'study'.

I shall also consider transitive the type of verb, such as *jan* 'eat', *edan* 'drink', *ikasi* 'learn, study' and *estudiatu* 'study', which normally meets these criteria but allows an 'absolute construction' wherein a prototypical object is not overtly present, as in *Peruk gauetz ikasten du* 'Peru (Erg.) studies [something] at night', cf. *Peruk frantsesa ikasten du* 'Peru (Erg.) studies French (Abs.)'.

### Unergative

Unergative verbs are intransitive (single-argument) verbs that have an external argument, generally either an agent or an experiencer (cf. Lafitte 1944/1979: §411), like transitives, they are conjugated using *du*-type auxiliaries in Basque. An unergative verb's single argument is both the syntactic subject and the notional subject. Such verbs usually denote an activity or process having an agent. The label 'unergative' is retained even though this sounds somewhat awkward in Basque grammar since the single argument of an unergative verb in Basque is assigned the ergative case (*-k*): *urak irakin du* 'the water (Erg.) boiled'. The following are examples of Basque verbs that are classified as unergatives: *irakin* 'boil (as of water)', *iraun* 'last', *dudatu* 'doubt', *alde egin* 'go away'.

### Unaccusative

Unaccusative verbs are those having a single subject argument generated in internal argument position; in other words, intransitive verbs lacking external arguments. The surface subject of unaccusative verbs is a derived subject promoted from object position, so it is an internal argument. The argument with the function of syntactic subject is the notional object argument or 'theme' at the semantic level. In Basque, unaccusative verbs assign absolutive (zero) case to the subject and are conjugated using *da*-type auxiliaries: *Peru gaur etorri da* 'Peru (Abs.) came today'.

While many linguists (e.g. Perlmutter 1978, Levin and Rappaport 1995) employ 'unergative' and 'unaccusative' to distinguish between the two foregoing types of intransitive verb, others use 'unergative' and 'ergative' to refer to the same opposition (Burzio 1981, 1986), substituting 'ergative' for 'unaccusative'. Still other authors (Campos 1999, de Miguel 1992) refer to the two subclasses of intransitive verbs 'intransitive' and 'unaccusative' respectively, calling unergative verbs 'intransitives' (or 'pure intransitives').

In this paper I shall normally employ 'unergative' and 'unaccusative' respectively as designations of the two major types of intransitive verb. However, in Part 3, I shall distinguish between 'unaccusatives' and 'pure unaccusatives'. The former label will refer to verbs possessing a transitive alternant, such as *apurtu da/du* 'break (intr./tr.)', *sartu da/du* 'enter, go in/insert, put in', *normalizatu da/du* 'be(come) normalized/'normalize'. Those lacking any such alternation (e.g. *jaio da/\*du* 'be born', *erori da/\*du* 'fall', *egon da/\*du* 'be, stay') will be identified as 'pure unaccusatives'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Gràcia et al. (2000) propose distinguishing the two subclasses simply as 'unaccusative' (e.g. *egon* 'be, stay', *etorri* 'come') and 'ergative' (e.g. *sartu* 'go in/put in', *jarri* 'stand, sit/put, place').

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|--|---|
| (1) Pure unaccusative verbs:           | (2) Unaccusative verbs:                     |
| a. erori ( <i>dal*/du</i> ) 'fall'     | a. sartu ( <i>da/du</i> ) 'go in/put in'    |
| b. jaiio ( <i>dal*/du</i> ) 'be born'  | b. apurtu ( <i>da/du</i> ) 'break'          |
| c. egon ( <i>dal*/du</i> ) 'be, stay'  | c. bainatu ( <i>da/du</i> ) 'bathe'         |
| d. heldu ( <i>dal*/du</i> ) 'arrive'   | d. ireki ( <i>da/du</i> ) 'open'            |
| e. ahalegindu ( <i>dal*/du</i> ) 'try' | e. hedatu ( <i>da/du</i> ) 'expand, spread' |

### 3. Transitivity of Basque borrowed verbs

To classify Basque's borrowed verbs we shall begin by looking at their formal features. As in the *H[iztegi] B[atua]*, we shall start with three types of verb according to the auxiliaries with which they are conjugated: a) *du* verbs; b) *da/du* verbs; c) *da* verbs. I will draw from Mendikoetxea's (1999) and Levin and Rappaport's (1995) theoretical analysis of Spanish unaccusative structures for comparison and explanations.

#### 3.1. Borrowed verbs that only take *du* (A. *adoratu, bisitatu...*; B. *estudiatu, eskribitu...*; C. *abdikatu, abortatu...*)

First let us look at borrowed verbs that only admit the *du* auxiliary. As we have already seen, not all verbs of the *du*-type are transitive. Furthermore, some transitive verbs fall not into the *du*-type but the *da/du*-type because of the alternation that they admit. The *du*-verbs may therefore be subdivided into the following three groups:

- Transitives that only take *du*: *adoratu* 'adore', *bisitatu* 'visit', *fabrikatu* 'manufacture', *estimatu* 'esteem, consider', *kantatu* 'sing', *kobratu* 'charge, receive (payment), recover', etc.
- A subset of transitives that may be used absolutely (without a specified direct object) as described in the preceding section, thus permitting transitive/unergative alternation: *estudiatu* 'study', *eskribitu* 'write', etc.
- Unergatives (intransitives conjugated with *du*): *abdikatu* 'abdicate', *abortatu* 'have a miscarriage or abortion', *abusatu* 'abuse, go too far', etc.

These three subtypes are next considered in turn.

##### 3.1.1. *Transitive verbs that only take du* (*adoratu, bisitatu, fabrikatu...*)

The borrowed verbs in the following list are transitives that are always conjugated with *du*:

#### BORROWED TRANSITIVE VERBS THAT ONLY TAKE *DU*

<i>abandonatu</i> 'abandon'	der, kill'	<i>aprobetxatu</i> 'take advantage of, make use of'
<i>abisatu</i> ( <i>Nor.</i> ) 'notify'	<i>amortizatu</i> 'pay off'	<i>apuntatu</i> 'aim at, point out, note'
<i>absolbitu</i> 'absolve'	<i>analizatu</i> 'analyse'	<i>arnegatu</i> ( <i>fedea</i> ) 'abnegate'
<i>adjudikatu</i> 'adjudicate'	? <i>apailatu</i> 'prepare, get ready'	<i>artxibatu</i> 'file'
<i>administratu</i> 'administer'	<i>apartatu</i> 'separate, take away, select'	<i>aseguratu</i> 'insure'
<i>adoratu</i> 'adore'	<i>aplikatu</i> 'apply'	<i>atrapatu</i> 'catch'
<i>aglutinatu</i> 'agglutinate'		
<i>akabatu</i> 'slaughter, mur-		

<i>autorizatu</i> 'authorise'	<i>erreformatu</i> 'reform'	<i>gonbidatu</i> 'invite'
<i>baloratu</i> 'value, appraise'	? <i>errefusatu</i> 'refuse, turn down'	<i>grabatu</i> 'record'
<i>baltsamatu</i> 'salve, anoint'	<i>erregalatu</i> 'give away, make a present of'	<i>gurutzefikatu</i> 'crucify'
<i>bernizatu</i> 'varnish'	<i>erremediatu</i> 'remedy, re- dress'	<i>heredatu</i> 'inherit'
<i>bernuzatu</i> 'carve, sculpture'	<i>erreparatu</i> 1 'make repara- tions for'	<i>hidratatu</i> 'hydrate'
<i>bisitatu</i> 'visit'	<i>errepikatu</i> 'repeat'	<i>hipotekatu</i> 'mortgage'
<i>bonbardatu</i> 'bomb'	<i>errespetatu</i> 'respect, ho- nour'	<i>identifikatu</i> 'identify'
<i>bordatu</i> 'embroider'	<i>errezatu</i> 'pray'	<i>imaginatu</i> 'imagine'
<i>brodatu</i> 'embroider'	<i>errezibitu</i> 'receive'	<i>imitatu</i> 'imitate'
<i>dedikatu</i> 2 'dedicate'	<i>eskarniatu</i> 'mock, taunt'	<i>inauguratu</i> 'inaugurate'
<i>deduzitu</i> 'deduce'	<i>eskribitu</i> 'write'	<i>inportatu</i> 'import'
<i>defendatu</i> 'defend'	<i>esleitu</i> 'assign, allocate'	<i>inposatu</i> 'impose'
<i>defenditu</i> 'defend'	<i>esplikatu</i> 'explain'	<i>inprimatu</i> 'print'
<i>definitu</i> 'define'	<i>esplotatu</i> ("ustiatu") 'ex- ploit'	<i>instalatu</i> 'install'
<i>deklaratu</i> 2 'declare, test- ify'	<i>esportatu</i> 'export'	<i>interpretatu</i> 'interpret'
<i>dekoratu</i> 'decorate'	<i>estandarizatu</i> 'standardise'	<i>intsentsatu</i> 'incense'
<i>deportatu</i> 'deport'	<i>esterilizatu</i> 'sterilise'	<i>izkiriatu</i> 'write'
<i>desarmatu</i> 'disarm'	<i>estimatu</i> 'esteem, consider'	<i>jujatu</i> 'judge'
<i>deseatu</i> 'desire, wish'	<i>estreinatu</i> 'use or perform for the first time'	<i>jugatu</i> 'judge'
<i>desenkusatu</i> 1 'excuse'	<i>estudiatu</i> 'study'	<i>kabitu</i> 2 'fit, have room'
<i>desinfektatu</i> 'disinfect'	<i>etsaminatu</i> 'examine'	<i>kalibratu</i> 'calibrate'
<i>desiratu</i> 'desire, wish'	? <i>faboratu</i> 'favour'	<i>kalifikatu</i> 'qualify'
<i>deskribatu</i> 'describe'	<i>fabrikatu</i> 'manufacture'	? <i>kalitu</i> 'stone'
<i>desobeditu</i> 'disobey'	<i>fidatu</i> 2 'entrust'	<i>kalkatu</i> 'stuff, cram, press'
<i>desordenatu</i> 'throw into disorder'	<i>filmatu</i> 'film'	<i>kalkulatu</i> 'calculate'
<i>despeditu</i> 2 ("kaleratu") 'dismiss, fire'	<i>formalizatu</i> 'formalise'	<i>kanonizatu</i> 'canonise'
<i>desterratu</i> 'exile, banish'	<i>formulatu</i> 'formulate'	<i>kantatu</i> 'sing'
<i>destilatu</i> 'distill'	<i>fotografiatu</i> 'photograph'	<i>kapitalizatu</i> 'capitalize'
<i>determinatu</i> 'determine'	<i>frijitu</i> 'fry'	? <i>karesatu</i> 'caress'
<i>diktatu</i> 'dictate'	<i>fundatu</i> 'found'	<i>kardatu</i> 'comb (wool)'
<i>diskriminatu</i> 'discriminate (against)'	<i>fusilatu</i> 'kill (by a firing squad)'	? <i>kartzelatu</i> 'imprison'
<i>doblatu</i> 'double, dub'	<i>gastigatu</i> 2 ("zigortu") 'pu- nish'	<i>kastigatu</i> 'punish'
<i>drainatu</i> 'drain'	<i>gillotinatu</i> 'guillotine'	<i>katalizatu</i> 'catalyse'
<i>ebanjelizatu</i> 'evangelise'	<i>governatu</i> 1 'govern'	<i>katalogatu</i> 'catalogue'
<i>endredatu</i> 'confuse'	<i>gomendatu</i> 1 'recommend'	<i>kausatu</i> 'cause'
<i>engainatu</i> 'deceive'	<i>gomitatu</i> 'invite'	? <i>kitatu</i> 'pay up, settle ac- counts'
<i>entenditu</i> 'understand'		<i>koblatu</i> 'compose (verses)'
<i>erlazionatu</i> 'relate'		<i>kobratu</i> 'charge, receive (payment), recover'
<i>erratu</i> 'err'		<i>kolektibizatu</i> 'collectivize'
<i>errebelatu</i> 2 'rebel'		<i>kolonizatu</i> 'colonise'
<i>erreferatu</i> 'respond, rejoin'		? <i>koloratu</i> 'colour'
		<i>konbidatu</i> 'invite'
		<i>konbinatu</i> 'combine'

<i>konektatu</i> 'connect'	<i>muntatu</i> 'assemble, achieve'	<i>prometatu</i> 'promise'
<i>konfirmatu</i> 1 [ <i>h. Berretsi</i> ] 'confirm'	? <i>musikatu</i> 1 'put to music'	<i>proposatu</i> 'propose, suggest'
<i>konfiskatu</i> 'confiscate'	<i>nazionalizatu</i> 'nationalize'	<i>publikatu</i> 'publish, make public'
<i>konfitatu</i> 'preserve, sweeten'	<i>neutralizatu</i> 'neutralize'	<i>purgatu</i> 'purge'
<i>konparatu</i> 'compare'	<i>obratu</i> 'bring about, do'	<i>pusatu</i> 'push'
<i>konposatu</i> 'compose'	<i>ofenditu</i> 'offend'	<i>saneatu</i> 'clean, disinfect, drain'
<i>konprenitu</i> 'understand, comprehend'	<i>ofentsatu</i> 'offend'	<i>seduzitu</i> 'seduce'
<i>kontatu</i> 'count, narrate, tell'	<i>ordenatu</i> 1 ("antolatu") 'order, organise'	<i>segatu</i> 'cut (with a scythe)'
<i>kontrolatu</i> 'control'	<i>organizatu</i> 'organise'	<i>seinalatu</i> 'point out, indicate'
<i>kontsakeratu</i> 'consecrate'	<i>orkestratu</i> 'orchestrate'	<i>sentitu</i> 1 'feel'
? <i>kontseilatu</i> 'advise, counsel'	<i>pagatu</i> 'pay, pay for'	<i>setiatu</i> 'besiege, lay siege (to)'
<i>kontsideratu</i> 'consider'	<i>paratu</i> 'put'	<i>sinatu</i> 'sign'
<i>kontsultatu</i> 'consult'	<i>partitu</i> 1 'divide'	<i>sinplifikatu</i> 'simplify'
<i>kontsumitu</i> 'consume'	<i>patentatu</i> 'patent'	<i>sintetizatu</i> 'synthesize'
<i>kopiatu</i> 'copy'	<i>pausatu</i> 2 'put, place'	? <i>soberatu</i> 2 'be left over, be too much'
<i>koplatu</i> 'compose, sing or recite verses'	<i>pentsatu</i> 'think'	<i>sobratu</i> 2 'be left over, be too much'
<i>kreatu</i> 'create'	<i>pertsegitu</i> 'pursue, harass, persecute'	<i>sokorritu</i> 'come to (someone's) aid'
<i>kritikatu</i> 'criticise'	<i>pintatu</i> 'paint'	<i>soldatu</i> 'solder'
<i>kromatu</i> 'electroplate (with chromium)'	<i>pipatu</i> 'smoke'	<i>solfeatu</i> 'read (music)'
<i>laboratu</i> 'farm, till (the soil)'	<i>pisatu</i> 'weigh'	<i>sostengatu</i> 'sustain, maintain'
<i>letreiatu</i> 'spell'	<i>plagiatu</i> 'plagiarise'	<i>sozializatu</i> 'socialize'
<i>libratu</i> 1 'free, liberate'	<i>planteatu</i> 'raise, pose (a problem, question)'	<i>sufritu</i> 'suffer'
<i>lisatu</i> 'iron'	<i>plantxatu</i> 'iron'	<i>tapizatu</i> 'upholster, carpet'
<i>lixibatu</i> 'bleach'	<i>polikopiatu</i> 'run off, make multiple copies (of)'	<i>tentatu</i> 'tempt'
<i>lorifikatu</i> 'glorify'	<i>polimerizatu</i> 'polymerize'	<i>tindatu</i> 'dye, paint'
<i>manatu</i> 'command, order'	<i>polinizatu</i> 'pollenize'	<i>tiranizatu</i> 'tyrannize'
<i>maneatu</i> 2, 3 'till (soil), season (food)'	<i>populatu</i> 'populate'	<i>tiratu</i> 'throw; draw close, pull'
<i>maneiatu</i> 'handle, use, operate'	<i>praktikatu</i> 'practise'	<i>tormentatu</i> 'torture, torment'
<i>martirizatu</i> 'martyrize'	<i>predikatu</i> 'preach'	<i>torturatu</i> 'torture'
<i>masakratu</i> 'massacre'	<i>prentsatu</i> 'press'	<i>tragatu</i> 'swallow, gulp'
<i>mastekatu</i> 'chew'	<i>presentatu</i> 'present, introduce'	<i>transkribatu</i> 'transcribe'
<i>mespretxatu</i> 'scorn, slight'	<i>probatu</i> 'try, test, prove'	<i>transmititu</i> 'transmit'
<i>metrailatu</i> 'machine-gun'	<i>produzitu</i> 'produce'	<i>tratatu</i> 'treat'
<i>molestatu</i> 'bother, annoy'	<i>profanatu</i> 'profane'	
<i>monopolizatu</i> 'monopolize'	<i>profetizatu</i> 'prophesy'	
	<i>profitatu</i> 'profit, benefit'	
	<i>programatu</i> 'programme'	
	<i>proiektatu</i> 'project, plan'	
	<i>promestu</i> 'promise'	

<i>trazatu</i> 'plan, design, outline'	<i>xukatu</i> 'suck'	<i>zirkunzidatu</i> 'circumcise'
<i>urbanizatu</i> 'urbanize, develop, build'	<i>zentralizatu</i> 'centralize'	<i>zitatatu</i> 'cite, quote'
<i>urkatu</i> 'hang'	<i>zentsuratu</i> 'censor'	<i>zundatu</i> 'sound, probe'
	<i>zimendatu</i> 'cement, provide a foundation for'	<i>zurratu</i> 'beat, give a beating (to)'

Most transitive verbs that only take *du* do not have a causative meaning, and come from verbs not used reflexively in the source language (or in any case Basque has not taken over any such reflexive use), e.g. Sp. *adorar* 'adore', *avisar* 'notify, warn', *apuntar* 'aim (at), point out, note', *amortizar* 'pay off', *analizar* 'analyse', *archivar* 'file away', *exportar* 'export', *estrenar* 'use or perform for the first time'. (At a formal level, reflexive verbs in Romance take an object-pronoun clitic agreeing with the subject, or *se* for the third person and in citation forms. Semantically, true reflexivity is only one of the notions denoted by such verbs; a great many have intransitive or medio-passive meanings. Basque possesses a true reflexive construction formed analytically and analogous to English *myself*; etc., but has nothing in its verbal morphology corresponding directly to Romance languages' formal reflexives. Regarding causatives, see 3.2.1. below.)

In some cases *HB* only lists the major sense of a borrowed verb. *aprobetxatu* 'take advantage (of), make use of', from Sp. *aprovechar*, is listed as a *du*-type verb (taking an ergative subject), showing the most frequent use in Basque, but the case of the subject of *aprobetxatu* in the following example demonstrates, even though the verb is in a non-finite form without an auxiliary, that there are also occurrences in which, reflecting the verb's reflexive character in another Spanish usage (Sp. *aprovecharse*), it may be conjugated with *da* in Basque (with an absolutive subject):

(3) APROBETXATU 'take advantage of':

Zer nai dezu, Jauna, nigandik? O! Badakit, Zuk zer nai-zun! Ni zure odolaz *aprobetxatu*, ta nik Zu amatzea. (*OEHTc*: Cardaberaz, *San Ignacioren ejerzizioak*, 64).

'What do you want from me, Lord? Ah! I know what you want! That I [absolutive] should profit from your blood, and that I [ergative] should love you.'

Some verbs given in *HB* as *du*-types do admit causative alternation, and would be more appropriately labeled as *da/du*-type verbs:

- (4) a. AGLUTINATU 'agglutinate': [*EH*: *da/du* vb.] (reflexive use: Sp. *aglutinarsé*)  
 b. SENTITU 'feel': *haurdun sentitu zen* 'she felt pregnant' (Sp. *sentirse*)

3.1.2. *Transitives with absolute uses: transitive/unergative alternation* (estudiatu, eskribitu...)

As already mentioned, certain transitive verbs, i.e. those which prototypically take a direct object, at times accept unergative constructions with no specified direct object:

## TRANSITIVES WITH ABSOLUTE USES:

<i>aprobetxatu</i> 'take advantage'	<i>estimatu</i> 'estimate'	<i>predikatu</i> 'preach'
<i>apuntatu</i> 1 "keinatu, destatu (arma bat)" 'take aim (with a weapon)'	<i>estudiatu</i> 'study'	<i>segatu</i> 'cut with a scythe'
<i>desobeditu</i> 'disobey'	<i>izkiriatu</i> 'write'	<i>sentitu</i> 'feel, feel sorry'
<i>diktatu</i> 'dictate'	<i>kantatu</i> 'sing'	<i>sinatu</i> 'sign'
<i>errezatu</i> 'pray'	<i>kobratu</i> 'charge'	<i>sufritu</i> 'suffer'
<i>eskribitu</i> 'write'	<i>laboratu</i> 'farm, till the soil'	<i>tiratu</i> 1 "jaurti" 'throw'
	<i>meditatu</i> 'meditate'	<i>tiratu</i> 2 "nork beregana erakarri" 'draw close, pull'
	<i>pagatu</i> 'pay'	
	<i>pipatu</i> 'smoke'	

A couple of examples showing unergative uses follow:

## DIKTATU 'dictate':

Ikasleentzat ez da lagungarria hitzez hitz *diktatzea*; prozedura honek, izan ere, testa baliogabetu egiten du. (EBS: 1968-1990; Euskara Batua; Saiakeraliburuak; U. Larramendi; Orria = 0049; Paragrafoa = 007).

'It is not helpful to pupils to dictate [no object] word by word; indeed, this procedure invalidates the test.'

## ERREZATU 'pray':

Musulmanek egunean bost aldiz *errezatzen dute*, etxean edo meskitan. (EBS: 1991; Euskara Batua; Ikasliburuak; J. Ossa; Orria = 0040; Paragrafoa = 032).

'Muslims [ergative case] pray [*du*-type aux.] five times a day, at home and at the mosque.'

3.1.3. *Du-type intransitives: unergatives* (abdikatu, abortatu, abusatu...)

A few years ago Sarasola (1977: 79), discussing the trend towards unergative patterns observed in present-day Basque, voiced the following opinion about the possible future of Basque's morphological system:

- (5) Volviendo a los verbos de tipo *iraun*, *irakin*, su número aparte de ser importante, aumenta continuamente. Ya nos hemos referido anteriormente a que verbos formados a base de nombre más verbos como *egin*, etc., están pasando a la misma situación. Por otra parte, los dobles de procedencia románica de verbos como *jarraiki* 'seguir', *desagertu* 'desaparecer', es decir, *segitu*, *desaparezitu*, poseen la misma característica de falta de objeto. Así tenemos *Jonek Mikeli segitu dio* frente a *Jon Mikeli jarraikituz zaio* 'Juan ha seguido a Miguel', y *Jonek desagertzituz du* frente a *Jon desagertu da* 'Juan ha desaparecido'.<sup>3</sup> Parece así que existe una ten-

<sup>3</sup> He adds the following footnote: «Leemos en Juan Bautista Aguirre, escritor vasco fallecido en 1823, en el primer tomo de sus *Eracusaldiak*, pag. 41, *saltau da*, donde actualmente la mayoría de vascos diría, *saltau du*, *salto egin du* 'ha saltado'.» [In the first volume of the *Eracusaldiak* of Juan Bautista Aguirre, a Basque writer who died in 1823, we read (p. 41) *saltau da* 'jumped', whereas today most Basques would say *saltau du* or *salto egin du*].



dencia en vasco actual a sentir todos los verbos (menos los que designan rigurosamente un estado) como transitivos, es decir, necesitados de elemento ergativo. Esta tendencia se realiza más fácilmente en préstamos, al no sentirse el peso de la tradición lingüística. En consecuencia no sería, quizás, excesivamente aventurado establecer la previsión de que podría llegar el día en el que el sujeto de todos los verbos vascos presentara la marca de ergativo, y la división transitivo/ intransitivo se realizara según tuviera o no sentido para un verbo determinado la noción de objeto. Estaríamos así, utilizando la terminología de Fillmore (1968: 14), ante el paso de un sistema "ergativo" (como el vasco actual) a un sistema "acusativo" (sistema indoeuropeo).

*Translation:* Coming back to verbs of the *iraun* ['last'], *irakin* ['boil'] type, their number is not only significant but rising all the time. We have already mentioned above that verbs formed from a noun plus a verb such as *egin* ['make, do'] etc. show a similar tendency. Moreover, equivalents of Romance origin for verbs such as *jarraikei* 'follow', *desagertu* 'disappear', namely *segitu*, *desaparezitu*, have the same characteristic of lack of an object. Thus we have *Jonek Mikeli segitu dio* by the side of *Jon Mikeli jarraikitu zaio* 'Jon followed Mikel', and *Jonek desagertzitu du* by the side of *Jon desagertu da* 'Jon has disappeared'.<sup>3</sup> Thus there appears to be a trend in present-day Basque to perceive all verbs (except those that strictly denote a state) as transitives, that is, requiring an ergative argument. This trend is manifested most easily in loans, in the absence of the weight of linguistic tradition. In consequence it would perhaps not be too risky to forecast that the day may come when the subjects of all Basque verbs will be in the ergative, and the transitive/intransitive distinction will depend on whether or not the notion of an object makes sense for a given verb. Thus we would be witnessing, to use Fillmore's (1968: 14) terminology, the passage from an "ergative" system (such as present-day Basque) to an "accusative" one (the Indo-European system).

We wish to clarify this putative trend towards unergativity in this subsection. First let us see which verbs have been borrowed into Basque as unergatives. The following is a tentative list of verbs appearing in *HB* that have been borrowed as unergatives in at least one of their senses:<sup>4</sup>

(6) LIST OF UNERGATIVE BORROWED VERBS:

<i>abdikatu</i> 'abdicate'	<i>bogatu</i> 'row'
<i>abortatu</i> 'have a miscarriage/an abortion'	<i>deklaratu</i> 'declare, testify'
<i>abusatu</i> 'go too far, abuse'	<i>desertatu</i> 'desert'
<i>arnegatu</i> 'renounce, abnegate'	<i>dudatu</i> 'doubt'
<i>blasfematu</i> (?) 'blaspheme'	<i>emigratu</i> 'emigrate'
	<i>ernegatu</i> 1 "arnegatu" 'abnegate'

<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that only in a few cases —*eskiatu* 'ski', *funtzionatu* 'work (as of a machine)'— does *HB* recognise a verb's unergativity through the observation 'no absolutive case'. Owing to the scarcity of this syntactic information it is not easy to list all the unergative borrowed verbs. Sometimes, moreover, a borrowed verb only acts unergatively in one of its senses: *deklaratu* 'declare', for instance, is only used unergatively in the technical legal sense of 'testify, make a declaration': *hiru lagunek deklaratu zuzen atzo epaitegian* 'three people [ergative case] testified [*du*-type aux.] in court yesterday'.

<i>erratu</i> (?) 'err'	<i>manifestatu</i> Nor. "manifestazioan parte hartu" 'demonstrate, protest'
<i>erregutu</i> 'pray, beg, appeal'	
<i>erreinatu</i> 'reign'	
<i>erreparatu</i> 2 "ohartu" 'notice'	<i>profetizatu</i> (?) 'prophesy'
<i>eskiatu</i> 'ski, go skiing'	<i>protestatu</i> 2 "arbuioa adierazi" 'protest'
<i>esperimentatu</i> "esperimentua egin" 'experiment'	<i>segitu</i> 'continue, follow'
<i>faltatu</i> 1 "huts egin" 'miss, fail'	<i>topatu</i> 2 "topa egin" 'drink (a toast) to'
<i>funtzionatu</i> 'work, function'	<i>toreatu</i> 'bullfight'
<i>komuniatu</i> 'take communion'	<i>trafikatu</i> 'traffic (in something)'
<i>korritu</i> 'run'	<i>tratatatu</i> 2 "harremanak izan" 'deal, do business'
<i>kurritu</i> 'run'	<i>zirkulatu</i> 'circulate'
<i>korizatu</i> 'have a quoted price'	

The subclass of borrowed unergative intransitives seems to be associated with the agentive character of a verb's meaning. Let us recall Levin and Rappaport's (1995) suggestion that agentive unergative verbs constitute a subset of verbs expressing internal causation.<sup>5</sup>

(7) INTERNALLY CAUSED EVENTUALITIES (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1597)

AGENTIVE (UNERGATIVE)	NONAGENTIVE
<i>jugar</i> 'play', <i>reír</i> 'laugh', <i>hablar</i> 'speak'	a) physical or emotional reaction: <i>temblar</i> 'tremble'. b) verbs of emission: <i>brillar</i> 'shine', <i>chirriar</i> 'squeak, creak', <i>apestar</i> 'stink', <i>emanar</i> 'emanate' (unergatives) c) internally caused change of state: <i>florecer</i> 'flower, flourish', <i>envejecer</i> 'get old, age' (unaccusatives)

<sup>5</sup> Many unaccusative verbs denote a change of state or change of place. Such verbs express causative events and may be of two types: some can be said to express 'external causation' as part of their meaning, others 'internal causation'. Thus beside the Spanish transitive construction {*Juan/el viento/la llave*} *abrió la ventana* (1a) '[Juan/the wind/the key] opened the window' we find the unaccusative construction *La ventana se abrió* (1b) 'The window (was) opened'; we might say that (1b), like (1a), implies external causation which can be considered the source of the process denoted by the verb, but which in (1b) is not expressed. In (2) on the other hand, *El rosál floreció* 'The rose tree bloomed', the event referred to has 'internal causation': the process of "blooming" results from an intrinsic property of the syntactic subject, since only things having the necessary characteristics are able to bloom, even though external factors (springtime, fertilizers) may also be required to trigger the process.

- (1) a. External causation (transitive construction): {*Juan/el viento/la llave*} *abrió la ventana*.  
b. External causation (unaccusative construction): *La ventana se abrió*.  
(2) Internal causation (unaccusative construction): *El rosál floreció*.

Most of the borrowed unergative verbs listed in (6), such as *abdikatu* 'abdicate', *abortatu* 'have a miscarriage, have an abortion', *abusatu* 'abuse, go too far', *arnegatu* 'renounce, abnegate', *blasfematu* 'blaspheme', *bogatu* 'row', *deklaratu* 'declare, testify', *desertatu* 'desert', *dudatu* 'doubt', *emigratu* 'emigrate', etc., are typical agentives. Most such events relate to an individual's will and are controlled by "someone", and that "someone" is usually [+human] or at least [+animate]. Thus agentivity seems to be an important semantic feature determining the type of borrowed intransitive verbs in Basque. The transitivity of some verbs that are not completely assimilated but nonetheless occur frequently, particularly in spoken Basque, such as the following, appears to be determined by this agentivity feature: *almortzatu* 'have lunch', *bozkatu* or *botatu* 'vote', *debutatu* 'make one's début', *dimititu* 'resign', *erreakzionatu* 'react', *insistitu* 'insist', *kolaboratu* 'collaborate', *meriendatu* 'have an afternoon snack', etc.

However, a few borrowed verbs in (6) such as *funtzionatu* 'work (as of a machine etc.)', *funzionatu* 'function', *kontzertatu* 'have a quoted price, sell (at)', *zirkulatu* 'circulate', are non-agentive and require another explanation. Here we may invoke the hypothesis of grammaticalisation of verbs of internal causation (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1602-5; Levin & Rappaport 1995: 136, 146). The verbs *funtzionatu*, *kontzertatu* and *zirkulatu* express "internally caused eventualities": when we say *makina horrek funtzionatzen du* 'that machine works', the machine is understood to possess some property or characteristic which makes it work, i.e. some property of the argument itself is considered to be the cause of the event. Thus the notion of internal causation is involved in determining the type of some borrowed intransitive verbs, and some verbs expressing internal causation are borrowed into Basque as unergatives. This tendency seems to be most noticeable in examples such as the following, typical of spoken Basque: *autoak ez du arrankatzen* 'the car [erg.] doesn't/won't start', *pilotak txarto botatu du* 'the ball [erg.] bounced the wrong way ("misbounced")', etc.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned semantically determined pattern or tendency whereby verbs of agentivity or internal causation are incorporated into Basque as unergatives, I believe we should also take into account a syntactic criterion involving the source of the borrowed verb. According to this hypothesis, only verbs that are non-reflexive intransitives in Spanish or French (or non-reflexive uses or senses of verbs), such as Sp. *abdicar* 'abdicate', *abortar* 'abort', *abusar* 'abuse', *renegar* 'renounce', *blasfemar* 'blaspheme', *bogar* 'row', *deklarar* 'declare, testify', *desertar* 'desert', *dudar* 'doubt', *emigrar* 'emigrate' are candidates for borrowing into Basque as unergatives. However, reflexive verbs such as Sp. *atreverse* 'dare', *burlarse* 'make fun (of)', *descuidarse* 'neglect', *divertirse* 'have fun', *fiarse* 'trust', *quejarse* 'complain', *conformarse* 'be satisfied (with)', etc., are not. It would appear that in these languages the reflexive syntactic pattern signals either unaccusative constructions or reflexive meaning and is related to the expression of causativity (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1603). Reflexive verbs tend to be borrowed into Basque with the *da*-type auxiliary, e.g. *aterebitu da* 'dared',

<sup>6</sup> *Bibratu (du)* 'vibrate', a verb used in physics listed in the Elhuyar (2000) dictionary, would also belong here.

*burlatu da* ‘made fun, derided’, *deskuidatu da* ‘neglected, didn’t bother’ (cf. 3.3 below).<sup>7</sup>

Problems and uncertainties in Basque arise in cases such as Sarasola’s example of *saltatu da* ‘jumped’, in older usage, versus *saltatu du* ‘ditto’, the newer tendency. As it happens, the verb “jump” in other languages —Sp. *saltar*, Fr. *sauter*, Eng. *jump*— is a standard example of an unergative verb. Here are a few of the borrowed verbs whose transitivity is subject to uncertainty and vacillation in present-day Basque:

- (8) a. DANTZATU ‘dance’ (*HB*: *da/du* vb.: *arratsalde osoan dantzatu naiz* (not \**dantzatu dut*) ‘I danced [*da*-type] all night’; *aurreskuia dantzatu dut* ‘I danced [*du*-type] the *aurresku* [a Basque dance]’; *makila dantzatu dut* ‘I did the *makila dantza* [the “stick dance”]’, literally ‘I danced [*du*-type] the stick’).
- b. DESKANTSATU ‘rest’ (*HB*: 1 *da* vb. syn. *atseden hartu* ‘have a rest’. 2 *Nor. da/du* vb. syn. *lasaitu* ‘calm down’).
- c. KOMULGATU, KOMEKATU ‘take communion’ (*HB*: *da* vb.) # KOMUNIA-TU (*HB*: *du* vb.; *EH*: formerly *da*).
- d. OLGATU ‘have fun’ (*HB*: *da/du* vb.).
- e. SALTATU ‘jump’ (*HB*: *da* vb. syn. ‘salto egin’ ‘ditto’).
- f. NABIGATU ‘sail, navigate’ (*HB*: *da/du* vb.).
- g. PASEATU ‘go for a walk or ride’ (*HB*: *da/du* vb.: *karrozan paseatu ziren* ‘they went for a ride [*da*-type aux.] in a carriage’; *bere astoa paseatzen du* ‘he takes his donkey for a walk [*du*-type aux.]’).

As Perlmutter (1978: 164) observes, the most problematic cases are verbs of movement, such as (among others) *saltatu*, *nabigatu* and *paseatu* in the preceding list. In accordance with Mendikoetxea’s (2000: 1606-7) study of Italian data, agentive verbs denoting manner of movement such as *correre*, *saltar*, *navegar*, *pasear* appear to be unergative in Spanish, but past and present Basque usages involving such verbs vary.

Sarasola’s *E[uskal] H[iztegia]* lists *nabigatu* ‘sail, navigate’ as either a *da*-type or a *du*-type verb, but that doesn’t make it a *da/du*-type; and similarly for several other verbs listed in the same dictionary – *apelatu* ‘appeal’, *komuniatu* ‘take communion’, *emigratu* ‘emigrate’, *eskatu* ‘request, demand, ask (for)’, *itsastatu* ‘sail’, where the same shift from *da*-type to *du*-type can be observed. Hence the indication *da/du* that *HB* gives for *nabigatu* is potentially misleading, referring not to the usual causative alternation seen in ordinary *da/du* verbs such as *animatu* ‘cheer up (intr.), become emboldened etc./cheer up (tr.), encourage’, but merely to the verb’s uncertain transitivity in the present-day language.

<sup>7</sup> (*Bilboko kaleetan*) *manifestatu zuten* ‘they demonstrated (on the streets of Bilbao)’, an example of northern Basque usage with a *du*-type auxiliary listed in *HB*, evidently reflects the French verb *manifestar* which is non-reflexive in this use, while the southern Basque usage which would require *manifestatu ziren* here, with a *da*-type auxiliary, corresponds to the Spanish *manifestarse*, which is reflexive. Such contrasts are rare because assignments of reflexivity in French and Spanish generally coincide. This example thus provides useful corroboration of the influence of Romance transitivity on Basque loans.

For the verbs *saltatu* 'jump' and *paseatu* '(go for a) walk or ride', the literary tradition strongly favours use with *da*. The treatment of *paseatu* as a *da*-type, incidentally, is supported by the Spanish verb's reflexive use (*DRAE*, 'pasear'). Yet as Sarasola himself asserts and *EEBS* confirms, many present-day speakers treat both as unergatives. Although *HB* leans towards the older usage for both of these verbs, their shift to unergatives (such as Sarasola acknowledges for *apelatu*, *komuniatu*, *emigratu*, *eskatu* and *itsastatu*) seems not to be an entirely novel development.<sup>8</sup>

The doublet *komuniatu* (*du*) 'take communion' - *komulgatu* (*da*) 'ditto' is curious. The phonology reveals the former to derive from a French source and the latter from Spanish. Now in the modern languages, neither French *communier* nor Spanish *comulgar* is reflexive. Possibly the use of *komulgatu da* is explained by the fact that Spanish *comulgar* could formerly be used reflexively (cf. *DRAE*, 'comulgar'). As the following quotation from Mendiburu demonstrates, at one time Basque *komulgatu* admitted causative alternation as did its Spanish counterpart:

- (9) Eta Jangoiko berak biztu zuen S, \*Eloi, *komulga zezan* [1] ilzeko bel-durrez horduraño *komulgatu etzen* [2] eri gaiso bat. (*OEHtc*: Mendiburu, *Idazlan argiragabeak*, 1. lib., 188).

'And the same God brought S to life, Eloi, in order that a sick patient fearing death who had not been administered communion [*da*-type aux.] [2] until then might take communion [*du*-type aux.] [1].'

*Olgatu* 'have fun, amuse oneself' was in older tradition almost exclusively of the unaccusative *da*-type. Significantly, the obsolescent Spanish equivalent *holgar* had reflexive uses in some senses (in the senses "alegrarse de una cosa" ['be pleased about something'] and "divertirse, entretenerse con gusto en una cosa" ['entertain or amuse oneself with something'], cf. *DRAE*). *EH* and *HB* give *olgateu* as having *da/du* alternation based on a single example: *Leengo eguneko zure berbeldijak guztiz asko olgau ninduban*. *OEHtc*: Uriarte, *Euskal Dialogoak*, 3 'Your conversation of the other day amused me [*du*-type aux.] greatly'. In my opinion this is an isolated, idiosyncratic use; on the whole this verb does not have causative alternation. On the other hand, some present-day speakers have abandoned the traditional usage and employ the verb as an unergative. The verb *deskantsatu* 'rest' has a similar story.

Thus the verbs listed in (8), either owing to reflexive use in the source language or for some other reason, have for the most part been interpreted as *da*-type verbs in the literary tradition. Many present-day Basque speakers, on the contrary, treat such verbs as unergatives. The unergative trend seems to me not to be universal, but largely restricted to verbs that are not reflexive today in the source language and may be considered agentives, such as *saltatu* 'jump', *olgateu* 'have fun', *dantzatu* 'dance', *paseatu* 'go for a walk or ride', etc.

<sup>8</sup> This is seen in Leizarraga: "Begira zaitetze, Baldin hire anaiek hire kontra *saltatu badu*, reprehendi ezak hura, eta baldin emenda badadi barkha iezok" (*OEHtc*: Leizarraga, *Testament berria*, 139). 'Beware, if thy brother [ergative] hath jumped [*du*] at thee, reprimand him, and if he calmeth down, forgive him!'

So a Basque speaker should have no trouble with a Spanish verb like *entrenar* 'train (tr.)' / *entrenarse* 'train (intr.)' that undergoes causative alternation, as seen in (10a-b). Integrated into Basque, this will become a *da/du* verb as in (11). If however a Basque-Spanish bilingual habitually says in Spanish *Los jugadores entrenan* as in (10c), rather than *se entrenan* as in (10b), for 'The players train', as is increasingly common (cf. Torrego 1998: 22, 38-39), he may vacillate concerning the verb's transitivity when borrowing it into Basque: see (12).<sup>9</sup>

## SPANISH

- (10) a. El profesor *entrena* a los alumnos. [not reflexive] 'The teacher trains the pupils.'  
 b. Los alumnos *se entrenan*. [reflexive] 'The pupils train.'  
 c. Hugo Sánchez *entrenó* solo durante una hora. 'Hugo Sanchez only trained for one hour.' (Exceptional use, equivalent to ...*se entrenó*...).

## BASQUE

- (11) a. Irakasleak bere ikasleak *entrenatu ditu*. [*du*-type auxiliary] 'The teacher trained his students.'  
 b. Ikasleak eskolan *entrenatzen dira*. [*da*-type auxiliary] 'The students train at school.'  
 (12) a. Gogor *entrenatu naiz* jokatu ahal izateko. [*da*-type auxiliary] 'I trained hard to be able to play.'  
 b. ?Gogor *entrenatu dut* jokatu ahal izateko [*du*-type auxiliary] 'ditto'

As already noted, the treatment of Spanish and French agentive intransitives<sup>10</sup> as unergatives in Basque appears to be a tradition of some antiquity. This is suggested by the well-established change of certain verbs like *apelatu* 'appeal', *komuniatu* 'take communion', *emigratu* 'emigrate', *itsastatu* 'sail, navigate' from *da* to *du* type, and also by the relative antiquity of the majority of the borrowed unergative verbs listed, such as *abusatu* 'abuse, go to far', *arnegatu/ernegatu* 'renounce, abnegate', *blasfematu* 'blaspheme', *erratu* 'err', *erregutu* 'pray', *erreinatu* 'reign', *erregaratu* 'notice' *faliatu I* 'miss, fail', *komuniatu* 'take communion', *korritu* 'run', etc.

Some examples of unergative verbs follow:

<sup>9</sup> The following sentence appeared recently in the Basque-language newspaper *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* (2001-IX-13, p. 31): «Asko gara, baina titular izateko *entrenatzen du*» 'There are many contestants, but I am training for the post' [unergative construction]. In an article about the auxiliaries used with certain verbs, Arrieta (2001: 19) claims that *entrenatu*, and also *eboluzionatu* 'evolve', take *du* as auxiliary.

<sup>10</sup> Certain non-agentive intransitives are also borrowed into Basque as unergatives, e.g. *AGUANTATU* 'hold out, endure': *Han geratuko dira, aguantatzen duen arte*. 'They will stay there as long as he holds out'. *TARDATU* 'take (of time)': *Asko tardatu zuen* 'He took a long time': in such cases the argument is human or animate, but experiences the event rather than controlling it.

ABDIKATU 'abdicate' [EH: 1977, *nart.*]:

Erakundea, beraz, jaiotzen da, Isabel II.a tronutik bota ondoren eta Amadeo de Saboya-k *abdikatu* ondoren... (EEBS: 1991; Euskara Batua; Saiakera-liburuak; Artistas 1995; Orria = 0024; Paragrafoa = 002; *abdikatu*).

'Thus the institution was born after Isabella II was ousted from the throne and Amadeus of Savoy [ergative case] abdicated...'

BLASFEMATU 'blaspheme' [EH: 1571; *arch.*]:

Kaifas'ek itz oiek aditutakoan, soñekoak urratu zituen, eta deadar egin zuen: *Blasfematu du*; añenekoia bota du. (OEHTc: Lardizabal, *Testamentu zarreko edo berriko kondaira*, 447).

'When Caiphas had heard these words, he rent his clothes, and shouted: He has blasphemed [*du*]; he has uttered a curse.'

DEKLARATU 'testify' [HB: 1. epaiketaren inguruko adierarekin batez ere 'mainly in relation to court cases']:

Era berean, enpresako beste hiru buruk Durangoko Hirugarren Epaitegian *deklaratu zuten* atzo. (EEBS: 1991; Sailkatu gabeak; Egunkariak; Egunk 1991; Orria = 0008; Paragrafoa = 005).

'Furthermore, the directors [ergative case] of three companies testified [*du*-type aux.] in the Third Court in Durango yesterday.'

### 3.2. Borrowed *da/du* verbs (*alfabetatu, animatu...*; *defendatu...*)

HB lists these borrowed verbs as having alternation between *da* and *du* (in the following list, where intransitive and transitive glosses differ, the "da-meaning" precedes a slash and the "du meaning" follows it, e.g. *borratu* intr. 'vanish'/tr. 'erase'; where a single gloss or set of glosses is given below, its intransitive and transitive senses correspond to Basque uses with *da* and *du* respectively, e.g. *bainatu* 'bathe (intr./tr.)'):

#### BORROWED *DA/DU* VERBS

<i>abiatu</i> 'set out, start out/ set going, set in motion'	<i>bainatu</i> 'bathe'	<i>entretenu</i> 'amuse (onself); dally/delay'
<i>alfabetatu</i> 'learn/teach lit- eracy'	<i>beztitu</i> '(get) dress(ed)'	<i>errendatu</i> 'surrender'
<i>altxatu</i> 'rise, get up/raise, lift up'	<i>borratu</i> 'vanish/erase'	<i>errenditu</i> 'surrender'
<i>animatu</i> 'cheer up (intr.), become emboldened etc./ cheer up (tr.), en- courage'	<i>debaluatu</i> '(be) devalue(d)'	<i>erretiratu</i> 'withdraw'
<i>armatu</i> 'arm (i.e. acquire/ provide arms'	<i>degeneratu</i> '(cause to) de- generate'	<i>espantatu</i> '(be) frighten- (ed)'
<i>arrimatu</i> 'come/bring clo- se'	<i>deklinatu</i> 'decline (a noun etc.)'	<i>esposatu</i> 'marry'
	<i>desengainatu</i> 'undeceive/ see the light'	<i>estonatu</i> 'astonish'
	<i>despeditu</i> 1 ("agur egin") 'take one's leave/send on one's way'	<i>formatu</i> '(be) train(ed), (be) educate(d)'
	<i>disolbatu</i> Kim. 'dissolve'	<i>fosildu</i> 'fossilize'
		<i>funditu</i> 'melt'
		<i>gastatu</i> 'wear out'

<i>gorde</i> 'hide'	<i>konplitu</i> 'come/bring to completion, (be) fulfill(ed)'	<i>palatalizatu</i> 'palatalize'
<i>gozatu</i> 'become sweet/sweeten'	<i>kontentatu</i> 'become/make happy'	<i>penatu</i> '(be) trouble(d)'
<i>helenizatu</i> '(be) hellenize(d)'	<i>kontserbatu</i> '(be) conserve(d)'	<i>perfekzionatu</i> 'improve, perfect (oneself)'
<i>immunizatu</i> '(be) immunize(d)'	<i>kontsolatu</i> '(be) console(d)'	<i>plegatu</i> 'fold'
<i>industrializatu</i> 'industrialize'	<i>kontzentratu</i> '(be) concentrate(d)'	<i>presatu</i> 'hurry'
<i>informatu</i> 'find out/inform'	<i>koordinatu</i> '(be) coordinate(d)'	<i>profesionalizatu</i> 'professionalize'
<i>ionizatu</i> '(be) ionize(d)'	<i>kurbatu</i> '(become) curve(d), bend'	<i>sakrifikatu</i> 'devote oneself/sacrifice'
<i>jiratu</i> 'turn, rotate'	<i>makillatu</i> 'put make-up on (oneself)'	<i>salbatu</i> '(be) save(d)'
<i>juntatu</i> 'join'	<i>maneatu</i> 1 "atundu" '(be) arrange(d), prepare(d)'	<i>santifikatu</i> 'be sanctified/sanctify'
<i>justifikatu</i> 'be justified/justify'	<i>mantendu</i> 'stay/keep'	<i>sikatu</i> 'dry'
<i>kanbiatu</i> 'change'	<i>matrikulatu</i> 'sign up'	<i>sosegatu</i> 'calm down'
<i>kargatu</i> '(become) load(ed), charge(d)'	<i>mudatu</i> 'change'	<i>tapatu</i> '(be, become) cover(ed), obstruct(ed)'
<i>konbertitu</i> '(be) convert(ed) into; turn into'	<i>normalizatu</i> '(be) normalize(d)'	<i>tatuatu</i> 'get (tattoo)ed'
<i>kondenatu</i> '(be) condemn(ed), condemn (oneself)'	<i>obligatu</i> 'force (oneself)'	<i>trabatu</i> '(become) block(ed)'
<i>kondentsatu</i> 'condense'	<i>ordenatu</i> 2 '(be) ordain(ed)'	<i>transformatu</i> '(be) transform(ed)'
<i>konfesatu</i> 'confess'	<i>orientatu</i> 'orientate (oneself)'	<i>traumatizatu</i> '(be) traumatize(d)'
<i>konfirmatu</i> 2 <i>Erl.</i> '(be) confirm(ed) (religious ceremony)'	<i>oxidatu</i> '(cause to) rust'	<i>tronpatu</i> '(be) deceive(d), confuse(d)'
	<i>oxigenatu</i> 'oxygenate'	<i>umiliatu</i> '(be) humiliate(d)'
		<i>zibilizatu</i> '(become) civilize(d)'

### 3.2.1. Causative alternation: transitive/ergative opposition (*sikatu du/sikatu da*)

The verbs presently under consideration are transitive and have causative meanings:

#### (13) CAUSATIVE:

- Mirenek zorua *sikatu du*. 'Miren [erg.] dried [du] the floor.'
- <Miren caused> zorua *sikatu da* 'the floor [abs.] dried [da] (spontaneously)'
- Zorua *sikatu da* 'The floor [abs.] dried [da].' (anti-causative or ergative variant: "spontaneously")

These are intrinsically transitive verbs with external causation, whose unaccusative variant (13c) results from decausativization, where the notional subject—the external cause of the event denoted by the verb—is not expressed. Only some causative verbs—those denoting an event that is able to occur spontaneously, without an agent's



deliberate participation— permit the unaccusative variant. A causative such as *akabatu* ‘slaughter, murder, kill (of an animal, or with violence)’, for instance, does not permit causative alternation, for the causative sub-event is highly characterised: \**Oisoak akabatu dira (berez)* ‘\*The wolves [abs.] slaughtered [*da*-type aux.] (by themselves, spontaneously)’. Only causative verbs whose causative sub-event is unspecified in the verb lexeme’s semantic structure admit an unaccusative variant (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1591).

In the source languages, verbs with causative alternation are clearly identified syntactically by the use of a clitic reflexive pronoun for the non-causative sense: Sp. *alzar* ‘raise’/*alzarse* ‘rise’, *animar* ‘cheer, cheer up (tr.)’/*animarse* ‘cheer up (intr.)’, *arrimar* ‘bring close’/*arrimarse* ‘come close’, *borrar* ‘erase’/*borrarse* ‘vanish’, etc. Torrego (1998: 21) makes the following insightful comment on verb-pairs with causative alternation in Spanish:

- (14) En efecto, si tomamos como referencia los casos de 3.1.1 es evidente que los verbos *dormir*, *levantar*, *separar* no significan lo mismo con el pronombre que sin él. Así, en *Juan durmió al niño* hay un significado *factitivo* parecido al de “Juan hizo que el niño durmiera”. No es éste el significado de “Juan se durmió”, pues no es desglosable en \*\*“Juan hizo que Juan se durmiera” o en \*\*“Juan se hizo dormir”. Eso quiere decir que una posible estructura profunda de *Juan se durmió* nunca podría ser la de “Juan durmió a Juan”: por tanto, difícilmente podríamos considerar a *se* (al pronombre) con función nominal de ‘c. directo’, pues no es equivalente a *lo*, ya que en *Juan lo durmió* aparece el primer significado de *dormir*. Una vez más, el significado como control es necesario para valorar los resultados de una conmutación. La conclusión parece clara: en nuestra lengua hay un verbo *dormir* y un verbo *dormirse*, un verbo *levantar* y un verbo *levantarse*, un verbo *separar* y un verbo *separarse*, etc. Y en los diccionarios deberían aparecer como entradas diferentes.

*Translation:* Indeed, in reference to the examples in 3.1.1 it is clear that the verbs *dormir* ‘sleep’, *levantar* ‘lift’, *separar* ‘separate’ do not have the same meaning with and without the [reflexive] pronoun. Thus *Juan durmió al niño* ‘Juan made the child sleep’, ‘J. sent the child to sleep’ has a *factitive* meaning equivalent to “John caused the child to sleep”. This is not the meaning of “Juan se durmió” ‘Juan fell asleep’, for this cannot be broken down into \*\*“John caused John to sleep” or \*\*“John made himself sleep”. Thus the deep structure of *Juan se durmió* cannot possibly be “Juan durmió a Juan” ‘John made John sleep’: so we can hardly consider *se* (the [reflexive] pronoun) as having the nominal function of ‘direct object’; it is not equivalent to *lo* ‘him’, since in *Juan lo durmió* ‘John made him sleep’ the first meaning appears. Once more, the control meaning is needed to evaluate the results of a commutation. The conclusion seems clear: in our language there is a verb *dormir* and a verb *dormirse*, a verb *levantar* and a verb *levantarse*, a verb *separar* and a verb *separarse*, etc., and in dictionaries these ought to appear as separate entries.

A few observations remain to be made. Although most borrowed verbs in Basque with *da/du* alternation have equivalents in the source language admitting reflexivization, that is not always so. Sometimes such an alternation has developed within Basque itself. There are no reflexive verbs in the source language corresponding to Basque un-

accusative uses of *deliberatu* 'decide, determine', *deskantsatu 2* 'rest', *ernegatu* 'abnegate, deny', *eskarmentatu* 'learn (from experience)', *finitu* 'finish', or *pasatu* 'pass', i.e. there is no such thing as Spanish \**deliberarse*,<sup>11</sup> \**renegarse*, \**escarmentarse*, French *se finir*, etc.

In the case of some of the verbs of the *da/du* type listed in *HB*, the causative alternation results not from decausativization but from a reverse process. Such verbs are basically unaccusatives that are occasionally used transitively. Verbs such as *abiatu* 'set out, start out', *paseatu* 'go (/take) for a walk or ride', and *dantzatu* 'dance' are intransitives that occasionally permit a marked transitive use, not decausativized or detransitivized transitives.

### 3.2.2. Transitive/reflexive alternation: obligatu du/obligatu da

In the case of some of the verbs that are labeled as *da/du* in *HB*, such as *armatu* 'arm (oneself)', *beztitu* '(get) dress(ed)', *makillatu* 'put make-up on (oneself)', *obligatu* 'force (oneself)', the choice is not between a causative verb and its inchoative variant, but rather between a transitive verb and its reflexive counterpart. This is because some Basque verbs express reflexivity by adopting the *da*-type auxiliary (cf. Etxepare 2003):

(15) DA/DU? > 'TRANSITIVE/REFLEXIVE' (DU > DA) ALTERNATION

- a. ARMATU 'arm (oneself)'
- b. BEZTITU '(get) dress(ed)'
- c. MAKILLATU 'put make-up on (oneself)'
- d. OBLIGATU 'force (oneself)'

It ought to be noted that there are some verbs in *HB* labeled as only conjugating with *du*, such as *abandonatu* 'abandon', *gobernatu* 'govern', *libratu* 'free, liberate', *defendatu* 'defend', *engainatu* 'deceive, trick', *konparatu* 'compare', which do permit *du/da* alternation to express reflexivity:

(16) 'TRANSITIVE (DU) > REFLEXIVE (DA)' ALTERNATION:

- a. ABANDONATU 'abandon (oneself)'
- b. GOBERNATU 'govern (oneself)'
- c. LIBRATU 'free, liberate (oneself)'
- d. DEFENDATU 'free, liberate (oneself)'
- e. ENGAINATU 'deceive, trick (oneself)'
- f. KONPARATU 'compare (oneself)'

### 3.3. Borrowed verbs that only conjugate with *da*: "pure" unaccusatives (*burlatu, konformatu...*)

Some of the verbs labeled as only conjugating with *da* in *Hiztegi Batua* are the following:

<sup>11</sup> However, in Basque *deliberatu* has acquired the meaning 'decide', and in Spanish *decidir* may be used reflexively: *decidirse*.

<i>abusatu</i> 2 (Nor. "jostatu") 'enjoy'	<i>fidatu</i> 'trust'	<i>manifestatu</i> 1 (South) 'de- monstrate'
<i>ailegatu</i> 'arrive'	<i>gobernatu</i> 2 ("jokatu") 'be- have, act'	<i>mutinatu</i> 'rise up, rebel, mutiny'
<i>antsiatu</i> 'worry'	<i>herratu</i> 'err'	<i>paratu</i> 'put'
<i>atrebitu</i> 'dare'	<i>interesatu</i> 'be(come) int- erested'	<i>partitu</i> 'set out, depart'
<i>atrofiatu</i> 'atrophy'	<i>kabitu</i> 'fit, have room'	<i>pasatu</i> 2 ("gertatu") 'hap- pen'
<i>biziatu</i> 'become addicted, degenerate'	<i>kanpatu</i> 'camp'	<i>pausatu</i> 'perch, rest, pass away'
<i>burlatu</i> 'make fun'	<i>katigatu</i> 'get caught, stuck, tangled'	<i>portatu</i> 'behave, act'
<i>dedikatu</i> 'devote oneself'	<i>kexatu</i> 'worry'	<i>prezatu</i> 2 ("harrotu") 'be proud of (oneself)'
<i>deskantsatu</i> 'rest'	<i>komekatu</i> 'take commun- ion'	<i>saltatu</i> 'jump, leap'
<i>deskuidatu</i> 'neglect'	<i>komulgatu</i> 'take commun- ion'	<i>soberatu</i> 'be left over, be too much'
<i>dibertitu</i> 'have fun, be en- tertained'	<i>konfederatu</i> 'enter into a confederation'	<i>sobratu</i> 'be left over, be too much'
<i>dibortziatu</i> 'get divorced'	<i>konformatu</i> 'be satisfied (with)'	<i>tokatu</i> 'correspond (to), devolve (upon), fall to'
<i>dutxatu</i> 'have a shower'	<i>kostumatu</i> 'become accus- tomed (to), get used to'	<i>trabailatu</i> 'work'
<i>errabiatu</i> 'be(come) furi- ous, get mad'	<i>libratu</i> 2 ( <i>coll.</i> "kaka egin") 'move one's bowels'	<i>usatu</i> 'be(come) accustomed to, be or get used to'
<i>eskapatu</i> 'escape, get away'		<i>zeinatu</i> 'cross oneself'
<i>espezializatu</i> 'specialize'		
<i>existitu</i> 'exist'		
<i>faltatu</i> 2 ("falta izan") 'be lacking'		
<i>federatu</i> 'federate'		

Generally, then, 'other' intransitives —those which have no causative alternation and are not considered agentives— are borrowed into Basque as *da*-only verbs. The single argument of such verbs is the semantic 'theme' although it is syntactically the subject, as in (17a), and they do not allow causative alternation (17b):

- (17) a. Mikel [THEMA] horretara atrebitu da. 'Mikel [abs.] dared [*da*] to (do) it.'  
 b. \*Maisuak Mikel horretara atrebitu du. 'The teacher [erg.] dared [*du*] Mikel to (do) it.'

Syntactically, most borrowed verbs that only take *da* in Basque are reflexive in form in the source language. The verb may be intrinsically reflexive in the source language as in (18), or Basque may have borrowed the verb in reflexive uses (or mainly so), as in (19).

(18) INTRINSICALLY REFLEXIVE, OR USED REFLEXIVELY:

- a. Fr. SE MUTINER/\*mutiner → *mutinatu* (*da*) 'rise up, rebel, mutiny'  
 b. Sp. ATREVERSE/\*atrever → *atrebitu* (*da*) 'dare'  
 c. QUEJARSE/\*quejar → *kexatu* (*da*) 'complain'  
 d. CONFORMARSE # conformar → *konformatu* (*da*) 'be satisfied (with)'  
 e. FIARSE # fiar → *fidatu* (*da*) 'trust'  
 f. ANSIARSE # ansiar → *antsiatu* (*da*) 'worry'

- g. PORTARSE # portar → portatu (*da*) 'behave'
- h. SIGNARSE/? signar → zeinatu (*da*) 'cross oneself'

## (19) BORROWED IN A (CHIEFLY) REFLEXIVE USE:

- a. descuidar/DESCUIDARSE → deskuidatu (*da*) 'neglect, not bother'
- b. divertir/DIVERTIRSE → dibertitu (*da*) 'have fun'
- c. divorciar/DIVORCIARSE → dibortziatu (*da*) 'get divorced'
- d. interesar/INTERESARSE → interesatu (*da*) 'take an interest'
- e. ocupar/OCUPARSE → okupatu (*da*) 'occupy oneself, busy oneself'
- f. dedicar/DEDICARSE → dedikatu (*da*) 'devote oneself (to), be engaged (in)'

Sometimes the source verb is originally transitive, but Basque has borrowed it in a reflexive use (or this is the only use recognised by *HB*):

## (20) REFLEXIVE USE:

- a. duchar/DUCHARSE → dutxatu (*da*) '(have a) shower'
- b. federar/FEDERARSE → federatu (*da*) 'federate'
- c. confederar/CONFEDERARSE → konfederatu (*da*) 'enter into a confederation'

Verbs of existence and appearance, which are considered unaccusative in the source languages, are also treated as *da*-verbs:

## (21) VERBS OF EXISTENCE AND APPEARANCE:

- a. EXISTITU 'exist'
- b. FALTATU 2 'be lacking'
- c. KABITU 'fit, have room'
- d. PASATU 2 'happen'
- e. SOBERATU 'be left over, be too much'
- f. SOBRATU 'ditto'
- g. SUERTATU 'happen, come about, turn out'

Some verbs of movement expressing point of departure or goal are also unaccusative in Basque:

## (22) SOME VERBS OF MOVEMENT:

- a. ALEGATU 'arrive'
- b. PARTITU 'set out, depart'
- c. HERRATU 'err'
- d. ESKAPATU<sup>12</sup> 'escape, get away'

<sup>12</sup> Also used today as a *du* verb in western Basque.

However, as we mentioned above, doubts arise regarding the conjugation of borrowed verbs denoting manner of movement, e.g.

(23) VERBS OF MANNER OF MOVEMENT: VACILLATIONS

- a. KORRITU 'run': unergative (*du*)
- b. SALTATU 'jump': *da*, but vacillation with ?*du* in present-day Basque
- c. PASEATU '(go for a) walk or ride': *da*, but vacillation with ?*du* in present-day Basque

Some verbs labeled only as *da* verbs in *HB* are really *da/du* verbs:

(24) MISLABELED IN *HB*: *DA* > *DA/DU*

- a. ATROFIATU 'atrophy' (*EH*: *da/du*).
- b. BIZIATU 'become addicted, degenerate' (*EH*: *da/du*).
- c. BURLATU 'make fun (of)'
- d. ERRABIATU 'become furious, get mad' (*EH*: *da/du*).
- e. GOBERNATU (*EH*: *du*, "zuzendu..." 'govern'; *da*, "jokatu, portatu" 'behave, act').
- f. ?LIBRATU (1. *du* "atera, askatu" 'liberate, free'; 2 *da coll.* "move one's bowels").
- g. PARATU (1 *du* "jarri, prestatu" 'put, prepare'; 2 *da* "jarri" 'place oneself').
- h. PAUSATU (1 *da* "atseden hartu, hil; jarri" 'rest, pass away; place oneself'; 2 *du* "jarri, ipini" 'put, place').
- i. PREZATU (1 *du* "balioetsi" 'appreciate, value'; 2 *da* "harrotu" 'be proud of oneself').

Finally, there are a few cases that defy a simple explanation (cf. 3.1.3):

- (25) a. DESKANTSATU (*da*) 'rest'  
 b. KOMEKATU/KOMULGATU (*da*) 'take communion'  
 c. TRABAILATU (*da*: *Nor. arch.*) 'work'

#### 4. Conclusions

To sum up, the following principal patterns or strategies are observed in present-day Basque regarding the transitivity of verbs borrowed from neighbouring languages:

1. Verbs that are transitive in the source language are generally conjugated as transitives (i.e. with *du*) in Basque (e.g. *adoratu* 'adore', *bisitatu* 'visit', *fabrikatu* 'manufacture'...; *estudiatu* 'study', *eskribitu* 'write'; *alfabetatu* 'teach literacy (to)', *animatu* 'cheer up, encourage'...; *defendatu* 'defend'...). Verbs borrowed into Basque include many transitives; indeed this is the largest class. Present-day speakers do not appear to have any doubts about the transitivity of such verbs.

As in Spanish and French, some transitive verbs which place tight selectional restrictions on their object permit an absolute or unergative use, e.g. *gazez ikasten du*

'he studies at night'. As in neighbouring languages, many transitives allow causative alternation, realized in Basque through alternation between the *du* and *da* auxiliaries. Others express reflexive meanings through the same alternation *du* > *da*.

2. When intransitive verbs are borrowed into Basque, a choice regarding transitivity is in order. Some intransitives, such as *bogatu* 'row', *desertatu* 'desert', *dudatu* 'doubt', *emigratu* 'emigrate', *erreinatu* 'reign', *eskiatu* 'ski', become unergative in Basque, conjugating with the *du* auxiliary. Others become unaccusatives, e.g. *atzebitu* 'dare', *kexatu* 'complain', *konformatu* 'be satisfied (with)', *fidatu* 'trust', *portatu* 'act, behave', *dibertitu* 'have fun'; these are conjugated with the *da* auxiliary. Thus, unlike transitive verbs, uncertainties concerning transitivity often occur with intransitives in both traditional and present-day usage.

3. However, the hypothesis (Sarasola 1977: 79) that the overwhelming present-day trend in these cases is to make intransitive verbs unergative is only partially borne out by my study. It is true that many foreign intransitives, such as *eskiatu* 'ski', *korritu* 'run', are borrowed into Basque as unergatives. But this formula is restricted by two conditioning variables: a) on the semantic level, unergativity is mostly associated with verbs which either display agentivity (e.g. *abdikatu* 'abdicate', *abortatu* 'have a miscarriage/abortion', *abusatu* 'go too far, abuse', *arnegatu* 'abnegate', *blasfematu* 'blaspheme', *bogatu* 'row', *deklaratu* 'declare, testify', *desertatu* 'desert', *dudatu* 'doubt', *emigratu* 'emigrate') or else denote an internally caused eventuality (such as *funtzionatu* 'work (as of a machine)', *kotizatu* 'have a quoted price, sell (at)', *zirkulatu* 'circulate'); b) syntactically, the unergative is restricted to intransitive verbs which are not formally reflexive in the source language. Thus, the tendency to make verbs unergative is mostly limited to borrowed intransitive agentive verbs that are not reflexive in the source language, and it is here that the recent trend towards unergativity is most striking, in verbs such as *saltatu du* 'jumped', *deskantsatu du* 'rested', *dantzatu du* 'danced', *olgatu du* 'had fun', displacing the older unaccusative usage (*saltatu da*, *deskantsatu da*, *dantzatu da*, *olgatu da*...).

4. The borrowed unergative verbs are not numerous: they are fewer in number than the other types of verbs, such as unaccusative borrowed verbs (taking *da*), and certainly rarer than borrowed verbs allowing causative alternation (*du/da*). In any case, in my opinion the tendency to borrow verbs as unergatives is not so much a modern development as a trend rooted in the past (cf. *EH*, *da* > *du*: *apelatu* 'appeal', *emigratu* 'emigrate', *komuniatu* 'take communion', *eskatu* 'request, demand', *itsastatu* 'sail') that has recently intensified. As a matter of fact, many borrowed unergatives are loans of long standing, e.g. *abusatu* 'go too far, abuse', *arnegatu* 'abnegate', *blasfematu* 'blaspheme', *bogatu* 'row', *desertatu* 'desert', *dudatu* 'doubt', *emigratu* 'emigrate', *erregutu* 'pray, beg, appeal', *erreinatu* 'reign', *erregaratu* 'notice', *faltatu* 1 'fail, miss', *komuniatu* 'take communion', *korritu* 'run', *protestatu* 'protest', *segitu* 'follow, continue', *toreatu* 'bullfight', *trafikatu* 'traffic (in)'.

5. Loans, then, that are candidates for treatment as unergative verbs in Basque are generally Spanish or French non-reflexive, agentive intransitives. While we have observed a modern development *da* > *du* in some verbs of this class (*saltatu* 'jump', *deskantsatu* 'rest', *dantzatu* 'dance', *olgatu* 'have fun', *komulgatu* 'take communion'...) there is no vacillation concerning the transitivity of verbs of other types. It is out of the question to treat as unergatives verbs that are reflexive in the source language (e.g. Fr. *se*

*mutiner* 'mutiny', Sp. *atreverse* 'dare', *quejarse* 'complain'...) or borrowed in a reflexive use (e.g. *conformarse* 'be happy (with)', *fiarse* 'trust', *portarse* 'behave', *signarse* 'cross oneself', *descuidarse* 'neglect, not bother', *divertirse* 'have fun', *interesarse* 'be interested', *ocuparse* 'occupy oneself, busy oneself', *dedicarse* 'devote oneself, be engaged in', *ducharse* 'have a shower'...). Verbs of existence or appearance (such as *existir* 'exist', *faltar* 'be lacking', *caber* 'fit', *pasar* 'happen', *sobrar* 'be left over, be too much'...) are hardly ever borrowed into Basque as unergatives. In my opinion Mendikoetxea's (1999) analysis of Spanish unaccusative verbs is supported by Basque, given that its treatment of borrowed verbs generally patterns with the classification proposed for Spanish. The Basque data, by showing that the bilingual speaker recognises implicitly the unaccusative syntactic nature of reflexives, support the analysis of reflexives in Spanish and French.

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**Corpora and dictionaries (with their abbreviations):**

- EEBS*: Egungo *Euskararen Bilketa-lan Sistematikoa* (nowadays *xx. mendeko Euskararen Corpus Estatistikoa*: <http://www.euskaracorporusa.com>).
- Elb.*: Elhuyar 2000, *Elhuyar Hiztegia. Euskara-gaztelania. Castellano-vasco*, Elhuyar, Usurbil.
- OEHtc*: Euskaltzaindia 1984. *OEH-ko testu corpusa*.
- DRAE*: Real Academia Española 1992. *Diccionario de la lengua española* (21. edition), Madrid, Real Academia Española.
- EH*: Sarasola, I. 1996. *Euskal Hiztegia*, Kutxa.
- HB*: Euskaltzaindia 2000. *Hiztegi Batua*.
- OEH*: Michelena, L. 1987-1999. *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*, Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.