

Publicaciones de la Cátedra ‘Luis Michelena’
‘Koldo Mitxelena’ Katedraren Argitalpenak
[3]

BASQUE AND (PALEO)HISPANIC STUDIES IN THE WAKE OF MICHELENA’S WORK

Proceedings of the First Conference of the Koldo Mitxelena Chair
Koldo Mitxelena Katedraren Lehen Jardunaldietako Aktak
Actas del Primer Congreso de la Cátedra Luis Michelena



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Universidad del País Vasco
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Joaquín Gorrochategui
Editor

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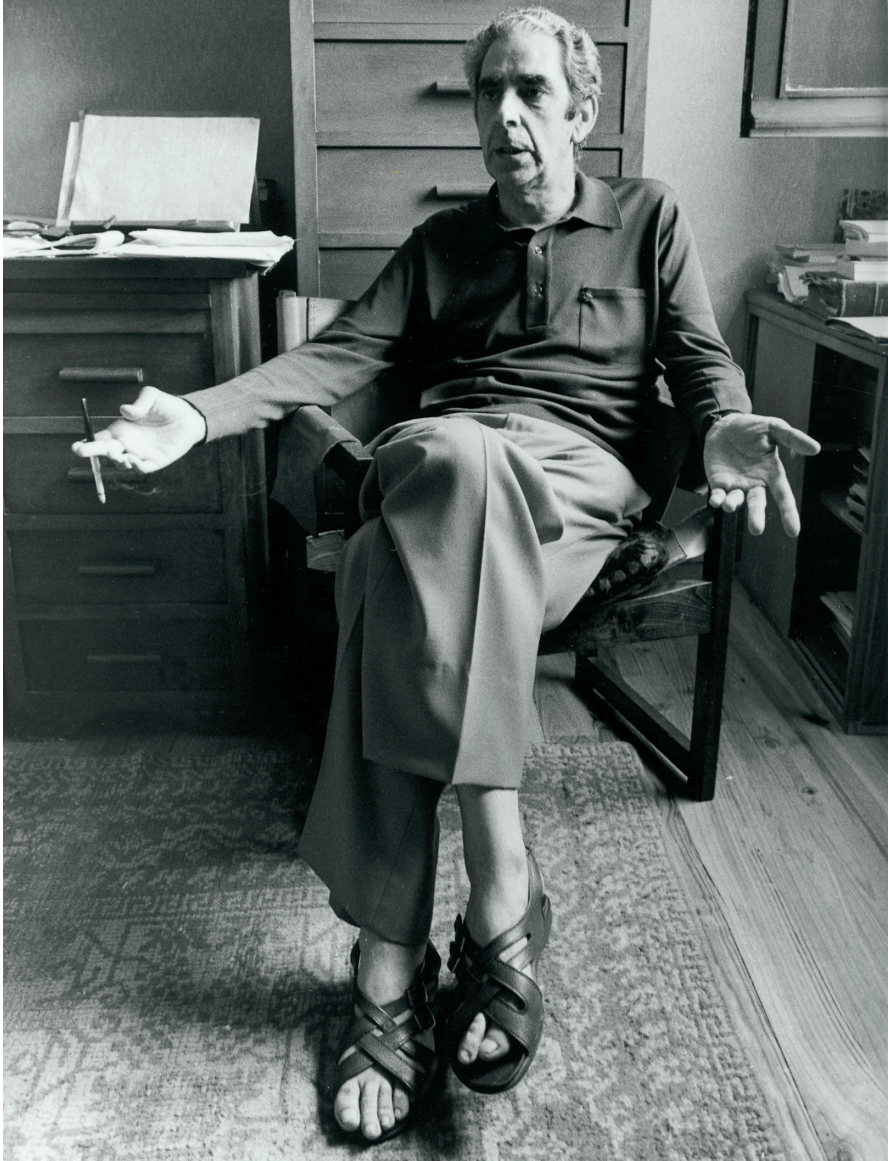
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Luis Michelena in his study

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Presentation

Koldo Mitxelenaren lanaren ildotik: Katedraren aurkezpena

La trayectoria académica de Luis Michelena: Presentación de la Cátedra

*Mahi honen buru zaren erretoreorde anderea.
Agintari agurgarriak,
Ekitaldi honetara etorri zareten lagun eta adiskideok*

Gezurra badirudi ere, hamar urte pasa dira Koldo Mitxelena, hurbiletik edo urrutitik gure guztion maisua izan zena, hil zitzaigunetik. Ezin da ukatu azken hamar urte hauetan Euskal Filologia, unibertsitate sail gisa bederen, eta Fakultatea bera ere, asko aldatu direla Koldo Mitxelenak utzi zituen egoeratik, nahikoa dugu horretarako irakasleen ugaritasun eta prestakuntzari zein ikasgai eskaintzaren aberastasunari erreparatzea. Garbi dago, baita ere, Euskal Filologia eta Hizkuntzalaritza, zientzi alor modura, ez dela geldirik egon Koldo Mitxelenak lagatako hutsunea sumatu zuenez geroztik. Eremu batzuetan besteetan baino gehiago, baina guztietan K. Mitxelenaren maisutasunaren ildotik jarraituz, Euskal Filologiak aurrerapen nabariak egin ditu etxeko zein kanpoko ikertzaileei esker.

Sailean sail eta banan banan zertan gauzatu den ikerlan hau aztertzea izango da, batez ere, ihardunaldi hauetako eginkizuna.

Koldo Mitxelenaren maisutasunaren eragina ukaezinezkoa bada ere, harritzekoa da zein denbora gutxitan lortu zuen Gasteizen geroko Euskal Filologiaren hazia ereitea eta honen lehen fruituak ateratzea. Kontuan eduki behar da 1979-80. ikasturtean hasten dela, Unibertsitatea eta Fakultatea sortu ondoren, Gasteizen eskolak ematen, goitik behera guztiz berria eta tradizio gabekoa den Filologia bateko ikasgaiak *ex novo* prestatuz. Hasieran euskal gaiak ez ezik indieupar hizkuntzalaritzako ikasgaiak ere ematen ditu, baina laster

The main traits of Michelena's scholarship and its contribution to current research

However incredible it may seem, ten years have passed since the death of one who was, whether from a distance or close at hand, a master for many of us: Luis Michelena.

It cannot be denied that the Department of Basque Philology, as also the Faculty which it belongs to have both undergone considerable change in the ten years that have passed since the death of Luis Michelena; one need only look at the increase in the numbers and academic qualifications of the teaching staff and at the rich and varied selection of subjects now offered in the Programme of Studies. It is equally evident that Basque Philology and Linguistics have not remained at a standstill when faced with the vacuum left by Michelena. In all areas, without any doubt, even if in some more than in others, Basque philology has advanced in these ten years along the pathways that had already been marked out by Michelena, thanks both to the work of young researchers within the university and to valuable external contributions.

The object of this first «K. Mitxelena» Congress on Basque Philology and Linguistics will be precisely to give an account of the advances that have been made in each specific field within the past ten years.

As well as bearing witness to the undeniable influence exercised by Michelena, it is amazing to see how, in such a short period of time in Vitoria, he succeeded in laying the seed for future philological studies in the Basque language and reaped himself its first fruits. It must be remembered that his first official classes on Basque Philology, a field which was totally new and for which there was no precedent in university circles, thus obliging him to prepare everything from scratch, only commenced in the 1979-80 academic year, after the creation of the Faculty of Arts as a part of the University of the Basque Country. During the first years, he gave classes in the area of Indo-European Linguistics as well as in the initial subjects in Basque Philology, a

beharrak bultzatua azken hauek utziko ditu, urtez urte agertzen diren euskal ikasgai berriei aurre egiteko. Ez ziren garai errazak izan, ez Fakultatean ezta ere orduko politika giroan, arazo guztiek arrapatzen baitzuten gure maisua erdi erdian. Beste guztiontzat, halaz ere, esango nuke garai gozoak izan zirela, hasiera guztiei darien kutsu epiko edo heroikoa sumatzen genuelako orduko ekintza gehienetan. Baina gure gozotasunaren arrazoi garbientako bat K. Mitxelena bera zen, hark ematen baitzigun itzala, babes, segurtasuna, hark gure lehen ikerketen nondik norakoa.

Bi promoziok edo, berari noiz edo behin entzundako hitza erabiliz, bi la-bealdik izan zuten K. Mitxelena karrerako urte guztietan. Gainerako ikasleek zuzenean irakasle gisa eduki ez arren hark antolaturiko ikasketa planak segituz burutu zituzten bere estudioak. Orduko planei begirada bat ematea besterik ez da behar K. Mitxelenaren ikuspuntu zabal eta aberatsean erreparatzeko. Euskal filologiako plana zen bai, baina haren barnean latina eta hizkuntzalaritza erromanikoa beharrezkoak ziren hala nola hispaniar literatura eta greziar eta latin literatura ere. Eta ez zuen hau guztia hala prestatu euskal gaiak emateko irakaslearen eskasiagatik soilik, halako plan baten onuragarritasunean benetan sinisten zuelako baizik. Esate baterako, haren ustez nekez aurrera zitezkeen euskal filologian espaniar literaturaren berri eduki gabe, edota frantseza irakurtzeko eta ulertzeko gai izan gabe.

Urteak pasa ahala euskalherriko belaunaldi gasteenak Mitxelena euskal filologo eta hizkuntzalari nagusi gisa soilik ezagutzen duen arren, esan behar da Koldo Mitxelena beste alor askotan ere aditua izan zela. Horregatik haren gan aurkitzen zuen aholkua edozein filologiako irakaslek, eta ez ziren gutxi izaten iritziaren bila hurbiltzen zitzaizkion historialari eta letra gizonak. Dударik gabe indieuropar hizkuntzalaritza izan zen, alor horien artean, K. Mitxelenaren eginbide profesionalaren beste aldea. Gazteizen, EHUKo Fakultatera Salamancatik aldatu zenean, «Indieuropar eta Euskal Hizkuntzalaritza» izeneko katedra baten jabe izan zen ia erretiratu zen arte. Ez dut batere duda egiten oso gustora, arro esango nuke nik, sentitzen zuela bere burua izen bikoitz horren azpian. Konprenitzekoa da, haatik, min samina hartu zuela Ministeritzak, Lege berriak zekarzkien aldaketen arabera, bata hala bestea aukeratzera behartu zuenean. Hizkuntzalaritza Indieuroparreko katedraduna izateari eutsi zion: modu honetan argi erakutsi nahi zuen, alde batetik, arlo hori bere karreraren zati nagusia izan zela hasiera hasieratik eta, beste aldetik, Euskal herriko unibertsitatean, euskal estudioak martxan jarri eta sendotu ondoren, beharrezkoa zela baita ere berak batez ere Salamancan landu zituen gaiek lekua izan zezaten.

Esan daiteke, 1987. go uda partean Unibertsitateak lege berriaren arabera, zortzi urtetan zehar funtzionatu zuen sail bikoitz horri amaiera emanez eta K. Mitxelenak landu zituen arlo biak sail desberdinetan banatuz, orain ezagutzen ditugun sailak eratu zituenean, Gasteizko zikloa edo deitu diezaioketun denboraldi hori burutu zela, hain zuzen ere Koldo Mitxelenaren bizitza bera burutzen zen une berberean.

situation that was to continue until he was forced by the burgeoning needs of that Philology to abandon his attention to Indo-European. Those were not easy years, either from the academic viewpoint or from the viewpoint of general policy, since all problems, of whatever nature, were brought to him. For the rest of us, those years seem to me to have had a certain aura of sweetness, a certain air of the epic and heroic, as often happens in the initial years of any enterprise. One of the most evident reasons for this feeling of ease was the very presence of Michelena, since we received from him shelter, assurance and guidance in our first faltering steps in the world of research.

Only the first two groups of students to emerge from Basque Philology had him as a teacher throughout the whole course of their studies, the rest only experienced his influence through the programme of studies that he had drawn up. One need only take a glance at that programme of studies to realize how wide-ranging and rich was the mind that lay behind it. In the programme of Basque Philology that he had drawn up, students had to study Latin and Romanic linguistics as well as subjects drawn from Hispanic, Greek and Latin literature. This was not only motivated by the undeniable circumstance of the relative poverty of autochthonous material but also by his conviction of the value of this perspective: in his view one could hardly advance in the field of Basque philology without an adequate background knowledge of Spanish literature or without being able to understand French.

It is true of course that, as the years have passed, younger generations of students have come to see L. Michelena simply as the most important Basque linguist of the twentieth century, but one should not forget that he had a wide knowledge of other fields within the humanities. Philologists of whatever discipline could always find in him a wise counsellor and more than a few historians and scholars consulted him on a wide number of topics. There can be no doubt, of course, that first among these was the area of Indo-European Linguistics, an area to which he dedicated many years of his professional career in the University of Salamanca. After his transfer from this latter university to the University of the Basque Country in Vitoria, he took over the professorship of Indo-European and Basque Linguistics, a chair that he was to occupy until shortly before his retirement. I have not the slightest doubt that he felt very much at home with this double denomination, and one can easily understand the regret that he felt when the Ministry of Education, in application of the new university law, obliged him to choose either one or the other. He decided to retain the chair of Indo-European Linguistics, showing in this way that this area formed an important part of his academic activity, while at the same time showing that, now that the foundations had been laid for Basque Philology, it was also necessary that the former area too, the area to which the greater part of his academic activity had been dedicated in the University of Salamanca, should find its place in the University of the Basque Country.

So it was that in the summer of 1987, after the Department that he had founded had been happily functioning for eight years, and as a consequence

Aurreko hamar urteak, hau da 1967tik 1977ra artekoak, Salamancan pasa zituen hizkuntzalaritza indieuroparreko katedradun gisa. Orduko unibertsitate hartan lanerako lasaitasuna eta giro paregabea aurkitu zituen. Katedrak eskatzen zion lanaz gain, —eta lan hauen artean, besteak beste, latin hizkuntzalaritza historikoa, anglosaxoiera, gotikoa, irlandera zaharra, hizkuntzalaritza historikoa eta gonbaratua, eta Hispaniako hizkuntza zaharrei buruzko ikastaroak ematea zegokion—, denbora librean, harritzekoa bada ere horiek gai guztiok eman ondoren denbora librean izatea, euskal gaiak aztertzen segitzen zuen.

Dena dela, Mitxelenaren Salamancarekiko lotura lehenagotik dator, Antonio Tovarrek, unibertsitateko errektore zelarik, Manuel de Larramendi izeneko katedra sortu zuenetik, hain zuzen ere. Katedra berezi horri esker, Mitxelenak urtero egiten zuen denboralditxo bat Salamancan ikastaroren bat ematen eta bide batez hango biblioteca aberatsera heldutako liburu eta aldzikari berriak miatzten. Esan behar da, gainera, ez zela bera izan Manuel de Larramendi Katedraren izenean euskerari buruzko gaiak irakatsi zituen euskaldun bakarra. Tamalez, katedra hori desagertua omen dago orain. Egia da euskarako titularidade plaza bat sortu dutela Salamancan, Euskalheretik kanpo hirugarrena dena, baina halaz guztiz ere, dudatan jartzen dut berri honen aintzinako hark zuen eragina izan dezakeela fakultate haren irakasleen artean.

Hantxe Salamancan, goi mailako irakasle guztien neurrigabeko estimu eta begiruneaz inguraturik, eman zituen Mitxelenak bere fruiturik onenak. Ez dugu ahaztu behar bere lanari eta jakituriari esker lortu zuen prestigioak medede handia egin zigula guztioi Fakultate berri honen aitzin urratsetan.



Me he detenido en esta breve, y necesariamente incompleta pincelada sobre la trayectoria académica de Michelena, para cimentar en ella la razón de ser de la Cátedra, que dedicada a su memoria presentamos hoy con emoción e ilusionada esperanza.

Esta Cátedra pretende cultivar, dentro de un espíritu de rigor intelectual y amplitud de miras, todos aquellos dominios que merecieron la dedicación científica de Michelena a lo largo de su vida. Quienes lo conocimos sabemos de sus vastísimos conocimientos, de sus amplísimos intereses, de su inmensa curiosidad científica, y aun mundana, de suerte que no he conocido hombre al que le cuadrara mejor la divisa «de omni re scibile», que acuñó para sí el insigne Pico della Mirandola como expresión del orgulloso saber global del humanista.

De todos modos creo que pueden aislarse en su obra y vida unas cuantas líneas maestras que animan toda su actividad científica.

La primera y permanente obsesión de Michelena es la de convertir al País Vasco en el centro de unos estudios filológicos sobre la propia lengua,

of the new university law, there came to an end what might be called the «Vitorian cycle» of his activity, a cycle that was to coincide fatally with the end of his life.

For ten years previous to that, from 1967 to 1977, he had held the chair of Indo-European Linguistics in the University of Salamanca. There he had found the quiet and the environment which were necessary for his intense academic activity. Besides the work derived from his activity as Professor—in which we might mention the History of each of the following languages: Latin, Old English, Gothic and Old Irish; Comparative Linguistics and Literature and seminars on the Pre-Roman languages of the Iberian peninsula—he still found time, though one might wonder where he found it with the labour involved in the preparation of so many different subjects, to continue with his research on topics related to Basque.

L. Michelena's relationship with the University of Salamanca goes back further, however. It goes back to the time when A. Tovar, as Rector of that University, created the «Manuel de Larramendi» Chair in Basque Studies. Thanks to this Chair, Michelena spent some part of each year in charge of a seminar in Salamanca and thus had the opportunity of getting up to date on all the latest bibliographic material which came to the well-stocked libraries of that university. Tovar showed great insight in creating this Chair, since a number of other scholars, apart from Michelena, were later to occupy it and present different aspects of Basque philology and culture. Unfortunately, the University decided, a number of years ago, to discontinue its maintenance, creating in its place a fixed post for a teacher of the Basque language. Though this is the third such post created in a Spanish university outside the Basque Country, it is hard to imagine how any such post could exercise the same influence on the members of the Faculty as was exercised by the previous endowed Chair. During those years in Salamanca, enveloped in the personal and professional esteem of his colleagues, Luis Michelena produced his best academic work. We should not forget that the well-deserved prestige that he had earned in the eyes of all around him were later to stand the Faculty of Arts in the University of the Basque Country in very good stead in the years when it was getting off the ground.



I have lingered a while on this necessarily brief and incomplete sketch of the academic career of Luis Michelena, in order to place on its foundations the *raison d'être* of this new Chair, which is dedicated to his memory and which we present today with so much hope and feeling.

The object of this Chair is to cultivate, within a broad-ranging and rigorous intellectual spirit, all those areas to which Michelena dedicated scientific attention during his life. Those of us who knew him were acquainted with the depth and breadth of his knowledge, his far-reaching interests, his immense scientific and even worldly curiosity, so that I can truly say that I have never

que posean el nivel de exigencia y rigor habitual de los campos filológicos mejor tratados y estudiados. Para decirlo con sus propias palabras:

«Durante decenios me he esforzado porque este País se convierta de modo permanente en uno de los centros de estos estudios; mejor dicho, en su foco principal, aunque en modo alguno exclusivo».

Él fue el primero entre nosotros en aunar en su persona un sólido conocimiento de los textos y de la tradición tanto literaria como erudita del País con las teorías y los métodos más universalmente aceptados en la disciplina. Rompió definitivamente con una costumbre bien arraigada entre nosotros, según la cual la especificidad de nuestra lengua (y por extensión si queremos, de nuestra cultura, pensamiento y aun de la política) nos exoneraba de someterla a las reglas y a los modos de investigación de validez universal. Puede decirse que aplicó a nuestro terreno el principio del *uniformitarismo* científico que Lyell empleó hace tiempo en sus *Principios de Geología* y que los neogramáticos, por quienes profesaba un gran respeto en épocas poco propicias a sus intereses, aplicaron excelentemente a la historia de las lenguas.

Estaba convencido de que la filología y la lingüística vasca solo avanzarían en la medida en que no se aislaran en sí mismas y en la medida en que, manteniendo intensos contactos con la investigación paralela en otros dominios lingüísticos, no perdieran tampoco de vista las especulaciones teóricas o metodológicas que afectan a los principios de la disciplina.

Su trayectoria personal fue un buen ejemplo práctico de este modo de proceder.

«Lo nuestro, lo que me toca más de cerca, me ha llevado a lo lejano, a oír y leer bastantes cosas sobre el presente y el pasado de lenguas diversas».

Así es, en efecto. Para abordar con rigor y conocimiento de causa todos los complejos aspectos que se agolpaban en la enrevesada madeja que era la historia de la lengua vasca, no tuvo más remedio que dar un amplio rodeo, incomprensiblemente largo para algunos, por terrenos poco frecuentados hasta entonces por los estudiosos anteriores. Entre otras cosas tuvo que adentrarse en las interioridades de la lengua latina y de sus descendientes, las románicas, en especial de las más próximas a la lengua vasca, bucear e indagar en los enigmáticos residuos lingüísticos, tanto textuales como onomásticos, de las lenguas prerromanas de la península, llegar a tener una idea cabal de las particularidades y de la evolución de las lenguas célticas en el marco más general de las lenguas indoeuropeas y a estar adecuadamente enterado de la validez y alcance de los propuestas comparativas en el dominio caucásico.

Sin que necesariamente la conjunción de lo propio con lo más alejado deba darse en los mismos ámbitos en que tuvo lugar en el caso de Miche-

known anyone to whom we could better apply the adage *de omni re scibile*, which the famous Pico della Mirandola coined for himself as an expression of the proud global knowledge of the humanist.

There are, I believe, however, a number of master lines which it is possible to isolate in his life and work and which motivated all his scientific activity.

His foremost and permanent obsession was to convert the Basque Country into the centre for philological studies on the Basque language, a centre which would live up to the demands and scientific rigour to be found in the very best philological studies. To put it in his own words:

«For decades I have endeavoured to permanently convert this country into one of the centres for these studies or rather to make of it their principal focus, though not by any manner or means with any thought of excluding others.»

He was the first among us to unite in his person a deep knowledge of the texts and traditions of this country, both literary and erudite, together with the theories and methods most universally accepted in our discipline. He brought about a definitive break with a deeply-rooted habit among us, which considered that the specific and idiosyncratic character of our language (and by extension, if you will, of our culture, thought and even of our politics) exonerated us from submitting it to rules and modes of research which are universally valid. It could be said that he applied to our field the principle of scientific uniformity which Lyell employed a long time since in his *Principles of Geology* and which the neo-grammarians, for whom he professed a deep respect during a period which had little time for them, had applied to the history of languages with remarkable results.

He was convinced that Basque philology and linguistics would only advance to the extent that they did not become isolated in their own world and to the extent that, while maintaining intense contacts with parallel research in other linguistic domains, they did not lose sight of the theoretical and methodological speculations which affected the principles of the discipline.

His own career was a good practical example of this same procedure.

«What is ours, what is closest to me, has carried me away to what is most distant, to hear and read a great deal about the past and present of many languages».

And that, indeed, is the way it is. In order to examine with rigour and understanding the many complex aspects of the ravelled net which constituted the history of the Basque language, there was no alternative but to take a wide perspective, incomprehensibly wide for some, from vantage points which had been little frequented in previous studies. Among other areas, he had to search through the entrails of Latin and its descendents, the Romance languages, and especially those closest to the Basque language; he had to

lena, no cabe duda de que este modelo produce unos evidentes resultados beneficiosos.

Como puede apreciarse por la relación, sin duda incompleta, de las materias que he mencionado, salta a la vista que la actividad principal de Michelena se centró en la lingüística histórica o diacrónica:

«Mi quehacer tiene que ver ante todo con la historia (que comprende también en este caso lo que en sentido estricto deberíamos llamar prehistoria), la historia y la prehistoria lingüísticas.»

Y en este aspecto su contribución al campo estrictamente vasco fue absolutamente definitiva y la que dedicó a otros campos circundantes o generales más que notable. Es bien sabido que los cambios de los sonidos, en virtud de su innata disposición a ser sometidos a esquemas regulares, ofrecen al historiador de las lenguas un campo de acción mucho más seguro que el que pudieran darle otros ámbitos, quizá más interesantes, pero menos formalizables. Michelena, en su magistral *Fonética Histórica Vasca*, logra por fin poner orden en un sin fin de datos dispersos, relacionar procesos ocurridos en dialectos diversos, establecer la cronología antigua o reciente de numerosos cambios, iluminar la etimología de bastantes palabras autóctonas, etc.; en definitiva, a pesar del título, por otro lado muy tradicional ya para la época, se trata del primer esbozo serio y comprensible de una historia interna de la lengua vasca. Mítxelena no escribió nunca una «morfología histórica» sistemática que fuera complemento de su *Fonética*, aunque dejó desperdigadas por sus artículos abundantes aportaciones al tema, que sería imposible relatar ahora. Estas obras de fonética y de morfología, junto con sus *Textos arcaicos vascos* y su *Historia de la literatura vasca*, dos joyas bibliográficas complementarias, constituyen el punto de referencia obligado para cualquier trabajo sobre la historia de la lengua. Fue crucial también su actividad lexicográfica, tanto en las labores de crítica de los diccionarios vascos históricos y en especial de los de Larramendi y Azkue, como en el de preparación y redacción de su *Diccionario General Vasco*, del cual solamente pudo ultimar el primer tomo. No pueden dejarse sin citar tampoco sus excelentes contribuciones a los estudios toponomásticos, cuyo interés fundamental radica en que constituyen la única fuente de información sobre un periodo bastante amplio de la protohistoria lingüística. Sus trabajos de onomástica y toponimia son altamente valorados por los romanistas, que encuentran en su habilidosa capacidad de relacionar datos vascos y románicos, una guía metodológica de primera magnitud.

Dentro del campo no estrictamente vasco, destacaría por su importancia, así como por mor de la brevedad, dos cuestiones: en primer lugar su contribución al esclarecimiento de importantes cuestiones de grafía y de fonología del celtibérico y del ibérico, y en segundo, sus reflexiones de índole metodológica sobre los principios de la comparación y la reconstrucción lingüísticas.

ferret and rummage through the enigmatic linguistic remnants, both textual and onomastic, of the pre-Roman languages of the peninsula; he had to acquire an accurate idea of the peculiarities and evolution of the Celtic languages within the general framework of Indo-European languages and he had also to be up to date with the extent and possible validity of comparative proposals in the domain of Caucasian languages.

Though it may not be necessary that this combination of what is personal with what is extraneous should occur in precisely those same areas in which it occurred in the case of Michelena, it is clear that combinations of this nature produce obvious and valuable results.

As can be seen from the undoubtedly incomplete list of areas which I have mentioned, Michelena centred his activity on historical or diachronic linguistics:

«My activity is especially concerned with history (which in this case includes what we should more strictly call prehistory), with linguistic history and prehistory.»

In this area, his contribution in the field of Basque was absolutely decisive, and in surrounding fields and in the area generally his contribution was significant. It is well known that sound changes, by virtue of their innate tendency to be subject to regular rules, offer the historian of language a much safer field of action than other fields which, though perhaps more interesting are less amenable to formalization. Michelena, in his masterly *Fonética Histórica Vasca*, succeeds at last in bringing order to an endless series of disperse data, in relating processes which occurred in diverse dialects, in establishing the ancient and recent chronology of numerous changes, and in illuminating the etymology of quite a number of autochthonous words, etc.; in short, despite the title, quite a common one at that time, we have before us the first serious and comprehensible outline of the internal history of the Basque language.

Michelena never wrote a systematic «historical morphology» which would complement his Phonetics, though we find scattered among his articles abundant contributions to the topic which it is impossible to comment on here. This work on phonetics and morphology, together with his *Textos arcaicos vascos* and his *Historia de la literatura vasca*, two complementary bibliographic gems, form an obligatory reference point for any study on the history of the Basque language. His lexicographic activity was also crucial, both in his critical appraisals of early Basque dictionaries, especially those of Larramendi and Azkue, as well as in the preparation and editing of his *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia-Diccionario General Vasco*, only the first volume of which he could complete. His excellent contributions to toponomastic studies cannot be left unmentioned, these being our only source of information for quite a lengthy period of linguistic protohistory and so conferring on them a fundamental interest. His work on onomastics and toponymy is greatly

Estas últimas recibieron una formulación precisa y elegante en un librito que ha sido muy influyente para la labor de los lingüistas históricos; me refiero a *Lenguas y Protolenguas*, cuya versión inglesa ve la luz estos días como primera publicación de esta Cátedra.

Era un hombre que tenía una clara noción de la jerarquía o precedencia de unas actividades sobre otras. En este sentido, aun siendo por profesión lingüista y por vocación dado a la comparación de las lenguas, tenía claro que toda especulación lingüística debía basarse en datos rigurosamente contrastados por el arte filológica y que la reconstrucción prehistórica y la comparación solo alcanzarían visos de verosimilitud si se anclaban sólidamente en un profundo conocimiento de la historia documentada. Y sobre todo era un hombre que tenía en muy alta estima a las Humanidades, tanto las clásicas como las modernas, y creía firmemente en el valor social de su actividad. Un conocimiento riguroso y amplio de la historia de la propia lengua no solo es un valor en sí mismo, sino también el requisito imprescindible para la toma de decisiones atinadas en problemas centrales como la unificación de la lengua literaria o en inevitables y necesarios procesos de creación terminológica.

Teniendo en cuenta todas estas premisas, en cumplimiento de un mandato rectoral que se remonta a hace diez años y que ha sido renovado por nuestro actual rector, el Prof. Dr. Pello Salaburu, en ocasión del décimo aniversario de la muerte de Luis Michelena, establecemos las siguientes grandes áreas de actuación de esta Cátedra:

1. En primer lugar se interesará por todos aquellos aspectos que directa o indirectamente enriquezcan la lingüística, la filología y la historia de la lengua vasca.
2. También acogerá las investigaciones sobre la prehistoria lingüística de Europa y en especial las que atañen a las lenguas prerromanas hispánicas.
3. Por último se interesará especialmente por los aspectos teóricos y metodológicos sobre la comparación, la reconstrucción y la historia lingüísticas, así como por sus aplicaciones más felices en diversas lenguas o familias lingüísticas.

La Cátedra Luis Michelena, dentro de este ámbito de actuación, no pretende interferir en absoluto ni en la actividad ni en las competencias de otras entidades propias de la Universidad o ajenas a ella que se dedican de un modo u otro al estudio de la lengua vasca: en primer lugar con los departamentos actuales de Filología vasca o de Estudios Clásicos, dedicados a la organización de la enseñanza reglada y a la investigación en sus respectivos ámbitos, y en segundo ni con el Instituto universitario del Euskara, cuya finalidad principal es la de dotar a la lengua de los recursos necesarios para la enseñanza universitaria en todas las materias del saber, ni, por supuesto, con Euskaltzaindia, que entiende en los aspectos normativos de la lengua.

valued by Romanic scholars, who find a methodological guide of the first magnitude in his skill at relating Basque and Romanic data.

Outside the confines of Basque, and with a desire to keep this Presentation as brief as possible, I will mention just two important areas: in the first place, his contribution to the clarification of important questions relating to the script and phonology of Celtiberian and Iberian, and in the second place his methodological reflections on the principles of comparison and reconstruction in linguistics. These last he formulated precisely and elegantly in a short book which has been very influential in the work of historical linguists; I refer to *Lenguas y Protolenguas*, the English version of which (*Languages and Protolanguages*, Bilbao 1997) is the first publication of this Chair which is dedicated to him.

He was a man who had a very clear idea of the hierarchy or precedence of certain activities with respect to others. In this sense, though a linguist by profession and a comparativist by vocation, he always recognised clearly that all linguistic speculation must be based on data which have been rigorously contrasted philologically and that prehistoric reconstruction and comparison can only acquire verisimilitude if they are solidly anchored in a profound knowledge of the documented history. Above all, he was a man who held the study of the humanities in very high esteem, both classical and modern, and he had a firm belief in the social value of his activity. A rigorous and wide knowledge of the history of one's language is not only to be valued for its own sake, but it is also an indispensable requisite if we are to make appropriate decisions in central problems such the unification of the literary language or in inevitable and necessary processes such as the creation of terminology.

With all of this in mind, then, and in fulfilment of an order from the Rectorate of the university which dates back to almost ten years ago, and which has been renewed again by our present Rector, Prof. Pello Salaburu, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the death of Luis Michelena, we establish the following areas of activity for this Chair:

1. In the first place it will take as its field of interest everything which either directly or indirectly may enrich the linguistics, philology and history of the Basque language.
2. This interest will extend to research on the linguistic prehistory of Europe, and especially that which is related to pre-Roman Hispanic languages.
3. Finally, it will be especially concerned with methodological and theoretical aspects of linguistic comparison, reconstruction and history, and with the appropriate application of these to diverse European languages and language families.

Within the area of its activity, the Luis Michelena Chair has no intention of interfering in any way with the activity or pursuits of other entities, within the university or outside it, which are dedicated to the study of the Basque

Antes bien, la Cátedra pretende convertirse en un punto de encuentro para investigadores de disciplinas y de orientaciones diferentes, en un instrumento ágil para hacer llegar hasta nosotros a los más prestigiosos estudiosos mundiales en todas aquellas disciplinas que puedan ayudar a nuestra filología y lingüística, en un medio para facilitar la necesaria relación entre la investigación realizada en el País Vasco y la que se lleva a cabo en otros lugares del mundo.

Este objetivo primordial de la Cátedra se sustanciará cada año en una serie de cursos, seminarios y conferencias, una de las cuales destacará sobre las demás por llevar el título de *Conferencia Memorial Michelena* y que será encargada a alguna figura relevante en cualquiera de los ámbitos de interés de la Cátedra.

Es también intención firme organizar, cada tres años aproximadamente o cuando las circunstancias lo requieran, Jornadas internacionales sobre Lingüística y Filología vascas, que sirvan de acicate para el progreso de nuestra investigación. No han faltado en el País Congresos valiosos sobre estos temas, organizados por entidades diversas como Euskaltzaindia, el Seminario Julio de Urquijo de la Diputación de Guipúzcoa o las Universidades, pero me parece que no existe una estructura que dé continuidad y proyección internacional a unos encuentros estrictamente científicos entre investigadores de fuera y de dentro interesados en nuestra lengua.

Las Jornadas de Lingüística y Filología vascas que hoy inauguramos son las primeras que organiza la Cátedra, en esta fase aún preestatutaria, por así decir, en que nos hallamos. La premura de tiempo ha impedido organizar un Congreso amplio con participación generalizada de todos cuantos trabajan sobre estos temas.

Así las cosas, hemos preferido darle a estas Jornadas un aire de Homenaje, en el que aparezcan representadas aquellas materias especialmente cultivadas por Michelena de la mano de quienes trabajaron estrechamente con él o se sienten discípulos directos de sus enseñanzas. Aunque el grueso de los temas está dedicado al campo vasco, con una cumplida presencia de todas sus áreas más importantes, no podía faltar una mención a los estudios paleohispánicos ni a los vasco-románicos, ni a alguna cuestión general sobre historia lingüística como la etimología, representados hoy aquí por unas de las figuras más relevantes en sus respectivos campos y además grandes admiradores de Michelena. A todos ellos, a los de casa y a los de fuera, se les ha pedido un gran esfuerzo de síntesis y de reflexión sobre la actividad realizada en su propio campo durante los últimos diez años, así como un esbozo de los pasos que debe dar la investigación en el futuro próximo.

Han pasado diez años desde la muerte de quien fue el maestro de todos nosotros. Durante este décimo aniversario se ha recordado su figura, mediante actos de homenaje, mesas redondas, programas de televisión y publicaciones. Cabe el peligro de que de todos estos actos, justos y merecidos, aca-

language. Specifically, in this respect, I will mention, in the first place, the present Departments of Basque Philology and Classical Studies, which organize university programmes in teaching and research within their respective areas. I will also mention the University Institute for Basque, the object of which is to provide the language with the resources necessary for university teaching in the diverse areas of human knowledge. Obviously, this also extends to the Academy of the Basque Language, which establishes norms for the language.

The object of this Chair is to become a meeting place for researchers from different disciplines and from diverse viewpoints, to be an agile instrument in bringing into our midst the most prestigious researchers world-wide in all those disciplines which can be of help to Basque philology and linguistics, to facilitate the relationship that must necessarily exist between research carried out in the Basque Country and that which is carried out in other parts of the world.

This primary objective of the Chair will be materialized each year in a series of courses, seminars and conferences, one of which will be given special pre-eminence with the title Michelena Memorial Conference and will evolve around some prominent figure from one of the different areas which are of interest to the Chair.

It is also our firm resolve to organize every three years or so or whenever circumstances seem to require it, an international congress on Basque Linguistics and Philology, so as to boost progress in research. There has been no lack of worthwhile congresses on these topics among us, organized by entities as diverse as the Academy of the Basque Language, the Julio de Urquijo Seminar from the Diputación de Guipuzcoa or the Universities, but it seems to me that there is no structure which could give continuity or international scope to strictly scientific gatherings among researchers here and abroad who are interested in our language.

This present Congress of Basque Linguistics and Philology which we inaugurate today is the first to be organized by this Chair, at a stage which we might still call pre-institutional. The urgency with which this Congress has been organized has impeded its extension to a wide range of topics and the participation of many of those who work in the areas which are of interest to us.

This being the case, we have preferred to give this congress an air of homage, in which those areas which were of especial interest to Michelena would be covered by those who worked along with him or who regard themselves as direct disciples of his teaching. Though the majority of the topics included are concerned with the field of Basque, ranging over a wide spectrum of its most important areas, we could not omit to mention Paleo-Hispanic nor Basque-Romanic studies, nor certain general questions relating to historical linguistics such as etymology, areas which are here represented by some of the most prominent figures in these fields and who are, furthermore, great admirers of Michelena. A considerable effort of synthesis and reflection on the work of the last ten years has been required of all those present, as well as an outline of the research that must be carried out in the immediate future.

ben siendo el bello epitafio a la actividad de una persona, cuya memoria se vaya desvaneciendo progresiva e irremediabilmente para las generaciones posteriores. Esta Cátedra surge ahora, gracias a la sensibilidad y comprensión mostradas por las Instituciones representadas en la mesa, es decir el Rectorado de nuestra universidad, la Excm. Diputación de Alava, la Consejería de Educación y Universidades del Gobierno Vasco y el Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Vitoria, para tomar el testigo que mantenga vivo en nuestras mentes el ideal de curiosidad intelectual, rigor científico y amor por el trabajo bien hecho que presidieron toda la actividad académica y personal de Luis Michelena y deben presidir también la nuestra en beneficio de toda la comunidad.

Por todo ello, en nombre de esta Facultad y en el de quienes a lo largo de estos años pasados, antes o más tarde, han trabajado por ver cumplido su empeño, mis más sinceras gracias.

Joaquín Gorrochategui
Decano de la Facultad de Filología y de Geografía e Historia
Responsable de la *Cátedra Koldo Mitxelena*
Vitoria-Gasteiz a 10 de diciembre de 1997



Post Scriptum

Este libro contiene la mayor parte de las contribuciones presentadas en el Congreso tenido lugar en diciembre de 1997, hace ahora casi seis años. Por razones diferentes, algunos de los participantes no nos han enviado sus textos y en otros casos ha habido insuperables problemas de traducción que han hecho imposible su inclusión. Así, entre los trabajos de los ponentes, lamentamos no poder publicar la aportación de M.^a Teresa Echenique, que versó sobre un tema de su especialidad como son las relaciones vasco-románicas, ni la de Joseba Lakarra que hizo una amplia exposición de los trabajos sobre reconstrucción lingüística del proto-vasco, ni la de Koldo Zuazo que tuvo como objeto los avances dialectológicos producidos en los últimos años. Junto a ellos tampoco ha sido posible la edición de algunas de las comunicaciones leídas, por falta de sus respectivos textos.

Teniendo en cuenta la escasez de publicaciones sobre la lengua vasca en lenguas diferentes a las que son de uso normal entre nosotros y en especial en lengua inglesa, que de manera significativa dificulta la difusión de los logros filológicos realizados sobre la lengua vasca, pensé que ésta podría ser una ocasión propicia para traducir al inglés unos textos que se caracterizan por ser a la vez informativos y críticos sobre la labor realizada en el País Vasco sobre diferentes aspectos de la filología y la lingüística vascas. Con ello quizá podamos dar satisfacción a la creciente curiosidad e interés que en los últimos años suscita nuestra lengua vasca.

Ten years have passed since the death of one who was our master. Throughout this year his figure has been remembered in acts of homage, round tables, television programmes and publications. There is a danger that all of these acts, however deserved and justified, may be converted into a beautiful epitaph to the activity of a person whose memory will progressively and inevitably disappear for later generations. Thanks to the sensitivity and understanding shown by the Institutions whose representatives are here presiding over this inauguration, the Rectorate of the University, the Diputación de Alava, the Council for Education and Universities of the Basque Government, and the Town-hall of Vitoria, this Chair is now constituted to take up the torch and keep alive in our minds the ideal of intellectual curiosity, scientific rigour, and the love for work well done which presided over all the activity of Luis Michelena, both academic and personal, and which should preside also over all our activity for the good of all the community.

Joaquín Gorrochategui
 Professor of Indo-European Linguistics
 Responsable for the Koldo Mitxelena Chair
 Vitoria-Gasteiz, the 10th of December of 1997



Post Scriptum

This book contains the majority of the contributions which were presented at the Conference which took place in December 1997, now almost six years ago. For varying reasons, a number of the contributors have not sent us their texts and in other cases we have come up against intractable translation problems which have prevented their inclusion. So, among others, we regret that we are unable to publish the contributions of M^a Teresa Echenique dealing with an area in which she specialises, Basque-Romanic relations; that of Joseba Lakarra who presented a wide-ranging survey of work on the linguistic reconstruction of Proto-Basque, and that of Koldo Zuazo who dealt with the most recent advances in dialectology. Neither has it been possible to include certain papers read at the Conference, the typescripts of which we never received.

Bearing in mind the scarcity of publications about Basque in languages other than those we normally use and especially being aware of their scarcity in English, a factor which significantly impedes the diffusion of those philological advances which are being achieved in Basque, I believed that this would be an excellent opportunity to translate into English texts which are at one and the same time both informative and critical of work being carried out within the Basque Country with regard to different aspects of Basque linguistics and philology. In this way we may perhaps satisfy the increasing curiosity and interest that our language has aroused in recent years.

Las traducciones de los textos han sido realizadas por las siguientes personas, en la forma que se indica: mi colega John Tynan es el responsable de la traducción de esta introducción y de los originales en español, es decir de los artículos de J. de Hoz, J.A. Pascual, B. Urgell, L. Oñederra y J. Kortazar. A Phillip Basterra debemos la traducción del único texto originalmente redactado en francés, el de B. Oyharçabal y a Mikel Morris la de los originales vascos de I. Sarasola y P. Goenaga. Otros colegas me han ayudado con la correcta expresión de los títulos (Alazne Landa) y los resúmenes de las comunicaciones (X. Ormazabal). A la viuda de L. Michelena, Matilde, he de agradecer el suministro de la fotografía, que acompaña esta publicación.

Vitoria-Gasteiz a 15 de octubre de 2003

The translation of the papers has been distributed as follows: my colleague John Tynan has translated this introduction and the original Spanish texts written by J. de Hoz, J.A. Pascual, B. Urgell, L. Oñederra, and J. Kortazar. The translation of the only text originally written in French, that of B.Oyharçabal, was carried out by Phillip Bastera, while Mikel Morris translated the original Basque texts of I. Sarasola and P. Goenaga. Other colleagues have helped me with the correct version of the titles (Alazne Landa) and the summaries of the papers (X. Ormazabal). I would like to express my thanks to Matilde Mtz. de Illarduya, L. Michelena's widow, for providing the photograph of him which accompanies the publication.

Vitoria-Gasteiz, 15 October 2003



Philology and Historical Approaches

Recent Advances in Paleo-Hispanic Scholarship¹

Javier de Hoz

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1. The last years of the seventies witnessed the publication of a number of important papers by Luis Michelena on Paleo-Hispanic languages², but they also represent apparently the end of his interest in these matters. In fact very specific personal circumstances, having to do with his responsibilities in getting the University of the Basque Country into operation, explain the absence during the eighties of any publications by him on this topic³, but it was also the case, as distinct from the immediately preceding years, that epigraphic discoveries threw no new light on the subject precisely until 1987.

From that year onward, and in differing circumstances, some extraordinarily important new inscriptions were to be discovered, which allow us to look anew at various very general aspects of Paleo-Hispanic languages and, in certain cases, in a theoretical and comparative framework of the kind which Michelena found very congenial.

In order to evaluate properly these new texts it is useful to remember very briefly the epigraphic map of the Peninsula in antiquity and some general questions. Among the great linguistic blocks in the Peninsula there are three for which there are extant texts: Iberian on the Mediterranean coast, from eastern Andalusia up to and including Languedoc and with greater or lesser penetration into the interior depending on different regions, Celtiberian in the northern meseta and part of the valley of the Ebro, and the epigraphy of the south-west (SW), essentially in Portugal, though it is attested in isolated areas in Spain⁴. The greater part of the texts in these three blocks use a

¹ The research for this paper has been carried out as part of DGESEIC research project PB-0615 (Madrid, Spain). The text was closed in the spring of 1999.

² See the bibliography, especially 1976: «Ibérico -en» and 1979: «La langue».

³ The only partial exception, since it deals in great part with the history of Basque, though considering it as a pre-Roman language, was forced on him by the celebration in Vitoria of the IV Colloquium on Paleo-Hispanic languages and cultures: MICHELENA: 1987: «Baskisch.»

⁴ The basic corpus is *MLH*; short presentations can be found for example in UNTERMANN 1988: «Hispania»; 1981: «La varietà»; 1983: «Die althispanischen»; DE HOZ: 1983: «Las lenguas»; 1995: «Áreas»; GORROCHATEGUI: 1993: «Las lenguas».

writing system which belongs to a family which can be called Paleo-Hispanic, the most outstanding characteristic of which is that it is semi-syllabic. All the systems of the family are genetically related though each one presents different problems; the most common version in the Iberian world, though not the only one, which can be called Eastern, was without doubt the model for the Celtiberian version, and both versions have been deciphered, but that of the SW is only in the process of being deciphered and besides gives to the characteristic semi-syllabic form of the family an atypical form, to such an extent that it is doubtful whether it should be considered semi-syllabic or alphabetic, but is in any case characterised by redundant uses in which one and the same phonetic element is repeated, so that to represent /ta/ we find the type ta-a, i.e. semi-syllabic with full script, or the type t^a (a variant which can only be used preceding -a) -a. i.e. alphabetically redundant. There are important unresolved problems relating to Paleo-Hispanic writing, among them the question as to whether the writing of the SW is that of the Tartessians, about which I am personally sceptical, and the whole question of the origin of the graphematic complex, which in turn implies the question of a model, stages of adaptation, the origin of semi-syllabism and how this latter is related to redundancy.

2. It is precisely these questions which are affected by the first discovery we deal with, made in the spring of 1987, and which is the first theoretical Paleo-Hispanic signary used for teaching purposes. It is a slate tablet, measuring 40 × 28 × 2 cm., which appeared out of context in a fence in the Espanca estate, in the neighbourhood of Sete (Castro Verde)⁵.

The tablet has two lines of script by different hands on what can be considered its upper part; the first, unfortunately damaged on the left side so that four of the signs are unrecoverable, has been written by a skilled hand, the incisions being deep and unhesitating; the second, on the contrary, is the work of an unskilled hand and the incisions are very superficial. The second line is a copy of the first, and we can clearly see that this represents a writing exercise in which a disciple has awkwardly reproduced the text previously prepared by the master; this in itself is quite significant, but much more revealing altogether is the character of the text itself. What appears are 27 graphemes, none of which is repeated, and the first thirteen are not only inspired in the Phoenician alphabet but actually repeat its original order; the inevitable conclusion is that what we see is an alphabet or syllabary which contains, in the conventional order of learning, the signs which composed some Hispanic

⁵ CORREA: 1989: «El origen»; 1993: «El signario de Espanca»; «El signario hallado»; DE HOZ: 1990: «El origen oriental»; 1991: «The Phoenician origin»; 1995: «El origen»; UNTERMANN, J.: «La escritura tartesia»; *MLH* IV J.25.1; Adiego, I.-J.: 1993: «Algunas reflexiones»; CORREIA, V. Hipólito: 1996: *A epigrafia*, especially 20-2; RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, J.: 1992: *Análisis*, especially Chapter 6. What follows is based principally on DE HOZ: 1995: «El origen».

script, a type of document for which we find a number of parallels both in the Classical and the Semitic worlds⁶, and whose existence in the Hispanic world was only to be expected. The extraordinary importance of an alphabet of this type lies in the conventional character of its order, since, precisely because it is conventional, when we find coincidences between different scripts this is taken to imply a historical relationship and, in any case, the order can indicate to us certain aspects of the formation of the script.

We can divide the twenty seven signs into different groups, in accordance with their relation to the model. The limits of the first of these groups, composed of thirteen signs, all derived from the Phoenician alphabet in the same order as in the latter, leave no room for doubt. Given, however that the Phoenician alphabet consisted of twenty two signs, there are obviously quite a few gaps, which, as we will see, is very significant.

As regards the remaining groups, whether one, two, or more, there are several interpretations, but in any case there is agreement that in them we find virtually all of the Phoenician signs not included in the first group, though they no longer follow the original order, and present us, besides, with a few, apparently invented signs. All the parallels that we have at our disposal would lead us to expect that the totality of the Phoenician signs that have been adopted would constitute the first and fundamental group in the signary, though retaining in all cases the original order, and that the invented signs would be found in final position in the order of their invention, which for us, of course, would be purely arbitrary. In fact, the peculiar ordering of the Espanca signary converts it into an outstanding document not only for the study of Paleo-Hispanic writings but also in the field of the theoretical problems involved in the history of writing generally.

Before discussing more general issues, it is useful to remember that in so far as our knowledge of the values of the graphemes in SW writing is concerned, it is, in the first instance, completely dependant on the values of SE writing, a variety of Paleo-Hispanic script which was used in the writing of Iberian and possibly some other language in the South of Spain, partially deciphered on the basis of identifying within it Iberian sequences which are also found in Eastern script. That is to say that the interpretation of the SW signs depend on the reasonable, though so far unproven hypothesis that there exists a close relation of dependence between this writing system and that of the SE; the fact is that we lack any trustworthy mode of comparison for the SW values, while SE values, as we have seen, can only be deciphered due to coincidences with Eastern script; the hypothesis is, in consequence, precarious at best and there are still many doubts in the whole process.

To go on then to deal with the underlying problems, we note that explanations for the peculiar ordering of the Espanca signary have followed two

⁶ LEMAIRE, A.: 1978: «Abécédaires».

roads; they are either based on the process of adaptation from Phoenician (or Greek) script to a Paleo-Hispanic language, divided up into phases, which are not distinct evolutionary phases, but phases in the process of creation, or else they are based on the idea of a succession of different scripts, genetically related to one another, or elaborated one after the other, on the basis of the first Paleo-Hispanic adaptation of the model script, and which have left traces behind them in the recovered signary. In the first case, the Espanca signary would be a faithful reflection of the primitive Paleo-Hispanic signary, though it could also reflect later reforms of detail; in the second case, it would represent the end phase of an evolution which would have undergone fairly radical transformations and would not therefore in any way represent the initial Paleo-Hispanic signary, even though this might still survive more or less in its primitive state in the first part of the Espanca signary.

It seems to me, however, that explanations of this second type clash with one of the few solid facts on which we can start to build in the problem of the origins of Paleo-Hispanic scripts. The most notable characteristic of these is their semi-syllabic character, so giving rise to a problem which exclusively affects the consonants, since the vowels, which can form syllables on their own, are not affected by it, there being no option in the case of a vowel between syllabic and alphabetic notation. Throughout the history of these scripts, semi-syllabism is a characteristic which remains, though it is not motivated phonetically, since even in Iberian, in which the phonetic behaviour of plosives is subject to more restrictions than other consonants, syllabic signs were just as awkward for the transcription of plosives as they were for the transcription of liquids and nasals⁷. It might well be, then, from the point of view of the receiving language, that it was the utilization of an excessive number of signs in the Phoenician alphabet which gave rise to an original separation between the group formed by the plosive signs for consonants, used as syllabograms, and the signs for non-plosives, used as alphabetic signs⁸, and which would imply that the creation of the Paleo-Hispanic system known to us was carried out in one only phase of adaptation from the model script, whatever readjustments and modifications of detail might later have followed.

This would imply that the model alphabet, which, to my mind, is more likely to have been Phoenician than Greek, possessed a number of signs for plosives which from the point of view of the receiving language was disproportionate. As we will see later this is, in fact, what happened, thus leaving the person who adapted the Phoenician script with an excess of signs from

⁷ MICHELENA, L.: 1979: «La langue», 25-9.

⁸ Although other causes probably intervened as well, in part general phonetics and in part derived from the structure of the Phoenician consonantal alphabet, which was properly a syllabary with indeterminate vowel, and which I cannot go into here. On the role of the greater or lesser phonological banality of certain Phoenician phonemes, *vid. infra*.

the very beginning, these representing not only different plosives, but also dependent on the vowels with which they were combined syllable-initially, *beth, gimel, daleth*, a fact which must have contributed to the systematizing of the syllabic component or to restrictions in the use of signs for plosives in the new signary.

On this basis we can at least explain the two parts of the signary, i.e. its anomalous order which, looked at in this way, would be the result not of different phases of evolution but rather the unitary work of one creator at different moments in the process of creation⁹. It is this hypothesis which I will go on to consider.

The hypothesis implies that the creator of Paleo-Hispanic script at first used the Phoenician alphabet systematically and followed its serial order to transfer directly to his own language those values which it seemed to him that he could make use of, and then in successive steps, about which I prefer not to speculate at this moment, he completed his alphabet by using at one and the same time signs from the Phoenician alphabet which only approximated to the values he wanted and others which he freely invented. There is one aspect of this which I would like to insist on; there is a clear phonetic difference between the values of the signs which were used in the first part of the process of adaptation and those which were used later. In the first part we find voiced and voiceless Phoenician plosives, nasals, a lateral and some of the sibilants; there is besides a semivowel and a laryngeal which must, almost inevitably, have been used as vowels. In the second part we find the remainder of the laryngeals, the emphatic plosives and the velar semivowel. We cannot be sure that there is a vibrant in either part. Leaving aside this last problem and the somewhat obscure distribution of the semivowels, the general pattern is very evident; what was first used were the signs corresponding to typologically common Phoenician phonemes, both from a theoretical point of view and from that of the linguistic context of ancient Hispania, that is to say phonemes which are not only common in phonological systems generally but also exist in Iberian, Continental Celtic, Old Basque, the IE languages of Italy and Etruscan. In the second phase, however, the signs that are used correspond to typologically rare phonemes, and in the context of Ancient Hispania, in so far as we know, are exclusive to the Semitic languages, i.e. Phoenician. This phonetic difference is, to my mind, what lies behind the use by the creator of the alphabet first of one set of signs and then of another; in the first he saw that certain signs were very adequate for the representation of certain Paleo-Hispanic phonemes, while in the second phase he followed a process of approximation.

But perhaps the greatest problem that the SW script still poses is that of the relationship of the syllabary and redundancy, that is, the conversion of

⁹ See, though with clarifications that seem to me now excessive and indemonstrable: DE HOZ: 1990: «El origen oriental»; 1991: «The Phoenician origin»; with further nuances: DE HOZ: 1995: «El origen». Cf. LEJEUNE, M.: 1993: «D'Alcoy», 74-5.

Phoenician consonantal signs in syllabograms and the relation between this process and the use of sequences of the type ba-a, be-e, etc. in SW inscriptions, neither of which questions can be separated from the order of the signs on the Espanca tablet, given that the anomalies that we there perceive basically affect those signs in which redundancy is produced. There is however a question which the tablet throws no light on: whether the primitive Paleo-Hispanic script was a normal syllabary or a redundant script, either syllabic or alphabetic. In this question we still depend on the internal data of the system itself, since there is no archaeological evidence which will allow us to give a date for the redundant phase of Southern Hispanic scripts.

We are faced then with two options, pure syllabism derived from redundancy or redundancy derived from syllabism; both are possible¹⁰, and I must confess that I feel much less capable of excluding theoretical possibilities than I have done hitherto, nor can I see any clear explanation for the appearance of the redundancy, so I will leave this question open¹¹.

In actual fact what the Espanca tablet shows is that the problem of the origin of Paleo-Hispanic scripts is far more complicated than was at first suspected. Legitimate and habitual procedures which, to borrow a term from Historical Linguistics, we could call the comparative method and internal reconstruction, i.e. the comparison of the Paleo-Hispanic script with its alphabetic model and the analysis of its internal incoherences respectively, in no way prepared us or would have permitted us to predict the appearance of a primitive Paleo-Hispanic signary such as that of Espanca. We must then proceed with scepticism and limit ourselves to certain steps, or at most, with an eye to the future, to the possibilities that we can deduce from these steps with the highest degree of certainty. I have already mentioned a conclusion which seems to me to satisfy these conditions, that which relates the semi-syllabic component of Hispanic writings with the difference between the inventory of Phoenician and Paleo-Hispanic plosives. On this basis and on that of theoretical assumptions which have been well tested, together with the prudence which Espanca imposes on us, I will now deal briefly with a number of problems.

One of the questions raised by the Espanca signary is whether it can be identified with the original Paleo-Hispanic signary, i.e. with the one used by the original creator of the first Paleo-Hispanic writing system in order to teach and transmit his creation. This is intimately connected with another

¹⁰ DE HOZ, J.: 1985: «El origen», 462-4.

¹¹ I first introduced the concept of graphemic redundancy into the study of Paleo-Hispanic epigraphy so far as I remember in DE HOZ, J.: 1985: «El origen», 437, though it was already implicit in 1977: «Una hipótesis», 205. The data which this concept tries to account for had been noticed by SCHMOLL, U.: 1961: Die südlusitanischen Inschriften. In the meantime, redundancy has been discussed by the following CORREA: 1989: «El origen», 283; 1993: «El signario», 553-4; ADIEGO, I.-J.: 1993: «Algunas reflexiones», 19-22; RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, J.: 1992: «Análisis», 289-98; UNTERMANN: 1995: «Zum Stand», § 5.1.

question: which of the Paleo-Hispanic scripts is the one exemplified in Espanca. In fact, as has been emphasized by Correa¹², the differences between Espanca and other known Paleo-Hispanic systems are notable, and this even assuming that some signs may be missing due to simple carelessness and, what is even more dangerous, that there may be a sign or two which, in an atypical form, correspond to allographs found in the inscriptions. Once more we find ourselves in a situation in which the data which we have at our disposal are not sufficient, especially since the Espanca signary is unique, thus preventing us from forming any judgement as to how far it may be regarded as a normal document and how far it contains peculiar anomalies. In these circumstances it seems prudent to operate on the supposition that chance has brought to our hands the most statistically probable option, that is to say, the most common variant, and so venture a working hypothesis on this basis, while remaining fully conscious of its provisional character.

The data at our disposal, the Espanca signary and the inventories of signs which can be deduced from the SE, SW and Eastern inscriptions, seem to impose on us the existence of at least four different Paleo-Hispanic scripts¹³. In two cases, SW and Eastern, there is a clearly defined relationship between writing and language, even though the languages in question still remain incomprehensible for us. The SE system has, on the other hand, clearly been used in writing Iberian, although it is not clear if it was used for this only. As regards the Espanca writing system, we do not know for what language it was used.

As regards the languages spoken in the same geographic region, we know Iberian and the language of the SW inscriptions; the literary sources refer to Tartessian and there is a characteristic Andalusian onomastic set which could refer to this language¹⁴. For a number of authors Tartessian and the language of the SW are one and the same, though for me, for reasons which I have explained at length elsewhere¹⁵, we are dealing with two different languages with a distinct geographic location, although there could of course have been cases of more or less discontinuous interpenetration, which may or may not have been confined to the frontier. If we allow that Tartessian and the SW language were different, then it turns out that we have no written evidence precisely for Tartessian, the language to which literary sources attribute an important writing tradition and which, if we can judge by the general historic

¹² CORREA: in press: «El signario», § 5.1; 1993: «El signario», 550.

¹³ I do not take into consideration here the two variants of Celtiberian writing since we are obviously dealing with a secondary system, dependant on Eastern Iberian.

¹⁴ DE HOZ: 1989: «El desarrollo», 551-4 and 561-5; UNTERMANN: 1985: «Lenguas», although we must bear in mind that the author believes that the SW inscription are written in Tartessian. In CORREA's publications there are quite a few examples of attention being paid to the problem of the relation between the characteristics of Tartessian and Paleo-Hispanic writings. See, for example: 1993: «El signario», 551-2.

¹⁵ DE HOZ: 1995: «Tartésio», and, tentatively, see 1989: «El desarrollo», 550 and 565.

context, was the first of the Hispanic languages to be transferred to writing¹⁶. The most economic hypothesis for the moment, though it is a long way from anything approaching certainty, is that the Espanca signary is Tartessian, although subjected to certain local deformations, and that the SW peoples used it as a model signary, even if in the practical adaptation of Tartessian writing, they eliminated certain signs.

To conclude, the Espanca signary provides us with a definitive proof that Paleo-Hispanic writings derive from an alphabet ordered in accordance with the Western Semitic model, but it shows us at the same time, that with the data we have obtained from the inscriptions, which was all that we had at our disposal up to now, it was impossible to predict what a Paleo-Hispanic signary would look like and, in consequence, certain aspects of the creation of Paleo-Hispanic writing. If we already knew that we were moving over difficult terrain, on the basis of insufficient evidence, we are much more conscious now of the limits of our hypotheses, although this does not mean that we have to renounce them, since they constitute the necessary theoretical framework for whatever new data may appear in the future. I doubt if there is much use, however, in trying to be too precise, as I myself, among others, have tried to be on previous occasions, until we have further evidence. For the moment, I believe that we can summarize the most significant points of what we know about the origin and development of Paleo-Hispanic writings as follows:

1. The first Paleo-Hispanic writing system was derived on the basis of a model which belonged to the Western Semitic alphabet, probably Phoenician, though it is quite likely that it was also influenced by other writing traditions. A Greek model, though not impossible, seems to me highly unlikely.
2. The first Paleo-Hispanic writing system could have been semisyllabic and typologically identical to Iberian or could have been a redundant script, alphabetic or semisyllabic. We have no understanding of how the transformation was produced on the basis of the model, but factors such as the following should be taken into account: a) lack of understanding in the learning process of the signs for plosives in the model, in which perhaps different recitation values were used for plosives, type CV, and non-plosives, type VC(V); b) an arbitrary use of the signs for consonantal values which did not exist in the receiving language, thus giving rise to an insufficient inventory, which it became necessary to amplify with invented signs. On the other hand, the creation of vocalic signs does not pose any major problems, though I will not insist on this point now¹⁷.

¹⁶ Obviously, we find graffiti and short inscriptions of other kinds in Andalusia which could be Tartessian, but they are so brief that it is not possible to make any claims about them.

¹⁷ See especially DE HOZ: 1995: «El origen».

3. This whole set of transformations could have taken place all at once, at the moment of creation, in which case the order found on the Espanca signary would reflect the successive steps followed by the creator of the Paleo-Hispanic script; alternatively, although less probably, the first Paleo-Hispanic script could have been closer to the model, and only been transformed later, perhaps in the process of adaptation to another Paleo-Hispanic language; in this case the Espanca signary would conserve in its serial order the different stages of its evolution.
4. We cannot affirm that the Espanca signary reproduces the oldest Paleo-Hispanic model, nor do we know to what writing system it belongs, but the most economic hypothesis is that it is a Tartessian signary, i.e. the primitive system though with some minor variations due to its historic setting and, less probably, due to certain slip ups on the part of the principal writer.
5. The writing on the signary is not identifiable either with that of the SW, nor with that of the SE, nor with Eastern. The first probably arose from Tartessian, which can possibly, though not with absolute certainty, be identified with that of the Espanca signary. If Tartessian was not redundant, the redundancy which characterises SW script must have been developed in the process of transmission.

3. The second inscription that we will consider belongs to a different epigraphical and cultural area, and to material unknown in the SW. There is in fact a category of texts in which it is not sufficient to point out some important novelty but rather a continuous series of new findings. We are dealing here with the most significant type of document in Iberian epigraphy, and the type which in the future will give us more play for a greater knowledge of the language, i.e. with inscribed lead tablets.

The earliest evidence we have for the use of lead as material support for written documents comes from the neo-Hittite world¹⁸, but up to now we have not had any Phoenician data¹⁹. In the Greek world, on the contrary, recent findings have been on the increase and show a relative variety of content, business letters, contracts, memoranda of commercial operations, lists of personal names, and at the same time some testimonials of non-imprecatory lead tablets in other epigraphies, the Gallo-Greek and Etruscan ones²⁰. However,

¹⁸ MERIGGI, P.: 1967: «Manuale», 131-42; 1975, 30 and 337; HAWKINS, J.D.: 1987: «The Kululu». In general on the use of lead in epigraphy *vid.* DE HOZ, 1999: «Los metales».

¹⁹ But see also the following note.

²⁰ On the Greek lead tablets see the references in IMMERWAHR, H.R.: *Attic Script*, 125-7 and 187. On Gaulish: LEJEUNE: 1985: *Recueil*, 30-6 (G-9), 162-3 (G-123), 268-9 (G-198) and *MLH II*, 379-80; these inscriptions seem to me to correspond to the type which interest us here, but cf. the sceptical attitude of BATS, M.: 1988: «La logique», 141; G-199 (LEJEUNE, *loc. cit.*, p. 269) to judge by the photograph seems to be Punic. On Etruscan: RIX, H.: 1991: *Etruskische*, 332 (Na 0.1, and see below regarding the Greek tablet at Pech Maho); other Etruscan

in spite of the fact that they appear in an extraordinarily wide geographic area, extending from Ampurias (Spain) to Olbia in the Black Sea, and coinciding with the wide extension of Greek epigraphy, the Greek lead tablets are surprisingly not nearly so superior in numbers to the Iberian tablets as would be expected.

Some seventy Iberian leads have come to light so far, and we find represented in them the three writing systems used by the Iberians. In actual fact the earliest direct evidence we have for Iberian is precisely on a lead tablet, though in this case it is an Ionian tablet from the fifth century B.C. Since, in 1990, the referential corpus for Iberian epigraphy was terminated, Untermann's MLH, a number of publications editing or commenting on new texts have appeared²¹. Of these, the most important and those which contain most material are²²: Capmajó, P. & Untermann, J.: 1991: «Corpus»; de Hoz: 1995: «Notas»; Mezquíriz, M.^aA.: 1991-92: «Pavimento» = 1992: «Inscripción»²³; Panosa, I.: 1993: «Nuevas»; Pérez Ballester, J.: 1992: «El abrigo»; Sanmartí-Grego, E., Castanyer, P., Santos, M. & Tremoleda, J.: 1994: «Testimonios»²⁴; Vicente, J.D., M.^aP. Punter, C. Escriche & A.I. Herce: 1993: «Las inscripciones»²⁵ (cf. MLH IV K.5); Vidal, M. & Magnol, J.P.: 1983: «Les inscriptions»; Villaronga: 1998: *Les dracmes*, and specifically those which contain lead tablets²⁶; Benages i Olivé, J.: 1990: «Escriptura»; Broncano, S.: 1989: *El depósito*, 95-100; Fletcher, D.: 1982: «Nuevos» (a tablet from La Mazorra: the remainder are to be found in MLH III); Fletcher, D. & Bonnet, H.: 1991-92: «Bastida VI»; Fletcher, D. & Silgo, L.: 1990: «Breves»; 1991: «Plomo»; 1991-92-93: «Notas»; 1992-93: «Plomo»; Guérin, P. & Silgo, L.: 1996: «Inscripción»; Muñoz, A.M.: 1990: «Plomo»; *Els rastres*: 1998, 60; Sanmartí-Grego, E.: 1988: «Una carta» (*vid. infra*); Silgo, L.: 1989: «Tres»;

lead tablets seem to be rather defixiones. For an initial evaluation of the use of lead in the making of documents, see DE HOZ, J.: 1979: «Escriptura», 232-6.

²¹ DE HOZ: 1998 (2000): «La epigrafía»; VELAZA: 1996: «Cronica». In the bibliography, publications which are not included in MLH I-III are indicated with *. Some of these are included in the exhibition *Les Ibères*: 1997 (DE HOZ: 1997: «Catalogue»; UNTERMANN: 1998: «Sprache»), and those which proceed from the middle Ebro or from archaeological sites with Celtiberian epigraphy, though the Iberian element remains in doubt in some cases, in MLH IV (K.1.6, 1.22, 5.3 (= E.7.1), 5.4, 5.5-10?, 19.1, 20.1, 28.1, 29.1); however, it does not include HERNÁNDEZ VERA, J.A. & NÚÑEZ MARCÉN, J.: 1989: «Un nuevo»). In previous publications see OLIVER, A.: 1978: «Epigrafía», n.º 19, 20, 31 and p. 286; PITA, R.: 1953: 104.

²² For the south of France I cite also publications previous to 1990 but after MLH II, the volume which is dedicated to this region.

²³ Cf. UNTERMANN: 1993-94: «Comentario» and MLH IV K.28.1; GORROCHATAGUI: 1993: «Las lenguas», 424; 1993: «La aportación», 124; BELTRÁN, F.: 1995: «La escritura», 175-6; VELAZA: 1995: «Epigrafía», 211-4; 1996: «Cronica», 326-8; DE HOZ: 1995: «Escripturas», 73-4; 1995: «El poblamiento», 277-8; 1995: «Áreas», 29-30.

²⁴ Cf. SANMARTÍ-GREGO: 1993: «Grecs».

²⁵ Cf. LEJEUNE, M.: 1983: «Vieille-Toulouse»; OROZ: 1987: «Sobre»; LUJÁN: 1998: «Una nota».

²⁶ The tablet, taken in MLH III 1, 102 as false, may be authentic.

1997: «La inscripción»; Solier, Y.: 1979: «Découverte»; Solier, Y. & Barbou-teau, H.: 1988: «Découverte»; Untermann, J.: 1998: «Comentario».

It is impossible to comment here, even briefly, on the new material contained in these publications, so I will limit myself to giving just one example and point out some of its interesting aspects.

The example I would like to comment on was published in 1990²⁷, and refers to a tablet which appeared in Ampurias in the 1988 excavations. It was rolled up so that the transversal line of face B was visible, and somewhat crushed. It was behind the head of the temple which was discovered around that time to the north of the sacred area, in a strata of filling composed of rubble of apparently domestic origin, and which contained ceramics from the end of the third century or at any rate from the commencement of the second.

The state of conservation is quite good, though there is a loss of metal at various points along the borders. The writing, which is apparently the work of one hand²⁸, and is quite careless, fills both faces, with nine lines in A and only four in the upper part of B, plus a transversal line in the part which is free of text to the left, and written from top to bottom (BII).

A]+n . iunstír . tau+koteká .
]tiesnitíratan . biur̄tikise .
 bēisetítiatoká . nikokátoar[-]bai .
 tūrkosbebon . uskáre . tieká (4) ultítikán .
 5 er̄tebašká . bintur̄keská . abatutíkerká . uke
 ++bo . tíratisukil . itíkotesun (4) kortínte .
tiekáa . sitírakárka+ . nikokajatai
is . ber̄teike . itūrutan . lebošba[?]ibon
 batír[e?]kár[-]itēribon
 10 tu

²⁷ Ampurias (C.1) 1988 (E. Sanmartí, RAN 21, 1988 (1990), 95-113 (photographs: 96 (rolled (2) and A), 97 (B), 102 and 103 (details); drawings: 97 (A), 99 (B)). Lead: rectangular plate measuring 115 mm. × 54 mm. MAmpurias. Reading based on Sanmartí, which is cited in what follows as E(ditio princeps), and on two sets of excellent photographs corresponding to two different stages of the restoration of the tablet.

²⁸ Paleography with reference to the diagrams in *MLH* III 1, 246-7: a variable between 3, 5 and 6. e 1. i 2 but with a vertical tendency in the central zone. o 1. u between 1 and 2. ba 1. be almost 10 but the traits are not united. bi in the form of a hook. bu missing. ke 1. ki similar to n inverted along the vertical axis. ta 1. te 11. to 1. l type 1. m missing. n 2. r 1. r̄ 5. s 3. s̄ 2. The graphemes bo, ka, ti and tu alternate between two different variants, differentiated by the presence or absence of a supplementary trait, i.e. in accordance with the device which I believe was used to distinguish voiced sounds —bo 1, ka 1, ti 1, tu 1— and voiceless —bo 4, ka 3, ti 7, tu 2, here transcribed with an accent—; the voiced and voiceless interpretation can be checked in this text in iunstír, bintur̄keska, abatutíkerka, and katulation —vid. parallels infra—. Sanmartí believes there is possibly a Y in two places, but neither is clear. Against the reading [nei]tín iunstír can be posited the length of the initial lacuna, in which 4/5 signs could be fitted.

B I **śalir . i[-]ba[---] . banterba
n . tñebeta[3/4]ñ . itíte++ta[
salaker . itíroketebon . ír+[
ká . iunstíriká . sikite . basir[**

B II **kátulatien**²⁹

I will confine myself to a commentary on just two points. The first, which concerns the transversal line on face B, BII, shows once again the importance of onomastics in the study of residual languages and the significant historic information which can be extracted from it. What we are dealing with is a text which is independent from A and BI, and indicates the author, addressee or simply the object of reference of the text. The syntagm, *kátulatien*, is formed by *katulatie(-e)n*, P(ersonal) N(ame) and the morpheme *-en*, well known in Iberian epigraphy (MLH III 1, § 521), the initial vowel of which is confused in writing with the final vowel of the PN. The morpheme *-en* is attested in Iberian inscriptions as a mark which is added to PNN in property inscriptions, sometimes alone, more often joined to other marks. *Katulatie* is a Gaulish PN composed of two elements, *katu-* and *latio*-³⁰, both very frequent in the formation of Gaulish PNN. *Katulatios* seems to be attested in dat., in Latin writing, *Catulatio* (CIL 5 2594), and in fact *katulatie* is an Iberian adaptation of an Indo-European o-stem PN, parallel to other Gaulish PNN in Iberian inscriptions from the south of France: *eskinke* (MLH B.1.268) = *Excingus*; *asetile* (B.1.42) = *Adsedilus*³¹.

The tablet is probably a letter, as Sarmartí proposes. Indicative of this is the general structure, the presence of *iunstir* at the beginning and perhaps text BII (vid. infra). From a historic point of view, what is most significant is the PN *katulatie*; if we accept, as I think we must that we are dealing with a Gaulish PN, there are three possible hypotheses:

1. Given the uncertainty of the value of the Iberian morpheme *-en*, and the well documented presence of peoples with Gaulish names in the Iberian area of the south of France, *Katulatios* would not be the recipient of the letter but the sender or even the person that the document affects, and whose name would serve to locate with ease the lead in an archive composed of various equally folded tablets.
2. Given the position of the PN in the tablet and the parallels in Greek letters it could be maintained that *Katulatios* was the recipient of the

²⁹ Critical apparatus (E = editio princeps): A 1 [ñei]itin E. tauakoteká; E. A 5 possibly abartíkerká A 5/6. ukeibabo E. A 7. tñekar; E. sitírakárka Y E. A 8. isberíteike E. lebósbaihon. E. A 9. batírekár. E.

B I 1. i[ke]bate[ká]r E. B I 2. tñebeta. [--]Y[--]ban E. itítebířta . E. B I 3/4. íríka E. B I 4. basir[řir] E.

³⁰ EVANS: 1967: Gaulish, 171-5 and 216.

³¹ MLH II, 46-8, 75; CORREA: 1993: «Antropónimos».

letter in Ampurias, in which case there are in turn two further hypotheses:

- 2a) An equally credible hypothesis in which *Katulatios* would be the agent in Ampurias for one or several merchants in the south of France.
- 2b) A hypothesis which at the moment is very risky. There could have been various more or less dense penetrations of Gaulish peoples into the northern part of the peninsula, yet not sufficiently characterized as to have left a clear archaeological trace, and lacking the social or cultural impact to have made a mark on the epigraphy or on literary sources. In this case *Katulatios* would have been a Gaul who would have acquired a certain status in Ampurias, and the «Celts» mentioned by Diodorus 25.10.1, who fight with the Turdetans and the Iberians against the Carthaginians and whose chief was known as *Istolatios*, perfectly explicable as Gaulish and difficult to accept as Celtiberian³², would have been immigrant mercenaries.

In any case the text confirms the linking character of the Iberian language, used by different peoples in commercial relations and, in the case of the first and second hypotheses, epigraphy coincides with archaeology in documenting a strong current of interchange between Catalonia and Iberian Languedoc.

The second point which I wish to comment on concerns the methodology, rudimentary and with limited results, which, for the moment, we can use in the analysis of Iberian texts of a certain length. Basically, we are reduced to segmenting the sequences, trying to go beyond whatever the scribe-dependant and fairly unequal use of interpunctuations provide for us as data. At times it is possible to confirm the value of the segmentation which has been derived merely through internal analysis and external comparison with other Iberian texts; for example, when we identify known PNN, as is the case here with **biur̄tiki-**; at other times we are simply left with the hypothesis that these segments are in effect linguistic units of some kind.

Specifically, in the new tablet from Ampurias I select a couple of sequences which may be related: in A.9, **batír[e?]kár[-]jiteřibon**, and in B I.3, **itiřoketebon**. The second is clearly isolated between interpunctuations, the first centred in the last line of Face A, but it might have been punctuated between *batír̄e* and *kár̄* or between *kár̄* and *iteřibon*.

There is enough information in the Iberian texts to be able to postulate as a reasonable hypothesis a probable lexeme with the alternating form *itiřliteř* with which a certain number of morphs can combine, some prefixed but in the

³² EVANS: 1967: Gaulish, 216; ALBERTOS: 1966: Onomástica, 126.

majority of cases postposed³³. The documentation is as follows —the indications of segmentation become more and more precise in proportion with the availability of new data³⁴:

- Orleyl 5.3: *kutu-bo-ike.bas-biteño-ke-tine* and *kutur.biteño-ke-te-tine*
 Orleyl 7B: *kutu-bo-ike.bas- biteño o-ke-tine*
 Pech-Maho 38A.8: *ban-kutur. biteño o-ka-n*
 Orleyl 5.6: *b-itiño-ke-beten-se*
 Texto inédito: *is-kutur iteño-ke-Y...*
 Ampurias A.9: *batíř[e?]-kář[-]jiteř-ibon*
 Ampurias B I.3: *itiř-o-ke-te-bon*
 Peña del Moro 1B: *torton-balař-b-iteño-ka++[* (with no interpunction)
 Pech-Maho38A.3: *šalir b-itiño-ka-n* (with no interpunction)
 Orleyl 1A.4: *...šalir b-iteř #* (with no interpunction)
 Orleyl 1A.5: *...bekate b-iter #* (with no interpunction, but perhaps with an intended space for separation)
 Orleyl 1B.4: *+-b-i[te]ř-o-ke-tan #?* (with no interpunction)
 Alcoy 1A-I.4 (gr.-ib.): *urke.bas-b-idir-bař-tin*
 Villares 2A.2: *tesi-b-iter-u-ka-n [;<ɾ>!*

The material obtained here allows us to determine not only the sequences which are really attested such as *bas-b-idir-bař-tin*, which is of interest because it is in Greco-Iberian writing, and so it can confirm for us the voiced pronunciation of the dental plosive and the representation of this feature in the variant of north-eastern Iberian script to which the Ampurias tablet belongs, as also other possible sequences with complex alternatives such as **ban/Ø-kutu(r)-(bo-ike)/Ø baš/Ø-b-iteř-o-ke-te/Ø-tine*. What is significant is precisely the complexity of the elements grouped with *biteř* and that an Iberian scribe considered it normal not to separate them with interpunctuations, giving us to understand, in this way, that in his linguistic intuition they were more closely bound to one another than, say *kutur* and *biteř* the repeated association of which in the same order seems to indicate that they formed a syntagm of some kind. This is the case with **bas-b-iteř-o-ke-te-tine*, *bas-b-idir-bař-tin* or *ka-ulte-b-iteř-o-kan*, all of which leads us to think, when we take the data of linguistic typology into account, that we are faced with a language which is not simply agglutinating but also incorporating, i.e. that

³³ UNTERMANN, *MLH* III 1, 184-5, although he considers the lexeme to be bitíř/biteř, and 1998: «Comentario», 13.

³⁴ Ampurias indicates the tablet we are talking about; Monteró refers to an unedited tablet, cited by UNTERMANN, a photograph of which can now be seen in *Els rastres*: 1998, 60; the Marsal tablet is the one published in UNTERMANN: 1998: «Comentario», Castellet de Banyoles in BENAGES I OLIVÉ, J.: 1990: «Escriptura», 46-7, and that from Pech Maho in SOLIER, AND. & BARBOUTEAU, H.: 1988: «Découverte», 62-73; the remaining texts can be found in *MLH*, in which Orleyl is F.9, Peña del Moro, C.17, and Alcoy, G.1.

the word keeps incorporating grammatical markers until it is converted into a phrase, and probably, given the variety of alternatives that seem to be possible in the case of *iteŕ* into a phrase which had a verbal function.

This latter is important, since one of the most irritating problems of the Iberian language is our inability to distinguish word classes. We could perhaps take it as a working hypothesis that those elements which serve as a nucleus for more complex combinations must be verbs, but unfortunately we cannot complete this hypothesis with what would seem to be its natural complement, the idea that those elements which, so far, have not appeared in these circumstances, for example *ekiar*, cannot be verbs, since the grammatical markers which the verb can accumulate need not obligatorily be expressed, and a mere statement of the reality of a given fact may not have required anything more than the corresponding verbal lexeme.

But the other aspect we have mentioned is also important, that is to say, the apparently highly incorporating character of the Iberian language, since it is a feature which does not appear in Indo-European languages nor in Etruscan, the only other well-attested non-Indo-European language in the ancient Western Mediterranean. It is well-known, on the other hand, that the Basque verb does show a certain degree of incorporation, although at first sight this is not as pronounced as it is in Iberian. This raises before us a number of interesting possibilities, if we remember the well-known coincidences between the phonological system of Iberian and ancient Basque as it was reconstructed by Michelena —and which still subsist with little change if we accept Trask's reconstruction— and if we notice the image, which is so close to Iberian data, which has recently been provided for us in Lakarra's reconstruction of the Basque root. Of course I am not thinking of any kind of genetic relationship, but rather of the possibility, in the sense pointed out in recent work such as that of Johanna Nichols³⁵, of obtaining a number of outlines of what might be a typological area in ancient western Europe and which was later covered over by the advent of the Indo-Europeans. The topic is however too speculative and complex to insist any further on it in this context.

4. There is one last and recent finding which I cannot omit to mention, since it would have had a special value for Luis Michelena, the great new Celtiberian bronze which may be of ever greater value than the first and which appeared in the same site in which that Celtiberian bronze which was intensely studied by Michelena had already appeared, together with a second Latin bronze to which he also dedicated a certain amount of attention.

This third Botorríta bronze appeared in October 1992³⁶ in circumstances which are still somewhat confused. It is a leaded bronze plaque, which was

³⁵ NICHOLS, J.: 1992: Linguistic.

³⁶ In the immediate winter the Consejería de Cultura de la Diputación General de Aragón organized a working group for the study and edition of the bronze; this was formed by A. Bel-

originally approximately 52 cm. high, 73 cm. wide and 0.4 cm. thick, and which has come down to us in one large fragment, corresponding to the left-most two thirds, of approximately 50 cm., and another fragment of reduced dimensions, corresponding to the lower right-hand angle, and a hundred or so fragments corresponding to the upper right-hand third. For exhibition purposes, the plaque had two groups of three orifices forming triangles along the upper border, in some of which the original nails are still conserved.

Fortunately, the totality of the text was contained in the large fragment, and even though only a part of it is directly legible, either because it was in good condition when it was found or has later been restored, virtually all of it can be recovered thanks to the availability of excellent X-ray photographs, in spite of the fact that it is intensely corroded.

The text comprises two lines which run along the left half of the upper part of the bronze, and four columns, the first three containing sixty lines each, the fourth containing forty³⁷. From what has already been said it can be deduced that an important part of the right half was never engraved, perhaps due to bad editing of the pages, or perhaps because it was already realized in antiquity that the bronze suffered from serious defects.

The inscription constitutes without any doubt the largest text of a set of various epigraphies, continental Celtic, Paleo-Hispanic, epigraphy from the republican Hispania, and in the final analysis one of the big epigraphs that has survived to us from antiquity.

What it contains is essentially a list of people which occupies in its totality the four columns. The two initial lines, which have bigger sized letters than the columns, almost certainly constitute a title or an introduction, or both, if we can judge by parallels in other epigraphs. This text, however, has proved incomprehensible so far.

The list itself contains 542 words which are grouped in well-defined categories, PNN in nominative (241), in part unknown heretofore but often already attested in the Celtiberian or Indo-European Hispania repertoires, PNN in genitive (52), normally in abbreviated form but the function of which can be deduced from its position in the list entries judging from a number of cases which are not abbreviated, and adjectives in *-ko-*, a type well-known in Celtiberian in the formation of etnonyms, names of family groups, and toponymic adjectives, in genitive plural (201). Besides there are various examples of the conjunction *-kue* and a small number of doubtful words.

trán Martínez, F. Beltrán Lloris, M.^aA. Díaz Sanz, J. Untermann and J. de Hoz. The results of this study, which were sent to the printers just at the time of the oral presentation of this same paper, have already appeared (BELTRÁN, F., DE HOZ, J. & UNTERMANN, J.: 1996: *El tercer*; see also *MLH IV K.1.3*) and form the basis for what follows, although not all of the authors would subscribe to what is said. See also J. DE HOZ: 1995: «Las sociedades», 17-20; «Los metales»; J. UNTERMANN: «La aportación»: 1999.

³⁷ I will refer to the two superior lines as 0.1 and 0.2, to the columns by their order, followed, after a stop, by the line to be mentioned, i.e. 1.1, 4.5, etc.

As an example, we can cite the first lines of column III:

- III 1. **teštios : turumokum**
 III 2-3. **elku : šuolakue**
tirtanikum : uiriaškum : mel
 III 4. **kinbiria : kentiškue : turikum**
 III 5. **toloku : koitinakue : auštunikum**
 III 6. **štenu : bentilikum**
 III 7. **bursu : bentilikum : ultatunoš**
 III 8. **koloutioš : biniškum**
 III 9. **antiokoš : uiriaškum : melm**
 III 10. **elasunoš : kaburikum**

These lines illustrate the diverse entries in the list, which, as already said, are composed of two basic elements PNN in nominative and adjectives in genitive plural (Gpl), and are organized into two principal types though presenting frequent deviations from the common pattern. The schema for the nucleus is formed by the two elements PN + Gpl, in which the PNN seem to be the protagonists of the text while, given their apparent function, I will refer to the adjectives as adjuncts.

A second schema, slightly more complex, adds a third element to the two just mentioned, a new PN, but this time in genitive³⁸. The interpretation of these PNN constitutes one of the most important problems of the plaque; I will refer to them simply as classifiers. The total number of PNN attested as classifiers is difficult to determine, since not all of the abbreviations are identifiable, but it does not seem to be less than 27, while the number of entries with classifiers is from 45 to 46.

Together with these two basic types, there exist other more complex entries in which various protagonists are mentioned, PNN but also it would seem some designations of kindred or function. The frequency of the term *kentiš* is particularly noticeable. It turns out, in fact, that *kentiš* and *launi* only appear when they follow a PN to which they are joined by the copulative *kue*, this being an important indication that they may form a part of the common lexicon.

In agreement with what we have said, the general structure of the list which forms the basis of the plaque is quite clear, though there are certain ambiguities and problems. Basically, what is involved is a list of people, represented in virtually all cases by their proper name and other elements. It is the function of these elements that we need to understand if we want to capture the sense of the document, though it seems to me there are a number of difficulties in interpretation which prevent us from drawing any firm

³⁸ Although in some cases they could be nominatives used as a neutral case, independently of grammatical relations.

conclusion about the adjuncts; at most we can establish a few suppositions. I would be inclined to think that the adjuncts could belong to various categories, among which there are undoubtedly family-names, that is to say indications of the family organization to which some of the protagonists on the plaque belonged, but there may also be indications of another type, whether professional or relative to status or local relations, and which can only be approached through a very risky semantic analysis, which may, in this case, only be based on etymology, but with the data which we have at our disposal it is not really possible to be more precise, especially because in general we do not know the base from which the adjective was formed, and even if we were sure that we had identified their etymology we would still come up against the problem that the PNN are often formed on bases from the common vocabulary, which could prevent us from determining whether the adjective in question had been formed from a PN and so was a family-name, or from a common lexeme and was, say, technical; faced with a form such as *uiriaškum* we simply do not know if it is derived from a PN, say, **Viriasos*, or whether it has been formed directly from the noun *viria*, known to be a Celtiberian word thanks to Pliny³⁹.

Botorrita 3 is, then, a list of persons, to whose PN one or two data have been added, which may be an indication of a family group and the patronymic, or a group indication which is still unclarified and may indicate relation, —dependence, for example— with a person. It is even possible that the main concern of those who made out the list may have simply been to give a clear identification for each of the members, rather than sticking to some unitary criterion, which would mean that in some cases they used one type of data, in other cases another and so on, with the result that it may be the case that certain entries may correspond to family denomination, with or without the patronymic, while others define the protagonist as pertaining to a non-familial group, with or without an indication of some personality with which that group was in some way related. But what kind of epigraphic classification can be given to a list with these characteristics?⁴⁰

Celtiberian epigraphy is the result of diverse external influences, basically Iberian as the writing system used itself shows, and Latin as can be seen from the type of documents, and it is in this context of contacts with diverse traditions, already developed, that we should try to evaluate the possible meaning of a Celtiberian list.

We do not lack, in the ancient world, lists made out on noble and lasting materials, the result of specific intellectual conditioning and the particular political institutions which decided to make them, and which, in the case of

³⁹ *Viria* is explicitly attested by Pliny (NH 33, 39) as a Celtiberian word; the PN assumed does not however appear among the Celtiberian PNN recorded by ALBERTOS: 1979: «La Onomástica», and LUJÁN: 1996 (1997): «La onomástica». For the PNN in the bronze see the study by Untermann in BELTRÁN, F., DE HOZ, J. & UNTERMANN, J.: 1996: *El tercer*; and in *MLH IV*.

⁴⁰ In addition to the bibliography already cited, see PENA, M.J.: 1998: «Apuntes».

Celtiberian cities are scarcely known to us. Some generalizations are possible however. By its very nature a list is a document of a practical character, the expected context for which is a more or less formally defined archive, in which it is deposited, on an easily managed and low priced material. For a list to be immortalized on a noble material, and for it to be exhibited in public, it must be reinterpreted as having an ideological character, which normally implies that the members of the list are politically important, which in turn may involve economic or religious factors. We must remember however that a considerable number of the PNN which figure on this plaque correspond to women, which in the majority of the city communities of the ancient Mediterranean would lead us to think of a list related with religion. Given the little that we know of Celtiberian society, we have no data to affirm or deny the possibility among these peoples of a list of persons, in which women would be included, with property or economic rights of some kind, but the possibility is that the considerable presence of feminine PNN on this plaque is to be explained by some kind of relation with cultic or religious organization.

This third example of the Paleo-Hispanic novelties which we have commented on is, in a certain sense, the one which leaves us with the deepest sense of frustration. Before it had been cleaned, X-rayed, and studied we could hope that, due to its size and its belonging to a known linguistic family and to an epigraphic type which had been directly conditioned by Latin epigraphy, there would be a relatively rich and solid harvest of results to be gained from it. But in the end it is no more than a list, a text without a text, as is the Espanca signary or in a different way, for the moment, the Ampurias tablet, since it is written in a language, Iberian, which so far we cannot decipher. But even so, Espanca permits us to advance in the understanding of the complicated theoretical problems which underlie the development of Paleo-Hispanic writing, and Ampurias stimulates us to continue segmenting the Iberian forms that have come down to us, so as to come closer in this way to the internal structure of a language which still guards one of the major keys to the linguistic history of western Europe. All of them, Espanca, Ampurias and Botorrita, offer historic information in the wide sense and lead us to recognise in language one more among the many threads which knit the human fabric, i.e. it forces us to consider a form of history of language which was a permanent temptation for Luis Michelena, and even though he only allowed himself occasionally to follow it, we can always feel its presence, like an implicit subtext, underlying his achievements, which in appearance at least were more purely linguistic.

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Basque historical phonology after Michelena

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Introduction

To everyone in the field of Basque Linguistics it is obvious that much of what we know, or we think we know, about the evolution of the Basque language is due to Luis Michelena. Michelena is the central figure in Basque historical phonology, in the same sense that, for instance, Ramón Menéndez Pidal is the central figure in the study of the phonological evolution of the Spanish language. Like Menéndez Pidal did for Spanish, Michelena established a solid foundation for the study of the history of the Basque language. His *Fonética histórica vasca* remains as relevant and useful today as it was when it was first published, some forty years ago. I believe there would be wide agreement among all scholars that in the historiography of Basque historical linguistics we must distinguish three stages: before Michelena, Michelena's work, and after Michelena.

The organizers of this conference have assigned me the task of highlighting and summarizing the work that has been produced in the field of Basque historical phonology in the post-Michelena period; that is, in the last ten years or so. Continuing with the parallel established above, summarizing the work in Spanish historical phonology after Menéndez Pidal would not be an easy task, since, even though Menéndez Pidal put together the central pieces of the edifice, much important work has been done by many researchers filling in the details. Unfortunately in the case of Basque the situation is very different. There has been relatively little work completing or revising what was accomplished by Michelena. Nevertheless, some progress has been made and a few new hypotheses have been put forward, rightly or wrongly. In the remainder of this article I will focus on those subareas of the diachronic phonology of the Basque language where I believe some progress has been made or can be made or where new hypotheses have been recently advanced. The topics to be covered are the following: the study of the evolution of the syllabic and morphemic structure of Basque, the issue of the nature of the ancient system of plosive phonemes, the history of the accentuation systems found in pre-

sent-day Basque dialects, the chronology in which rules of vowel interaction and other relatively recent developments have been acquired in different dialects, and the theoretical or typological conclusions that can be drawn from dialectal changes which are relatively recent and for which we have relatively adequate information. This will be prefaced by a short commentary on recent comparative work with purported relatives of Basque.

1. Purported relatives

If Basque remains a language isolate it is not for lack of attempts at relating it to other languages. Alongside picturesque proposals in many other directions, much effort has been devoted to proving a genetic connection between Basque and the languages of the Caucasus and, also, for obvious reasons, between Basque and the ancient Iberian language. Both the Basque-Caucasic and the Basque-Iberian hypotheses have had ardent proponents before and after Michelena (see Trask 1995a, 1997).

Michelena was not seduced by the Basque-Caucasian parallels adduced by Lafon (1952), Bouda (1948, 1949, 1951) and others and reviewed this work in thoroughly negative terms (see Michelena 1950, 1968). In recent years the Basque-Caucasic connection has been revived and avidly pursued most notably by Bengtson (1996, 1998 and earlier writings), for whom both Basque and Caucasian would be members of a larger Dene-Caucasian super-family. Although Bengtson's most recent papers on the subject are for the most part free from the errors and inconsistencies for which his work was harshly criticized by Trask (1995a, 1997), the evidence is still not of the type that can carry any conviction.

Regarding Basque and Iberian, Michelena (1973, 1976, 1979) recognized the possible existence of a few shared lexical and morphological elements and of obvious similarities in phonological and morphological structure. But he concluded that the nature of the evidence points towards areal convergence rather than proving common origin. This sensible position is still shared by most specialists. Amateuristic attempts at reading Iberian through Basque have, nevertheless, continued to proliferate. For reasons that I find difficult to understand, the work of one of these visionaries, Juan L. Román del Cerro (1990, 1993), has achieved a certain notoriety in spite of the obviously bogus character of his decipherment (see Lakarra 1991, Trask 1995a, 1997:383-388 for devastating critiques). Other work of a very similar nature such as Jesús Bergua Camón's (1994) grammar of Iberian has mercifully gone unnoticed by specialists.

As the only surviving pre-Indo-European language in Europe outside of the Caucasus it is tempting to look at Basque in the search for cues about the linguistic past of this continent. It is in this connection that we must understand Vennemann's (1994, 1997, among others) Old European hypothesis, in

accordance with which much of the ancient hydronymy of Europe derives from a language related to Basque. For Vennemann Basque also sheds light on the etymology of *salamander* (**sal* «water» + *ama* «mother» + *andera* «woman») the Greek name *Kassándra* (**kast-a* «mountain spring» + *andera* «woman») and the name of Munich (from *muino* «hill»), among several other assorted etymologies in assorted European languages. Trask (1997) and Lakarra (1998) provide thoroughly negative evaluations of Vennemann's proposal.

To summarize this section, it can be concluded that in the period that we are concerned with there has been absolutely no progress in the search for relatives for the Basque language, in spite of certain efforts in several directions. It is not likely that this situation is going to change in the near future.

2. Syllabic and morphological structure

An area where some interesting new proposals have been made is the syllabic and morphological structures of older stages of the Basque language and their subsequent evolution. Xabier Artiagoitia (1993) proposes that the preferential application of epenthesis or deletion to break certain consonant clusters may be a consequence of the syllable structure of the language at different stages of its evolution.

Joseba Lakarra has defined a research program which has as its goal the investigation of the oldest structures observable in the Basque lexicon. In recent work, Lakarra (1995, 1998a, 1998b) has defended the view that by relating lexical items in the native vocabulary, important insights regarding not only the etymology of specific words but also the morphological and syllabic structure of ancient stages of the language can be obtained. This line of investigation takes its inspiration from some work undertaken by Michelena. Thus, Michelena isolates an ancient verb **di* «to become» by comparing and analyzing forms such as *ber-di-n* «same, equal», *ur-di-n* «blue/green/gray» and *gor-di-n* «raw». In these three words the first element would be, respectively, *ber* «same, -self», *ur* «water» and *gor* «hard; deaf», and the final *-n* can be identified with the relative suffix.

By applying the methodology established by Michelena, Lakarra obtains some interesting results. In words such as *ok(h)er* ~ *oier* «twisted», *puzker* «fart», *ezker* «left» and *aker* «billy goat», Lakarra recognizes an ancient root **-ger* with the general meaning of «bad, evil». In the three examples given, the first element could be, respectively *oin* «foot», *butz* ~ *putz* «to blow» and *ez* «no». Similarly from the words *gibel* «liver; back», *giharre* «nerve», *gizen* «fat» and *giberri* «head of cattle», Lakarra identifies a formative element **gi-* «meat», which in the word *gibel* «liver» would be followed by **bel* «black, dark» (modern *beltz*, with a suffix, but identifiable as *bel* also in

harbel «slate», *horbel* «fallen leaves», *goibel* «dark sky», *hozpel* «chilblain», *bele* «raven», etc.)

(1) Lakarra: Ancient morphs

<i>ok(h)er</i> ~ <i>oier</i> «twisted»	<	<i>oin</i> «foot» + <i>*ger</i> «bad»
<i>puzker</i> «fart»	<	<i>putz</i> ~ <i>butz</i> «to blow» + <i>*ger</i> «bad»
<i>ezker</i> «left (hand)»	<	<i>ez</i> «no» + <i>*ger</i> «bad»
<i>gibel</i> «liver; back»	<	<i>*gi</i> «meat» + <i>*bel</i> «black» (modern <i>beltz</i>)
<i>harbel</i> «slate»	<	<i>harr(i)</i> «stone» + <i>*bel</i> «black»
<i>horbel</i> «fallen leaves»	<	<i>horr(i)</i> «leaf» + <i>*bel</i> «black»
<i>goibel</i> «dark sky»	<	<i>goi</i> «height» + <i>*bel</i> «black»
<i>hozpel</i> «chilblain»	<	<i>hotz</i> «cold» + <i>*bel</i> «black»
<i>bele</i> «raven»	<	<i>*bel</i> «black»
<i>giharre</i> «nerve»	<	<i>*gi</i> «meat» + ??
<i>gizen</i> «fat»	<	<i>*gi</i> «meat» + ??
<i>giberri</i> «head of cattle»	<	<i>*gi</i> «meat» + ??

In the study of the native vocabulary, Lakarra starts from the obvious observation that the great majority of native words with no clear internal morphological structure are bisyllabic. This may lead one to propose an earlier stage where morphologically simple words were bisyllabic, either obligatorily or canonically. But Lakarra does not stop here. He notices that, against expectations, there are very few words like *begi* «eye» with a structure TVTV, where T stands for any stop and V for a vowel. In fact, even for the word *begi* an internal structure *be-gi* can and has been proposed. The list of unanalyzable words with a structure TVTV is indeed very short. Jon Patrick, of the University of Sidney, Australia, has provided me with a list of all TVTV words which are listed in both Azkue's dictionary and at least one of several more modern dictionaries. Leaving aside obvious borrowings and words of an onomatopoeic nature, the (near-)complete list of Basque words with a TVTV structure is the following:

(2) TVTV words

baga ~ *bage* «without», *bagi* ~ *bagai* «tardo para andar, lazy», *baku* (R, Zub) «market, reunion», *begi* «eye», *beko* «forehead», *beta* «required time», *bete* «full», *beti* «always», *bide* «way, road», *biga* ~ *bida* «two», *bipi* ~ *pipi* «moth», *boti* (eastern) «together», *dedu* (B) «honor», *diti* ~ *titi* «breast; nipple», *dupa* ~ *tupa* ~ *tupe* «barrel», *gabi* «mace; cranberry», *gogo* «desire, remembrance», *guda* ~ *gudu* «war», *guti* «little», *kako* ~ *gako* «hook», *keto* (B) «enano; molesto», *kide* «companion», *koka(tu)* «to place», *kuka* (BN, R) «wink», *padu* «uninhabited land»,

pedoi «machete», *peto* «authentic», *poto* «mistake», *tegi* «place», *tika* (BN) «resentment», *toki* «place», *tuku* (Bermeo) «mistrust»

From the above list, most words can be excluded from an ancient stratum for one reason or another. The following etymological explanations can be offered with different degrees of certainty:

(3) TVTV words with a possible explanation

a) Polymorphemic words

baga ~ *bage* «without» < *bat* «one» + *ge* «without» (in its turn, *bat* < **ba-da*)

baku «market, reunion» < *bat* «one» (*batu* «to gather») + ?

bete «full» < *bat* «one» ?

begi «eye» < *be-* «possessive»? «dual»? + *gi* ? (cf. *belarri* «ear», *beso* «arm», *belaur* «knee»)

biga ~ *bida* «two» < *bi* «two» + *da*? (cf. **ba-da* «one»)

beti «always» < *be*? + *-ti* «adverbializer»

gogo «desire, remembrance». Possible reduplication

guti «little» < *gu* ? + *-ti* «adverbializer»

b) Words derived from morphological reanalysis of suffixes

kide «companion» < *-(k)ide*, cf. *haurride* «sibling» (also *haurkide*), *ahaide* «relative», etc.

tegi «place» < *-(t)egi*, cf. *oilategi* «chicken coop», etc.

toki «place» < *-(t)oki*, cf. *ordoki* «plain», etc.

beko «forehead». A more common form is *bekoki*. There are several possible analyses.

c) Possible borrowings

bagi ~ *bagai* «tardo para andar, lazy» < Sp. *vago*?

beta < ?

bide «way, road» < Lat/Rom *via ad*, *via de*

dedu «honor» < ?

dupa ~ *tupa* ~ *tupe* «barrel», cf. Sp. *tonel*, *cuba*

gabi «mace; cranberry» < Lat *cavea* ? (Michelena)

guda ~ *gudu* «war» < Germanic ??

kako ~ *gako* «key(stone)» cf. Sp. *gancho* ?

keto (B) «enano; molesto» < Sp. *inquieto*?

koka(tu) «to place» < Sp. *colocar*

padu ~ *padura* «uninhabited land; marsh» < Lat. *padule*

peto «authentic» < ?

pedoi «machete» < Sp. *pendón*?

poto «mistake» < Sp. *bote*

d) Possible onomatopoeias or child language

bipi ~ *pipi* «moth»

boti (eastern) «together»

diti ~ *titi* «breast; nipple» (cf. also Sp. *teta*)

kuka (BN, R) «wink»

tuku (Bermeo) «mistrust»

Much more common are words like *ardi* «sheep», with an internal consonant group. To account for these distributional facts, Lakarra puts forward a bold hypothesis: at the earliest reconstructable stage (before that reconstructed by Michelena in *Fonética histórica vasca*), Basque roots were for the most part monosyllabic. A consequence of this hypothesis is that almost all surviving native words are originally compounds or derived words. Under this hypothesis words like *gogor* «hard», *odol* «blood» and several others would have their origin in reduplicative compounds: **gor-gor* > *gogor*, **do-dol* > *odol*. Lakarra concludes that reduplicative compounding was an important morphological mechanism in ancient Basque.

This line of investigation can potentially shed much light on the oldest reconstructable strata of the Basque language.

3. The ancient Basque plosives

Michelena (1951, 1957, 1961), building on an earlier proposal by Martinet (1950), provided an insightful reconstruction of the consonant system of ancient Basque as it was spoken some two thousand years ago. Michelena's reconstruction has been universally accepted among specialists. Michelena's reconstructed consonant system for ancient Basque is based on a pervasive fortis/lenis opposition:

(4) Michelena's consonant system for ancient Basque

Fortes:	(p)	t	tz	ts	k	N	L	R
Lenes:	b	d	z	s	g	n	l	r

In this system the fortis/lenis contrast was made only in the intervocalic position, being neutralized elsewhere. Word-initially only lenis consonants occurred and word-finally only the lenes were found:

(5) Distribution of fortis and lenis consonants

	-k-			-ts-	
g-		-k		s-	-ts
	-g-			-s-	

For the sibilants, the distribution of fricatives and affricates in the modern language is still by and large in accordance with this schema (e.g.: *sabel* «stomach», *oso* «whole», *otso* «wolf», *hots* «sound, noise»). In the case of *n/N* and *l/L*, the modern language lacks this opposition, but its existence in intervocalic position at an older stage is clear from the treatment of Latin borrowings and other indications and had already been recognized, at least in part, by authors such as Bähr (1931). In borrowings from Latin *-n-* deletes but geminate *-nn-* remains as *-n-* (e.g.: Lat *annona* > Bq *anoa* «portion»). Similarly Latin *-l-* becomes *-r-* but Latin *-ll-* remains as *-l-* (e.g.: Lat *angelu* > Bq *aingeru* «ángel», Lat *castellu* > Bq *gaztelu*, Lat *ballena* > Bq *balea* «whale»). Regarding the rhotics, the modern language preserves a tap/trill opposition restricted to the intervocalic position. As for the plosives, although the modern language has a contrast between voiced and voiceless segments both intervocalically and word-initially, initial voiceless stops are rare in the native vocabulary. In the earliest loanwords from Latin a tendency to voice initial stops is also apparent (e.g.: Lat *pace* > Bq *bake* «peace», Lat *corpus* > Bq *gorputz* «body», Lat *causa* > Bq *gauza* «thing»). What is less clear is whether all these correlations were ever the result of a single phonetic feature. Trask (1985) proposes such a unification, under the assumption that Michelena's fortis consonants were in fact geminates. But in more recent work Trask (1997) appears to have abandoned this view.

Michelena, following Martinet, argued that the voiced/voiceless opposition that we find in the modern Basque system of plosives was not present two thousand years ago. For Martinet the existence of a voiced/voiceless distinction in the intervocalic position which is neutralized word-initially is a puzzle, since it appears to go against a phonological universal. To explain this mystery Martinet proposes that the Basque of Roman times had a fortis/lenis distinction akin to that found in modern Danish.

(6) Martinet's Pre-Basque system of plosives

	<i>initial</i>	<i>medial</i>
<i>fortis</i> /K/	[kh-]	[-k-]
<i>lenis</i> /G/	[k-] (voiceless [g̊-])	[-ɣ-]

In Martinet's hypothesis, the ancient initial fortis stops, which were aspirated, were subsequently lost, *kh* > *h* > \emptyset , whereas the ancient initial lenis stops became voiced.

Michelena remarks on the parallelism in the distribution of plosives and sibilants as an indication that the modern voiceless/voiced and affricate/fricative oppositions must have represented a unified correlation at an earlier stage:

«Creemos que la analogía de comportamiento de oclusivas y silbantes en lo referente a las posiciones de neutralización tiene un gran valor como

vía para alcanzar una mejor comprensión de la posición respectiva de las unidades del antiguo sistema consonántico. Dicho en otras palabras, si las oposiciones modernas *sorda/sonora*, *africada/fricativa* tendían a perder validez en los mismos contextos aproximadamente, ello podría deberse a que los dos tipos modernos de correlación no fueran más que diversificaciones de una única correlación antigua». (Michelena 1988 [1957]: 178)

He thus concludes that the voiceless/voiced contrast is an innovation which has replaced an earlier contrast in tension:

«Si aceptamos, pues, que la sonoridad no era en la serie lenis de oclusivas más que un epifenómeno determinado por el contexto y que lo que distinguía ambas series era una pronunciación más o menos tensa (caracterizada quizá, además, como quiere Martinet, por la presencia o ausencia de aspiración), no resulta difícil integrar las silbantes en el sistema oclusivo». (Michelena 1988 [1957]: 179)

«No parece, por lo tanto, que haga demasiada violencia a los hechos la idea de admitir que el a. vasc. conocía una sola correlación que comprendía oclusivas y silbantes, que podemos llamar provisionalmente correlación de tensión o de intensidad: la mayor o menor energía de la articulación sería entonces el único resgo pertinente... [Para las oclusivas] Se habría pasado, pues, de una correlación de tensión a una de sonorización...» (Michelena 1988 [1957]: 179)

Recently I have argued that Martinet's puzzle regarding the neutralization of the contrast between the two series of plosives in initial position («Pourquoi, dans ce cas, les Basque auraient-ils confondu **p* et **b* à l'initiale tout en conservant la distinction à l'intervocalique?» Martinet 1964 [1950]: 375) has a much simpler explanation than the one he proposes. The crucial fact is that Basque has a rule of plosive devoicing following voiceless consonants, which results in alternations between word-initial voiced and voiceless realizations; e.g.: *mendira dator* «s/he is coming to the mountain» vs. *menditi(k) dator* «he is coming from the mountain»; *etorri dira* «they have come» vs. *ez-tira etorri* «they have not come», *laguna(k) tira* «they are friends»; *gordin* «raw», *hazkordin* «chilblain in the hands». The postconsonantal neutralization of the voiced/voiceless opposition appears to be ancient (Michelena 1954, 1979) and may have been more extensive in earlier times than in the modern language. My hypothesis is that this contextual neutralization had led to an almost complete loss of the voiced/voiceless contrast in word-initial (and morpheme-initial) position by the time of the Roman conquest (Hualde to appear). The contrast was later reestablished under the influence of the neighboring Romance languages. If this is correct, there was never a single phonetic/phonological feature underlying the contrast between both the two series of plosives and the fricative/affricate pairs. The absence of a fricative/affricate contrast in initial position may have a similar origin in postconsonantal neutralization, though.

4. Accentuation

An area where, I believe, some progress has been made in the post-Michelena era, is the study of accentuation in Basque. For a long time the formulation of hypotheses regarding the evolution of Basque accentuation was hampered by the scarcity of reliable descriptive work for modern varieties and controversies regarding the accuracy of some of the available descriptions. In recent years, however, a good amount of descriptive/analytical work has been undertaken, resulting in the discovery of a number of facts needing a diachronic explanation. An interesting discovery has been the extent to which the accentuation of old loanwords has been preserved in some Bizkaian varieties. In the variety of Getxo, for instance, like in other northern Bizkaian varieties, most words are unaccented and receive only phrase-final accentuation. A relatively small number of words, however, have fixed accent on a given syllable of the stem. Interestingly, the group of accentually marked words includes a number of loanwords which appear to have been borrowed in Roman or medieval times:

(7) Getxo: *préstamos antiguos*

a) <i>dénpora</i> «time»	< <i>tempora</i>
<i>ántzar</i> «goose»	< <i>anser, ansar</i>
<i>géla</i> «room»	< <i>cella</i>
<i>léku</i> «place»	< <i>lueco</i>
<i>sékula</i> «never»	< <i>saecula</i>
b) <i>autóno</i> «september»	< <i>autumnus</i>
<i>doméka</i> «Sunday»	< <i>dominica</i>
<i>eskóla</i> «school»	< <i>schola</i>
<i>makílla</i> «stick»	< <i>baccilla</i>
<i>puxíka</i> «bladder»	< <i>uesica</i>
<i>ki(n)púla</i> «onion»	< <i>caepulla</i>

Given the fact that some quite old borrowings have preserved their original accentuation in Bizkaian varieties, the study of this accentual system is likely to offer us perspectives into the past which may complement those that the better-studied Souletin or Zuberoan accentual system has offered to us. Correct or misguided, my efforts in this respect were published in a couple of papers (Hualde 1993, 1995).

The study of present-day accentual systems has revealed the existence of a great variety of such systems within the Basque-speaking territory. Within the western-central area we find systems where the basic rule of accentuation is accent on the last syllable of the phrase (e.g. Gernika, Getxo, Bermeo, Lekeitio), accent on the penultimate syllable of the phrase (e.g. Markina, Ondarroa, Bergara), accent on the third syllable of the word (e.g. Azkoitia), and accent on the second syllable of the word (e.g. Oñati, Beasain, Elorrio). At the same

time, all these accentual systems present numerous other points in common regarding the marked accentuation of specific lexical items and grammatical categories. From a diachronic point of view the problem is how to account for the present diversity starting from the common stage which undoubtedly existed (see Hualde 1997, chapter 8, 1998a, 1998b for some partial attempts).

5. Rule order in generative derivations and chronological order of sound changes

Most work in Basque historical phonology has concentrated on the reconstruction of ancient stages in the evolution of the language. Michelena's reconstruction takes us back to the Basque of about 2000 years ago. Lakarra has as his goal the reconstruction of even earlier stages. In comparison, the recent phonological evolution of Basque varieties has not received as much attention as perhaps it deserves. To take a clear example, Basque dialects differ greatly in the treatment of vowel sequences. Just within the Bizkaian area, the absolutive singular of *alaba* «daughter» can be *alabea* (Arratia), *alabe* (Getxo), *alabia* (Lekeitio), *alabie* (Gernika) or *alabi* (Ondarroa). Whereas it is clear that all these forms derive from an earlier *alabaa*, the study of the different changes that have given rise to the various modern forms and of their geographical diffusion is not bereft of interest in my opinion. These vowel alternations have been analyzed from a synchronic point of view within generative frameworks (see de Rijk 1970, Hualde 1991). To the extent that a generative derivation may recapitulate diachrony, we have indeed learned something about the evolution of different varieties from this synchronic generative work. As an example of what I mean take for instance the following alternations in the varieties of Azkoitia and Baztan:

(8) Vowel alternations

	Azkoitia	Baztan	
uninflected	abs sg	abs sg	
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizona</i>	<i>gizona</i>	«man»
<i>buru</i>	<i>burue</i>	<i>burue</i>	«head»
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendixe</i>	<i>mendie</i>	«mountain»
<i>beso</i>	<i>besue</i>	<i>besua</i>	«arm»
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etxie</i>	<i>etxia</i>	«house»

These two varieties share two processes: (a) mid vowels are raised in prevocalic position (Mid Vowel Raising) and (a) the low vowel /a/ is raised to /e/ when preceded by a high vowel (Low Vowel Assimilation). In a generative analysis the different results in each of the two dialects would be obtained by ordering these two rules in opposite ways:

(9) Azkoitia vs. Baztan: Generative derivation

a. Azkoitia:	/beso+a/	/buru+a/
Mid Vowel Raising	besua	—
Low Vowel Assim.	besue	burue
b. Baztan:	/beso+a/	/buru+a/
Low Vowel Assim.	—	burue
Mid Vowel Raising	besua	—
	besua	burue

There are reasons to believe that these rule orders correspond exactly to the chronological order in which the two sound changes were acquired in each of the two dialects. In Baztan, where Mid Vowel Raising is ordered last, this is in fact only an optional rule which does not necessarily apply in careful speech (see Salaburu 1984), unlike Low Vowel Assimilation which is obligatory. This seems to indicate that Mid Vowel Raising is a recent change in the dialect.

In Azkoitia, on the other hand, both Mid Vowel Raising and Low Vowel Assimilation apply consistently. However, in rural areas of Azkoitia, Low Vowel Assimilation has a variable application and generally results in a fronted low vowel which does not merge with /e/: *mendirä* (see Yrizar 1991: I, 366). It is thus fairly clear that the acquisition of Low Vowel Assimilation in Azkoitia is a more or less recent phenomenon. In fact, perusal of the dialectal texts compiled by Bonaparte in the 19th century (collected and reprinted in Bonaparte 1991) clearly shows that Low Vowel Assimilation has spread considerably in the western area during the last century.

(10) Diachronic interpretation

Azkoitia:	<i>besoa</i> >	<i>besua</i> >	<i>besue</i>
	<i>burua</i> >	<i>burua</i> >	<i>burue</i>
Baztan:	<i>besoa</i> >	<i>besoa</i> >	<i>besua</i>
	<i>burua</i> >	<i>burue</i> >	<i>burue</i>

Although, in general, the order of the rules in a generative derivation will reflect the order of the different historical developments, this is not always the case. Consider the vowel interaction facts in the variety of Ultzama:

(11) Ultzama

uninflected	abs sg	
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizóna</i>	«man»
<i>buru</i>	<i>burúe</i>	«head»
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendíe</i>	«mountain»
<i>beso</i>	<i>bésua</i>	«arm»
<i>etxe</i>	<i>étxja</i>	«house»

What is peculiar about this dialect is that the stem final mid vowels /-e/, /-o/ become glides in inflected forms but the high vowels /-i/, /-u/ preserve their syllabic character. In the most parsimonious generative analysis we would have a rule of Gliding turning mid vowels into glides and ordered between the rules of Low Vowel Assimilation and Accent Assignment (cf. Ibarra 1995: 538-9):

(12) Ultzama: Generative derivation

Ultzama: orden de reglas

	/ore-a/	/ori-a/
Low Vowel Assim.	—	orie
Gliding	orja	—
Accent Assignm.	ória	oríe
	«the dough»	«the yellow one»

As a diachronic change, the gliding of prevocalic mid vowels without affecting high vowels in the same position is highly unlikely. We expect mid vowels to become glides only if high vowels do to. The derivation above thus does not seem to reflect the historical evolution of this dialect. We know, on the other hand, that a process of consonant insertion after high vowels that produced forms such as *buruba* «the head» (from *burua*) and *mendiya* «the mountain» (from *mendia*) has been losing ground in the last centuries. One reason we know this is the relative incidence of this epenthesis in the dialectal texts collected by Bonaparte and in present-day dialects. In fact the process appears only in the speech of the oldest speakers in many areas. We may in fact assume that the reason why we do not have glides in forms such as *burue*, *mendie* is that these forms presented an intervocalic consonant at the time the gliding rule was acquired. That is, the evolution may have been something like the following:

(13) Ultzama: diachronic evolution

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5
<i>burúba</i> >	<i>burúba</i> >	<i>burúbe</i> >	<i>burúe</i> >	<i>burúe</i>
<i>besóa</i> >	<i>bés_oa</i> >	<i>bés_oa</i> >	<i>bés_oa</i> >	<i>bés_oa</i> ~ <i>bés_{wa}</i>

Our hypothesis regarding the existence of epenthesis at the historical point we have identified as Stage 1 is confirmed by the fact that this epenthesis is found nowadays in Lizarraga, not far from Ultzama. In this dialect the Gliding rule affects only mid vowels as in Ultzama, being blocked with stems ending in a high vowel by the epenthesis process that we have discussed:

(14) Lizarraga

uninflected	abs sg	
<i>ogi</i>	<i>ogiye</i>	«bread»
<i>esku</i>	<i>eskube</i>	«hand»
<i>seme</i>	<i>semje</i>	«son»
<i>asto</i>	<i>astwe</i>	«donkey»

It is thus very likely that the somewhat «unnatural» situation that we find nowadays in Ultzama is the result of the subsequent loss of the epenthesis rule in a system of alternations which used to be essentially identical to that still found in Lizarraga.

6. Recent analogical changes in verb morphology

Another area where considerable cross-dialectal variation is found is verb morphology. Bonaparte (1869) devoted much effort to the gathering and systematization of verbal forms from the main dialects and, more recently, Yrizar (1981, 1991, 1992a-d, 1997) has undertaken a thorough investigation of variation in verbal morphology in local dialects. We thus now have at our disposal a wealth of information that could be fruitfully used to study the operation of analogy and other forces in the development of morphological paradigms. In this case too, we find that whereas the reconstruction of much more intricate ancient facts regarding the origin and evolution of conjugated verbal forms has been the object of serious study (see Gómez & Sainz 1995 for a recent treatment and evaluation of earlier proposals), more recent changes, about whose direction we can be confident to a great extent, have not received much attention. I feel that the study of many of the relatively recent changes responsible for much of the interdialectal variation in Basque verbal paradigms constitutes an unexploited mine for historical linguistics. Let us consider an example. Basque possesses a number of distinct pluralizers used in different verbal forms (*-it-*, *-z-*, *-z-*, *-zki-*, *-tza*). In Bizkaian dialects these pluralizers have been progressively replaced by *-z*, which has become the pluralizer par excellence. Consider the following examples (In Bizkaian the predorsal voiceless fricative represented orthographically by *z* has merged with the apico-alveolar fricative represented by *s*. In the examples the etymological orthography is kept for convenience):

(15)

Common Basque	Bizkaian	
<i>dator/datoz</i>	<i>dator/datoz</i>	«s/he is coming/ they are coming»
<i>dago/daude</i>	<i>dago/dagoz</i>	«s/he is, stays/ they are, stay»
<i>daukagu/dauzkagu</i>	<i>daukagu/daukaguz</i>	«we have it/ we have them»

<i>dugu/ditugu</i>	<i>dogu/doguz</i>	«we have it/ we have them» (auxiliary)
<i>du/ditu</i>	<i>dau/dauz, dituz</i>	«s/he has it/ s/he has them»
<i>nuen/nituen</i>	<i>neban/nebazan</i>	«I had it/ I had them»
<i>zait/zaizkit</i>	<i>jat/jataz</i>	«it is to me/ they are to me»
<i>dakit/dakizkit</i>	<i>dakit/dakidaz</i>	«I know it/I know them»

The spread of the pluralizer *-z* in Bizkaian has taken place at different rates in different Bizkaian varieties. In some forms like *dituz* «s/he has them» the new pluralizer *-z* coexists with the older one. Interestingly the strong association of the suffix *-z* with the notion of plurality has led in some Bizkaian varieties to the removal of final *-z* from the first person singular monovalent form of the verb *izan* «to be», *naiz* «I am», where the *-z* was originally part of the root and not a suffix at all, as well as to its addition to the plural forms of this paradigm, which originally did not have an identifiable pluralizer:

(16) Monovalent present of *izan* «to be» in northern Bizkaian

	Standard Bq	Bermeo	Ondarroa	Markina
1s	<i>naiz</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
3s	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
1p	<i>gara</i>	<i>gara~gariez</i>	<i>gaz</i>	<i>ga</i>
2s	<i>zara</i>	<i>zara</i>	<i>zaz</i>	<i>za</i>
2p	<i>zarete</i> (B <i>zaree</i>)	<i>zariez</i>	<i>zaze</i>	<i>zarie</i>
3p	<i>dira</i>	<i>diez</i>	<i>diz</i>	<i>di</i>

Since deletion of final *-z* is otherwise unattested in these Basque dialects, its substraction from *naiz* «I am» must undoubtedly be a paradigm effect.

The second person form *zara* «you are» is originally and morphologically a second person plural form, but nowadays has only a singular meaning. In Ondarroa there has been a change *zara* > *za(ra)z* by formal analogy with *gara* > *ga(ra)z*. In Bermeo, however the analogical restructuring of the paradigm has been guided by considerations of meaning and has produced a form *gariez* «we are» which is parallel to *zariez* «you-pl are» (from older *zarie*), whereas *zara* «you-sg are» has not acquired a pluralizer.

A change in progress of a similar nature is the replacement of irregular past tense forms by innovative forms derived from corresponding present tense forms by simple addition of *-n*, the all-purpose past marker. This change is currently taking place in Bermeo and other varieties where the forms to the left and to the right of the arrow are presently found in competition:

(17) Bermeo: analogical past in *-n*

nai/nintzen «I am»/«I was» > *nai/naien*
dot/nuen «I have»/«I had» > *dot/doten*

Together with these very general and far-reaching analogical restructurings of verbal paradigms, we also find some very specific analogies. To give an interesting example, in Antzuola the singular forms of the verb *joan* «to go» have acquired a final *-r*, which is found in no other Basque dialect:

(18) Antzuola: *joan* «to go»

Common Basque	Antzuola	
<i>noa</i> , B <i>noia</i>	<i>noiar</i>	«I am going»
<i>doa</i> , B <i>doia</i>	<i>doiar</i>	«s/he is going»

As Olabarria (1995) points out, the most likely source of this final *-r* is the paradigm of the verb *etorri* «to come»:

(19) Antzuola: *joan* «to go»

noia > *noiar* «I am going», by analogy with *nator* «I am coming»
doia > *doiar* «s/he is going», by analogy with *dator* «s/he is coming»

The innovate forms *noiar*, *doiar* have, in their turn, given rise to analogical past forms by suffixation of *-n*, which are replacing the inherited irregular past forms in the speech of the younger generation: *ninddoian* «I went» > *noiarren* (from *noiar* «I am going» + *-(e)n* «past»).

The study of nonfinite verbal forms has recently benefited from two insightful papers by Trask (1990, 1995b). An interesting proposal that Trask has made is that the two main ancient classes of native participles, those ending in *-i* (e.g.: *etorri* «to come», *ekarri* «to bring») and those ending in *-n* (e.g.: *eman* «to give», *joan* «to go») derive from a single historical class. In Trask's proposal, the *-n* participles, which constitute a smaller group, were regular participles in *-i* which just happened to have a stem final *n*; e.g.: **e-man-i* «to give». After regular loss of intervocalic *-n-*, we end up with the alternation *eman*, *emai-ten* «imperfective participle» which we find both in eastern and some western varieties and which until now had remained unexplained.

7. Neogrammarian change vs. lexical diffusion

A central issue in historical linguistics has to do with the gradualness/abruptness of sound change and of its implementation in lexical items. As is well-known, a number of different positions have been defended in this respect. This is also an area where the study of cross-dialectal variation in Basque, interpreted from a chronological perspective, may provide some answers. Consider, for instance, the palatalization of /s/ after /i/. This is a phenomenon found in a number of Bizkaian varieties. Comparison of local varieties can show

us how this particular sound change has spread. To draw valid conclusions, however, we may need to examine a representative number of varieties. Take for instance the varieties of Markina, Lekeitio and Ondarroa, all three spoken in northeastern Bizkaia, within a few miles of each other. The dialect of Markina was described by Rollo (1925). If we compare the lexical items from this book containing the sequence /is/ with the corresponding words in present-day Lekeitio, it appears that /s/ has been systematically palatalized in this context. This would appear to be a Neogrammarian change in that all words presenting this context have changed in the same manner. Nevertheless comparison with neighboring Ondarroa presents a rather different picture. Here we see instead that /s/ has been palatalized after /i/ in some items, but not in some other items with the identical context. Here the change shows clear signs of lexical diffusion. Given this, it seems reasonable to assume that in Lekeitio too the change gradually diffused through the lexicon eventually reaching the present-day stage where all lexical items have been affected and even recent borrowings are made to conform to the palatalization pattern, e.g.: *tenix* «tennis». We may conclude that here we have an example of a change that spread through lexical diffusion but finally become completely regular, producing the impression of lexical abruptness.

(20) Palatalización de /s/ in northeastern Bizkaian

Markina (Rollo 1925)	Lekeitio	Ondarroa	
<i>gison</i>	<i>gixon</i>	<i>gixon</i>	«man»
<i>bisi</i>	<i>bixi</i>	<i>bixi</i>	«to live»
<i>isen</i>	<i>ixen</i>	<i>ixen</i>	«name»
<i>biser</i>	<i>bixar</i>	<i>bisar</i>	«beard»
<i>isar</i>	<i>ixar</i>	<i>isar</i>	«star»
<i>iserdi</i>	<i>ixerdi</i>	<i>iserdi</i>	«sweat»

I would conclude this section with another example of facts of variation across Basque dialects which I believe can be profitably studied from a diachronic perspective. Comparison of Basque dialects shows us the existence of opposite tendencies, some times in neighboring varieties. Next to dialects where /n/ and /l/ are systematically palatalized after /i/, we find other dialects where not only is there no palatalization in this context, but indubitably there has been depalatalization of earlier palatals. In these depalatalizing varieties the cognates of, for instance, Spanish *baño* and *botella* are *bainu* ~ *mainu* «bath» and *botila* ~ *boteila* ~ *botoila* «bottle», respectively (see Echaide 1976). To give another example of the same sort: in the Gernika area there has been an assimilatory change *aw* > *ew*, e.g.: *aurre* > *eurre* «front», *dau* > *deu* «s/he has it». In several other areas of Bizkaia and Navarre, on the other hand, we have the opposite disimilatory change *ew* > *aw*, e.g.: Getxo *euri* > *auri* «rain», *euskera* > *auskera* «Basque language». It seems reasonable to hypo-

thesize that, in cases like these, one of the changes started as a hypercorrection against the other. Careful study of the geographical distribution of opposite changes and of the historical record when available may teach us something about the effects of reaction and hypercorrection on language change.

8. Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to summarize the results of research on Basque historical phonology during the last decade or so. As indicated, this work for the most part has build on the foundations established by Michelena's prodigious scholarship. I have also tried to point out directions in the study of Basque diachronic phonology which in my opinion have not yet been fully explored and which appear to provide fruitful lines of investigation, both for the study of the Basque language and for historical linguistics in general.

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The necessary role of history in dictionaries of current Spanish

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«Language is [...] the murmur of everything which is pronounced and is at the same time a transparent system which brings it about that when we speak we are understood; in brief, language is the accumulation of all those different manners of speaking that have occurred throughout history and at the same time the system of speech itself.»

(Michel Foucault¹)

The reference made to the history of the lexicon in the title of this paper is not an attempt to orientate the reader towards one of those great objectives which we linguists at times set before ourselves, when we try to «discover the life of a people in its various aspects [because vocabulary is] the archive of traditions, beliefs and customs»²; nor is it an attempt to exercise a therapeutic effect on languages, with the aim of arriving at the correct meaning of certain terms, an exercise which, as is shown by Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio, is so necessary in certain situations:

the recent habit of applying the term *cohesión social* (social cohesion) to something which in other times, it does not matter whether with an excess of good will or not, was called *concordia social* (social concordance), is symptomatic of the renunciation implicit in present-day acceptance of the passivization and reification of the human person, to the extent to which *cohesion* connotes inert grains united by an external glue, in the way that building blocks are cemented into cohesion with one another with mortar.

¹ M. FOUCAULT: *De lenguaje y literatura*, Barcelona: Paidós, U.A.B., 1996, p. 64.

² Ph. CAHUZAC: «La división del español de América en zonas dialectales. Solución etno-lingüística o semántico dialectal». In: F. MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, ed.: *La división dialectal del español de América*, Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 1993, 97-163, p. 99.

In so far as people are concerned, this external mortar could well be the imposition of a *national identity* [...] *Concord* alludes to living subjects and would correspond to *friendship*; *cohesion* alludes to inert objects and would correspond to *unity* (for example *national unity*)³

With these words the writer rightly denounces euphemistic and metaphoric land mines which are spread before language at every hand's turn; but it would be a mistake for lexicographers to foster the vain illusion that they can defuse such mines by having recourse to history when, in the normal course of events, it is inertia or simple lack of interest in things, —including words after they have remained exposed for a few years without anybody taking any notice of them— which brings it about that what was once the fruit of fashion or, if you wish, of reification, will finally be abandoned. The success of new terms is independent of formative correctness or even of their ranking in seniority: as soon as a formation such as *Carta Magna*⁴ or *señor de la guerra*⁵ (warlord) catches on it becomes very difficult to uproot it, though when they are caught in time, as happened not so long ago with *tanques de pensamiento*⁶ (think tanks), one can prevent a mistake from acquiring even the rank of novelty, and so lose the opportunity of acquiring a splendid oxymoron for Spanish.

³ R. SÁNCHEZ FERLOSIO, *El País*, 13.1.98, pp. 13, 14.

⁴ «En los últimos tiempos se ha generalizado el uso de la expresión *Carta Magna* como sinónimo de Constitución, más concretamente de nuestra Constitución de 1978. No se aplica, y con razón, a la Constitución francesa de 1958 ni a la Constitución de Estados Unidos. Pues bien, como todo el mundo sabe, y según nos explicó García Pelayo, la Carta Magna fue un documento que concedió un rey inglés en 1215 ante la presión de los privilegiados. No era ni siquiera una declaración de derechos, y mucho menos una constitución. Resulta lógico que hablen de Carta Magna constitucionalistas arcaizantes y nacionalistas deseosos de sugerir la obsolescencia de la Constitución y su asimiliación con un pasado feudal o con una carta otorgada. Encaja también con la crítica de la Constitución como resultado de la acción del rey y de los poderes fácticos. Pero desde el rigor jurídico-constitucional, el recurso al sinónimo es impropio. Y debiera serlo también para la prensa y los escritores independientes», A. ELORZA, «Cartas al director», *El País*, 14.10.98, p. 13. The popularity of this expression —the epithet of which, it must be admitted, is very decorative— is easily explained, thanks to the way in which it facilitates synonymic expressions: so «El presidente de la Xunta, Manuel Fraga se abonó ayer a las tesis de la *Declaración de Mérida* al proclamar su idea de defender “enérgicamente” la Constitución [...]. Emilio Pérez Touriño, no rechaza “modificar” la Carta Magna “en aquello que sea necesario”. [Pérez Touriño] defendió que cualquier reforma ha de hacerse “desde la Constitución”, no descartó “modificar” la Carta Magna», *El País*, 14.10.98, p. 23. For quite some time after the publication of the above-mentioned letter of A. ELORZA, *El País* continued to use *Carta Magna*: so on the 26.11.98, p. 26: «González celebrará con Barrionuevo la fiesta de la Carta Magna».

⁵ «¿Hasta cuándo van a continuar los periodistas de su diario traduciendo el término inglés *war lord* (que a su vez viene del término alemán *Krieg Herr*, y que equivale a “comandante”) por *señor de la guerra*? [...]», J. ARIAS, *El País*, 26.5.96, p. 14.

⁶ «Felipe González, que no habla inglés, ha traducido la expresión americana de *think tanks* por el barbarismo de “tanques de pensamiento” [...] (digámoslo en buen castellano) unos centros de estudios», P. SCHWARTZ, *El País*, 6.7.96, p. 56; it would not be a bad idea to use *comité asesor*.

In this paper I would like to examine a series of minute facts which history may help us to understand, though this does not necessarily imply the desire to correct or change them. I dare to dream of distant things, not to penetrate, therefore, into the essence of our language nor to wonder about the whys and wherefores of our usage, but only to understand them a little more. From the relation between *tremendo* (tremendous) and the old *tremere* «to tremble» we should not conclude that it is necessary to avoid collocating *tremendo* with *calor* (heat), no matter how great the contradiction may seem in the resulting combination, since all trace of the original meaning has been lost in that term. We should not force things in the domain of etymology just so as to get our own way and demonstrate that «a distinguished lady is one who distinguishes and wishes to be distinguished», as a journalist has affirmed, manipulating a reality of meaning in which the wood of a less attractive reality cannot be seen for trees of wealth and mink. It is a different matter for a writer of the category of don José Ortega Gasset to take the root of a word such as *engendro* (engendering) and juggle with it as follows: «And it is a work of love, because it means generation, the engendering of some things in others»⁷; exactly the opposite to what happens with a translator who refers —not juggling this time, but purely by mistake— to «the engenderings (engendros) of the Bible»⁸ instead of «the generations of the Bible».

No, it is not easy to change reality for the sake of history, but neither is it reasonable to try to change history at our every whim, as the mayor of Jerez de la Frontera tries to do when he wants to get rid of part of the name of his town and eliminate the reference to *la Frontera* (the frontier), unless of course it is motivated by some serious humanitarian reason which has escaped me. It is hard to believe that it is all due to the search for a more efficient means of marketing the town or for a more clumsily correct version —in so far as the reality of events is concerned— since Jerez today is a frontier to nothing but its own self. Should the person who takes a decision like this not feel terrified at the thought of obliterating at one swipe a historically relevant usage which dates back more than half a millennium.

To come back to dictionaries, history often offers us an explanation for certain usages, knowledge of which, while not necessary for the appropriate use of the language, can help to avoid certain confusions, and at the same time be of use in the consolidation of a certain term, construction or meaning. If dictionaries do not provide historic information, this is not to be attributed to scientific, but rather to purely technical reasons; in lexicography more attention

⁷ J. ORTEGA Y GASSET: «Meditaciones del Quijote». In: *Obras completas*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1961, I, p. 350.

⁸ As is done with the Spanish dubbing of Stanley KRAMER's «Inherit the wind» (La herencia del viento).

has been paid to the problem of the physical space available in dictionaries than to the introduction in them of the latest advances achieved in linguistic disciplines. So it is that in the same way that history is not consulted so as to achieve, for example, a greater understanding of certain synonyms, neither are linguistic criteria taken into account in selecting adverbs with the suffix *-mente* (-ly) or to define relational adjectives⁹. The fact is that should not waste what we know of the past, just as we should not leave to one side the application to lexicography of work in descriptive linguistics, especially since dictionaries as a class allow for a number of different types and information technology enables us to bypass the problems of space which, to a great extent, underlies the minimalist «rationale» of dictionaries.

1. The History of Words

To start with, it is just as well to recognise that within lexicography history is not forgotten altogether.

1.1. *The etymological parenthesis*

Spanish dictionaries, to a greater or lesser extent, all have an attitude of reverence for the past, which explains why many of them dedicate a great amount of space to the etymology of a large number of entries¹⁰. There were weighty reasons in the past for the inclusion of etymology in the labours of lexicography, since, from the beginning, etymology was regarded as a way of acceding to the original meaning of words, before they became corrupt and acquired their present usage¹¹. This explains why it was thought that—in the words of Mayans— «If we knew the meanings of primitive names, there would hardly be anything which, once it had been presented visually before us, we would not later recognise and call by its own name. At least we would have a clear idea what those names meant. Anyone knowing that *Adam* means *earth* and *Eve* *mother of the living*, and so on with other names, has a better conception of what they stand for¹². One swallow doesn't make a summer,

⁹ See L. SANTOS RÍO: *Apuntes para lexicográficos*, Salamanca, 1994: «Adverbios de punto de vista», 13-333.

¹⁰ Together with an excess of information about words and usages which are no longer used, due to the desire, which is difficult to achieve, to make up for the lack of a historic dictionary with a normative one. Cf. some criticisms of this idea in my «La caracterización de los arcaísmos en un diccionario de uso». In: VVAA.: *Cicle de Conferències 95-96: Lèxic, corpus i diccionaris*, Barcelona: IULA, 1997, 9-30.

¹¹ VARRO, *De lingua latina* V, 3: «These relations are often rather obscure for the following reasons: Not every word that has been applied, still exists, because lapse of time has blotted out sense. Not every word that is in use, has been applied without inaccuracy of some kind...» (Translated by Roland G. Kent, Cambridge-London: Loeb Library, 1967, p. 5).

¹² Words of Don Gregorio Mayans, the reference of which I have lost.

however, since many would have agreed with Sterne that «is the unsteady uses of words which have perplexed the clearest and most exalted understandings.»¹³

In the early days of academic lexicography, etymological lucubrations served to order what was dispersed, giving it structure, and also helped to solve the serious problems which had to be faced when unmarked usages had to be selected from among the wide spectrum of possibilities which proliferated in our language¹⁴: if, today, we have no doubts as to which form is correct, *lenteja* or *lanteja*, (lentil) *legaña* or *lagaña*, (sleep dust) *bieldo* or *briendo*, (winnowing rake) *piedad* or *piadad* (pity), this is thanks to the services of etymology. Without it we would still be arguing whether they are greyhounds—in the form of Cervantine *lantejas* [or hounds] after the manner of the exquisite *lentejas* from Armuña¹⁵—; it is for this reason that dialectologists have converted the academic dictionary into a safe observatory from which they can classify the unformed mass of variants which they meet at every hand's turn—although at times the mere fact that a term appears in the dictionary leads them to assume that it is in general use. Beyond the domain of variants, if etymology had not been appealed to, it would have been very difficult to place a border around the green field of language in order to separate or classify different signifiers, thus permitting the establishment of prudent and competent criteria—though there were difficulties nevertheless—to determine the, at times, blurred units of lexicography, such as those which arose from the conjunction of those two paths which are so different from one another: homonymy and polysemy¹⁶.

¹³ L. STERNE, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760 (3rd edition), vol. II, chap. 2.

¹⁴ See A. Esteve SERRANO: *Estudios de teoría ortográfica del español*, Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1982, and especially references to Juan de Robles (p. 49), Bravo Grajera (p. 50), González de Dios (p. 57), Mañer (p. 58), Academia (pp. 62 y 71). It is hardly necessary to point out that they fell a long way short of the rigour that is today required in etymological analyses so that we should not be surprised at the clearly sceptical attitudes regarding the possibilities of etymology of people such as Don Esteban DE TERREROS Y PANDO in his prologue to the *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes*, Madrid, 1786 (ed. facsimile, Madrid: Arco Libros, 1987), p. XXI: «De hecho cada concurrente, cada Autor sigue el partido que le parece, obscureciendo la verdad con los mismos monumentos que alegan y con las razones que trahen. Venga ahora el Maestro de escuela y decida de qué jenealojía es *Heraldo*, dígame al niño de donde se deriva, si se ha de escribir con *h* ó sin ella. ¿No es esto azotar el aire». He is accompanied in his attitude by authors such as Torquato TORÍO DE LA RIVA: *Tratado de Ortografía castellana, s.l. s.d.*, p. 4 ff.

¹⁵ Leaving aside, of course, errors in some of the decisions that have been made by academic lexicographers: in this way Don José Ortega y Gasset was justified in using *rigoroso* (registered, for example, in *La Celestina*, ed. de Burgos, 1499, in the argument of the first act; José FEBRERO: *Manual de escribanos*, Madrid, 1789 [ed. facsimile: Madrid: Consejo General del Notariado, 1990], f.º B 2) instead of *riguroso*, and even *elucubrar*, instead of *lucubrar*. We shouldn't be surprised, on the other hand, that certain contradictory decisions were also made, such as that which led to choosing *piedad* (instead of *piadad*), but *piadoso*.

¹⁶ From the *Diccionario de Autoridades* up to the present a number of incorrect decisions have been made from an etymological viewpoint and even in so far as figurative meaning is concerned: but the passing of time has acted as a soothing balsam for their eventual acceptance.

The decisive importance which etymological considerations have had in the past do not justify, however, the treatment which some of our dictionaries give to these matters, in adherence to the tradition of the Dictionary of the Royal Academy. What is the use, for example, of the etymological information «de Hermes» (from Hermes) in the entry for «hermético» (hermetic), and «del lat. *rotundus*, de *rota*, *rueda*» (from Latin *rotundus*, from *rota*, *rueda*) in that for *rotundo*. Precious little, it seems to me¹⁷, and even less the erroneous etymology that we find attached to *abandonar* (abandon) in the DECH «del germ. *bann*, orden de castigo, a través del fr. *abandonner*» (from Germanic *bann*, an order to punish, through French *abandonner*); or to *gasóleo* (diesel oil) the absurdity that it comes from *gas* (gas) and *oleo* (oil); or that in the space reserved for the etymology of *pantalla* we are told that in Portuguese it is *pantalha*; or that when the etymology is unknown, as in the case of *mi-longa*, it should be ignored altogether¹⁸.

Nowadays, etymology is no longer the lexicographic and rhetorical expedient¹⁹ that it was in the past, and has become a source of interest to comparative and historical linguists more than to the ordinary users of dictionaries; what may really help the latter is the history of the word, of which the etymology is but a part, and not always the most important part²⁰. When I have

¹⁷ If, on the other hand, it is explained to readers of the dictionary that the circle was the perfect figure—for this reason astronomers before Kepler took it for granted that the planets moved in circles—they will easily understand the following usage which is given for *rotundo* in the DRAE: «completo, preciso y terminante», which is reflected in the meaning of a *negativa rotunda* or that we should regard a certain transaction as *un negocio redondo*. In the same way, providing the information that the Egyptian God Tot—Hermes Trimegisto—was attributed by the Greeks with numerous esoteric writings—in one of which, incidentally, God was said to be a circle—explains to us the meaning of *hermético*: in so far as something is closed it is impenetrable, not only physically, but also with respect to its meaning. An excellent French Hispanist explained to me that he had succeeded in understanding Fray Luis de León's «*negocio de particular juicio*» not from the definition given for this term in the DRAE—«cualquier ocupación, quehacer o trabajo»—but rather from the clue to its origin which he had found in Don José Ortega y Gasset: the opposite of *ocio*, this latter term having a much more negative connotation in the sixteenth century than it has today (see M. MORREALE: *Castiglione y Boscán: el ideal cortesano en el Renacimiento español*, Madrid: Anejos del *Bol. de la R.A.E.*, 1959, I, pp. 185-187).

¹⁸ Might it not be because this word is not to be found in the DECH? Guillermo CABRERA INFANTE, in an article published in *El País*, the reference of which I have lost, explains that this term derived from Quimbunda, the language spoken by Banguelas, Malenbos and Mozambicans, many of whom were to be found among the slave population of Brazil and Uruguay: it is the plural of *mulonga*, which means «words» and which in Uruguay came to refer to a certain type of improvised popular song, first popular and then urban.

¹⁹ A. HENRY: «L'étimologie littéraire», *RLiR*, 53 (1989), 283-322.

²⁰ Since the possibilities for dictionary making are open, a person who knows English and wants to learn German may be fully justified in making out a dictionary which relates *zoll* with *toll*, etc. In cases like this, etymology can become a mnemonic device which facilitates the easy recall of a word in a language, by relating it with those of other languages, although what is of interest in that case are the relations which can be established between cognates rather than the information provided by etymons.

asked people who use *agua belva* perfume what the name suggests to them they were unaware that the meaning of *belva* in Italian is «beast», something that surprised me, a non-initiate in marketing techniques, and capable of believing that this sort of etymological aspect of publicity might really have something to do with the choice made by possible buyers. Apparently, *agua belva* can be used by a person who has no particular desire to imitate Rambo, in the same way that one can be moved on hearing *Rinaldo's* aria «Lascia ch'io pianga» by Haendel, without understanding what it means, —a kind of etymology after all— or get all excited with some of the Beatles' songs, without realizing that in some of them the music is no more than a kind of signifier of a signified which is a song to peace.

1.2. *The Servitude and Greatness of Etymology*

I do not want to exaggerate, because etymology, although it addresses itself only to a small part of the history of words, can provide us with clues about the usage of a term: the gypsy origin of *mangar* orientates us —if the partisans of the politically correct will allow me not to confuse real facts with the way things ought to be— to its colloquial use; in the same way the status as Anglicisms that pertains to *magazine*, *manager*, *sponsor* or *detectar*, reinforces in an educated reader the idea that one is dealing with words introduced into our language in recent times and that their use can therefore be kept in quarantine, at least in certain social circles²¹.

But, even in an explicit manner, history slips in through the cracks in the definitions of the dictionaries themselves. In the DRAE, in the third entry for atlas, for example, we find the reason for its use: «primera vértebra de las cervicales, así llamada porque sostiene inmediatamente la cabeza, por estar articulada con el cráneo mediante los cóndilos del occipital...» (the first of the cervical vertebrae, so called because it immediately supports the head, since it is articulated with the skull through the occipital condyles...); the same holds true for the fourth entry for *abanico* (fan)²²: «la Cárcel Modelo de Madrid (1876-1939), construida sobre planta de abanico» (the Modelo Prison in Madrid (1876-1939), constructed on a fan-shaped ground plan); equally with *militronche* (soljeer) we find: «deformación popular de militar, soldado»

²¹ Unless an etymology is just a smoke screen to hide the true reason for a usage, rather than an attempt to clarify this: when the DRAE makes *objección* [*de conciencia*], *objetar* and *objeto*, proceed from Lat. *objectare* it is hiding from us what is most important: that we are dealing with a borrowing, which proceeded from English, and is used internationally and not from a purist use based on Latin; in the same way *procrastinar* should not be explained as deriving «from Lat. *procrastinare*»: it is a term formed in English —deriving from Latin— from whence it found its way into the dictionary.

²² The one which corresponds to the following example: «Salíamos los dos del *Abanico*/de ver al *Pelendengues*, que está preso», J. LÓPEZ SILVA: *Rompe y rasga*, Madrid: Antonio López Editor, s.d., p. 89.

(popular deformation of militiaman, soldier). It would not be unfitting that this type of historical information should not be limited merely to the headword, since etymological information should very often accompany different meanings of the same word, as we find in the tenth meaning for *abonar*, which carries the clarification: «Con influjo del fr. *abonner*» (influenced by French *abonner*). Clarifications such as this could be included with many other words which have usages recently acquired from other languages, or with new usages which enter into contradiction with older usage: in this way, whoever consults the dictionary would understand that the contradictory meanings shown under the first and third meanings for *concoitar* are due to a reinterpretation in modern times; the same is true for the first and third meanings for *enervar*.

1.3. Genetic Relations between Words

History also enters through the net of genetic relations between the words of a language, in what is known as derivative morphology. It is these relations which allow the cartoonist Peridis to pun as he does in a vignette which is dedicated to the consequences of the Marey affair²³. In the vignette Felipe González says to José María Aznar: «Grant an indult to Vera and Barriónuevo before Christmas», to which Aznar replies: «I am sensitive to arguments but not to prisons» (*prisiones*); «What?» Borrell and Almunia then spit at the President, who this time replies «I am sensitive to arguments but not to pressures» (*presiones*) and then caps the contrast, closing the pun and showing up the morphological relation when he goes on to say: «from prisoners or hurriedness» (*preso* = prisoner; *prisa* = haste, hurriedness). However, I am not going to discuss derivation, except to point out that the question of derivative relations is one of the problems that our dictionaries still need to solve, since neither the system followed in the first edition of the María Moliner Dictionary proved comfortable for readers nor does the isolation of the entries in Dictionary of the Royal Academy facilitate the establishment of genetic relation between different headwords²⁴. This isolation in which the words of the dictionary are enveloped is only broken by explicit etymological information or by the implicit relations that can be established between entries.

So the first meaning for the entries of some relational adjectives in really disguised etymology: *palaciego*: belonging to or relative to a palace, *crucial*:

²³ *El País*, 20.12.98, p. 19.

²⁴ See W. RETTIG: «Die Wortbildungszusammenhänge im allgemeinen Einsprachigen»: D. CORBIN and P. CORBIN: «Sélection et description des dérivés et composés dans le dictionnaire monolingue»; and G.A. SIEGEN: «Das Wortfamilienwörterbuch». In: F.J. HAUSMANN, O. REICHMANN, H.E. WIEGAND and L. ZGUSTA: *Wörterbücher. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Lexicographie*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, I (1989), 642-649, 937-946; and II (1990), 1145-1152. We cannot forget, in any case, the possibilities that information technology opens up for elaborating dictionaries.

in the form of a cross, *amable*: worthy of being loved, independently of whether or not they have been used in that sense. This explains why nowadays when we want to express clearly an idea such as «that fascinates» we avoid *fascinante* and have recourse to the marked form *fascinador*²⁵, because even though «that fascinates» appears in the DRAE under the first meaning for *fascinante*, it has been relegated to the condition of disguised etymology, given the strength of the impetus behind the rise of its second meaning «*sumamente atractivo*» (highly attractive). Speakers themselves accept this form of disguised etymological presentation as a prologue to other meanings, as can be seen in the following comment by a journalist: «I was reproached for my interest in what, in the jargon of this trade, is called *the happening* (el suceso) (in reality happening (*suceso*) is everything that follows on) (*sucede*)²⁶; curiously enough, in this particular case, the DRAE, in the title entry for this word, is not satisfied with mere etymology, since to the definition «thing which follows on (happens)» it adds the clarification «especially when it is of some importance»²⁷. This general type of open signification, more interpretative than real, enables the creation of terms such as *verificadores* (verifiers) «... a process which will be overseen by 2000 supervisors» (*verificadores*)²⁸, on the basis of the disguised etymological entry of the DRAE: «that verifies» which could be equally applied to an instrument or to an agent, this latter being the condition that is fulfilled by the 2000 supervisors (*verificadores*) who have to check in Kosovo that the Serbian military forces have finally withdrawn²⁹.

Some augmentatives and diminutives are presented in the DRAE in this same way, since while some carry an etymological parenthesis, as normally occurs with the majority of words (*estaquilla*: «dim. of *estaca*», *garrochón* «augment. of *garrocha*»), others give the motivation for their formation under the title entry (*escarabajuelo*: «dim. of *escarabajo*», *hombretón*: «augment. of *hombre*»)³⁰.

²⁵ «Después apareció el otro fascinador, Gil de Biedma»: the words of J.M. Castellet transcribed by V. MOLINA FOIX, *El País*, 28.12.96, «Babelia», p. 10.

²⁶ E. HARO TECGLÉN, *El País*, 7.12.98, p. 61.

²⁷ And it is reasonable that it should be that way, when we want to highlight something which has happened, even if it is only the kick that el señor Rafael delivered to Mario «pasadas dos largas horas del suceso...», C.J. CELA: *La familia de Pascual Duarte*, Barcelona: Destino, 1998, p. 59.

²⁸ I got this from an article in *El País* in 1988 but have lost the reference; however, in that same paper on the 9.11.98, p. 8, I find: «Los verificadores no son la solución para Kosovo».

¹⁹ Cf. the problems posed by definitions such as *cabrerizo*: «perteneciente o relativo a las cabras», *cabrío*: «perteneciente a las cabras», *cabruno*: «perteneciente o relativo a la cabra», which I take from J. Gutiérrez, in a lecture given in the summer of 1993 in Salamanca.

³⁰ Though I have serious doubts whether *folletín* is a diminutive of *folleto* or *galerín* of *galera* (in which of its usages?) or that *soplillo* can be interpreted as «pequeño soplo». Only in an ironic situation could it occur to somebody to form the diminutive *glóbulo* from *globo*: could we, in a normal situation, refer to a *glóbulo terráqueo*, or to an aerostatic one, or to one with which a child is playing, however small it may be? It would seem more prudent to have defined by cross referencing, as is done with *campánula*, in which the reader is referred to *farolillo* for the first usage.

All this, which has a positive value in showing the relations between words³¹, suffers from the drawback that it presents as a fact of meaning what is often no more than an etymological proposal; from this it follows that, by using the first meaning as if it represented real usage, one can commit quite a number of blunders³², in the same way that jokes are invented of the type that were made by Joaquín Leguina, Juan Cueto, Miguel Angel Aguilar and even the writers of an editorial article, sparked off by the term *digital*, at a time when there were very tense relations between the government and the company PRISA, on the basis of the following words of Álvarez Cascos: «The solution for the ills of public television lies in digital technology»³³.

When speakers succeed in capturing the formative relations that exist between words they have already gone a good part of the way towards understanding them, but when this network of relations is not easy to perceive, dictionaries could carry out an admirable mission by providing readers with the explicit historical information that would satisfy their curiosity. We all ask ourselves questions about many words, questions which are not idle and which seek to take these words out of the isolation in which dictionaries present them, and which is what facilitates, in the first place, the most bizarre interpretations and, in consequence, quite a number of errors due to them.

2. The historical reasons for some lexicographical problems

2.1. *Latent uses*

I will not repeat here what I have explained elsewhere with reference to the situation of archaisms in academic dictionaries and the consequent need

³¹ «no siempre la ausencia del paréntesis etimológico obedece a desconocimiento; se omite, por economía, siempre que queda puesto en evidencia el étimo en la propia definición, como ocurre, por ejemplo, en *palaciego* “perteneciente o relativo al palacio”», M. SECO: *Estudios de lexicografía española*, Madrid: Paraninfo, 1987, p. 17.

³² This is what happens with *impecable*, the first meaning for which «incapaz de pecar» seems to be no more than a mere etymological explanation. Of its use with this authentic meaning in the past, I can only remember the following example: «la virtud de su gracia avía de hazer no peccables los hombres, forçoso fue que Christo no sólo careciesse de toda culpa, mas que fuesse desde su principio impecable» Fr. LUIS DE LEÓN: *De los nombres de Cristo*, ed. by C. CUEVAS, Madrid: Cátedra, 1977, p. 575. What would normally happen however is that Fray Luis should resort to periphrasis: instead of «siendo hombre impecable», he writes: «siendo hombre libre de toda culpa», p. 512, and instead of «fue impecable y en su boca no se halló engaño», he writes: «ni hizo peccado ni en su boca fue hallado engaño», p. 572.

³³ «Digital, perteneciente o relativo a los dedos. En este sentido los responsables de TVE han demostrado desde el primer día su adicción a la práctica digital» (Something done *a dedo* means «with favoritism or nepotism», J. LEGUINA, *El País*, 19.9.96, p. 13; «*digital*, en primera instancia, no quiere decir numérico, por oposición al viejo y querido sistema analógico, sino sencillamente a *dedo*», J. CUETO, *El País semanal*, 19.1.97, p. 6; «La digitalización permite observar sobre la asepsia de las nuevas tecnologías las huellas dactilares de los impulsores», M.A. AGUILAR, *El País*, 28.1.97, p. 14; «creen que lo de digital viene de *dedo* y que la televisión digital es aquella que se realiza de acuerdo con los dictados de la Moncloa», *El País*, 28.1.97, p. 10.

to refine the rules for including terms like these in lexicographic work³⁴; I will simply demonstrate, by means of a few examples, how failure to attend to historic factors sometimes leaves defenceless those who wish to be sure in their manners of speech, forcing them to rely on imagination as their only support. Sometimes erroneous definitions appear in dictionaries, due to an inappropriate interpretation of the past³⁵, together with other cases in which problems arise when past usages do not properly match those of the present, however much the dictionary may seem to justify them.

Rafael Taibo, from a radio station, addresses himself to the *auditores* (auditors)³⁶, instead of the expected *oyentes* (listeners), which I would have used; at that time, I had just found the following example, precisely in a text translated from French: «In the 16th and 17th centuries, the implicit reading of the text [...] is construed orally, and the “reader” is construed as the hearer (*auditor*) of a spoken text...»³⁷, which I had taken to be a Gallicism. The DRAE specifically gives this term the meaning *oyente* (listener), though it marks it as archaic; a mark which may be due to its use in the early days of radio, referring to listeners, but which in a much more remote past would also, as an educated form, have occasionally been used by an odd writer. The two meanings would have been united in *auditor*, since on consulting a dictionary for radio terms, which I have not at hand at present, I saw that it had been used by the pioneers of this means of communication; but the term is also to be found in the *Dicc. de Aut.*, taken from Nebrija³⁸, thus opening the door to a restricted and formal use of this word, though I am not aware that it has slipped into the colloquial register of our language.

If the term is found in the dictionary it is precisely because of this educated and marginal use which it has had in formal situations. This is information which is unknown to the person consulting the lexical repertoire, who, ignorant of the vicissitudes of history, must be content with finding out that it is possible to use this word, without really understanding why. What the

³⁴ See J.A. PASCUAL: «La caracterización de los arcaísmos...», *cit.*, pp. 26-28.

³⁵ By way of example see *trasechar* and *trasechador*, *marrano* «persona maldita y desco- mulgada», *fabrido* «fabricado, labrado», *brenca* «culantrillo de pozo», *capetonada*, etc., to which I refer in my article: «La caracterización de los arcaísmos...», *cit.*, pp. 17 and 18.

³⁶ On the 5.4.93, on *RNE 2*, at 20. h., 30 m., and on the 2.1.95, on the same station about 20 h.

³⁷ R. CHARTIER: *El mundo como representación*, translated by C. FERRARI, Barcelona: Gedisa, 1992, p. 111.

³⁸ «las palabras son para traspasar en las orejas del auditor aquello que nosotros sentimos», *Diccionario histórico* of the Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1933-6. With this same meaning of «el que oye» I find it in a translation of «The Inferno» from *La Divina Commedia* by FERNÁNDEZ DE VILLEGAS, published in 1514, in a gloss on verses 95, 96 from the First Canto of The Inferno in two cases in which El Landino has *uditore*, and in the gloss on v. 6 from the Second Canto. However, he normally uses *oyente*: gloss on vv. 19-20 from the Eight Canto; v. 140 from the Sixteenth Canto and in the corresponding gloss; gloss on v. 1 from the Thirty-third Canto; gloss on v. 73 from the Thirty-third Canto.

dictionary does then is accredit the existence of *auditor*³⁹, however antiquated it may be, so that the reader may feel that by using it they are not breaking the law.

Some of us find it surprising⁴⁰ that *amigable* (friendly) should be used in examples such as the following: «Oke was not a very friendly (*amigable*) type»⁴¹; «to resolve the situation in a friendly manner»⁴²; «On the stage they appear to be friendly with one another, but once out of the public gaze, they don't look at one another»⁴³; the DRAE, however, explains why our surprise should not be converted into scruples, since it accounts for the existence of the word under the following meanings: «said of persons who are affable, inclined to friendship»; «said of things, friendly»; «fig. Which has union with, or conformity with another thing». Anyone who is not a philologist will think that the dictionary has very hurriedly sanctioned absolutely novel meanings for this word, since the philologist, if he pays only a little attention to the good relations between *amigablemente* and *amistosamente*, will think that *amigable*, the base of the adverb, must have been normal in the past, as in fact it was⁴⁴. The dictionary, in this case, from two wrongs has made a right; *amigable* was the form employed normally from the middle ages to the Golden Age, disappeared gradually in the eighteenth century, till we no longer find it in the twentieth. *Amistoso*, on the other hand, appears for the first time in the seventeenth century, imposes itself on *amigable* in the eighteenth, and can be found straightforwardly in the twentieth⁴⁵. If the conservative Dicc. de Aut. defines both adjectives without indicating any relationship between them, Terreros' Dictionary refers us from *amigable* directly to *amistoso*, but shows at the same time that *amigablemente* still held out against *amis-*

³⁹ Undoubtedly *audiencia* «personas que oyen un programa de radio o siguen uno de televisión» could be used as a kind of catalyst for this marked use of *auditor* for *oyente*; even though this usage has as a disadvantage its normal meaning as an *auditor* (of accounts) —which was derived from the fact that those who examined accounts had to find out things by ear— in French the corresponding term for our *auditor de cuentas* is *commissaire aux comptes*, although *audit* exists with the sense «*auditoria*». We also find *auditor* with other values related to this use, as in the following example: «Auditores estadounidenses controlarán las ayudas que Colombia reciba del exterior», *El País*, 30.1.99, p. 4.

⁴⁰ The fact that I am surprised by this usage does not mean that I am not getting used to it and that the day may even come when it no longer seems strange that there should exist «hoteles amigables», an expression which does not mean what somebody with a bad mind might be inclined to think.

⁴¹ J. LATIMER: *La Viña de Salomón*, translated by J. LEÓN, Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 1990, p. 167.

⁴² *El País*, 22.8.98, p. 8.

⁴³ *Tribuna de Salamanca*, 10.9.96, p. 12.

⁴⁴ Philologists may remember the use made of this word by FRAY LUIS DE LEÓN: «el trato con Dios familiar y amigable», *De los nombres de Cristo*, ed. by C. CUEVAS: Madrid: Castalia, 1977, p. 380.

⁴⁵ *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española*, by the R.A.E.: Madrid, II, 1994 [the volume in which these terms appears is from 1986], s. vv. *amigable* and *amistoso*.

tosamente, its competitor, when it refers us from the latter back to the former. Without this information, speakers will be forced to combine imagination and common sense if they try to justify, via the definition of the DRAE, the present-day examples of *amigable* which I referred to previously.

Not explaining why a given term appears in the dictionary, ignoring history and presenting as existent something which is simply a possibility —deserving to be attended to no more nor no less than other possibilities— leads to a situation where those who consult dictionaries act more out of respect for this code of usage, than because of the doors that are opened for them when they understand why they are making a certain choice. Faced with this situation, speakers must often blindly follow their intuitions through the pages of the dictionary, and always under threat that some philologist or other will end up making them blush.

2.2. Definitions through chained synonyms

A definition such as that given by the DRAE for *tener lugar una cosa* —see under *lugar*—: «fr. ocurrir, suceder, efectuarse», could be found in a manual on lexicography as an example of an improper manner of defining, precisely because of the overlapping meanings of the chain of synonyms of which it is composed; but when viewed from a historical perspective things may well look different, since what is sought after with these synonyms is not so much to give a precise meaning as to show those words for which a kind of general factotum has arisen which is more general in meaning and which is capable of replacing them in many of their uses. Rather than define, what occurs here is that a direction of change is pointed out, in the implicit belief that whoever consults the dictionary will be familiar with the correct usage of each of the terms which form part of the defining explanation. In this case, the majority of the terms chosen coincides with those that Don Pedro Felipe Monlau consider to have been displaced by *tener lugar*: «now nothing happens (*suced*) nor occurs (*acontecer*) nor is anything effected (*efectuar*), rather everything takes place (*tener lugar*)⁴⁶»; in the same way that wise hygienist saw how the end was coming for «charitable men (*caritativos*), good men (*buenos*), kind-hearted men (*bondados*) giving way to philanthropists (*filántropos*) and humanitarians (*humanitarios*), which also explains the structure underlying the second meaning in the DRAE for *humanitario*: “Benigno, caritativo, benéfico” (benign, charitable, beneficent)». Of course the passing of time can bring it about that what begins as a demonstration of how certain traditional forms are being displaced by neologisms may be taken as a —faulty— definition.

⁴⁶ P.F. MONLAU: *Memorias de la Academia Española*, I (1870), p. 465. *Tener lugar* appears in the 1843 edition of the DRAE, defined as «tener cabida»: to this meaning the 1852 edition adds: «suced

The struggle between the old and the new is a permanent condition of history, to which the present also belongs: in this latter the introduction of the Gallicism *contemplar* in the dictionary of the Academy, with the meaning of «consider, judge», has led one journalist to point out that the dictionary should explain that «most times there is an abusive use [of *contemplar*], as if it were a synonym of, *considerar, tener en cuenta, regular, proyectar, establecer, prever, incluir* (consider, take into account, regulate, project, establish, foresee, include)», just as the dictionary should also explain why we must «prevent *retomar* (retake) from replacing other words such as *reanudar, recuperar, reconsiderar, reconquistar, recobrar* (resume, recuperate, reconsider, reconquer, recover)», or as the usage of «*detectar* (detect) now also covers *descubrir* (discover) [and should not give rise to the disappearance] from circulation of *hallar, encontrar, observar, localizar, revelar, averiguar...* (come across, find, observe, locate, reveal, find out...)»⁴⁷. To incorporate into the dictionary these tensions which arise in our language, just as in any other, between new terms which speakers want to assimilate and the old which struggle for survival, is a historic dimension which lexicography could and should attend to adequately.

2.3. *Synonymy relations between entries*

I have already referred to that manner of dragging a piece of the past towards us by extending the meaning given to *auditor* or through the apparent resurrection of *amigable*. With a little effort, we could perhaps revive *educacionista* (educationalist), which acquired a specialised sense at the end of the nineteenth century, as against *educador* (educator), though I am not at all sure how my colleagues might react, annoyed as they are with *enseñante* (a marked synonym of teacher). There are other cases, slightly different from those just mentioned, where the speaker perceives that two or more words enter into a synonymous relation, one of which is clearly perceived as an archaism. In all these cases, in the final analysis, it is history which is responsible for the differences which exist on the connotative plane; examples would be *miedoso ~ medroso*, (timid) *confortable ~ confortante ~ confortativo*, (comfortable) *trayecto* (trajectory) ~ *trecho* (distance), *avaro ~ avariento*, (avaricious) *salteador ~ asaltante* (assailant)⁴⁸, or others such as *vigor* (vigour) which has replaced *vigencia* (validity) in some of its usages.

Even for the understanding of those differences which exist between non-related synonyms we find strong support in history: it is this which tells

⁴⁷ J. DE LA SERNA, *El País*, 27.6.93, p. 14.

⁴⁸ «Son condenados no sólo como avarientos injustos, sino como salteadores y matadores de sus prójimos», Pedro DE VALENCIA: «Discurso o memorial, sobre el precio del pan» [Zafra, 25 de julio de 1605]. In: J.J. PARADINAS y R. GONZÁLEZ, eds.: *Pedro de Valencia, vol. IV/I. Escritos sociales: I. Escritos económicos*, León, p. 34. For me the use of *asediador* is marked, a term which is used by J. GOYTISOLO: *El sitio de los sitios*, Madrid: Alfaguara, 1995, p. 59.

us that what separates *loco* (mad) from *demente* (demented) can be attributed to the desire to soften the corners of the former, once *alienado* (alienated), an innovation which had been introduced at the end of the nineteenth century, began to acquire a specialised meaning. In the same way, we should also look to history to distinguish between *abandonar* (abandon) (defined in its first meaning by the DRAE as: «abandon, leave a person or thing without protection») and *desamparar* (forsake) (defined in its first meaning by the DRAE as: «abandon, leave without protection of favour a person or thing that needs or asks for it») before outlining a distinction which with so much effort and futility Don Joseph López de la Huerta tried to establish⁴⁹:

A person in need is forsaken (*desamparar*); a person in danger is abandoned (*abandonar*).

Forsaken refers to the needed good which the forsaken person is deprived of (*desamparar*); abandon refers to the imminent evil to which the abandoned person is left exposed (*abandonar*).

The rich man who does not aid his poor family forsakes them (*desamparar*); but if the same occurs when they are in imminent danger of perishing or of sacrificing their honour, then he abandons them (*abandonar*).

The misfortune of a forsaken person (*desamparado*) may not be due to malice; but an abandoned person's misfortune (*abandonado*) is always due to reprehensible carelessness or to a malicious intention. A child that has lost its parents, and has nobody to look after it is not forsaken (*desamparado*). A young man whose parents have turned him out of his home, or who do care for his upbringing or conduct, is abandoned (*abandonado*).

According to this somebody who needs help is forsaken, something which can be done without malice; while somebody in immediate danger is abandoned, something which always implies a malicious attitude. It is not difficult to find examples which will contradict all this, but before even attempting to do so, we discover in the circular definition of the Academy dictionary information that we should not disregard: the information that the two terms are related. This relation can be attributed to the fact that one term replaced the other at a given time: *desamparar* was used during the Middle Ages for all of these meanings, with the result that one could even forsake (*desamparar*) a thing or a road. During the Renaissance, the Italianism *abandonar* entered into competition with it, so that Herrera himself was surprised at the use made of it by Garcilaso⁵⁰. When the old verb was replaced by the new, the latter took over most of the uses of the old verb,

⁴⁹ J. LÓPEZ DE LA HUERTA: *Examen de la posibilidad de fixar la significación de los sinónimos de la lengua castellana*, Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1799, pp. 63 and 64.

⁵⁰ «Verbo toscano, vale desamparar». Don Diego de Mendoza en su *Adonis*: «como quien por amores se abandona», A. GALLEGO MORELL: *Garcilaso de la Vega y sus comentaristas*, Madrid: Gredos, 1972, p. 378.

which was then relegated to a few marked uses⁵¹. Taking these marked uses of *desamparar* as basis is the only way to distinguish its differences from *abandonar*.

The replacement of one word with another often leaves the loser some of the meanings it previously had, according to what we have said about *desamparar*, or the possibility that its original meanings will be retained only with certain words: *palo* (stick) originally had many of the meanings that we associate today with *madera* (wood) or even with *madero* (board)⁵², so that spoons could be made of *palo*, as well as tables, holders, statues, though today this use of *palo* remains restricted to *spoon*⁵³ or to *knife* in the saying «en casa del herrero cuchillo de palo» (in a blacksmith's house, the spoons are wooden). We are not dealing here with anything that has to do with logic; we cannot argue that a table must be made of wood (*madera*) because it is bigger or a spoon made of stick (*palo*) because it is smaller; what has happened is that we are dealing with remnants of an old meaning of a given word, a meaning which has survived in contexts where linguistic usage tends to be very conservative, in this case in the area of the traditional instruments of culinary art.

I remember on one occasion the surprise of a colleague of mine on hearing an inhabitant of a small village in the province of Salamanca, which is flat as the palm of one's hand, say that there was a lot of hilly country (*monte*) around there; Mario Penna must have experienced a somewhat similar surprise when he found that the Marqués de Villena had translated the Italian *selva* as Castilian *montaña* —the passage is at the beginning of the Infierno in the Divina Commedia⁵⁴. In neither case has any mistake been made, both *monte* (and *montaña*) were used in the Middle Ages not only to designate an elevation of the ground, but also what from the fifteenth century onward was to be called *bosque* (forest, woods). This explains the second meaning under this entry in the Academy dictionary: «uncultivated land covered with trees, shrubs or thickets». What conception of things will speakers arrive at, on reading this, with no historical data to orientate them.

⁵¹ The knowledge of our language that C.J. Cela has at his command has permitted him to approximate rural usage in the use of an antiquated meaning of *desamparar* in the following example: «la cuadra [...] que no sé por qué la llamábamos así, de vacía y desamparada como la teníamos», *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁵² In 1600, Fr. Andrés NÚÑEZ DE ANDRADA writes in his *Vergel de la Escritura Divina*, Madrid, f.º 95 r.º: «Toma un palo o madero... toma otro palo o madero», as a translation for: «sume tibi lignum unum... lignum...»

⁵³ «sin dejar de removerla con una cuchara de palo», M. VICENT, *El País*, 6.12.98, p. 64.

⁵⁴ M. PENNA: «Traducciones castellanas antiguas de la *Divina Comedia*», *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid*, XIV (1965), 81-127, p. 89; *cf.*: «montes sombrosos», in the Spanish fifteenth century translation of the Iliad by Pier CANDIDO DECEMBRIO, ed. by G. SERÉS: *La traducción en Italia y España durante el siglo xv. La «Iliada en romance» y su contexto cultural*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 1997, p. 109.

3. History as a guide to understanding usage

Knowledge of the history of the lexicon is not useless knowledge, a sort of ornament to be exhibited by the enlightened. I see this knowledge as one of the best dams against error, since it saves speakers from that doubtful endeavour —doubtful in its results, often close to popular etymology— which leads them to interpret many things, which are at first sight incomprehensible, purely with the aid of their intuition.

3.1. *The need for consulting history*

To be contented with showing up the absurdities which are daily committed in the use of our language is not much use, if at the same time the motivation behind these errors is not made clear —something which, incidentally, is more difficult than criticising them. It was to the pursuit of these explanations that Candido de Figueiredo⁵⁵, in Portuguese, and Angel Rosenblat⁵⁶, in Spanish, dedicated so much time and paper; and it was the extensive knowledge of history that both these admirable philologists possessed which enabled them to pay less attention to dogma and concentrate on the reason for usage, conscious of the genuine value of history, since «every human fact can be known to a certain extent at least if we have the elements which have constituted its trajectory through time, through its past, and organise those elements into a narrative. The history which we thus obtain will make comprehensible for us the fact that we aspire to gain knowledge of⁵⁷.

What sense does it make that we should dispense with significant aspects of lexical history in works written for school-goers? In the Academy's *Diccionario escolar*⁵⁸ we find definitions such as the following:

cris (creese): «a type of dagger, used in the Philippines, smaller than the kam-pilan and which usually has a serpentine-shaped blade».

copia (copy): «1. crowd or abundance of something; 2. reproduction or transfer of a document, etc.»

morfema (morpheme): «Ling. term employed in modern linguistics with varied meaning according to different schools. Some use it to refer to the minimal elements of a language which indicate a grammatical category or relation (*de, no, yo, le, el libro, cant-ar, casa-s, cas-ero*), others extend it to lexical elements (*sol, pan, casa*). A morpheme can be a word, a prefix, an

⁵⁵ C. DE FIGUEIREDO: *O que se não deve dizêr*, Lisboa: Tavares Cardoso & Irmão, I (1903), II (1909), III (1927 [3.^a ed.]); *Problemas de linguagem*, Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora, I (1910 [2.^a ed.]), II (1911), III (1913); *Os estrangeirismos*, Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora, I (1913 [3.^a ed.]), II (1912); *Vícios da linguagem médica*, Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1910.

⁵⁶ A. ROSENBLAT: *Buenas y malas palabras*, Caracas-Madrid: Mediterráneo, 1969.

⁵⁷ G. ARAYA: *Claves filológicas para la comprensión de Ortega*, Madrid: Gredos, 1971, p. 199.

⁵⁸ *Diccionario escolar* de la Real Academia Española, Madrid: Espasa, 1996.

infix, a suffix, tense indicator, etc. as in the examples cited; one phoneme is opposition with another (*hace-hice*; *dice-dije*), an accentual stress [belonging to or relative to stress] (*cante-canté*), etc.»

papa (2): 1. potato, plant; 2. plant tuber.

monte de piedad [under *monte*] (mount of piety): «Beneficent establishment generally combined with a savings bank, which dedicates these savings and its own capital to loans, generally in pawn at a modest interest».

These definitions attempt to give the meanings of these words in the same prescriptive manner as a telephone directory provides with the numbers of subscribers, without any need to give an explanation for the reality to which we are connected. This can be attributed to the fact that, in preference to any other function, in our dictionaries the «normative and unifying purpose»⁵⁹ always prevails. They disregard, in this manner, the reasons for a given choice and leave speakers at the mercy of their own taste and intuition, without the means whereby they might orientate their own usage as a creative process in which it is necessary to choose: this is the best way to ensure that speakers will have no arguments either in favour or against a given novelty but must accept the judgement of their betters, those who have at their disposal the norms of usage. Does this not explain why the majority of people end up by ignoring them altogether, and so convert each choice into an act of nonconformity?

Faced with the definitions of the Academy's *Diccionario escolar* which were reproduced above, I have known young people who thought that *creese* was used nowadays among the members of the Spanish colony in the Philippines —others, of course, less realistic, took it as a present day use of all Filipinos—, who were puzzled at the considerable difference between the two meanings given for *copy*, who did not know whether they should say *patata* or *papa*⁶⁰, who could not understand how *morpheme* could have such diverse and such abstruse meanings, and who little understood how a *mount* could be characterised as *of piety*.

Confronted with perplexities such as these, speakers end up resigning themselves to the belief that language is like that, with an attitude similar to that which I remember having experienced at secondary school, when I was obliged to learn so many things by heart. It would not be counterproductive

⁵⁹ J. CASARES: *El idioma como instrumento y el diccionario como símbolo*, Madrid, 1944, pp. 42 and 43.

⁶⁰ Without further information, a young Spanish student cannot know, in certain areas, whether the variant unknown to him or her is preferable to the known variant, or which is the canonical form. For the same reason a person in Canarias may substitute *papa* for *patata*, believing that the unknown form is more prestigious. See R. TRUJILLO: «Hablar canario», in M. ALVAR, coord., *Lenguas peninsulares y proyección hispánica*, Madrid: Fundación Friedrich Ebert e ICI, 1986, 163-174, p. 169.

for the readers of dictionaries to know the whys and the wherefores of these apparently inexplicable and even contradictory facts; history will teach them that the explanation for the meaning of *creese* must not be sought for in the present, unless we want to regard the world of Emilio Salgari's novels as part of the present; it will teach them that the change from *copia* «abundance» to *copia* «transfer» took place in the Golden Age, retaining the original meaning only in formal contexts; this same history will make them see the dialectal distributions of *patata* and *papa*: in a certain part of the peninsula interference occurred between *batata* and *papa*, giving rise to the variant that I now use, which, obviously has no more claim to nobility than *papa*. A complex history of the terminological differences between different schools of linguistics can explain the meanings which are given to the term *morpheme*, which, by the way, should not figure in any dictionary of current Spanish, not to mention one intended for school-goers. In so far as *mount of piety* is concerned, I have described elsewhere my perplexities regarding it:

Numerous times, as a child I asked myself about the name Mount of Piety. But no matter how many times I came back to it, I could never establish any kind of relationship between the mount and the objects pawned in it, in spite of the fact that the paths of my imagination led me so far as to speculate whether the ornamented pawns which many people were led to leave there in pledge might not be hidden away in some mountain or other. I never discovered the truth till the day there fell into my hands the book by J. Terlingen on Italianisms in Spanish [J. Terlingen: *Los italianismos en español desde la formación hasta...*, Amsterdam, 1943, pp. 285, 286. Terlingen's explanation is accepted by J. Corominas, DECH, under *monte*], where this particular *monte* is explained as deriving from the Italian *monte* «capital available»⁶¹.

3.2. *Difficulties in Establishing Relations between Words*

Even when words are related, speakers often find it difficult to understand this relation, not only because changes have taken place, both in phonetics and meaning, but also because there is another language as well as our own, Latin, which has been used throughout history in lexical formation. It is not unfitting to show the relation not only between *coto* (reserve): «reserved land», and *acotar* (fence in), which can be easily understood derivatively, but also with *cotarro* (commotion), which originally meant «refuge for beggars» or *cotilla* «gossip» which developed in modern times, and also of course with *incautarse de algo* (seize) and even with *cauto* (prudent). Relations such as these can also be found between very modern words, such as in our language

⁶¹ J.A. PASCUAL: «Libertad, norma e historia», *Tabanque*, Revista de la Escuela de E.G.B. de Palencia, 1985, 9-19, p. 2.

between *detector*, taken from the English *to detect* «discover» (< lat. *detergere*) and *detectar*, *detective*⁶², etc.

Words which are morphologically isolated pose more difficulties for the speaker who wishes to find an explanation for their meaning —and consequently, I insist, give rise to a greater number of errors—. These are cases in which the appeal to history —a history which of necessity must, on more than one occasion, open the door to the encyclopaedia— is decisive for the understanding of the meaning of these terms; typical examples of such cases would be *dionisiaco* (Dionysian), *apolíneo* (Apollonian), the chemical elements, the names of the constellations, etc., all created outside the derivative network.

3.3. *The isolation of certain words and locutions*

I have already mentioned that cold lexicographic techniques turn their back on history, while lexicographers try to describe as precisely as possible the reality of meaning; but, however, cases such as those we are now dealing with point out to us the possibility of improving the definitions themselves of words by appealing also to the data that survive from their past. But it is none the less certain that the *parti pris* implied in the insertion of a historical justification invented so as to endow a word with meaning, is a very serious problem which must be faced by lexicography; in that sort of laboratory in which dictionaries are written, etymology —or better still the idea which the lexicographer had of it— has very often held sway over the data of the reality of use: so the definition of *coma* (coma) in the twentieth edition of the DRAE as a «more or less deep stupor», was derived, no doubt, from the fact that Gr. *kooma*, *-atos*, meant «stupor», and it was only in the twenty-first edition that the meaning was changed, when it was decided to give it the meaning it has at present, as opposed to the orientation found in etymology: what is involved is a loss of consciousness (as in syncope, lipothymy, and collapse) which arises from circulation or lung failure, not a more or less deep stupor. Other terms, such as *cefalea* (headache) await the same type of correction: Johannes de Ketham explained it as follows in the *Compendio de la salud humana* (A Compendium of Human Health) «pain throughout the entire head»⁶³, the meaning used by doctors nowadays, without attributing to this pain any special violence or persistence, nor attributing it to one side of the head,

⁶² In these relations, nevertheless, appearances can play dirty tricks on speakers, who come to relate, for example, *fetich* with *ficticio*: «Hablando del pueblo que forma Euskal Herria escribe [Aurelio Arteta] que “naturalmente, se trata de un fetiche, o sea, un ente ficticio...” . *Fetich* y *ficticio* son cosas muy diferentes. *Fetich* remonta a *facere*, hacer; *ficticio* a *ingere*, fingir» F.J. OROZ ARIZCUREN, «Cartas al director», *El País*, 23.12.98, p. 15.

⁶³ JOHANNES DE KETHAM: *Compendio de la salud humana*, ed. by M.^oT. HERRERA, Madrid: Arco Libros, 1990, p. 223.

as could be inferred from the definition which is given to it in the Academy dictionary: «violent and persistent headache, sometimes intermittent and severe, which ordinarily affects one or the other side of the head; similar to migraine»: this is, in fact, the definition of *hemicraneá*, *migraña* and *jaqueca*, not of *cefalea*.

There are cases whose history is much more complicated and which can no longer be corrected, cases such as the *cólico miserere*, which would have made Inspector Maigret happy. The Greeks distinguished two types of colics; one, located in the large intestine, the other in the small intestine. The latter was called *eileós* (from *íleon*), arabianised in the ninth century as *aylawus*. A Jew might have read it as *aylawsun*, which bears a certain resemblance to *eleison* «have mercy» (the second part of the *kyrie* syntagm); from this, Avicena, on the basis of the fatal character of the illness, could speak of a *cólico aylawus* having the meaning «Lord have mercy and grant me health», so showing how it could be translated into Latin as *cólico miserere*⁶⁴.

Not everything in the history of words can be adapted, as speakers might wish, to the laws of logic, since words, in their history, fall from one place to another, thanks mainly to our human capacity for forgetting our most recent past. This is what has happened with *al buen tuntún* (helter-skelter), since the Academy dictionary itself, under the entry for its variant *al tuntún*, totally dissociates it from its origin⁶⁵. This is because the basis of its formation is taken to be the apparent onomatopoeia in *tuntún*⁶⁶, which itself is supposed to be a false segmentation of *ad vultum tuum*, and which appears in texts such as the following: «El que más menudea, aquél es el que lleva la mejor parte, siempre que vaya al bulto y no ad vultum tum» (The one who repeats most is the one who gets the best part, provided that he goes to the point [*al bulto*] and doesn't beat about the bush [*no ad vultum tum*])⁶⁷. It is speaker's capacity for word play and similarity, perceived in the contrast between *ad vultum*

⁶⁴ G.S. COLIN: «Passion iliaque, kyrie eleison et colique de miserere», *Hesperis*, 32 (1945), 76-80, *apud* B. GUTIÉRREZ RODILLA: *La ciencia empieza en la palabra. Análisis e historia del lenguaje científico*, Barcelona: Península, 1998, p. 57.

⁶⁵ This explains the existence of examples such as: «¿Tú crees que los ministros se hablan entre sí y luego se contradicen aposta, o no se hablan nunca y largan al tuntún?», one child asks another in a joke from Romeu, *El País*, 6.10.96, p. 42; «ahora son ellos mismos los que proponen un carísimo desatino, uniones al tuntún de todos con todos...», R. MONTERO, *El País*, 6.5.97, p. 64. I, myself, have heard: *al runtuntún*.

⁶⁶ I note the onomatopoeia in the following: «le hace deleitarse en el tuntún tamborilescos de los machacones versos de Zorrilla», Carta de Unamuno a Timoteo Orbe [1.4.1902]. In: M. DE UNAMUNO: *Epistolario inédito*, ed. by L. ROBLES, Madrid: Espasa, 1991, p. 38.

⁶⁷ Agapito FERNÁNDEZ: *Lo castizo*, Ciudad Real, 1902, p. 137. This is the explanation which is given by José María IRIBARREN: *El porqué de los dichos*, Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1994, s.v. The etymon proposed by the DECH cannot be defended, since, in spite of the attitude of the authors, characterised by a good friend of mine as «halterofilia etimológica», philological data which we could not obtain proved to be vital.

and *a bulto*⁶⁸, which has given rise to the meaning of *al buen tuntún*. Does it make sense, then, in these conditions, to ignore *buen* and take as basis for this expression the existence of the term *tuntún*?

If the previous example demonstrates that lack of knowledge of history can mislead lexicographers, non-historians may be made to look fools in the same situation, as happened to a certain person who said of herself that *estaba en el candelabro* (she was in the chandelier) instead of *estar en el candelero* (to be in the limelight)⁶⁹. This is a mistake which could have been avoided only through awareness of the reasons for this construction, and which has nothing to do with those candlesticks (*candeleros*) with which a room can be lighted, which is what the majority of people assume, even those who criticise the mistake:

Let it be clear that I have always and from the beginning defended Sofía Mazagatos for having introduced the use of the expression «*estar en el candelabro*» (to be in the chandelier) replacing the saying «*estar en el candelero*» (to be in the limelight) which up to then had been in use. In fact the two expressions mean more or less the same, even though the one with *candelabro* amplifies and magnifies the one with *candelero*. The candlestick holds a solitary candle, whereas the chandelier holds several, two or more. Whoever is in the limelight (*está en el candelero*) shines with only one light while, on the contrary, whoever is in the chandelier shines with more than one⁷⁰.

It is of course true that fixed expression such as this do not on the majority of occasions admit the replacement of their elements with a synonym—*candelero* with *candelabro*⁷¹—least of all when it is known that the *candelero* in question is the *candelero* (stanchion) of a ship, that is to say the iron or steel bar, perpendicular to the deck and along the length of the gunwhale, through the heads of which run thin ropes or cables which serve to protect the crew from falling; the stanchions jut out from the gunwhale and the sailors stand beside them to take the salute: it is the part of the ship which can best be distinguished and where, accordingly, people stand in order to be seen.

⁶⁸ In an example such as «*otros muchos que hablan a bulto*», letter of M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *apud* C. PÉREZ BUSTAMANTE: «Don Ramón y los ensayos de reforma universitaria en su juventud», *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, (1969), 238-240, p. 77.

⁶⁹ «La Mazagatos sigue, gracias a este follón, estando en el *candelabro*», *El Jueves*, 12-18.2.97, p. 40. On the possibility that the article will appear or not *cf.* «el orgullo nos salvó y nos sigue manteniendo en el *candelero*», R. PÉREZ DE AYALA: *A.M.D.G.*, ed. by A. AMORÓS, Madrid: Cátedra, 1990, p. 79 (even though the variant «en *candelero*» appears in the text denominated *P* by the author).

⁷⁰ J. CAMPMANY, *ABC*, 2.4.98, p. 17.

⁷¹ Even if the said substitution is not impossible either, as is shown by Gabriel GARCÍA MÁRQUEZ's choice of «*locos de amarrar*» for «*locos de atar*»: «*Vivir para contarlo*», *El País*, 22.3.98, «*domingo*», p. 1. Since *loco de atar* is what appears in the Dictionary of the Academy, I take it as the basis for substitution.

What happens with *candelerero* also occurs with a great number of words whose external appearance lead us up the garden path. It is precisely this which allows Guillermo Cabrera Infante to play with the word *ético* (ethical, hectic): «consumption which was then called the hectic/ethical (*ético*) illness, as if all illnesses were not, in the final analysis, moral»⁷², a pun which we will little understand if we are unaware of the history of two words so distinct in their meaning as (*h*)*ético* (ethical) y *hético* (hectic). We may come back again and again to an expression —and even worse, try to correct it— such as *buscarle tres pies al gato* (lit. look for three feet on the cat; metaph. look for trouble) and never understand where it might be from until a good philologist comes into the picture. Many people have considered this expression to be incongruent, which is why Covarrubias speculated that it was the corruption of an earlier «buscar cinco (five) pies al gato», an option which Cela also favoured. But the fact is that what is said is *buscarle tres pies al gato* and it would be an absurd desire for logical correctness which would lead to make changes of that kind in the language. For logic hides what may well be an etymologically reasonable explanation, proposed by Ignacio Soldevila: *pie* (foot) is here used:

«not as a synonym of paw [...], but in the sense it has in Latin versification and which was used in our oldest poetics [...] *Gato* has then two feet (or syllables [...]), and to try to find three in it is the fruit of despair when a verse limps and the poet searches for another syllable so as to fit it into the poem»⁷³.

It is not necessary to explain to people of my generation what *manga ancha* (lit. broad sleeve; metaph. lenience) means, but it is beginning to be necessary to do so when a journalist writes: The regime fluctuates between periods of intense repression and others of relative leniency (*mano ancha*: lit. wide hand)⁷⁴; just as it is necessary to know that it is one thing to *dar una vuelta más a la tuerca* (give another turn of the screw) and another to *dar la vuelta a la tortilla* (turn the omelette, metaph. turn things round), relating this last to the instability of things. Only by mistake or in jest can we say «Is it possible that we should have turned the omelette of the secrets again? Maybe we should»⁷⁵, just as it is possible that we should take many of these things *a beneficio de inventario* (accept a legacy subject to an inventory) rather than

⁷² G. CABRERA INFANTE, *El País Semanal*, 30.8.98, p. 3: «tisis que se llamaba entonces al mal ético, como si todas las enfermedades no fueran, en un final, morales.» It seems that this particular pun was not understood by a number of readers, as the novelist himself confessed in the same paper a few weeks later.

⁷³ *El País*, 25.2.96, p. 14.

⁷⁴ *El País*, 3.9.96, p. 4.

⁷⁵ These are the literal words of J.M.^a Aznar in an interview with I. Gabilondo, cited in *El País*, 19. 9.96, p. 19.

a derecho de inventario (by right of inventory), which is the way in which the syntagm is altered in the following example: «to claim his right of inventory (*derecho de inventario*) with respect to the inheritance...»⁷⁶

In any case, in order to explain the origins of so many expressions to the reader of a dictionary, it is necessary for the lexicographer first to know them, not an easy task when we have no historic dictionary. Possibly that taste (or smell) *a cuerno quemado* (lit. taste of burnt horn; metaph. cause disgust) is not a neutral smell but is related to the manner of cooking of certain religious or social groups; maybe *ser una buena pieza* (lit. be a good piece; metaph. be a fine thing) has to do with the value of the black slaves who were known as *piezas (de Indias)* pieces from the Indias, more sought after in Cuba than boy slaves (*muleques*) or even their stouter brothers (*mulecones*), and it is even possible that *ligar* (pick up a sexual partner), in the colloquial sense of that word, could come from the way in which this was practised in the Philipinnes at the end of the last century⁷⁷. These are mere possibilities which, like so many others, should be dismissed if the data —those data which it costs so much to collect— do not confirm them.

But let us return once more from the past to the present: nowadays, unawareness of the original sense of expressions and sayings, turns these into the ideal munition for the expression of banal thought; for this reason, a better understanding of the origins of many of these expressions is not only a good way to avoid error but also a way to introduce a breath of fresh air into those winks of connivance that we so often practice, every time we have recourse to an expression, without knowing well what it means. Knowledge of the history of its use is not only the best way to understand and remember a saying but also to fight against the inertia of claptrap: for someone who, for example, makes an excessive use of the expression *erudito a la violeta* (lit. a scholar *a la violeta*; metaph. dilettante) to affront enemies⁷⁸, it is no harm to know that in the well-known title of Cadalso's book the *a la violeta* which

⁷⁶ *El País*, 27.5.95, p. 5.

⁷⁷ «La duda no me trastoca demasiado porque pertenece, por ejemplo, a las dudas que mantengo sobre el uso tan frecuente del término ligar entre nuestros jóvenes. Por supuesto que ligar, del latín *ligare*, atar, tiene recorrido en nuestras letras desde el *Calila*. Pero dudo que cuando nuestro prójimo activa su deseo de ligar sienta la herencia de “ligar con hechizos” de Nebrija o evoque “los lazos con que amor liga a los amantes” que llega a los oídos de Auristela en el *Persiles* cervantino y dudo si este ligar actual no vendrá de aquellos nuestros abuelos que regresaron de Manila y que se trajeron la actualidad de una especial vendedora llamada la *buyera*, que llevada por su naturaleza procuraba ligar, con lo que al lograrlo hablaba de su *ligao* o novio. En aquel siglo XIX este ligar filipino parecía tan novedoso y propio de la actualidad que alcanzó suerte», A. PRIETO, *La Razón*, 25.11.98, p. 18.

⁷⁸ A. GARCÍA TREVIJANO entitles an article: «Erudito a la violeta», dedicated to a politician who, according to him, is characterised by «la grotesca pedantería de su erudición a la violeta», «su bachillerescas necesidad de exhibir erudición a la violeta», to conclude that «Los eruditos a la violeta suelen ser personajes tan ridículos como inofensivos», and he finishes it off with a reference to «este peligroso y vulgar erudito a la violeta», *El Mundo*, 28.6.97, p. 5.

complements scholar was taken by its author from the fashion then in vogue, among certain people, of perfuming themselves with violet water⁷⁹ —rose water on the other hand has been used to characterise a certain type of novel— and the inventor of this expression, as distinct from those who make an excessive use of it, knew how to call somebody vulgar with grace and originality and he did it making use of an *a la violeta* which allows for other combinations, such as the following: «Let people dance in an orderly fashion and *a la violeta*, in other words, honestly...»⁸⁰ I very much fear that those who characterise somebody as a *perro del hortelano que ni come ni deja comer al amo* (dog in the manger who neither eats nor lets others eat) would do so with more enthusiasm if, in view of the variants on this expression which can be found in other peninsular languages, they came to believe that the verb *comer* (eat) hides another verb of stronger content, if I can say it like that.

4. Conclusion

We have arrived at the end, after having travelled to that uncertain place in the past where we philologists normally meet and after pointing out the need to exorcise the inertia of usage by understanding more fully the reasons which lie behind it. History is not a privilege at the service of a few professional historians but rather an inheritance which should be at the disposal of all those who care for their language, who want to cultivate it and express themselves in it ever more perfectly. There is no contradiction between the present and the past, since language is, in the words of M. Foucault quoted at the beginning of this paper «the accumulation of all those manners of speaking that have occurred throughout history and at the same time the system of speech itself.»

Referential abbreviations

DECH: J. COROMINAS, with the collaboration of J.A. PASCUAL: *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. 6 vol. Madrid: Gredos, 1980-1991.
Diccionario de María Moliner: María MOLINER, *Diccionario de uso del español*, 2 vol. Madrid: Gredos, 1966.

⁷⁹ «me inflaman los primorosos aplausos de tanto erudito barbilampión, peinado, empolvado, adonizado y lleno de aguas olorosas de lavanda, sanspareille, ámbar, jazmín, bergamota y violeta, de cuya última voz toma nombre mi escuela», Joseph VÁZQUEZ: *Los eruditos a la violeta*, Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1772, p. 6.

⁸⁰ Agapito FERNÁNDEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 76. In an article published in *El País* in 1998, another reference which I have lost, M.A. AGUILAR refers to *liberales a la violeta*: «aquellos años de exacerbado nacionalismo bajo la égida del generalísimo Franco fueron un ejemplo para estos liberales a la violeta que todavía titubean a la hora de las privatizaciones».

Dicc. de Aut.: Diccionario de Autoridades, Madrid, 1726-1739 (facs. Ed., Madrid, Gredos, 1963).

Diccionario de Terreros: Esteban DE TERREROS Y PANDO, *Diccionario castellano de las voces de ciencias y artes*, Madrid, 1788.

DRAE: Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua española*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1992.

Studies in the History of Basque Lexicography

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Until very recent times, early Basque dictionaries (I refer to all those compiled before Azkue 1905-1906) have aroused very little interest. Apart from bio-bibliographic presentation and the odd edition (hardly ever of a critical nature), the analysis of texts of this kind has concentrated on reconstructing the lexicographic transmission of certain words.

In this paper I would like to show that: 1. Basque dictionaries have been studied and evaluated strictly in terms of their utility for the completion of an ideal entity which we could call «The Basque Dictionary», which would cover all ancient and modern words within the language; 2. this way of focussing on things has converted the assumed object of study into an accessory, a species of trunk in which is stored with greater or lesser exactitude and richness, the real object: the words of Basque; 3. the relegation of everything that has to do with the nature of the dictionary itself to the realm of the anecdotic seriously prejudices the conclusions of any study whatsoever; 4. the only way to approach the study of a dictionary with any guarantee of success and, in the final analysis, to reconstruct the history of Basque lexicography, is to analyse it as an historic object, inserted in a specific lexicographic tradition (Basque and European) and, consequently, thanks to its formal and conceptual characteristics, comparable with similar objects of more recent date.

In this article I will analyse: the progress that has been made from an academic point of view, outlining an admittedly schematic history of the construction of the corpus of Basque dictionaries, a corpus which to a great extent is in manuscript form (§ 1); the development and present state of the publication of early dictionaries, paying special attention to the driving forces which motivate modern editors (§ 2); the change of lexicographic paradigm brought about by the publication of Azkue's dictionary and how it influenced the course taken by lexicographic research (§ 3), especially in the proliferation of work intended to complete (§ 3.1) or correct (§ 3.2) its contents, giving special emphasis here to the work carried out by Michelena (§ 3.3); the critical judgements to which early Basque dictionaries have been submitted, where I

will try to show the conceptual error on which they are based (§ 4); and the most recent contributions to the study of Basque lexicography (§ 5), where I will roughly define their theoretical and methodological assumptions (§ 5.1) and exemplify some of the critical possibilities that they place at our disposal, specifically in so far as lexicographic methods are concerned (§ 5.2).

1. The construction of a catalogue of Basque Dictionaries

The catalogue of all, or at least of the greater part, of the dictionaries which are known to us today, was elaborated during the nineteenth century and up to a date which can be fixed around 1915.

When Larramendi, in 1745, published the first Basque dictionary, he was hardly aware of the work which had been carried out before him: ancient manuscripts, some probably lost or in the process of disappearing, to which, in any case, he can have no access. This lexicographer, who used all the written material he could lay his hands on, gives an exhaustive list of his sources in the prologue (Larramendi 1745: xxxiv-xxxviii); the majority of the texts which he cites are of a devotional nature, but there are at least three lexicographical works which he has consulted: the «brief dictionary of Basque and French» from Martin Harriet's recently-published (1741) Grammar, the hand-written dictionary of Nicolao Landuchio (or Landucci) (1562), preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and the hand-written dictionary of Doctor Don Juan de Echeberria (or Ioannes de Etcheberri; c. 1712), which the author allowed him to use for the space of two days. This is all that he can offer in this first, otherwise very complete bibliographical review.

The next two contributions, which complement one another, are a result of the increasing interest among European linguists in little-known or unknown languages, and specifically in Basque. In the second volume of his *Mithridates* (1809), the German philologist Adelung devotes a chapter (pp. 9-30) to Basque, one of the sections of which («Litteratur», pp. 21-23) is a brief outline of works known to him to have been written about or in Basque (cf. Urquijo 1933). This chapter was corrected and added to by Humboldt in *Berichtigungen und Zusätze* (1817) and, among other things, provides us with the first catalogue of a certain length on Basque lexicography. In all, eight publications have been compiled: Larramendi 1745, Bullet 1759, two different editions of Voltaire's *Tresora* (various editions from ~1620), Harriet 1741, the *Vocabularium Petropolitanum*, Moguel 1801 and Goldmann 1807. Humboldt informs us of six manuscripts, of which he has first-hand knowledge of Pouvreau 1665, the notes sent by Oihenart to Pouvreau (1665), Aizpitarte 1785 and a brief *Table des choses...*; besides, he informs us of an «almost illegible manuscript» by Du Halde (read Duhalde) which he has not had access to, and he refers to Larramendi (*loc. cit.*) for accounts of the work of Juan de Echeverría and Landuchio. It is a catalogue of varying lexicographic interest;

however, his direct acquaintance with certain fundamental manuscripts, such as that of Pouvreau, must be highlighted, together with the consequent testimony regarding their existence.

This first list was completed in the prologue to his own dictionary by Aizquibel ([1883], the prologue dates from 1853, but the dictionary is anterior: cf. Urquijo 1933: 452), who used a manuscript version of Humboldt's work which he had specifically translated for the purpose into Spanish (Urquijo, *ib.* 450-452). In actual fact, he adds very little, but he attempts to locate the works mentioned by his precursor —Pouvreau, Duhalde, Landucci and, perhaps, Azpitarte (*sic.*)— and he does add a greater precision in certain details; specifically, he established the distinction between the homonymous Juan Echeberri from Sara (mentioned by Larramendi, *loc. cit.*) and Juan Echeberri from Ziburu (mentioned by Pouvreau and Oihenart in their correspondence; see Urquijo 1909) who had been confused by Humboldt, and he correctly deduces that there were two distinct dictionaries. His additions, which are of little importance, are both modern: the two «short» vocabularies of Lécuse's Grammar (1826) and the Prospectus by the same author (1827) informing us of a major dictionary which, for want of subscribers, had not been printed.

In any case, this work was not published until 1883, and a Spanish edition of Humboldt's text did not appear until 1933. In the meantime, it appears that certain more or less accurate information regarding the existence and location of previous dictionaries was circulating in certain circles related to Basque culture. With the publication of one of the first journals that covered Basque topics, *Euskal Erria* (1880-1918), Manterola, the creator and instigator, opened a section to deal with and answer questions related to «the history of the Basque language and literature and Basque bibliography» (1880: 27). The first three instalments of this section are directly related to the theme of this paper and allow us to form an idea of the quality and quantity of what was known at that time.

The anonymous author of the first three questions (1880: 45) speculates on the eventual publication and/or the location of six dictionaries, though the information he possesses is somewhat inaccurate and Manterola takes the opportunity to correct him: 1. he appeals to Larramendi 1745 in his affirmation that Etcheberri from Sara has not been published; 2. he correctly identifies the «Dictionary of the Royal Basque Academy» with Azpitarte (*sic.*) 1785; 3. he gives the precise location of the manuscripts of Aizquibel and Novia de Salcedo; and 4. he denies the existence of a new Larramendi in the Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Later, thanks to the collaboration of P. Arana (1880: 166-168), he was able to add the following information: 1. Azpitarte's manuscript (correct this time), which had been in the possession of his heirs, had been presented by them to the said P. Arana when he had informed them of his interest in it; 2. Novia de Salcedo's dictionary had, until his death, been in the possession of P. Uriarte, at which time it passed into the

hands of P. Arana, who gives a detailed description of its contents; and 3. he informs us of the existence of a Basque-Spanish manuscript dictionary, compiled by Larramendi.

The fourth question (1880: 82) refers, as regards our interests here, to the possibility of acquiring a printed Basque dictionary. Manterola only mentions two: Larramendi's Spanish-Basque dictionary (1745) and Eguren's Basque-Spanish «minor handbook» (1876).

A few years afterwards, in the prologue to the first edition of Novia de Salcedo's dictionary (1887: xvi), Aristides de Artiñano, in the assumption that he was being all-embracing, briefly cites five publications —Larramendi 1745, Moguel 1801, Chaho 1856, van Eys 1873 and Aizquibel 1883— and six unedited works —Pouvreau, Echeverri, Azpitarte (*sic.* once more), Astarloa (c. 1802) and Duvoisin (a. 1891). His source for older works is undoubtedly Aizquibel, while almost all his additions date from after 1850, Duvoisin's ms. especially being worthy of note and virtually contemporary with his own work.

The next compilation (Vinson 1877), coming as it does from the hand of one of the most important figures in Basque bibliography, fully inaugurates that world. It represents a gigantic step, both in the quantity of the works compiled and in accuracy of detail, even if it is only a small foretaste of the absolutely indispensable Vinson (1891-1898). In all he cites 15 printed works: Voltaire (c. 1620), Larramendi 1745 (plus the 2nd. 1853 ed.), Moguel 1801, Goldmann 1807, Astigarraga 1825, Lécluse 1826 and 1827, Archu 1852, Salaberry 1856, Chaho 1856, Latasa 1856, the first edition of Oihenart's notes (Burgaud des Marèts 1866), Eguren 1867, Fabre 1870, Gèze 1873 and van Eys 1873. And nine manuscripts: Pouvreau, Oihenart's notes, Aizpitarte, the *Table des choses...*, Landucci, Etcheberri from Sara, Duhalde, Hiribarren and Novia de Salcedo.

Sorarrain (1891) can add but little to this magnificent collection, and is himself often indebted to it. In his «Index of Contents» (added to the modern edition) we find 23 works cited under the heading «Dictionaries», 21 of which are directly related with Basque Lexicography. In addition to many of the works already cited (though not the manuscripts), we find mentioned for the first time, together with other lesser works, Germond de Lavigne 1855, the most recent editions of Aizquibel 1883, Novia de Salcedo 1887 and Lacoizqueta 1888, as well as the first edition of Micoleta's 1653 manuscript (Sampere 1881) and an account of up to 21 editions of Astigarraga 1825, together with his «arrangement in the Biscayan dialect» (1884), which it seems can be attributed to the Basque writer, Felipe Arrese Beitia.

Vinson's index (1891-1898: 445) under the heading «Grammars and Dictionaries», while providing little in the way of novelty, is of interest in pointing out what were perhaps for the author, the crucial works when it came to Basque Lexicography: as well as certain grammars containing vocabularies (Archu 1852, Gèze 1873) we find mentions of Larramendi 1745, Moguel

1801, Astigarraga 1825, Lécluse 1827, Chaho 1856, Salaberry 1856, Oihenart's notes in the edition of Burgaud des Marêts (1866), Fabre 1870, van Eys 1873, Eguren (1876-1878), Aizkibel 1885, Novia de Salcedo 1887 and one notable novelty: Dechepare's lexicon as composed by Stempf (1889), the first lexicon to be published for an old literary work.

At the end of the century there emerged, on the other hand, Araquistain's supplement to Larramendi's dictionary (Fita 1881), the vocabulary from Urte's Grammar (Vinson & Clark 1893) and his dictionary (Webster 1893 and 1895) and information is added regarding Duvoisin (Haristoy 1895).

The catalogue is brought almost to a close in Azkue's prologue (1905-1906: xiii-xv): among works published, he cites Larramendi 1745, Araquistain 1746, Moguel 1801, Salaberry 1857, Fabre 1870, van Eys 1873, Gèze 1873, Aizkibel 1883 and Novia de Salcedo 1887, and he is familiar either directly or indirectly with the manuscripts of Pouvreau 1665, Aizpitarte 1785, Añibarro (c. 1808), Lécluse (c. 1827), Zavala (the so-called «Ochandiano manuscript», a. 1840), Duvoisin (a. 1891), Joannateguy (c. 1900), as well as Oihenart's notes to Pouvreau (1665); he also used the manuscripts of F. Segura and Arrue's commentaries on Larramendi (a. 1890), commentaries about which we have no further information up to the time of writing (cf. Urquijo 1905: 410).

In the same year which saw the publication of the first volume of Azkue, Urquijo (1905) made a compilation in which, in addition to those cited by Azkue, he mentions Urte and cites, at second hand, Darricarrère (1900).

From then onwards up to the limiting date which we have established in 1915, certain data were collected, principally in the *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos* and at the hand of Julio de Urquijo, regarding the manuscript Basque-French-Latin-Spanish dictionary of Bidegaray (1675-1679; Dubarat 1914) and the Tagalo-Spanish-Basque dictionary of Oyanguren (a. 1747; Urquijo 1908 and Pérez 1909), the dictionary known as «Sbarbi-Urquijo» (dating perhaps from the end of the XVIII century) is presented —crucially maintained to be a copy or remodelled version of the lost dictionary of Etcheberri from Sara (Urquijo 1907: 81-83; see also Mitxelena 1970: 29-31; Etxeberria 1990; Bilbao 1991: 766-767; Lakarra 1993: 76-88)—, it is noted that under the abbreviation «E.» in Pouvreau's dictionary, there are entries from the lost dictionary of Etcheberri from Ziburu (c. 1630; Urquijo 1909) and Oihenart's notes to Pouvreau's dictionary are re-edited (Urquijo 1910).

Even though the history we have outlined here still remains to be written, it seems that the only relevant discoveries to have come to light since 1915 reside in the scant information obtained regarding the lost dictionaries of Iturriaga (c. 1840; Garmendia 1968, Lakarra 1995b: 451-452) and Lardizabal (c. 1850; Garmendia 1980, Urgell 1995: xxi-xxxiii), the appearance of Joan Felipe Bela's plurilingual dictionary (p. 1745; Peillen 1983) and the publication of the virtually unknown Iztueta dictionary (Urkizu 1996). In spite of this however similar works to those already reviewed, though not with the

same frequency or novel character, continued to appear in the years preceding and following the Civil War. In these we can find information regarding certain dictionaries which still remain in manuscript form such as Hiribarren (Lhande 1925), Aizpitarte (Akesolo 1954, Michelena 1965, Garate & Ruiz de Arbulo 1971), etc. From a historical perspective, it must be stated, however, that evident progress has been made: a good and particularly fruitful example can be found in the work of Urkizu (1989) on the epoch and biographical vicissitudes of Urte.

On the other hand, and for a number of different reasons, information which had come to light in the preceding period was lost sight of for quite a number of years. I will mention two significant examples: Aizquibel (1853: iv) affirms that the French-Basque dictionary in Lécluse's grammar (1826) «...is a better organized copy of the vocabularies in Mr. Harriet's Grammar»; nevertheless, as we already know, Fr. Arana mentions (Manterola 1880) the existence of Larramendi's *Basque-Spanish Dictionary* (a. 1766), though he provides no details regarding its location. The modern editors of the former (Lakarra & Urgell 1988) succeeded in the detecting the source without being aware of Aizquibel's affirmation; the editor of the second (Altuna 1967), on the other hand, with all the justification in the world, presented this dictionary as totally unknown.

In recent years two very complete collections have appeared: Arzamendi (1981), the only attempt to date to classify Basque dictionaries and Urkizu (1989: I, 467-474), a chronological list which spans from Aimery Picaud (XII century) up to Azkue (1905-1906).

2. Publications

For socio-economic reasons which, however easy they may be to imagine, have only been studied incidentally, very few Basque lexicographers saw their work published in their own lifetime. In the best-known cases, the authors were simply neglected by the institutions —Bidegaray and the Estates of Navarre (1675-1677), Etcheberri from Sara y the Council of Ustariz (1718)— or by private initiative, the case with Lécluse, as we have seen. Undoubtedly the product was especially risky and subject, in a way that was almost unique, to the existence of a favourable cultural climate. In any case, the incidence of this neglect is significantly greater than that which was accorded to Basque literature generally and is no doubt to be blamed for the perhaps irreparable loss of several important dictionaries, such as those of Etcheberri from Ziburu (c. 1630) or Jacques de Bela (1568-1667), and those already mentioned, authored by Bidegaray, Etcheberri from Sara, Oyanguren, Duhalde, Iturriaga, Lardizabal and Joannateguy (on this last, cf. Azkue 1905-1906: xiv).

Notwithstanding, a number of them have been printed since the end of the nineteenth century, from a date that coincides with what is often called

the «Renaissance» and is usually related with the loss of the Fueros (autonomic rights) (1876; cf. Michelena 1960: 135 y ff.; Villasante 1979: 281). I believe that we can fairly clearly distinguish three stages in this process, each one of which is guided by radically different interests. By way of introduction, I will try to epitomise them with a suitable aphorism: 1. 1800-1905: «we need a dictionary»; 2. 1905-1958: «we have a dictionary»; and 3. 1958 onwards: «have we got *all* the dictionary?»

2.1. 1800-1905: «WE NEED A DICTIONARY»

In this period, extending just over a century, the only accessible dictionary was Larramendi 1745, and it became progressively more difficult to purchase a copy. Those Basques who felt concerned about this —Iturriaga is a good example (Garmendia 1968: 192; Lakarra 1985b: 452)— also felt the need to complete it and renew it, or at least to try to have it reprinted. This second objective was not fulfilled until 1853. For the fulfilment of the first, a greater period of time had to pass. In spite of the fact that there were new and varied compilations, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, only a few were printed. Almost all of these were northern, and in all cases limited in extension: pamphlets (Moguel 1801; 8 pages *in 4.º*), appendixes to grammars (Lècluse 1826: Basque-French, 52 pgs., French-Basque, 38 pgs., *in 8.º*), short or very short pocket dictionaries (Astigarraga 1825; depending on the edition, between 60 y 80 pgs., *in 4.º* or *in 8.º*); Fabre 1870 (400 pgs., *in 4.º*), van Eys 1873 (415 p. *in 8.º*)...

None of the great undertakings that were planned throughout the period, and few indeed of those which were much less modest, were carried to their completion; compare the figures we have just given with those for Lècluse dictionary (announced in two volumes *in 8.º* with 1,000 pages in two columns and perhaps lost for ever: cf. Urquijo 1923: 336, n.1), Aizquibel (printed in 1.257 pgs., *in 4.º*), Novia de Salcedo (printed in 2 vol. *in 4.º* of 721 and 778 pgs. respectively with two columns), Duvoisin (ms. of 1.082 pgs.) or Maurice Harriet (ms. of 3.340 pgs.).

It is not surprising then that when Aizquibel (1883) and Novia de Salcedo (1887) were eventually printed posthumously they were regarded as fully up to date, as was the Larramendi dictionary itself. López, the printer, makes the following affirmation in the prologue to Aizquibel:

...this will fill a blank [italics not in the original] which both at home and abroad has been felt with pain in the literary history of the Basque people, placing the little-known name of Aizquibel on a par with that of his illustrious predecessor, the wise Fr. Larramendi, and raising it to that everlasting temple which is covered with wings of glory.

Arístides de Artiñano, the author of the prologue to Novia de Salcedo, wrote the following clarifying words in the «Biographical Prologue»:

It is true that we have at our disposal the dictionaries of Larramendi and Aizquibel, works of noteworthy utility, and outstanding in their field, yet which do not completely satisfy the aspirations of Basque-lovers, since both are elementary and didactic in character, concentrating as they do on the exposition and translation of the terms, but without investigating their origins, and while it is of great use to collect the greatest possible number of terms and establish the exact form of each one, since in that way we can determine which terms are indigenous and which are not, this is not sufficient if we wish to enter into the scientific background of a language (Artiñano 1887: xvi).

Artiñano is here pointing towards the new age, with the demand to distinguish what is indigenous from what is not and the allusion to the «scientific». In any case, together with the insistence on what is pure, he shows another concern which many Basquophiles —perhaps all— could share, «to collect the greatest possible number of terms».

Parallel to completely utilitarian publications of this kind, a more philological labour was carried on outside the frontiers of the country, the recuperation of ancient lexicographic texts: Araquistain's appendices to Larramendi's dictionary (Fita 1881), Micoleta (Sampere 1881), the vocabularies of Urte's grammar (Vinson & Clark 1893-1894) and the first 25 pgs. of the dictionary by this same author (Webster 1895).

2.2. 1905-1958: «WE HAVE A DICTIONARY»

This is a time of radical change in Bascology: a vivid desire for self-proclamation leads, one might say inevitably, to the avoidance of all borrowing from other languages (even those which have long since been acquired) and to search in the language's own resources. This period is not then much given to consulting previous texts which, in any case, had arisen from principles which were very different (cf. Urgell 1991: 903-905), and this probably explains to a large extent why the work of recuperation which had been initiated in the preceding decades was now abandoned.

Whatever the reason, not even those who were most acquainted with the tradition —Urquijo, for example— seem to have felt this necessity, while they willingly dedicated themselves to the edition of old texts of another kind. It seems to me that one single factor can account for the attitude we find during this period: the publication of Azkue's dictionary (1905-1906). We must bear in mind that the author claims to have critically revised previous lexicographic work and made use of all that which, in his opinion, was of any interest: there can be no doubt that now they had been despoiled of their precious contents, the antique trunks which had contained them were dispatched to the attic by the new dictionary.

A passage from Urquijo which is to be found precisely under the heading «The necessity for a Basque dictionary» provides significant evidence that

the best Basque scholars were not alone conscious of the need for a dictionary, a consciousness they had inherited from those who had preceded them and which was intensified by the latest tendencies, but that they saw in Azkue's work the fulfilment of a great part of their aspirations:

This extremely important work was awaited with deep impatience by all those who are dedicated to the study of Basque.

The variety of dialects in Basque and the scant importance of the dictionaries published during the nineteenth century, the authors of which (with the exception perhaps of the Dutch Van Eys) had limited themselves to copying and at times to worsening the work of Fr. Larramendi, had made the reading of old and modern Basque writers almost impossible, and had rendered the study of our language extremely difficult.

Now that, thanks to the constancy of Mr. Azkue, Basque studies can enter a new era, it is of some interest to look into the work of those who preceded him in this labour (Urquijo 1905: 283).

2.3. 1958 ONWARDS: «HAVE WE GOT ALL THE DICTIONARY?»

Things changed slowly after the Civil War, and a series of important publications were produced, which becomes more dense, perhaps for the most obvious reasons, after the fall of Franco's regime: Landucci (Agud & Michelena 1958), Añibarro (Villasante 1963), Moguel (Villasante 1964), the *Basque-Spanish Dictionary* of Larramendi (Altuna 1967), Araquistain's Supplements to Larramendi's dictionary (Michelena 1970), Bela (Peillen 1983, partial edition), Larramendi's *Trilingual Dictionary* (1984, facsimile edition), Aizquibel (1984, facsimile edition), Novia de Salcedo (1984, facsimile edition), Urte (Urkizu 1989), Odriozola (Etxebarria & Etxebarria 1990), an anonymous «Basque-French Vocabulary» (Etxebarria 1994) and Iztueta (Urkizu 1996), as well as the unpublished thesis by Knörr (1987) on Maurice Harriet's ms. dictionary.

Apart from these we should point out the vocabularies of Lécluse's Grammars (Lakarra & Urgell 1988), Harriet (Lakarra 1994a) and Urte (Lakarra 1994c), the C copy (contrasted with the corresponding part in the A copy) of Pouvreau's dictionary (Bilbao 1992), the short vocabularies made by Añibarro from Harriet (Urgell 1992) and the new edition of Oihenart's notes (Kerejeta 1991), done in a different spirit, as we shall see later (§ 5).

Without any doubt, the most important event in this period and what gives it its special character while at the same time serving both as a stimulus and a model was the first publication outlined in this list: Landucci's dictionary. Though the awareness of its existence dated from 1745—from the mention made by Larramendi at least, though strictly speaking the first mention of it is to be found in Mayans (1737: 347)—nobody had made the slightest effort even to inspect it—apart from Aizquibel's (1883: iv) unfortunate «it

no longer exists»—, with the exceptions of Larramendi himself in the Supplement to his dictionary (Michelena 1970; Lakarra 1993) and Urquijo in two short contributions (Urquijo 1920a, 1920b), as was only to be expected in one so habitually curious. The breaking of this long-cultivated tradition of deliberate indifference could only come about through the operation of very powerful reasons, reasons which are explained by the editors as follows:

The history of the manuscript vocabulary which we are now publishing is not particularly brilliant. The very fact that it has never yet been published is sufficient proof of this, in spite of the fact that it is the oldest Basque vocabulary of any considerable length and constitutes, as we will see, the most important testament of a variety of the language which has today disappeared.

The publication of Basque texts has more than once been guilty of a lethargy which is all the more surprising given the scarcity and relatively recent character of these texts. (...) Yet this particular vocabulary has been easily accessible in a public library and information of its whereabouts had been widely diffused (...).

...the fact that this repeatedly cited, sixteenth century ms. has hardly been used by modern scholars would in itself be sufficient. Our passivity, however, no matter what lengths we may habitually carry it to, cannot adequately account for this indifference. We must assume rather that there was a deliberate resistance to having it published. It is not difficult to find a motive for this in the prejudice which, disregarding facts, is only concerned with «what will be said» by outsiders, a prejudice which has led more than once to a disregard not only for the scientific value of older Basque texts but even for their literary value itself. For those who think like this, Landuchio's vocabulary, representing as it does a romanticised —bastardised— variant of the language, is an offence to its dignity. And there will be those, no doubt, even today, who will regret that instead of this edition, faithful as it is, and in so far as we have been able to make it, to the original, we have not chosen to publish a carefully abridged and purged version of the same (Agud & Michelena 1958: 7-8).

The edition, with its magnificent accompanying study, confirms and extends the positive evaluation that had been made by Urquijo:

It abounds in *erderismos* [loan words] and Larramendi, for this reason, treated it with contempt. It must, nevertheless, be taken into account, not only because of its date (1562), but also because apart from containing a number of terms which cannot be found in other dictionaries, it allows us to study the transformations which Spanish words underwent in the sixteenth century among those who spoke the Biscayan dialect. (Urquijo 1925: 486, n. 2).

The «daring» of the editors was, in brief, amply compensated: the work in question is especially arduous but it is at the same time especially enriching, and not only provides lexicographic data, with words that are not

to be found in other dictionaries (Azkue himself only used it through intermediate sources), but also makes available unexpected insights into the history of the Basque language.

The critical talent which is to be observed in this first modern edition of an old dictionary reverberates in those succeeding it, all presented along similar lines, with due regard of course for the differences inherent in the character of the different texts and very often in the ability of the editor. In the first place, and with greater clarity and insistence in the earlier editions, a need is felt to justify each undertaking and to criticise the inveterate reluctance of Basques to publicise their own work. Villasante (1963: 6-8) speaks of «indifference» and «short-sighted pragmatism», Altuna (1967: 139) talks of «negligence», while Urkizu (1989: 18), for his part, expresses «the hope that little by little past Basque works will become better known.»

In the second place, the usefulness of the publication is emphasised; a rarity such as Landucci is inevitably of interest to historical linguists and, of course, that is the type of study which is offered by the editors; for all that, however, the reference to Azkue is crucial, as I will try to show further on (v. § 3):

Don Resurrección M.^a de Azkue, especially, did not draw on this vocabulary for his dictionary, a decisive fact, given that his work is always the starting point and often indeed the only source, for all those studies dedicated to the vocabulary of Basque in our day. In spite of this, however, a number of terms derived from Landuchio have infiltrated themselves, by indirect routes, into Azkue's dictionary (Michelena 1958: 12).

A very similar idea is repeated in the second edition of our list:

...the unpublished dictionary of Fr. Añibarro, which though it was known and partially exploited by Mr. Azkue, was not up to now available to the public which studies our language. (Villasante 1963:8).

In more recent editions, this reference is generalised to include Basque lexicographers generally (Urkizu 1989: 19), or is made specific in detailed references such as the following with regard to Iztueta's dictionary:

Though it is cited by Aizquibel, Iztueta was not used by Azkue or Akesolo in their dictionaries, though they cite terms from *Gipuzkoakodantzak* and from *Kondaira* [works by the same author]. And, though the *General Basque Dictionary* which was begun by Michelena and is at present directed by Sarasola has drawn on it, it does not reflect all the lexicographic treasure that it contains (Urkizu 1996: 13)

With regard to the relations between dictionaries, there is only one case in which a certain degree of interest is shown in the nature of the dictionary:

[*The Basque-Spanish Dictionary*] is an invaluable complement to the great Basque-Spanish dictionary which Larramendi published in his lifeti-

me; and it could help us to resolve many of the problems which are raised by this latter (Altuna 1967: 139).

This interest is only materialised in a first attempt to determine just how far Larramendi went in the task of inverting the order of his vast Spanish-Basque dictionary, and almost certainly the underlying concern is to determine how much novelty there is: ultimately, we find here again the utilitarian approach, something very characteristic of all these editions. However, it does veer away somewhat from the two more general approaches:

1. Anecdotic: while it is admitted that the lexicographer has «taken words» from Larramendi's *Trilingual Dictionary*, this fact is glossed over by emphasising the personal contributions of the author; the most obvious case is Villasante (1963: 6), though he is far from being the only modern editor to have followed this line:

But apart from terms of this type which can be attributed to the influence of Fr. Larramendi, there will also be found a not inconsiderable number of terms of popular origin, recorded with an exact indication of the dialect to which they belong or better still of the province in which they are used. This is, it will be clear, the truly valuable and original part of this dictionary (...).

2. Philological: represented mainly by Michelena and taking as its immediate object the clarification of Azkue's sources, with Michelena's interest in the history of the language, dialectology, etc. always in the background; we will return to this later (v. § 3.3).

I would like, at this point, to draw attention to the fact that it can hardly be coincidental that the only dictionaries which have been published since the War are those which Azkue treated with contempt (Larramendi, Aizquibel, Novia de Salcedo) or those which he could not use (Landucci, Bela, Urte, Larramendi's *Basque-Spanish Dictionary*, Iztueta), with Añibarro as an honourable exception (remembering of course that his work was only «partially» despoiled), while manuscripts of the greatest interest (such as Pouvreau and Duvoisin, for example) remain untouched; a lesser evil, after all; the tone of resignation in Michelena's assertions about Pouvreau are a good example:

...a magnificent Basque-French dictionary which unfortunately remains unpublished, though it has been profusely used by later lexicographers after Humboldt... (Michelena 1960a: 70).

As I will argue in greater detail in what follows, the ultimate purpose of these editions carried out in recent times has been to complete or correct what I choose to call the «Basque Dictionary», materialized since the beginning of the twentieth century in its most perfect form to date: Azkue's dictionary.

3. Azkue's revolution

Azkue's dictionary brought with it a change of paradigm in Basque lexicography. In so far as our interests here are concerned, it brought to an end, at one go, the age of Larramendi and became not only the new work of reference, but also expressly rejected everything that had to do with it. For the first time since 1745, a lexicographic work intended to be a general dictionary did not contain, knowingly at least (cf. Michelena 1970: 28-29), even one Larramendian term, and the *Trilingual Dictionary* together with everybody who, in the opinion of the author, had leaned on it too heavily (Fabr e and Novia de Salcedo, especially) was condemned to exile.

On the other hand, given that he had gone to the trouble of scouring other earlier dictionaries for everything that seemed to him of interest, his work produced a general feeling of tranquillity, a genuine standstill, when all is said and done, in everything that had to do with historical Basque lexicography; from the very moment of its publication, it was evident to everybody that this was an excellent dictionary, it not only ransacked the resources of old texts (including lexical repertoires) but also added a wealth of terms which he had recorded from oral conversation, and not forgetting, of course, something that was of vital importance at the time, the majority of loan-words in the language were omitted. It was then a perfect model of what could be called the ideal Basque Dictionary.

Nevertheless, to the same extent that it fulfilled the desire to possess a complete dictionary, it also aroused new desires that it could do nothing to answer; on the one hand, it made all the more evident the need for a modern Spanish-Basque dictionary, and at the same time the impossibility of satisfying this need by simply inverting the terms, given that, in accordance with the author's own decision, the kind of terminology one finds is noticeably from a rural context. I will not enter into detail in this respect since the whole topic clearly deserves to be studied apart.

The other desire which it gave rise to is much more relevant here: a kind of fever arose to complete and correct Azkue's dictionary. The first samples of this appeared soon after it was published but the fever was to last a long time, and only increased in response to attempts by the Academy of the Basque Language to repress it. Here, for example, is an extract from the unusual call made by Irigoyen in the journal *Euskera*, the official publication of the Academy, a call which is accompanied by detailed explanations of the work should be done:

The Academy of the Basque Language, faced with this situation [the impossibility of obtaining copies of Azkue's dictionary] and as an act of homage to one who was its President and very soul, feels that it must initiate the preliminaries for its re-edition, taking into account all contributions made by the author himself and others (...).

For this reason, the Academy sees fit to publish in this journal all contributions made by Basque lovers, whether they belong to the Academy or

not, by way of correction, extension or new proposals, however small or insignificant they may be (Irigoyen 1965: 47).

3.1. COMPLETING AZKUE

Azkue could of course be completed in a number of different ways, as much by bringing to light new popular terms and expressions as by reviewing old authors. Above, we have seen, in effect, how reference is made to Azkue when publishing early dictionaries; a more arduous task, however, would be to gather similar citations in publications of a different kind.

Limiting our search to studies that have appeared in journals, the objective is frequently made clear in the title itself: Gárate's fourteen contributions «to the Basque dictionary» (1930-1975), «A contribution to Justo Garate's *contributions*» by Bozas Urrutia (1963), the series «Towards completing Mr. Azkue's dictionary...» by Azpiroz (1963, 1967, 1981, 1982), «Supplement zu Azkues Wörterbuch aus Barandiarans Folklore texten» by Bouda (1972), etc. Let us look more closely at some of these:

In my readings and conversations I have come across (...) a number of words, expressions, meanings and foreign language etymologies and have entertained myself in collecting them. I publish them here today in the belief that they may be of use to the very learned and scholarly members of Academy of the Basque Language, since they do not appear in Azkue's dictionary (Garate 1930:153)

For some time now, I have been engaged on a small task: the collection of those words habitually used in the town of Leiza which do not figure in Azkue's dictionary. The Congress [of the Academy of the Basque Language] in Aránzazu seems an apt occasion for bringing it to a prompt close and, if it is of any use in completing the Basque Dictionary, for reading it. (Azpiroz 1963: 317).

I would not like to leave it unmentioned here that this task links up with a long-standing preoccupation, attributed once to Larramendi and which we can find all through the nineteenth century (Araquistain's supplements, Arrue's notes, etc.). Consider, for example, the following from Otaegi:

A small collection of Basque terms frequently used in the neighbourhood of Cegama and which, given their rarity, and the fact that many of them are not to be found in Larramendi or in the work of other acknowledged scholars, I have taken the liberty to recopilate (1957 [a. 1890]: 285).

This is, no doubt, the work of a whole people.

3.2. CORRECTING AZKUE

Though the two are not always completely distinct from one another, the task of philologists has been more to correct than to complete, a task which

has been applied to isolated words for which more complete documentary evidence has been found. The work itself, as we have already seen in the case of Urquijo, was very warmly received by Basque scholars: Schuchardt himself dedicated to it an extense and enthusiastic review; part of what Michelena called «...the shout of joy and thanksgiving» of the German linguist reads as follows:

...he has offered in it more, much more than we could possibly have hoped for in the present circumstances... (Schuchardt 1906: 465).

behold, we are presented here with a wide and sure base for research into Basque linguistics (*ib.* 467).

The number of editors who, while taking it as a necessary starting-point, have been able to complete or correct some of its entries, is certainly too extensive for comment in this paper. By way of example, I will mention just a few works which have been specifically dedicated to this task, such as Urquijo's multiple notes (1914-1918), a work which is all the more significant given its early date; Landerreche's commentary on (*sinhetsi*) «to believe» (1916), a correction of one of Urquijo's notes; Lafon's (1956) corrections and additions—with the aid of sixteenth century texts—to the dictionaries of Azkue and Lhande (1926); and the more recent work of Ondarra (1980) which is titled «Joaquín Lizarraga in Azkue's Dictionary». Their opening comments are as follows:

Don R.M de Azkue's Dictionary is of such importance and its publication has had such an effect on the progress of Basque studies that everything that can be done to complete and perfect it is, in my opinion, both interesting and useful.

Works of this nature can always be perfected in details, and the correction of the errors which they inevitably contain, in no way diminishes the merit of their respective authors. (Urquijo 1914: 169).

Lorsqu'ils ont composé leurs dictionnaires, Azkue, puis, plus tard, le P. Lhande, savaient mieux que personne qu'ils contiendraient des erreurs et des lacunes. En signalant ces erreurs et ces lacunes, on ne rabaisse nullement la valeur de ces deux ouvrages fondamentaux. Tout au contraire, on suit la voie tracée par leurs auteurs, et l'on rend hommage à leur labeur et à leur science (Lafon 1956: 26).

The importance of this work [Azkue's dictionary] and the influence it has exerted and continues to exert on the whole field of Basque studies, whether in the dictionaries that have succeeded it, or in dialectal research, or in other areas, only make it all the more necessary to investigate the purity and authenticity of its sources (Ondarra 1980: 107).

At this point we must pay special attention to the work carried out by Michelena.

3.3. MICHELENA'S PHILOLOGICAL LABOURS

We would need more time and space than is available here if we were to properly evaluate and give an account of Michelena's contribution to the history of Basque lexicography. I will, therefore, restrict this discussion to the maximum and insist only on the objectives which he pursued and the means he used to approach this field of study.

We should remember above all that he was directly involved in the project, led by the Academy (cf. Sarasola 1997), of reforming Azkue's dictionary and that, as is well known, his work on lexicography forms only a part—the critical basis—of the same. He was convinced, rightly, of the need to revise Azkue's sources, not always free of error or correctly utilized, in part attributable to the singular personality of the author and in part, as is evident, to the state or nature of the sources themselves, dictionaries being among the most dangerous sources of all:

Lexicography is perhaps the scholarly activity in which the exercise of the critical faculty is most necessary. (...). The compiler of a general dictionary will only very unwillingly renounce the incorporation into his work of the riches, more often specious than real, that are to be found in the work of his predecessors. Predecessors whom he makes every effort to surpass by adding new materials to what he has found in them, with the inevitable result that to the accumulation of old errors he incorporates a further harvest of his own. (Michelena 1970: 26).

The most outstanding result of this activity is the critical analysis that he performed on the Supplement to Larramendi's dictionary, a labour which began with the lecture delivered on the occasion of his becoming a member of the Academy (Michelena 1961a) and completed in his *Estudio sobre las fuentes del Diccionario de Azkue* (1970 [1965]).

While it is true, on the one hand, that this and lesser works of his constitute a notable advance from a philological point of view, it must also be recognised that Michelena's conception of the history of Basque lexicography, for all its richness and elaboration, did not differ a great deal from that which obtained among the majority: old dictionaries are worm-eaten and dust-laden chests of words (to use his own metaphor) and the work of the philologist is to restore and clean them so that the specialists (lexicographers, dialectologists, historians of the language, etc.) may be enabled to carry out their labours.

It is true that it was he who introduced the historic dimension, with a force and an influence greater even than that exerted by Urquijo. But he introduced it in a very specific sense: the history which interested him was the history of words and every examination on dictionary sources leads us to the ultimate source of each word. Philological analysis can leave aside words which have been misunderstood or badly copied, «ghost-words» (Michelena

1970: 24-25), so that in the end we can discover the history and, in so far as is possible, the true condition of words transmitted lexicographically:

What matters in all cases, let me repeat, is to find the source and evaluate it in itself, leaving aside all those echoes which neither add nor subtract anything, or which, if they do so, only add or subtract what should never have been added or subtracted. (Michelena 1970: 27).

Excluded from this type of analysis are, in the first place, those dictionaries which only contain second-hand accounts, the *codices descripti* (*ibid.*) and also, in all likelihood, those which, given the doubts raised by the data they put forward, can only be a source of problems (Larramendi, for example). But there is something much more basic which is also excluded: the history of Basque lexicography itself. To see how this works out in practice, let us examine more closely the kind of work he carried out in 1970.

From the outset he chooses to analyse an eight page supplement rather than an eight hundred page dictionary, given that many later lexicographers «with a sure instinct» (1970: 28), relied on it more; specifically, they created a chain of transmission extending right down to Azkue himself, something which, as we now know, did not in general happen with the main body of the dictionary itself.

The type of analysis carried out is, initially at least, very simple, from a philological point of view: a word by word analysis. Though he lacked most of the instruments we have at our disposal today and so was faced with an extremely laborious task, his knowledge of the texts helps him to select the most likely source from the three that were possible, two acknowledged by the author (Axular, *Refranes y Sentencias*) and a third, identified in research (Landucci), and he succeeds in general in locating the desired word. Let us remember that every time that this happens, Larramendi automatically becomes a secondary (*descripta*) source and is, in consequence, dispensable.

The documentation that he brings to bear can at times be overwhelming, especially when he can find no source for a given word, but also at times when he can; for example, *billacatu* (1970: 63, n.º 66) is to be found in Axular, but he also cites Pouvreau, Haramburu and Belapeyre, in addition to providing a detailed etymological proposal; a similar case can be found in *burueman* (*ib.* 73, n.º 139), where he comments on *buru egin* to be found in the same author, *kobru emon* in Azkue and fray Bartolomé, and *buru emon* in Añibarro and Azkue; in the case of *jarrugui* (*ib.* 84, n.º 235) he makes use of the opportunity to offer an explanation of a difficult passage from some ancient verses. It is evident from these and many other cases that it is not so much the source that is of interest as to provide ample documentary evidence for the word in question. A citation from Leizarraga, for example, who is not one of the sources, also makes the entry in the Supplement secondary (see *hauzu*, *ib.* 99, n.º 372).

He sometimes tries to find the precise passage from which the Supplement entry has been derived, but this usually happens only when Larramendi's account presents some difficulty in form or meaning. See, for example, *forogu* (ib. 84-85, n.º 238) as regards meaning and *ecaira* (ib. 106, n.º 443) as regards form. In general, he is content to cite several passages from the source or possible sources. So, one finds at most just an occasional comment on the work carried out by the lexicographer in selecting the words, decontextualising them, converting them to canonical form, translating them into Spanish and finally integrating them into the Supplement. At most, there is a comment on what seems absolutely necessary to account for their origin.

As is well known, Michelena wasn't exactly interested in Larramendi's work, with the result that he was only compelled to search for some kind of explanation when he could find no source for a given word. In this sense, perhaps the only attempt he made to analyse the Supplement as an integrated and self-contained whole is to be found in the explication given for the set of words containing the suffix *-kuntza*, the source of which he failed to identify (1970: 70-71, n.º 125). Nevertheless, an analysis of this kind turns out to be not only a good way to become acquainted with Larramendi as a lexicographer, but is also the only way in which we can determine the history of certain words in the Supplement (Lakarra 1991a, 1992a y 1993; Urgell 2000).

Michelena's contribution lies in his approaching the world of Basque lexicography from the viewpoint and rules of a strict philologist, no small contribution, however we may look at it. Nor did he labour in vain. Long years of preparation produced their first fruits not so long ago in the *Diccionario General Vasco* (from 1987 onwards), a work which, apart from being an absolutely vital tool for linguists and philologists, establishes a landmark within Basque lexicography itself. Its influence, for the moment, has been exercised most directly through Sarasola's (1984-1995 and 1996) *Hautalanerako Euskal Hiztegia* (now *Euskal Hiztegia*) which may be considered a direct descendent of Michelena's dictionary (see Sarasola 1997).

4. Critical evaluation

So far, I have only mentioned in passing the critical reception given to early dictionaries up to our own time. The omission has been deliberate and is based on the certainty that we will be better able to understand and evaluate these criticisms, once a certain light has been thrown on the interests of those who voiced them.

Summarizing a great deal, general opinion up to quite recently agreed basically with Azkue: there are lexicographers who, in spite of the fact that they committed certain venial faults (by this we are to understand that they created neologisms), in general were faithfully dedicated to the collection of Basque words; others, on the contrary, with Larramendi at the head, did

nothing but deform and distort the material they found, and attempted to pass off as Basque new aberrant forms, with the result that it is well nigh impossible to separate the grain from the chaff.

In the light of what has already been said, it seems crystal clear to me that the frontier between these two groups has been established on the basis of a criterion of utility: everything which has helped or may help to complete the Basque dictionary is regarded with favour, while everything else, which is virtually useless in this sense, is no longer regarded as a dictionary, can only be used by specialists, and acquires the character of a monument which prevent us from forgetting the mistakes of the past. It is essential to remember here that, following the purist reaction at the beginning of the twentieth century, a feeling of aversion set in towards everything regarded then as a «neologism», i.e. towards new words which had been derived by utilizing the resources of the language itself, and especially those «badly formed», which had been very abundant in the previous period. It is precisely for this supposed Basque tendency towards fanciful creations that Larramendi is usually held responsible as prime instigator. The origins of this theory, which has implications which go way beyond what interests us here, are to be found in Mokoroa «Ibar» 1935 (Urgell 1991).

The error of perception which is concealed beneath this way of thinking can, I believe, be brought out with an example. The following comments by Michelena are representative of standard criticisms of Pouvreau's dictionary:

In the National Library in Paris two copies are conserved (...) of a magnificent Basque-French dictionary which, unfortunately, has never been published, although it has been profusely used by lexicographers since Humboldt's time and in composing which Pouvreau studied in depth the published works of various Basque authors (Leizarraga, Axular, Harizmendi, Etcheberri, but not Dechepare) and counted Oihenart among his informants (Michelena 1960a: 70).

Larramendi (1745: xxxiv-xxxviii) tells us that in order to complete his dictionary he used, in addition to those sources cited for Pouvreau, the two doctrines of Laveuxville (1733), Chourio (1720), Gasteluzar (1686), Beriain (1626), Harriet (1741), Etcheberri de Sara (c. 1712), etc., and gives in addition a detailed account of how he went from village to village in pursuit of new words (*op. cit.* lii-liii; see now Pagola 1992). Neither Michelena, nor Villasante, to mention the two most relevant histories of literature, gives a list of the writers and lexicographers, and only mention in passing his work of recompilation:

...in composing his *Dictionary*, Larramendi had to gather a great deal of material from the lips of the people and from published works that he diligently searched out, giving us a first outline of the past of Basque literature. The set-up of the *Dictionary* (Spanish-Basque-Latin) is partly forced,

however, in that he was obliged to fill in with neologisms gaps where no translation was available (...) (Michelena 1960a : 98).

Without doubt, it is this work which has done most harm to Larramendi's reputation. Not because this Dictionary does not represent immense labour in the collection of authentic words but because, together with them, and without any warning to the reader, he also includes many more of his own creation (Villasante 1979: 134).

The difference lies, apparently, in that Pouvreau uses abbreviations which prove very comfortable for the philologist, while Larramendi did not have the courtesy to indicate where he had found each word. Lakarra (1985 and 1995, mainly), who introduced into Basque studies the historiography of the lexicography I am presenting, has shown that the situation was in fact very different:

1. Larramendi's aim was to make Basque a language of culture. Among other tasks, he decided to compile a Spanish-Basque dictionary to facilitate the translation into Basque of works of culture, which reached his milieu mainly through Spanish, and he chose for this purpose the largest Spanish dictionary then available —the *Diccionario de Autoridades* of the Royal Spanish Academy (1726-1739)— an obvious sign of his desire to be exhaustive. The state in which he found Basque, scarcely used at all for writing, impelled him, first of all, to garner words from all quarters, without any indication of their origin, with the sole purpose of generalizing their use, which was often limited to a given dialect; and, in the second place, to create hundreds of neologisms as equivalents for what he called «facultative terms», that is to say, terms belonging to the arts or sciences, an idea which he shared with highly considered lexicographers such as Etcheberri de Sara. Needless to say, he had no motive for taking into consideration the problems of later philologists.
2. The presentation of Pouvreau's dictionary as a kind of dictionary of authorities is clearly going too far. In actual fact, the references to his sources are not so frequent and almost always appear with refrains or expressions, not, for example (and it is not an innocuous example) with compound or derived words. What's more, in version C (Bilbao 1992:347), the final version, it is clear that the number of references to sources decreases rather than increases, some have been eliminated, others have been simplified. On the other hand, this is a Basque-French dictionary, ordered according to etymological families, and the layout itself —as well as other characteristics such as the repetition of derivational patterns and the frequent absence of a translation for derived forms— inclines us to the belief that quite a number of derived forms may not have been compiled from any source but are rather

deductions made by the author on the basis of the creative possibilities of the language.

The differences, then, between these two assumed poles of Basque lexicography are thus reduced to a level of insignificance. And the data on which this judgement is based bring to the fore the major defect of previous criticisms: up to now it was not how a dictionary had been made that was of interest but only what it contained. It is no paradox, nevertheless, to affirm that the only way to know what a dictionary contains is to examine how it is made and for what purpose.

5. Towards a history of Basque lexicography

Around 1985, it seems to me, the study of old Basque dictionaries took a different direction. Though Michelena had, the previous year (1984: 14 and ff.), put forward a few ideas, it was in this year that Lakarra published the most important of his works on Larramendi (Lakarra 1985a). In this and other work which was to appear in the following years, the history of Basque studies in general and of Basque lexicography in particular broke new ground.

Limiting ourselves specifically to lexicography, it can be said that Basque dictionaries become, for the first time, an object rather than an excuse for research. This change did not originate in the Basque Country, not even in the domain of lexicography. In the history of all sciences, including human sciences, one can notice in the second half of the twentieth century a remarkable change of interest: these histories are no longer collections of dates and anecdotes, they no longer tell the story of who, what, when and how, i.e. to enumerate the pillars of scientific progress, but concentrate rather on the history of ideas.

The change is as much linked to new methods of approaching history as it is to new tendencies in the philosophy of science, though anything approaching an analysis of this process goes way beyond the limits and possibilities of this paper. I will only say that it leads to an examination of the work of past centuries which bypasses present-day prejudices and assumptions and, in so far as is possible, analyses them in the context of their own time and their own assumptions and traditions in an attempt to understand the conditions which gave rise to them (Koerner 1989: 49 and 62).

In the field of lexicography, the first steps in historiography were taken at the beginning of the twentieth century, though many are of the opinion that matters began to change with the publication of Starnes and Noyes *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson 1604-1755*. In the prologue to this work, the authors outline their intentions as follows:

The qualifications of dictionary-makers for the tasks which they set for themselves, their expressed aims (as far as possible in the language of the

compilers themselves), their sources, their methods of compilation, the interrelationships of the various texts, the relation of English dictionaries to contemporary bilingual dictionaries, the readers for whom each work is intended, the vogue and usefulness of the various dictionaries —these are among the more important topics treated in this book. The authors thus provide a complete history, as far as information is available, of each dictionary in its numerous ramifications, and trace the slow and uncertain growth toward a definitive and authoritative dictionary of the English language (Starnes & Noyes 1946: iii).

They explicitly state:

The method is historical. Questions of philology and etymology have been discussed only in so far as they contribute to the history of the English dictionary (...). (*ibid.*).

A work of similar importance, and undoubtedly of capital importance in French studies, can be found in Quemada 1967, a work in which philological interests (the search for sources, relations between dictionaries, etc.) even more clearly play the role of auxiliary tools in the analysis of the evolution of lexicographical methods (nomenclature, types of entries, definitions, examples of use...).

In the last twenty to thirty years this latter interest has visibly increased, with the result that reference is now made to «metalexigraphy» or «theory of lexicography». Hausmann gives the following definition:

Si on appelle *lexicographie* la pratique scientifique qui a pour but de confectionner un dictionnaire (...), on pourra appeler *métalexigraphie* toute activité qui fait du dictionnaire un objet de réflexion et de recherche mais qui, elle-même, ne vise pas à la production de dictionnaires (Hausmann 1989: 216).

Bray outlines the following aims for metalexigraphy:

La métalexigraphie se doit, entre autres, de décrire et de commenter l'évolution historique et l'état actuel des différentes techniques (principalement typographiques) mises en oeuvre pour assurer la consultation du dictionnaire. Cette description critique est d'autant plus urgente qu'on peut régulièrement observer une certaine insensibilisation du public, mais aussi de certains éditeurs, vis-à-vis de la composante matérielle du dictionnaire (Bray 1989: 136).

Together with this task, and parallel to it, there is a development in what Ilson has called «Lexicographic Archaeology», which, briefly speaking, has as its aim the analysis of relationships between dictionaries:

...the comparison of different editions of the same dictionary, of different dictionaries derived from a common source, or different dictionaries from the same publisher (Ilson 1986: 127).

These aims, as we have seen, have received virtually no attention, beyond what is merely anecdotic, in the presentation, examination or criticism of Basque dictionaries.

5.1. A NEW ANALYSIS: THE EUROPEAN MODEL

It is obvious that we are still a long way from anything approaching the classical work of Starnes and Noyes or Quemada, or even the interesting contribution of Colon and Soberanas (1985) to Catalan lexicography. The distance, however, is not as great as published work might lead one to think: Lakarra's doctoral thesis (1993) accounts for lexicographical repertoires previous to Larramendi and, in addition to presenting old Basque dictionaries *in a different way*, has made us aware of the kind of work that is being done elsewhere and how it could be applied in the work we are concerned with.

The way in which he has incorporated Basque lexicography up to Larramendi within the European framework is one of his most interesting and novel contributions. As I have tried to make clear, when it has not remained at a purely superficial level, the study of our dictionaries has always looked inward, forgetting almost completely that the education received and very often the models adopted by our lexicographers have been based abroad.

On the other hand, he has drawn attention to the close relation that exists between grammar and the dictionary, a relation which emphasises the importance of the role that has been played in their lexicographical work by the grammars and, in consequence, the linguistic ideas, of authors such as Etcheberri de Sara, Pouvreau, Urte, Martin Harriet and Larramendi. By measuring the degree of lexical innovation and examining the character of the dictionary, he has shown that the lexicographers who, up to now, have been considered «sensible» were fully aware of the inherent creativity of the language and that they tried to understand its mechanisms and apply them in their dictionaries, as so many other were doing throughout Europe at that time.

5.2. THE METHODS OF THE LEXICOGRAPHERS

If we treat dictionaries as objects we will not only be able to analyse how the carpenters tried to construct these old trunks but also how they are structured formally, what wood they are made of, their parts, and so on. We are interested in discovering the background and linguistic ideas of the compiler, the models and sources used, and the objective, the kind of dictionary that was aimed at and the public it wished to serve. We are equally interested in discovering the lexicographical methods used, these being, after all, the means with which it was hoped to achieve the objective and on many an occasion form the only remaining witness of the real intent and purpose.

Perhaps one of the simplest and most direct ways of demonstrating that this type of study is effective and can, in addition, highlight the mistakes of previous approaches, is to give a brief analysis of a number of examples.

5.2.1. *Lexicographic models (I): Hiribarren's «inventive genie»*

The following are the examples of Hiribarren's «inventive genie» (mid nineteenth century) which are offered by Lhande (1926: xxi), in correspondence with the entries from Larramendi's Dictionary, to which he is obviously indebted:

HIRIBARREN

Les mots castillans à allure basque sont inscrits d'office au vocabulaire et on leur trouve aussitôt une étymologie et même des dérivés. L'espagnol *arrayan*, myrte, vient de «*arraidena*, qui est attrayante» et fournit *arraianaga* et *arraianegi* «lieu planté de myrtes».

le *loizoki* inventé par le fameux jésuite Guipuzcoan pur désigner «cataplasme», donne à Hiribarren *ailoizoki* (*ahí*, bouillie; *loi*, pâte; *zoki*, attache) et signifie «cataplasme de farine».

LARRAMENDI

Arrayán, [...] viene del bascuence *array*, que entre otras significaciones tiene el significar apariencia y semblante agradable, como le tiene el arrayán, que está siempre verde.

Arrayanal, *arrayaneguia*, *arrayanaga*.

Cataplasma, emplasto, *loizoquia*.

Puchada, *ailoizoquia*.

As a direct consequence of this error in judgement, Lhande —who compiled his dictionary with the intention of producing a «Northern Azkue» and selected all the latter's information relative to northern dialects, completing it with dictionaries such as Hiribarren and with other written and oral sources— involuntarily included hundreds of Larramendian neologisms.

5.2.2. *Lexicographic models (II): Añibarro «dialectologist»*

One of the greatest merits which has been attributed to Añibarro (c. 1808) is that he «indicates with exactitude the province from which the term has come» (Villasante 1963: 18) and «is a clear predecessor of Azkue, and of modern dialectology and linguistic geography» (Michelena 1963: 106). In spite of the fact that Añibarro's indebtedness to Larramendi's Dictionary has been clearly recognised, this indebtedness has been overlooked when it comes to assessing his contribution to dialectology. Note, nevertheless, in the examples given below that the majority of the Basque words are derived from Larramendi and are, no doubt, often classified by the lexicographer on the

basis of his knowledge of dialects but often too in an automatic way, on the basis of appearance, or directly as Guipuzcoan (= g.), on the basis of his source; in many cases Añibarro does no more than translate to Biscayan (= b.), his native dialect, terms which he has found in Larramendi:

AÑIBARRO	LARRAMENDI
Abanico, b. <i>axe</i> , g.n. <i>aice emallea</i> , <i>aiceguilla</i> .	Abanico, <i>aizequiña</i> , <i>aizeguillea</i> , <i>aizeemallea</i> .
Abejón, b. <i>curibioa</i> , <i>curumiñoa</i> ; g. <i>listorra</i> , <i>erlabioa</i> , <i>erlamiñoa</i> .	Abejón, <i>listorrá</i> , <i>erlabioa</i> .
Abión, avión, vencejo, c. <i>elaia andia</i> ; b. <i>cirrinquerua</i> ; g. <i>sorbeltza</i> ; n. <i>enara</i> , <i>enada</i> .	Abión, avión, algunos llaman así al vencejo, <i>sorbeltza</i> . Lat. Apus, odis. Otros llaman así a una especie de golondrinas mayores, <i>enada</i> , <i>elaya andiagoa</i> .
Abuela, c. <i>amanagusia</i> ; b. <i>amandre</i> , <i>-drea</i> ; g. <i>amama</i> , <i>amona</i> , <i>amasaba</i> , <i>amagoia</i> ; n. <i>amia</i> ; b. <i>amaxê</i> .	Abuela, <i>amoná</i> , <i>amanagusia</i> , <i>amasaba</i> , <i>amasoa</i> , <i>amagoia</i> .
Adelante, yr adelante, c. <i>joan b.g. aurrera</i> , <i>aurra</i> ; n. <i>aitzinat</i> .	Adelante, <i>aurrera</i> , <i>áurra</i> , <i>aitzinát</i> . Lat. Ultra, ulterius. Ir delante, <i>joan áurrera</i> .

Among other things then, we should carefully revise Villasante's affirmation (1963: 18) that the entries which lack information of this kind are «terms which have been taken from Larramendi's forge» or else appear in this way «because the author did not have sufficient information with regard to them». It is equally important to point out that Añibarro's Dictionary is a privileged source for Azkue, who uncritically copies (and at times invents: see *añoa* and *aquirina* below) dialectal references from the former. Let us consider a few examples:

AÑIBARRO	AÑIBARRO	AZKUE
Niebla en las miesses, <i>añoa</i> , <i>ludoya</i> .	Niebla: c. <i>lañoa</i> . En parajes bajos: <i>añoa</i> .	AIÑO (...). — 3.º (AN, B, G, Añ.), niebla en parajes bajos, como campos, prados, etc.
Cabrón castrado, <i>aquirina</i> .	Cabrón capado: <i>aquirina</i> .	AKIRIN (B, Añ.), cabrón castrado.
Granero, <i>alsistua</i> , <i>alteguia</i> , <i>bihiteguia</i> , <i>garauteguia</i> .	Granero: b. <i>garauteguia</i> ; g. <i>alteguia</i> , <i>alsistua</i> ; n. <i>bihiteguia</i> .	ALSISTU (...G, Añ.), granero.

5.2.3. *Lexicographic Models (III): Larramendi and the Diccionario de Autoridades*

In the two examples preceding we have seen how obviating the model can lead to somewhat peculiar affirmations regarding the character of the words that are analysed. With this present example I wish to show, besides, how comparison with the model can be useful when it comes to specifying the origin: note how certain Basque equivalents in Larramendi (periphrasis or compounds) are a quasi-literal translation of part of the definitions in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*:

DICCIONARIO DE AUTORIDADES	LARRAMENDI
BABIECA. En lo literal es el nombre que pusieron al caballo del Cid; pero se usa de esta voz por translación mui frecuentemente por lo mismo que bobo.	Babieca, <i>ala ceritzan Ciden zaldiaari: baña diogunean</i> , es un babieca, <i>esan nai degu guelbera, illaun, motel, gueisancha bat dala</i> . [«...We want to say that this is a simple, dull, dim-witted, sluggish person»]
BACHANAL. Cosa perteneciente al Dios Bacho.	Bachanal, <i>Bachori dagocana</i> . [«relating to Bacchus»]
BADANA. La piel del carnero, u oveja, curtida, blanda, y de poca dura.	Badana (...). <i>Badana, narru ondua, larru biguindua</i> . [«...tanned skin, soft skin»]
BALLESTEAR. Tirar con la ballesta (...).	Ballestear, <i>ballestatu, ballestaz tiratu</i> . [«...to shoot with crossbow»]
BALUZ. Pedazo u barra de oro pequeña. Es voz antiquada.	Baluz, voz antiquada, pedazo pequeño de oro que se hallaba en las minas, <i>urre puisca</i> . [«gold nugget»]
BARBACANA. Fortificación que se coloca delante de las murallas (...).	Barbacana, <i>morrallaurrea</i> . [«wall-front»]
BARBADA. Cierta género de cadenilla o hierro corvo, que de cama a cama del freno atravesado se pone a los caballos o mulas por debaxo de la barba (...).	Barbada, <i>ocozcatea</i> . [«muzzle-chain»]

The origin of Basque equivalents of this kind can be found in the academics' statements regarding the Latin equivalents of their dictionary: they admit that for many Spanish words there is no direct translation, and thus are forced to express with more than one Latin term what is in Spanish only one word (1726: vii). Larramendi, in the prologue to his dictionary, expresses himself in a similar way:

[I have added Latin equivalents] so as to convince those unlearned Basque speakers who mistakenly believe that for every individual Spanish word there must be a corresponding individual word in Basque. How quickly

and easily they would correct this belief if, on the other hand, they tried to find a single Spanish equivalent for many words in Basque, since they would soon see that there are a great many words which lack a single-word equivalent in Spanish. I have included Latin, then, so that they may realize that even in that language we can often only find equivalents for Spanish words by means or periphrasis or with an equivalent involving two or more words, showing us then that this should not surprise us in the case of Basque (1745: xlv)

5.2.4. *Organization of the dictionary: Pouvreau and lexical creation*

Although the organization of a dictionary —its macrostructure— is frequently regarded as a mere incidental fact, the truth is that it can provide relevant information regarding the work of the lexicographer.

The only aspect of this that has previously been taken into account in Basque studies relates to the widespread opinion that Larramendi —and others like him— were led to invent new words precisely because they had chosen to work in the order Spanish-Basque (Ibar 1935: 121, Michelena 1960a: 98, Villasante 1979: 135, etc.). This assumes, by contrast, that the order Basque-Spanish (or French, etc.) is in itself a guarantor that the terms included will be authentic. Pouvreau's Dictionary, nevertheless, is a good example of the mistakeness of this opinion. In the following examples I will take the liberty of giving literal English translations; this will, I hope, serve to highlight the automatic way in which Pouvreau created his own neologisms:

<i>cimurra</i> , ride. «wrinkle»	<i>consolatcea</i> , consoler. «to console»
<i>cimurtea</i> , rider, fourir. «to wrinkle»	<i>consolacionea</i> , consolation. «consolation»
<i>cimurtasuna</i> «wrinkled-ness»	<i>consolamentua</i> «console-ment, consolation»
<i>cimurdura</i> «wrinkl-ing»	<i>consolaagarria</i> «consol-able, what consoles»
	<i>consolatçaillea</i> «consolat-or, consoler»
<i>circilla</i> , déchiré en ses habits. «ragged»	<i>curiosa</i> , curieux. «curious»
<i>circiltcea</i> «to (be a) ragged»	<i>curiostasuna</i> «curious-ness»
<i>circildura</i> «ragged-ing»	<i>curiosteia</i> «to (become a) curious»
<i>circiltasuna</i> «ragged-ness»	<i>curiosqui</i> «curious-ly»
<i>circilqui</i> «ragged-ly»	
<i>cofia</i> , coïeffe «cap»	<i>çurmindua</i> , moisi, vermoulou. «rusted»
<i>cofiatcea</i> «to cap»	<i>çurmindura</i> «rust-ing»
<i>cofiadura</i> «cap-ing»	<i>çurmintasuna</i> «rusti-ness»
	<i>çurmintcea</i> «to rust»
<i>colera</i> , colere «anger»	
<i>coleratcea</i> «to anger»	
<i>coleratsua</i> «anger-ous»	
<i>coleramendua</i> «anger-ment»	

In actual fact, it had already been supposed that Pouvreau had also invented a few words of his own (Michelena 1961a: 370). What is important,

however, is not that there are a number of new words in spite of the fact that this is a Basque-French dictionary but that there are a number of new words precisely *because* this is a Basque-French dictionary. Pouvreau's dictionary is organized semi-alphabetically along etymological lines (families of words), a type of organization which is familiar to all of us, even in Basque dictionaries (van Eys, Maurice Harriet, Lhande, etc.).

For a lexicographer who knows the word formation rules of his language it is very easy to fill in the lacunas of a dictionary which is organised in this way. Assume, for example, that he has only found in his sources (oral or written) the adjective *alfer* «idle»; with only an elementary knowledge of Basque and without too much effort, he will be able to produce the abstract noun *alfertasun* «idleness» or *alferkeria* «laziness» (with a despictive sense) and the verb *alfertu* «to become idle».

This is something which—as is well-known (cf. Lakarra 1995: 24 and ff.)—lexicographers have utilized and still utilize in languages generally. And it is one of the reasons why, as Michelena was at pains to point out, dictionaries are very doubtful sources for a historian, precisely because they present, without too much ado, both what is and what could be.

In any case, if there has been a given period in which the importance of derivation was evident, it was precisely during the centuries which concern us here. The morphological study of vulgar languages was just in its beginnings and many lexicographers were dazzled by the derivational possibilities that they discovered. They were experiencing in their own flesh, as the saying has it, the creative power of language. We should not forget that it was not at all evident then that all languages were rule-governed; some most certainly were (Hebrew, Greek, Latin) but the vast majority still had to prove that they were and many of those with an interest in language took this labour upon themselves and set out to prove, each one for his own language, that the language he spoke had all the attributes that were needed to be a language of culture.

Once we realize this, there are two lessons we can learn, and which open new inroads for research, not only about Pouvreau, but also about the majority of past lexicographers: 1. we should expect to find new words, as we do today in our modern dictionaries; 2. if we can discover the nature of these (often with the help of the adjoining grammars), we will have a much greater grasp of what lexicographers such as Pouvreau, or Larramendi, knew or thought they knew about Basque morphology.

5.2.5. *The direction of equivalence: Harriet's Vocabularies (1741)*

The order in which the languages appear in a bilingual dictionary can condition—and, in fact, do condition, as we have seen—the content. In cases such as Harriet's Grammar, in which we are presented with two bilingual vocabularies, Basque-French and French-Basque, the analysis and compa-

ri-son of the content of each produce really interesting data regarding the lexicographers mode of work.

Harriet's two vocabularies are very unequal in size —the first contains fifty-six pages (1741: 268-323) and the second one hundred and fifteen (*ib.* 324-440)— which, at bottom, is nothing but a reflex of the very different way in which each has been produced (cf. Lakarra 1994a, from which I have taken the data and a number of his conclusions).

In a short section entitled «Counsel and advice to Basque speakers», Harriet (1741: 506-507) points out that he has written another book —today unknown— in two parts, the second of which aims to «eliminate the words which Basque speakers have taken from other languages», i.e. loan-words.

This latter task, he has in fact already achieved in part in the interval that lies between his Basque-French and French-Basque vocabularies:

BASQUE-FRENCH	FRENCH-BASQUE
abondancia, frangancia, <i>abondance</i>	<i>abondance</i> , frangancia
abandonatcea, largatcea, <i>abandonner</i>	<i>abandonner</i> , largatcea
acceptatcea, on harcea, <i>accepter</i>	<i>accepter</i> , topatcea, onharcea
accordatcea, bakhcetcea, <i>accorder</i>	<i>accorder</i> , bakhcetcea

Concurring with this work of «purification» of loan-words, we can also observe how new equivalents appear in the French-Basque vocabulary which were not present in the Basque-French version:

BASQUE-FRENCH	FRENCH-BASQUE
Airatcea, <i>voler</i>	<i>Voler</i> , <i>avec ailes</i> , hegaldatcea, airatcea
Akhusatcea, <i>accuser</i>	<i>Accuser</i> , acusatcea, gaineguitea
Akhabatcea, <i>achever</i>	<i>Achever</i> , neitcea, akhabatcea; <i>finir</i> , akhitcea

This second characteristic is linked, among other things, with the use of derivational suffixes, proportionately much more frequent in the French-Basque vocabulary: for example, the suffix *-tasun* appears in only 18 different words in one as compared with 116 in the other; something similar can be said for *-ari* (10/39), *-dura* (4/55) or *-garri* (5/20).

It seems obvious, then, that in the compilation of the Basque-French vocabulary he was content to limit himself to observations of actual usage whereas in the French-Basque alternative the lexicographer played a much more active role, selecting terms and proposing new equivalents when he considered it appropriate.

5.2.6. *The lexical entry: Larramendi and his etymologies*

Taking into account all the information contained in the lexical entry can often be a determining factor when it comes to evaluating some of its parts. Initially, it is simply a case of deciding whether we are dealing with a dictionary which limits itself purely to translation or whether it also offers us other kinds of information (grammatical, etymological, encyclopaedic, etc.)

A good example of the utility of this approach can be derived from the analysis of Larramendi's Dictionary. Michelena (1984: 14) related certain etymologies to the acceptance of the corresponding loan-words from Spanish. A closer examination shows that the acceptance of loan-words is not the only predictable result in such cases but that it can also lead to a shift in meaning in native words (see below *optativo* and *socarra*) or to the creation of neologisms based on the component parts of the etymological proposal (see *orondadura* and *soberano*):

EQUIVALENTS	ETYMOLOGICAL EXPLANATION
Optativo, <i>opagarria</i> .	Esta voz, que es Latina, y el <i>opto, as</i> , viene de el Bascuence <i>opá</i> , deseo, y <i>opatu</i> , desear.
Orondadura, <i>urondadura</i> .	Orondo, pomposo, amigo de ser visto, es de el Bascuence <i>urondo, urondoa</i> , que significa la orilla de el mar ò río, que es sobresaliente.
Soberano, <i>soberanoa, soberandicoa</i> .	Soberanía, poderío sobre todos, es voz Bascongada <i>soberania, soberandia</i> , y significa el exceso grande, de <i>soberá</i> , exceso, y <i>andia</i> , grande.
Socarrado, <i>sucartua</i> .	Socarra, la acción de socarrar, es de el Bascuence <i>sucarra</i> , que significa llama de el fuego, de <i>carrá, garra</i> , llama, y <i>su, sua</i> , fuego, y por Analogía a la calentura llaman también en un dialecto <i>sucarrá</i> .
Socarrina, <i>chamusquina, sucarquña</i> .	
Socarronamente, <i>sucarquiuro</i> .	Socarrar, passar alguna cosa por el fuego, es de el Bascuence <i>sucartu</i> , que significa lo mismo, y véase <i>socarra</i> .
Socarronería, <i>socarrería</i> .	

5.3. PERSPECTIVES

The history of lexicography is being composed by following out the lines of research that we have here outlined: in the past fifty years a great deal has been learned regarding the history of dictionaries and the evolution of lexicographic techniques; it is becoming all the time clearer that by analysing the origins of dictionaries, how they have been organized and how they have changed we will arrive at a far greater understanding of our own dictionaries today. On the other hand, our knowledge of the lexicographic history of individual languages is all the time growing, as is our understanding of how advances

produced in a given language have influenced languages in geographic proximity or cultural dependence.

The analysis of Basque dictionaries as endogenous and isolated creations, as the casual fruits of genius of a given author —whether in recompilation or creativity— as recipients, ready-made for the reception of words, and limiting our sights to what appears in Basque as if what appears in Spanish, French or Latin were merely anecdotic, all of this can only perpetuate our endemic ignorance of the history of Basque Lexicography, and lead to a multitude of misinterpretations regarding the origin, meaning and even the very form of those Basque words which are assumed to be the object of study.

A metalexigraphic analysis, on the other hand, which aims at the reconstruction of the cultural context, the linguistic ideas, the ambitions, models and sources of each lexicographer, and at a characterization of the type of macrostructure (general organization) and of the form and function of the elements of the microstructure (the content of the lexical entries) will not only make an obvious contribution to the history of lexicography, a history which is based also on the changing fortunes of minority languages, but will also lead, no doubt, to a greater understanding of the expansion and evolution of linguistic ideas both within and about the Basque language and about language generally. We should not forget either that it will make these texts fitter instruments for use in philology, linguistics and lexicography, even when the text in question shows a range of difficulties such as can be found in Larramendi's Dictionary.

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Basque Linguistics and Literature

On phonetics and phonology: notes towards a reading of Michelena

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1. The aim of this paper is to make a modest contribution to the remembrance and commemoration of our master Luis Michelena. It may seem excessive to talk about remembering somebody who left us not so long ago, the immensity of whose labours we have not yet assimilated.

But in spite of the fact that it is only ten years since he died, Michelena is already becoming part of the remote past for our students. We, who knew him personally and had the privilege of attending his classes, are still here. Those who, because of their youth or other circumstances, did not know him only have his work, his written word. I believe that it is our task, the task of our generation, to build a bridge, not so as to boast of our acquaintance with him but so as to help with our living memory to keep his words alive.

On the occasion of this first congress of the *Cátedra Koldo Mitxelena*, on speaking of these first ten years without him, I prefer to focus on *his* absence rather than on *our* presence. After all, ten years is not a sufficient length of time for grand deliberations, nor are there so many of us working yet in this field as to make it necessary to call a roll (it must be admitted, nevertheless, that the situation is happily improved). Besides, on looking backward, we see how some publications that would merit discussion already fall outside the ten year limit which motivate and mark the boundary of this homage¹.

In any case, I could not have done any more here than give a brief account of what has been published in phonetics and phonology during these years. It seems somewhat premature to form a sort of internal seminar of those of us who are now engaged in the business of Basque phonetics and phonology². Without

¹ I am thinking, for example, of *Euskal Fonología* by Álvarez Emparantza, which was published in 1980 and was, for us, the first publication based on the standard generative theory of 1968.

² The reference to an internal seminar is explained by the presence at the Congress of José Ignacio Hualde, Pilartxo Etxeberria and (among those who attended) José Luis Álvarez Emparantza.

any doubt, then, a prior and much more enriching project, it seems to me, is to open a forum of debate on Michelena. This not only does not exclude discussion of our own work, but could also structure that discussion. The question is whether we are up to the task of doing it well.

It is hard to deny the appropriateness of this option if, as in my own case, one is mostly interested in theoretical discussion. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that after Michelena there have been few new ideas. For this reason I believe that the remembrance and discussion of Michelena from our different points of view would be one of the best ways to collaborate with one another.

In my opinion we would lose a great deal now and it would be of little use to future generations if Michelena were to be reduced to a long list of bibliography, a few memorable quotations, certain obligatory readings, his name on the library of this Faculty, or on that of a Cultural Centre, or on a few streets in our towns and cities. Of course, in so far as his people are concerned, the young resistance fighter of the Civil War deserves no less, the long-suffering prisoner in Fascist jails, the political activist, one of the principal architects of the public university of the Basque Country and the father of standard Basque who abandoned his well-deserved chair in the University of Salamanca so as to help this community to progress. He deserves no less, but we would be ungrateful, irresponsible and slipshod if we did no more.

There is a great deal to be kept alive, even within strictly academic limits: so many things, so many spaces, all that Michelena filled in the different spaces of thought, in our formation, in what we are and have. The study of his work alone would, I believe, be more than enough for many congresses, for more than ten years of congresses. To recognise this is only to affirm what cannot be denied, to bring it out into the open is no more than an act of minimal integrity.

What is essential is not so much to remember his name as to remember the person and his work. In our case, in so far as phonology is concerned, the study, discussion and diffusion of Michelena's ideas, to work on and from Michelena, would be much more beneficial than the narcissistic self-complacency of individual and personal discoveries which are so much in vogue in Basque studies. It is true of course that there is still a great deal to be done, a lot of virgin territory to investigate, but we do not start from scratch. To acknowledge our good fortune in having had Michelena to go before us can only enhance the quality of our work. The best way to make our work a continuation of his (and what better anchor could we hope for) is for those of us who work on Basque phonetics and phonology to collaborate in the recompilation of his ideas and in the discussion of his teaching. Michelena, without any doubt, deserves such a remembrance and we ourselves can only benefit from it.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say, without entering into further detail and to use an easy standard of measurement, that the bibliography that he managed alone, the languages in which he normally read and the different

fields of knowledge to which he referred, placed him way above our present standards. He escaped from what he himself rightfully complained about when he said:

- (1) In spite of what one might expect, the disadvantages of the confusion of Babel are also evident among linguists, since at times they seem to be incapable of inter-communication and understanding (...)

LH [1964], 260

I refer to our present standards, since it is of no interest to speak of the past, that is, to place Michelena relative to his own past. It is of course comforting for us to celebrate the superiority of Michelena relative to the past, even with respect to his own context: as if, by osmosis, in Michelena all of us had superseded the past. It is, I believe, preferable and it will be more beneficial for studies on the Basque language to regard him as a kind of goad. He set a very high standard. We have the good fortune and the responsibility to follow in his footsteps.

I dedicate this work then to the remembrance of the master who left us, to my professional and other colleagues, to the future that I would like to see for our students.

2. I sincerely thank the organizers of this Congress for the opportunity they have given me for putting into practice an idea which has been on my mind for quite some time. While I was reading an article by Michelena to prepare a paper on certain phonological phenomena in Basque, it occurred to me that it would be very interesting to study Michelena the linguist, on the basis of his writings and our own remembrances.

I have tried, within the limitations of the time at my disposal and my own capacities, to take a brief look at some of his writings and focus on certain lines in which I believe we can find clues to form a schematic outline of Michelena the phonetician-phonologist. I am conscious of the danger of taking things out of context and it is no part of my intention to provide some kind of shortcut through his writings but rather to encourage people to read them. For this first draft I have begun to use those passages which, I am sure, many of us have marked with expressions such as «how well expressed» or «that's exactly it» or even «there is more here, I must return».

Since the number of articles reviewed is not large and since from each one I have taken a number of quotations, I have taken the liberty to cite them as I do, taking advantage of the fact that they are accessible and assuming also a certain acquaintance with the anthological works (see the references cited). It is true that as well as the year when they were first published, which has seemed to me to be important in measuring the value of these texts, it would have been interesting to record the place in which they first came to light. However, I have not bothered to do so, taking advantage of the fact that

it is easy find this information in the latest anthologies, and since the resulting reference would then have seemed exceedingly long.

A project that I would like to propose from here is to build up this collection, and to collaborate with one another in finding, wherever possible, exact references for those cases in which we have to depend on our ever more fragmented memories. It would of course be interesting to complete the collection with his class notes and those of his unpublished lectures. In the hope that it may encourage other possible contributions, I would like to confess that I fully enjoyed collecting this first draft, a pleasure that I will try to transmit to those who may take the bother to read this paper and for which I express my gratitude once more to the organizers of this Congress, which is what finally motivated me to get down to work³.

I realize that there will be little new in what I have to say, but I start from the firm conviction that certain things are worth repeating, not only for the sake of new generations but also for our own sake, so that we may benefit from them to the full. We are fortunate enough to have many of Michelena's writings and these are so numerous and so loaded with content that it is not enough to read them only once. It is very easy to overlook too much. Anybody who has had any experience reading Michelena knows that with every rereading we find something new, something more. Besides, the sheer volume of his writings is also important.

In short, Michelena remains beyond us. He knew a great deal and he had the ability to express it in all its complexity, difficult and all as his deep knowledge of things makes it to grasp. Michelena went beyond what his years of life gave him time to say and write. To read his work is an arduous task. But we cannot permit our own laziness and pride to join forces with the cruelty of time and commit him to oblivion. There are too many things that occur too quickly. As educators it is our responsibility to fight against facile forgetfulness.

Thanks to the editorial work of Professors Pascual, Gorrochategui and Larkarra, access to Michelena's published work has been enormously facilitated. In spite of this, however, and because of their density and richness, it is an arduous task to read through all his writings, even when we select those having to do with a specific area. His words are both very well expressed and very well chosen (probably due to that same zeal with which one saw him search for them in verbal communication), so elaborated that we have to work on them, yet they also bring us recompense; they allow us to approach his thought and learn from him.

One has to admit that his thought was intricate, as has been pointed out above in our comments on the complexity and depth of his vision, a con-

³ I wish we could make up for our unpardonable academic passivity, as a Department, when he retired and how little we celebrated his work while he was still alive.

sequence of which was that he did not spare himself. Michelena was always coherent with a programme of action, expressed imposingly in a passage which I cannot but quote in full, although what principally interests me here is what he says about words and foundations:

- (2) I cannot resist the temptation to make a brief digression about the distinction which it is fashionable to make today between a type of criticism which in a laudatory tone is called constructive and another, left unnamed, which I suppose is destructive. However, if we use words to uncover and not to cover up our thought, it must be made crystal clear that criticism which deserves the name, criticism as such, is by its very nature, I regret to say, radically destructive. To pretend otherwise is to wish to guarantee one's own immunity. Leave that aside, however, and the clarification is indispensable, it is not destructive for the sake of destruction, but rather springs from the belief that nothing stable can be built on uncertain, wavering or worm-eaten foundations, and because it realizes also that this revision of the foundation is never-ending and must continue till the end of time.

SHLV [1966], 377

Let this then be my small contribution against forgetfulness. A call, if I may be permitted to say so, to rescue Michelena for the XXI century. I am relatively little worried about the data he used; today probably no one can get by without them. Neither am I worried about the specific analysis he proposed for this or that phenomenon. I refer above all to his way of doing things⁴. We cannot permit that he should suffer the same fate as Badouin de Courtenay at the turn of the century with the irruption of structuralism. We cannot be blinded by our enthusiasm for machines and the constantly changing forms and formalisms of the latest linguistic fashions.

In this sense too I think that we must fight against the fragmentation of his work. I refer in particular to the disloyalty to our master implicit in something which haste and our own limitations may very well lead us to: using his work as a source of information in those works which are most directly related to our own field or our passing interests. To mention just one large division, it is not only in those works of his in which Basque is explicitly mentioned in the title that one learns about that language, and it is of course highly profitable to have read his other works if we want to learn how we ought to work on our own language.

We need to be especially careful also if we wish to avoid in our readings too sharp a division between the diachronic and the synchronic. I emphasize this because it seems that we are especially prone to this distinction in the

⁴ It is for this reason that I have not begun with articles where I could have found more pure phonological analysis applied to a wider range of data («Las antiguas consonantes vascas», [Old Basque consonants] for example).

field of phonology (see, for example, the programme for this Congress). As we will see, he insisted (even while admitting that it probably was not necessary, and yet with boring frequency) that the distinction between the diachronic and the synchronic belonged to linguistics and not to language. I believe that he himself gave an indisputable example of this truth. Although the focus of his work was very largely diachronic, he shows that the historic understanding of language must be based on a correct synchronic analysis. It is for this reason that those who are involved in synchronic analysis have a great deal to learn from the (diachronic) work of Michelena. In any case, a great deal more than is normally admitted.

Given the density of his writings and the richness of his thought, it is virtually unforeseeable where we will find some special jewel, some key to understanding. The discomfort that this may provoke is only a reflection of our own insignificance as compared with him. Sharing the results of our research is, in my opinion, a good way to try at least to get closer to his thought, even if it cannot raise us to the same level.

3. Whenever I find the diachronic-synchronic binomial I always remember his peal of laughter in the corridor, when I told him about the solution given by a linguist, whose name is irrelevant, to a certain problem in Basque phonology related to palatalisation⁵. The solution consisted in assigning to diachronics any problem which could not be fitted into the regularities of the synchronic rules which were proposed. It was the laughter, full of humour, of one who, time and again, was to write passages such as the following:

- (3) As Cosserius says, the antinomy *synchronic/diachronic* belongs to the level of research, not to that of language; it is methodological and, as such, is proper to linguistics and not to its object of study.

LH [1967], 9

Or as he said in Basque in what is perhaps a more literary style⁶:

- (4) The synchronic and the diachronic, as was pointed out by Coseriu a long time ago, are not language-level distinctions but rather belong to the level of method (i.e. they are not distinction relative to language but relative to method). The past lives in the present of the language itself and the chiaroscuro of the present are already prefigured in the past.

SHLV [1978], 341

⁵ This was the topic of my doctoral dissertation, which was directed by L. Michelena.

⁶ It would probably be an interesting exercise to compare his writings in Spanish and in Basque.

He points out exceptions, of course, the first being Jakobson, the second Martinet, in the case of those structuralists who built a bridge between one and the other extreme, as can be seen in the typescript of a series of lectures dating from 1970⁷. He does wonder, however, whether Saussure himself would have agreed with the extremes to which some have carried his binomial⁸.

Michelena does not get lost as he teaches us how to interlink the diachronic with the synchronic, the philological with the phonological, and he outlines for us a complete plan of work. To distinguish between different levels is not, to use an image that he himself used in the above-mentioned lectures, to knock down the bridges between one and the other but rather to learn from both so as grasp more fully the linguistic reality. It is a question of using methodology in order to capture ontological truth, of using linguistics in order to understand language. Let us look at his essentially diachronic view of phonetics:

- (5) (...) a ground so obviously insecure as the initiation, progress and definitive victory of phonetic tendencies, and which are not produced *in actu oculi*, as we know only too well.

LH [1964], 259

To focus on the fact of sound from a diachronic viewpoint, something for which one can only be grateful, given its frequent absence in works of a specialized nature, is not however enough. Obviously things can not be done by halves. In Michelena we find an unequivocally synchronic treatment of many topics which have traditionally been confined to diachronics. Complementing with one another the two perspectives from which any linguistic phenomenon can be studied is undoubtedly necessary, but it cannot be done just any old way. The conceptualisation of the overlap between the diachronic and the synchronic lies behind this other text with its delightful synthesis and impenetrable density in which the diachronic fits onto the synchronic levels (and vice versa) from which loanwords are compared, texts studied, etc.:

- (6) (...) The phonetic correspondences or equivalences that the study of loan words permits us to establish between two languages can only be properly interpreted within the total framework of the systems in contact and their evolution through time: the analysis must needs be detailed and critical if one wishes to avoid erroneous interferences, given the special care that is demanded of us in the interpretation of written symbols, an unfaithful, because incomplete, reflection of the spoken word.

LH [1965], 282

⁷ Transcribed and edited by J.A. LETAMENDIA: K. MITXELENA, 1972, *Zenbait Hitzaldi*, Ediciones Mensajero: Etor, 58.

⁸ See LH [1972a], 165.

Michelena shows, as few others do, that in his case it is true that a good diachronic scholar knows a great deal about synchronics. The opposite, unfortunately, in this age in which synchronic scholars abound, is much less frequent.

4. Another remembrance which is very strongly imprinted on my memory is that of a humility which was in no way sham or bogus. Humility is perhaps not the best word in this context, given certain connotations with spinelessness which I would like to avoid. It would be better perhaps to speak of a simple lucidity, a deep consciousness of the limits of our understanding. In any case, I can find no better words to portray the great linguist and teacher, questioning an inexperienced postgraduate student such as I then was.

Michelena seemed to me the epitome of the desire to know and I was struck not only by how much he asked but also by what he asked. He used to enquire not only about what I was doing but also about how I came to know things, how I came to think things, how I resolved things (below we will discuss his interest in the history of ideas): How do you know? Where did you get it from?

As my thesis director he asked me not only for things and explanations but even for material: especially for bibliographic material which he had not come across (very little, really). This happened, to give an example of his unlimited interest, with a book about acoustic phonetics which I quoted in the draft of my thesis (*The Physics of Speech* by D.B. Fry), something which leads me to speak of his relation to phonetics.

Surprisingly —given the standards of acceptability which were and still are commonly touted hereabouts— he confessed to being a novice in phonetics. As against this, however, note in his writings the impeccably formulated preoccupation with the acoustic and articulatory aspect of phonology. Something which many are still unaware of is, in Michelena, a constant concern, dating from of old. So, for example, I would like to draw attention to the parenthesis which he makes when speaking of the monophthongisation of Brittonic vowels in long vowels so as to link it to aspects of articulation:

- (7) At the same time (remember the frequent asymmetry of vowel systems, a corollary of the asymmetry of the organs of articulation), the ancient \bar{u} left its position free and became a long \bar{i} .

LH [1964], 264

A few short lines written in this indirect, difficult but never gratuitous way are sufficient to make us realize that he knew more than most about phonetics, about the relationship between phonetics and phonology, about perception, etc. We see, besides, that he had a sufficiently deep knowledge of

what he was talking about to be able to condense it in the masterful fashion that can be seen in texts such as the following:

- (8) For us, sounds in general and in particular the sounds produced by the human voice are clearly divided into two practically disjoint sets: those which are articulated (those which, however they are produced, are assumed to carry meaning, at least potentially) and those which are non-articulated, which may be a sign or a symptom, but which, no matter how expressive they may be, can in no way be confused with the first.

LH [1972a], 171-172

Few handbooks by supposed specialists capture so exactly and so precisely the object of study of phonetics. Neither is it common to find such clear-cut and entertaining reviews of the relationship between phonetics and phonology as that which we find a little further on in this same article:

- (9) (...) the well-known phenomenon of phonological deafness which we have all to a greater or lesser extent undergone in our own experience. Differences which for a person with bad hearing are clearly discernible and susceptible of reproduction (because the auditory and the motor are here without any doubt inextricably united) cannot, however, be heard by people with perfect hearing and specially trained (...) we are all of us, even phoneticians, deaf to distinctions which for others, in no way more gifted than we are, are obvious and banal. Here lies the central problem of all transcription, a problem which is not insisted on half as much as it should be: one is forced to take sides between what the person transcribing claims to have heard and what speakers believe that they have pronounced.

LH [1972a], 172

For anyone who has ever had to give introductory classes in phonetics and phonology, these lines and those which I have omitted constitute an unsurpassable text for the understanding of the fundamental principles of these subjects and the relation that lies between them. I would even go so far as to say that they are in fact just as advisable as those texts from Sapir which Michelena himself used to recommend with such enthusiasm (in this same article he describes him as «the ever convincing Sapir, an almost unique combination of rigorous penetration, varied experience and brilliance of expression of the highest order», LH [1972a], 172). Now that he himself is not here to stop me, I take the courage to affirm that the same could be said of Michelena himself.

The lines which are almost adjacent to those just quoted above deserve to be read with special attention, because in them we find meticulously and clearly synthesised human phonological functioning, the essence of perception, the

delimitation between phonetics and phonology. After discussing the perceptive field of colour, he goes on to talk about sound and says:

- (10) On the contrary, the form which language imposes on articulated sound—in so far as expression but not semantics is concerned—is a constricted straitjacket which we can only rid ourselves of at the cost of painful and continuous effort and hardly ever in a way which is complete.

LH [1972a], 172

I will resist the temptation to dedicate the rest of this talk to a commentary on this text but so as to advance a little along the lines proposed in my initial declaration of intent (§2), I will not forgo the opportunity of pointing out, while we are on this topic, something to which I will return below. For someone who was so perfectly aware, as these passages indicate, of the substantial nature of the element of sound in language, theoretical trappings were secondary. They truly constituted an instrument of analysis and were never absolute entities. For Michelena, the theoretical framework, systems and models of analysis are images, metaphors he used to express what he knew so well; he never identifies analysis with theory or model with thought. Suffice it here, by way of example, to mention his healthy scepticism as regards the entity *phoneme*, which we already saw in his questioning of the phonological status of the sixth Suletine vowel. (vid. e.g. FHV). From this we can understand his independence as regards schools and creeds at every moment and his irritation, at times extreme, with those who were unable to go beyond the model of their surroundings.

It is obvious that he showed greater antipathy and distance for some proposals. I quote the following, which seems to me an adequate illustration of this. It is the precise expression of a person whose fidelity to facts is beyond question:

- (11) Personally I do not share the bias of the post-Bloomfieldians in favour of the corpus, even though it may at times be a strict necessity. One takes as basis, in the first place, what one knows by direct experience, if one is dealing with a familiar language, then, what one finds in extracts. The north Americans took as basis, even if it was not strictly true, that only *native* informants knew the data: how they obtained and later manipulated these is another story which has yet to be written, but which to a great extent can be guessed at⁹.

5. Although his works on accentuation would constitute a separate chapter within this still precarious project, I cannot let this opportunity pass of calling attention to the article «A note on Old Labourdin accentuation» published by

⁹ Personal correspondence.

the *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»* in 1972 and reedited in the anthology *Palabras y Textos*. When dealing with the topic of accent, for which he demanded attention, (and I would say that this situation has notably improved since then), we find constant reference to his own limitations and a very honest reference to his own ear, so as to give only a relative value to what he says. This must not be taken as a personal confession of Michelena's, but as a basic lesson for anyone who is interested in these questions. It is no harm to remember this now that we are tempted by fancies and discuss quite a lot the prosody of the Basque language.

I draw attention to this article because it seems to me an example of exquisite argumentation, and an expositive style which we are losing. Charged with subtle criticism (centred in Jakobsen), it constitutes a compendium of factors which must be taken into account when dealing with prosody. These are topics which it would greatly benefit us to discuss: questions of perception, the differences between native and foreign aural perception, the frequency of use of prosodic patterns, the extreme care so as not to confuse phonological organising principles (*stress*) with matters which are purely phonetic (e.g. *intonation*), etc. In work carried out at present there is a frequent tendency to ignore these questions, thanks to the rush to come to conclusions and also to the exact acoustics of data, which nowadays, fortunately but dangerously, is so easily stored and quantified with instrumental means.

We must not let ourselves be deceived by his modesty. To comment fully on this article would, I believe, take us a very long way before becoming involved in questions of analysis and data. My only excuse lies in what I have already said: my suspicion that prosody is a field which merits a place apart in the elaboration of a fully-fledged commentary on the writings of Michelena. I will not insist, therefore, on citing individual passages and will leave the rest of this article in the hope that it will be given a more detailed analysis in the future.

6. His deep *metatheoretical* knowledge of phonological theory must also be emphasised, if I may be permitted to use a term which would perhaps not have pleased him. *Epistemological* might be more correct. He has no equal, I believe, either before or after, at least in the field of Basque phonetics and phonology. I suspect that the same is true of other fields but I limit myself to the field with which I am most familiar.

There have been important theoretical questions in the history of phonological ideas, causing deep discussion and division, though they have passed unperceived by the majority of linguists (not only here among ourselves) who have limited themselves to the application of one given method in their analysis. This was not the case with Michelena. One need only be familiar with certain basic concepts of the history of phonology and linguistics to appreciate the far from innocent use, on his part, of terms and expressions such as *phoneme*, *distinctive*, *immanent linguistics*, or to quote one of my fa-

vourites, *linguistics pure and simple*, etc. These form part of a list of terms and expressions which would need to be compiled and commented on.

A careful reading of Michelena permits us to observe that neither the abandoning of the category *phoneme* on the part of generativists, nor the mix-up that on many occasions was, and still is, provoked by the term *morpho-phonology*, were foreign to him. Not only this but they served him to outline his own conclusions, and sharpen his analysis of facts. Consider the following:

- (12) (...) the impulse of the phonemes, especially when they have just been born or are still in the flower of their youth (...).
 [This is annotated by the following footnote:]
 This would correspond, I believe, to generativists' restructuring, through change in the underlying representation.

LH [1972b], 246

Outlining, portraying and explaining, as few have been capable of doing, the substantial relation between different perspectives and fields of study such as philology and phonology, after discussing -gg- as a notation for affricates, he adds, also in a footnote:

- (13) From this it follows that *escripto* is not necessarily an archaic grapheme, but a morpho-phonological notation (...)

LH [1972b], 247

Michelena opened up for us a way which, even if it does not reach the heights of his magnificent FHV, still has a great deal to offer in studies on Basque phonology: the interdiscipline between philology and phonology. To this, we should pay special attention. I suspect that reflections such as that which he develops on phonological crosses, from which the last quotation was extracted, have not been sufficiently exploited among us¹⁰. This idea and others that come from historical studies, combined with his defence of the historical as a guarantee of the underlying representation¹¹ constitute a suggestive road to be followed in the analysis of Basque.

The axis of his work, clearly verbalised, expresses transparently his conception of the basic relation between the phonetic and the phonological:

¹⁰ I remember, at this point, among the cases which would have benefited from the knowledge that comes from a diachronic philological approach, the perplexity of J.L. ÁLVAREZ EMPARANTZA (*Euskal Fonología*, Ediciones Vascas, 1980) at the contradictory distribution of [h], resolved exclusively by the use of the extreme abstraction permitted by the 68 generative model or the paradoxes solved by means of a more subtle economy in the analysis of J.I. HUALDE (e.g. 1993, «Phonologically unmotivated changes in language contact: Spanish borrowings in Basque», *Folia Linguistica* XXVII, 1-25).

¹¹ See below n.º 29.

- (14) if the phonological skeleton of reconstruction must be dressed in phonetic flesh, if we want to determine even approximately the numerical value of the algebraic parameters, we must take as basis two orders of data: historic pronunciation and indirect inferences of philological and comparative character.

LH [1965], 293

Few people anywhere can have appreciated as much as he did the complexity of language, and in so far as it concerns me now, the complexity of the sound factor in language. This complexity is so deep and has so many levels that we can find phenomena divergent enough to appear contradictory or paradoxical from the point of view of a superficial, linear, or reductive vision of language.

He not only appreciated but also taught us this complexity, exemplifying it and demonstrating it, always taking as basis facts and authors. Few people can have had such a wide command of so many areas, so many different levels and with such a globalising capacity, a capacity which, in the heel of the hunt, is no more than the capacity to understand. It falls to us now to understand him, both in his different parts and as a whole (his analyses, his data, his framework), if his work is to survive.

It is not an easy task to extract, combine and construct, if I may put it that way, his model of analysis. The ideas are disseminated throughout different works and diverse topics but, while this makes the task more arduous, it also contributes to a more complete comprehension of a mode of thought which was very developed.

7. His humour, often corrosive, but always intelligent and never gratuitous, is something which we should never forget. Not only for its refreshing quality but because it always enlightens us. There is always something to be learned, as when in the middle of a dense, technically impeccable dissertation on the relation between phonetics and phonology, which I have already referred to, he sends us the following jocose message:

- (15) language organizes or informs the amorphous continuum of the substance of content (alias, *la pensée*).

LH [1972a], 172

He had a generous sense of humour, sensitive and grateful to others and he missed nothing. When I mentioned to him that the formal device known as *free ride* consisted of using for non-alternating forms a rule which was seen to be necessary for alternating forms, he showed such interest that I felt flattered. We spoke of Arnold Zwicky who had invented the term. In actual fact it was he who spoke and I who listened, open-eyed, realizing as he spoke that he knew so much more than I did about linguistics in the U.S. (both official and

non-official), even though I had been studying there for almost two years. As the years pass I realize more and more how much in fact he really knew.

He claimed to be a comparative linguist yet did not object to being regarded as a structuralist, he was interested in and analysed generative linguistics: he was always up to date, yet at the same time he was more than all of this. He went beyond comparativism and structuralism and generativism. He went beyond them in being distanced from them and in his knowledge that the facts of language, though accessible to theoretical reduction, always somehow lie beyond even the finest theories or any proposal for analysis.

Speaking of translation, in a direct attack, not exempt of corrosive humour, on the most dogmatic structuralism, he had the following to say:

- (16) it is always possible to have recourse to ad hoc solutions and ingenuity so as to fit the facts, whether well or ill, into the strict framework of our theses, the unmovable pillars of a new orthodoxy.

LH [1972a], 165

Nobody will deny him the title of late neo-grammarian that he claimed for himself in his introduction to FHV («a species of late-born neo-grammarian», *op. cit.* 460). The vast labour involved in the reconstruction of Basque is ample proof of his command of the methods and work that had been carried out in the field of Indo-European. Its impact on progress in the study and knowledge (not only) of the phonology of Basque, its vital role even in the standardisation of the language, is something for which words are insufficient gratitude.

The weight of the structural paradigm is also clear in his phonological analysis, especially in certain phases. Always from a judicious distance and without renouncing what had gone before, but searching always for the relation which underlay even the most apparent differences, he made use of everything positive in ideas that were new. In his explanations we can see how different perspectives complement and do not exclude one another in what is valuable in each:

- (17) This variant, which was to become a phoneme, was not definitely proscribed from word-initial position, even if we adopt the strictest conception of the regularity of phonetic change.

LH [1972b], 248

We would do well to remember here passages such as that quoted above (n.º 12), in which a text which is largely structuralist is annotated with observations which are generative in origin.

For those of us who are here today, Michelena was not born too late. We have the great good fortune that in his analyses and reflections he has condensed for us a whole century, the nineteenth, the influence of which had

not been felt here, all the linguistic categorization and conceptualisation of the previous century, all that had been discussed by structuralism (structuralisms, we should probably say) and the basics of generativism. He takes his stand with the diachronic linguist who is acquainted with what has been studied in phonology since the previous century:

- (18) What he has lost in prestige, he has, on the other hand, gained in comfort. Detached from the epicentre of theoretical revolutions, he can, at no professional risk to himself, follow them from a distance, as an interested and even somewhat amused spectator, and with no desire to become involved in the front lines of attackers or defenders. Long experience has taught him that these revolutions have admittedly opened up for him some new roads (and have taught him that others, which he stubbornly insisted on following, were nothing but dead ends), and yet, to a great extent, their diachronic reflex has been to revive once more, from different points of view, the same old problems, problems that are eternal.

LH [1971], 56

Even those things which he did not live to see would not have surprised him (Goldsmith and Kiparsky, the progenitors of two of the most lasting novelties in the study of sound, he had already discerned). A good indication of this, though not the only one, is the article which we have just mentioned, (I underline the date: 1971), «Gramática generativa y lingüística histórica» (Generative grammar and historical linguistics) or the later, and perhaps even more interesting «Lingüística immanente y lingüística trascendente» (1984) (Immanent linguistics and transcendent linguistics). Every line of these articles deserves to be cited but would obviously go way beyond the limits of this paper.

8. In his classes, at meetings, we often heard him say how important it seemed to him that students of Philology¹² should be acquainted with the history of ideas, the history of science, how no idea could arise, as it were, out of a vacuum, how not every analysis contains a theory but may be rather «a state of mind».

- (19) The target I aim at, others will decide whether successfully or not, is a certain form of linguistic relativism, a point of view which seems to be very widespread, at least among us. What is involved is more a state of mind than a theory, a shared conviction which is so firmly rooted that it seems obvious. This is so much the case that even the slightest allusion suffices among initiates, the vaguest gesture, and makes superfluous any explicit formulation. The history of ideas is in itself a sufficiently arduous task,

¹² He was especially worried about the students of Basque Philology (perhaps not only because they were the students of his own Department).

but it is even more difficult or at least it requires very different methods to delineate the genealogy of ideologies which are more or less in vogue.

LH [1972a], 164

I would like to draw the reader's attention to another magnificent text which is part of a personal letter, dating from the time when I was working on my thesis (see also n.º 11 above), and which shows his magnificent style while at the same time reflecting his concern, with reference to phonology, that things should be called what they were:

- (20) Explanations, if we may call them such, abound. One is the *free ride* that we already spoke of (...). In this way we achieve unity, and come very close to a hypothetical *euskara batua* (standardised Basque), which does not correspond to anything in reality. On the other hand, this also contradicts what we know of the history of the language (...). The other, which seems to me to be more in accord with the facts, is to explain by means of palatal contextualisation only what can be explained in that way (...). Because an explanation which is based on *counterfactuals* really explains nothing: it is a parody of explanation.

In this we see his firm adherence to data, to the facts, an adherence which he had long since professed:

- (21) If we must choose between a simple explanation and an ingenious one which has recourse to some non-empirically verifiable entity, the former always seems to me to be preferable (...).

LH [1964], 256

9. Quite a lot (but not enough) has been said about Michelena's great literary quality. The reading of even a few lines of any of his writings corroborates this straight away. I would like to dwell on it, however, and contribute to the analysis of his writing, taking one of the elements which characterises and constitutes the quality of his texts. It has often been said that there is neither a vain nor superfluous word in what he writes: one of the consequences of this is that there are neither fissures nor concessions in the portrait that he presents us. Consider, for example, how well he condenses his position as regards acoustic phonetics, and how he teaches us, let us say, by placing us in situ:

- (22) The [physical] framework implies, a reduction of quality to quantity: what we intuitively perceive as qualitatively different is differentiated by an underlying factor (frequency, amplitude, wavelength, etc.) which moves from lesser to greater within certain thresholds (...). I admit that this physical basis is more a matter of belief (*fides ex auditu*) than of direct know-

ledge for many of us, humanists by profession (...), but in our present state of knowledge this does not prevent us from firmly accepting it.

LH [1972a], 167

In another passage, no less precise, he positions us before the reality of linguistic functioning and he warns us of possible dangers of a «physicist» nature:

- (23) To suggest that there could be no place for a long period of time, to use plain terms, for the three phonemes /s/, /ʃ/ and /f/ is a physicist prejudice, whether implicit or explicit. For many Spanish ears, for example, «there is no space» for seven vowels, a moderate number by any standards (...) there is never place, at the beginning, for distinctions which we are not accustomed to make or perceive. The human ear, if I may be forgiven the platitude, is a strange instrument which turns away a mosquito and yet lets by a camel. I cannot believe that there is an absolute and universal pattern which would allow us to infer, on the basis of the measurement of physical distance, the length of time that a given opposition will last. Besides, the empirical basis with which we usually operate in speculations of this nature is radically insufficient for general conclusions of any probability.

LH [1965], 294

There is, in his writing, a constant care, discipline and precision. The expression within hyphens in the following is a good demonstration:

- (24) There is, on the other hand, something very strange in the preservation—if it is indeed preservation—of the Latin -g- with occlusive-fricative pronunciation when it occurs before a front vowel in words such as *aingeru* «angel» of Christian origin, *magiña*, *bagi(n)a*, «scabbard or bean», *zigilu* «stamp», etc. For this reason, from Gavel onward at least, it has been thought that the Basques, for want of a better equivalent, continued to reproduce Latin *g^{e:i}*, even late in the Romanic phase of their evolution.

LH [1965], 291

The proliferation of qualifying statements and parentheses can be irritating on a first reading of his work. Nevertheless, it is these difficulties which, once we have understood them, help us to enjoy his work. It is precisely this enjoyment that those of us who are engaged in the teaching profession ought to be able to transmit to those who have chosen this as their field of learning.

There are times, however, when the language is lighter in tone, infected perhaps by its liberating content. It is the fruit of his common sense, of that knowledge of reality consolidated in the great erudition which characterised him in his work. It is this which allows him to leave aside authors and methods and transfer to the history of language his observations on the speakers and language of today. In this way he maintains his distance, even with what

was nearest to him, leaving him always a margin for manoeuvre which allows him to be constantly critical, at times in a very subtle manner, as when he comments on Niedermann in the following:

- (25) It could be said that the opinions which have been expressed regarding the monophthongisation of *æ* are in general much less categorical than that of Niedermann. In effect, it is one thing to accept that the tendency arose at a very early date, given that there are incontrovertible examples (...), and another (to claim) that it was consummated in such a way that all cases of *æ*, with the exception of *Caesar*, were distributed between the open urban monophthong and the closed rustic version.

LH [1972b], 258

The call to serious disciplined work is another constant in his writings and from that position he attacked both authors and schools, especially for ignorance (which was something he considered unpardonable). Referring to the study of phonological systems in contact, he said:

- (26) From this it follows that every study of this genre, even if it is restricted to the analysis of very specific details, must be carried out from a structural viewpoint, and with an eye to the whole, if it is to be of any value. This is not, on the other hand, in any way surprising, since the basic postulates of structuralism were, as is well known, implicitly taken into account long before the theory was explicitly formulated.

LH [1964], 254

His style is marked by constant criticism and self-criticism. His annoyance at others (which could be very great) looks pale when we compare it with the demands that he made on his own self. He was his own worst critic and worst supporter, and was aware, as nobody else could be, of his own limitations. The comments in which he wrapped his own conclusions betray the scepticism of their author:

- (27) This is a product of the methods of reconstruction, but, perhaps with excessive optimism, it is usually admitted that these products outline some of the features of systems which have disappeared, in this case those of Basque dialects of around two thousand years ago.

L/H [1965], 283, n. 3

10. More than the specific analysis of this or that phenomenon (though he studied them down to the last detail), what interested him most, I believe, was the why and the how (what is called, or used to be called when these things were discussed, *kind of evidence*). Again and again he launches out against the «tacit» (LH [1964], 267), against what is not made explicit, and what is assumed without demonstration or discussion, once again against

ignorance. Many of the passages quoted, and others which still need to be collected, could serve as examples.

In any case, what we have just said can clearly be garnered from his constant explication, his ubiquitous self-justification, just the opposite of what he himself said of Prince Bonaparte:

- (28) [The prince], due no doubt to his horror of general questions, judges but does not define or enter into the specificity of his judgements.

LH [1982], 220

It was general questions, precisely, that interested him, reasoning about things, the thought which underlies an analysis, a method, a conclusion, and he himself judges and comments on his own judgement, he acts as his own commentator, he defines himself and qualifies his own discourse, distancing himself with a gentle and wise scepticism.

I have already commented on his humility, the humility of one who is certain of his own uncertainty, of one who sees over a wide panorama. We see this in his writings, in the way he conceptualised things, in his analyses.

To give one more example, let us remember how Michelena, after analysing in the manner of a master, why the dissimilation of open vowels (e.g. *alaba+a* > *alabea*) is limited to the singular, explaining it as a consequence of the late suffixation or agglutination of the plural deictics¹³ (or whatever they may have been) goes on to say:

- (29) Other explanations are possible from a descriptive viewpoint: not only are they possible but without any doubt they are necessary.

PT [1981], 49

So far as I am aware at least, nobody has yet rebutted his argumen¹⁴.

I cannot resist the temptation to reproduce here what he says with apparent innocence in what immediately follows. This is an example of superb prose, a vehicle of the finest irony and subtle, suggestive criticism:

- (30) As Greenberg reminded us, when it comes to searching for underlying forms, there are none more convincing than those which arise from a

¹³ And probably the locative. The idea of a later agglutination of the plural constitutes a widely accepted historical hypothesis, the foundations of which he himself helped to lay, in so far as the prehistoric states of the language would allow.

¹⁴ Cf., fundamentally for the difference in tone, J.I. HUALDE, 1993, «On the historical origin of Basque accentuation», *Diachronica* 10: 1, 1-38, p. 30: «The evidence Michelena adduces is completely independent from accentual facts». Apart from the fact that he does not offer an alternative to Michelena's explanation, the latter does not in any way deny the importance of stress. A different thing altogether, of course, is that he does not mention it explicitly. The relationship between processes of agglutination and prosodic conditions is so widely accepted that it can be taken as known.

historic reality, since these have existed not only on the surface or at deep levels of the consciousness of speakers but also in the intersubjective light of their everyday discourse.

PT [1981], 49

11. This, no doubt, has been a partial contribution, which, as he himself pointed out when dealing with second language learning, could be translated into French as either «partial» or «partiel». The ideas and passages presented are still disordered in so far as sequence and type is concerned. It is possible also that the selection made may not have been the best. I have not at any time considered them sufficient, neither as a whole nor taken individually. My main object has been to encourage the reading and rereading of Michelena, not only to see what he says but also to see how he says it.

I hope at least that the outline will have been suggestive, a first few brush-strokes for a task which needs time, labour and collaboration. I believe that the effort is worth while, since all of us stand to gain from a deeper knowledge of the work of a master.

Works by Michelena which have been cited:

FHV: *Fonética Histórica Vasca*. San Sebastián: Seminario Julio de Urquijo de la Excma. Diputación de Guipúzcoa. [1961, 1977] 1985.

LH: *Lengua e Historia*. Madrid: Paraninfo. 1985.

PT: *Palabras y Textos*. Leioa: Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, Servicio Editorial. 1987.

SHLV: *Sobre Historia de la Lengua Vasca I-II*. Donostia-San Sebastián: Anejos del A.S.J.U. 1988.

LH

[1964] Románico y circunrománico: sobre la suerte de latín «ae».

[1967] Estructuralismo y reconstrucción.

[1965] Lat. S: el testimonio vasco.

[1971] Gramática generativa y lingüística histórica.

[1972a] Color y sonido en la lengua.

[1972b] Distribución defectiva y evolución fonológica.

[1982] La normalización de la forma escrita de una lengua: el caso vasco.

PT

[1972] A note on Old Labourdin accentuation.

[1981] Lengua común y dialectos vascos.

SHLV

[1966] Azkue lexicógrafo.

[1978] Euskal hitzen jatorri eta itxura desberdinaz.

[1984] Lingüística inmanente y lingüística trascendente.

Research in Basque morphosyntax over the last decade 1987-1997

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1. Ten years after the death of K. Mitxelena, the department of Basque Philology and linguistics at the University of the Basque Country wishes to honour the man to whom Basque studies owe so much, and on this occasion has set about reviewing the past decade in different fields of Basque Studies. This is an excellent initiative, and I'd like to thank the organisers for giving me the opportunity to be part of this tribute, by giving with an overview of work carried out in the field of morphosyntactic studies during the period going from 1987 to 1997. As we will see, during this period this sector of Basque studies has shown unquestionable dynamism, perpetuating and normalising the important progress made, under the constantly stimulating and demanding patronage of Mitxelena, over the previous two decades.

2. Syntactic studies was for a long time a kind of poor relation to Basque studies. Not so much due to a lack of interest, but rather due to difficulties in integrating various typological features specific to Basque. Certain questions, like the order of major phrase constituents, were dealt with through stylistics and in a mainly normative perspective, in a tradition marked namely by the contributions of Cardaberaz, Azkue and Altube (Hidalgo, 1994). Other problems, such as ergativity, were dealt with in strictly morphological terms (Stempf 1890, Léon 1911, Gavel 1930), although syntactical interpretations of data oscillated between a morpheme by morpheme analysis based on the accusative language model (passivity theory), and this view being rejected, remaining largely counter-intuitive, following the discarding of morphological data (Lafitte 1944). Even a *neutral* conception of Basque syntax was proposed (Martinet 1958) enabling the question of syntactical subject to be avoided.

The situation has changed greatly since the end of the 1960's, with Basque morphosyntactic studies benefiting from a certain thrust given to studies of syntax by the development of generativist works, at the same time as the first two theses dedicated to studies including a morphosyntactical study of Basque varieties were carried out in a more classical structuralist perspective: the first

(Basque from Maya, in Baztan) within a Martinet functionalist framework (N'Diaye, published in 1970), the second (Basque from Ondarroa) in a morpho-phonological perspective (Rotaetxe 1978).

3. Amongst the most significant promoters of new syntactic studies, we must undoubtedly give a special place to R. de Rijk. His first works on the syntax of Basque, in particular, those on the order of constituents (1969), the partitive (1972a) and soon his thesis on relatives (1972b), besides the fact that they are reference points and mark the opening of an important stage for Basque syntactical research. We should also bear in mind, amongst the publications, the special issue of ASJU (1972) which exhibits the works presented at the Basque Linguistics Seminar at the University of Reno during the Summer of 1972, and also the important article by Anderson (1976), which enables the question of ergativity to be examined in new terms thanks to the study of the properties of syntactical subjects (see also Sarasola 1977). It's also towards the end of the 1970's that the first general presentation of the syntax of Basque in a transformationalist framework was published, *Gramatika bideetan* (Goenaga, 1978), the first grammar written entirely in Basque, work which indicates the new dynamism of syntactic studies.

The following years certainly marked a new period: *The Basque Studies Seminars* organised by the Academy of the Basque Language during the Summer of 1980, whose proceedings were published the following year, and the work *Euskal Linguistika eta Literatura: bide berriak* (1981) published by the University of Deusto, offer a panorama of changes that were taking place in the field of Basque studies, and bear witness to their dynamism during this period. The theses by Rebuschi (Paris VII, 1982) and Goenaga (UPV-EHU, 1984) confirm the new importance of syntactic studies and the formal approach which characterises them, like the thesis by Levin (MIT, 1983) which highlights the benefits that syntactic studies can receive from work of a more typological nature. The middle of the 1980's also marks another important change in the development of research in Basque syntax: a new generation of researchers had crossed the Atlantic to train and become familiar with the latest developments in the field of syntactical theory. The latter, after having been almost constantly submitted since the end of the 1950's to new proposals and revisions, is strongly marked by the publication of the *Lectures on Government and Binding* (1981) by N. Chomsky, which represents a watershed. Unquestionably, generative work carried out from this date encourages work on languages which until then had been less studied, and a considerable effort was accomplished to analyse in general terms —principles and/or parameters— of linguistic diversity. A highly productive period began which lasted until the beginning of the 1990's, from which theoretical research once again tended towards the formulation of new conceptions or new constraints dealing with the formal nature of grammars, either within the framework of the theory of Optimality Theory, especially in phonology, or for the field of mor-

phosyntax which we're concerned with here, within the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995).

With regard to syntax, the theses written by Eguzkitza (UCLA, 1986) and Ortiz de Urbina (Urbana-Champaign, 1986), carried out on the other side of the Atlantic by two young linguists who acquired their initial training in the Basque Country, illustrate this progress and highlight the prevalence of generative linguistics in Basque Studies. The publication of Ortiz de Urbina's thesis by Foris in 1989 has enabled the coverage of this research to be amplified abroad and is in this respect a point of reference. During this period, discussions on new sets of themes were organised in the journal ASJU or on the occasion of the summer courses organised by the University of the Basque Country in San-Sebastian. Amongst these themes were: studies on binding, configurationality (Rebuschi 1986, Salaburu 1986), phrase structure (Eguzkitza & Ortiz de Urbina 1987), relatives and complement phrases (Oyharçabal 1985, Goenaga 1985).

4. For the period we are particularly interested in today, i.e. the decade from 1987 to 1997, we are unable to make a more or less exhaustive analysis of work carried out, of which there have been so many and such a variety (see the bibliography in the appendix, which brings together around three hundred references). If this information in itself marks the productivity of this sector, in order to try to measure it, I shall examine in particular the production of theses, as a significant indicator of research activity.

Let's consider the chronological list of theses which deal with Basque morphosyntax during the decade from 1987 to 1997.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THESES WHICH DEAL WITH BASQUE MORPHOSYNTAX (1987-1997)

- 1987 OYHARÇABAL, B. *Étude descriptive des constructions complexes en basque: propositions relatives, temporelles, conditionnelles et concessives*. University of Paris VII.
- 1988 ABAITUA, J. *Complex Predicates in Basque: From Lexical Forms to Functional Structures*. University of Manchester.
AZKARATE, M. *Hitz konposatuak euskaraz*. UPV-EHU.
- 1990 LAKA, I. *Negation in syntax: On the nature of Functional Categories and Projections*. MIT.
ODRIOZOLA, J.C. *Axularren kasu-markadun atzizkiak*. UPV-EHU.
OSA, E. *Euskararen hitzordena komunikazio zereginaren arauera*. UPV-EHU.
- 1991 LÜDERS, U. *The Verbal Complex in Souletin Basque*. University of Bern.
- 1992 ARTIAGOITIA, X. *Verbal Projections in Basque and Minimal Structure*. University of Washington.

- HAASE, M. *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel im Baskenland: Die Einflüsse des Gaskonischen und Französischen auf das Baskische*. University of Hamburg.
- 1993 BARREÑA, A. *Gramatikaren jabekuntza-garapena eta haur euskaldunak*. UPV-EHU.
 KING, A. *Communicative Grammar of the Basque Verb*. University of London.
 ZABALA, I. *Predikazioaren teoriak gramatika sortzailean (euskararen kasua)*. UPV-EHU.
- 1994 AREJITA, A. *La obra de Juan José Moguel*, (the first volume is about grammar). University of Deusto.
 CID, C. *Tipología de la relativización en vasco, checo y español: cotejo de las lenguas románicas, eslavas y vasca respecto a ciertos fenómenos relativos*. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
 HIDALGO, B. *Hitzen ordena euskaraz*. UPV-EHU.
- 1995 ALEGRÍA, I. *Euskal morfologiaren tratamendu automatikorako tresnak*. UPV-EHU.
 ELORDUI, A. *Hizkuntz heriotza eta aldaketa morfologikoa*. UPV-EHU.
 EZEIZABARRENA, M.J. *Adquisición de la morfología verbal en euskera y castellano por niños bilingües*. University of Hamburg.
 LARRINGAN, L.M. *Testu-antolatzaileak bi testu motatan: testu informatiboan eta argudiapen-testuan*. UPV-EHU.
- 1996 ANDRÉS, M. *Perpaua konposatuaren joskera J. Leizarragarengan oinarriturik*. University of Deusto.
 ELOSEGI, K. *Kasu eta preposizioen jabekuntza-garapena haur elebidun batengan*. UPV-EHU.
- 1997 ZUBIRI, J.J. *Izen sintagmaren determinazioaren eta kasuen jabekuntza eta garapena hiru urte arte*. UPV-EHU.
 ELORDIETA, G. *Morphosyntactic feature chains and phonological domains*. University of Southern California.
 FERNÁNDEZ, B. *Egiturazko kasuaren erkaketa euskaraz*. UPV-EHU.
 URKIA, M. *Euskal morfologiaren tratamendu automatikorantz* UPV-EHU.
 ASKE, J. *Basque Word Order and Disorder. Principles, Variation and Prospects*, University of California, Berkeley.
 AMUNDARAIN, I. (viva beginning of 1998). *Koordinazioa eta elipsia euskaraz*. UPV-EHU.

5. What can be said about this production? Firstly, the fact of having to draw up this list is in itself significant, since until then there were less than around ten theses on morphosyntax. The number -27- is relatively important, bearing in mind that we haven't chosen theses that don't cover morphosyntax

(phonology, dialectology, lexicology, philology, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, ...).

Over the decade in question the average is therefore more than two and a half theses per year, which represents a very sustained rhythm, which can partly be explained by the backlog accumulated over previous decades. It is worth noting that this rhythm is rather irregular, and that it has been accentuated over the last few years: in 1997 alone six theses were completed.

6. The second point that comes to mind in this list, is that most of this work is owed to Basque researchers. Only three theses have been written by foreign researchers: M. Haase, U. Lüders and A. King (although A. King has been living in the Basque Country too long for him to really be considered a foreign researcher). With regard to this question, two things can be said: the first point, which is positive, is that research in Basque studies is now mainly undertaken by native researchers, which is normal practice for languages with a minimum university foundation; the second point, rather more negative, is concern: Basque studies, which for a long time have benefited from the invaluable contribution of non-native Basque researchers, this is still the case today, will this contribution diminish among the younger generations? The question may be asked, and if this fear were to be confirmed over the coming years, perhaps practical measures should be envisaged, in view of encouraging or facilitating young linguists, of non-Basque origin or not trained in the Basque Country, to choose Basque as one of the privileged subjects of their research.

Inversely, young linguists trained at the department of Basque Studies at the University of the Basque Country (UPV-EHU) have crossed the Atlantic to widen and enrich their theoretical training, and wrote their theses on subjects not specifically concerning Basque (Ormazabal 1995, Uribe-Etxebarria 1995). It is obvious that this is also witness to a maturing of linguistic research in the Basque Country and that Basque Studies can only benefit in the long term from the widening. We can certainly see in this attitude a sign of normalisation of linguistic study in the world of Basque studies; several years ago their poor situation made it difficult, for both practical and ethical reasons for a native linguist with a serious training in Basque to carry out doctoral research into morphosyntax outside of Basque studies.

7. My third point concerns the geographical and university distribution of theses. About a third of them, i.e. 17 out of 28, were written in a university in the Basque Country; the distribution of the rest is as follows: Germany (2), Spain (1), United States (4), France (1), United Kingdom (2), Switzerland (1).

This distribution, which confirms the central position of local universities in Basque studies, seems quite satisfactory, in so far as it shows a relatively wide range of countries which have been host to doctorate students, with a certain prevalence of the United States, which can undoubtedly be

explained by the fact that is where the study of syntax has been developed most during this period. It is worth noting, in passing, that in this case, these are doctorate students who were initially trained in the Basque Country, and who then crossed the Atlantic. Inversely, for theses written in Germanic countries (Germany, Switzerland), this work is partly carried out by young researchers from these countries.

PLACES WHERE DOCTORAL THESES ON BASQUE MORPHOSYNTAX HAVE BEEN PRESENTED (1987-1997)

Germany: 2

University of Hamburg: Haase (1992)

University of Hamburg: Ezeizabarrena (1995)

Spain: 1

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid: Cid (1994).

United States: 4

MIT: Laka, I. (1990)

University of Washington: Artiagoitia (1992)

University of Southern California: Elordieta (1997)

University of California, Berkeley: Aske (1997)

France: 1

University of Paris VII: Oyharçabal (1987)

Basque Country: 16. (UPV-EHU: 14; University of Deusto: 2)

UPV-EHU: Azkarate (1988)

UPV-EHU: Odriozola (1990)

UPV-EHU: Osa (1990)

UPV-EHU: Barreña (1993)

UPV-EHU: Zabala (1993)

University of Deusto: Arejita (1994)

UPV-EHU: Hidalgo (1994)

UPV-EHU: Alegría (1995)

UPV-EHU: Elordui (1995)

UPV-EHU: Larringan (1995)

University of Deusto: Andrés (1996)

UPV-EHU: Elosegi (1996)

UPV-EHU: Zubiri (1997)

UPV-EHU: Fernández (1997)

UPV-EHU: Urkia (1997)

UPV-EHU: Amundarrain (presented in 1998)

United Kingdom: 2

University of Manchester: Abaitua (1988)

University of London: King (1993)

Switzerland: 1

University of Bern: Lüders (1991)

8. The fourth point I'd like to mention concerns subjects of research chosen for doctoral theses. It is difficult to establish the distribution relating to the subject of study itself, and I will use a classification based on the approaches, although this classification will of course necessarily be of a certain arbitrary nature.

In studies about specific points of syntax we can firstly distinguish, according to a dichotomy that is familiar to linguists, those who choose a descriptive approach from those which opt for a more theoretical point of view. From another viewpoint, we can distinguish, on the one hand, work concerning the development of language in children or phenomena linked to the extinction of a language, and, on the other, work relating to discursive organisation and communication. Finally, it is certainly worth dealing with work on automatic language processing as a separate category.

DISTRIBUTION OF DOCTORAL THESES ON BASQUE MORPHOSYNTAX (1987-1997)
ACCORDING TO SUBJECTS

Descriptive work

- Subordinate propositions (Oyharçabal, 1987)
- Lexical composition (Azkarate, 1988)
- Case suffixation in the work of Axular (Odriozola, 1990)
- Verbal morphology in Souletin (Lüders, 1991)
- Contact interferences; the influence of Gascon and French on Basque (Haase, 1992)
- Study of J. J. Moguel's Basque (partly relating to syntax) (Arejita, 1994)
- Comparative typology (Basque, Spain, Cheque) on relatives (Cid, 1994)
- Complex phrases in the work of Liçarrague (Elosegui, 1996)
- Phenomena of ellipsis in co-ordination (Amundarain, 1998)

Works dealing with theoretical formulation

- Studies of complex predicates within the framework of Functional Lexical Grammar (Abaitua, 1988)
- Studies on the negation and associated functional projections (Laka, 1990)
- Verbal projections (Artiagoitia, 1992)
- Nominal predication (Zabala, 1993)
- Analysis of ergativity as checking of the Structural Case (Fernández, 1997)

Acquisition and degeneration of language

- Acquisition of functional categories (Barreña, 1993)
- Acquisition of verbal morphology in Basque and Spanish in bilingual children (Ezeizabarrena, 1995)

Morphological modifications and the process of language extinction (Elordui, 1995)

Acquisition of cases and prepositions up to the age of three (Elosegi, 1996)

Research on the discursive or communicative organisation of grammars

Order of constituents and discursive emphasis phenomena (Osa, 1990; Aske, 1997)

Communicative grammar of Basque (King, 1993)

The question of the order of constituents: critical historiographical study (Hidalgo, 1994)

Connectors and morphemes of textual organisation in argumentative and informative texts (Larringan, 1995)

Machine processing

Propositions in view of the machine processing of Basque morphology (Alegría, 1995)

Creation of an automated morphological analyser applied to Basque (Urkia, 1997)

9. If we look at the different work carried out over the last ten years we can see that certain areas of research are new. This is particularly the case for those about the acquisition of language (4 theses) or machine analysis (2 theses). Of course the emergence of these fields, which had remained unexplored until recently in Basque studies, is very positive and we expect further research to be carried out in these areas in full development.

Work on acquisition undoubtedly benefits from progress made in the theoretical field, and also the implementation here, at the University of the Basque Country in Vitoria-Gasteiz, under the impulsion of I. Idiazabal, both of the infrastructure relating to the corpus, and a dynamic research group working jointly with a foreign group of researchers, led by J. Meisel at the University of Hamburg.

We might have expected, in parallel to work on first language acquisition, work on second language acquisition, and more generally questions linked to phenomena of multilingualism, to develop. But that would have undoubtedly been premature. I have not found any thesis on second language acquisition, despite this area being in full development. Also I have only found one thesis on linguistic pathologies, which is also a very promising field: this was the thesis by Koro Erriondo (UPV-EHU, 1993) on bilingual aphasics (this work does not specifically consider questions of morphosyntax, which is why it is not included in the list of theses given earlier).

10. Research in the field of machine analysis is also completely new for Basque; the first reference dates from the beginning of the decade in question (Abaitua, 1987). This work should develop considerably since we must expect the implementation of very sophisticated linguistic technology over

the coming years. The importance of this matter should not be neglected from the point of view of the organisation of research in the discipline: it is clear that henceforth linguistic studies will have a technological extension, namely through applications which will be able to be developed in the field of language processing and linguistic information, in liaison with developments carried out in the field of computing. This task is performed in the University of Basque Country by the IXA group.

I'm not going to hide the fact that, in my view, there is some uncertainty regarding the status of this research, not from the point of view of their social or technological utility, which is now well proven, but regarding their importance for better understanding how language, as a mental organ, is structured and works. Technological efficiency cannot immediately be linked to theoretical importance. As M. Urkia's thesis has shown, the implementation of a morphological analyser, the first essential stage for pursuing work in view of creating analysers and, in the longer term, of automatic Basque text generators, does not require sophisticated theoretical equipment with regard to nominal flectional morphology. Above all at this stage it is about determining the simplest ways of solving problems of recognition, and linking them to pre-defined morphological analyses. In the same way, verbal morphology, which in Basque is reputed to be very rich, is not (to my knowledge) the subject of any specific research. This matter does not present many difficulties at all, at least with regard to normalised language, since it can receive simple processing, by the constitution of an inventory of verbal forms supplying for each form possible its morphosyntactical description. Current technology is in no way hindered by the use of such lists regrouping several hundred or thousand forms. Creating syntactic analysers however (much more than creating generators) seems to represent a major challenge, which we will undoubtedly have to face one day, although the limits of such a task in the medium term are not clear.

We can undoubtedly consider that it is a question of a field which will develop considerably over the coming years, with in any case many secondary effects associated with technological development.

11. Before saying which areas of syntax have attracted most attention from researchers, I'd like to briefly say which, in my view, have been most neglected.

Lexical morphology is undoubtedly the field which has given rise to the least work, since apart from the thesis by M. Azkarate (1988) on composition, this is a subject which has not been dealt with, with one exception, in theses, neither elsewhere nor in other works, apart from a few random articles. With regard to theses, only the thesis by E. Pérez Gaztelu (1994) deals with these questions, in its part on lexical creation in certain of Mitxelena's Basque writings. This state of affairs is certainly surprising since Basque lexical morphology is relatively rich, and it is a field that contemporary researchers

have not neglected. How can this be explained? Is this field perhaps considered, and wrongly in my view, as depending on lexicography pure and simple, and that in this field research is limited to the realisation of the general dictionary, currently being published, under the aegis of the Academy, and in particular I. Sarasola? Whatever the case, it is without a doubt a way which is offered to young researchers, with little having been done since Ühlenbeck (1909) and Azkue (1923-25), even on a simply descriptive level, with the pioneer work carried out during these years in the framework of the Academy's Lexicographical Commission remaining unpublished.

12. Although they haven't been dealt with in doctoral dissertations, some subjects have drawn researchers' attention in a special manner, leading to the publication of thematic books. This is the case for examples of historiographical and historical studies, which have included interesting works regarding morphosyntax; see Gómez and Lakarra (1992) and Hualde, Lakarra & Trask (1995). Other topics, which had been central themes over the previous decade have not given rise to hardly any work, either because previous research had in some way (provisionally) exhausted the question, or because the theses discussed were abandoned or presented without much interest following the modifications of the theoretical framework.

I shall thus mention the question of word order, in particular in focal constructions. Indeed this is a subject discussed specifically in three theses, by Osa (1990), Hidalgo (1994) and Aske (1997), but in terms which have very little to do with the theoretical framework which gave rise to the work of the previous decade, in particular Rebuschi (1982), Eguzkitza (1986), Ortiz de Urbina (1986). It is nevertheless a subject which seems to once again be attracting the attention of researchers (apart from Hidalgo and Aske, cf. de Rijk 1996, Etxepare 1998).

Other subjects that are still more or less increasingly infrequent with regard to the previous decade: questions on binding, configurationality, NP's structure and relatives.

13. Generally speaking, we can see that work on Basque morphosyntax is clearly dominated by work carried out within the framework of the theory of Principles and Parameters. Little work within a functionalist structuralist framework, the thesis by Coyos (1998) being from a later period than the period in question. Nevertheless we have found some works which take into account enunciative views: Oyharçabal (1987), Osa (1990), Larrigan (1995), or directed towards what we sometimes call *communicative competence* (King, 1993).

What in my view has made the decade's major theoretical subject only appears imperfectly in the list of theses, although it is of course not absent from these (cf. Barreña 1993, Zabala 1993, Fernández 1997 for example): it deals with the question of the relationships of (functional) morphology and

syntax, and namely the determination of the place held in the components of grammar by the flecional elements of the verbal complex in Basque. On this question the departure point is mainly Laka (1988), who proposes a strict application of Baker's Mirror Principle (1988) according to which *the morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa)*.

This is not the appropriate place to discuss different points in connection with this view which has been discussed in many aspects but which has incontestably enabled the question of ergative morphology in Basque to be renewed (Oyharçabal 1993, 1994, Laka 1993, 1995, Fernández 1997). We can see the extent of the change that took place, when we consider that at the end of the previous decade, it is the problem of configurationality which had given rise to lively debates between Basque researchers (Salaburu 1986, Rebuschi 1986, 1989), debates which were soon deprived of a foundation since new formulations no longer excluded the subject NP from SV, and admitted the plurality of functional projections outside SV, including in languages like French or English (Pollock 1989).

At the time of me giving this result, it is not certain that the same destiny will be reserved for the question of the means for dealing with functional morphology, especially if views recently put forward by Chomsky (1995) prevail. It would seem that the Theory of Principles and Parameters is progressing towards the formulation of new constraints concerning the architecture of grammar, in such a way as for us to be able to expect the appearance of new frameworks for discussing older problems, the question of interfaces and their properties becoming central. We have a feeling that in the case of Basque, a language whose order of components is particularly free, but also partly determined by elements relating to focalisation and topicalisation, this new perspective will put problems which seemed to have been left aside over the past decade back on the agenda again, specially if the objections to the Azkue-Altube's rules, which have been sharply criticized in recent works on stylistics, are taken seriously.

14. It's time for me to conclude this excessively cursive overview, and I've just realised that I haven't mentioned the work carried out by the Academy's grammar Commission (in particular EGLU 3-4), whose task is to draft a standard Basque reference grammar. I don't underestimate the interest of such an enterprise. However it is significant that in the results on research in morphosyntax this type of realisation no longer truly has its place. I say this with mixed emotions. Of course, I find a reason to be satisfied in these circumstances, because it is —and who would question this?— the expression of an unquestionable advance in syntactic studies, whose concerns now reach beyond the simple observation of phenomena and their superficial description, then enabling the realisation of scholarly grammars, works for learning or stylistics. Let me also say this with a certain nostalgia, since it shows perfectly the end of a period, that young linguists or Basque researchers

trained during this decade have hardly been able to know, and for which Mitxelena was the major figure. I'd like to talk a little about a time during which syntacticians had the impression that their work was immediately taken up in applied linguistics, even, more widely, with the actors of Basque's social promotion. If the work begun in *language planning or engineering* is far from finished, this rather particular period, due to the delay accumulated a quarter of a century ago by Basque syntactic studies, is mainly over, even if there are still some areas, like lexical derivation or stylistic word-order rearrangement, for which many things remain to do. As is the case for other languages, the division mentioned by Mitxelena in 1981 at the First Congress of Basque Studies exerts, and continues to exert its effects on the field of linguistics and Basque philology, where research is becoming increasingly specialised as we have seen. It is sometimes good form to mock this *confinement* of research, remaining without any immediate effects in applied linguistics, as we have seen is often the case in syntax. However there is no reason to pay more attention to these remarks than they deserve, since we hardly see what could shelter Basque linguistics from what necessarily befalls linguistic studies about commonly studied languages, according to a development which covers, as we know, all learning.

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*Appendix: Bibliography on Basque morphosyntax (1987-1997)*¹

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Basque grammar and normalization

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The task given to me today is to present the steps that have been taken in the area of grammar over the last ten years, especially in the process of normalization of Basque in order to show what has been done and what remains to be done. I shall attempt to do so.

Grammar can be understood in a broad sense as well as in a stricter one. In the stricter sense, it would be that which would be left over after taking any vocabulary and phonology away from the knowledge of the language, i.e. morphology and syntax. That will be our topic for the time being.

It is clear, on the other hand, what *normalization* is. Basque has already come a long way in its normalization process but there is still a long way to go. That is what I will be touching on in greater detail.

However, before delving into the subject, I would like to recall the great linguist in whose honour this congress has been organized. If I am not mistaken, the *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* newspaper (Nov. 11, 1997) recently reminded us of a *boutade* made up by A. Irigoien. That is to say, the Basque Academy is said to use a blue line to link up with heaven. When there is a doubt, the Academy is said to use this blue line to ask Mitxelena for light on the subject. This *boutade*, in spite of the ill-intention behind it, also has its positive side. Mitxelena pushed Unified Basque through and when he left us, he left us, as it were, equipped to do things. In that sense, I do not think it at all shameful to say that we should stick to the path blazed by him. The problem would be how we should interpret things. That is to say, to what extent is the message received through the blue line correct? As for the rest, however, I do not believe it is embarrassing at all to attempt to interpret the will of the one who launched the normalization of Basque. Quite the contrary.

1. The 1968 project

Normalization of a language means setting up rules and norms. In referring to written language—that is what normalization usually calls for—the

process, as it were, started with the first writers themselves. If we were to look for forerunners as far as Basque literary prose is concerned, we would find that Leizarraga's 16th century work was the first attempt at bringing standard rules for Basque together but there was no one that continued the standard.

As we know very well, the unification of Basque seriously started to take place in 1968. This does not mean that the model for Basque proposed in that year in Arantzazu had no precedents. Mitxelena himself admits that the Arantzazu proposal and what appears in Gabriel Aresti's poem *Maldan Behera* are essentially one and the same.

What was this unification process? Mitxelena himself explains, in a clear programme, which obvious tasks had to be taken nearly thirty years ago:

«We must first find unity in superficial matters before delving into substantial matters as it is easier and more necessary besides. It is true that a language is a system and parts or components of that system are nothing outside of that system. However, we have to admit, if we are to get to substantial matters, that Basque is not a system yet but a *diasystem* instead which we have to get a good grip on if we are to unify the substantial matters later». (Mitxelena 1968, 973).

Mitxelena limited the requests that were presented to the Basque Academy in the following manner, starting from the easiest to the most difficult: a) writing or spelling, b) Old Basque word forms, c) formation of new words and forms taken from other languages, d) morphology: (pro)noun and verb, e) syntax.

«In some, there is nothing to do as no one has done the studies we would need for that purpose. In others, on the other hand, although achieving unity among the Basque dialects is difficult, we would at least have to have unity within each dialect, and that is all up to us» (Mitxelena 1968, 973).

This was the 1968 project. Eight years later, in 1976, Mitxelena appraised the situation.

«What has been achieved by the end of 1976, though not as much as we might have wanted, is no small matter. After eight years, I do not believe that success of the attempt can be denied (...). The ever more apparent unity is amazing, in journalism, for example, even among opposing magazines. Not every obstacle has been over, far from it, as the normal prose level, the distinctions are becoming slimmer and slimmer, although some are greater» (Mitxelena 1978b, 1021).

2. Unified Basque and Living Basque

The normalization of Basque seems to have stripped it of its «agreeableness», its spontaneity. On the other hand, a normal language needs autonomy. Hence, one of the most nagging problems is: to what extent does Basque

have that autonomy? In a piece of work recently published by Iñaki Segurola —«Bihotzerre, txalburu, zulogile (Sarasolaren txukunbideaz)»—, he sounded the alarm about those dangers and mistakes. Many of us often fear the same thing. Indeed, we often go our own way at an ever increasing speed without first realizing what we are doing and where we are coming from. In such cases, it is a good thing if someone sounds the alarm and warns that the road we have embarked on is not always the best one. That is why I think what Mitxelena (1981) said about UZEI, for all his gruff, was beneficial.

Likewise, I am of the opinion that Sarasola's book (1997) is also for the good. And, generally speaking, regarding the publication of this book and what Iñaki Segurola and others have published in the daily is also beneficial. Works that harp not only about the quality of the language but also about its correctness do have a bad side to them. It is best not to subject people to unreasonable doubts and uncertainties which is what often happens: a speaker uses certain words or structures inadvertently until a given moment, but in saying inadvertent, I also mean with *assurance*. Not only does the voice of his or her conscience come to mind but the voice of the censor as well, saying that what is being said, the word or structure being used is not altogether correct. It might very well be saying that it is a bare-faced Spanish calque. Sometimes that might very well be the case, but other times ... to what extent is it right to cast a shadow over any word and to go to pieces over it? Therein lies the problem, at least part of the problem.

Nevertheless, that which we understand to be Unified Basque lacks the liveliness, colour, freshness, authenticity of the Basque dialects and common everyday speech. What, then, is the alternative? The answer is clear: to try to give as much vitality to Unified Basque as possible because I really do like saying «*trankilamenteko legien*», or «*hori popuertzakue dozu*», «*lustrie murauko zako*», «*hango destitxie!*», «*ume malapartaue*», «*atarramentu onik ez*», «*ipurdiko mantsoatik egin zuen*» and a thousand other such familiar sayings even if some are ultimately derived from Spanish. I also like so many of the words and expressions that Segurola uses: «*apropostako*», «*ditxosozko*», «*txalburu*», «*ondoeztutako zenbait teknolapiko*», etc. However, should Unified Basque give way to all of these expressions? I would like to think so if we could. Nevertheless, I am sure that such expressions can be used in very familiar speech, but even though they might be well-known in one town, in another one, perhaps in one only a few kilometres away, they are too «familiar» and «folksy». Therein lies a vivacious Basque, one that will save a drab Unified Basque from its wooden nature but it too is limited to a reduced area and thus is limited itself.

In any case, the problem is especially one of vocabulary. Nevertheless, should we consider, for example, the phenomenon of «*zeinismoa*»¹, which was

¹ «*Zeinismoa*» is the term given to the usage of an interrogative word as a relative marker. VILLASANTE (1976, 87) remarked that «*Sabido es cuán escarnecido y vilipendiado ha sido este*

so vilified at one time as one of the «ailments» of Unified Basque? If Basque linguists of a given period would not have had any doubt, whereas nowadays I would say that people are very much in agreement that Basque cannot ignore such uses of the relative. We need them and often they have no suitable equivalent: therein lies the contradiction of Unified Basque: such structures do not lend any gushy agreeableness to Basque, but we need them just the same. Might that be a kind of price we have to pay for having Unified Basque? Nevertheless, as in everything else, everybody should know where the middle way lies, everyone should know how to be moderate about things, which is precisely the hardest thing to do.

3. The Path to Unified Basque

Unified Basque has come a long way in the normalization of its morphology. Morphology is especially a question of form and here there is not much room for outside influences, except for word derivation at least: the origin of several suffixes is clear enough to refute that influence.

However, there may be an outside influence to account for the usage of those forms. The Basque Academy fixed the so-called declension by saying which are the declined *forms*. From that point of view, *kontutan* («into account» is indefinite. However, in usage it would be, if anything, a barbarism (see Sarasola 1997: 119-121) when it vies with the definite form *kontuan*. The indefinite form of *batzoki* is just that: *batzoki*. However, we found an NP such as *Begoñako Batzoki*, without further ado, laid bare, all Basque speakers would know intuitively that it is plainly wrong. Of course, this is not a matter that directly concerns Unified Basque, rather, it is something that concerns Basque as a whole, i.e. grammatically correct Basque. Such cases are precisely some of the problems that the Grammar Commission had to face when it started working on its *EGLU* (*Euskal Gramatika: Lehen Urratsak*, i.e. Basque Grammar: the First Steps).

In any case, the Basque Academy decided on what the form of the words was both in the declension and conjugation although some thorny problems did sometimes arise. The unification of the conjugation, in view of the controversy that the letter «h» had caused, might have been thought to be the subject of greater rows. However, no such great rows ever came about.

One might have thought that the allocutive verb forms might have caused an unholy row but they did not. In that aspect, things have gone rather smoothly.

empleo por muchos gramáticos contemporáneos, excesivamente dominados por el complejo purista. Patricio de Orcaiztegui escribía a principio de este siglo: «Este pronombre relativo... imitación servil de los idiomas neolatinos, es el mayor borrón que nuestros abuelos pudieron aceptar en el euskera»».

However, as I said above, one thing is achieving unification of form, i.e. choosing one of various competing forms, and quite another is deciding how these forms are to be used. In that sense, for instance, it has a lot to do with the usage of the verb forms. Take tense and aspect, for example. What is the difference between *etorri da/etorri izan da/etortzen izan da*?²

And what about modal particles? *Ahal, ohi, ezin*, for instance, are used in different ways in each Basque dialect: *joan ahal naiz/joaten ahal naiz; etorri ohi da/etortzen ohi da/ohi dator; ezin naiz ibili/ezin dut ibili/ezin ibili naiz*.

What about the case of the conditionals?: *egiten banu/egingo banu; egingo nuke/egin nezake*, etc. The list could go on and on³.

Therefore, in view of so-called Unified Basque, the work of the Basque Academy up to now has been to unify forms.

A unified declension paradigm was completed by the Basque Academy in 1968 and the latest decisions were made after the Bergara Conference (see Euskaltzaindia, 1979, 25-51). Later on, some other touches to the paradigm had to be made in decisions taken at the time. In Leioa, for instance, rules governing words ending in diphthongs were defined (see the 02/24/95 decision in *Euskera*, 1995-1, 351-352).

It is true that the Basque Academy published these paradigms provided with A. Irigoien's comments, but not much new light was shed on the matter.

The Basque Academy also unified demonstrative forms but some forms, for instance those with the morphemes *-xe* (*honexekin/honekintxe* «just with this») or *ber-*, have yet to be decided upon. In the case of *ber-*, I would say that the problem is quite tricky: *beraiek, berak, eurak* («they»). It is not very clear and it seems that the Basque Academy should come out and make a pronouncement about it.

The intensive pronouns (*neu/nerau/nihaur/neroni*, ... «myself») are, to a great extent, pending a decision.

The same goes for the verb: The Basque Academy decided on mere forms but nothing about their values. It never did come out and designate official names for verb tenses (see *Euskera* XVIII, 1973, 5-74). Even so, there are names proposed on a provisional basis by the Grammar Commission⁴.

In any case, I would like to make a little comment about the unified verb. In speaking about forms, it has always been amazing to me that after seeing most verbs fitting into this group of six paradigms, i.e.

² *Etorri da, etorri izan da, etortzen izan da*, all of these are perfective forms, from the point of view of verbal aspect, but despite differences between the Basque dialects, there are differences of value that will have to be cleared up.

³ All of these have a different place in the paradigm, but each Basque dialect uses only some of those and discards the others. Thus, from the point of view of unity, it is hard to opt for one of two forms that have the same value if these forms occupy their own place in the paradigm.

⁴ For example, even though *EGLU* states that there is no need for the terms *subjunctive/indicative*, in other circumstance there is a need for a unifying term to denote *egin dezan, etor nadin* and such verb constructions that are equivalent to the subjunctive in other languages. It is the complementizer *-n* that makes them «subjunctive».

(1)

Present	Past	Hypothetical
<i>dago</i>	<i>zegoen</i>	(ba)lego
<i>dagoke</i>	<i>zegokeen</i>	<i>legoke</i>

we can still see some gaps present in the paradigms of certain verbs, i.e. *joan* «to go», *etorri* «to come», *ibili* «to walk», *atxeki* «to adjoin», *jarraiki* «to adhere», *ekin* «to undertake» and *jario* «to spill» but gaps with *ekarri* «to bring», *eraman* «to carry», *erabili* «to use» and others remain (see *Euskera* XVIII 1973). Some of these are reasonable, but, in other cases less so. Why, for example, do hypothetical forms such as *balekar*, *lekarke* (< *ekar*) or *balerama*, *leramake*, (< *eraman*) not appear on the Basque Academy's lists while forms such as *baleuka* and *leukake* (< *euki*, «to have») do, and even rather bizarre forms such as *balihardu*, *liharduke*, (< *jardun* «to be busy with»). These forms, to tell the truth, are little used and thus have no real influence in the unification process but it would seem that, even if it is for the sake of coherency, that the Basque Academy should look into this matter eventually⁵.

Later on, of course, the Basque Academy also unified the allocutive verb forms without too much of a problem (see *Euskera* 1995, 1, 263-323).

The *verb stem* has been decided upon (see rule 28) but there are still some untensed verbal forms waiting to be decided upon: *ematen* or *emaiten* «giving», *irtetzen* or *irteten* «going out». In practice, we could say that the unity in these cases speaks for itself, i.e. there is a «natural» solution, but what about the future verbal constructions, *egongo* or *egonen* (< *egon* «to be» + [-*kol-en*] «future»)? Or both? What about *jardungo* or *jardunen* (< *jardun*)? Are both also right in this case? Should we also accept *jingo* (< *jin* «to come» + *ko*)? The Basque Academy will soon make its decision on these forms⁶.

Most rules have been about form and not about values or usages: The Basque Academy decided on the declension of *bat* «one» and *batzuk* «some». The Basque Academy has also had its say about how to write and decline the numbers. Here, of course, some have behaved in a different way when they are *determiners* or such like (*hirurak etorri dira* «the three have come», *lauretan joango naiz* «I will go at four», etc.) and when the numbers function as nouns (*hirua zenbaki ona da* «three is a good number», *lauari zero bat erantsi diot* «I added a zero to the number four», etc.)

As for *arabera/arauera* «according to», the Basque Academy opted for *arabera*. But in regard to the other problem at hand, i.e. how to use that very word, nothing has been said: **zuk esan duzun arabera/zuk esan duzunaren arabera* «according to what you have said». The *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*

⁵ As for coherency, it is hard to understand why the Academy includes forms such as *banago*, *banator* in its paradigms for synthetic verbs, but not forms such as *banai* and *badut* which are both auxiliary verbs and main verbs in their own right. (see *Euskera* 1973).

⁶ The decision came after this talk, to be exact. (see *Euskera* 1998, 1, 154-156).

(the General Basque Dictionary) shows that the postposition *arabera* is governed by the genitive (thus, *-(r)en arabera*), but in some modern texts the matter is rather fuzzy in other cases in my opinion: Those pertaining to form are the rule deciding on the controversy about the pair *aurrealde/lurrekalde* «façade» or to the rule deciding on which form in the pair *arazi/erazi* (causative verb) is correct. Even the rule that clears up the doubt about *guzti hau*, *hau guztia* «all of this» is essentially one pertaining to form.

The Basque Academy has decided on the declension form of several pronouns such as *ene/nire/nere* (rule 5); *nor/nortzuk* «who, who all», *zer/zertzuk* «what, what ones», *zein/zeintzuk* «which, which ones» (rule 11). However, as I said above, there are some pending a decision.

As for the composition and spelling of compound words, the Basque Academy came out with a detailed set of spelling rules (see rule 25). However, I do not know to what extent the people like it as it is difficult to apply in practice.

Aside from the mere form, the Basque Academy has, over the past few years, also worked on several points regarding usage, especially since the Leioa Congress. Bear in mind that Congress (see *Euskera* 1994, 3) had been held to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the launching of Unified Basque: Some of the rules that could be mentioned were the ones regarding the use of the partitive (rules 15 and 30). Another could be the rule regarding the use of *izan ezik* «except for» (rule 16) or the rule concerning the *betiko/betirako* «for ever» controversy (rule 20), etc. Some people, disregarding tradition, wanted to distinguish between *betiko* «usual» and *betirako* «for ever».

Although it still has said nothing about the government of several verbs, the Basque Academy has decided on some others: the rules for causative verbs (rule 23); on *merezi* «to deserve» (rule 31). Rule 30 fixed the norms for *gonbidatu* «to invite», *iguriki* «to await», *itxaron* «to wait, hope», *deitu* «to call» and *lagundu* «to help». We should also add the rules for *bihurtu* «turn into» here as well (rule 40). All of these, suitably included, will appear in the Basque Academy's *Hiztegi Batua*. (Unified Dictionary)⁷.

As for the usage of the indefinite, the Basque Academy has had its word on the differences between *-ko* and *-tako*⁸ (rule 34). I am not sure whether we have explained things as well as we should have. Indeed, I am rather inclined to think we have not. In any case, there are still matters overall to look into regarding the usage of the indefinite.

Segurola was amazed at how the Basque Academy ruled on telling time. The same thing could go for the rule on how to write the date that has come

⁷ Indeed, this is something that is a lexical matter. There is still more to be done in this field. Izaskun Aldezabal is currently writing a dissertation on the subcategorization of verbs. The verbal paradigm will not be able to be completed unless the government of each of them is not well-established.

⁸ *-ko/-tako* is the locative suffix in many basque grammars. The former is neutral, from the point of view of Morphology and the latter is formally indefinite because of the infix *-ta-*.

out (see rule 37). However, I do not know why this field is more «off limits» to norms than the others. It is the same old problem: in absence of rules, the speaker is free and does not have to learn any rules. There is a price to pay for that. In absence of any rules (s)he is free to do whatever (s)he feels like doing. In this sense, deciding on only one form out of many could be harmful, to be sure, but I do not think it at all more harmful for speakers or writers to say which forms they have at hand, i.e. to show what the alternatives are. I do not think this is bad at all nor is it an excess to do so. The Basque Academy, in the very end, has done nothing but that.

The Basque Academy's rules have also taken several expressions into account: the Academy has given its opinion on expressions such as *egin asmoz* «intending to do» that are currently spreading across the country instead of the usual form *egiteko asmoz* «intending to do». Even in conditional clauses such as *etorriko zen* «would have come», corresponding to the resultative aspect, the Basque Academy has decided to accept it as it was the most widespread usage (see rule 42), although A. Irigoien, for instance, giving instances of Leizarraga's writings as evidence, declared that there were differences in meaning between *etorriko zen* and *etorriko zatekeen* «would have come», «might have come» (see Irigoien 1995). If there is any difference, it will have to be studied in any case.

It is not hard to notice that behind many of the Basque Academy's rules—or beneath them—there is often influence exerted by the mass media: The Basque Academy finds itself having to face expressions that have begun to be used in the mass media which are more successful than they ought to be. Of course, we would not have to start coming up with rules on incorrect usage if we had a complete, prescriptive grammar finished. In absence of that, we often have to go about filling in gaps.

4. Writing a grammar that will establish usage

The Grammar Commission was set up in 1980. Quite a few years have gone by and it would seem the results have been few in coming.

Already four volumes have been published and the fifth one is on the way. Hitherto the aim of this commission has not been to write a set of norms. This grammar is not, for now, a prescriptive grammar. Those involved in the working group would prefer to see it as a descriptive grammar rather than a prescriptive one. Sometimes the work of the Commission has been to put an incorrect expression right, but most of the time correct parallel structures have been included without any tags to mark them as good or bad.

In 1985 the first volume was published in which the following words were included in the preface:

«Thus in the following pages, we have attempted to explain the morphosyntactic details of Basque that has been written from last century down to

the present one. Our work is a descriptive one (...) we have especially had in mind those who have been waiting for a prescriptive Basque grammar as well as those teachers, students, writers, and Basques of all walks of life who have been waiting for a set of rules to fix Unified Basque grammatically. (...) The official normalization of the Unified Basque—which is the Basque Academy’s task if anyone’s— and this description prepared by the Grammar Commission are, for now, very different tasks. The starting point and basis of Unified Basque, indeed of Basque as a whole, is the language of all the Basques, thus Basque as a whole does not have a grammar while Unified Basque has another; both, even Unified Basque when it is achieved, will have the same grammar of the same language. The exact definition of Unified Basque is still pending, but that definition, above all, has to adapt to the richness and limits of the language as a whole. This grammar book of ours includes documents and systematizes all of the wealth and limitations of Basque and we have attempted to explain it in the clearest, simplest manner possible (...)

We have set out to include reality whenever it appears and not to change reality. Now, as regards Unified Basque, —as regards the Unified Basque that is still being fixed in so many areas— some readers may ask: How far off is this grammar explained above from a grammar of Unified Basque? Not very far at all, to tell the truth, and closer than one might think: that is our answer. And we could respond even more precisely: we essentially just about there». (Euskaltzaindia 1985, pp. 21-22).

Thus, this Grammar, with the goal of the unity of Basque, has the goal of taking a leap from morphology, of overcoming morphology. Indeed, as Mitxelena said when introducing the unified language project: «here, when we say morphology, it should be meant that we are just talking about the forms, not the value of the forms». (Mitxelena 1968, 981). As he said, at that time, regarding matters of construction «we should stay focused only on the basis without taking a single step beyond it». Mitxelena included questions of syntax and stylistics in the field of «construction»: the value of a grammar form and its usage, word order, expressions, etc. In that way, this Grammar is an attempt to move into the area of syntax and perhaps stylistics.

However, there is more than one level or register in written Basque: poetry and dialogue have their own rules. The problem would be in common prose, which is different.

«Since most of us Basques, even if we might not be the best ones exponents of the language, write like M. Jourdain when we are expressing our right or wrong opinions without recourse to dialogue, we would like to examine the nature, situation, and the strong and weak points of a common Basque prose, based on “grammaticality” but without becoming slaves of mere “grammaticality”».

(...) That process turned language, any language, into one that is more agile, nimble, and more flexible. We Basques have no special culture aside from folklore: we are under domination, living in this cultural sphere of influence. Thus, we cannot have freedom from a linguistic point of view: that freedom could have been won in the 8th century, in the 13th century and

even in the 16th century, but not in this century and less so in the next. We are thoroughly marked by Latin and Western languages. Let us admit it, let us accept it, and let us go on ahead down that path (...). Today's prose, when the subject does not determine it, does not belong to one language or another. It is international instead. (...) Most Basque writers have not done otherwise. We cannot discard or despise cultivating the language we have coming, even if we do not always come out on top.» Mitxelena (1968, 983).

5. And what is it that we have done up to now?

As I have said above, the Grammar Commission was set up in 1980. In 1985 it came out with the first fruits of its effort in *Euskal Gramatika. Lehen Urratsak I*. That first volume was later followed by an appendix. Non-verbal clause elements are studied in this volume: the noun phrase structure and its corresponding declension.

The next volume, *EGLU II*, came out in 1987 which dealt with the verb. This volume could be taken as a major step forward in spite of many problems and gaps that still have to be cleared up, for instance, those dealing with the value of periphrastic verbs and terminology. From a didactic point of view, I believe that the presentation of the verbal paradigm is quite adequate and it helps a lot in understanding the Basque verb in its entirety. As we said in the preface of that volume,

«The system that the Basque verb shows us is easier than we thought on one hand, and more complex than we believed on the other. It has usually been said that the auxiliary verb is, morphologically speaking, terribly difficult and rich. Although that might be true, this morphology may be easy to understand, at least from the point of view of form, if we realize that we have different auxiliary verbs, all of which are under the very same system».

Nevertheless, as we admitted then,

«The Basque dialects show a great richness from the point of view of form and in questions of grammar things cannot be decided at a snap, one way or the other without first thinking through what steps are to be taken and collecting information.» (Euskaltzaindia 1987, 19).

Later on, another two volumes were published by the Grammar Commission: *EGLU III*, in 1990, dedicated to connectives (i.e. adverbs that facilitate a link between clauses) and *EGLU IV*, published in 1994 and which studied coordination and conjunctions. There is no doubt that these volumes, despite having fewer pages than the previous ones, are the most profound and serious works hitherto published in this area of Basque. They offer a hitherto unknown point of view and, moreover, the goal of this work on grammar is indeed most clearly seen in these volumes: illustrating the richness of Basque in a clear manner to the Basque people, showing how things are in different

texts, so that people can have as rich a model as can be provided. It offers the one who cares about Basque to have as broad a model as possible. One only needs to compare how grammars have covered the topic hitherto with the pages and examples on offer here.

Nevertheless, it should be said that after the first two volumes, the methodology of the Commission has changed and it has been able to use a wider corpus and, moreover, the access to that corpus has been made easier thanks to computer technology.

6. What remains to be done

The «first steps» of this grammar of ours must first be completed. After studying the conjunction, we had to move on to dependency, subordination. I hope what will be *EGLU V* will soon be out. This will be the first volume to discuss dependent clauses. First tensed clauses will be studied. In *EGLU V*, a set of those finite clauses is studied: complementary clauses, relative clauses, comparative clauses and resultative clauses. In this work these topics will be treated with a depth and breadth hitherto unseen in Basque grammars. It will give the Basque linguist many examples and, as always, as many alternatives as possible. *EGLU VI*, on the other hand, will deal with the rest of the dependent clauses with conjugated verbs: those which are adjunct-like or what were called in traditional grammar «circumstantial» will be included here: conditionals, concessives, temporals, causals, etc.

The last volume(s), on the other hand, will deal with untensed clauses.

The goal, I repeat, is to show the speaker all of the alternatives that Basque offers in as detailed a manner as possible. In the case of comparative clauses, for instance, what morpheme we are using, among other things, has to be shown: in comparisons of equality, for example, there is *adina*, *adinbat*, *beste*, *bezainbat*, «as much as», «as many as», and another one or so. We have all of these available although some, perhaps, belong more to one particular Basque dialect than another. The aim of this grammar is to make room for all of them by giving each one its own due weight when possible. By weight I mean evaluating its use, seeing whether it is archaic or not, whether it is from one area or not, etc. However, in principle, we do not hold one up to be better than another. It is another matter when each one of those morphemes has more than one variant (*adina/aina/aña/hainbat/ainbat/adinbat* «as much as», «as many as», etc. in which case an effort is made to propose a single variant.

7. Gaps that still exist and how to fill them: From EGLU to EGO

No one is perfect and *EGLU* is no exception. It was born with a provisional air to it, as a kind of preliminary work. That is where the rest of the title, «lehen urratsak» (first steps) came from. This means that once the seven

EGLU volumes that we take to be preliminary works are finished, all of the work will have to be carefully looked through again from top to bottom. Only then will the Commission have a whole perspective as well as the Basque Academy. In that way, it will be possible to answer several of the dubious points «left behind along the way». It is clear that a grammar that wishes to show what the usage is should give more information than what *EGLU* offers in several areas. Indeed, in what has been published up to now, there are some pending a decision: points such as the use of the indefinite, for example, or the division between the demonstrative and the intensified pronouns or the value of the suffixes of several declensions and periphrastic verb forms.

That is why it is not surprising at all that those who are forced to reflect on the language (teachers, translators, writers, students, and so on) come out with their questions and anxiety over and over. Indeed, the *Jagon* section («watchdog section») of the Basque Academy has been concerned about this over the last few years (see M. Azkarate 1996). In order to see how things are, it would be best for us to make up a list of the most frequently asked questions. In that way we will be able to see where the concerns of the people are coming from. For example:

7.1. CONCERNS WITH THE INDEFINITE

a) *Is a quantifier phrase definite or indefinite?*

An official «lesson» is that when we have a quantifier phrase, that phrase, if there is no other reason, goes into the indefinite mode. However, things are not always so simple. Here are some illustrations of the questions:

- (2) a) Hemendik bi {*kilometrorakilometroTAr*} (two kilometres from here)
 b) {*Mila euroAn/mila euroTAn*} saldu dut bizikleta. (I sold the bicycle for 1,000 euros)
 c) Zenbat {*ordukolorduTAko*} lana da hori? (how many hours of work is that?)
 d) Hiru {*hilabeteAn/hilabeteTAn*} asko hazi da. (he's grown a lot in three months)
 e) *Zortzitik bilzortziTAtik bi*. (two out of eight)

In (2) there probably could be two alternatives according to the Basque dialects. In the name of Unified Basque, it would be difficult to choose one over the other.

It could be the case that in (2 a-d) the quantifier phrase is taken as a whole unit. Attestations of examples like *bi orduko lana* «a job for two hours» are frequent in the tradition. But we would have to say *hiru motatako informazioa* «three kinds of information» as those three kinds do not make up a unit, but a set of three instead. **Hiru motako informazioa* would be wrong.

These matters will have to be discussed at some point in time in our grammar.

b) *Percentages*

Citing percentages also can raise some doubts:

- (3) Ehuneko {*bost/bosta*} igo dira etxebizitzak (flats have gone up 5 per cent)

Overall, it seems that the one without a determiner is prevalent. However, in modern usage, perhaps on the account of Spanish and French, there is another different trend. In any case, it is a matter that needs to be cleared up.

c) *Indefinites without quantifiers*

In several cases, the indefinite can also be used in NPs without a quantifier:

- (4) a) {*Ezkerre/ezkerretara*} jo zuen autoak. (the car swerved to the left)
 b) Neskak {*eskuetan/eskutan*} hartu zuen lorea. (the girl took the flower in her hands)
 c) Kopuru bat {*litrotan/litroetan*} adierazi. (to express an amount in litres)
 d) Ardoa {*kaxatan/kaxetan*} banatu. (to distribute wine in boxes)

Here too we could discuss it at length although it is an offense that Sarasola (1997)⁹ has denounced, and there is undeniably a certain problem there: those of us who also say *eskuetan hartu* would give a measurement *metrotan* (lit. «in metre», *metro* being in the indefinite), and not, in all probability, *metroetan* (lit. «in metres»).

d) *Vocative in the indefinite or definite?*

People ask whether the form in the vocative should be definite or indefinite:

- (5) a) Eh, {*mutiko/mutikoa*}, non dago herriko plaza? (hey, sonny, where's the town square?)
 b) Zatoz hona, *adiskidea/adiskide*. (come here, friend)
 c) Bai, *jauna/*jaun*. (yes, sir)

⁹ Sarasola blames TXILLARDEGI's book *Sustrai bila*, which was successful in its day, on having made things worse instead of having made them better: «And as for *kontutan hartu* ("to take into account"), bear in mind that in the northern Basque Country Axular uses *kontutan*, but Etxeberri Ziburukoa uses *kontuan*; over the last two centuries only in Goihetxe does it appear in the northern Basque Country, in the form *kontuan*. In the Southern Basque Country, on the other hand, it is used a number of times in the 19th and 20th centuries and always appearing as *kontuan*. Thus, on this point, the unity that had been achieved from way back was broken—in the name of unity!—by Unified Basque. When will we realize that there is no root or essence in language matters, and that the key to a proper written Basque lies in Basque itself, in the tradition of written Basque?» (Sarasola 1997, 121).

e) *Indefinite adjectives in the predicates*

The indefinite is also present in adjectives that are used as a noun predicate, but it is not altogether clear when it should be definite and when indefinite.

f) *Doubts about the pronouns and determiners*

People have expressed doubts about the declension of undefined pronouns:

- (6) a) {*Zerbaitez/zerbaitetaz*} {*bete/mintzatu*} (to fill with something, talk about something)
 b) {*zerez/zertaz*} {*bete/mintzatu*} (to fill with what, talk about what)

7.2. DOUBTS CONCERNING DEMONSTRATIVES

The Basque Academy, in a way, accepted these three forms: *hargatik/haregatik/harengatik* «because of that» (see *Euskera* 1979-2, 631-632). *Hargatik* is listed, but this note is attached to it: «*One(n)gatik, horre(n)gatik, hare(n)gatik* are accepted in this way. *Hargatik* was accepted when it was inanimate, however.» It is not very surprising that people should express their doubts.

There are also doubts about *bere burua, beren burua, beren buruak*, etc. «himself/herself», «themselves», as there are about what has been built on the morpheme *ber-*: *bere/beren/beraien; bere¹⁰/beraren; berekin/berarekin*, and so on.

7.3. APPPOSITION STRUCTURES

Below are some doubts or questions that some have brought forward. The doubt lies with what case elements that are in apposition are supposed to be in:

- (7) a) *Inor gutxik.../Inork gutxik...* (hardly anyone)
 b) *Nor gehiago ikusi duzu?* (who else did you see?)
 but c) {*nor gehiago/nor gehiagori/nori gehiagori*} *esan diozu?* (who else did you say it to?)
 (8) *Alberdi jaunarekin, Asuan bizi {dena/denarekin}, etorri zen Gasteiza.* (He came to Gasteiz with Mr. Alberdi who lives in Asua)

In other words, should two elements in apposition be in the same case?

¹⁰ There is the reflexive *bere*, but when the antecedent is plural, a problem arises (*bere/beren*). When the antecedent is singular, there are no problems with *bere*, but what place the form *beraren* is supposed to occupy is not altogether clear.

7.4. DECLENSION DOUBTS

a) In writing, should the written form be taken into account or how it is pronounced? This is often the problem with foreign names:

- (9) a) Greenpeace-ko/Greenpeace-eko
b) Lafitte-ren gramatika/Lafitte-n gramatika

The solution to this problem is not difficult but as long as it is not on offer, it is easy to understand why people are unsure.

b) The distinction between different suffixes should also be subject to more profound study: Some are calling for the distinction between the so-called locative genitive *-ko/* and the possessive *-en* to be clarified. The same goes for pairs such as *-(ra)ko/-entzat* «for» or *-(r)ekin* «with»/ *-z* «with, by».

c) Adverbs may also appear with postpositions at times. The question is knowing if a different expression implies a different meaning. Anyway, we will have to see what weight each form has in the tradition. Otherwise, it may happen that the search for unity would end in endless multiple variants. Here are some of those adverbs: *luzaro/luzaroan* «for a long time»; *aspaldi/aspaldian* «a long time ago»; *sarri/sarritan* «often, frequently».

7.5. DOUBTS ABOUT THE VERB

a) There are many things remaining to be found out about the verb. There are many differences in the usage of the verb tenses, for example, and people have expressed their doubts:

- (10) a) *bihar {dator/etorriko da}* (he {is coming/he'll come} tomorrow)
b) *{aitortukolaitortzen}* *ez zaigun bitartean...* (while it {won't be/it is not acknowledged})
c) *hara non {aurkitulaurkitzen}* *duen* (look where he {has found it/finds it})

b) In spite of the doubts that might arise regarding the verbal system¹¹, there are lingering doubts about the periphrastic verb tenses and there are differences from one dialect to another:

- (11) a) *Mirenen etxera joan naiz eta {ez da egon/ez zegoen}*¹² (I went to Miren's house and she wasn't there)

¹¹ For example, *ez zaizu argazkian ikusten* (cf. (Sp.) *no se te ve en la foto* «you are not seen in the photo») is clearly wrong, because of the dative agreement, but people ask about its grammaticality. (See J. Ortiz de Urbina, 1988 about this).

¹² The verb form *ez da egon* is perfective per se as if we said «He hasn't been». However, in the Biscayan dialect, some use that form instead of the aspect free form *ez zegoen* ((s)he wasn't).

- b) Peruk beti {*egiten/egin*} (izan) du horrela (Peter always did it that way, Peter has always done it that way)
- c) Goizetan {*egiten/egin*} ohi du (he usually does it in the morning)

There are also doubts about different periphrastic constructions:

- (12) a) {*nahi/nahi izango/nahiko*} nuke (I would like to do it)
- b) *bizitzea/bizi izatea* (to live, living)
- c) *nahiz Donostian {bizi/bizi izan}*... (although he lives in Donostia...)

c) Abbreviated command forms are also a source of doubt for people, especially when writing them:

- (13) a) *emadazu/emaizazu* ... (give it to me)
- b) *emazu/emozu/emaiozu*... (give it to her/him)
- c) *uztazu/utzazu*... (leave it)

d) People are also asking questions about verbal concordance:

- (14) a) *ez {zait/zaizkit}* ez ardoa ez eta garagardoa ere gustatzen (I don't like either wine or beer)
- b) *informazio osagarria eta koaderno bana eman {zaiel/zaizkie}* ikasleei (Students have each receive complementary information and a notebook)
- c) *Arazoak baino ez {dulditu}* ekartzen. (It brings nothing but problems)
- d) *Arazoak besterik ez {dulditu}* ekartzen. (It brings nothing but problems)

e) Often concerns are expressed about nuances of clauses containing a non-finite verb:

-t(z)en (-tze + inessive)/-tuz (participle + instrumental)/*-tuta/-turik* (participle. + adverbial suffix *-ta/-r ik*):

- (15) *Nobela bat {irakurtzen/irakurriz}* etorri naiz. (I came reading a novel)

-t(z)era (-tze + allative)/-t(z)eko (*tze + destinative*):

- (16) *Adarra {jotzekol/jotzera}* etorri naiz (I came to play a joke on him)

-tu (participle)/*-t(z)ea (-tze + article + absolutive)*:

- (17) {*eskatuleskatzea*} *besterik ez duzu* (you only have to ask)

-t(z)ea (-tze + article + absolutive)/-t(z)eko (*-tze + destinative*):

- (18) a) *Etortzeko eskatu diogu* (we asked him to come)
- b) *Jantzi ilunez etortzea eskatzen da* (dark dress is required)

-t(z)eko (*-tze* + genitive locative)/*-t(z)earen* (*-tze* + article + genitive)¹³:

(19) Hitz {*egiteko/egitearen/egin*} beharra (the need to talk)

7.6. WORD ORDER

a) Doubts stem especially from negative dependent clauses.

(20) a) {*etorriko ez delalez dela etorriko*} esan digu Peruk (Peter told us that he wouldn't come)
 b) Peruk esan digu ez dela etorriko/?*etorriko ez dela* (Peter told us that he wouldn't come)

In simple clauses, a negation results in the auxiliary verb going to the left of the main verb, but in dependent clauses that does not always happen. In relative clauses, for example, the matter is quite clear, but doubts also arise in different dependent clauses. Compare that clause with this other pair:

(21) a) [[*Etorriko ez dela*] esan duen] gizonak] Bilbotik deitu du (The man who said he wouldn't come has called from Bilbao)
 b) ?[[*Ez dela etorriko*] esan duen] gizonak] Bilbotik deitu du (The man who said he wouldn't come has called from Bilbao)

b) Even within the noun phrase, in spite of possible cases of ambiguity, it is not sure whether the position of complements or adverbials can be just anything:

(22) a) *nire Sestaoko laguna* (My friend from Sestao)
 b) *Sestaoko nire laguna* (My friend from Sestao)

7.7. SOME PROBLEMS REGARDING COMPOUND CLAUSES

The more they wade into complex syntactical structures, the greater the anxiety of the people.

(23) *Lehenbiziko aldia da hori egiten {duena/duela}*¹⁴ (it's the first time he's done it)

¹³ The *-ko* appearing in *-tzeko* is usually given as locative genitive in Basque grammars, but in this case it should be noted that it is nothing more than a means to mark the link between the noun *behar* and its object.

¹⁴ *Duena* is the right form, as it would be the relative form and that is indeed how it seems. However, it seems that the form used is *duela*, the same one used in the completive. It is not a cut-and-dry matter.

Clauses that are nominal complements, even if things are theoretically rather clear, appear to be incorrect:

- (24) Jende gehiago etorriko {**denaren/delako*} esperantza (the hope that more people will come)

7.8. ANOTHER FEW DOUBTS

There are also some other doubts/questions that are on people's minds.

Distinction between the complementizer *-enik/-ela* (the former being used in negative contexts while the latter is used in non-negative ones); subjunctive + {*-en/-ela*} complementizers; the *consecutio temporum* of conditionals; doubts such as «*uste {duzun/duzuna} baino lan hobea*» (a job better than you thought) which take place in comparative clauses; *-(e)la/-(e)larik* that appear in modal clauses; *-z gerol-tzekotan*, which are conditional in meaning.

They also ask other questions. The fact of the matter is that we are subservient to Spanish/French and that we are always thinking in Spanish and French, etc. Indeed, the questions that often come to us have also usually been thought up in Spanish/French or arise from Spanish/French constructions. For example, the word *depende* «it depends» is deeply embedded in our minds. People are aware of this and that is why they ask for an equivalent. People often come and ask questions such as how to render «*Por si acaso, no vaya a ser que...*» into Basque. What are we to do in such cases? Sometimes it is good enough to ask them to think it through first in Basque, but other times the equivalent, the exact equivalent, should be given, in my opinion.

These questions are all out there. They respond to people's real concern. Some of them should have been included in the *EGLU* volumes which are already in print. Thus, it will have to be seen whether they are truly included. If they have been included, it should be checked whether the information given is clear and adequate. However, I am afraid that a great many of those are still awaiting a response. When we finish all of the *EGLU* volumes, there are plans of going back through absolutely everything and taking the next great step by going beyond *EGLU*. Then it would no longer be *EGLU* but *EGO* (*Euskal Gramatika Orotarikoa* or General Basque Grammar).

Some other questions correspond to volumes that have not seen the light of day yet. Thus, we hope to be able to answer such questions to a certain extent but we must be careful! Asking a question can be rather easy while giving an adequate and well-founded answer is not.

Therefore, there is a great workload to go through in order to reach that goal and so it will be a long process. In the meantime, however, as the Leioa Congress so did, the Basque Academy aims to prepare a series of such answers on an annual basis. Of course, we will first try to answer the topics that people bring up.

Accordingly, the project over the coming years: finish up *EGLU* and work on several key topics little by little and help complete the set of rules for

Unified Basque. Subsequently, the future Grammar of the Academy will be created as that grammar is added to and improved upon.

8. Some last thoughts

I certainly would not like to end without reflecting on the relationship between Unified Basque and the Basque dialects. Over these last years, several people have expressed special concern about the Basque dialects, especially Biscayan. In any case, there should be a division of roles between Unified Basque and the dialect in which one would be used in one context while the other would be used in another. Nevertheless, in formal contexts, I believe that written Basque, especially prose, should be in Unified Basque. However, as I have said more than once, at least for the time being, our job is to show all the structures, expressions, and, in a word, all the alternatives that are span across different Basque dialects. Our job is to collect and unify them. When that collection work is through, we shall see what kind of status each structure has. For now, hardly anything has been thrust aside: only those which are clear examples of localisms or which can be safely deemed as obsolete, and, to be sure, poorly constructed structures. From this point of view, I am of the opinion that all of the Basque dialects should be duly represented, especially Biscayan syntax.

Many efforts have been made over these last few years along the lines of achieving a tidy, dignified and whatever-else-you-would-like Basque. Ibon Sarasola's work (1997) is the latest effort, but although it is at a different level, there are many works that have come out in an effort to free Basque from its subservience to Spanish/French. Gotzon Garate's *Erderakadak*, published in 1988, would be one example. With the same goal in mind, i.e. the goal of using a more correct Basque, Pello Esnal and J.R. Zubimendi's books deserve a mention. The same could go for didactic works published by HABE and Basque language schools for adults. Anyway, many of these works published as a learning aid for students only repeat rules or works already put out by the Basque Academy as a learning aid for students of Basque. Nothing new is proposed. That is, for example, the case of Eskarne Lopetegi's book entitled *Hizkuntza zuzen erabiltzeko arau eta proposamen-bilduma* «a collection of proposals and rules for using correct language», published by HABE in 1993.

It is not right that people should be in doubt and unsure about things. However, that is a normal thing to happen when we go a bit beyond ordinary Basque. As people learn new structures, they are getting to know more about Basque and it is normal that there should be doubts about what has just been learnt. It happens to us all.

In any case, a kind of «moratorium» should be given to people, to ordinary people, of course, because those working in the mass media, textbook industry, and so on have the obligation to start going by the rules as they

come out with their work. Grammar will not save us, but without it, Basque will be unable to survive.

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Lexicography in the last quarter of the 20th century up to the publication of the *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*

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I. Lexicography in the early days of Unified Basque

Nearly 10 years had gone by from the time the Arantzazu Congress had been held in 1968 to the publication of the first dictionaries written in Unified Basque¹. 1977 saw the publication of *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa*, compiled by Xabier Kintana *et al.* and Luis Mari Mujika's two volume *Diccionario General y Técnico* (1. *Castellano Euskara* and *Hiztegi orokor-teknikoa* 2. *Euskara-Gaztalanía*) Both were Unified Basque dictionaries according to their compilers and according to the spelling and morphological conventions used. Both dictionaries were normative: they do not give dialectal variants and in the case of *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa*, dialectal forms were expressly condemned. However, a comparison of the part running from A to ALFILER in the Spanish-Basque part speaks volumes: agreement between what both propose does not even reach 50%.

L.M. MUJIKÁ'S DICTIONARIES

They are large dictionaries. The Spanish-Basque part, according to what appears on the title page, has 100,000 «lexical senses». Nevertheless, *abatible*, *acentuación*, *acrobacia*, *adrenalina*, *agarrón*, *agravante*, *alfabetizar*, *cesura*, *cetáceo*, *confundir*, *disimular*, *engendrar*, *esternón*, *ranura*, *respetar*, *saltar* are, among other things, deficient. It is quite clear that L.M. Mujika first worked on the Spanish-Basque part first and that he had «fleshed out» his own by abridging and adapting P. Mujika's dictionary. On that basis, there is, overall, another influence: namely, the theories that had appeared in the peculiar and multifarious preface of his dictionary, and a year later, what he had presented in

¹ The *Batasunaren Kutxa* word list or monolingual dictionary mentioned below is the exception.

the book entitled *La prefijación, clave del euskara técnico y urbano* (Prefixing: the key to technical and urban Basque). As a result, we can find, among thousands of others, words like **destaconar** (remove the heels) given as «eztakoitu» (t.n. this sounds as natural as «to unheel» in English), and **marcear**² (1. to shear sheep 2. to be rough as in March), being glossed as «martxozmoztu // matxotu» (March-cut // to become March). There are plenty of examples in the same vein such as **desvalijar** (1. to plunder, pillage 2. to ransack 3. to burgle) «balixakendu» (suitcase-take away), which are wretched examples of twisted Basque³.

Such peculiar proposals lend the dictionary its odd appearance. Nevertheless, when it does not go that route, the *Diccionario General y Técnico* offers more appropriate solutions than the *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa*.

There are no parts of speech in the entries. A sense is separated by two bars (//), and a Spanish synonym features a double sense. Thus, L.M. Mujika's work has P. Mujika's structure, but more simplified. Let us compare two entries, practically chosen at random. The former is from L.M. Mujika's dictionary while the latter is from P. Mujika's.

DESTEMPLE ondoez, alditxar, maloka. // **Desabrimiento** zakarraldi, destenore. // **Descomedimiento** neurrigabekeria, nabarmenkeria. // **Intemperie** girotxar, desaterpe.

DESTEMPLE 1. *desafinación, disonancia* = ereskaitz, gozagaitz. **2.** *indisposición* = iltze G, ondoeza (c), ongieza, aldigaitz, gaxo-aldi, maloka B, lomokor AN. **3.** *intemperie, tiempo destemplado* arotxar, aro-gaizto, abra B, afrontu B, bisustu BG, desaro. **4.** *descomedimiento* nabarmenkeri **5.** *desabrimiento* = ozarkeri AN, mokorkeri, lazkeri [...]

As we can see, L.M. Mujika has done away with the first sense in P. Mujika's in the supposition that it is unsuitable and the rest, according to the compiler's intuition, have been ordered from the most normal sense on down. In the first sense, what P. Mujika considers common is chosen first, the strange word *iltze* is omitted, *aldigaitz* made *alditxar* seem more normal, and he kept *maloka*, perhaps because it is a Biscayan word. In the second sense he chose, it follows the same path, perhaps in the belief that the models were not satisfactory. In the next one, he adds own of his own to P. Mujika's and in the fourth sense, *arotxar* gives way to *girotxar* and then, he comes out with a calque based on the prefix *des-* which he holds so dear to his heart.

The Basque-Spanish part —i.e. the part made up of 100,000 words and senses— is, on the other hand, not to be taken seriously. It is a mechanically done reverse Spanish-Basque dictionary full of words that have never been

² Such bizarre entries are all too frequent in L.M. Mujika's dictionary; ones like it — for instance the two cited cases— are in P. Mujika's, to be sure, though with a different Basque gloss.

³ The underlying *Egur moztan* (t.n. cutting wood) —as underlying as the *mozte* (cutting) verbal noun— does not legitimize *egurmoztu*, in spite of whatever theory one can think up.

nor ever will be used. It features many such entries as **aurredestiratu** «prelucir» (to foreshine). What is added to that part is merely padding composed of mechanically applying collocation rules resulting in such examples of twisted Basque as **pantufлари** «pantuflero» (slipper maker) or **paperbildu** «envolver con papel, rollo de papel» (wrap in paper, roll of paper). The entries are far simpler than the ones in the Spanish-Basque part, and many are simply word-for-word entries, i.e. the Basque headword and its sole Spanish equivalent (see illustration 56).

On the other hand, failure to give parts of speech and not worrying about them has resulted, as I have just shown above in the **paperbildu** example, in entries being mixed up. For the same reasons, in the **panpoxa** entry, «mujer linda» (pretty woman) is placed instead of an adjective and in **pintto**, three adjectives and a noun are glossed together without warning. The same goes, and even more so, for the amazing entry **pixontzi** «bacín, meón, orinal» (chamberpot, prone to wet oneself, urinal).

Lastly, perhaps haste may explain the reasons how entries such as **plazagizon** «agradable al pueblo» (agreeable to the people, t.n. *plazagizon* is «gifted public speaker»), **onddozuri** «robellón, bien, buenamente» (milk cap mushroom, well, fine) // «proximidad, contorno» (proximity, nearby area) or **ustebete** «cumpleaños, persuasión» (birthday, persuasion) came to be.

As for the user of this dictionary, it must be said that the metalanguage of the Spanish-Basque dictionary is wholly Spanish. The long preface is entirely in Spanish as well as the «Apéndices» part, abbreviations within the entries such as (Fís.), (Ave), (Tienda), etc. Only what is offered comes in two languages. The dictionary does have some illustrated pages, the titles of which are given in Basque, accompanied by the Spanish equivalent, —ZURGIN-TRESNAK: Herramientas de carpintería [Carpentry tools], for instance, between pages 64 and 65—, but numbered objects in the illustrations are only in Basque at the foot of the page.

The Basque-Spanish volume begins in Basque⁴, but on line 21 of the introduction first he says «in order to continue with the prologue⁵ or preface in the first volume, I shall state the following in Spanish (as in the other one)» and then for the next 45 pages everything is in Spanish. Afterwards comes a truly amazing page entitled LABURLETRAK [abbreviation letters] in which Basque abbreviations are given in Spanish. At the end of the dictionary there is an ERANSKINA [appendix] section entitled in Spanish as «Nueva onomástica vasca». Then, under the title ATOTITZ (sic) [proverb] a list of proverbs is given, followed by two lists GIZON IZENAK (nombres masculinos) [masculine nouns] and EMAKUME IZENAK (nombres femeninos) [feminine nouns]. The statement of the date at the end of the book is in Spanish. Thus, it could be

⁴ On the other hand, the author's name undergoes a change from *Luis M.*^a to *Luix M.*^a.

⁵ That word is not found in the dictionary.

formally stated that, despite some instances of incoherence, both volumes of the dictionary are aimed at the Spanish-speaker who knows Basque.

EUSKAL HIZTEGI MODERNOA

This dictionary, compiled by the *Ekiten* group⁶ under the supervision of X. Kintana, was the guidepost and aide of the ordinary writer who wrote in Unified Basque for nearly twenty years. This bilingual dictionary was the *de facto* normative Unified Basque dictionary. It went through many editions and name changes —the last one being *Bi Mila hiztegia*— and thousands and thousands of copies were printed over the span of twenty years. There is a huge difference between the three editions, whether it was proposals for the language itself —starting with the use of *ph* and *y* in the spelling of the first edition— or commentary on certain entries such as *aberri*.

The dictionary had in its last edition, as stated on its title page, 48,650 words and 61,800 senses. In the Basque-Spanish part —with a significant difference— there are 36,700 words and 41,500 senses.

As far as lexicographical technique is concerned, the *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa* is much more on the mark than L.M. Mujika's. As in L.M. Mujika's, nouns and adjectives are, to be sure, given minus the article but in verbs, L.M. Mujika's work only gives the indefinite form while the *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa* puts the indefinite marker in between parentheses⁷. Nevertheless, the *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa* does not give the verbal noun either, not even in complicated cases (see illustration 57). In the third edition, the part of speech is given. Nothing but *ad.* is given for verbs but when necessary, at least most of the time, the problem of verbal types is solved by use of examples. For instance, in the first sense for **begira(tu)** —«mirar, observar, -ado»—, this observation is made: «se emplea generalmente como dativo» (it is generally used as a dative) and these examples are included: **begiratzzen dizut**: te miro (I look at you); **loreiei begiratzzen die**: mira las flores (he looks at the flowers); **begira horiei**: ¡mira a esos! (look at those). In the second sense —«vigilar, cuidar, precaver(se), -ado [*sic*]»—, the observation «con nominativo [*sic*]» is made, and these examples are included: **begiratzzen zaitut**: te vigilo (I guard you); **loreak begiratzzen ditu**: cuida los flores (he looks after the flowers). In the third and last senses,—«esperar, aguardar -ado»—, there are no observations⁸.

Senses are divided up by number but the context of the sense is not marked and differentiated as in P. Mujika's work. There are also, as we have

⁶ X. Kintana, J. Aurre, R. Badiola, S. Egileor, J.L. Goikoetxea, J. Zearreta and K. Zuazo made up the group *Ekiten*.

⁷ It should be noted that this system does have its problems when the verb root ends in a sibilant: e.g. in the entry for **belz(tu)** the verbal root is confusing since it is *beltz* baita, *ez belz*.

⁸ Cf. The entry itself in L.M. Mujika's dictionary «**BEGIRATU** mirar. // defender, librar, preservar. // cauto, avisado, circunspecto, discreto, sensato. // ojeada. // parco en el gasto.»

seen, some examples for illustrating the usage of the word as well as for other purposes.

Notes on Basque dialects are also given but their function is mostly to exclude the word or to relegate it as a secondary form. Often the user is referred back to another entry: **bedar** (B) see *belar* or **goizerri** (Z) see *Oriente*.

The clear-cut source of the Basque-Spanish source is Azkue's *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés*. Errata are also lifted from that source: **afalondo** «después de cenar» (after dinner), **bazkalaurre** «antes de comer» (before lunch), etc. and overall, it has words that not even a modern dictionary with 50,000 words would find worthwhile to include: **artakoko** «gusano de maíz no desgranada» (worm in unshucked corn); **labarto** «borona hecha con grano que se ha secado al horno»⁹ (corn cake made with oven-dried corn). Several things were added to the Azkue dictionary framework: the little vocabularies from the radical Unified Basque magazine from around Biscay, *Anaitasuna*, were almost systematically added and, generally speaking, words from the classic authors that made it into the dictionary were used on account of their ready availability and used without regard for any balance: the Leizarraga dictionary compiled by Aresti and, for instance, the Axular dictionary (*Axularren hiztegia*) mentioned above.

The Spanish-Basque part was compiled based on P. Mujika's dictionary. When the Basque equivalents were not satisfactory, and when nothing was forthcoming from the Basque-Spanish part, the solution was to opt for a Spanish equivalent either «as is» or with a «Basquized» spelling.

The dictionary is ideologically imbalanced in the preface and in several entries, especially in the first edition. On the other hand, there are entries or senses that are sheer reflections of the compilers' sectarian views, e.g.

Azaro: 1 tiempo apropiado para las berzas. (weather suitable for cabbages). 2 Noviembre, esta palabra, por presiones al parecer, de algunos puristas guipuzcoanos, fue aceptada por la Academia, a pesar de su sentido equivoco, despreciando la forma **hazil**, popular en el país vasco francés, muy conocida en esta parte del país y ya utilizada en 1571 por Leizarraga en su calendario; vide **hazaro**, **hazil**¹⁰;

(November, this word, apparently dues to pressure brought to bear by some Gipuzkoan adherents of a pure Basque, was accepted by the Academy in spite of its incorrect sense and rejecting the form **hazil**, much used in the French Basque Country, well-known in this part of the country and used as far back as 1571 by Leizarraga in his caldenar, see **hazaro**, **hazil**).

It is a fine example of the compilers' likes and dislikes. Nevertheless, the worst in this entry is to be found in the first sense: There is not a single text,

⁹ There are many such examples in the Basque-Spanish part. In my opinion, that explains the 12,000 word difference between the Basque-Spanish and Spanish-Basque parts.

¹⁰ The content in the entry is maintained in the third edition.

not a single oral attestation nor even a single dictionary that glosses «azaro» as «cabbage season».

The preface to the *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa*, as in previous pages, is in two languages, first in Basque and then in Spanish. It is followed by a «Gramatikazko atala» (Grammar section), «deklinabidea» (declension), and «aditz sintetikoak» (synthetic verbs) which is entirely in Basque as is «Euskal Alfabetoa». The following section, «Laburdurak-abreviaturas» is quite peculiar: many abbreviations are given in two different ways, e.g. af./afirm. cond./condic., contra./contrac., etc. There are two *conjug.s* in different lines as «conjugación» and «conjugable». The ones in Basque and Spanish are listed together and all come with bilingual explanations, e.g. «adb. adverbio adverbio/adv. adverbio, adverbio». When the abbreviation is one common to both languages, the Basque one comes first but not always. After the Basque-Spanish part come some Basque-Spanish word lists, namely «Geografi izenak/Nombres Geográficos», «Mitologi izenak/Nombres Mitológicos», «Latinezko eta beste erdal esaldi batzuk» (sentences from Latin and other foreign languages) and «Euskal esaera zaharrak (Old Basque sayings) and after the Spanish-Basque part», «Nombres geográficos/Geografi izenak», «Nombres históricos/Histori izenak» —missing in the other half— and «Nombres mitológicos/Mitologi izenak»; the note on the publication date is in Basque.

Typologically speaking, the dictionary is, as we have seen, quite a mix. The usual practice in lexicography, when the bilingual dictionary itself is published in two countries, is that the home language should come first. In the Longman dictionary, for instance, the English-Spanish/Spanish-English sequence is followed in England whereas the Spanish-English/English-Spanish sequence is followed in Spain. From this standpoint, it is a dictionary published for Basque students «in Spain».

Nevertheless, in formal terms, the Basque-Spanish part is inherently a monolingual Basque dictionary translated into Spanish, i.e., a Basque-Basque dictionary turned into a Basque-Spanish one. The abbreviations, both those pertaining to parts of speech and one such as *Kim.*, *Musik.*, are in Basque¹¹. For instance, the notes for **begira(tu)**, which are discussed above, inherently correspond to a monolingual dictionary. Moreover, in the same vein, the dictionary is clearly a normative dictionary. On the other hand, illustrative sentences such as *txoriak/pájaros* are a feature which is primarily used in monolingual dictionaries for beginners. Such illustrations seldom appear in the usual bilingual dictionaries.

¹¹ Nevertheless, there is one that is amazing, which repeats itself by merely repeating the number, (v. 389. *orr.*), as it is, according to the abbreviation, v. «véase» and *orr.* «orrialde»; Likewise, in the Spanish-Basque part there is (*ik. p. 181*). On the other hand «(git.)». —in the entry **gasnia** etc.— «(infant.)» —in the entry **mama**, etc. appear in Spanish in both parts and generally «(pop.)» in the Spanish-Basque part.

The Spanish-Basque part is also for Basque-speakers: abbreviations are—in this part no parts of speech are generally given—are given in Basque as is, overall, much of the commentary, e.g. in the entry for *lagarto*: **lagarto oce-lado**: *gardatxo* [Nafarroan ugari] (many in Navarre), or in the entry for **las**: *-ak* (nom. *urruna*); *-ok* (nom. *hurbila*).

Thus, the *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa* perfectly shows the gaps Basque lexicography still had ten, twenty years ago and it goes a long way towards showing our inability to tackle a monolingual dictionary and to take over the role that bilingual dictionaries had had in their absence.

II. Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia

BEGINNINGS

As we mentioned above, Azkue's *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés* marked a new era in the field of Basque lexicography. He was the linchpin for so very many pieces of research and projects—and overall, as we have seen, of many dictionaries—. In the recently established Unified Basque, Azkue was the basis of many forays¹² into the field of lexicography as we have just seen.

However, as I have discussed above, Azkue's dictionary had serious flaws. Moreover, years and years have gone by since it came out. On the other hand, and this is the most serious point, those flaws have become all the more apparent in word lists and dictionary projects that have been prepared since then. On one hand, those that had been working on completing his dictionary tried especially to compile peculiarities and geographically restricted forms thereby distorting and making the image and shape of our lexical heritage lopsided. Written attestations collected from the oldest classical writers—the modern ones were not taken into account in that kind of research—were also mostly compiled in the same spirit. L. Villasante's *Axularren Hiztegia* was about the only exception until around 1980 and in his uniqueness the Franciscan friar's fine work may have distorted the old tradition.

Thus, if Basque as a whole was to be described once and for all in its entirety, it was not enough to systematically compile lexicographical works that had been done hitherto. Generally speaking, it was necessary to work on our literary tradition and finish up, as comprehensively, completely, and balanced as possible, the compilation of the lexical heritage that had been prepared without ignoring contemporary or dialectal forms or leaving out groups of writers or kinds of words. In other words, the task was to give the most complete and neutral, richest and most far-reaching reflection of the tradition.

¹² The most important of which was the Royal Academy of the Basque Language's unified vocabulary, which was a 2,000 word list.

1. FROM THE SECOND EDITION OF AZKUE'S DICTIONARY TO THE *OROTARIKO EUSKAL HIZTEGIA*

In 1956, the Royal Academy of the Basque Language, Euskaltzaindia, commissioned the linguist Koldo Mitxelena to work on a new edition of Azkue's *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés* as the first edition had gone out of print.

It was contemplated as a new work based on Azkue's work but one that would overcome his weak points while, on the other hand, one that would meet the new circumstances and demands of Basque lexicography.

Koldo Mitxelena immediately took up the challenge asked of him and the first thing that he did was to begin compiling dictionary material. This material was collected on cards (see illustration 88). A few years later, Mitxelena worked on the first draft which got as far as the letter G (see illustration 59).

On account of certain problems, he completely stopped preparing the first draft. Nevertheless, the compiling of dictionary material went on unabated. Thus, around 1975, the dictionary material had grown to be an tremendous amount and of various kinds, so much so that it began to be considered as a Koldo Mitxelena undertaking and not just a second edition of Azkue's dictionary.

On the other hand, the foundations of Unified Basque were laid in 1968 in Arantzazu, especially in matters dealing with spelling and morphology. However, it was patently obvious that in going along that path towards unification, a more solid and far-ranging foundation with more texts and informative material than was available at that time would be needed in order to decide on several lexical and even grammatical points and a general dictionary might be the most suitable way to lay such a foundation.

As a result, Koldo Mitxelena not only opted to enrich the format of the dictionary but also the aim. The initial «philological dictionary», bearing the unity of the language in mind, gave way to a «general dictionary». By way of illustrative example, in the writing I mentioned above, the Basque equivalent of Spanish «olvidar» (to forget) was in an entry of the headword *ahazte*. In the dictionary that came out, it was under the headword *ahaztu*.

Moreover, as a result of the growing amount of material and complexity, Koldo Mitxelena no longer saw himself involved in a one-man project. This is when he contacted me for help. We worked on the first draft of the new work in Salamanca in 1979-80 (see illustration 60). However, we soon saw that if Mitxelena's dictionary was ever to come out, it would have to require a team effort to write it.

Financial help to start up the team came in 1984 from Basque government institutions. In that year, work began on compiling the most important texts in the literary tradition. That compilation work was essential if we were to take into account the modern demands of Basque's inner normalization while, on the other hand, over three hundred thousand cards gathered by Mitxelena over a period of nearly years was a necessary complement to the

project. In that way, Mitxelena's fondest dream came true: a systematic compilation work of every pre-1745 text, the main books up to 1880, and the most wide-ranging and significant sampling of books since that date through to 1970.

2. PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE *OROTARIKO EUSKAL HIZTEGIA*

In the preparatory work for the *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*, time was of the essence. The new substructure mentioned above in the previous paragraph had to be ready to use in 18 months' time and not only was lexicographical work involved but work on grammar as well.

Thus, in that preparatory work, we had to take many factors, usually left out in philological work, into account. A single example will suffice to illustrate the problem. The choice of a photocopier became a matter of prime importance in preparatory work. Let us suppose that 56,000 copies need to be made per month—we made more than that in the first few months—choosing a machine that could make one photocopy per second or one that would need 4 seconds per photocopy meant a difference of thirty hours a month; in other words, by choosing a photocopier that could make one photocopy per second saved us 30 hours every month, i.e. the work hours of a collaborator for nearly a week. As one can see, these factors have to be figured out using «industrial philology». Likewise, we were forced to forswear changing our workspace that would otherwise be perfectly suitable on account of the distribution of the rooms and hallways in which we would lose thousands of seconds in consulting original texts.

That urgency for time had a great influence and was even decisive in taking any kind of decision while, on the other hand, we were forced to do costing and efficiency calculations—essentially those pertaining to organization engineering. For instance, it was paramount for us to be the opposite of that dictionary in order to get to know the true weight of the influence of Larramendi's *Diccionario Trilingüe*. The first intention as to do the exact opposite but we soon saw it was impossible, especially timewise, to undertake that task. But, by delving deeper into matters, we saw that it was enough in itself to compile all of the words appearing in the *Diccionario Trilingüe* and to provide a list that said in which Spanish entry the text was. And it was enough for us to make that list in, more or less, a fourth of the time and effort needed for the other method. By the way, together with Larramendi's work, and using the same method, we also managed to do a list of words from Añibarro's dictionary (see illustration 61).

2.1. *Mechanizing the corpus*

Computerizing the compilation work of texts from the literary tradition, i.e. the corpus, was done in the following manner: First of all, on account of a need for convertibility, a word processing system was chosen, not a data base.

On the other hand, there was a need to join two diametrically opposed factors together: On one hand, if the work was to be finished within the deadline, the texts would have to be keyed in at a rate of 200 pulsations per minute—except for books that had philologically special difficulties—which obliged us to manipulate the texts as little as possible but, on the other hand, the writers of the dictionary had to have textwords from the corpus pertaining to a certain lemma available in a single place. For example, *biçiak*, *biciac*, *biziak*, *viçiak*, *viciac*, etc. had to appear in the same article if the working work was not to be unduly complicated—or prolonged *ad infinitum*.

As a result, we had no qualms about changing the original spelling of the texts although we did know that by doing so we would be going against the usual trend of machine-based compilation. Thus, the variants mentioned above were typed in as *biziak*, i.e. in Unified Basque spelling.

In any case, we did maintain factors that were not aspirations, palatalizations, or spelling problems. All in all, we placed special marks on the words that are somehow marked in the original text—for instance a word showing up in italics meant the word was of foreign origin. Those marks, of course, were placed so that they would not be too far removed from their equivalents in alphabetical order. Likewise, the sixth vowel of the Zuberoan dialect, which appears in texts as *u* or *ü* was typed in by us as *v*. In that way, for example, the variants (*h*)*artu* and *hartv* would appear alongside each other, the former being those common to all Basque dialects and right after them the Zuberoan forms¹³ (see illustration 62). As for the case of proper nouns, we wished to compile them in a special arrangement, apart from the general list and so we put an asterisk for place names, people's names, and surnames.

In so doing, we worked on keying in the 300 most important works of Basque literature. We did not process magazine articles because in so doing, it would result in complicating our code system and because whatever would be lost with such a system would be more complicated than whatever would be gained. Indeed, by only using the books, it would be enough for us to classify and to identify each text by period¹⁴ (1), Basque dialect (2), kind of text (3), author (4), and work (5), i.e. a five-digit code. Thus, for instance, the code 61432 refers to a work dating from the 1800-1850 period (6), written in the Biscayan (1), of a religious nature (4), written by Brother Bartolomé (3), namely the second volume (2) of his *Eleizak zazpi sakramentuen ikaskizunak*. This code was implemented when the book started to be keyed in. The one who keyed the text in made a page change when the hard copy page ended with a full stop or semicolon. In so doing, the context of the last word did not wind up truncated.

This system was set up in conjunction with a group of computer experts by juggling between the dynamics of our problems and the needs and cost

¹³ It should be pointed out that our word processing program places *ü* just before *a*.

¹⁴ In fifty-year periods.

factors inherent to the computer program. After the programme was finished, we had a five and a half million text word list arranged in alphabetical order and with the structures seen in illustration 63: the code in the extreme left hand column, followed by the page number in the left hand area, the text word and the right hand context area.

In 1984, it was unthinkable for us to conceive of automatically lemmatizing text words. In any case, thanks to the work of the programmers, the letter (h) is not taken into consideration in alphabetizing and palatalized variants are mixed together with non-palatalized ones. Thus, *habailla*, *abailla*, *abaila*, *habaila* are the same thing as far as the ordering of the list is concerned.

The appearances that are the same according to their form, i.e. text words that have the same form for computers, are ordered according to the alphabetical order of the first letter of the next word. This is how we dealt with the problem of writing compound words and expressions. The 700 appearances of (H)ITZ EGIN were scattered among the approximately 5,200 appearances of (*h*)it*z*. The compiler of the *hitz egin* subentry would have to lose hundreds of seconds before beginning on the work by finding and marking 700 (*h*)it*z egin* appearances. Moreover, the appearances that have the same word on the right—all of the (*h*)it*z egins*, for example— appear in chronological order with the oldest appearing at the top and the more recent ones from the bottom.

Thanks to that organization of the corpus, over 90% of the dictionary's entries are found placed in a single category or bloc, provided with a wide number of contexts and suitably identified, i.e. it shows the person who has to write up the entry the text words with nearly all of the advantages of lemmatization.

2.2. *Mechanizing the task of incorporating Mitxelena's cards*

Before writing up the dictionary, we had to deal with another task: namely, that of mechanizing the task of incorporating the hundreds of thousands of file cards that Mitxelena had compiled over the course of thirty years. In that case, a kind of simple data base was chosen. When Mitxelena had begun to compile material for the dictionary, he thought of how to use the information on each card more than once. For example, the card ABANDONATU IZ Als 0000, after the entry for *abandonatu* was finished up, was filed under the letter D of the card collection; after that was finished, it went on to the material in the entry for *euri*, and then on to the material in the entry for *irristaka*, and then on to the subentry *gurdi mutur*¹⁵.

The mechanized data base card tried to take after that method. The cards, aside from the code, only had two fields: one for the headword and the other for the text. The text on Mitxelena's card was transferred to the text field. In the headword field, separated by commas, the spaces for the route that Mi-

¹⁵ The card does not go under *mutur*- as it has few commas.

txelena's card was to take were placed: *abandonatu*, *dezente*, *euri*, *irristaka*, and *gurdi mutur*.

3. GOALS, SOURCES, AND STRUCTURE

As the author said in the preface of the dictionary

«El *Diccionario General Vasco* trata de recoger y sistematizar el patrimonio de todas las épocas y dialectos. Se trata, por lo tanto, de una obra general y descriptiva, no de un diccionario normativo. Se basa en un material clasificado mecánicamente que comprende: a) los testimonios clave de las distintas épocas en que la lengua vasca aparece atestiguada, de alguna manera, desde la documentación antigua hasta una fecha reciente que se puede fijar, provisionalmente, en 1970 [...]; b) los textos propiamente dichos desde la documentación medieval hasta la fecha citada [...]; c) aunque se trata de un elemento adicional en el texto destinado a la publicación, se ha tenido siempre muy presente la onomástica personal y local, fundamental para bastantes siglos».

Indeed, as it was put in the introduction «to the Basque reader» in the second volume of the dictionary.

The *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia* aims to compile the Basque lexical heritage from every era and place and of every kind. It is, thus, a descriptive work, not a normative one. As a result, our goal is not to decide which variant of a word is to be given in a unified dictionary, or to say in which sense and idiomatic expression it must be used, let alone deciding on which word is to be determined as a Basque word. On the contrary, our goal is to show in as a complete and precise manner what words and expressions Basques have used down through the centuries and *how* they have used them. Laying down rules is the work of the Royal Academy of the Basque Language, but it cannot lay down any rule —by this I mean a seemingly normative rule— while it is not in the possession of information to be able to delve very carefully into every aspect of the possible rule. Therein lies, in our opinion, the task of this work which we are hereby presenting.

The aim of Koldo Mitxelena's dictionary was thus to compile everything and anything that might be of value for Basque lexicography —and generally for Basque studies— by giving that compilation work the form of a dictionary, i.e. by organizing the entries alphabetically. The multitude of goals pushed us towards using the most flexible format possible with as many illustrations and words as possible.

3.1. *The sources of the Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*

There are two kinds of sources for Mitxelena's dictionary: oral and written. As for oral sources, there have hardly been any oral attestations compiled for

perfectly obvious reasons, i.e. no fieldwork was carried out. However, we have endeavoured to systematically compile every piece of information from dictionaries and word lists published to date, insofar as they were not a *codex descriptus*, of course. On the other, we must make an attempt to critically and specifically sift through all of those sources by verifying the attestations in order to detect errata, mistakes, typos, mix-ups, misinterpreted data, etc. and to let the reader know about them.

3.2. *Structure of the entries*

As we can see in illustration 65, all of the variants of a word are found in a single entry¹⁶. Indeed, scattering around data on a single word, though a usual practice in Basque dictionaries, is irksome for the reader and even harmful to the language as it distorts and conceals the fundamental unity of the language in favour of superficial factors. To the right of each variant between parentheses, the space for the Basque dialect¹⁷ about where it is used or has been used is provided, and generally information is given on the lexicographer that mentions such a variant.

In every case, we state the sources regarding the Basque dialect area so that the reader can verify them. In complicated entries, we state the entries after the abbreviation *ref.*

Compiling all of the variants does not mean the rest of the variants do not appear in their respective alphabetic order. Indeed, if that were to happen, it would greatly hinder the user should he or she wish to find information about a word. We have solved the problem by giving an entry variants which are not headwords.

From another perspective, and in reference to information about lexicographers, we should let it be known that in this dictionary not mentioning one or failure to mention one is significant, i.e. in information about a variant, the abbreviation SP, for instance, a non-appearance means we do not have any attestation of that variant in S. Pouveau's dictionary or, generally speaking, in any of those dictionaries compiled by Urte, Larramendi, Harriet, Azkue, and the rest of the major Basque lexicographers.

The entries that have a dagger to the left of them are the consequence of a mistake that we mentioned above, i.e. words that do not exist. In any case, even if a word arises from a misprint, but since then has been used, e.g. *arnari*, it is not followed by a dagger.

The senses of each entry are in chronological order unless otherwise stated. In each sense the Spanish equivalent is given to be followed by all

¹⁶ That which is taken as the headword for those variants and Unified Basque form *per se*.

¹⁷ Due to theoretical and practical problems, it is a subdialect that we use as the most specific degree of precision.

interesting semantic information from the lexicographers. On the other hand, we have endeavoured to provide the Basque synonyms and antonyms that correspond to each sense.

We abbreviation information on the history of a word, sense, or expression—inherently about the history of the texts— after the abbreviation *Tr*: who compiled it, when, in what variant and if so, why they have used that word, sense, or expression. That information, to be sure, is that according to texts that we have used. After that information, illustrative examples of usage are given to clarify or prove what has been about the history of the word or sense. These illustrating examples are given in modern spelling—not Unified Basque but in what Basque linguists call «modern dialectal spelling»¹⁸.

With these examples of usage, we wish to provide ample and precise information about the identity of each word, sense, or expression for the most significant examples but, generally speaking, by giving information about all writers that have used an item. In the first volumes, we gave at least an example each of every writer that have used an item. In the later volumes, we only provided interesting examples so as not to prolong the dictionary unduly. An indication for writers who have no such thing is placed after the abbreviation *v. tbn.* (see also).

Thus, even here the lack of an example is significant: i.e. not showing any example of a certain writer in the example section regarding usage of a word, sense, and expression. It means that we have not found in the corpus any attestation of that item by the writer in question.

In each entry, information about that word's compound form and interesting expressions is given after the sense as a subentry. These subentries have been organized with the same structure as the words and senses and level of information.

When there is something worth commenting on, we provide information about the word's etymology at the end of the entry as well as notification to the user about the hypotheses of proven origin as well as those that have a minimum of credibility.

4. LEXICOGRAPHY STEMMING FROM THE *OROTARIKO EUSKAL HIZTEGIA*

Even though just a small part of the OEH has been published, the infrastructure established to write it has affected a new generation of lexicographers that we could call the *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia* paradigm or perhaps even better, the Mitxelena paradigm. That paradigm consists of the *Lur* and *Elhuyar* dictionaries and encyclopaedic dictionaries, as well as the *Vox Euskara-Gaztelania/Castellano-Euskara* dictionaries. The basis of them all is the *Hauta-Lanerako Euskal Hiztegia* which is the first Basque dictionary in the

¹⁸ I.e., one that which respects palatalization, asperations, etymological spellings, etc.

strictest sense of the word¹⁹. As we shall see below, that dictionary has opened up the way to monolingual Basque lexicography.

The *Hauta-Lanerako Euskal Hiztegia* is not, by nature, any more than a normative interpretation of Mitxelena's *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia* and is one which, moreover, I began under the master from Errenteria's tutelage. Thus, in all fairness to truth, we could say that the new Basque lexicography over the last few years has been nothing but a consequence of the *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*.

4.1. Monolingual Basque dictionaries

Although technically easier than bilingual ones, monolingual dictionaries call for a highly cultivated language of culture. That is why it is only recently that we have had such a dictionary.

As I have stated above, the *Hauta-Lanerako Euskal Hiztegia* is the first monolingual Basque dictionary. The first volume came out in 1986 and the ninth and latest volume in 1996. In the following illustrative lines, which correspond to the first entries of the dictionary, we can see the characteristics of the dictionary.

aba. *iz.* (1891). *H. b.* (G. g. er.). Elizgizonekiko trataera, izen-deituren ondoan ezartzen dena. Ik. **aia**; **anaia**. *Arriandiaga-tar Imanol Aba*.

ababor. *iz.* (1677). Ontziaren ezkeraldea, brankara begiratzuz. Ant. **is-tribor**. *Irla ababorreko aldetik utzirik. Ontzia ababorrera makurtzen da. Ababorrean ur-zulo bat dago.*

abade, abat-. *iz.* (*1562, ~1620). **1.** *Bizk.* Apaiza. *Abade jauna. Nolako elizalde, halako abade* (esr. zah.). *Abadearen lapikoa, txikia baina gozoa* (esr. zah.). *Abade egin*. Ik. **abadetu**. **2.** (1643). Gizezkoentzako monastegi bateko burua, apaizteko esku duena. Ik. **abat**; **abadesa**. *Paulo abade zahar hura. Leireko abadea.*

abadegai. *iz.* (1885). *Bizk.* Apaizgaia.

abadesa. *iz.* (1619). Emakumezkoentzako monastegi bateko burua.

abadetar. *izond.* (*1745). *G. er.* Apaiztarra. (1966). Bizkaierazko zenbait tokitan, apaizen iritzi eta jokabideen (berezk. politikari buruzkoen) aldeko porrokatua.

I would now like to introduce an example of the dictionaries mentioned above, generally comprising the first words in order to give an overview of

¹⁹ I do not consider my *Euskal Hiztegi Arauemailea*, to be a monolingual dictionary and the «Adorez» Group's *Euskararako Hiztegia* even less so as they are not, as it were, «comparably equivalent». The, *Euskararako hiztegia*, is, per se, nothing but a long word list complemented by word explanations, in the same vein as the «Lehen euskal Hiztegi bateratua»-ren which appeared in the 1970 *Batasunaren Kutxa*. It should be remember that both were prepared in Unified Basque.

their features that they have in common and their differences. These are the first word from the *Lur Hiztegi Entziklopedikoa* (1991):

aba 1. *iz.* Elizgizonekiko trataera, izen-deituren ondoan ezartzen dena. *Ik.* aita.

ababor. *iz.* Ontziaren ezkeraldea, brankara begiratzuz.

abade (abat-). *iz.* Apaiza. II Gizonezkoentzako monastegi bateko burua, apaizteko esku duena.

abadegai. *iz.* Apaizgaia.

abadesa. *iz.* Emakumezkoentzako monastegi bateko burua.

abadetar. *adj.* Apaiztarra. II Bizkaierazko zenbait tokitan, apaizen iritzi eta jokabideen (bereziki politikari buruzkoen) aldeko porrokatua.

Below are from the *Eskolarako Lur Hiztegi Entziklopedikoa* (1996).

ababor. *iz.* Ontziaren ezkeraldea, popatik brankara begiratzuz.

abade (abat-). *iz.* Apaiza. II Gizonezkoentzako monasterio bateko burua, kristauak apaizteko esku duena.

abadegai. *iz.* Apaizgaia.

abadetar. *Izlag. eta iz.* Apaiztarra. II Apaizen iritzi eta jokabideen (bereziki politikari buruzkoen) aldeko sutua.

This is how the *Elhuyar Hiztegi Entziklopedikoa* (1993) and the Harluxet Foundation's *Euskal Hiztegi Entziklopedia*²⁰ begin:

aba. *iz.* (neol.) Hainbat apaiz eta erlijiosori ematen zaion trataera, izen-deituren ondoan ezartzen dena. *Arriandiaga-tar Imanol Aba.*

ababor. *iz.* ITSAS. Untziaren ezkeraldea, txopatik brankara begiratzuz.

abade. *iz.* 1. (B) Apaiza. 2. Gizonezkoentzako monastegi bateko burua, apaizteko esku duena.

abadegai. *iz.* (B). Apaizgaia.

abadesa. *iz.* Emakumezkoentzako monastegi bateko burua.

abadetar. *adj.* 1. Apaiztarra. 2. (B) Apaizen iritzi eta jokabideen (bereziki politikari buruzkoen) aldeko porrokatua.

And this is how the Elhuyar/Harluxet dictionary (1997) begins:

ababor. *iz.* (Itsas.) Untziaren ezkeraldea, txopatik brankara begiratzuz.

abade. *iz.* (B) Apaiza. Gizonezkoentzako monasterio bateko burua, apaizteko esku duena.

abadesa. *iz.* Emakumezkoentzako monasterio bateko burua.

abadetar. *adj.* (B) Apaiztarra. Apaizen iritzi eta jokabideen (bereziki politikari buruzkoen) aldeko porrokatua.

²⁰ As we can see, there is lexicographically no difference —except for the odd correction— between the two encyclopaedic dictionaries.

As we can see, these dictionaries, on the whole, seem quite a lot alike. Study of those that stray from the paradigm clearly show the unity between those mentioned above. This is how the *Adorez* group's latest effort, which I mentioned above, begins in their *Europa Hiztegia* (1993).

Ababor. *iz.* Popatik brankara begiratzuz untziaren ezker aldean dagoen hegala.

Abade. *iz.* (lat. *abbatem*, gr. *abbas*, aram. *abba*, aita). Kristau-erlijio katolikoan Jainkoaren hitza aldarrikatzen duen eta sakramentuen ospakizunetan gidari den pertsona sakratua: *nolako elizalde*, *halako abade*. Apaiza.

Abadene. *ikus. abatetxe 1.*

Abadesa. *iz.* (lat. *abbatissam*). Lekaimeen edo mojen monastegiko nagusia; etxeko lekiameek hautatzen dute hainbat urtetarako, euren arauen arabera: *garai batean*, *monastegiak*, *abadesa izan ahal izateko*, *gutxienez hamabi lekaiemek osatua izan behar zuen*.

Abadetxe. *ikus. abatetxe 1.*

Abadetza. Abadeei dagokien erakunde nahiz ministraritza.

And the same group's *Oinarrizkoa* (1990).

Ababor. Popatik brankara begiratzuz untziaren ezker aldean dagoen hegala.

Abade. Kristau erlijioan Jainkoaren hitza aldarrikatzen duen eta sakramentuen ospakizunetan gidari den pertsona sakratua. Apaiza.

Abadetza. Abadeei dagokien erakunde nahiz ministraritza.

On the other hand, J. Marn and Xabier Mendiguren's *Lehen Hiztegia* (1991) begins in the following way, omitting parts of speech as in the previous dictionaries.

Ababor. Untziaren atzekaldean, brankari begira jarriz gero, ezkerretan geratzen den alde.

Abade-abadesa 1. Monastegi bateko burua: *Leireko abadea* Aita Santua bisitatzera joan zen. **2.** *Ikus apaiz.*

Abagadune. *Ikus aukera.*

I shall not describe the dictionaries that I have introduced. However, I would say that although it is not clearly obvious in these samples, the Mitxelena paradigm dictionaries are much more standardized than the other ones, especially at the microstructural level, i.e. regarding the internal structure of the entry's information content. Nevertheless, in saying so, I cannot help forgetting these words of the great lexicographer Manuel Seco:

El simple hecho de asignar a un verbo la etiqueta «transitivo» o «intransitivo» implica la suposición de que el lector tiene unas nociones de sintaxis que, según mi experiencia, no suelen ocupar un lugar en la cabeza del ciudadano medio. Lo que ocurre es que el lector va derecho a las definiciones y

se contenta con que estas le ayuden a interpretar la palabra que no entendía. La distancia entre el metalenguaje del lexicógrafo y la comprensión del lector se salva con frecuencia gracias a la imaginación o a la intuición que este aporta. Y gracias a esto, el diccionario *funciona* para muchos *a pesar* de los escollos que interponemos los diccionaristas. (M. Seco 1996, 30)

Thus, the dictionaries that do have microstructurally obvious flaws —and it is not a matter of opinion that dictionaries outside the Mitxelena paradigm do have serious flaws— can be very useful for the reader, especially if he or she knows nothing about the rules of lexicography. Nevertheless, by this I certainly do not mean that it does not matter if current lexicographical norms are fulfilled or not. And it is not the same, not only in practical terms —a well-crafted dictionary will always be more profitable for use, especially for the learned user— but also because, generally speaking, lexicography is also a part of Basque cultural production and doing things right brings benefits in every aspect.

As I have said, I shall not make any criticism of a particular dictionary in question. However, I cannot go without commenting on two or three things. As for the monolingual dictionaries, I do not believe it is at all suitable to use the expression «esaten da» (it is said) so much, which is nothing but a feature of Spanish lexicography. In French, e.g. *Le petit Robert* does it by marking it in context, e.g. **cummunicatif, ive:** «2.º (Personnes). Qui aime à communiquer ses idées, ses sentiments». Even in Spanish language dictionaries, M. Seco's *Diccionario del español actual* used the contextual resource; in the entry for *tordo*, for instance, instead of the usual «dícese del caballo o yegua, o del mulo o mula, que tiene el pelo mezclado de negro y blanco», he wrote «[Caballería] que tiene el pelo mezclado de negro y blanco»²¹. It would not be a bad thing if those who imitated bad Spanish lexicography would now imitate good Spanish lexicography.

Likewise, although many Basque lexicographer seem to think that the so-called «acción y efecto» convention is universal and natural, it is merely a convention of the Spanish tradition. For instance, if one were to pick up the *Le petit Robert* or a Larrouse dictionary, he or she would find no such convention in the entire dictionary. The closest one could get would be «action de», and generally in English, «act of». Thus, if we compare various definitions, we come up with: **Absorción** M. Moliner's dictionary and the *Vox Diccionario Actual de la Lengua Española* «Acción de absorber», **Absorption** *Le petit Robert and Larousse* dictionaries have «Action d'absorber», *Collins English Dictionary* has «the process of absorbing or the state of being absorbed»; **Pacificación** M. Moliner's dictionary «Acción de pacificar», and the *Vox*

²¹ Despite the fact that it has not dawned on some Basque lexicographers, if *Caballería* appeared without quotation marks in such definitions, it would be the definition of a noun, not of an adjective.

Diccionario Actual de la Lengua Española «Acción de pacificar». 2 «Efecto de pacificar», **Pacification** *Le petit Robert* has «Action de pacifier», *Collins English Dictionary* has «the act, process, or policy of pacifying». All of these definitions are, of course, equivalents, i.e. it would seem that one is as complete or satisfactory as the other. For instance, as we have seen, Spanish dictionaries do not agree in deciding when it is just «acción» and when it is «acción y efecto»; and they cannot agree as the separation, aside from the lexicographical tradition, is mere metaphysics. On the other hand, I remember what Patxi Goenaga told me a while back that «egintza (or ekintza) eta ondorioa» (t.n. the Basque equivalent of acción y efecto) seemed to be broken Basque to him. I, too, have always thought that «absorbatzearen ekintza eta ondorioa» and suchlike sentences with the *-aren* suffix were crass examples of broken Basque: Perhaps *Mikelen ekintza* (Mikel's act) is all right, but *absorbatzearen ekintza* is a bit over the top to say the least. And the same goes for the improved version «absorbatzeko ekintza eta horren ondorioa» (the act to absorb and its effect). As Goenaga said, it is enough to say «absorbatzea» in Basque and the excellent *Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary* points that very way to us: «absorbing or being absorbed». As I have stated above, in my opinion it would be best for us, even in the field of lexicography, to become acquainted with practices outside the Spanish tradition.

4.2. Bilingual dictionaries

Mitxelena paradigm dictionaries are also the products of the *Hautalanerako Euskal Hiztegia* as they are, in a way, translations thereof. For instance, the *Elhuyar euskara-gaztelania castellano-vasco* dictionary (1996) begins in this way:

aba *iz.* (Neol.) Padre (tratamiento para religiosos y sacerdotes, introducido por Sabino Arana, y adyacente al nombre propio) *Arriandiaga-tar Imanol Aba*: el padre Imanol Arriandiaga.

ababor *iz.* (Itsas.). Babor.

abade *iz.* **1.** Abad. **2** (B) Eclesiástico, clérigo; sacerdote. **abade egin.** Ordenarse sacerdote.

abadegai *iz.* (B) Seminarista, futuro sacerdote, ordenando.

abadesa *iz.* Abadesa.

abadetar. *adj.* (B) **1.** Clerical (perteneciente o relativo al clero). **2.** Clerical (partidario del clero).

and the *Vox Oinarrizko Hiztegia* like this

aba *i* ERL padre.

ababor *i* babor.

abade *i* abad. **2** sacerdote.

abadegai *i* seminarista.

abadesa *i* abadesa.

As we can see, in those two dictionaries, the Spanish equivalent of the senses defined in the *Hauta-Lanerako Euskal Hiztegia* dictionary are given. On the other hand, when there are illustrative sentences, they are generally taken from that dictionary and translated into Spanish.

As for bilingual dictionaries, to get an idea of how far Basque lexicography has come in the last twenty years, one need only to look at the difference between the 1975 *Euskal Hiztegi Modernoa* and the 1996 *Elhuyar* dictionary in all areas. We have gone from word-list like dictionaries to dictionaries that show the microstructure of real dictionaries. On the other hand, we have become aware of the illustrative power of examples and thus it seems that we have come to realize that, in the final analysis, a language is a collection of sayings and sentences and, as a result, the mission of a dictionary of a language is to inform about the sentences of that language. In this too, there is a great difference between the Mitxelena paradigm dictionaries and others. Those within the paradigm mostly use citations from the literary tradition whereas those outside the Mitxelena paradigm make use of examples made up by lexicographer although those are given as citations (see Rey-Debove on this, 1996).

Nevertheless, I get the suspicion that in bilingual dictionaries, specifically in the area of Spanish expressions, we are making up Basque equivalents rather than looking for their equivalents in the Basque literary tradition. For example, the equivalents of «ver las estrellas» (to see stars) is given as *gorriak ikusi* which might look like it but has a different meaning (to go through hell) and the odd or hypercorrect *txoriak esnatu* (literally, to awaken birds) is given in the Elhuyar dictionary. What I have found in the literary tradition is Etxeita's *txinpartak ikusi* (literally, to see sparks).

As for the microstructure, there is one flaw I see in the bilingual *Elhuyar* dictionary: it does not have context markers which I mentioned above. When I was writing the *Vox* Spanish-Basque bilingual dictionary, I always looked at Elhuyar's proposals and I remember how I lost quite a bit of time, especially in words with lots of senses, trying to make out the differences between the senses. I believe that point has been improved upon in the *Vox* dictionary. I can say that without fear of seeming conceited as it was not my idea since all I did was to adopt the *Vox Esencial español-inglés* model. To show a simple example—the problem is far worse in long and complicated words—let us take the example *azote* in both dictionaries. From the bilingual Elhuyar we have

azote. *s.m.* **1.** Zigor, zarta, zartailu, azorria, azote. *Golpeaba a sus esclavos con el azote:* zigorraz jotzen zituen esklaboak. **2.** Zigorrada, zartada. *Le dieron cien azotes:* ehun zigorrada eman zizkioten. **3.** Ipurdiko [...]

I, at least, did not realize that the first sense referred to «a blow» and not an instrument until I read the example, *zartailu* (whip) in a quick glance. I believe that the system used in *Vox* is better

azote *m (instrumento)* zigor, azote. **2** (*golpe*) zigorkada, zartada. **3** [...]

6. ABOUT BASQUE TERMINOLOGY

There is great confusion about terminology both in our country and in others. For example, I do not think that the fundamental words-vs.-terms distinction²² appearing on the first page of terminology manuals is true. It would not be difficult to prove —everyday experience is enough to show that— that there are two kinds of «things», words and terms. Instead, there is but one «thing», and «word» and «term» are nothing but two functions that individual components of a thing may take: i.e. work, sugar, etc. are words, and, generally speaking, are also terms in Physics and Chemistry respectively. When used as a term, the exact meaning —in the case of «work», defined by means of an integral— is meant in such a case²³, if the meaning is agreed upon, and it all ends there; but that situation is not stable and every day we can see «things» used only as terms which began to be used as words and as they did, they gradually lost their precision in meaning, at least that is quite often the case.

The situation of Basque terminology reminds me of a newcomer that has not figured out where the problem lies. To begin with, we have not realized that so-called terminology is not a science or a discipline, just a technique. I am aware that nowadays anything can qualify as a science, but even here, changing names does not change the nature of the problem.

I myself, to tell the truth, have learnt next to nothing about terminology in terminology literature. I have given up on theorizing about terminology —I am now referring to the need to prepare terminological dictionaries or lists— that can be learnt over a weekend. I have learnt all that I know by studying the terminological practice of the rest of the languages —i.e. the terms that are used in the rest of the languages— without the shadow of a doubt, I believe that the only effective bibliography on terminology consists of bilingual dictionaries.

It is enough to study these dictionaries to see that the principal of term precision is a very sporadic concept. For instance, some Basque terminologists are wishing to introduce *bena* (from Spanish *vena*) into technical Basque instead of *zain* as the latter is too ordinary and polysemic. However, Romance languages and English, to name the vessels that carry blood coming back to the heart, use «vena/veine/vein», etc., i.e. the common word they used to denote blood vessels before W. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of blood. Generally, the same goes for German *Ader*, Dutch *ader*, Danish (*blod*)*are*,

²² For instance, one quote well-known to us —which, to be sure, come from abroad— aipatzeko, «Precision (which terms necessarily call for, by doing away with the ambiguity of everyday words)» (Azkarate 1997, 254).

²³ Precise and often the opposite of what they have in their everyday life: Continuing with the example of *work*, if I carry a piano on my back and, after turning it around in the room, if I have left it just as it was, I have done strenuous work from the point of view of everyday speech but in physics as the room is in a conservative force field, the work that I have done is zero.

Polish *żyła*, Czech *žila*, etc. These common words, to be sure, have many senses. The German *Ader* has over 10 in the big dictionaries, many of them of them directly corresponding to the Spanish term *vena*. Thus, in acting like the rest of the languages, we should use the polysemic word *zain* which we have always generally used to denote blood vessels —at most, (*odol*)*zain*, to denote the vessels that carry the blood away.

The case of *bena* is not unique. In my recently published *Euskara batuaren ajeak*, many such examples can be seen. There is another such term that really takes the cake and which shows the reluctance that we have in consulting dictionaries: It is *óleo*, Spanish for «oil». One need only to look through dictionaries to see that no language, apart from Spanish, differentiates between cooking oil (*aceite*) and the kind painters use (*óleo*). In English, it is oil on both counts. The same goes for German with *Öl* and *Öl*, Danish with *olje* and *olja*, *olja* and *olja* for Swedish, Russian with *maslo* and *maslo*, *olej* and *olej* for Polish and Czech, etc. Only Spanish distinguishes between *aceite* and *oleo*. Likewise, German *Flüchtling*, Dutch *vluchtling*, Danish *flygtende*, Swedish *flukting* are the equivalents of the Spanish *refugiado*, *fugitivo*, and even *prófugo*, and the same goes for the Czech *uprchlík* and Serbo-Croatian *izbjeglica*. In the same vein, in Russian political refugee is said for political refugee.

Generally speaking, Spanish *bodegón* and French *nature morte* are the very same thing and as Germanic languages use something similar to the latter, e.g. German *Stilleben* and English *still life*, it would seem that it would be enough for us to use *izadi* (or *natura*) *hila* instead of *bodegoi*. Except for Spanish and English, all of the rest of the languages use the same word for Spanish *lenteja* and *lente*. Moreover, generally speaking, the same word, with the exception of the French *crystalline* for the Spanish *crystalino* (eye lens). Thus, Germanic *Linse* and Czech *Scovcka*, for instance, are generally a plant, magnifying glass or an eye lens. English distinguishes between two, *lentil* and *lens*, and French distinguishes between *lentille*, the plant, and magnifying glass, and *crystallin*, the eye lens. Only Spanish has a separate word for each, *lenteja* (lentil) for the plant, *lente* for the lens, and *crystalino* for the eye lens.

Likewise, as dictionaries show us, making a distinction between *luzera/longitude* is not so very international. French distinguishes between *longueur/longitud* as does English with *length/longitude*. However, Germanic and Slavic languages use the «common» word both in geography and astronomy. The German *Länge* is the equivalent of *luzera* as well as the Dutch *lengte*, the Danish *laengde*, Swedish *längd*, the Czech *délka*, Polish *dlugose*, etc. In Russian, spatial length and temporal length are differentiated in common speech and of them, temporal length, *dolgotá*, is used for geographical and astronomical longitude. As the dictionaries show us, there is no great reason why *longitude* must be used in geography.

Generally in geography, only Spanish has the term *sierra* —together with Catalan and Portuguese *serra*. Spanish *sierra* is translated as *chaîne de mon-*

tagne in French, *catena di montagna* in Italian, and *mountain range* in English. I use the word «translate» because, of course, in France, England, etc. there are no *sierras*. Thus, the sense—or an image— itself is Spanish here. That often happens in geographical terminology: Spanish *macizo*, for instance, is the Hispanization of the French *massif* and in English the French term itself or *mountain mass* is used while German has (*Gebirgs*)*massive* or *Gebirgstock*. Thus, it would be enough to say *mendigune* or *mendimasa* in Basque.

Likewise, Spanish *meseta*, *plateau* in French and borrowed into English is *Hochebene* in German, i.e. high plain or *goi ordokia* in Basque, just like the Danish *højslette*, or *högslätten* in Swedish and just like Czech *náhorní rovina* in the case of Slavic languages.

It would be enough for us to take a good look through dictionaries to see that Spanish *vertical* and *perpendicular* are not distinguished. In German, *sankrecht* or Danish *loodrecht*, Danish *lodret*, Swedish *lodrät* are both the same thing. The same goes for Polish and Czech. Even more striking, *vertikal* in Swedish means «perpendicular».

Calling the «hairs» on bacterium *betile* (eyelash) might seem ridiculous but as dictionaries tell us, that is indeed the case in at least German (*Wimper*), Russian, and Polish and even in English although the common term is *eyelash*, the technical term is *cilium* which is used to name that appendage of Protozoa.

As we can see in the previous examples, the matter of accuracy is likened to an elevated status, and often such an elevated status is Spanish. We need not look further than the bilingual *Elhuyar* dictionary.

angustia. *s.f.* **1.** Estuasun, estuladi, estura, larrialdi, larritasun, itoaldi, ar-bintasun heritura. *Angustia vital:* bizi-larritasuna. **2.** (Fil./Psicol.) Angustia.

suero. *s.m.* **1.** Gazur. *El suero de la leche:* esnearen gazura. **2.** (Med.) Suero.

Thus, at the ordinary or literary level, «native» words may be used but if the level is elevated or scientific, Spanish is obligatory because *angustia*, to be sure, is only Spanish—it is *angoisse* in French and *anguish* in English. Overall, *suero* is *serum* in the rest of the languages. Following this line of reasoning, the Basque terminologists apparently do not take the traditional term *zilarbizi* seriously enough for inclusion in Chemistry terminology. However, aside from the Romance languages, we have *quicksilver*—together with *mercury* in English—, only *Quecksilver* in German, only *kwik(zilver)* in Dutch, only *kviksølv* in Danish, only *kvicksilver* in Swedish. In Polish, after the Slavic *rtec*, *zywesrebro*.

Overall, Spanish *cerebelo* is *cervelet* in French, *cervelleto* in Italian, *Klein-hirn* in German, *lille hjerne* in Danish, *lillhjärna* in Swedish, *mózdzek* in Polish, i.e. «little brain» or *garuntxo* in Basque, the very term used by the great doctor and Basque writer J. Etxepare. *Burmuin txiki* (little brain) is another possible equivalent of the above.

Another serious problem of Basque terminology is what Jabi Ibáñez de Aldekoa denounced in the February 24, 1995 of the Basque-language newspaper *Egunkaria* regarding the term *esne desnatatua*, used by the Eroski supermarket chain in their product labelling.

Look at what they are telling us: to say «leche desnatata» (skim milk in Spanish) in Basque, having considered *esne gaingabetua* to be incorrect, we are supposed to say *esne desnatatua*. The «reason» to use this Spanish word is the height of stupidity. Indeed, *gaingabetua* is said to be bad because, on second thought, whole milk in a carton does not give up any cream when brought to a boil and if we have no cream (cream in Basque is *esnegaina* or literally «milk top»), it is not reasonable to say *gaingabetu* (skimmed or, literally «top removed»). Well, so far, up to this point, I could accept the argument. But look how the argument goes on: if *gaingabetua* is out, we're supposed to say *desnatatua* of all words. Great solution!

In view of that, we will have to choose at least one of these pieces of nonsense. 1. when milk boils, there is no *gaina* (top), whereas there is *nata* (Spanish for cream). That's why *gaingabetua* (top-removed) would be bad and *desnatatua* correct 2. If milk boils in Basque, it won't give up any *gaina* but that milk «si hierva en castellano entonces sí da nata» (does boils in Spanish and thus does give up some cream).

I personally accept neither stupidity. As a result I fail to see why *gaingabetua* is an incorrect word whereas *desnatatua* is correct. In my opinion, *desnatatua* is as illogical as the other (if they are, indeed, illogical which I do not hold to) and pure Spanish to boot. It seems that some believe in the analogies that Spanish can come up with, and the flexibility and ease it can use them with while denying Basque the same courtesy.

Those last few words sum up what I call the *esne desnatatua* syndrome. In so many other terms, that syndrome is readily apparent. For example, some Basque terminologists claim that *baxura* and *altura* fishing differ not in *where* fishing is done but in *how* it is done; thus the terms *itsas bazterreko*, *itsas handitako* or *itsas zabaleko* terms may not be used. However, *baxurako* fishing is *pêche côtière/pêche litoral*, and *alturako* fishing is *pêche hautière* or *pêche de haute mer* and *coastal fishing* and *deep-sea fishing* in French and English respectively. Why is Basque denied what is perfectly acceptable in French and English?

Even the case of *karniboro* is, in the final analysis, the very same thing. In the field of science, *haragijale* (literally «flesh-eater») is reportedly proscribed, as some animals of that animal class do not feed off flesh exclusively. However, by following that line of logic, nothing can be named *per se*. As the so-called *ascensor/ascenseurs* (elevators or lifts) are for going up *and* down on, they should not be called by such a limited name. Since *submarino/soumarins* may dive into rivers and lakes, another term should be thought up for them as well. Generally, flutes, mostly made of silver, are lumped together with wooden wind instruments in every language in the word. Of course, this

is wrong. Indeed, a Basque can no longer be surprised to learn that there are *haragijaleak* (flesh-eaters) that eat potatoes even more than when the Spanish-speaker becomes aware that several *carnívoros* eat other things besides *carne*. On the other hand, as dictionaries can tell us, in Germanic and Slavic languages, there is not trace of *karniboro*. In all of them, except for German, the equivalent of *haragijale* is used in science or otherwise, in spite of the reason that denies the same to Basque.

However, using these bilingual dictionaries also has some positive advantages. For instance, comparing seemingly formal and international-sounding terms such as *parainfo*, *hemeroteka*, or *quirófono* allows us to see they are used exclusively in Spanish and therefore are not so very international. Moreover, at the same time, these dictionaries point the way towards how to come up with a perfectly constructed Basque equivalent: *ospakizun areto*, *aldarizkaritegi*, and *operazio-gela/ebakuntza-gela* respectively. On many other occasions, they suggest solutions that solve the problems of Spanish-only words. I, for one, believe that *saku oihal*, from the English *sackcloth*, is an interesting solution for finding the Basque equivalent to the Spanish word *arpillera*. Moreover, *aleazio* (alloy) is literally «mixture» in Danish. *Baldosak* (from Spanish *baldosa*) are literally *laukiak* (squares) in French (*carreaux*) and *floor tiles* in English (Basque *solairu teilak*). *Errodaia* (from the Spanish *rodaje*) is *filmatze* (filming) in most languages. From bilingual dictionaries we learn that Spanish *guata* is *raw cotton* in English (and hence could be *kotoi gordin*) and literally «fluffed cotton» (hence it could be *kotoi harro*) in Catalan. We can see that in many European languages that the equivalents of the Spanish *válvula* and *valva* are the very same word or we may learn that throughout Europe, the airship called *globo* in Spanish is *ballon* or something similar as in the French Basque Country (*baloi*) since 1858. Moreover, *radio*, in spite of French, is international in geometry but in nearly every language, *izpi* (blade/ray in Basque) is used for «spoke» just as the Biscayan Andima Ibiñagabeitia called it. Moreover, the term *mihise* for canvas that some use in painting is the Spanish perspective while French just uses literally «cloth» (hence *oihal* in Basque) and similar solutions we find in English and German.

There are many writers —I know because I have been told so— who are clamouring for such information. There is a desire for a neat solution from writers who are preparing a poem or a narrative or a translation and cannot stop every five words to look up a dictionary to see if it is international or to study what other languages might offer as a solution. However, such work is indispensable for Basque if it is to lighten its heavy Spanish burden.

We should not forget that often the Spanish word taken as a barbarism is used because the trouble was not taken to see if it is widely used across Europe and because we take it aboard without looking into more amenable ways left open to us and therein lies the great sin of think-tanks working on terminology in our country. I believe that the examples given above are

proof enough of that. A Basque terminology centre must necessarily provide such information given our present situation.

However, that work will not yield much fruit if common effort from all of us is not forthcoming. For example, the work *bizkar zorroa* (back pack) that could be a possible equivalent to the purely Spanish word *mochila* may seem ridiculous to many from the Southern Basque Country, that is to say, if all things that do not come through Spanish, if all things that do not refer back to things Spanish—the French equivalent of *mochila* is *sac à dos*, i.e. *bizkar zorroa*— seem ridiculous to us, then we have had it.

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Research in Basque Literature

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1. Basque Literature in the Research of Koldo Mitxelena

In the wide-ranging research carried out by Professor Mitxelena, work on Basque Literature occupies a memorable place, especially the 1961 publication by the Madrid publishing house, Minotauro, of his *Historia de la Literatura Vasca*, (A History of Basque Literature) in 1961, a volume which was to educate a wide spectrum of readers and later researchers in Basque history and literature.

His work in this area also includes a series of papers which can be grouped together on the basis of two criteria: they are written in Basque and they can be dated to the beginning of his research career. This work occupies, in a certain sense, a marginal place in his output and consists of the papers which he published in his first editorial venture at the head of the journal *Egan*, where he was in charge of literary criticism and reviewed the latest publications in the then very limited market of Basque books. The critical reviews which sought to fulfil this purpose are of necessity brief and impressionistic in tone. In calling this activity marginal, what we are drawing attention to is that when he began his important work as a university Professor and researcher, his dedication to the fields of Linguistics and Philology clouded his vision of literature, of which, nevertheless, he would remain an attentive, passionate, and always assiduous reader, reminding us at times of a creative instinct which to some extent had been frustrated.

Literature, situated as it is in the field of the human or weak sciences, can only offer a field for interpretation, thus leaving open always the possibility of over-interpretation and error. In literary criticism, which has habitually been granted a status similar to the creative, there exists a greater possibility for error and over-interpretation, or at least we cannot claim absolute certainty for its results.

It seems clear then that this absence of absolutes and the greater interest which the Basque language awakens in scientific circles, for reasons which are easy to understand, given that we are dealing with a pre-Indo-European language in Europe, would lead to a lesser interest being aroused by a small

literary corpus, which, for reasons which are also understandable, is largely indebted to the literatures of its context.

This setting, as we have just described it, makes it easy to understand why Basque literature was to recede in the interests of Mitxelena, faced with the challenge of the unification of the language and immersed in the labours of the creation of the General Basque Dictionary.

In any case, together with his critical and historical work, we must mention two works of importance in so far as they reflect on the place of literature in the onslaught of the great languages, from a perspective which is very general and, one could almost say, didactic in tone and in its general conclusions.

I refer to the publication of *Asaba zaharren baratza* (The Ancestors' Garden). It is a wide-ranging work in which, free from the hustle and pressures of editing, his glance falls on some of the challenges faced by literary language in a world of change and in process of modernisation.

The aspect of marginality, however, along the outskirts of a labour which was essentially scientific and oriented to research, should not blind us to a relevant fact. One of the last of his writings, published while he was still alive, turned once more to a synthesis of the history of Basque literature. The book in which this article was published is not very well known. It is a lavish publication, entitled *País Vasco* (The Basque Country), intended to convey a general, though at the same time accurate, impression of the Basque Country. The contributors include a number of well-known Spanish university Professors. Koldo Mitxelena offers a succinct synthesis of the history of Basque Literature. What still impresses me in this brief outline is the clarity with which Mitxelena proposes two names for the future of Basque letters: Bernardo Atxaga, for the literary merits which won him the Premio Nacional de Narrativa (National Prize for Narration) with the work *Obabakoak*, and Mikel Zarate for the quality of his language.

2. When Basque Literature became a Literary System

At the time of Professor Mitxelena's death in 1987, Basque literature was experiencing a moment of change that was hopeful and fortifying. One of the signs of this was to be found precisely in the literary work of Atxaga, who had won the above-mentioned prize and was later to become known abroad. Another was the abundance of books that were now on sale. Figures for publication were rising; a lot was being published and a lot that seemed to be good.

This new impulse can be attributed to two political factors of primary importance which were to change the way in which Basque literature was being perceived. I refer to the passing of the Statute of Autonomy for the Basque Country and the Basic Law for the Use of the Basque Language in 1982. These two events are crucial, because in the situation that arose out of the new legality, Basque was to be taught in the primary and secondary schools and in

the university, and in consequence, a field was to be opened for the teaching of Basque literature, so creating, potentially at least, a new readership or, to be slightly less optimistic, creating what has been called a captive readership, those who, in accordance with the demands of the school curriculum, are required to read literature.

This entrance into the educational system was a fundamental change for Basque literature during this period. One primary consequence has been a changed image for literature, accompanied by a changed concept of creative literature and, in spite of the debates that the term may give rise to, literature was to widen its creative borders. This has given rise to two phenomena which should be pointed out here:

- a) A literature is created which is pedagogic in origin, aimed at the school, parallel perhaps to literature for rapid consumption, a literature which is light and easy to read and consume.
- b) The importance of juvenile and children's literature increases.

There may be doubts regarding the success of this expansion: a small market such as that for Basque literature is not likely to produce professional writers (we do not know how many adult readers there are, or how many constant readers there are), nevertheless, there can be no doubt that it does bring with it, thanks to the importance of academic textbooks which students are obliged to purchase, the consolidation of a publishing sector which, clearly, must compete against the large Spanish publishing companies, virtually all of whom have opened up branches in the Basque Country. This publishing sector, it will be clear, not only produces school textbooks but also caters for and keeps a vigilant eye on literary publication.

The importance of a publishing sector, with all its weaknesses, is but one of the symptoms of creation in a literary system. This term, literary system, has industrial connotations and has to do with the socialization of literature. In a system, literature is not simply creation, other factors of the market economy intervene. Literature becomes a social factor involving at least the following protagonists: the creator, the editor, the reader and the re-creator.

When a literary system is created, literature acquires a body, and that is the principal result arising from the introduction of the teaching of the Basque language, and in the Basque language, in schools: it provides work for the writer and ensures that this work will be continuous and not sporadic, professional and not voluntary; it creates an established network of publishing companies. Apparently, however, there is a crisis still in the other two sectors: in the readership and in literary criticism.

The final consequence of this process lies in the importance conceded to research on Basque literature. This critical work has been carried out in two different spheres:

- Histories of Basque literature have increased.
- Doctoral dissertations on Basque literature have increased.

Together with these, other works can be mentioned, works which are also aimed at schools: encyclopaedias, or the monographs which encyclopaedias have dedicated to Basque literature, school textbooks, and obligatory textbooks on the history of literature.

3. A History of Histories of Basque Literature

From 1987 onward there is, in the world of Basque literature, a significant increase in the number of textbooks needed to fulfil the requirements of obligatory education, both at primary and secondary level, however many different denominations may have been applied to this latter level, thus giving rise to the publication of numerous textbooks on the Basque language and on Basque literature. At university level, on the other hand, the appearance of various textbooks cannot conceal the feeling that a definitive work of reference is still lacking, a feeling which perhaps not only reflects the reality, but also points to the presence of another, more important factor: how totally impossible it is now, given the abundance of literary studies available, that any one individual can carry out the task, the perception that a group of researchers is needed to bring this task to completion.

The complexity which now characterises Basque literary criticism demands that philology have at its service literary studies which will enable it to develop and, conversely, studies on literary history should be carried out in collaboration with philologists in order to do research on literary material whose principal characteristic is that it is written material but whose aesthetic quality is open to doubt.

In the educational process another phenomenon has made its appearance which must be attended to: increasing specialization. In the period in which literature has been converted into a literary system, studies on what is called classical Basque literature have been abandoned, that is to say, on what was written and published between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, and attention has been predominantly, almost exclusively centred on present-day writers, on the contemporary scene, in a clearly perceptible imbalance which limits to living writers the search for material for literary analysis.

In the same way that there has been a proliferation of studies on literature, articles evaluating literary studies have also appeared. There are three articles that I would like to mention:

1. The work of Professor Jesús María Lasagabaster (1983), *La historia-grafía literaria vasca. Aproximación crítico-bibliográfica* (Basque literary historiography. A critical-bibliographical approach.) This is the basic article on which other later articles have built. Its clarity, its critical spirit, its evaluation of the work that has been done, the data and diverse opinions that it provides mark it as important in any attempt

to approach the research that has been carried out on Basque literature. The article commences with an exposition of the basic criteria on which literary historiography is based, then makes a proposal for a Basque literary historiography, outlining certain minimal conditions which must be followed in any future work and ends with an evaluation of what has been written about Basque literary history throughout history. After reviewing the outlines of Michel, Orixe, and Lafitte, Lasagabaster examines the texts which have been published since the appearance of Koldo Mitxelena's *History of Basque Literature*.

2. Gorka Aulestia (1992) continues with the most important aspects of Lasagabaster's work, brings it up to date and reviews the works which have appeared since its publication.
3. The article by Mari José Olaziregi (1997) reflects the latest contribution to this material. It is centred on the four years from 1992 to 1995 and is of considerable importance to anyone interested in Basque literature.

If we follow the general criteria outlined for this commemorative work, a review of the works on literature published since the death of Professor Mitxelena, that is since 1987, we should mention in the first instance and following a chronological order, the work *Literatura Vasca* (Basque Literature) by Jon Juaristi (Taurus, 1987).

Professor Juaristi has a first hand knowledge of the surrounding literatures and that knowledge has been profusely used in the writing of this book. The book commences with an innovative chapter on oral literature, which breaks with the widely accepted opinion that Basque oral literature was rich, while the written literature was poor. Juaristi believes and demonstrates that the oral literature is not very original, but clearly falls into the framework of other European oral literatures. His basic contributions are in the field of medieval lyrics and ballads, and a controversial view of pastoral literature; the evolution of this theatrical genre from the eighteenth century up to the present leads him to claim that the changes which have taken place are so radical and the genre has been so much transformed that we are justified in speaking of the disappearance of the traditional version of pastoral and the appearance of something new. In the literary style which characterizes all his work, Juaristi has divided Basque literary history into three large periods, for each one of which there is a corresponding metaphor which distances this literature from the European mainstream. Specifically the chapters are divided under the following headings: The Beginnings, Bible Translations and Centuries of Gold and Incense. The work also highlights the idea that the Basque language was utilized by the most conservative sectors as a brake on the incursion of liberalism, renovating ideas and modernisation.

The division into periods may perhaps be the weakest aspect of the work, where the metaphor and the literary style have displaced a more traditional

division. In defence of a criterion which I do not support, Jesús María Lasagabaster wrote:

«The historian of Basque literature cannot ignore the specific socio-linguistic conditions in which written Basque, whether literary or otherwise, had to evolve [...] This means that in the case of Basque literature, not only in the delimitation of its corpus but also in its necessary articulation for a rigorous historic description, operative models which are relevant and productive in the description of other literary systems are simply not applicable, at least in any mechanical fashion». (1987, 37).

Aulestia conveyed this same idea as follows:

«In the first place, the great periods which conform the history of the great western literatures are not applicable to Basque literature». (1992, 51).

As will be observed, this second claim is more vigorous and radical than the former. In any case, anyone who has worked with comparative literature will observe and verify that knowledge of the defining characteristics of the great literary movements helps us to understand and study Basque literature, and that this is not a literature which is distant and autonomous, but shares its undercurrents with European literature generally and with French and Spanish literature especially. It is no less certain that comparison with the predominant trends in literature becomes much easier when literature becomes a system and is much more difficult in periods in which literature was produced by well-meaning people who published when they could and with little or no means of distribution.

To avoid the debate, Juaristi established a division into historic periods, especially in so far as the twentieth century is concerned, where the division is as follows: The Turn of the Century, The Generation of the Republic, Under Franco and The Literature of the Transition.

The peculiar nature of this commemorative volume, which also attempts to offer a panoramic view of the publications of Mitxelena's own students in the Department of Basque Philology, leaves me in the strange position of having to comment on my own publications during this period.

Literatura Vasca. Siglo xx (Etor, 1990 and Iparragirre, 1994) (Twentieth Century Basque Literature), for example, is an attempt to tell a story, the story of Basque Literature from Romanticism to the avant-garde and tries to draw attention to the shadowy line that unites the nationalistic idealism of Arana with the poetic symbolism of Lizardi and Lauaxeta and which dies out under the ironic and critical gaze that we find in Jon Mirande, and José Luis Álvarez, «Txillardegi». At bottom it was an attempt to trace in Basque literature the axiom which rules European literature since Romanticism: the relation and dialectic between analogy and metaphor, between an idealistic vision of life and the ironic, everyday language of pessimistic vision, to re-

create in its heart the always living interchange with the Christian religions and modern revolutions.

Deliberately, all examination of the literary market was left aside, so as to concentrate on the principal creators and the principal tendencies: romanticism in Arana and Azkue, regionalism in Domingo de Agirre, symbolism in Lizardi and Lauaxeta, the figure of Orixe, the post-war with its predilection for realism, renewal in the group gathered around the journal Egan, modern narrative which arose when a number of writers came under the influence of existentialism and the «new novel», and finally the irruption of the avant-garde.

The second edition, which, due to the peculiar circumstances of its publication, serialized in chapters in a daily newspaper, ran to a total of 40.000 copies, also offered a summary of the 90's. In any case, it can be said that this system which linked and contextualised Basque literature with the totality of European movements shows that the method is operative.

The well-deserving Santiago Onaindia carried out the difficult task of offering a synthesis of works which centred on Basque literature. This work, in six volumes, remains incomplete, but in 1990 he published the sixth volume, which, under the title *Gure Mendean* (In our Century) collected the biographies and works of writers born between 1920 and 1950. As was pointed out by Lasagabaster some time ago, strictly speaking, this work is more a compendium of materials than a history of literature. Onaindia gathers and elaborates dates of previous publication and maintains throughout the extensive publication a tripartite structure consisting of biography, works and commentary, which clearly is more informative in character than what we normally consider strict literary research.

In 1996, Jean Baptiste Orpustan, a professor in the University of Bourdeaux, published *Précis d'histoire littéraire basque*, possible the most comprehensive attempt to date to fulfil the aim of writing a complete history of Basque literature. Though published as a work aimed at university students, making it impossible to escape its obviously academic presentation, it way surpasses its explicit objective.

In the first place, we must highlight the attempt to be comprehensive: it tries to cover all writers and place them in a historical setting, so as to articulate a complete vision of Basque literature; nearly all the writers who wrote in the classical period (16th. to 19th. centuries) have a place in this history, historical facts themselves being the only thing schematised in what is far from being a simplified vision.

In the second place, contrary to what is common practice, attention is concentrated on classical writers for each of whom he offers acceptable views and, sometimes, original insights. The documents which have been used and the bibliography offered can pave the way for future work.

The most important aspects of the work may give rise to controversy. The book ends in the 1950's, and despite the fact that the author dedicates

the whole of the epilogue to explaining why, the reason remains unclear. Orpustan maintains that 1950 was a symbolic year, ushering in the contemporary age, while at the same time the movements which had developed prior to the 1936 war come to the fore once more. It seems a pity, given the accuracy and precision shown by the author, that he should have decided not to deal with the modern period but, perhaps, this personal option derives from his greater interest in classical literature: the chapter dedicated to the 20th century shows a certain insecurity on the part of the author. A certain imbalance can also be noticed in the treatment given to writers from one and the other side of the border. Orpustan, as we might expect, pays greater attention to French writers, which serves to redress the balance: writers from the Spanish side paid greater attention to peninsular writers, and it is clear that the Labourdian and Souletine writers and those from Lower Navarre had a greater importance and quality up to the 19th century. We might also expect a greater attention to be paid to oral literature, a field to which so many studies have been dedicated in recent criticism.

These comments do not draw away from the fundamental fact that in its five chapters (Oral Tradition, The Origins, 1545-1670, From the End of the 17th to the Beginning of the 19th century, Romanticism, First Stirrings of Modernity) an attempt has been made to compose a story which sets the literary facts sometimes in the context of the writer, at other times in the context of historical events, and at all times searches for the relationship between history and literature. The special care he has shown in his treatment of a number of writers makes the chapters dedicated to them (those dedicated to Oihenart, Molho, Jean Etxepare) authentic research syntheses and outlines of stimulating novelties.

The year 1996 was exceptional and remarkable both for publications about Basque Literature and the history of Basque literature. Gorka Aulestia, under the patronage of La Fundación Sancho el Sabio, coordinated and directed the book *Los escritores. Hitos de la literatura clásica euskérica* (The Writers. Landmarks in the Classical Literature of Basque).

If specialisation has brought each researcher to his own field, the idea of uniting several specialists and coordinating the work of a team would seem to be a logical and effective solution. The book consists of thirteen monographs, each written by a specialist in the given area. This turns out to be its most important characteristic: each specialist deals with an area that he is familiar with, with the result that the papers show a very definite and novel perspective, each one evaluating previous studies and placing the field in a new light.

In all this novelty, two small problems are posed by the work. The most important, and one for which the director cannot be blamed, lies in the lack of bibliographical references, thanks to an erroneous criterion on the part of the publisher. On the other hand, it seems difficult, in a text entitled *Los escritores* (The Writers), to justify the presence of two papers on oral literature

(pastoral and bardic oral poetry) which are much more preoccupied with genres than with writers. This is not to deny that the importance of both genres for the study of Basque literature can, to a certain extent, justify their presence, though they are temporally distanced from the limits established by the remaining papers, that is between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In a collective work it is always difficult to see a unity of criteria underlying the whole. The imbalance here is in some cases striking. As an overall perspective on this work, I would like to quote from the review written by María José Olaziregi:

«We are offered thirteen interesting monographs on writers and personalities who had a very positive influence on the course of Basque letters [...] The characteristics not only of the works and the authors chosen but also of the specialists who have participated in the project have led to the result that together with analyses and surveys of a strictly literary nature [...] we are offered historical-philological readings which leave on one side critical and literary objectives».

In the prologue to the work *Euskal literaturaren historia txikia* (A Short History of Basque Literature) (Erein, 1997) I wrote that I was not attempting to write a history or a textbook on the history of Basque literature. I went even further and asserted that what readers held in their hands was not a book.

From the beginning it was clear to me that I did not want to write a typical textbook but rather had a much more modest objective in mind. I was trying to adopt a more distant position so as to give an account of what research had contributed to the study of oral literature in Basque—a field of research in which wide-ranging and surprising advances have been achieved in recent years. This also applies to the study of classical authors (from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries). Finally, I sought to open up certain areas which in my opinion were still undeveloped.

In brief, this work can be placed, together with an ever increasing number of other works in the history of Spanish literature, among works which serve as introductions to the critical history of literature. Its objective was to present a summary of the most relevant opinions on the present state of the art and to evaluate the work that remains to be done in fields where philological rather than literary research is of more importance. It is true of course that in the same laconic and concise fashion I did give a few pencil-sketches of authors that I had studied in the course of my academic career. The two great research topics (oral and classical literature) were the result of a previous work on the twentieth century. This work ended where the other had begun.

The product of a memoir—as so many other works around today—which was presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a university post, the work shows all too clearly its want of development and elaboration both at the textual and critical levels. The copious bibliography cannot hide the weak and summary character of the whole.

With less in the way of research and more of a pedagogic character, two publishing houses promoted the publication in 1977 of two-volume encyclopaedias on Basque literature. I refer to the publishing houses Lur and Vox, who have included this reference to the history of Basque literature in the volumes of their respective General Encyclopaedias. The works are addressed to school-goers but are worth commenting on.

Though both works are based on previous work and aim at the synthesis of what has already been published, neither lacks a certain touch of originality which put them at a far cry from the mere rehashes that have become so common in our field of research.

There is a lack of coordination in the encyclopaedia published by Lur, making it patently clear that the authors centred their attention and writing on their own personal interests. So, the author of the section on classical literature offers short bio-bibliographical sketches of each writer; Iñigo Aranbarri, who deals with the twentieth century, gives a very interesting socio-critical survey, but a general account of the principal writers is lacking, with the result that the reader of the Encyclopaedia is told nothing, for example, of the life and writings of Lizardi or Lauaxeta. Iñaki Aldekoa, on the other hand, who deals with recent literature has outlined a framework for the understanding of the writers and the evolution of Basque literature in recent years which fits very well with the pedagogic aims of the work. The work of Juan Kruz Igerabide on oral literature is also worth mentioning.

The history of Basque literature presented in Encyclopaedia Vox was written by Xabier Altzibar and breaks new ground, especially in its study of journalism, and the Basque writers who cultivated that genre, as well as in the general view it offers of the whole.

Door to door sales and the impossibility of buying individual volumes rather than the whole may well reduce the distribution of these works but they will, no doubt, be assiduously consulted both in public and school libraries.

In 1997 Labayru-BBK published *Luma eta Lurra. Euskal poesia 80ko hamarkadan* (Pen and Land. Basque Poetry in the Eighties). The objective which I pursued in this work was to produce a kind of encyclopaedia of all the poetry written in Basque from 1978, the year in which Bernardo Atxaga's *Etiopia* was published, to 1995, the year in which the cycle was closed with Joseba Sarrionandia's *Hnuy illa nyha majah yahoo*.

To start with, all the poetic works were catalogued, both those published in the commercial circuit and a few exceptional editions published by the writers themselves. The total came to approximately 150 poetic works published during this period. Later a selection was made of all those authors who began publishing poetry in the 80's, a round figure of 75, and special attention was paid to all those who had published more than one volume. The work of all those authors who commenced writing in the 80's was then studied up as far as 1995, though authors who commenced writing in the 90's were excluded. Given the large number of those who had only published one volume

during this period, it was decided to exclude them, though a certain balance was achieved with monographs on three collections of poetry, (Ustela, Uhargi from Baiona and Susa from Donostia-Zarauz), which included work from the majority of these writers so that in the end their presence was also taken into account.

The work consists of forty monographs and maps out the poetic creation of the 1980's. It outlines five large poetic groups: the Pott group, where one can find works on Bernardo Atxaga and Joseba Sarrionandia; the poetry of experience, a group of poets who have continued in the line of symbolist poetry, with contributions from the poetry of Spanish experience, among whom should be pointed out Felipe Juaristi, Juan Kruz Igerabide and Amaia Iturbide; the poetry created in the French Basque Country, with work by Itxaro Borda, Jon Casenave and Aurelia Arkotxa; a poetry of compromise, based on the avant-garde, where Koldo Izagirre and Iñigo Aranbarri stand out, and a fifth group of poets with poetry of many different kinds: the narrative poetry of Patxi Ezkiaga, the poetics of silence in the work of Tere Irastortza, the hedonism of Luigi Anselmi and the different type of neo-popular poetry that one finds in Patxi Perurena and Luis Berrizbeitia.

In all cases the original poetry of each author was read so as to carry out a contrastive reading of their work and trace the outlines of their evolution. At all times the public reception of the work in the various communications media is taken into account, so that the reading which is proposed is based on interviews and critical reviews of the work.

The irregularity of the whole and the attention paid to irrelevant writers detract a lot from the book and from its unity, with the result that at times it seems nothing more than a collection of monographs.

As a final fruit of the harvest of 97 I mention the work by Joan Mari Torrealday *Euskal kultura gaur*, so often given as a present and yet not so much sold. This work is the fruit of the author's socio-literary preoccupations. It is a spectacular book, there can be no doubt: hard covers, large size, couché paper, numerous photographs. There are problems, however, as any reader (as distinct from someone who just looks through the book) will observe. These begin with the title itself since the book does not deal with Basque culture but with the Basque literary system, the world of books in Basque, the industry of Basque books. But all authors have a right to choose the title which seems best to them and the one chosen in this case is more interesting than what is dealt with in the contents.

I have some doubts about this work, not, as might be thought, because I have any objections to the sociological method as an approach to literature, or because I believe that literature is something sacred and untouchable (transcendent in the words of Steiner). With all due respects for Robert Escarpit, the problem does not lie in the method but in the manner of utilizing the method. The way in which the premises of this text are put into practice seems to me very interesting. Opinion polls filled in with the replies of the

individual writers are used as a basis for describing the present situation. I found the poll itself, proposed by Torrealday to the writers, and the replies they gave and their opinions all highly stimulating. But we are left in the dark as to the opinion of the writer himself.

If we compare this work with, for example, that carried out in the same socio-critical field of research by González Millán on Gallician literature, differences soon emerge, clearly-defined differences between different applications of one and the same method. The method does not bother me; what surprises me are the results of its application.

4. Dissertations on Basque literature

In the field of Basque literary creation the university is often criticised for its silence regarding the present literary scene. This criticism is without foundation and can be attributed to a wealth of preconceived ideas to be found in Basque literary society. One need only glance at the dissertations that have been read in the past few years to realize that there is no such silence and even less if what we are referring to is present-day creative literature. Literary research has become very much consolidated in recent years, thanks to work that has seen the light in a number of doctoral theses. The phenomenon can in part be attributed to the university system itself which in recent times has obliged students to write and present dissertations in a manner that is almost compulsive. The term «relative abundance» might best describe this area of study in Basque literature. Another characteristic is the diversity of methods that are employed in this research.

With regard to their number, it must be borne in mind that in the year 1987 only three dissertations were presented in the field of Basque literature. Today there are more than twenty, with as many again in the process of elaboration.

With regard to the methodologies employed there has been a swing from an almost exclusively semiotic and mytho-critical approach to a plurality of possibilities ranging from the socio-critical to the aesthetics of reception.

Semiotics underlies the dissertation of Karlos Otegi: «Lectura semiótica de Biotz-Begietan de Xabier de Lizardi» (A Semiotic reading of Xabier de Lizardi's Biotz-Begietan) and that of Sebastián García Trujillo: «La novela de Txomin de Agirre» (The Novels of Txomin de Agirre). Stylistics and rhetoric are the guidelines behind Patxi Salaberri: «Axularren erretorika» (The Rhetoric of Axular), Guillermo Etxebarria: «Orixeren metrikaz» (The metrics of Orixe) and Joan Otaegi: «Adjetiboa euskal literaturan» (The adjective in Basque Literature). Literary history serves as a guide in the work of Ana Toledo «Txomin Agirreraren nobelaren azterketa» (A Study of the novels of Txomin de Agirre) and in the work of Lurdes Otaegi «Lizardiren garai-giroaz» (The times and life of Lizardi). Aurelia Arkotxa worked on Jungian mytho-

criticism in a dissertation on Gabriel Aresti. The history of ideas forms the basis of the work of Iñaki Aldekoa: «Munduaren neurria. Arestiren aho bibilikoaz» (The measure of the world. On the biblical voice of Aresti) and is equally at the basis of the work of Xabier Altzibar «Bizkaierako literatura zaharra» (Ancient Biscayan Literature).

The dissertations recently presented by María José Olaziregi: «Bernardo Atxagaren irakurlea» (The Reader of Bernardo Atxaga), which combines socio-criticism with the aesthetics of reception, and by Jon Casenave on Jean Etxepare point in a new direction.

It should be pointed out that marketing considerations also have an effect on doctoral dissertations; students prefer to work on contemporary writers, if possible successful ones, or else to dedicate their efforts to juvenile and children's literature, a topic on which we find two dissertations (Xabier Etxaniz, Eukene Martín).

Another characteristic created by the market might be described as focalisation. Whole periods are no longer analysed, but dissertations focus rather on the work of one author or even on one key work rather than on the totality of writings.

Finally, we might draw attention to a diversity of viewpoints in the analysis of one only author. Here, the number of dissertations is scarce, but there are a number of writers (Lizardi, Lauaxeta, Txomin Agirre) who have been given continuous attention and whose works have been studied from different perspectives. Those writers who attract most attention from researches mark some of the landmarks within which dissertations are presented in the field of Basque literature:

- The birth of Basque narrative. Two dissertations on Txomin Agirre.
- Basque symbolist poetry. Two dissertations on Lizardi, two on Lauaxeta (one presented in a Faculty of Theology), one on Orixe and another on the presence of traditional lyricism in this poetry.
- The birth of modern poetry. Two dissertations on Aresti.
- Juvenile and children's literature.

5. Monographic Writings

Triumphalist statistics on the number of books annually published cannot hide a central weakness in Basque literature: the absence of an adult readership which comes to bookshops to buy books. Nowadays, when literature and the educational system go hand in hand, this absence is all the more remarkable. The voice of an educated readership does not reach the channels that distribute and form public opinion. For all their merits, some writers —a few— sell a lot, and a lot of writers sell only a little.

If creative literature is not very successful, it is inconceivable that literature on creative literature should gain any wider acceptance.

But the publication of monographs keeps increasing. Jon Juaristi foresaw that the future of criticism in the Basque Country would depend on the yearly flow of graduates from our recently created Faculties. It seems to me that this is precisely what has happened, though it should be noted that since 1991 there has been a fall in the publication of literary magazines, that is to say of platforms for the formation of new writers.

Monographs on Basque writers have followed the tendencies outlined in our review of doctoral dissertations: they are centred on recent literature and on the figure of Bernardo Atxaga. In first place we should mention the works of Iñaki Aldekoa *Zirkuluaren hutsmina* (Nostalgia for the circle). This researcher, both in the book just mentioned and in *Antzarra eta ispilua* (The geese and the mirror) has analysed the work of Atxaga, paying the utmost attention always to the literary quality of his writing so that it reads like a literary essay. This same attitude can be seen in the prologues of his anthologies: *Euskal ipuinen antologia* (An Anthology of Basque Short Stories), even though this work closely resembles a precursor in Catalan. María José Olaziregi and Joseba Gabilondo have also worked on various aspects of the writing of Bernardo Atxaga.

Other contemporary narrators such as Anjel Lertxundi or Ramón Saizarbitoria have been the object of detailed studies. Lasagabaster pointed out the important renewal in the novels of Saizarbitoria and the same idea is developed in work by María José Olaziregi, Peru Alberdi and Mikel Hernández Abaitua.

Anjel Lertxundi, on the other hand, does not seem to have received the same attention, in spite of the studies by Felipe Juaristi and Iñaki Aldekoa. Besides the translation of his novel *Otto Pette* into Spanish was greeted with important critical acclaim in the communications media and was reviewed by Ángel Basanta (a critic for the newspaper, *ABC*) and by José Ángel Juristo (in the newspaper *El Mundo*).

It is clear that monographs prefer to concentrate on the world of the novel, given the public success of this genre, but one should not forget the work of Amaia Iturbide, who has analysed the work of various poets, or the meticulous work of Aitzpea Azkorbebeitia on Joseba Sarrionandia.

In the field of journalistic criticism the untiring work of Juan Luis Zabala, in the only Basque daily newspaper, *Egunkaria*, should be pointed out and applauded.

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Communications

Zubereraren herskariak: azterketa akustikoa

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1. Sarrera

Jakina denez, iparraldeko euskarak /ph th kh/ herskari ahoskabe hasperendunak ditu (edo, hobe esan, ipar-ekialdekoak, kostatarrak galdu baititu). Hizkuntzalari batzuek zalantzan jarri dute soinu hauen estatus fonemikoa, beraien banaketa oso aldakorra delako (adib. khorpitz ~ korphitz). Hala ere, Lafonek (1958) frogatu zuen zubereran behintzat ahoskabe hasperendunak eta hasperengabeak fonema desberdinak direla. Nahiz eta hizkeren artean desadostasunak aurkitu, hizkera jakin batean, hitz jakin bat beti modu berean ahoskatzen da: hasperendunarekin ala hasperengabearekin.

«Dans un mot donné, une occlusive sourde est toujours prononcée de la même façon: non-aspirée dans tel mot, aspirée dans tel autre.... Le *p* de *íphar* “nord”, le *t* de *úrthe* “année”, le *k* de *ekhárri* “apporté” sont toujours aspirés, tandis que le *p* de *ttípi* “petit”, le *t* de *árte* “intervalle” et le *k* de *jákin* “su” ne le sont jamais. Le *k* de *lékhü* “lieu, endroit” (de latin *locum*) est aspiré; celui de *jókü* “jeu” (de lat. *iocum*) ne l’est pas.» (Lafon 1958:90).

Badira, izan ere, pare minimo batzuk, nahiz eta ez asko: *merkatu* «merkeagotu» vs. *merkhatu* «azoka».

Munduko beste hizkuntza batzuek badute ahostun/ahoskabe hasperengabe/ahoskabe hasperendun (edo b/p/ph, laburtuz) bereizkuntza hirukoitza, baina Europan euskara da kasu ezagun bakarra (antzinako grezieraz ere ematen zen). Arrazoi honegatik fenomeno interesgarria da eta aztertzea merezi du. Guk dakigunez, orain arte, inork ez du aztertu bereizketa hau nola gauzatzen den zubereraz. Lan honen helburua b/p/ph bereizkuntza hirukoitza fonetikoki nola gauzatzen den aztertzea da.

2. p/b/ph bereizkuntzaren ikerketa fonetikoa

Artikulu garrantzitsu batean, Lisker & Abramson-ek (1964) erakutsi zuten ahoskabe/ahostun edo-ta hasperengabe/hasperendun bereizkuntzan ezaugarri fonetiko nagusia ahotsaren hasieragunea edo, ingelesez, voice onset time (VOT) bezala ezagutzen dena dela. Orduetik hona, beste ikerketa lan askotan VOTaren garrantzia frogatu da (Flege 1982, Keating 1984, beste askoren artean).

Herskari bat ahoskatzerakoan, bi fase ditugu: hersketa eta leherketa (horregatik herskari eta leherkari izenak). Herskariaren ondoren bokal bat badaukagu, ahots-korden dardarra periodikoa hiru momentu desberdinetan has daiteke:

1. Ahots-korden dardarra kontsonantearen leherketa baino lehen hasten bada, herskari ahostun bat izango dugu, [ba da ga].

^^^^^^^^^^ || ^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^

2. Ahots-korden dardarra leherketarekin batera edo apur bat beranduago hasten bada, herskari ahoskabe hasperengabea izango dugu, [pa ta ka].

_____ || _____ ^^^^^^^^^^^

3. Azkenik, ahots-korden dardarra leherketa baino beranduxeago has daiteke. Hirugarren kasu honetan leherketaren eta uhin periodikoaren hasieraren artean hasperenketa izango dugu ondorioz eta gauzatzen den herskaria ahoskabea eta hasperenduna izango da, [pha tha kha].

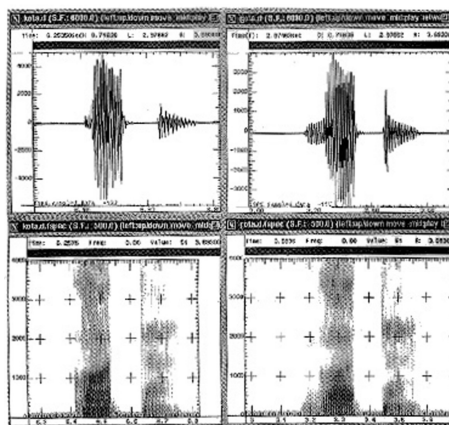
_____ || _____ ^^^^

VOT delakoaren arabera, ahotsaren dardarra leherketa baino lehen hasten bada (1 kasua), VOT negatiboa izango dugu. Beste bi kasuetan, hurrenez hurren, VOT positibo laburra (2), eta VOT positibo luzea (3), izango ditugu.

Hizkuntza batzuetan, hala nola thailandieraz, hiru kategoria fonetiko hauek fonema desberdinak ematen dituzte. Thailandieraz [d] herskari ahostuna (VOT negatiboa duena), [t] herskari ahoskabe hasperengabea (VOT positibo laburra) eta [th] herskari ahoskabe hasperenduna (VOT positibo luzea) hiru fonema desberdin dira.

Beste hizkuntza askotan, aldiz, hauetariko bi kategoria bakarrik bereizten dira. Hizkuntza erromanikoetan eta gaurregungo euskalki gehienetan ahostunak eta ahoskabe hasperengabeak ditugu (1 eta 2 klaseak). Lehen irudian gaztelaniazko *cota/gota* pare minimoa erakusten da. Ikus dezakegunez, *gotaren* lehen kontsonanteak VOT negatiboa duen bitartean, *cota*-ren lehen kontsonanteak VOT positibo laburra erakusten du. Hizkuntza honetan ez dugu VOT positibo luzeko herskaririk (ikus Williams 1976, adibidez).

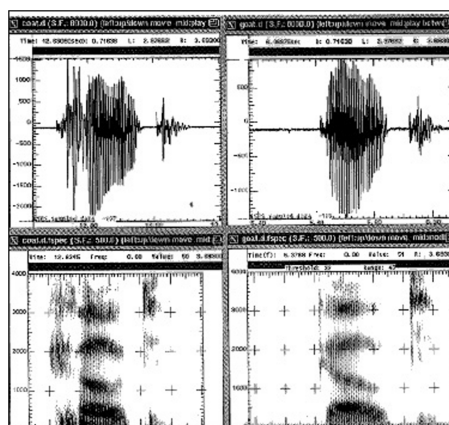
Ingelesez edo alemanez ere bi kategoria bakarrik bereizten dira baina gauzak zeharo desberdinak dira fonetikaren aldetik. Nahiz eta hizkuntza hauetan fonologikoki antzeko bereizketa bitarra izan, gauzatze fonetikoa nahikoa bestelakoa da. Bigarren irudian ingelezko *coat/goat* para erakusten



/kota/

/gota/

1. Irudia



/kot/

/got/

2. Irudia

da (hiztuna amerikarra da). Lehen eta bigarren irudiak erkatzen ditugunean, gaztelaniaren hasierako /k-/ eta ingelesaren /g-/ soinua antzekoak direla ikusten dugu: biek VOT positibo laburra dute (*goat* eta *cota* konpara itzazue). Hau da, ingelesezko adibide honetan, /g-/ hasierako herskaria ahoskabea da fonetiko. Adibide hau ez da bitxia. Guztiz alderantziz, ingelesez /b d g/ soinuak gehienetan ahoskabeak dira hasiera absolutuan, hau da, [p t k]. Dena den, hiztun batzuek ahostunak bezala ahoskatzen dituzten. Lehen eta bigarren kategoria fonetikoak neutralduta daude ingelesez. Hitz hasieran VOT negatiboko eta VOT positibo laburreko herskariak alofonoak dira hizkuntza honetan (Lisker

& Abramson 1964, Flege 1982). Bestaldetik, /p t k/ kontsonante ahoskabeek VOT positibo luzea dute, hasperendunak dira, [ph th kh], bigarren irudiko *coat* adibidean ikusten den bezala. Beraz, gaztelaniaz 1. eta 2. tipoak kontraste fonemikoan dauden bitartean, ingelesez 1. eta 2. tipoak fonema ahostunen alofonoak dira hasiera absolutuan eta 3. tipoko kontsonanteekin kontrastatzen dira.

Esan duguna hasierako gunean dauden herskariei dagokie. Beste ingurune batzuetan kontraste fonologikoa beste ezaugarri fonetiko batzuen bidez gauzatzen da.

3. Esperimentua

Hemen aurkezten ditugun datuak jaso ahal izateko lau lekukoren laguntza izan dugu. Lekuko guztiak gizonezkoak izan dira eta 60 urte ingurukoak. Euren jatorriari dagokienez, Gamere, Ürrüxtoi, Eskiula eta Barkoxekoak izan dira; ondoko mapa honetan herrion kokaera ikus daiteke:



Galdekizuna prestatzeko Larrasquet-en (1939) hiztegia erabili genuen, bertan hasierako gunean herskari hasperendunarekin agertzen diren hitz guztien zerrenda bat osatuz. Azentudun azentugabe aldagaia ekiditeko, neurtuko genuen soinua silaba azentudunekoa izatea erabaki genuen. Horretarako hasierako zerrenda hartatik silaba bi baino gehiagoko hitzak baztertu genituen, hala nola azentua bigarren silaban daukatenak ere. Bestalde, beronek inplikatzeko du hitza mugagabe erara emateko ere eskatu dugula. Horrela bada *bérde*, *bórda*, *bágo*, *beltz* eta *gor* moduko hitzak baino ez ditugu erabili. Erabilitako zerrenda osoa lehen eranskinean ikus daiteke.

Datuak jasotzeko metodologiari dagokionez, behin galdekizuna edukiz gero lekukoei frantzesez eskatzen genizkien hitzak eurek euskaraz emateko; grabazioak lekukoaren ingurugiroan egin ziren. Datu guztiak DAT eta Mini-Disc sistema digitalen bidez jasoak izan dira, beti ere kanpo mikrofono bat

erabiliz. Behin datuak jasota, PC ordenagailu baten sartu eta Inmaculada Hernáezek garatutako «Ahotsa» aztergailuaren bidez neurtu genituen.

Neurriak egiterakoan VOTa neurtu dugu. Nola leherketa barra sarritan argi ez den agertzen, ahostuneren kasuan bereziki, halatan deliberatu genuen dardar periodikoa hasten denetik bokalaren formakinak egonkor bihurtzen direnerainoko zatia neurtzea. Ahoskabeen kasuan modu berean egin genituen neurketa guztiak.

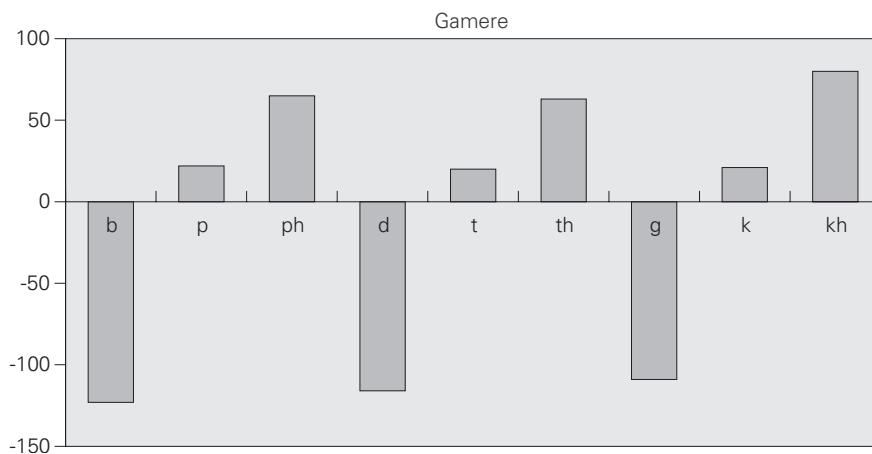
Soinu bakoitzerako adibide baten ahots-uhina eta espektrograma ematen ditugu bigarren eranskinan, lan honetako bukaeran.

4. Emaitzak

Esperimentuaren emaitzak aurkezteko lehendabizi eurok herriz herri nola gauzatu diren ikusiko dugu, herri bakoitzerako hiztun bakarra dugularik. Emaitza guztiak milisegundotan adierazirik emango ditugu.

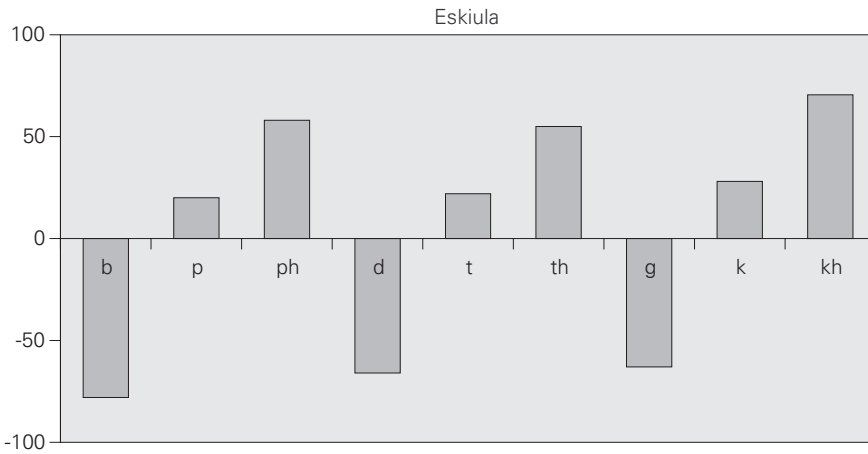
Gamere (denetara 64)

	Batezbestekoa	Desbiazioa	Kopurua	Rangoa
b	-123	13	9	104-142
d	-116	23	6	74-137
g	-109	14	7	92-128
p	22	5	10	14-30
t	20	4	4	14-24
k	21	2	5	18-24
ph	65	12	9	52-88
th	63	8	5	54-76
kh	80	11	9	68-99

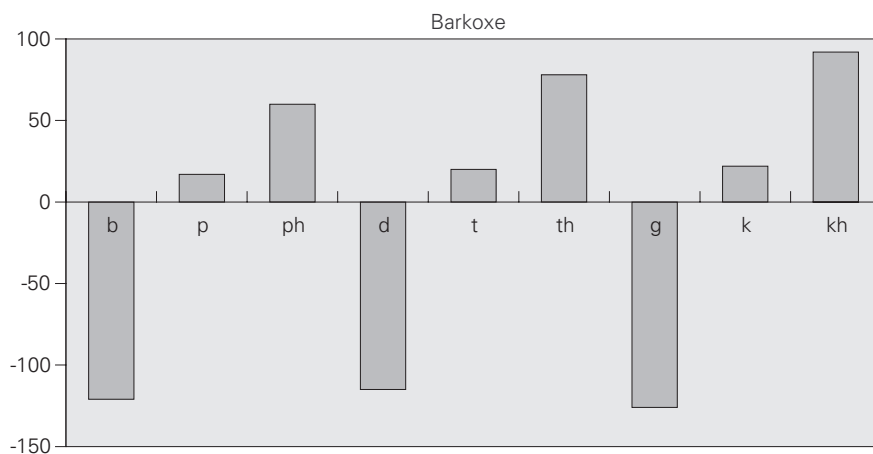


Eskiula (denetara 86)

	Batezbestekoa	Desbiazioa	Kopurua	Rangoa
b	-78	14	13	56-99
d	-66	10	10	54-84
g	-63	12	11	50-87
p	20	5	11	15-33
t	22	5	7	15-29
k	28	6	5	23-39
ph	58	12	11	41-79
th	55	7	8	45-70
kh	70,5	11	10	46-84

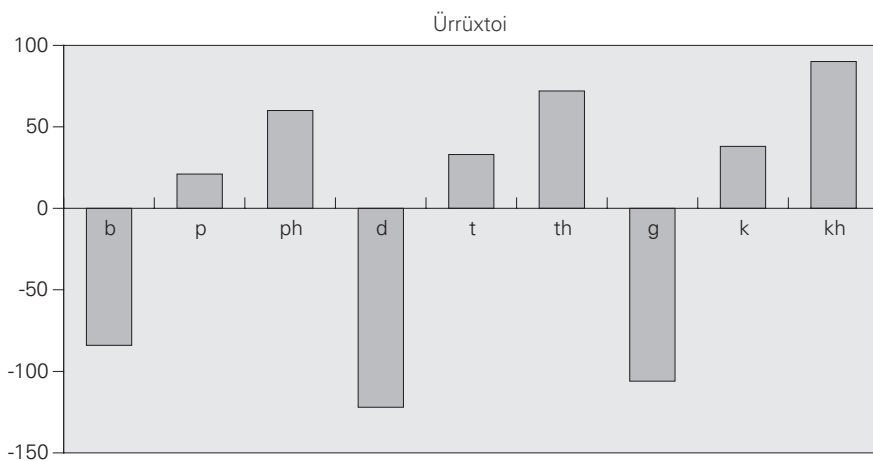
**Barkoxe (denetara 79)**

	Batezbestekoa	Desbiazioa	Kopurua	Rangoa
b	-121	21	13	86-150
d	-115	10	6	98-124
g	-126	19	13	99-162
p	17	5	12	10-25
t	20	1	5	18-21
k	22	4	6	15-26
ph	60	10	9	51-79
th	78	7	6	68-91
kh	92	12	9	77-114



Ürrüxtoi (denetara 73)

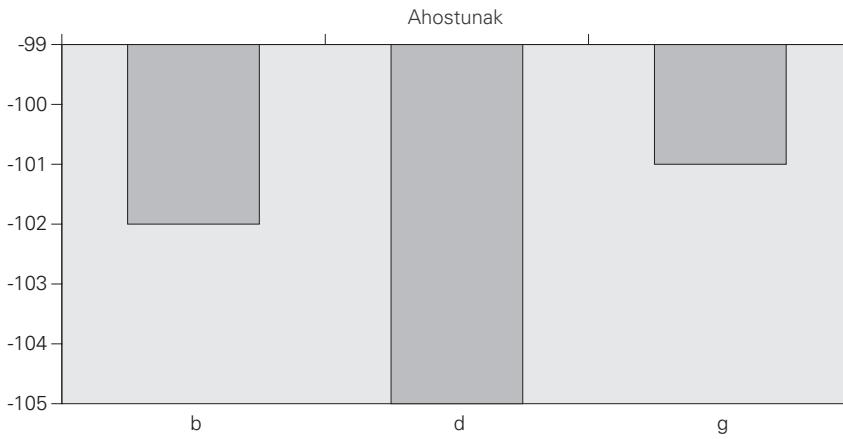
	Batezbestekoa	Desbiazioa	Kopurua	Rangoa
b	-84	12	13	62-102
d	-122	16	5	101-150
g	-106	18	13	74-143
p	21	6	9	12-29
t	33	6	4	24-38
k	38	6	5	33-49
ph	60	7	10	50-76
th	72	11	5	56-85
kh	90	12	9	64-106



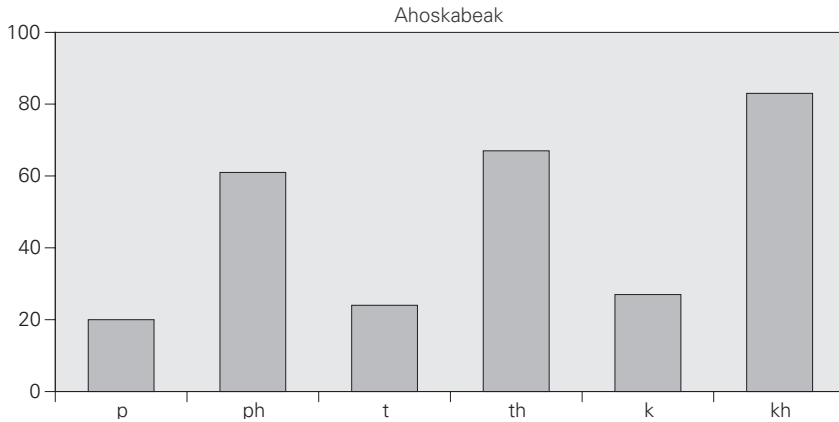
Emaitzak orotara ikusirik honako taula hau osa dezakegu:

Batezbestekoa		Batezbestekoa	
b	-102	th	67
p	20	g	-101
ph	61	k	27
d	-105	kh	83
t	24		

Sailka hartzen baditugu, ahostunen kasuan honako grafika hau osa dezakegu:



Ondoko grafikan, berriz, ahoskabe hasperendunak eta hasperengabeak batera ikus daitezke:



5. Ondorioak

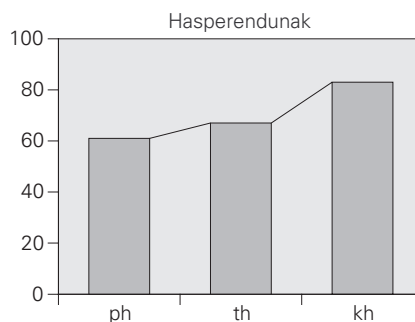
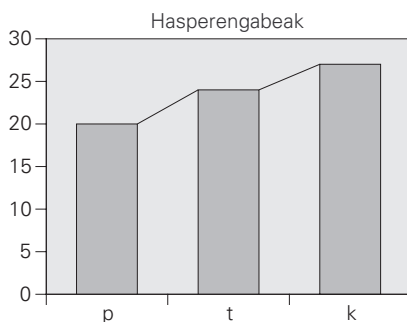
Ahostunen emaitzak bazter utzita, aurreko ataleko taulen azterketatik atera dezakegun ondorioak nabarmenena hasperendunen VOTa kasu guztietan hasperengabeena baino aisa luzeagoa izatea da. Proporzioak honako hauek dira: ph %33, th %35 eta kh %33.

Lisker & Abramson-ek bereizkuntza hirukoitza duten bi hizkuntza aztertu zituzten, ekialdeko armeniera eta thailandiera. Hizkuntza hauen emaitzak eta guk lortu ditugunak oso antzekoak dira. Ondoko taulan batezbestekoak erkatzen ditugu hiru hizkuntzetan (thailandierak ez dauka /g/ fonemarik). Konparaketarako Lisker & Abramsonen Puerto Rico-ko gaztelaniaz aurkitu zituzten VOT datuak ere ematen ditugu:

	Zuberera	E. armeniera	Thailandiera	PR gaztelania
b	-102	-96	-97	-110
p	20	3	6	4
ph	61	78	64	—
d	-105	-102	-78	-109
t	24	15	9	7
th	67	59	65	—
g	-101	-115	—	-92
k	27	30	25	25
kh	83	98	100	—

Diferentziarik nabarmenena /p/ eta /t/ fonemetan aurkitzen da. Hauek zubereraz beste hizkuntzetan baino VOT luzeagoa dute. Bestela, lau hizkuntzen emaitzak nahikoa antzekoak dira.

Ahoskabeen kasuan, bai hasperendunetan bai hasperengabeetan, zenbat eta atzerago ebaki orduan eta VOTa luzeagoa dela ere atera dezakegun beste ondorio bat da. Jarraian ematen ditugun grafiketan desberdintasun hori argi ikus daiteke:



Ondorioz, zubererak hiru herskari mota ditu. VOT-aren bidez argi eta garbi bereizten dira hirurak. Bereizkuntza oposaketa hirukoitza duten beste hizkuntza batzuetan bezain garbia da.

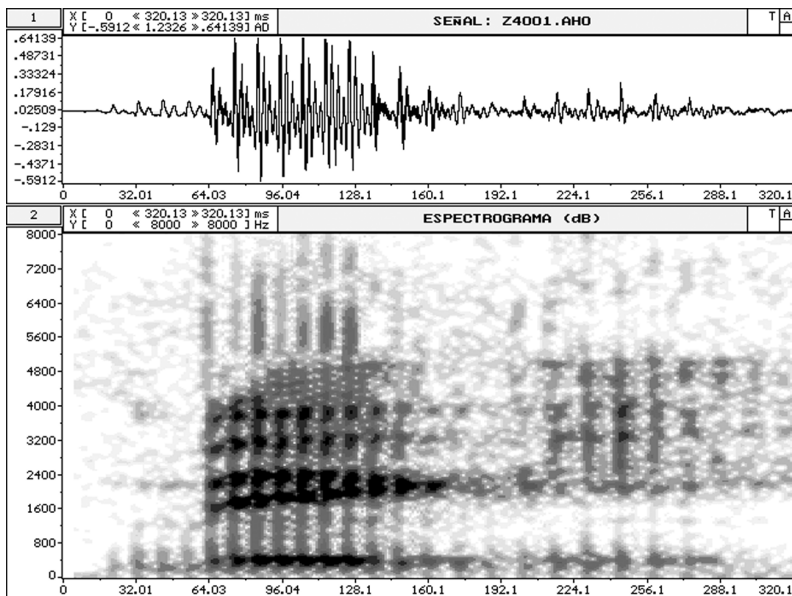
Lana amaitu baino lehen hurrengo lanetarako proposamen batzuk egitea gelditzen zaigu. Batetik interesgarri ikusten dugu bokalen arteko herskariak aztertzea eta zubereraren gainerako barietateetan antzeko azterketa batzuk egitea, izan ere, hemen aukeratu ditugun herriak eskualde batekoak dira. Bestetik, gainerako euskalkien, lapurtera eta behe nafarrera, egoerak aztertzeari ere interesgarri deritzogu.

1. Eranskina

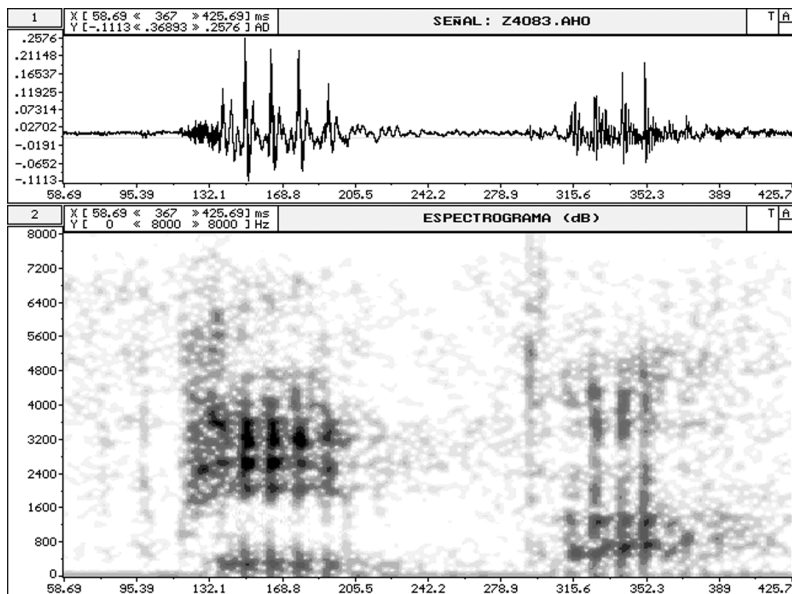
Lan hau burutu ahal izateko erabilitako hitz guztien zerrenda:

bágo	báhe	bákhe	bégi	béhi
béle	béltz	bérde	bíde	bíhi
bíhotz	bóhor	bórda	búha	búü
dállá	dállü	dántza	débrü	déithü
déitzez	déuse	dúda	dünda	gáar
gai	gaitz	gáiza	gáltha	gálttho
gar	gáthü	gatz	gázte	gézi
gézür	gízon	gor	górri	gúine
kánpo	kárga	kárta	káska	kénte
khánba	khánta	khárrok	khe	khéñü
khéta	khímer	khínber	khínper	khíño
khóntü	khórda	khórpitz	khúnta	khúntü
khúrlo	khútxe	kólpe	kúska	pága
pháke	phárte	phéntsa	phéña	phéska
phésü	phézü	phíko	phíno	phíper
phórrü	phünta	phúnta	phúntsü	phútzü
píkhor	pínta	pípa	púnta	púrga
tábal	tánta	táza	téka	télla
tháza	théka	théyü	thíña	thónba
thórpe	thúnba	thü	tjéta	tótzo

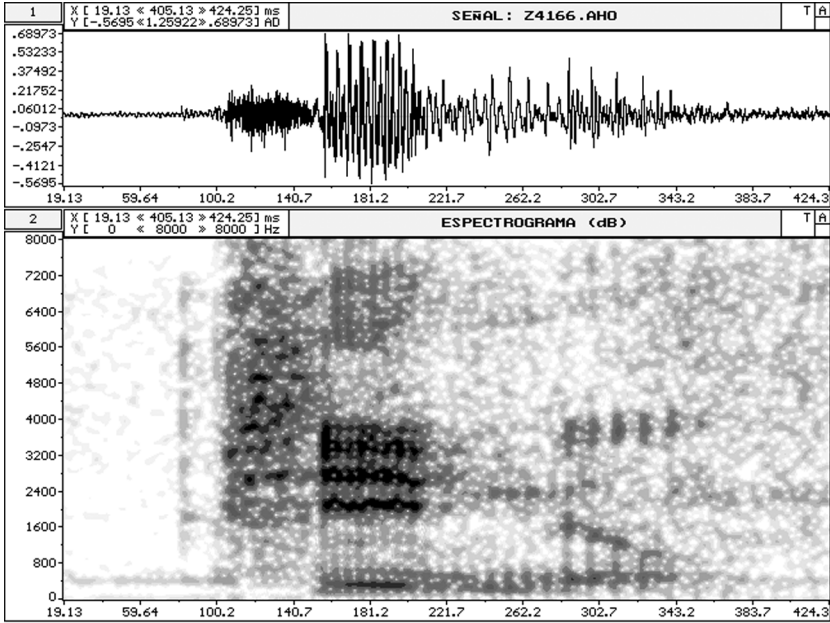
2. Eranskina



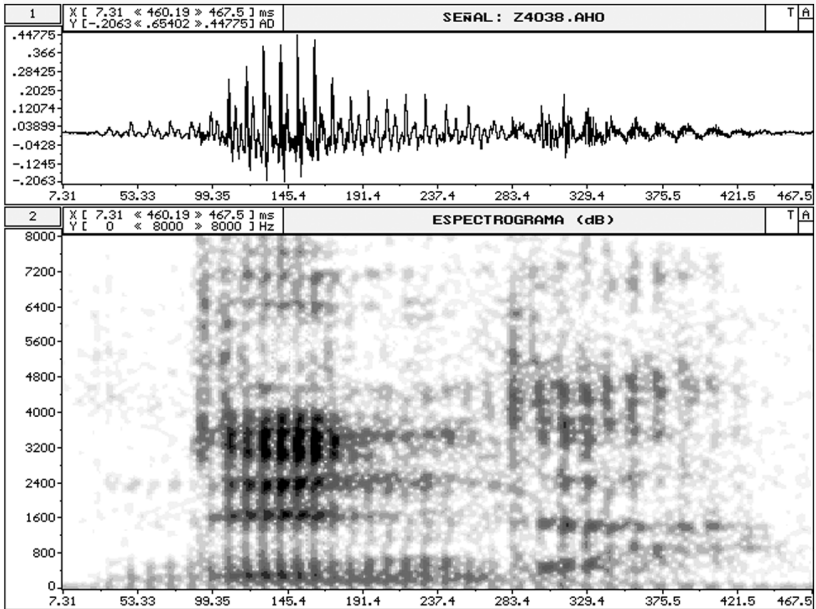
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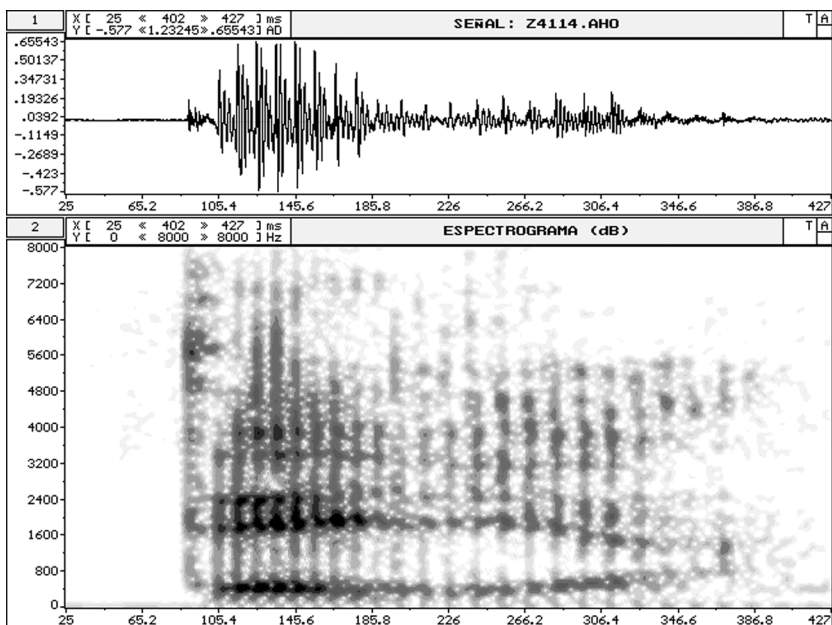
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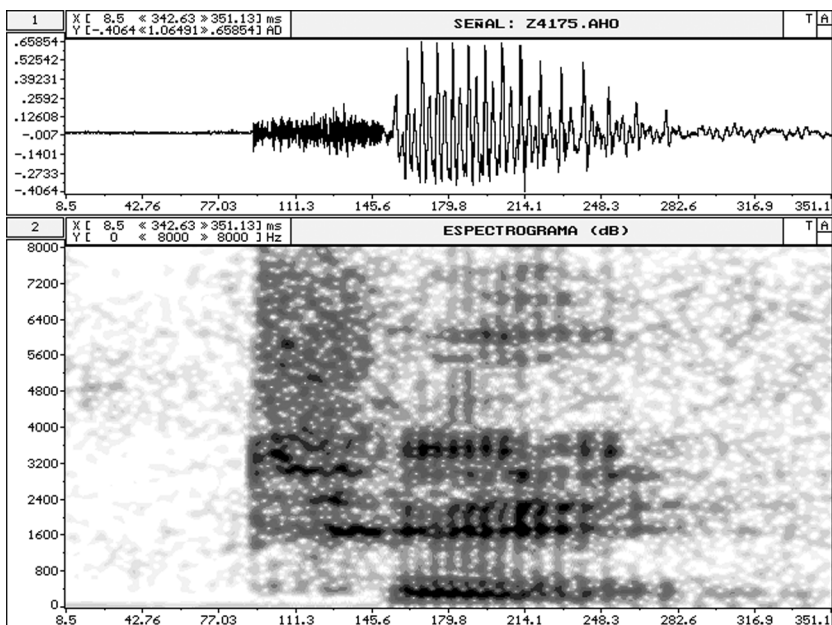
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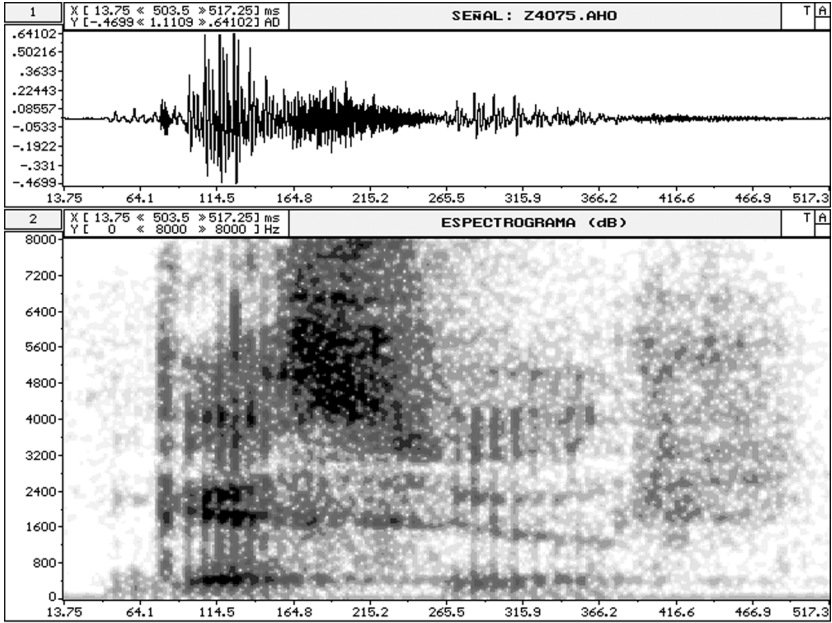
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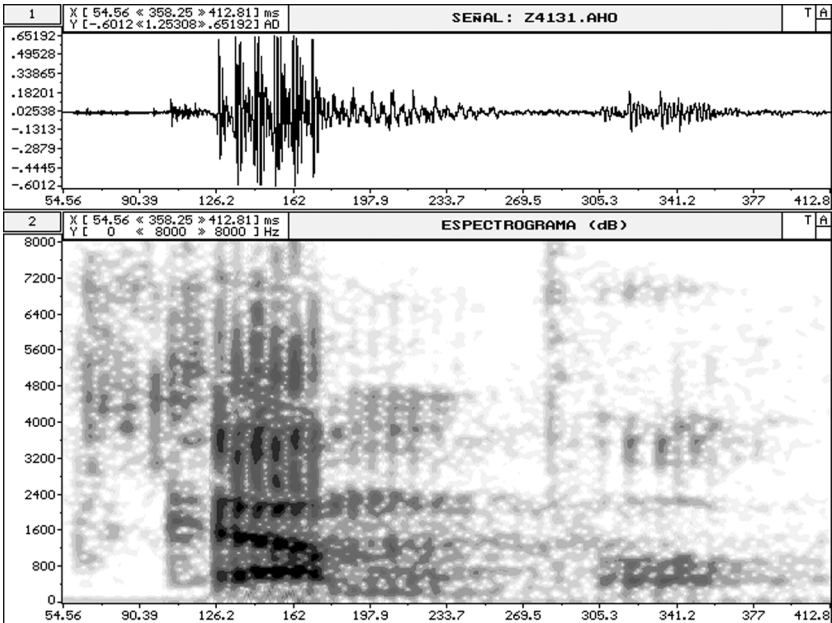
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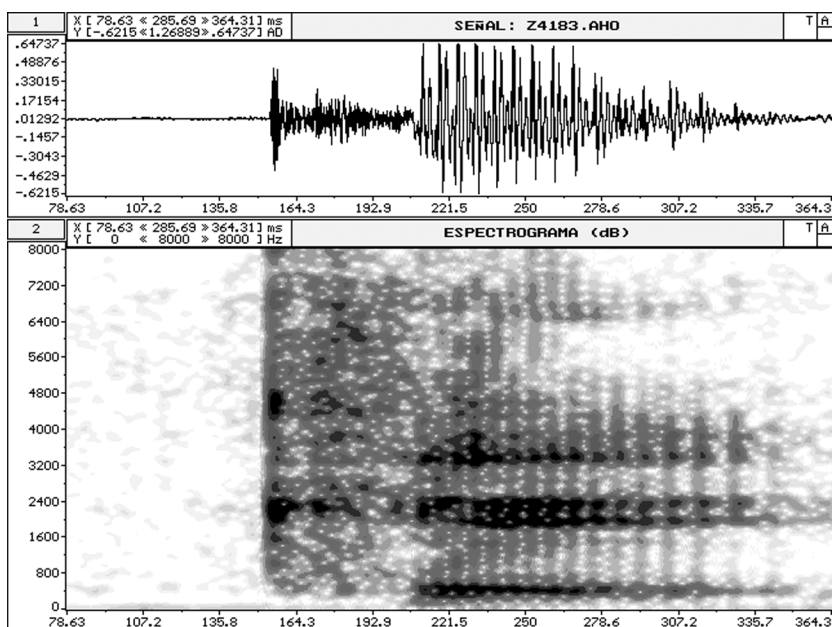
/thü/



/gézür/



/kánpo/



/khe/

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ABSTRACT

Suletin stops: an acoustic study.

Some northern varieties of Basque possess three series of plosive or oral stop consonants: voiced /b d g/, voiceless unaspirated /p t k/, and voiceless

aspirated /ph th kh/. Among the languages of Europe, Basque seems to be unique in presenting this three-way opposition (although a similar contrast was found in Ancient Greek and it is not unusual in other parts of the world). For this reason, it is important to document this phonological contrast; even more so since the dialects that maintain this contrast (which is believed to have been much more general in Basque in the past) appear to be in serious danger of extinction. For the study reported here, data were collected from 4 male speakers of Zuberoan (or Souletin), the easternmost Basque dialect, using a high-quality digital recorder. The data were then analyzed using a computerized speech analysis system, Ahotsa (developed by I. Hernaez). Voice Onset Time (VOT) measurements were taken, since this acoustic dimension has been proven to have an excellent correlation with voicing and aspiration in many languages. The results agree with those that have been reported for other languages with a similar three-way contrast. In utterance-initial position, /b d b/ are prevoiced (negative VOT), /p t k/ present a short lag (VOT around 20 ms) and the aspirated segments /ph th kh/ show a much longer lag (average VOT between 60 and 80 ms, depending on the place of articulation of the consonant). For both voiceless series, VOT duration increases with retraction of the place of articulation, so that it is longest for the velar and shortest for the bilabial. The four speakers, who are from different towns (Ganbe, Eskiula, Barkoxe and Ürrüxtoi), present very similar results.

Adierazpen-perpausen intonazioa Ispasterko hizkeran

Rosa Gandarias

Sarrera

Komunikazio honetan esaldi enuntziatibo edo deklaratzailen F0aren azterketari ekingo zaio. Izan ere, intonazioa izan da aztergai nagusia baina azentuak ere izan du bere lekua, batez ere corpusaren diseinuan. Lan honetan azentua kontutan hartuko da, hain zuzen ere, esaldien hasieretan eta amaieretan azentu molde ezberdinek nolako F0aren eboluzioa suposatzen duten jakiteko, eta aldagai horrek esaldiaren F0aren eboluzio orokorrean eragiten dutenentz, eta eragina gertatzen baldin bada, nolakoa den jakiteko.

Azentuari dagokionez, hizkuntzen artean, bereiz daitezke azentu finkodun hizkuntzak eta azentu ez finkoa dutenak. Dena den, azkenon artean ere, nabari izaten dira joera nagusiak azentu kokaguneari dagokionez. Joera nagusi horiek kuantitatiboak izaten dira, hau da, joera nagusiak ehuneko gehiengoa suposatzen du lexikoian.

Lan honetan aztertu den hizkeran ere isladatu da holakorik, hain zuzen ere, «azentu laua» bezala izenda daitekeen hori litzateke nagusi. Mitxelenak (1985: 379), euskararen azentu sistemen sailkapena egiterakoan eta I tipoaz ari delarik, modu sinple batez diosku zertan datzan azentu hori:

«Se suele decir que el vascuence es una lengua “sin acento” y, cuando se habla de excepciones, se cita sólo el dialecto suletino. Esta manera de hablar no carece de todo fundamento. [...] en los dialectos centrales y occidentales, es decir, en las variedades más conocidas y más prestigiosas de la lengua, las diferencias de intensidad, altura y duración de unas sílabas a otras son pequeñas y difíciles de percibir.»

Mitxelenak, bere garaian modu inpresionista batez egin zituen baieztape-nak ez daude kontraesanean gerorantzean lortu diren datu akustikoekin.

Metodo inpresionistez jarraituz, oso bitxia gertatzen da mendebaldeko azentu sistema hori aldameneko erromantzeren bateko hiztun bat erreproduzitzen saiatzen denean. Era berean, mendebaldeko azentu sistema horretakoa ez den hiztun bati «bitxi» xamarra egiten zaio azentu sistema horretako hiztuna entzutea.

Holako datuak ez dira berez objetiboak, neurgarriak ez diren heinean, baina indize edo aztarna bezala erabilgarriak gertatzen dira.

1. Aztergaia

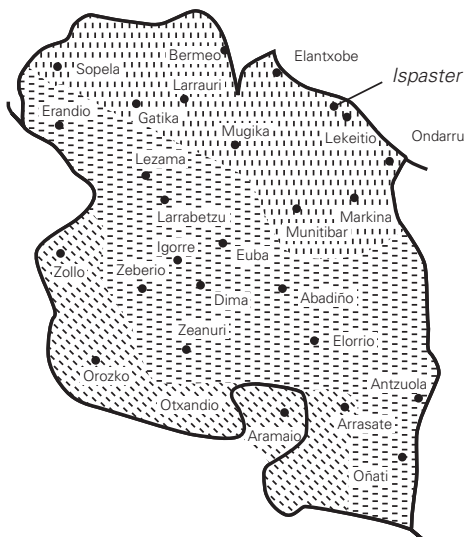
Giza ahotsa akustikoki uhin konplexua da. Horrek esan nahi du hitz egiten dugunean, oinarrizko maiztasun edo tonu bat dugula: hitzun bakoitzak berezia du zenbait parametroren arabera (ahoskorden lodiera, luzera, e.a.). Espektrogrametan ikus daitekeen bezala, oinarrizko maiztasunaren gainean beste maiztasun batzuek ere baditugu, beti ere, oinarrizkoaren multiploak.

Bestalde, intonazioari buruzko literatur tradizioan, F0a izan da gehien aztertu den parametro akustikoa eta (energia eta iraupenaren gainera) garrantzi gehien eman zaiona ere. Akustikoki, esaldi baten F0a edo oinarrizko maiztasuna lerro batez isladatzen da, gora-beherak izan ditzakeen lerroa alegia. Irudian ikus daiteke esandakoaren adibide bat.

2. Lanaren mugaketa

Lana mugatzerakoan irizpide bi jarraitu dira:

- a) Bereziki prestatutako datu base bat egin da.
- b) Datu bilketarako puntu geografiko jakin bat hautatu da.



1. irudia

«Ganezka egongo da katedrala» esaldia Ispasterko hizkeran ekoiztua

Ispasterko herria aukeratu da datu bilketa burutzeko. Irudian ikusten den bezala (1. ir.), herri hau Bizkaiko kostaldean dago kokatua, euskalkiz, bizkaieraren barne.

Gamindek (Gaminde, 1995: 25) egindako bizkaieraren azentu sistemen sailkapenaren arabera, doinu-azentudun bariatatearen barruan legoke alegia.

3. **Corpusa**

3.1. *Esaldi motak*

Lan honetan perpaus bakunak izan dira aztergai, hain zuen ere, adierazpen-perpausak hartu dira datu basearen diseinua egiteko.

3.2. *Esaldiak diseinatzeko irizpideak*

Orain arte euskararen intonazioaren inguruan egindako azterketarik gehien-goetan, azentu ez markatuez osatutako esaldiak izan dira aztergai. Lan honetan, esaldiaren hasiera eta amaierako kokagunean behintzat, azentu lexikoak ere jarri izan dira corpusaren diseinua egiterakoan. Irizpide hau FOaren konfigurazioan azentu moldearen arabera aldaketak gertatzen diren, eta gertatuz gero, nolakoak diren jakiteko erabili da.

3.3. *Esaldien luzera*

Adierazpen-perpausen artean luzera ezberdinetako esaldiak diseinatu dira.

Diseinua burutzeko irizpideei dagokionez, sintagmak osatzetik hasi da prozesua. Hiru silabako sintagmak diseinatu dira kasu guztietan: hiru sintagma ezberdin esaldi hasieretarako, eta beste hainbeste esaldi amaieretarako, eta esaldien barne gunea osatzeko beste hiru sintagma diseinatu dira. Azken hauek elkarren ondoan jarriz lortu izan dira luzera ezberdinetako esaldiak. Beraz, luzera ezberdineko hiru esaldi sail egin dira, bakoitza 9 esaldiz osatua. Hona hemen sail bakoitzeko adibide bat:

- a) Anderrek erun dau lagune.
- b) Anderrek berandu erun dau lagune.
- c) Anderrek gaur gabin berandu erun dau lagune.

Goian esan bezala, esaldien hasiera eta amaieretako sintagmak konbinatu izan dira euren artean:

Azentu moldea	Hasierako sintagmak	Amaierako sintagmak
A	Anderrek (o ´ ´)	lagune (o ´ ´)
B	Nagorek (o ´ o)	liburu (o ´ o)
C	Txomiñek (´ o o)	kiwije (´ o o)

Esaldien erdi guneari dagokionez, esaldi sail bakoitzean sintagma bat gehitu izan da. Sail bakoitzaren barnean, erdiguneko sintagma aldagaitza izan da:

- a) erun dau,
- b) berandu erun dau,
- c) gaur gabin berandu erun dau.

Erabili den corpora guztira 27 esaldiz dago hornitua. Jarraian, corpora osatu duten esaldi guztiak emango dira sailez sail bereziak, hau da, hiru sintagmakoak (D3), lau sintagmakoak (D4) eta bost sintagmakoak (D5):

a) *Hiru sintagmako esaldiak (D3).*

- 1. Anderrek erun dau lagune
- 2. Nagorek erun dau lagune
- 3. Txomiñek erun dau lagune
- 4. Anderrek erun dau liburu
- 5. Nagorek erun dau liburu
- 6. Txomiñek erun dau liburu
- 7. Anderrek erun dau kiwije
- 8. Nagorek erun dau kiwije
- 9. Txomiñek erun dau kiwije

b) *Lau sintagmako esaldiak (D4).*

- 10. Anderrek berandu erun dau lagune
- 11. Nagorek berandu erun dau lagune
- 12. Txomiñek berandu erun dau lagune
- 13. Anderrek berandu erun dau liburu
- 14. Nagorek berandu erun dau liburu
- 15. Txomiñek berandu erun dau liburu
- 16. Anderrek berandu erun dau kiwije
- 17. Nagorek berandu erun dau kiwije
- 18. Txomiñek berandu erun dau kiwije

c) *Bost sintagmako esaldiak (D5).*

- 19. Anderrek gaur gabin berandu erun dau lagune
- 20. Nagorek gaur gabin berandu erun dau lagune
- 21. Txomiñek gaur gabin berandu erun dau lagune
- 22. Anderrek gaur gabin berandu erun dau liburu
- 23. Nagorek gaur gabin berandu erun dau liburu
- 24. Txomiñek gaur gabin berandu erun dau liburu
- 25. Anderrek gaur gabin berandu erun dau kiwije
- 26. Nagorek gaur gabin berandu erun dau kiwije
- 27. Txomiñek gaur gabin berandu erun dau kiwije

Ikusten denez, esaldien luzera erdigunean sintagmak gehituz lortu da.

Azentu moldeak direla eta, esaldien aurreneko eta amaierako sintagmetan hiru azentu molde ezberdinak erabili dira; barnekoetan, ordea, azentu eredu bera mantendu da kasu guztietan.



2. irudia

(Gaminde, 1995, *Bizkaieraren Azentu-Moldeez*, Bilbao: Labayru, 25. or.)

4. Berriemaileak

Erabili den datu basea 4 hiztunengandik jaso da irakurketaren bidez, berriemaile bakoitzak corpus osoa ekoiztu duelarik. Berriemaileen hautaketan jarraitu diren irizpideak honako hauek izan dira:

- a) Euskaldun zaharrak.
- b) Jatorriz, Ispasterkoak.
- c) Gizonezkoak.
- d) Adinez, 22tik 27 urtera bitartekoak.
- e) Lanbide Heziketa egindakoak eta euskara asignatura bezala izan dutenak.

5. Deskribaketa: azterketa guneak

Berriemaile ezberdinen ahots ezaugarri ezberdinak direla eta, lortutako datuak erkatzeko moduan jartzeko, normalizazioa burutu da:

$$\frac{X \text{ neurketa puntuaren balore absolutoa}}{\text{Lehenengo neurketa puntuaren balore absolutoa}}$$

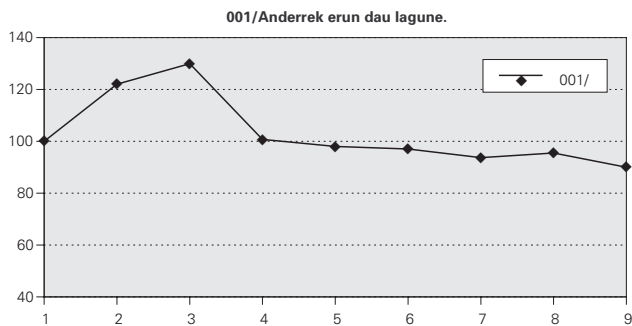
Zatiketa honen ondoren, neurketa puntu bakoitzean lortu diren balore erlatiboak 100ez biderkatu dira balore erlatibo berriak Hz-etan jartzeko. Era honetara, esaldi guztien hasierako balore normalizatua 100 Hz-ekoa izan da edozein esalditan.

Erabilitako normalizazio metodoak ez ditu jaso esaldien hasierako F0 maila absolutuak esaldi ezberdinetan. Horren arabera, emaitzen eztabaidan kontutan izango da alderdi hau ere.

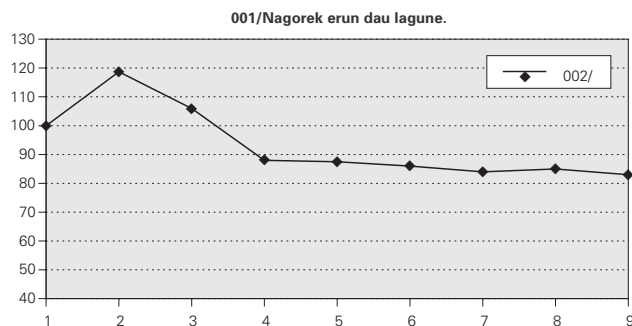
Aztertu diren esaldi gunek honako hauek izan dira:

5.1. Esaldiaren hasierako sintagmaren lehendabiziko gailurra

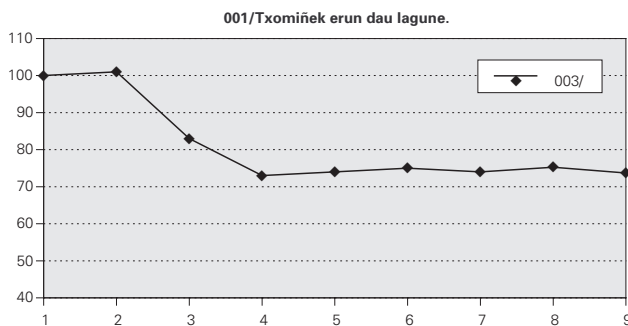
Puntu honetako aztergaia F0aren konfigurazioa izan da. Esaldien hasierako sintagmen hiru azentu moldeen artean desberdintasunak aurkitu dira: A (azentu gabea), B (azentu lexikoa bigarren silaban), eta C (azentu lexikoa lehen silaban) (ik. 3.3). A ereduaren kasuan (3. ir.), F0 konfigurazioak gorantz egin du maiztasunean sintagman zehar. B erudian (4. ir.) sintagmako bigarren si-



3. irudia



4. irudia



5. irudia

labak izan du maiztasunik altuena. Azkenik, C ereduari (5. ir.) maiztasunik altuena bigarren silaban aurkitu da.

5.2. Esaldi hasiera absolutuak

Esaldien hasierako lehen neurketa puntuan ere, F0 maila absolutuaa izan da kontuan. Esperimentuan erabilitako hiru azentu eredu ezberdinen arabera sailkatu dira datuak honetan ere.

	D3	D4	D5
A	116 Hz	110 Hz	113 Hz
B	131 Hz	122 Hz	125 Hz
C	144 Hz	140 Hz	143 Hz

Oraingoz esan, joerez hitz egin daitekeela desbideratze estandarrak handi samarrak baitira. Dena den, interesgarriak izan daitezke aurkitu diren erre-kurrentziak:

- A ereduaz hasitako esaldiek markatzen dute maiztasun absoluturik baxuena, eta, aldiz, C ereduaz hasitakoak altuenak.
- Azentu eredu beraz hasitako hiru esaldi luzeera ezberdinak erkatzen badira, aldeak ez dira nabarmenegiak: alderik handienak B ereduari aurkitu dira.

5.3. Foko osteko jauzia

Neurtu den beste gune bat foko osteko jauzia izan da, hartu diren neurketa puntuak honako hauek izan direlarik:

- D3 esaldietan, maiztasun handiena aurkeztu duen silaba eta foko osteko lehendabiziko silaba.

- b) D4 eta D5 esaldietan, foko sintagman maiztasun handiena aurkeztu duen silaba eta foko osteko lehendabizikoa.

Lortu diren zifrak neurketa puntu batetik bestera dagoen aldea adierazten dute. Emaizta positiboa denean F0ak gorantz egiten duela adierazten du. Al-diz, zifra negatiboa agertzen bada, F0aren eboluzioa beheranzkoa dela adierazten du.

Neurketen ondoren, honako datu hauek lortu dira:

	D3	D4	D5
A	-30 Hz	-7 Hz	-11 Hz
B	-31 Hz	-7 Hz	-6 Hz
C	-26 Hz	-7 Hz	-6 Hz

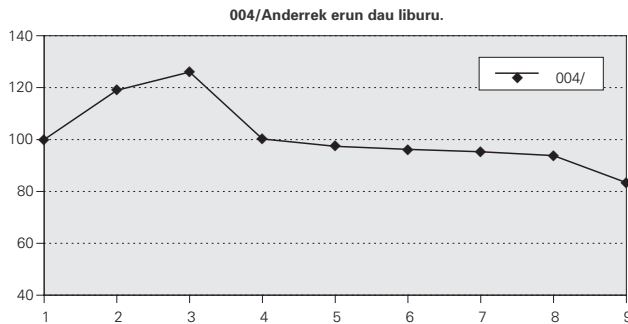
D3 esaldietan foko osteko jauzi hau nabarmenki handiagoa agertzen da D4 eta D5 sailetan baino. Behar bada, azken sail bietan esaldien luzerak izan lezake zerikusirik F0aren jauzia txikiagoa izatearekin.

Bestalde, D4 eta D5 sailen artean ez da aurkitu alde adierazkorrik aztertutako gunean.

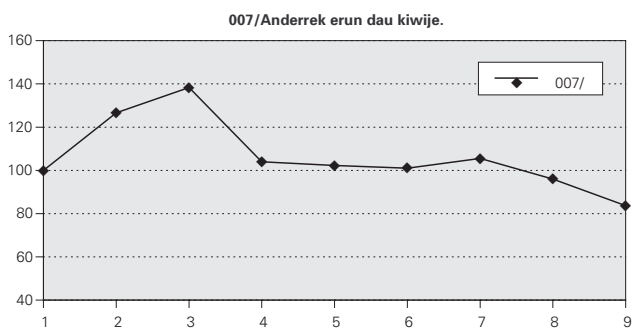
5.4. Esaldien amaierako sintagma

Esaldiaren amaieran ere, F0aren konfigurazio ezberdinak izan dira aztergai azentu molde ezberdinen arabera. Esaldiaren posizio honetan ere aurkitu dira ezberdintasunak azentu moldeen arabera (erkatu 3. ir., 6. ir. eta 7. ir.)

Esaldi amaierako F0 konfigurazioetan ez da alderik aurkitu azentu molde beraren barruan, nahiz eta esaldien luzera ezberdina izan. Aurkitu den ezberdintasuna azentu molde ezberdinen artean izan da.



6. irudia



7. irudia

Aurkitu diren emaitzak honako hauek izan dira:

- A azentu ereduan, esaldi amaierako sintagman ez da ia F0aren mugimendurik aurkitu; izan ere, maila bertsua aurkeztu dute neurketa puntutik guztiak.
- B azentu ereduan, lehendabiziko silaba biak ere F0 maila bertsua aurkeztu dute. Aurkitu den alde adierazkorra bigarren neurketa puntutik hirugarrenera izan da. Gune honetan F0ak beherantz egin du 9 Hz-etik (esaldi laburrenatan) 12 Hz-era bitartean (esaldi luzeenatan).
- C azentu ereduaz esan, F0ak beherantz egin duela sintagma osoan zehar. Beherakada hau, ikus daitekenez, progresiboa da eta, neurketen arabera 21 Hz-etik 18 Hz bitartekoa izan da, esaldi luzeagoetan aldea zerbait txikiagoa izan delarik.

6. Eztabaida

6.1. Esaldi hasiera absolutuak

Esaldi hasieran maiztasun maila ezberdinak aurkitu dira. Distribuzioa modu beretsuan eman da azentu molde beraren barruan nahiz eta esaldien luzeerak ezberdinak izan:

Azentu moldea	F0 maila
A	-
B	↓
C	+

F0 maila absolutuak batatzestekotuak desbideratze estandarrekin (deb. est.):

Azentu moldea	D3	D4	D5
A (deb. est.)	116 Hz (25)	110 Hz (30)	113 Hz (35)
B (deb. est.)	131 Hz (20)	122 Hz (26)	125 Hz (33)
C (deb. est.)	144 Hz (22)	140 Hz (26)	143 Hz (36)

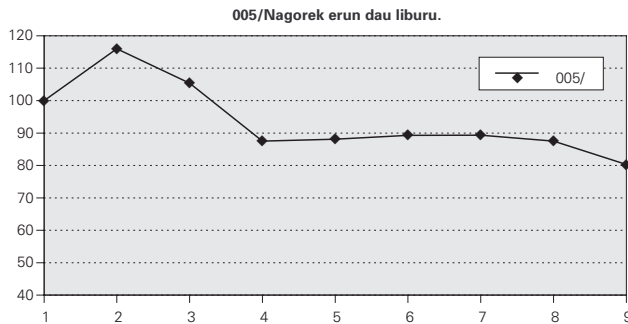
Datu hauek ezkerretik eskumara irakurrita, hau da, esaldi luzera ezberdina erkatuz, esan daiteke azentu molde beraren barruan aldeak ez direla izan handiegiak.

Irakurketa goitik behera eginez gero, nolabaiteko joera agertzen da: A azentu moldeaz hasitako esaldiak F0 maila baxuena aurkeztu dute. Aldiz, C azentu moldeaz hasitakoek izan dituzte balorerik altuenak.

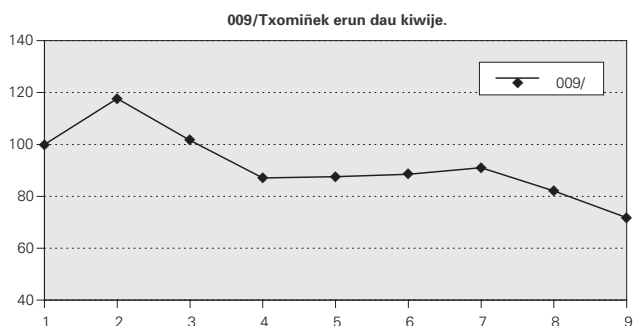
Datu hauek kontu handiz erabili behar dira eta joerez soilik hitz egin, desbideratze estandarrak nahiko handiak izan baitira kasu guztietan. Hau dela eta, datu hauek, gehienez ere, azterketa sakonako bat egiteko abiapuntu interresgarria izan daiteke fidagarritasun handiagoa helburutzat izanik. Oraingoz, bere horretan utziz, azpimarratu behar litzateke debideratze estandarrak handiak direla ezer zehatzik esateko esaldien hasierako F0aren mailari buruz.

6.2. Azentuaren gauzatzea esaldi hasiera eta amaieran

Esaldi barruan guneez bereizi behar dira: hasierako sintagma eta amaierakoa. Oro har, esan genezake esaldiaren hasierako gunean, azentuaren gauzatzea gailurrez osatzen den bitartean, esaldi amaieran F0aren beherakada batez burutzen dela, hau da, azentudun silabaren ondoren ematen den behe-



8. irudia



9. irudia

rakadak markatuko luke silabaren azentua. Hau guztia azentu lexikoa duten erduei dagokionez, B eta C ereduak alegia (8. ir., 9. ir.).

Molde azentu gabeari dagokionez ere, esaldi hasierako gunea eta bukaerakoaren arteko F0 konfigurazioak ere deberdintasunak aurkezten ditu: esaldi hasieran hirugarren silabak hartzen du gailurra, esaldi amaieran aldiz, F0a laua agertzen da (ik. 3. ir.)

6.3. Esaldiaren hasierako sintagma

Sintagmaren gailurrak direla eta, esan azentu molde guztietan agertu direla gailurrak (ik. 3. ir., 5. ir., 9. ir.)

Azentu moldea	Gailurraren kokagunea
A	3. silaba
B	2. silaba
C	2. silaba

Esaldi hasieretan aurkitu den beste ezaugarri bat F0aren gailurra eta azentudun silabaren arteko lerraketa eza izan da. Fenomeno hau azentu lexikoa lehen silaban duen azentu moldearekin gertatu da, C eredu alegia.

F0aren gailurra bigarren silabarekin lerratze joera nabarmena aurkitu da. Oharmenaren aldetik, hirtunek azentua lehen silaban kokatzen dute, eta bereizketa oso garbia egiten dute azentu lexikoa bigarren silaban duen moldearekiko. Azentu kokagunea eta F0aren gailurraren lerratze ezaren fenomenoa, C azentu moldeetan eman da eta «peak displacement» du izena. Dena den, nahiz eta gailur mugimendua gertatu azentu molde honetan, posible da azentu lexikodun molde biak F0aren azterketaren bidez bereiztea.

B eta C azentu moldeak begiratu, esan daiteke F0aren konfigurazioan oso antzekoak direla. Baina badago alderik: B azentu moldean, esaldi hasie-

ratik eta lehen gailurrera dagoen F0 igoera bortitzagoa gertatzen da C azentu moldean ematen dena baino.

Gailurra markatzen duen silabatik ondorengora ere aurkitu dira aldeak: F0aren beherakada txikiagoa da B azentu moldean C moldean aurkitu dena baino.

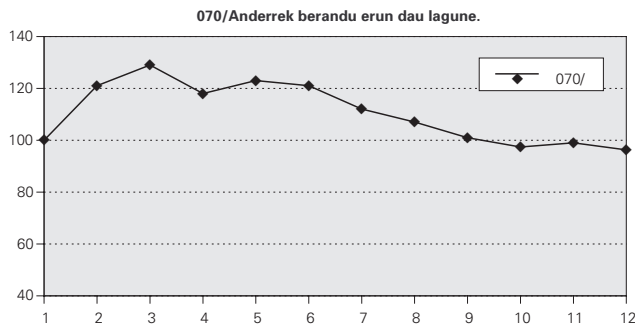
6.4. *Esaldi amaierako sintagma*

Azentu molde desberdinek konfigurazio ezberdina aurkeztu dute. Nola-bait formulatzeko, esan liteke azentua F0aren beheranzko mugimendu batez gauzatzen dela azentu moldeen arabera (ik. 3. ir., 8.ir., 9. ir.).

Azentu moldea	F0 konfigurazioa
A	konfigurazio ia laua
B	konfigurazio laua azentu lexikoraino eta ondoren beherakada
C	F0aren beheranzko mugimendua sintagma osoan zehar

6.5. *Esaldi luzerari buruzko informazioa*

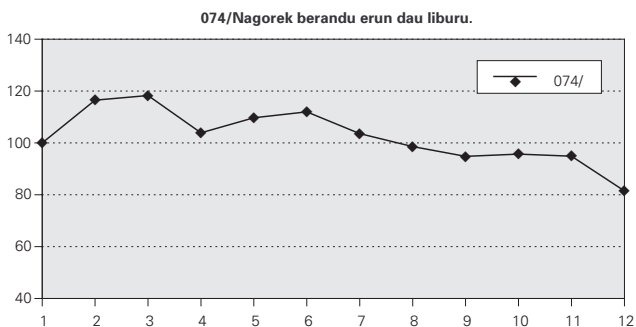
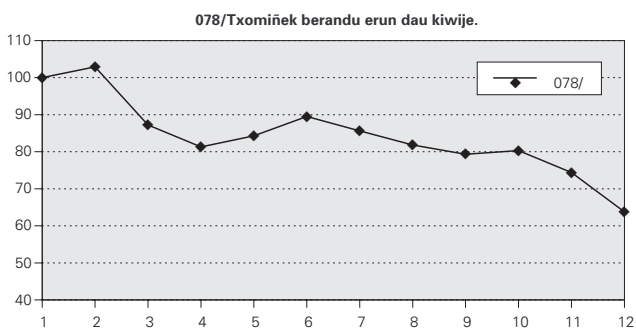
Esaldiaren luzerak badirudi ez duela eraginik hasierako maiztasun maila absolutuan: esaldia luzeagoa izateak ez du hasierako F0aren maiztasunaren altuera aldatzen. Aldeak, esaldi hasieran agertzen den azentu moldeak eragiten ditu gehiago esaldiaren luzerak berak baino.



10. irudia

Hiru sintagmako esaldiak, lau eta bost sintagmakoengandik bereizten duena, esaldi barnean ematen diren F0aren mugimenduak izan dira, batez ere, foko silabatik foko ostera ematen den jauzian.

Literaturan sarritan aipatu izan da aurreplanifikazioaren kontzeptua. Hitz gutxitan, aurreplanifikazioaren arrazoia, hitz egiteko erabiltzen diren ahalmen eta muga fisikoekin lotua legoke.

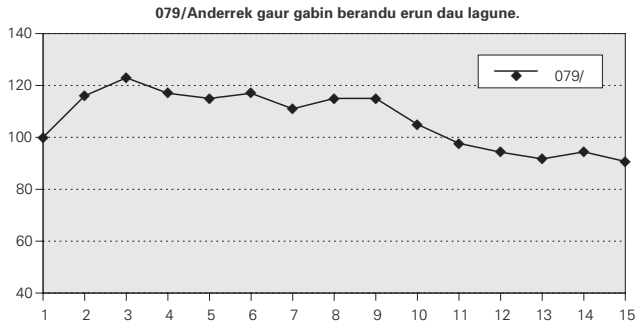
**11. irudia****12. irudia**

Hizketan, maiztasun eremu mugatu batean mugitzen da hiztuna, batez ere, maiztasun baxuenei dagokionez. Izan ere, badirudi esaldi amaieretako maiztasun mailetan (eta hauek —adierazpen-perpausetan behintzat— esaldi amaieran ematen dira) ez dela muga batetik beherantz egiten. Hiztunak esaldi laburragoak eta luzeagoak egiteko gauza den heinean, maiztasun eremu hori egokitu egiten du nolabait: esaldi luzeagoetan, segmentu gehiago dago esaldi mota beraren F0aren konfigurazio tipoa gordetzeko.

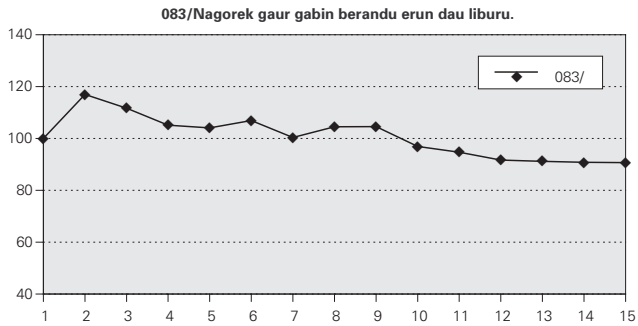
Literaturaren arabera, hiztunak erabiltzen duen mekanismoa, esaldi hasierako maiztasuak igotzea litzateke esaldi luzeagoak ekoizterakoan, esaldi laburragoekin erkatuz; era honetara esaldi amaierako maiztasunak antzera xamar agertuko lirateke esaldi guztietan.

Lan honetan lortu diren datuetan ordea, ez da honelakorik agertu eta ikuspegi honetatik ezin daiteke esan aurreplanifikaziorik dagoenik.

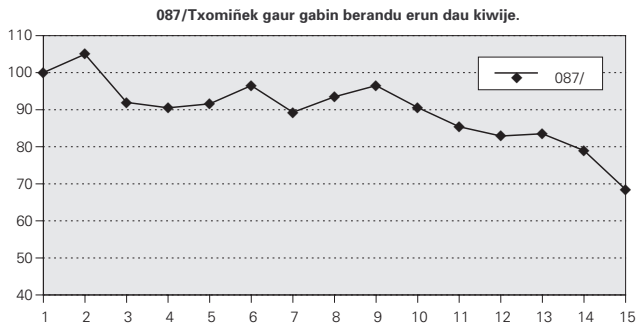
Amaitzeko esan, oraindik gauza asko azterkizun badago ere, F0aren azterketa baliagarri agertzen dela euskararen prosodia eta, batez ere, intonazioaren inguruan argibideak emateko, eta, oro har, euskararen prosodia gero eta hobeto ulertzeko.



13. irudia



14. irudia



15. irudia

Erreferentziak

GAMINDE, Iñaki, 1995: *Bizkaieraren Azentu-Moldeez*, Bilbao: Labayru.

MITXELENA, Koldo, 1985: *Fonética Histórica Vasca*, San Sebastián-Donostia [Publicaciones del seminario Julio de Urquijo].

ABSTRACT

The intonation of declarative clauses in the Ispaster variety of Basque

In this empirical study we analyze the intonation of declarative sentences. We will begin with an acoustic analysis of a previously defined corpus of sentences belonging to the Biscayan town of Ispaster. We have prepared a corpus containing an overall of 27 sentences, divided in three sections: the first nine sentences contain three phrases each and represent variations of a single scheme, obtained by using three different stress patterns in each of the initial and final phrases; the central phrase is maintained invariable. From this selection of simple sentences two new longer sentences are obtained by introducing new phrases sentence-internally: in this way we obtain two more sections containing four and five phrases each.

Our analysis shows that length by itself does not alter the intonation of the sentence, which depends on the stress type of the phrase located in the initial and final position of the sentence. The stress peak in the first phrase depends on the variant we chose: if the chosen word contains a lexical stress in the first or second syllable. The same result is obtained concerning the final phrase: in the case of the stressless word, the intonation pattern is maintained flat; in the case of words with lexical accent, the intonation decays just after the syllable containing the stress.

Gaurko euskal fonetika bidegurutzean: aurrerapenak eta azterkizunak

Pilartxo Etxeberria Murua

Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea-Universidad del País Vasco

Zer dela eta uste dut honako hau burutik jota dagoela, galdegin didalako zaldibian inoiz elurra egin ote duen edo R. Ordorikak noiz edo noiz musika klasikoa jotzen ote duen?

Zer dela eta uste dut edo pentsatzen dut, honelako eta halako pertsona zeharo jota dagoela, burutik sano ez dagoela, esaten didanean jakituria handia duela baina denborarik ez duela dakiena garatzeko eta azaltzeko?

Horratx! badakit zer dela eta esaten duena esaten duen, ezin du ezkutatu zein urrun dituen hurbilekoak, ingurukoak, besteak oro har, zein urrun bizi den horietatik urrezko dorrean, orojakitun, jaun eta jabe delako ustean.

Sam Shepard

1. Sarrera

Sam Shepard-en zatitxo honek jarri nau gogoeta bidean eta hausnarketa egitean ondorengo pentsamenduak eta galderak dira adieraziko ditudanak. Nire ahalmenak eta ezagupenak mugatuak dira guztiak, pertsonak eta pertsonen zientziak ikusteko/behatzeko/aztertzeke, beste leiho bat edo leihoak zabalduz, bururatu zaizkidanak.

Gero eta maizago entzuten ditugun hitzak dira pertsonen ezinegona, gizartearen aldaketa, kinka larria, ... eta antzeko beste zenbait. Ekonomia kinka larrian dago, beste horrenbeste, heziketa-irakaskuntza, kultura eta baloreak.

Dena den, neure buruari galdegiten diot zer den kinka larrian dagoena: hau da, gizartea, ekonomia, kultura, baloreak daude bere horretan egoera larrian ala nik horiei buruz dudan ikusmoldea da kinkan dagoena? Ezagutzaren ikusmolde klasikoak eta horren ekoizpen-ustiapen-moduak objektibitatearen kontua azpimarratzen du, arazoak askatzeko. Beste zenbait ikusmolde berriagoek berriz, arazoak pertsonak harremanetan/komunikazioan jartzean sortzen direla diote, edo arazoak ikusmolde jakin eta zurrun baten eskutik sortzen direla, eta horiek ikusmoldearen araberrako balore ezberdinak hartzen dituztela.

Badirudi gure kultura ataka estuan sartua dela: gaitz guztiak konpon zitzaireten amonaren garai bateko kontuak amildegitik behera bota ditugu. Egoera hau hizpide harturik, «zaharrago eta beharrago» esaerak bide berriak eskaintzen dizkit, gogoeta gunean ezarriz zein bide xidorrek bultzatu gaituzten honetara, bide berri bila ibiltzeak ausardia eta irudimena eskatzen dute, norantza joan behar dugun pentsatzerakoan eta halaber, estrara ezagungabeak aurkitzean horiek erabidetzen hasteko garaian. Izu-larria sortarazten du berritasunak eta ezagungabe denak, hotzikara ez ezen bildurra diogu berriari, hala ere, nik esango nuke, baitezpadakoa dela bide berriak urratzea azalaren azpian dagoen konplexutasuna ezagutu nahi badugu. Izan ere, geldotasuna, erosotasuna, ohean etzan eta bere horretan gelditzea baina gelditzailegorik ez dago.

XXI. mendearen atariko ezaugarri nabarmeneak labur bilduz, badirudi, horiek heldu zaizkigula batetik, zientzien paradigma berrien eskutik, bestetik, teknologiaren etengabeko iraultzaren ezagupenarenetik, eta azkenik, geure mundu ikuskeratik, hori ere aldatzen ari garelako. Munduarekin pertsonok dugun harremana aldatzen ari garelako eta beharbada, hauek horrela izango dira modernitate, posmodernitate, berantmodernitate, modernitatez gaindiko, ... eta abarren nerbio-sistema zentralaren amaieran gaudelako.

Ezagutzaren eredu ekologikoa, gero eta barneratuagoa dudan neurrian, ate-leihoak zabaldu beharra sumatzen dut hain konplexua den fonetikaren munduari modu humanoagoan eta poetikoagoan begiratzeko; hizketaren errealitatearen izaerari dagozkion oinarritzko galderak egiteko eta galderen eskutik argitzeko eta aztertzeke azalaleko apainduraren azpian ezkututzen den hori zer-nola antolatzen den.

2. Zientzien historia modernoaz zertzeladak

Mundu moderno kartesiarraren ezaugarri behinenak kontutan hartzea ezinbesteko da fonetikaren beraren bilakaera ezagutzeko¹, ondokook ditugu besteak beste, batean eta bestean maiz askotan errepikatzen diren esamoldeak:

- erabateko segurtasuna;
- erabateko ezagutza, egiazkoa eta unibertsala;
- unibertsoa kosmos mekanikoa bailitzan ulertzea;
- testuinguru estandarizatuak;
- ebaluazioa eta produkzioa;
- lanaren mekanizazioak gidatutako taldeak;
- horiei lotuta bideratzen den hezkuntza-sistemaren estandarizazioa.

Esperientzia modernoaren sorrera: Ideia nagusia da, badela metodo bat zalantza saihesteko eta egiaren erreinura sartzeko modernitatean. Deskartes

¹ Descartes, Galileo eta Newtonen pentsamenduek berebiziko eragina izan zuten paradigma modernoaren erakuntzan.

(1596-1650) dugu aitagoien, metodikoki zalantzaren eskutik egia osora hel-tzen da. Descartes bila zebilena absolutua zen eta hala izan behar zen eraba-teko egia eta dudan ezin jarri zitezkeen zimentarriak ezarri zituen. Bide ho-netatik filosofia kartesiarrak, subjektuaren eta (mundua) objektuaren arteko harremanak finkatu zituen. Subjektu razionala, natura ezagutzeko gai dena da, hau da, «bera ez den bestea» aztertze gaitasuna duena, eta honen irudi-kapena egiteko modua modernitatearekin sortuko da, barnean sartzen dira modu honetako kontzeptuak: errealtate bakarrarena, egia absolutuarena.

Izpiritu modernoaren eraikuntzan eredu den gidaria matematikaren ezagu-tza da. Galileo da dudarik gabe «sentiberatasun berri honen» hedatzaile sutsue-na (1564-1642). Galileok goien gradua ematen die teoriari, printzipioei eta ma-tematikako demostrazioei. Esperientzia, laboratorikoa baino askoz zabalagoa da autore honentzat, nahiz eta laboratorikoa ere esperientziaren barnean sartu. Galileok, uste osoa ez bazuen ere esperientzian, ez zuen saihestu, aldatu baizik. Gauzak, egoerak ulertzeko tresna matematika izan zen, bazter utziz, ohartuki jasotzen dugun aniztasun kualitatiboa, esperientzia zenbakietara murriztuz, al-derdi kuantitatibora alegia. Esperientzia ikusmolde sinpletutik ulertu zuen.

Erloju mekanikoaren eritmoan sortzen da bizitza, erlojuak erakutsiko digu eta esango digu noiz eta nola egin behar diren gauzak.

Erlojua da zientzia modernoaren metafora

Zientzia berriaren sinbolo bihurtuko da erloju mekanikoa, bizitza eta bizia den oro objektibatze moduak erakutsiko dituena. Gaur egun ere, denbora lan-unitatea, lan-neurgailua, soldata-neurgailua da. Denborak urrea balio du moduko metaforak ederki asko erakusten du modernotasunaren ezaugarria.

Hala ere, esanguratsuk direlakoan, munduko gauzak hobetu nahirik edo Sarrionaindiaren azken elaberriko erlojuari buruzko zati bi hona ekarri nahi nituzke:

«minutuen orratza orduen orratza baino arinago dabil, baina ez da horrega-tik urrutirago ailegutzen».

Aurreraxeago dio:

«Bada jende asko erloju geldiaren antzerakoa dena, erloju geldiak ordu esaktoa markatzen du, esaktotasun elbarria. *Gainerako erlojuak ez dira egundo hain esaktoak, segunduak aurrera edo minutuak atzera dabilta, eta ez dira aagian benetako orduarekin ia inoiz erabat egokitzen. Baina la-ketago zaizkit erloju inperfektoak, tipi-ttapa beti hor ari direnak, zehazta-sun falta eta guzti» (J. Sarrionaindia, 1997ko abendua: *Hitzen Ondoeza*. Azpimarratua nirea da).*

Kuantifikatzeraren lehentasunari aro modernoak ematen dion garrantzia dugu aro modernoaren beste ezaugarrietako bat. Shakespearek (1600) *Lear Erregea* izeneko lanean ederki asko ohartarazten du maitasunaren ebaluatze

kuantitatiboaz eta horren merkatarizatzeari. Zenbat maite nauzute? galdegiten die, alaba gazteena bakarrik mututuko da, Cordeliarentzat ez delako neurgarria maitasuna.

Azken buruan, Subjektuaren subjektibitatea saihestuko da objektibitatearen mesedetan. Subjektibitatea ez da aintzat hartuko zientzian. Zirrarak, pasioak, irudimena, ... menperatu behar ziren natura menperatu behar zen bezalaxe. Erlojuaren unibertsoko subjektua automata bihurtu da.

Analitikoa da ezagutzaren ikusmoldea. Sistema osoaren jokamoldea azaltzeko, osagaien ezaugarrietatik abiatuz, unitate ttikiena, atomoa aurkitu nahi da. Transformatzen edo aldatzen ez diren osagaien eskutik, sistema lotua deslotu daiteke eta zatiz zati istudiatu honen funtzionamendua esplikatzen. Honela, kimikan osagai sinpleetatik abiatuz, ulertuko dira sustantzia konplexuak, zelutataik abiatuz organismoaren funtzioak, medikuntzan giza makinaren ezagutza hamaika espezialitateetan zatitu zen, bakoitzak bereari bakarrik eutsiz. Psikologian, pertsonen portaera edo jokamoldea harreman lineala bailitza estimulua-erantzuna, aztertzen zen, ... hizkuntzalaritzan hizkuntzaren atomoa hitza da. Metodologia analitikoak.

Galileok ere denboraren egitekoa ederki asko azpimarratu zuen. Mugimendua aztertzen, denbora hartu zuen oinarritzko magnitudetzat.

2.1. Fonetika

Historian zehar beti hizpide eta azterkizun izan den fonetikak, XIX mende bukaeran eta XX.aren hasieran berebiziko interesa hartuko du: hizkuntzalariek, sendagileak, hizkuntza irakasleak, gor-mutuen irakasleak, ... sutsuki murgiltzen dira hizketaren azterketan.

Bide ezberdinak erabiliko ditu espezialitate bakoitzak hizketaren azterketa honetan, besteak beste, aipa daitezke:

- artikulazioarena: hotsen artikulagune eta moduak;
- akustika;
- fisiologia, hatsarri fisikoak fisiologian aplikatuko dira;
- biologia.

Eztabaida metodologikoa berriz, paradigma positibistetan lur hartuz, Claude Bernard-ek biologian aplikatutako esperimendubidezko metodoa —metodo esperimendual hau, diziplina zientifikoa guztietara hedatuko zen batasun metodologikoa ezarri; baliagarria zen, nola materia hala bizitza estudiatzeko— fonetikan aplikatzen hasi zenean sortu zen. Aski dira eztabaidaren garrantza ezagutzeko eta muturreko bi ikusmode nagusi horiek biltzeko Rousselot abadeak eta Nazioarteko Fonetika Elkartearen idazkari zen P. Passy-k baieztatzen zutena. «*L'oreille n'est pas un instrument suffisant de l'analyse*» zioen Rousselotek eta honek zabaldu zion bidea esperimendubidezko fonetikari, gaurko fonetikaren zimentarriak ezarri. Hala ere, Passy-ren «*rien en vaut une oreille attentive*» aldekoek ez zuten burua makurtu eta berean jarraitu zuten.

1950etik aurrera edo 2. mundu-gerra ondoren ezagutzaren ezagutza aztertzeke ikuspuntu berriak hasiko dira garatzen hainbat zientzian: Hizkuntzaren filosofian, Semiotikan, Kognizio zientzietan, Neurofisiologian, Adimen Artifizialean, Komunikazio, zientzietan, ... eta hizkuntzalaritzan.

Hizketaren azterketak berebiziko interes teknologiko, indutrial eta politikoak sortaraziko ditu.

1950. urtetik aurrera, elektronikaren garapenak bide berriak ireki zituen hizketaren azterketarako. EEBBetan informatikaren eta adimen artifizialaren eskutik hizketa modu dinamikoan aztertzea zen helmuga. Ezinbestekoa izanik zientzia ezberdinetako ikertzaileekin batera aritzea. «Hizketa-aztertzaileen komunitatea» osatu eta elkarlanean hasiko dira zenbait alderdi estudiorai izanik:

- Informatikariak* pertsona eta makinaren arteko komunikazioa garatu nahi dute, martxan jarritz MITn, ahoskuntz sistemaren (traktoaren) eta entzumen-sistemaren modelizazioak; analisia eta neurkerta, ... informatikaren prozeduraz baliatuz 227 hitz ulertzen dituen makina egina zuten 1959rako, eta urte berean *eredu matematikoen eskutik* —Markov-en ereduak— hasi zen erabiltzen IBM, ...
- telekomunikazioetakoe* seinale akustikoa aztertzea, prozesatzea eta datu-baseak egitea dute helburutzat ekoizpen-oharmen prozesuak irudikatzeke;
- psikologoek* kognizio zientzian eta oharren-prozesuan murgiltzen dira;
- fisiologoek* ekoizpen-prozesua «mugimendu-kontrolaren atal konplexutzat harturik ekoizpena xehetasunez arteztuko dute;
- fonetikariak*, teknika berriez liluratuta, esperimendu bidezko metodoari eutsiz, hizketaren azterketarako teknika digitalak erabiltzen hasiko dira pentsatuz beste alorretatik datorkien laguntzari esker arazo ugari konponbidean jarriko zituztela.

Europar ere, eta bidenabar Euskal Herrian (hizkuntza boteretsu eta hizkuntza ttikien arteko eta baliabideen arteko diferentziak diferentzia eta atzerapenak atzerapen), ahots teknologiak berebiziko indarra hartuko du. Teknologiararen garapenak kontzeptu eta produktu berriak sortzeke bidean jarriko ditu. Aurrerapen ekonomikoaren giltzarri diren zientziak eta teknikak hizkuntza zorrotz aztertua eta anbiguitaterik gabea behar du. Honela, idatziaren kulturatik pantailaren kulturara etorri garela dioete adituek esanez hizkuntzen eta informatikaren baterabideranzko politika egin behar dela produktu erabilgarriak eta komertzialak bideratzeko; ikertzaileen mentalitatea aldatu beharra dagoela merkatuaren premiekiko ardua handiagoa izan dezaten. Lan-du beharreke alderdien artean ondokoak azalduko dituzte:

- hizketa sintetizatzaileak;
- hizketaren interpretatzaileak;
- hiztunaren ezagutzaileak pertsonen nortasunak egiaztatzeke;
- datu-baseak.

Lanak ugariak dira eta ekarpenak handiak, nola alderdi teorikoen garapenean, hala komertzialean. Honek bultzatzen ditu fonetikariak eta fonologoak konputagailuetako eta adimen artifizialeko adituekin elkarlanean aritzera

—fonetikaren barruan sartu izan ohi diren artikulazioaren, akustikaren eta oharmenaren ezaugarriak xehatasun handiz aztertuak dira. Hala ere, hizketaren teknologia nagusi den honetan, zuloak eta ulergabeak ez dira tikiak hizketaren munduan eta orain arteko erantzunak eta teoriak azterketa gehiagoren zain daude. Hona hemen azterkizun diren zenbait alderdi:

- ingurunearen araberako azaleko aldagarritasuna eta oharmenak jasotzen dituen unitateen aldagaiztasunak buruhaustek sortzen ditu oraindik;
- akustikaren eta entzumeraren arteko linealtasun faltak nabarmentzen duen artikulazioaren eta akustikaren arteko ez-linealtasunaren arazoak;
- koartikulazioarena —hotsen ezaugarriak uhin akustikoan estaliak eta gainjarriak azaltzen dira, egiten ditugun artikulazio aurretatze mugimendu horiek aurrez antolatutako ote² diren ala ez, honen inguruan sortzen den eztabaida;
- segmentazioarena —zein unitate eman makinari analisiaren ondorengo sintesia egiteko, hizketa interpretatzeko eta hiztuna ezagutzeko?— nola zatitu ebakinak ezaugarriak gainjarriak baditugu?...

Orain arte egindako guztiak, fonetikaren esparrua nabarmenki zabaldu dute, lagundu dute gaintitzen hizketari buruz hasierako fonetikariek egindako ohar inpresionistak, gainera bultzatu dute beste zenbait jakintza arlorekin harremanetan jartzen. Azken buruan, lagungarri izan dira fonetikaren alderdi teorikoen garapenerako. Hala ere, orain arte egindako ikerketek ez dituzte agortzen hizketaren eta ahoskeraren hezur-mamiak aurkitzen egin daitezkeen saioak, pertsonok egiten dugun jarduna delako eta ez soilik mugimendua, indarra edo zarata, sistematikoki antolatutako jarduna da, intenzioanala, irekia eta berezitua. Pentsa daiteke, senidemin den fonologiarekin, nahiz beste giza zientziarekin elkar-lanean bideak urratu behar direla, ez egia osoa izateko asmotan, inoiz ez dugulako osoa izango baina bai egiten dugun hizketaz gehiago jakiteko.

² VON FOERSTER (1991) *Las semillas de la cibernética* liburuan honela dio: «el sujeto no es lo dado biológicamente, sino lo construido en el intercambio en un medio social humano en un mundo complejo. Es a través de los vínculos sociales de afecto, de lenguaje que se va autoorganizando». Aurreraxeago sistema autoantolatzaileen paradoxa deitutako horri buruz dio: «... los seres humanos no venimos preprogramados, ni siquiera respecto de nuestro desarrollo biológico, sólo algunas características están rígidamente establecidas en el código genético, ... vida es intercambio de materia, de energía, de información.» (66)

3. Erloju mekanikoaren metaforatik, izate bizidunaren metafora: Pentsamendu ekologikoaren ildoak

Oinarrizko zenbait hipotesitan sustraitua dago izate biziaren metafora:

1. *Identitate dinamikoa*: hau da, osotasun konplexu baten zatiek eta honen ezaugarriek, elkarreraginen eskutik eta antolakuntza osoarekin duten harremanetatik bakar bakarrik hartuko dute zentzua.
2. *Osotasun konplexua*: hau da, osagaietan sustraituta ezin da osotasuna azaldu. Izan ere, sistemak, bere baitan transformazioak eta osagaien arteko elkarreragin errazak eta inhibitituak baititu.
3. *Beregaintasun erlatiboa*: hau da, sistema konplexua irekia da, ez dago lege deterministek zuzendutako halabeharrik. Sistemaren malgutasunak eta irekitze erregulatuak aukera ematen dio, bizi duen ingurumariarekin dituen elkarreraginei esker, aldatzeko edo bere horretan segitzeko.
4. *Pertsonen jardunak, harreman-sare gisara*: hau da, ingurua, inguru-nea edo ingurumaria ez dira esparru bizigabe eta berezituak, harremanen lekua baizik. Ezin da ezer definitu bere baitatik bakarrik.

Izate bizidunaren metafora gure arlora ekarri eta kanporatzen dugun hizketa harreman-sare modura hartuz gero, esparruak asko zabaltzen badira ere, onuragarria izan daiteke honenbeste korapilo dituen jardunaren kontuak betaurrekorik gabe argiago ikusteko edo ulertzeko. Izan ere, haurrek hizkuntz jabekuntza-prozesuan edota helduok egiten dugun ahozko erabilerak erreferente asko ditu. Erreferente bakoitzak behatze-modu berezitua eta metodo jakina eskatzen ditu eta hizketaren azterketan behatze-arakatze-modu ezberdin horiek guztiak artikulatzen saiatu beharko dugu auzolanean. Esate baterako, logika formalaren erabilera zenbaitetan baliagarri izango da, baina ez adibidez hizketa-analogikoa ulertzeko.

Fonetika pertsonok, bizidunok egiten dugun jarduna den neurrian, konplexutasun handia duen aztergaia da. Eta ezagutza pertsona eta munduaren arteko harremanetatik datorkigu. Izan ere pertsona, hiztuna, ez dago kulturatik, naturatik, duen historiatik, esperientziatik, sentipenetatik at. Kontuan hartu beharreko era askotariko dimentsioak dituena da. Hizketa fenomenoaren berri osoa emateko, eta hiztunak hizketan ari direnean, errealitatean zer egiten duten jabetzeko, alderdi anatomiko-fisiologiko, soziologiko eta psikologikoez gain arreta handiz istudiatu beharrekoak dira katea paradigmatico-sintagmatikoetan gauzatzen diren alderdiak eta horien nolakotasuna eta zergatia komunikazioan edo harremanetan. Izan ere, komunikazioan elkarreraginak eta transformazioak etengabeak baitira.

Esate baterako, haurren hizkuntz jabekuntza prozesuaren azterketa zabala eta zorrotza interes handiko litzateke hizketaren beraren konplexutasuna eta horren azpian dagoena hobeto ezagutzeko (eta hori ez da soilik hizkuntzalari-zako arlo desberdinen azterketarekin agortzen. Harremanetan, harremanen

eskutik eta modu askotako zailtasunak gainditzetik egingo baita hiztun haurra. Hala ere, hizketan hasi aurretik haurrak egiten dituen urratsen azterketak ondorengoek bezainbateko garrantzia dutela irizten diot. Hau da, ezagutu behar harko genituzte besteak beste, haurraren komunikazio analogikoaren ezauzgarriak; nola lortzen duen komunikazio-modu horretatik digitalera heltzera; nola egiten duen paradigma-antolakuntza; nola burutzen duen maila paradigmaticoaren eta sintagmaticoaren arteko lotura; nola ematen dion esanahia eta nolako antolatze-eredua barneratzen duen.

Badirudi, arreta handiz aztertu beharrekoak direla ama-haurraren (zaintzailearen edo aitaren) arteko harremanen nolakotasunak eta horiez gain giltzarri diren pausuak: hau da, elkarrizketa tonikoa, ardatz estetiko edo komunikazio analogikoa. Izan ere, haurra loquens izan aurretik, amaren hizketa xamur, goxo, egokitu, adierazgarri, eragingarri eta bizigarriaren (edo zakar, ziztrin, ez adierazgarri) eskutik datorkio haurrari bizitzan zehar erabiliko duen gorputz hizkuntza. Haurren hizkuntz jabekuntzan diharduten ikertzaileek diote, bizitzako lehen aro honetan, haurrak bere egiten dituela hizketa-kantuaren, doinuaren, erritmoaren eta enfasiaren oharmena eta horiei lotutako esanahia. Eta modu berean, markatuko dituela subjektuaren paradigma edo mundu-ikuskera eta adieraziak, ondoren kanpotik hartutako hainbat adierazlekin lotuko dituenak, alegia. Komunikazio-modu honek sartuko du haurra arrastoan eta bideratuko du urratsez urrats honen albo-alboan den komunikazio digitalera edo hizketa-hotsen bidez kora, maila sintagmaticoan gorputzuko den horretara.

Ekintza fisikoaren edo azalaren azpian dagoen konplexutasuna hartzen du katea paradigmaticoak. Zentzuaren bila abiatzen da eta honek antolatze-modura eta eredura darama. Hau da, haurrak egiten dituen hautabideak eta aukerak aztertzea: zein bokalez eta zein kontsonantez baliatzen den, zein erritmoz, zein kantuz eta zein eratan lotzen eta kateatzen dituen horiek guztiak. Barnean antolatu eta kanporatutako hizketa-hots kateatuen bidez entzuleari zentzua duen zerbait adieraziko dio.

Goiago aipatu ditudan mende honetako aurrerapen teknologikoen eskutik eta hurbileko zientzia ezberdinetako lan-taldeen partaidetzarekin talde-lana egitea funtzeskoa da, hiztunok egiten dugun hizketaren errealitatea hobeto ezagutzeko. Hizketa —hizkuntzak duen errealitate fisiko bakarra— harremanetan hasten, garatzen eta sendotzen baitugu.

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ABSTRACT

Today's Basque phonetics at the crossroads: progress and topics to investigate

As part of Social Sciences and within current scientific paradigms, new technologies and new conceptions of the world, phonetics must confront the new challenges of 21st century. It must open new ways that allow us see, behind our current knowledge, the complexities of our discipline and go beyond many questions that are nowadays unapproachable. An ecological model of knowledge would facilitate a study of the phonetic universe with renewed foundations; it would, as well, allow us to reformulate problems that belong to the nature of speech and, by means of these new questions, would clarify what lies behind the external expressions.

Komunztadura, hiru ikuspegi (I): datibo argumentuak eta mugimendu laburrena

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«GAUA. Gaua, batzutan, goizetik hasten da. Eta goiz susmorik gabe luzatzen da hurrengo gauera arte.» J. Sarrionaindia (1997). *Hitzen ondoeza*, Tafalla, Txalaparta, 340.

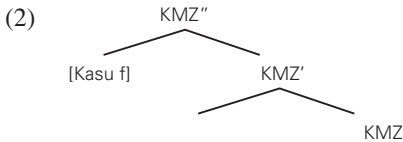
Egunon denori, edo diodan gabon, neurea egiten baitut poetaren ondoeza. Eta ilunbetan, besterik ezinean, datiboaren iluna argitu nahi dut argizagi honekin. Komunztaduraren lehen ikuspegia da hau, Datiboari egiturazko kasua deritzana eta Inflexioan hiru Komunztadura buru bereizten duena. Javier Ormazabal eta Pablo Albizuk osatuko dute komunztaduraren gaineko hirukotea.

Euskaraz hiruburuko komunztadura sistema dugu: Aditza (A) Ergatibo (ERG), Absolutibo (ABS) eta Datibo (DAT) argumentuekin komunztatzen da perpaus jokatueta. Areago, argumentuei beraiei ere ERG, ABS eta DAT kasu markak ezartzen zaizkie. Dakusagun (1) perpausetan.

(1)	a)	Nik		gutuna	idatzi	dut
		Ni-ERG		gutun-ABS	idatzi	$3_{f2}/D$ -edun- 1_{f1}
	b)	Nik	zuri	gutuna	idatzi	dizut
		Ni-ERG	zu-DAT	gut-ABS	A	$3_{f2}/D$ -edun- 2_{f3} - 1_{f1}

Goiko perpausetan (1) *idatzi* predikatua dugu, **edun* laguntzaile iragan-korraz jokatzeko dena. (1.a) perpausuan bi argumentu ageri da, *nik* ERG argumentua bata, *-k* ERG kasua daramana eta *gutuna* ABS argumentua bestea, \emptyset ABS kasua ezarri zaiona; **edun* laguntzaileak, bere aldetik, bi argumentuokin komunztadura zaintzen du $f1$ eta $f2$ -komunztadura tasunez, hurrenez hurren. (1.b) perpausuan, berriz, ERG eta ABS argumentuez gain, *zuri* DAT argumentua ere ageri da *-i* DAT kasuaz markatu eta **edun* laguntzailearen $f3$ -tasunez komunztaturik.

Kasu Teoriak *Minimalismoaren* hipotesi kanonikoetan (Chomsky, 1993; Bobaljik, 1993) dioenez, bi funtzio buru bereizten da INFLn, alegia, Denbora (D) eta KMZ buruak, eta ERG eta ABS argumentuek KMZren Espezifikatzaile (Espez) gunea iristen dute *egiturazko kasua* nahiz komunztadura tasunak, *f-tasunak* erkatzekotan. Egiturazko kasua eta f-tasunak, hortaz, Espez/buru harremanean erkatzen dira, (2)an ikus daitekeen erara.



Predikatu iragankorreko perpausetan bi KMZ buruak *indartzen* dira: A KMZ2ri adjunktatu eta ABS argumentua [Espez, KMZ2]ra igoko da, ABS eta f2-tasunak zilegiztatuz; bestalde, D KMZ1ri adjunktatutakoan, ERG argumentuak [Espez, KMZ1] gunea iritsiko du ERG erkatuz bertan. Honelaxe azal daitezke, bada, (1.a) perpausaren datu enpirikoak, baina ezin azal daiteke DAT argumentua ageri den (1.b) perpausa.

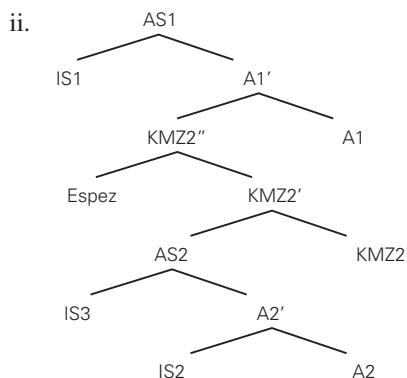
Horregatik, DAT argumentuak bere I-tasunak erkatuko baditu, INFLren baitan KMZ1 eta KMZ2 buruak ezeze, KMZ3 burua ere indartu behar dela deritzat, eta KMZ3 indarrean, DAT argumentuak KMZren Espez gunea iritsi behar duela DAT kasua eta f3-tasunak erkatuz bertan. (3)ra dakartzat ene hipotesiaren ardatzak.

- (3)
- i. DAT ere egiturazko kasua
 - ii. KMZ1 eta KMZ2 buruak ezeze, KMZ3 ere indartu
 - iii. DAT eta f3-tasunak [Espez, KMZ] harremanean erkatu
baita Hualde (1986), Cheng & Demirdache (1993), López & Austin (1995)
eta Fernández (1997)

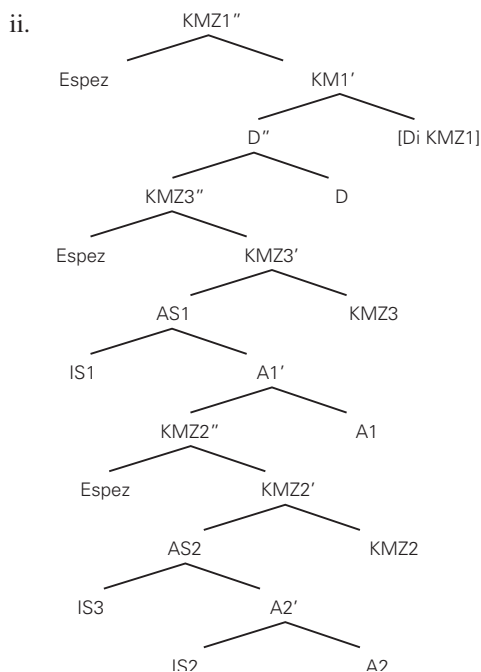
Hipotesi honen ildotan, (1.b) bezalako perpausak azaldu ahal izateko proposatuko dudana perpaus egiturak hiru KMZ buru izango du, eta KMZ buruetarik bat AS azalaren mendean (Larson, 1988) sortuko da, KMZ2" A1en (lehen Aren) osagarri gunean ezarriko delarik. (4) zuhaitzean ikus daiteke AS azalaren barne egitura. AS azal honetan ERG argumentua A1en Espez gunean sortzen da, DAT argumentua A2ren (bigarren Aren) Espez gunean eta ABS argumentua, azkenik, A2ren osagarri gunean. Zuhaitzean dakartzadan IS1, IS3 eta IS2 laburdurak ERG, DAT eta ABS argumentuei dagozkie hurrenez hurren.

Perpaus egitura hau Collins & Thrainsson (1993) eta beste zenbait autoreri jarraitzen zaio, funtzio buruak, KMZ buruak, kasurako, AS azalaren mendean sor daitezkeelako ustean. Dena den, badira autore hauek dakarten egituratik bereizten dituen ñabardurak, aipatzeke utziko ditudanak. Dakusagun perpaus egitura osoa ondoko zuhaitzean (5).

- (4) i. KMZ2" A1 en osagarri gunean AS azalaren baitan [baita Collins & Thrainsson (1993), Koizumi (1993), López & Austin (1995) eta Fernández (1997)].



- (5) i. KMZ2" A1 en (lehen Aren) osagarri



Bada, bestalde, aintzat hartu beharreko ekonomia baldintza bat, perpaus egitura hau (5) onesteko, alegia, *Mugimendu Laburrena* (6), *Distantziakidetetasunaz* definitzen dena (Chomsky, 1993). Mugimendu Laburrenaren arabera, predikatu iragankorreko perpausetan ABS argumentua [Espez, KMZ2]

gunera igo daiteke, [Espez, A] gurutzatuz, bi Espez gunek Gutxieneko Eremuan daudenez, ABS argumentuaren distantziakideak direlako.

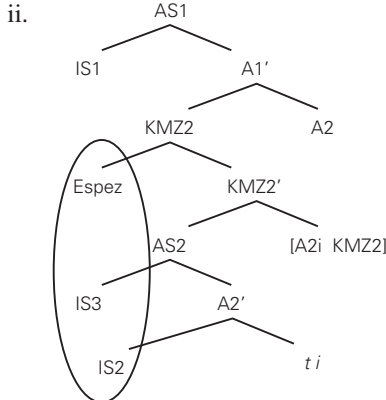
- (6) *Mugimendu Laburrena*
a eta b Gutxieneko Eremu berean badaude, g-ren distantziakideak dira (Chomsky, 1993)

Izan ere, hiru KMZ buru indartuz gero, buruetarik batek gutxienez AS azalaren mendean sortu behar du Mugimendu Laburrena asetzekotan. AS azalaren mendean KMZ bururik sortzen ez duen hipotesirik ezin onets daiteke Mugimendu Laburrena Distantziakidetasunaren arabera definituz, bederen —ikus, esaterako, KMZ2" KMZ3ren osagarri gunean eta AS azaletik at kokatzen den hipotesia (Fernández, 1997)—. Bi hipotesiak dakartzat (7)ra.

- (7) *Distantziakidetasuna Mugimendu Laburrenaren oinarri*
i. KMZ2", A1en osagarri
ii. * KMZ2", KMZ3ren osagarri (Fernández, 1997)

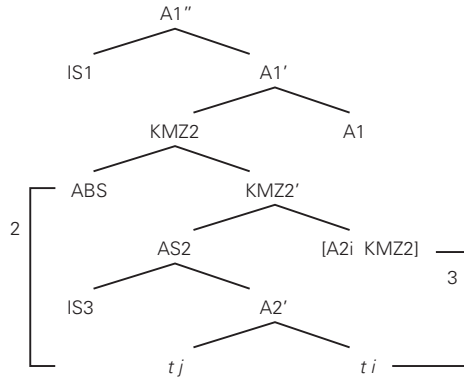
Gatozen orain (1.b) perpausa urratsez urrats eratortzera hiru KMZ buruko (5) perpaus egitura erabiliz. Eratorpenaren hastapenean (1 mugimendua), A buruz buru adjunktatuko zaio KMZ2ri, (l_{kmz2} A₂ KMZ2], t_i) katea osatuz (8). Deritzagun K katea. K katearen Gutxieneko Eremua {[Espez, KMZ2], [Espez, A2], IS2} da, (8)an ikusten den modura. Kontutan hartu, [Espez A2] IS3ren iturburua bera dela.

- (8) i. Kren Gutxieneko Eremua {[Espez, KMZ2], [Espez, A2], IS2}



K katearen Gutxieneko Eremuan {[Espez, KMZ2], [Espez, A2], IS2} egonik, ABS argumentua [Espez, KMZ2] gunera igo daiteke [Espez, A2] gurutzatuz (2 mugimendua), [Espez, KMZ2] eta [Espez, A2] guneen distantziakidea delako. (9)ra dakartzat eratorpenaren 1 eta 2 mugimenduak. 2 mugimendua

- (9) i. ABS argumentua [Espez, KMZ2]ra igo [Espez, A2] gurutzatuz
- ii.

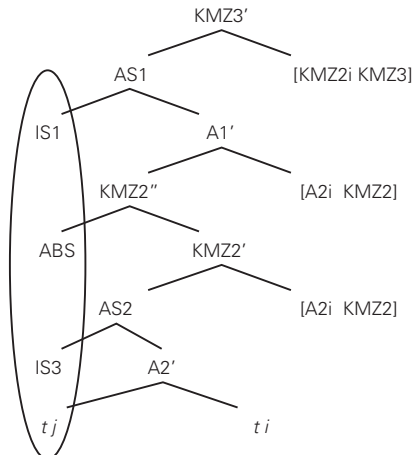


menduari esker, ABS argumentuak, *gutuna* (1.b) perpausean, ABS kasua eta f2-tasunak zilegiztatzen ditu.

Chomskyk (1993) aztergai darabiltzan predikatu iragankorreko perpausean bezalatsu, DAT argumentuak [Espez, KMZ2] iritsi behar lukeela irudi lezake, itxuraz ABS argumentuak baino *urrats gutxiago* eginik igo litekeelako KMZ2ren Espez gunera. Baina Mugimendu Laburrena Distantziakidetasunean oinarritu dugun honetan, [Espez, KMZ2] eta [Espez, A2] K katearen Gutxieneko Eremuan daudenez, ABS argumentuaren distantziakideak dira, eta hortaz, ABSren igoerak Mugimendu Laburrena asetu egiten du.

[A2 KMZ2] buruak A1 iritsiko du ondoren (3 mugimendua), baina A1 e kategoria ixila denez, [A2 KMZ2] buruak ordezkatu du hura. Dena den, ka-

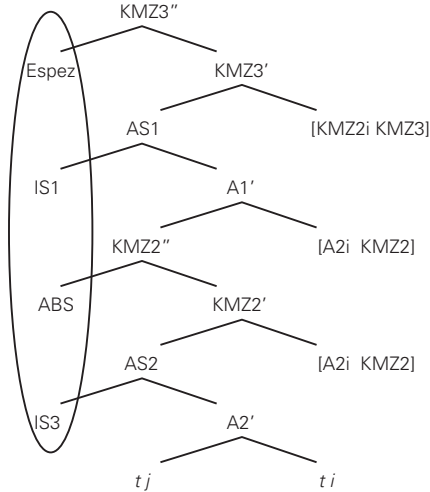
- (10) i. Kren Gutxieneko Eremua {[Espez, A1] [Espez, KMZ2], [Espez, A2], IS2}
- ii.



tea bera izanik ere, [_{kmz2} A2_i KMZ2], *t_i*) K katea, Gutxieneko Eremua beste gune batez, alegia, [Espez, A2] guneaz haunditu egiten da. Honelaxe, bada, kate berberak bi guneen araberrako Gutxieneko Eremu bana du —(10)ean ikus daitekeena aldera daiteke kate berberak (8)an duen Gutxieneko Eremuarekin—.

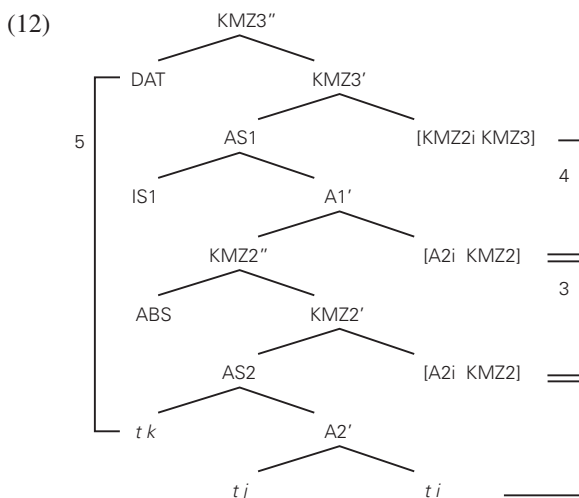
Horren ondotik, [A2 KMZ2] buru anizkuna KMZ3 buruari adjunktatuko zaio (4 mugimendua), eta buruz buruko mugimenduak sortzen duen (_{kmz3} KMZ2_i KMZ3], *t_i*) T katearen Gutxieneko Eremuan hauexek izango dira: [Espez A2], alegia, DATren iturburua; DAT argumentuak gurutzatu behar dituen [Espez, KMZ2], eta [Espez, A1] guneak, eta baita iritsi behar duen jomuga ere, hau da, [Espez, KMZ3]. Horrela, bada, T katearen Gutxieneko Eremuko hiru guneak DAT argumentuaren iturburuaren distantziakidea da, (11)an ikus daitekeen bezala.

- (11) i. [A2 KMZ2] buru anizkuna KMZ3ri adjunktatu eta (_{kmz3} KMZ2_i KMZ3], *t_i*) T katea osatu
 ii. Tren Gutxieneko Eremua {[Espez KMZ3] [Espez, A1] [Espez, KMZ2] [Espez, A2]}
 iii.

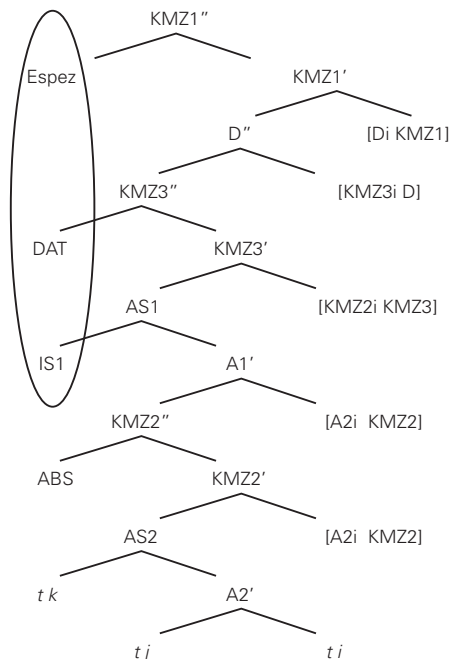


Horregatik, [A2 KMZ2] burua KMZ3ri adjunktatu zaionean (4 mugimendua), DAT argumentua [Espez, KMZ3] gunera igo daiteke (5 mugimendua), Mugimendu Laburra urratu gabe (12) zuhaitzean erakutsiko dudana erara. DAT argumentuak, *zuri* (1.b) perpausean, gune honetantxe erkatuko ditu DAT kasua eta f3-tasunak.

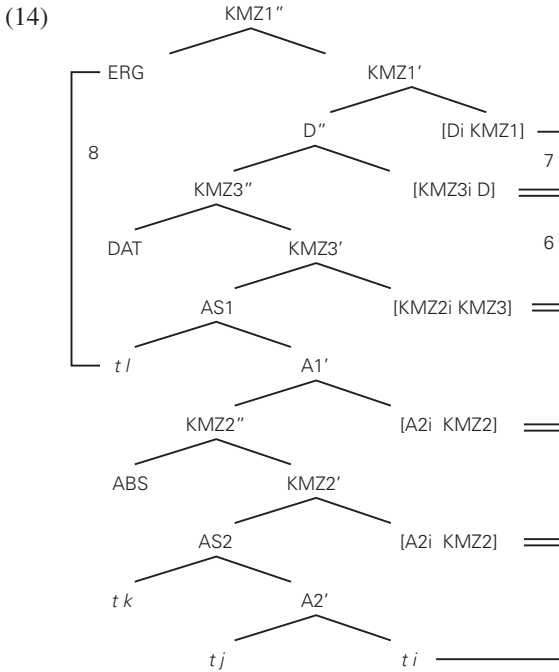
Eratopenaren azken mugimenduetan [KMZ2 KMZ3] buru anizkuna Dri adjunktatu eta adjunkioan eraturiko [KMZ3 D] burua KMZ1era igotzen denean (_{kmz1} D_i KMZ1], *t_i*) A katea osatuko da. Aren Gutxieneko Eremua {[Espez KMZ1] [Espez, KMZ3] [Espez, A1]} da azken honetan (13).



- (13) i. [KMZ3 D] buru anizkuna KMZ1ri adjuntatu eta ($[_{\text{kmz1}} D_i \text{ KMZ1}]$, t_i)
 A katea osatu
 ii. Aren Gutxienero Eremua { [Espez KMZ1] [Espez, KMZ3] [Espez, A1] }
 iii.



ERG argumentuak [Espez, KMZ1] iritsirik (8 mugimendua) burutuko da (1.b) perpausaren eratorpen osoa (14).



Laburbilduz, euskaraz hiriburuko komunztadura sistema dugunez, ezin erator daitezke DAT argumentua duten perpaus iragankorrek, hirugarren komunztadura bururik ez badago INFLn. Horregatik proposatu dut KMZ3 burua ere indartzen dela euskaraz eta AS azalaren baitan sortzen dela. Horrelaxe, gainera, ez da *Mugimendu Laburrena* baldintza urratzen argumentuen Espez gunetarako igoeran.

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ABSTRACT

Agreement, three perspectives (I): dative arguments and Shortest Move

In this paper I will propose that Dative is a structural case and that a third Agreement (AGR) head can be activated in Inflection. There being three active AGR heads, one of them must be generated inside the VP, in order to satisfy Shortest Move in terms of Equidistance (Chomsky, 1993).

Basque has a three-way agreement system: subjects, direct objects and indirect objects agree overtly with tense-inflected verbs in person and number. Furthermore, case is overtly realized in Basque. Thus, subjects of transitive verbs are marked for Ergative (ERG), subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects are marked for Absolutive (ABS) and indirect objects for Dative (DAT). This is illustrated in (1).

In (1) there is a transitive predicate *idatzi* 'write'. In (1.a), the subject *Nik* 'I' is assigned ERG case, the object *gutuna* 'letter' is assigned ABS case and the transitive auxiliary **edun* 'have' agrees with both arguments (f1 and f2-features respectively). In (1.b), there is one more argument, *zuri* 'you', marked for Dative, which agrees with the auxiliary (*zu* morpheme in bold type letter).

Case Theory within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993; Bobaljik, 1993) accounts for the empirical data in (1.a). In this approach, two AGR heads activate in transitive sentences, so the subject checks ERG and f1-features in the Specifier of AGR1 and the object checks ABS and f2-features in the Spec of AGR2. However, there is no account for the Dative case and its agreement in (1.b), and this is the issue that I will address in this paper. I will follow Hualde (1986), Cheng & Demirdache (1993) and López & Austin (1993) in assuming that there are not two but three AGR heads in Basque Inflection and I will propose that Dative is a structural case. If three AGR heads activate, the indirect object will move to the Spec of the third AGR head and there it will check Dative and f3-features.

I will propose an alternative clausal structure to Chomsky/Bobaljik's canonical proposal. This clausal structure explores the idea of a functional head being generated inside the VP (Collins & Thrainsson, 1993, among

others). In this regard I will propose that AGR2 is internal to the VP, therefore, it can be generated in the complement position of V1 in a VP-shell (Larson, 1988). Moreover, there is a condition that should be taken into account, that is to say, Shortest Move (2) in terms of Equidistance (Chomsky, 1993). According to it, in transitive sentences, the object can move to [Spec AGR2] through [Spec VP], since both Spec are in the same minimal domain and are, therefore, equidistant from the object position. In fact, if the three AGR heads are activated, only a structure with at least one VP-internal AGR head is possible, in order to satisfy Shortest Move.

This derivation also explains Basque unaccusative sentences with two arguments, the first one marked for ABS and the second marked for DAT (2.b) and their overt agreement with the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be', illustrated in (3).

Data and references

- (1) a. Nik gutuna idatzi dut
I-ERG letter-ABS write 3_{f2} -have- 1_{f1}
'I have written a letter'
- b. Nik zuri gutuna idatzi dizut
I-ERG you-DAT letter-ABS write 3_{f2} - 2_{f3} -have- 1_{f1}
'I have written a letter to you''
- (2) *Shortest Move*
If a, b are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from g
- (3) a. Ni etorri naiz
IABS come 1_{f2} -be
'I have come'
- b. Ni zuri etorri natzaizu
I-ABS you-DAT come 1_{f2} -be- 2_{f3}
'I have come to you'

Komunztadura, hiru ikuspegi (II): absolutibo komunztadurarik eza*

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0. Sarrera

Lan honetan komunztadura aberatseko hizkuntzek hiru komunztadurekiko paradigmatan hutsune sistematikoak dituztela erakutsiko dugu. Hutsuneok azaltzeko proposatu diren hipotesi morfologikoak baztertzen saiatuko gara, fenomenoak sintaktikoa dela erakutsiz.

Gure analisia bide onetatik badoa, ateratzen diren ondorioen artean agian aipagarriena euskararen aditz laguntzailearen azterketaren inkuspuntutik hiru komunztadura erakusten duen formarik ez dagoela litzateke; hau da, absolutiboaren hirugarren pertsona ez da komunztadura eta NOR-NORI-NORK-en formak NORI-NORK besterik ez dira.

Sintaxi teoriaren ikuspuntutik, bestalde, gure argumentazioa ondo bada go Kasu Teoria goitik behera berraztertu behar dugula sujeritzen du, aurrekoaren ondorioz Kasua erkatzen ez duten argumentuak daudelako. Halaber, gure analisiak Kasu morfologikoa eta komunztadura zeharo autonomoak direla proposatzera garamatza.

Artikuluak ondoko egitura du: lehen atalean euskal aditz laguntzailearen ezaugarri nagusien deskribapena labur bat egiten dugu, aldi berean euskal aditz laguntzailearen ikerlarien artean ezagunak diren murriztapen batzuk ere aipatuz. Bigarren atalean NOR-NORI-NORK paradigmari lotuta dagoen hutsunea aurkezten dugu, honekin batera euskal literaturan, batez ere Leizarragaren lanean, aurki daitezkeen salbuespenak azaltzeko bi hipotesi nagusiak laburki aztertuz. Hirugarren atalean euskararen hiru komunztadura sistema eta egitura sintaktikoaren arteko desoreka ezagun bat tratatzen dugu; lehen hur-

* Autoreok gure ikerketa-taldeetako kideei euren laguntzagatik eta talde hauetako lan-proiektuei emandako diru-laguntzaren bidez gure lana posiblea egin duten honako erakunde hauei eskertu nahi diegu: Eusko Jaurlaritzak (PI-1998-127), Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (9/UPV 00033.130-13888/2001) eta Espainako Gobernuak Zientzia eta Teknologiarako Ministerioak (BFF2002-04238-C02-01) lehen autorearen kasuan eta Madrilgo Autonomi-Elkartea eta Fulbright Erakundeari doktorego-ondoko beka banagatik bigarrenarenean.

bilketa batean teknikeritzat har zitekeen arazo bat iruditu arren, gure proposamenaren argira arazoak beste buelta interesgarriago bat hartzen du, hiru komunztaduren ezintasuna eta sintaxian inposatutako lokalitate baldintzak bat datorrela erakutsiz. Laugarren atalean berriro hartzen dugu NOR-NORI-NORK paradigmaten hutsunea, oraingo honetan tipologikoki oso ezberdinak diren komunztadura aberatseko beste hizkuntzekin erkatzeko; gure beste lan batzuren ildotik jarraituz (ikus Ormazabal eta Romero 1998ab, 2003), fenomeno morfologikoa baino sintaktikoa dela defendatzen dugu. Azken atalean gure proposamenak sintaxia eta morfologian izan ditzakeen ondorio teoriko zenbaiten azalpen laburra egiten dugu, NOR hirugarren pertsonak aditz laguntzailean komunztadurarik mantentzen ez duela defendatuz; honen ondorioz, azken urteotan gramatika sortzailean defendatu izan den kasu gramatikala eta komunztaduraren arteko erlazio estua errebisatzeko beharra dagoela proposatzen da.

1. Euskal aditz laguntzailearen propietateez bi ohar

Ezaguna denez, euskal aditz laguntzaileak perpausaren hiru argumentu nagusiekin mantentzen du komunztadura: NOR komunztadura aditz iragankorren objektuarekin edo aditz ezakusatiboen argumentu bakarrarekin, NORK komunztadura aditz iragankor eta ezergatiboen subjektuarekin eta NORI komunztadura zehar objektuarekin. Adibide batekin erakustearren, (1a) adibideko *gaituzu* laguntzaileak bigarren pertsona NORK komunztadura adierazten du *zuk* subjektuarekin, eta lehen pertsona NOR komunztadura perpausaren osagarri zuzenarekin, *gu*-rekin hain zuzen. Era berean, *didazu*-ren *-da-* markak (1b) adibidean aditz laguntzailea eta zehar objektuaren arteko komunztadura adierazten du.

- (1) a. Zuk gu eramango gaituzu
b. niri liburua eman didazu

Euskal aditz laguntzailea oso erregularra dela esan ohi da, bai desinentzia bakoitzak okupatzen duen lekuari begira, baita desinentzien formari begira ere. Ordenaren aldetik, laguntzailearen forma gehienek NOR-NORI-NORK ordena jarraitzen dute, tartean erroa, modua eta denborari dagozkien zenbait marka, beti posizio bereberetan, agertuz. Ondoko eskemak aditz laguntzailearen barne-egitura isladatzen du (ikus Laka 1993, Gómez 1995, Artiagoitia 2000, eta bertan aipatutako lanak):

- (2) NOR erroa NORI modua NORK denbora

Desinentzien formaren aldetik ere, euskal aditzak erregularitasun maila handia erakusten du (ikus goian aipatutako lanak, batez ere Gómez 1995, eta Gómez eta Sáinz 1993).

Badira, hala ere, irregulartasunak aditz laguntzailearen barruan era sistematiko batean agertzen direnak:

Alde batetik, Artiagoitiak *ergatibo komunztaduraren dantza* izendatu duena (*ergative displacement*) dugu; fenomenoaren deskribapena sinplifikatuz, hainbat adizkitan (2) adibidean erakutsitako morfemen hurrenkera kanonikoa aldatzen da, NOR komunztadura NOR komunztaduraren lekuan eta formarekin agertuz. Hortaz, (3) adibidean ikusten denez, orain aldiko ordenarekin kontrastatuz, lehen aldiko zenbait formetan ergatiboa markatzen duten desinentziak —(3a-b) adibideetako *n-* eta *gen-* lehen pertsona-komunztadurak eta *zen-* bigarren pertsona (3c) adibidean— aditz laguntzailearen lehen posizioan, hots absolutiboari dagokion posizioan, ageri ohi dira, formaren aldetik ere NOR komunztaduraren itxura hartuz.

- (3) a. dituT vs. Nituen
 b. dakiGU vs. GENekien
 c. dioZU vs. ZENion

Ortiz de Urbinaren (1989) fenomenoaren tratamendu sintaktikoarekin hasita eta, batez ere, Lakak (1989, 1993) aditz laguntzailearen sintaxia eta morfologiaren inguruan egin zuen lan garrantzitsuaren ildoari jarraituz, asko izan dira fenomeno honi buruz egin diren lanak.¹ Eztabaidaren beste alor asko albo batera utzirik, gero esango dugunerako interes berezia izango duen aspektu bat azpimarratu nahiko genuke fenomeno honi buruz: argumentu absolutiboa hirugarren pertsona denean gertatzen dela beti, inoiz ez NOR argumentuak lehen edo bigarren pertsona komunztadura erakusten duenean.

Beste aldetik, aurrekoa ez da euskal aditz laguntzailean NOR hirugarren pertsona denean egitura konplexuak ezaugarri bereziak erakusten duen kasu bakarra. Ezaguna denez, NOR komunztadurari dagozkion lehen eta bigarren pertsona desinentziak erregularrak diren bitartean, hirugarren pertsonarena, ergatibo komunztaduraren dantza gertatzen ez den testuinguruetan, laguntzailearen denbora edota moduaren arabera aldatzen da. Hots, hirugarren komunztadura dagoenean aditz laguntzailearen hasierako posizioan agertzen den desinentzia *d-* da orainaldian, *z-* lehenaldian, *l-* baldintza hipotetikoetan eta *b-* inperatiboan.

- (4) 1. perts. N- G-
 2. perts. H- Z-
 3. perts. D-/Z-/L-/B- D-/Z-/L-/B-

¹ Ikus, besteak beste, Ortiz de Urbina (1989), Laka (1993), Albizu eta Eguren (1996), Albizu (2001), Fernández (1997, 2002). Testuan aipatzen diren fenomenoaren deskripzio baterako eta horren inguruan egindako lanen eta eztabaiden azalpenerako, ikus Artiagoitia (2001, 370 orr. eta ondokoak). Fenomeno hauek guztiak ondoko 3-5 ataletan aztertzen ditugun gaiekin zehazkiago lotzen dituen lan baterako, ikus Ormazabal (2003).

Morfologia historikoan egin diren hainbat lan sendoren emaitzen arabera (ikus, batez ere, Gómez eta Sáinz 1993, Gómez 1995, Trask 1997 eta lan hauetan aipatzen diren erreferentziak), tradizionalki hirugarren pertsonari atxiki zaizkion komunztadura markak ez dira komunztadurak baizik eta modu eta denbora markak. Zenbait testuingurutan, beraz, laguntzailearen lehen posizioan denbora eta modu marka batzuk agertzen dira, denborari eta moduari dagozkien lekuetatik kanpo.

Lakak (1993) fenomeno honen azalpen morfologiko bat proposatzen du, ergatiboaren dantzarenarekin batzen duena. Hemengo eztabaidaren ikuspuntutik berriz ere interesgarriena zera da, bi fenomenoak NOR hirugarren pertsona denean gertatzen direla bakarrik eta, ondorioz, absolutiboaren hirugarren pertsona horrek komunztadura desinentziarik ez duela edo desinentzia hau Ø-morfema dela postulatu behar dela.²

Atal honetan aipatutako irregulartasunekin batera, azken urteotan aditz laguntzailearen ikerketan interes handia sortu duen beste propietate bat dago NOR-NORI-NORK paradigman hutsune batekin zerikusia duena; hurrengo atalean hutsune honen deskribapen laburra egingo dugu.

2. Hutsune bat euskal aditz laguntzailearen paradigmaman

Azalean beste izaera batekoa dela badirudi ere, aurrekoekin lotura estua duen beste murriztapen bat ikus daiteke euskal aditz laguntzailean. Ezaguna da NOR-NORI-NORK sistemaren paradigmaman NOR komunztadurak hirugarren pertsona izan behar duela nahitaez. Konpara ditzagun (5) eta (6)-ko adibideak:

- (5) a. Zuk, Judas, salduko nauzu
b. Zuk, Judas, zure maisua salduko diguzu
- (6) a. * Zuk, Judas, salduko naiezu erromatarrei
b. * Judasek hi salduko haigu

(5a) adibideak NOR-NORK paradigmaman NOR lehen pertsona posiblea dela erakusten du; (5b)-ko NOR-NORI-NORK paradigmako forman NOR komunztadurari hirugarren pertsona dagokio. Honekin alderatuz, (6a-b) adibideek NOR-NORI-NORK paradigmaman NOR lehen edo bigarren pertsona ezin izan daitekeela erakusten dute.

² Pluragileak beti izan dira problema bat aditz laguntzailearen azterketan, bai ikuspuntu historikotik baita azterketa diakronikoan ere; ikuspuntu historikotik ezaguna da laguntzailean beranduago sartzen direla, adizki multzoan betetzen duten posizio eta formaren aldetik dituzten berezitasunek erakusten duten bezala. Gure ustez, duela gutxi argitaratutako Rezac (2003) da, alde horretatik, pluragileak laguntzailearen sistemaren analisisan era integral batean inkorporatzen dituen proposamenik osoena.

Oso ezaguna da euskal literaturan honen kontraadibide famatuak badirela; izan ere, Bonaparterengandik hona askotan errepikatu diren hamar bat adibide daude Leizarragaren idazkietan zehar.³ Famatuenetariko bi aipatzearen, honako bi adibideak ikus ditzagun:

- (7) a. [...] ecen sacrificatu içan aiz, eta **redemitu garauzac** Iaincoari eure odolaz, leinu, eta mihi, eta populu, eta natione orotari (Apoc 5, 9)
 b. Baina badacussat berce leguebat neure membroetan, ene adimenduco elguearen contra bataillatzen denic, eta ene membroetan den bekatua-
 ren legueari **gathibatzen nerauconic** (Rom 7, 23)

Beñat Oiharzabalek, euskal filologiaren tradizioan nahiko zabaldua dagoen adibide hauei buruzko interpretazio bat jasoz, Leizarragarenak euskara zaharrean arrunta izan zitekeen eta bere garaian arkaismotzat har zitekeen arrasto bat izan daitekeela sujeritzen du. Tradizio honetan interpretatu behar dira, adibidez, Azkuek (1923, §808) idazten dituen hitzok:

El objeto del transporte podría ser una persona, «vos me habéis llevado al padre», que un tiempo se decía (hoy ya no) *zuk ni aitari eroan nauzasu* o *eraman naraukazu (niozu)*. Hoy recurrimos a alguna perífrasis, sustituyendo la desinencia de dativo por la de directo animado; como, por ejemplo, *zuk ni aitagana eroan nauzu (nozu)*.

Baina era honetako adibideak nahiko gutxi dira euskal literatura osoan; goiko paragrafoaren ondoren, Azkuek berak aitortzen du Leizarragarengan besterik ez duela horrelakorik jaso; horri, Duhaldere (1809) beste adibide bat gehi dakioke euskal literatura osoan eta Azkuek lerro batzuk beranduago gehitzen dituen honako lekuko susmagarri hauek:

Una anciana de Dima y otra de Zeanuri me dieron como populares estas flexiones: *ik ni aitari eroan nauusak* tú me has llevado al padre, *zuk ni berari eroan nauzasu* [...].

Ez dirudi, beraz, ideia hau ondo oinarrituta dagoenik; horretaz gain, komunztaduraren aldetik antzekoak izan daitezkeen beste hizkuntzen portaerak ere kontrakoa sujeritzen du. Izan ere, lehen atalean aipatu ditugun fenomenoak, itxura horrekin behintzat, euskarari zuzenean lotu dakeien fenomeno morfologiko edo sintaktikoak badira ere, hemengo paradigmatiko hutsune honek euskara baino askoz eremu zabalagoa du, oso orokorra baita. Hortaz, laugarren atalean zehazkiago ikusiko dugun bezala, komunztadura aberatseko

³ Bonapartek (1869, 83) hauetariko kasu gehienak aipatzen ditu dagoeneko; ikus, baita ere, Lacombe, (1907), Lafon (1944, 397-400), Azkue (1923, 571-573), Zulaika (1998, 209-212) eta bertan aipaturiko erreferentziak.

hizkuntza guztietan, testuinguru berberetan, sistematikoki agertzen den murriztapen bati buruz ari gara.

Aipaturiko tradizioak sujeritzen duenaren kontra, Leizarragaren adibideek beste hainbat lekutan jasotzen den euskal laguntzaileari buruzko intuitzio bat azken muturreraino eramatearen ondorioak dirudite. Forma hauei buruzko eztabaidan Zulaikak (1998) honako aipu hau jasotzen du Inchausperen liburutik:

«Aucun dialecte ne possède de relations indirectes pour les formatifs qui expriment la première et la deuxième personne como régime direct. D'après le système de composition des régimes indirects, il semble qu'on aurait pu dire: je t'offre à lui, *eskéntzen háyot*; tu m'ofres à lui, *eskéntzen náyok, náyon, náyozu*; etc., mais ces sortes de locutions n'existent pas»

Eta, ildo beretik, Azkuek goian aipaturiko pasartearen ondoan bertan honako hau dio:

El pueblo entendería muy bien *zuk ni aitari eroan nauzasu* y creo haber usado en mi *Jesusen biotzaren ila* alguna locución como *ekarri nendiozula* que vois me trajeseis a mí.

Inchauspe eta Azkueren hitzen hariari jarraituz, gure ustez askoz egokiagoa litzateke Leizarragak, euskarak aurkezten zizkion aukerak hartzeko maisua, Testamentu Berriaren itzulpena egiten ari zenean pasadizu konkretu batzutan interesatzen zitzaizkion forma berri hauek asmatu zituela pentsatzea, euskararen aditz laguntzailea sortzeko sistemaren arabera sor eta uler zitekeela (Inchausperen hitzetan, *qu'on [l'] aurait pu dire*) ontzat hartuz.

Aurreko guztiari gehitu behar zaio *a priori* Oiharzabalek jasotako hipotesia hemen aurreratu duguna bezain onargarria izan badaiteke ere, komuntadurara aberatseko beste hizkuntzen portaera bigarren posibilitatearekin koherenteagoa dela euskara zaharrean horrelako formak bazirela postulatzearekin baino.

3. Hiru komuntadurak eta perpausaren egitura

Gramatika Sortzailearen sorreratik, hizkuntzalarion ardura nagusietako bat hizkuntza naturaletarako proposatzen ditugun mekanismo eta egituraketaren muga formalak aurkitzea izan da. Transformazioen atalaren kasuan, sistemaren murriztapenen bilaketa orokor honen ondorioa Ross-en (1968) lanarekin edo oraindik lehenago hasten den ikerketa ildo emankor eta sakon bat da, mugimenduaren eta, orohar, transformazioen eremu lokala postulatzeko duena. Lokalitatearen arazoa beti izan da, beraz, gramatika sortzailearen ardura nagusietako bat.

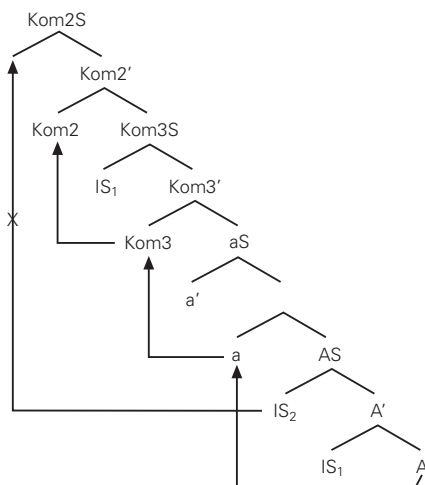
Azken urteotan, mugimenduan identifikatu izan diren lokalitate baldintza batzuk transformazio operazioaren definizioaren barruan bertan isladatzeko saio ezberdinak ikusi ditugu; harietariko interesgarrienak *Mugimendu Labu-*

rrena edo *Gutxieneko Katea-mailaren Baldintza* izeneko murriztapenak dira, lokalitatea transformazioen arkitekturan bertan jasotzen lortzen dutelako (ikus Chomsky 1993, 1995). Bere eginbeharren artean, sistemaren arkitektura, *Mugimendu Laburrena* barne, Aditz Sintagma barruan sortzen diren argumentuak dagozkien komunztadura posizioetara, eta horietara bakarrik, heltzen direla garantizatzea dago.

Baina, bere formulazioagatik, MLa bezalako printzipioak indartsuegiak direla irudiko luke, euskara bezalako hizkuntzetan agertzen den komunztadura anitzari lekuri ez diotelako. Bestela esanda, *Mugimendu Laburrenak* (ML) edota *Gutxieneko Katea-mailaren Baldintzak* (GKB) hiru argumenturen mugimenduak, hau da NOR-NORI-NORK egiturak, erabat saihesten dituzte. Hatsarrearen formulazioagatik beragatik, osagarri zuzena komunztadura posizioa mugitzen bada, zehar objektua urrunegi gelditzen da tarteko komunztadurara heltzeko eta Aditz Sintagmatik ateratzerik ez du.

- (8) a. Nik gutuna idatzi dut.
b. Nik zuri gutuna idatzi dizut.

(9)

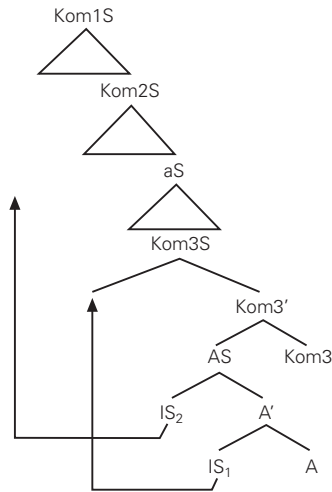


Arazo honen aurrean, zenbait hizkuntzalarik irtenbide ezberdinak esploratu dituzte. Interesgarriena, gure ustez, Fernándezek (1996; liburu honetan) egiten duen proposamena da; ⁴Fernándezek, Koizumi (1993) eta Lasniken (1994) proposamenen ildoari jarraituz, euskal perpausaren egitura berria proposatzen du, hiru komunztadura posible izateko egokitua dena. Lan hauek

⁴ Ikus, baita ere, Cheng eta Demirdache 1993 eta Uriagereka 1995.

Larsonek (1988) eta Hale eta Kayserrek (1993, 1997, 2002) proposatzen duten Aditz Sintagmaren geruza ezberdinen egitura Pollock (1989) eta Chomskyren (1989) komunztadura anitzeko inflexioaren proposamenarekin uztartzen dute, aldi berean bi eremu horiek nahastuz. Bertan, osagarri zuzenari dagokion komunztadura ez dago, hipotesi estandarrean bezala, aditzaren gaineko posizio batean, Aditza Sintagmaren bi zatien artean baizik. Ondorioz, osagarri zuzena Aditz Sintagmaren bi geruzen artean dagoen komunztaduraren espezifikatzaile mugitzen bada ere, zehar objektua mugitutako osagarri zuzena bezain hurbil dago, lokalitate terminoetan, heldu behar duen Komunztadura₂ Sintagmaren espezifikatzailetik, eta ML hatsarreak ez du mugimendua saihesten.

(10)



Aurreko bi ataletan ikusitakoaren ondoren, estrategia hauek, sistemaren propietate eta mugak ikusteko interesgarriak badira ere, muga hauen arazoa saihesteko irtenbide teknikoak direla dirudi eta alternatiba egokiago bat dagoela esango genuke. Esan dugun bezala, osagarri zuzenaren NOR hirugarren pertsonari dagokion komunztadura ez da bakarrik hutsa dela, baizik eta martxan jartzen dituela beste komunztadura eremuetan oso bereziak diruditen estrategia batzuk. Are gehiago, euskal aditz laguntzaile sistemak duen hutsunerik nabarmenena, NOR-NORI-NORK paradigmari dagokiona hain zuzen, NOR argumentuak hirugarren pertsona direnean gertatzen da soilik. Honek guztiak sujeritzen du NOR hirugarren pertsonaren komunztadura hutsa komunztadurik ezaren adierazpen morfologiko bat dela; hau da, murriztapen hauek ikuspuntu teorikoago batetik birformulatuz, egitura ditransitiboetan osagarri zuzena ez da komunztadura posizioetara mugitzen, ez baitu aditzarekiko erlaziorik erkatu behar.

Proposamen honek ondorio zuzen bat du mugimenduaren murriztapen baldintzei dagokiela: eman dezagun Mugimendu Laburrena egokia dela eta, beraz, ez dugula bere eragina murriztu behar predikatu ditransitiboekiko hiru argumentuen mugimendua posiblea izan dadin. Hori horrela bada, hiru argumentuen mugimendua ezinezkoa izan beharko litzateke; hau da, hiru komunztadura sistema ezinezkoa litzateke, ez bakarrik euskaraz, baizik eta hizkuntza natural guztietan. Hurrengo atalean ikusiko dugunez, ikerketa tipologikoek ondorio hauek sustengatzen dituzte.

4. Komunztaduraren paradigmatiko hutsuneak

Bigarren atalean ikusi dugunez, NOR-NORI-NORK-en paradigmaman NOR komunztadura bakar-bakarrik hirugarren pertsona izan daiteke [(11) = (6)]

- (11) a. * Zuk, Judas, salduko naiezu erromatarrei
b. * Judasek zuei salduko naizue

Fenomeno hau ez da, inolaz ere, euskararen aditz laguntzaileari bakarrik dagokion bitxitasun bat. Bonetek (1991) eta, batez ere, Albizuk (1997a,b) erakutsi dutenez, komunztadura anitza duten hizkuntzen arteko ezberdintasun txiki batzuk ikusten badira ere, denek erakusten dute modu batera edo bestera murriztapen berbera. Albizuk, adibidez, oso familia ezberdinetako berrogeita hiru hizkuntzaren analisi tipologiko bat egiten du, hizkuntza hauen arteko portaera ezberdinak eta guztiek fenomeno honen inguruan erakusten dituzten antzekotasunak aurkeztuz.

Bonetek (1991), fenomenoaren ulertzeko oso aurrerapauso handia suertatu zen proposamen bat eginez, klitiko multzoen kasuan gertatzen den *me-lui muga* izeneko fenomenoarekin parekatzen du aurreko fenomenoak; klitiko sistemak dituzten hizkuntzetan, badira zenbait klitiko konbinaketa ezinezkoak direnak. Gaztelaren ondoko adibidean ikus daitekeenez, euskararen aditz laguntzailearen paradigmaman bezala klitiko multzo hauetan ere osagarri zuzena lehen edo bigarren pertsona denean gertatzen da konbinatzeko ezintasun hau, inoiz ez hirugarren pertsona denean [ik. Perlmutter 1974, Bonet 1991, Albizu 1997a,b, eta hauek aipatutako erreferentziak]:

- (12) a. Pedro **me lo** envía
b. * Pedro **le me** envía

Gramatika sortzailearen tradizioan, muga hauen arrazoi morfologiari leporatu zaio analisi gehienetan. Bonetek (1991), adibidez, hutsunearen ondoko deskribapen hau proposatzen du:

- (13) *Pertsona-Kasuaren Muga*: datiboa agertzen bada, akusatiboa/absolutiboa=3en pertsona.

Hipotesi morfologiko hauek justifikatzen dituen arrazoi sakon bat dago: komunztadura eta klitikoaren propietate askok dudarik gabe morfologiaren eremuan kokatzen direla kontutan izanik, fenomeno hau komunztadura eta klitiko multzoekin agertzen denez kandidato ona dirudi morfologiaren barneko azalpen bat jasotzeko. Hala balitz —hau da, arazoa morfologiarena balitz— fenomeno honek ez liguke inolako argibiderik emango bigarren atalean eztabaidaturiko arazoari buruz; baina badira arrazoiak Boneten Pertsona-Kasuaren Mugaren izaera morfologikoa egokia ez dela pentsatzeko. Ondorio hauetara heltzeko, halere, tarteko pausu batzuk ematea nahitaezkoa zaigu.⁵

4.1. «leismoa» eta [+/-bizidun] tasuna

Gaztelaniaren zenbait dialektutan, Euskal Herriko hiztun gehienok partekatzen dugun dialektuan barne, badago oposaketa bat objektu zuzena adierazteko erabiltzen diren *lo* eta *le* klitikoaren artean; lehena objektu ezbizidunentzat erabiltzen da, bigarrena berriz bizidunentzat.

- (14) a. lo vi (el libro).
b. le vi (a mi sobrino).

Interesgarria dena zera da, Boneten generalizazioaren arabera esperoko genukenaren kontra, objektu bizidunak adierazteko erabiltzen dugun *le* klitikoak hirugarren pertsona izan arren, ezin ager daitekeela Pertsona-Kasua Muga agertzen zaigun eremu berberean, hau da, datiboaren klitiko batekin batera:

- (15) a. te lo entregué.
b. * te le entregué (a mi sobrino).

Honek Boneten generalizazioa errebisatu behar dugula sujeritzen du, Pertsona-Kasuaren Mugak egiten duen partiketa lehen/bigarren vs. hirugarren pertsonen arabera egin beharrean, [+/-bizidun] tasunaren gainean eraikiz. Lehen eta bigarren pertsonak berez animatuak direnez, *le* klitikoarekin batera kokatzen dira eta hiru hauek *lo* klitikoaren portaeratik bereizten.

Nabaria da aldaketa honek ez duela mugaren izaera morfologikoa zalanztan jartzen: asumitu behar den aldaketa bakarra jokuan sartzen diren tasunen zehaztapena da eta azalpen morfologiko batekin jarraitu dezakegu. Hala ere, pertsonaren arabera definitu beharrean partiketa bizidun/bizigabearen arabera egiten dugun unean, mugaren eremu enpirikoa esponentzialki zabal-

⁵ Ikus Ormazabal eta Romero (1998a,b, 2003) atal honetan aipatzen ditugun argumentuen justifikazio zehatz eta sakonago baterako eta hauen ondorio teoriko orokorren azterketa baterako. Ikus, baita ere, Anagnastopoulou (1999, 2000).

tzen da eta orain arte kontutan izan ez diren hizkuntza askotako fenomeno asko sartzen dira lehian. Hauek guztiak hemen azaltzeko lekurik ez badago ere, ondoren fenomenoak dela erakusten duten hauetariko batzuk aipatuko ditugu.

4.2. *Mohawk hizkuntzaren objektu bizidunen portaera*

Mohawken, objektu bizidunek bi aukera dute sintaxian: aditzari inkorporatzen zaizkio edo bestela komunztadura erakusten dute aditz laguntzailearekin; bi prozesuetarik bat gertatzen da nahitaez. Bizigabeek, berriz, badute aukera inkorporatzeko edo Aditz Sintagma barruan gelditzeko, baina ezin dute aditzarekin komunztadura erlazioan sartu [Baker 1996, 21 orr., (17) adibidea].

- (16) a. * Ra-núhwe's ne owirá'a
 MsS-maite-OHI NE ume
 'Umeak maite ditu' [Objektu biziduna komunzt. eta inkorporazio-rik gabe: *]
- b. Shako-núhwe'-s (ne owirá'a)
 MsS/3pO-maite-OHI NE ume
 'Maite ditu (umeak)' [Obj. biziduna komunztadurarekin: √]
- c. Ra-wir-a-núhwe'-s
 MsS-ume-ø-maite-HAB
 'Umeak maite ditu [Obj. biziduna inkorporaturik: √]
- d. *? Shako-wir-a-núhwe'-s
 MsS-3pO-baby-ø-like-HAB
 'He likes babies' [Obj biziduna inkorporatuta eta komunztadurarekin: *]

Testuinguru egokietan, beraz, subjektuak eta osagarri zuzenak mantentzeko komunztadura aditz sistemarekin. Hizkuntza askotan gertatzen den legez, Mohawken ere perpausa ditransitiboetan, hiru argumentu agertzen direnean, datiboa eta subjektua dira aditzarekin komunztadura mantentzen dutenak eta objektua komunztadura sistematik desagertzen da.

Egoera honetan, osagarri zuzena bizigabea denean, inkorpora daiteke edo komunztadurarik gabe agertu, egitura iragankor arruntetan bezala. Baina osagarri zuzena biziduna bada, Aditz Sintagma barruan ezin daiteke gelditu, eta inkorporatu egin behar du zilegiztatua izateko [ibid. 206 orr., (38)eta (40) adibideak].

- (17) a. Ká'sere'/*káskare' ^-hi-tsh^ry-a-'s-e'
 kotxea neskalaguna FUT-1sS/MsO-bilatu-BEN-ASP
 'Kotxe bat/*neskalagun bat bilatuko diot'

- b. Λ -hi-skar-a-tsh Λ ry-a-'s-e'
 FUT-1sS/MsO-lagun- \emptyset -bilatu-BEN-ASP
 'neskalagun bat bilatuko diot'

Paradigma honek antza handia du Bonetek Pertsona-Kasua Mugaren bidez azaldu nahi dituen kasuekin. Izan ere, Bakerrek (1996, 194 orrialdean) ematen duen azalpenak Boneten baldintzaren formulazioaren kutsu berbera du goitik behera:

[I]ntuitively, the reason the theme of a triadic verb must be neuter is that agreement with a neuter object is phonologically null. [...] Hence, this type of argument does not overtax the agreement system in Mohawk, which can only represent two elements at a time»

5. Ondorioak

Bai Pertsona-Kasua Mugaren barruan erortzen diren fenomeno multzoetan baita Mohawken kasuan ere ezaugarri nagusia da osagarri zuzen bizidunaren eta zehar objektuaren edo onuradunaren ezintasuna aldi berean komunztadura mantentzeko. Baina aurreko kasuetan ez bezala, Mohawken paradigmaren arazo ezin daiteke morfologiaren barruan xedatu, osagarri zuzenari komunztadura mantentzeko aukerak ixten zaizkionean beste alternatiba sintaktiko batzuk bilatu behar dituelako. Morfemen konbinaketaren arazo bat izango balitz, osagarri bizidunarekiko komunztadura marka ezabatzea eta zehar objektuarekin edo onuradunarekin komunztadura markatzea, osagarri zuzena bizigabea denean gertatzen dena hain zuzen ere, nahikoa litzateke egitura gramatikala lortzeko. Kontrara, paradigma honek erakusten digu osagarri zuzenak betekizun sintaktiko batzuk dituela eta testuinguru zehatz batzutan, Pertsona-Kasuaren Mugaren eremuan erortzen direnak eta hemen aurkeztu duguna besteak beste, beste argumentuen baldintzekin kontrajartzen direla, ezgramatikaltasuna sortuz.

Hori hala bada, *Me-lui* muga eta berari lotuta dagoen Pertsona-Kasuaren Muga orokorragoa fenomeno sintaktikoak dira, perpausa berean bi argumentu baino gehiago biltzen direnean ikus daitekena; pertsona ezberdintasunak baino [+/- bizidun] ezaugarriaren arabera bereizten ditu argumentuak. Hipotesi honen analisiaren abantaila nabaria da, sintaxi mailako baldintza orokorra izateaz gain, inolako estipulaziorik gabe azaltzen duelako zergatik gertatzen den perpaus berean hiru argumentu agertzen direnean; ikusi dugunez, hiru argumentuak komunztadura posizioetara mugitzerakoan, hiruetariko bategen lokalitate baldintzak bortxatzen ditu nahitaez.

Bestalde, ondorio hauek onargarriak dira bakar-bakarrik bigarren atalean esan bezala NOR-NORI-NORK egitura gramatikaletan osagarri zuzenak komunztadura mantentzen ez badu; hau da, esan bezala, sistemak komunztadura mantentzen duten hiru argumentuen egiturak erabat saihesten dituzenez,

NOR-NORI-NORK paradigmako eta, orohar, aditz laguntzailearen sistema osoko NOR hirugarren pertsona ezin daiteke komunztadura izan.

- (18) a. Nik gutuna idatzi dut.
 b. Nik zuri gutuna idatzi dizut.
 c. Gutuna heldu zait.

Hurrengo atalean absolutibo hirugarren pertsona komunztadura ez dela pentsaarazten duten zenbait argudio laburbilduko ditugu.

5.1. *Komunztadurarik eza*

Badira arrazoi asko hirugarren pertsona NOR komunztadura ez dela pentsatzeko, horietariko batzuk lehen eta bigarren atalean aurkeztutako berezitasunekin zerikusi estua dutenak eta beste batzuk sintaxiari lotuak:

Alde batetik, sintaktikoki, inolako argumentuarekiko komunztadurarik ez dagoen testuinguru guztietan agertzen den aditz laguntzailearen forma NOR hirugarren pertsona denean erabiltzen dugun forma bera da; izan ere, aditz ezergatiboekin erabiltzen den laguntzailea edota osagarri zuzena per-pausa denekoa eta absolutiboa hirugarren pertsonarekikoa laguntzaile forma berbera da:⁶

- (19) Liburua irakurri **dut**
 (20) a. [sari bat emango didatela] irakurri **dut**.
 b. gosaldu/iraun/hitzegin **dut**

Bestalde, morfologikoki ere, ez dago hirugarren pertsonarako markarik; lehen atalean eztabaidatu bezala, laguntzailearen hasierako markak ez dira izenordainen jatorrikoak, denbora eta modua adierazten duten markak baizik.⁷

Euskalari gehienek ezaugarri hauetatik ateratzen duten ondorioa zera da, hirugarren pertsona komunztadura marka \emptyset dela. Berriz, fenomeno hauek guztiak aurreko eztabaidarekin uztartzen saiatzen bagara, sortzen den ondorio koherenteena hirugarren pertsonaren kasuan osagarri zuzena eta aditz multzoaren artean komunztadurarik ez dagoela da. Horrek zuzenean esplikaturiko luke zergatik beste NOR-NORI-NORK konbinaketak ezinezkoak diren bitartean, hirugarren pertsonarekikoak berriz arazorik gabe sortu daitezkeen sisteman. Bestalde, ondorio hau oso koherentea da Elorduik (1997) hizkuntz heriotza prozesu zenbaitetan gertatzen denari buruz aurkeztu dituen ondorioekin.

⁶ Ikus, besteak beste, Laka 1993, Oiharzabal 1992, Ormazabal 1991, Gómez 1995, Elordui 1995 eta hango erreferentziak.

⁷ Trask 1977, Laka 1993, Gómez 1995, Gómez eta Sáinz 1995, Elordui 1995, eta bertako erreferentziak.

5.2. *Kasua, komuntadura eta argumentuen mugimendua*

Orain arte argudiatu dugunaren arabera aditzaren hiru argumentu daude, haietarikoa batek gutxienez Aditz Sintagma barruan gelditzen direneta-koa izan behar duela egia bada, gure proposamenak ikuspuntu teorikotik askoz ondorio zabalago eta sakonagoak dakartzan alde bat du: azken hogeita bost urteotan gramatika sortzailearen syntaxiko anilisien gune-gunean egon den Kasu teoriaren hatsarreak errebisatu behar ditugu. Hori horrela da, Kasu teoriak oinarrian jasotzen saitzen denaren egiturazko kasua erkatzen ez duten argumentu sintaktikoak leudekeelako.

Badirudi komuntadurak argumentuak «erakartzen» dituela laguntzailearen morfologian [+/-biziduna] oposaketa dugunean; hortaz, gaztelera estandarren edo euskararen gramatikan bizidun/bizigabea ez dago kodeturik hirugarren pertsonan eta, ondorioz, oposaketa lehen eta bigarren pertsona (bizidunak) vs. hirugarren pertsonaren oposaketan agertzen da bakarrik. Mohawk-ek edo gaztelararen zenbait dialektu *leista*-k, berriz, hirugarren pertsonaren paradigmara ere zabaltzen dute ezberdintasuna. Baina orduan, mugimenduaren motorra eta arrazoia ezin daiteke Kasua izan ez eta, orokorkiago, tasun formalen erkaketa ere, baizik eta izaera semantikoagoa edota fonologikoagoa duten ezaugarri edo tasun batzuren ondorioa.

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ABSTRACT

Agreement, three perspectives (II): lack of absolutive agreement

The aim of this paper is to present evidence supporting our claim that the three-way agreement pattern in the Basque auxiliaries, the so-called NOR-NORI-NORK (absolutive-dative-ergative) paradigm, is in fact a NORI-NORK (dative-ergative) paradigm and does not trigger absolutive agreement with the direct object. Our proposal is based on the analysis of a well-known gap in the auxiliary paradigm, where the NOR-NORI-NORK combination is restricted to third person NOR (absolutive) arguments. This restriction is related to the more general Person-Case Constraint present in a large variety of languages containing rich agreement and clitic systems. The paper briefly presents some consequences of assuming that third person direct object arguments do not trigger (syntactic and morphological) agreement with the verbal complex.

Hustuketa: sintaxia eta pragmatika

Iñaki Amundarain Arana

Sarrera

Hustuketa edo *gapping* aipatzen denean ondorengo bezalako adibideez ari gara¹:

- (1) Tom has a pistol and Dick a sword.

Ross izan zen hauen analisi sintaktikoei bultzada eman ziena, eta jarraian agertzen zaiguna bezalako erregela baten ondorioztat zeuzkan (Ross 1970, 251):

«This rule operates to delete indefinitely many occurrences of a repeated main verb in a conjoined structure.»

Laster konturatu ziren ordea aditzaz gain beste zenbait elementu ere gera zitezkeela isilean. Bestalde, (1)-eko adibidean aditzik gabe eskuineko perpausa agertzen bada ere, zenbait hizkuntzatan ezkerrekoa agertu ohi da. Horrelakoen erakusgarri modura japonierako adibide bat ematen digu Ross-ek (1970, 251):

- (2) a) watakusi wa sakana o tabe, Biru wa gohan o tabeta
I (prt) fish (prt) eat, Bill (prt) rice (prt) ate
(I ate fish, and Bill ate rice)
b) watakusi wa sakana o , Biru wa gohan o tabeta
I (prt) fish (prt) , Bill (prt) rice (prt) ate
(I ate fish, and Bill ate rice)

Euskaraz bi eretako egiturak aurki litezkeen arren², hemen lehenengo motakoez jardungo dugu, eta dituzten ezaugarriez eta bete behar dituzten baldin-

¹ Lan hau burutzeko garaian Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Ikerlariak Prestatzeko Doktoareurreko beka baten laguntza izan nuen.

² Gastañagak (1977) mota bakoitzerako adibide hauek ematen zituen:

(i) Lindak ardaia edaten dau ta Anderrek esnea.

(ii) Lindak ardaia ta Anderrek esnea edaten dabez.

Amundarainek (1997) (ii) adibidea hustuketatzat hartzeak dakartzan arazoak agertzen ditu.

tzez hitz egingo dugu. 1. atalean, labur baino laburrago, hustuketaren berri emateko proposatu dituen analisi nagusiak agertuko ditugu: guztiak ere sintaxi soilean oinarritu dira, eta guk defendatuko dugu pragmatikak ere badauela zeresana. 2. atalean literaturan zehar hustuketa-egiturentzat aipatu izan diren ezaugarriak azalduko ditugu, eta horren ondoren, 3. atalean, ezaugarri horiek euskarako datuekin alderatuko ditugu, eta erakutsiko dugu literaturan egin den karakterizazioa zurrunegia dela: guk euskaraz bildutako datuetako asko ez datoz bat karakterizazio horrekin; gainera, ez da somatzen zer arrazoi sintaktiko izan litekeen baldintza horietako gehienen azpian, eta «ad hoc» gertatzen dira. Horren guztiaren ondorioz, 1. atalean agertutako analisisietako asko dauden daudenean desegokiak dira, eta hustuketa-egituren pragmatika ere kontuan izanik egindako ikuspegi bat proposatuko dugu 4. atalean.

1. Analisi desberdinak

1.1. Ezabaketa

Formulazio desberdinak izan diren arren, mailaren bateko berdintasunagatik bigarren perpauseko elementuak ezabatu egiten direla defendatzen du hurbilketa honek³.

- (3) Mikelek haragia jan du, eta Pellok arraina (jan du)

Beraz, parentesi artean dagoen hori ezabatu egingo litzateke.

1.2. Analisi interpretatiboa

Aurreko hurbilketaren beste aldea edo izango genuke⁴. Oinarrian nolabaiteko kategoria isilen bat egongo litzateke, eta kategoria isil hori aurreko elementuekiko nolabaiteko berdintasunaz berreskuratuko genuke:

- (4) Mikelek haragia jan du, eta Pellok arraina \emptyset

Autore desberdinek proposamen desberdinak egin dituzte kategoria isil horren izaeraz, berdintasunaren nozioaz eta berreskuratze-prozesuaz.

³ Gramatika sortzailearen tradizioan gehienek bide hau hartu dute. Esanguratsuenak aipatzearren: Ross 1970, Hankamer 1979, Neijt 1979, Sag 1980, Van Oirsouw 1987. Euskarari buruz zerbait esan dutenek ere bide hau erabili dute: Gastañaga 1977, Salaberri 1985, Eguzkitza 1986, Artiagoitia 1995.

⁴ Bide hau ere hizkuntzalari ugari hartu dute: Williams 1977, Wasow 1979, Brucart 1987.

1.3. *Osagaien juntadura*

Beste zenbait hizkuntzalari (Hudson 1976, Sobin 1982) hustuketa-egiturak perpaus-juntaduratzat hartzearen aurkako dira: beren ustez (5a) egitura (5b) bezalako batetik sortzen da.

- (5) a) Max prefers fish and Mary oysters.
b) Max and Mary prefer fish and oysters.

Beraz, hustuketa-egiturak osagai-juntaduretatik eratortzen dituzte, eta ez perpaus-juntaduretatik. Ondoren, ordena linealaren eta komunztaduraren berri emateko transformazio boteretsuak edo osagai ez-jarraikorrak proposatu beharrean gertatzen dira.

1.4. *Gramatika kategorialak*

Transformazioarik onartzen ez denez, hustuketa mota bereko osagaien juntadura dela aldarrikatzen dute, eta osagaiak, malguagoak, era desberdine-ra definitzen dira. Proposamen ugari izan dira. Steedman-ek (1990), esaterako, hustutako elementua beste elementuak uztartzen dituen operatzailetzat hartzen du. Era intuitibo batean:

- (6) Mikelek haragia jan du eta Pellok arraina.
Jan du [(Mikelek, haragia), (Pellok, arraina)]

Analisi honek dakarrena da nahitaezkoa dela hustutakoak uztartzen dituen elementu horiek guztizko paralelotasun sintaktikoa izatea.

1.5. *Hiru dimentsiotako analisiak*

Goodall-ena (1987) da lehenengo analisisia⁵. Perpaus markatzaileen nozio berriak erabiliz, proposatzen dute, elkar ez menderatzeaz gain, juntadurako elementuak ez daudela linealki ordenaturik, eta forma fonetikoko linearizazio-printzipio baten ondorioz sortzen direla hustuketa-egiturak:

- (7) John saw Bill, and Alice Tom
-

Hau da, juntagaiak maila berean eta ordenatu gabe egongo lirateke, eta hustuketa-egituretan linearizazio printzipio batek gero *Alice* eta *Tom* osa-

⁵ Beste analisi batzuk: Muadz 1991, Moltmann 1992.

gaiak (7)-n bezala ordenatuko lituzke. Horrela, juntadura guztiak batera biltzen dituzte, eta berriro ere guztizko paralelotasun sintaktikoaren hipotesiaren gainean eraikitzen dute beren analisia.

1.6. *Laburpena, eta pragmatikaren garrantzia*

Desberdintasunak agerikoak diren arren, hurbilketa hauek zenbait puntutan bat datoz⁶: guztiek ere egitura sintaktikoari bakarrik begiratzen diote, eta ia guztiek juntagailuz bi aldeetako sintaktikoki guztiz paraleloa —2.2.n aipatuko dugun zentzuan— delako ideiarekin lan egiten dute. Nire proposamena da ordea alderdi pragmatikoei jaramonik egin gabe ezin dela hustuketaren ikuspegi egokirik izan.

Nire aburuz, egitura pragmatikoari dagokionez, hustuketa-egituretan bi mintzagairi buruz oso pareko iruzkina egiten dugu, beti ere iruzkin horiek elkarrean aurrean jarritako galdegaiak dituztelarik. (Z)-n agertzen dena bezako egitura pragmatikoa izango lukete:

- (Z) Mikelen amak sei liburu oparitu zizkidan, eta nire aitonak mendiko botak $\emptyset \emptyset$
mintzagaia galdegaia mintzagaia' galdegaia'
iruzkina iruzkina'

Honela, nire iritiz hustuketa-egiturak karakterizatzeko erarik egokiena beren baldintza pragmatikoetatik abiatu eta gero baldintza pragmatiko horiek sintaktikoki nola adierazten diren begiratzea da. Lehen aipatu ditugun proposamenek ordea ez zuten alderdi pragmatikoa aintzat hartzen, eta horren ondorioz hustuketaren ezaugarrien berri emateko egin diren aldarrikapenak askorekin arazoak sortuko zaizkigu, nik bi alderditan banatuko ditudanak: batetik, motibazio sintaktikorik gabeko aldarrikapenak eta baldintzak dira, «ad hoc» suertatzen direnak; bestetik, baldintza pragmatikoak aldatzen hasten garenean, aldarrikapen horiei jaramonik egiten ez dieten adibideak erraz aurkitzen dira. Horrela, lehenik literaturan egitura-mota honi lotu izan zaizkion ezaugarri nagusientsuenak agertuko ditut, eta 3. atalean, euskarako da-tuetatik abiatuz, aldarrikapen horien desegokitasuna azaltzen saiatuko naiz, gero 4. atalean nire ikuspegia agertzeko.

2. Hustuketaren ezaugarriez

Hustuketari buruzko analisiak egin direnean egitura hauei ezaugarri jakin batzuk egotzi zaizkie. Atal honetan ezaugarri horiei buruz literaturan egin diren aldarrikapenik hedatuena agertuko ditugu.

⁶ Beste zenbait hurbilketa: GPSG-en bidetik eginak (Sag eta beste 1985), dependentzien gramatikenak (Hudson 1989), egitura kontzeptualean oinarrituak (Nishioka 1992).

2.1. *Hustuketa juntaduran*

Hustuketa beti juntaduraren esparruan aztertu izan da; menperakuntzaren alorrean ezin da hustuketa egin (Hankamer 1979, 18):

- (8) *Alfonse stole the emeralds because Mugsy the pearls.

Esanahia berreskuratzeko mekanismoak perpaus-gramatikakoak edo perpaus-gramatikaz kanpokoak diren eztabaidatu da, baina orokorrean perpaus-juntadurakoa balitz bezala jokatu dute ikerlariek.

2.2. *Hondakinak*

Hondakinei (remnant) buruzko baldintzak ere aipatu izan dira. Aldarrikatu da hustuketadun perpaus-agerian geratzen diren elementuek kopuru mugatua izaten dutela: gehienetan bi bakarrik izaten dira eta bi horietako bat subjektua izan ohi da; hiru badira, AS-ren barnean subkategorizatu gabeko elementua beharko du izan hirugarrenak (Jackendoff 1971):

- (9) *?Willy put the flowers in a vase, and Charlie the book on a table.

Hizkuntza desberdinetarako aukera parametrikokoak aipatu dira (Neijt 1979), baina ideia hori ez da garatu, eta bereziki ez zaio motibaziorik aurkitu (Rooryck 1985).

2.3. *Paralelotasuna*

Literaturan zehar behin eta berriz aipatu izan da hustuketa-egituretan parte hartzen duten perpaus-egiturek paraleloak izan behar dutela. Honako hau dio Sag-ek (1980, 192):

«Gapping remnants must also, in some poorly understood sense, be parallel to corresponding elements in the left conjunct.»

Hizkuntzalari guztien lanetan aurkitzen ditugu eskakizun horren aztarnak. Orokorren bi eratara ulertu da:

a) Hustutako perpaus-egiturek hondakinek kategoria bereko kidea behar dute perpaus osoan (Hankamer 1979, 23):

- (10) a) Marvin stole with caution and Harry stole diamonds.
b) *Marvin stole with caution and Harry diamonds.

Baldintza hori (11)-ren bidez adieraz liteke:

- (11) ez---> A B C D E F G eta A' H

A'-k badu ezkerreko perpaus-egituren mota bereko elementu bat (A), baina H-k ez du parekorik, eta orduan ezin da hustuketa egin.

b) Eskuineko perpausean agerian dauden elementu guztiek beren kidea dute ezkerreko perpausean, eta ezkerreko perpauseko elementuen artetik eskuinekoan kiderik ez dutenak nahitaez ulertu behar dira eskuinekoan, agerian baleude bezala interpretatu. Alegia, (12) bezalako zerbait behar dela:

(12) R S T Aditza U X Y Z eta R' [S T aditza U X Y] Z'

2.4. *Ezeztapena*

Ezezko perpausetan hustuketa egin nahian hasten garenean gauzak asko korapilatzen dira. Honi buruzko lehen aipamena Ross-ek berak (1970, 250) egiten du:

- (13) a). I didn't eat fish, Bill didn't eat rice, and Harry didn't eat rosat beef.
b) * I didn't eat fish, Bill rice, and Harry roast beef.

Jokaera honen zergatia ez da garbi ikusten (Sag 1980, 195): «This is a curious property of Gapping which remains misterious».

2.5. *Anbiguotasuna*

Aldarrikatu izan da anbiguo izan litezkeen adibideetako batzuek zenbait irakurketa eragotzita dituztela. Adibidez, (14a)-k teorian (14b) eta (14c) irakurketak izan zitzakeen, baina (14c) ez omen da zuzena:

- (14) a) Bill expects Harry to find the way to the party, and Sue to find the way home.
b) Bill expects Harry to find the way to the party, and (Bill expects) Sue to find the way home.
c) *Bill expects Harry to find the way to the party, and Sue (expects Harry) to find the way home.

Hori esplikatzeko baldintza bereziak proposatu izan dira. Hankamer-ek (1973), esaterako, zioen bi deribazio posible genituenean, hutsunea ezkerrean zuena bakarrik onartzen zela. Horregatik, (14c) ez da zuzena izango⁷. Baldintza horren, eta azken batean jokaera osoaren zergatia ez zen ikusten.

3. **Hustuketa euskaraz**

Orain bildu ditugun puntu hauetako zenbaiti buruz eztabaidak izan diren arren, hustuketa-egiturek ezaugarri horiek balituzte bezala jokatu dute lan gehienek. Euskarazko hustuketa-egiturei begiratzean ordea segituan ohartzen

⁷ Proposamen ugari egin dira: Langendoen 1975, Stillings 1975, Kuno 1976, Thráinsson 1975, Jake 1977.

gara aurreko atalean azaldu ditugun literaturako aldarrikapenak ezin direla inolaz ere mantendu.

3.1. *Hustuketa juntaduratik at*

Literaturan esan denaren aurka, hustuketa-egiturak juntaduratik kanpora ere aurki litezke. Adibidez, diskurtsoan lehenago eman den perpaus batekiko berdintasuna dagoenean:

- (15) «Nire bi langile-lagunak kanpoan izan dira abuztuan. *Mikel Nepal-era joan da*, baina ez du espero zuenik aurkitu. *Ez da harritzekoa, udan Nepal aldea turistaz bete* *egoten da eta*. *Joxe berriz Indiara*, eta askoz errazago izan zaio bertako kulturaren murgiltzea.»

Letra etzana duen bigarren perpausa letra etzana duen lehenera joz interpretatzen dugu. Baina bi perpaus horiek ez daude koordinaturik. Tartean guztiz askea den perpaus bat daukagu, azpimarratutako perpausa. Eta hitzun gehienek horrelakoak ontzat ematen dituzte. Badirudi, hortaz, perpaus gramatikatik at joan behar dugula esanahia lortzeko. *Berriz* aurkaritzako lokailuak zeregin horretan laguntzen du. Euskarari buruzko lanetan ere aurkitu dugu era honetako adibiderik (Altuna 1986, 72):

- (16) «Etxeparek aitzitik *baietare* dio zazpi bertsotan: (...). *Bai* soilik ere erabiltzen du, kopulatibo gisa noski, baina hori geroko beste kapitulu bati dagokio eta han aztertuko dugu, lehen *ez bezala*. *Ere gabe bai eta, Leizarragak bezala, inoiz ez*. *5. Axularrek ere ez behin ere*: ez *ere* duela eta ez *ere* gabe. (...). Darabilten beste autoreen artean aipamen berezia (...)»

Azpimarratutako bi zatietan *erabili* aditza ulertu behar dugu, baina zuzeneko juntadurarik ez dago.

Nolanahi ere, horrelako adibideek baldintza nahikoa zorrotzak jarraitu behar dituzte, ezin dira edozein diskurtso zatitan nolanahi agertu. Perpaus osoaren eta hustuketadunaren arteko distantzia handiak zaildu egiten ditu era honetako adibideak. Baina hori baino garrantzitsuagoa, bi perpausen arteko erlazio berezi bat behar dela dirudi: emendioaren eta banakaritzaren ideiek garrantzi handia dute, eta pragmatikaren aldetik hustuketadun juntaduren antzekoak dira, bi mintzagai desberdini buruz pareko iruzkinak egiten dira, galdegaia desberdina delarik. Azken puntu honetan dirudi gainera dagoela horrelakoen onargarritasunaren munita: hustuketa izateko pragmatikaren aldetik guztiz paraleloak diren bi perpaus behar ditugu. Bi perpaus horiek gehienez sintaktikoki juntaturik egongo dira, baina ikusten dugu hustuketa-egiturek perpausaren mugetatik kanpora ere begira dezaketela esanahia lortzeko, baldin baldintza pragmatikoak egoki betetzen badira. Literaturan ez dira kontuan izan era honetako adibideak, eta hustuketaren berri osagai-juntaduraren bidez edo gramatika kategorialak edo hiru dimentsiotako analisiak erabiliz eman nahi dutenek ezin dute honen berri eman.

3.2. *Hondakinak*

Literaturako lan gehienek esan dutenaren aurka, euskaraz behintzat ez dago arazo handirik bi hondakin baino gehiago izateko, eta ezta subjektua bigarren perpausean isilean uzteko edo AS-ren barnean aditzak subkategorizatutako bi elementu izateko ere:

- (17) Joxeri Donostian bi liburu oparitu nizkion, eta Mireni Baionan diska bat.

Hustuketako bi hondakinetako bat hori subjektua ez baino mintzagaia dela esaten badugu euskarazko adibidea askoz egokiago esplikatzen da, eta ingelesez gertatzen denaren berri ere eman ahal izango dugu: erabili diren adibide gehienak inolako testuingururik gabe emanak dira, eta horrelakoetan joera oso bortitza da mintzagaitzat subjektua hartzeko; dena den, baldintza pragmatiko eta hitzordena egokiekin beste edozein elementu ere izan liteke mintzagai. Eta bestalde, literaturan normalean topikalizatutako eta fokalizatutako elementu bana izan ohi direnez, adibiderik gehienetan bi hondakin bakarrik izango ditugu, baina ez da nahitaezkoa.

3.3. *Paralelismo sintaktikorik eza*

Literaturan guztizko paralelismo sintaktikoaren inguruan nabarmendu ditugun bi aldeetan ere aurkako datuak aurki litezke. Batetik, hustuketa-egituretan kategoria, funtzio sintaktiko nahiz nozio semantiko desberdineko elementuak jar litezke aurrez-aurre, baldin pragmatikoki erlazioa badaitezke. (18) eta (19)-n garbi ikusten da hori: (18)-n posposizio sintagma bat eta osagarri zuzena daude aurrez aurre, eta hiztun gehienek ez dute arazorik ontzat emateko (Joxek eta Mirenek biek ere asko gastatzen dutela nabarmendu nahian erabilia):

- (18) Asteburuetan Joxek *izugarri leku garestietan* jaten du, eta Mirenek *janari harriki finak*.

(19)-n bi posposizio sintagma, baina azpiko nozio semantiko desberdinekoak:

- (19) Osasunak *Sevillaren aurka* jokatu du igandean, eta Errealak *Nou Camp-en*.

Beraz, egia da normalean kategoria, funtzio sintaktiko eta nozio semantiko bereko elementuak aurkituko ditugula, baina hustuketa-egiturek bete behar dituzten eskakizun pragmatikoak egoki betez gero bestelako adibideak ere aurki litezke. Bestalde, gerta liteke eskuineko perpausako elementu batek ezkerrekoan kiderik ez izatea:

- (20) Nik hiru aldizkari erosi ditut, eta Pellok *bere semeari* liburu bat.

Eta ezkerreko perpauseko elementu guztiak ez dira nahitaez hustutako perpausean ulertu behar:

«Mirenek uztailean lan egiten duenez atzo atera zuen abuzturako abioi-txartela, eta dagoeneko esan liteke erabakita daukagula oporretan Euskal Herritik ateratzea. *Zorte apur bat badut ni uztailean* Irlandara joango naiz, eta Miren Guatemalara».

Pasarte honetan ez dut uste nahitaezkoa denik Miren Guatemalara *uztai-lean* eta *zorte apur bat badu* joango dela ulertzea.

Datu hauek guztiak kontuan izanik, ikusten dugu literaturan zehar nahitaezkotzat jo den perpausen arteko egitura sintaktikoko paralelotasuna —berdintasuna— ez dela hustuketa-egituren eskakizunetako bat: egia da hustuketa-egiturak paraleloak direla, baina paralelotasun hori oinarrian pragmatikoa da, mintzagai-egiturakoa. Paralelotasun pragmatiko horrek guztiz gehienetan sintaxi-egiturako paralelotasuna ekartzen du, sintaxiaren bidez adierazten baita, baina beharrezko den paralelotasun pragmatiko horri erasaten ez dion heinean zilegi da bi perpausen artean guztizko berdintasun sintaktikorik ez izatea. Horrek arazo larriak sortzen dizkie perpausen arteko guztizko paralelotasun sintaktikoaren gainean eraikirik dauden analisi guztiei.

3.4. *Hustuketa ezezkoetan*

Literaturan aipatu izan da, salbuespen batzuk kenduta⁸, ezezko perpausetan hustuketa ez dela zilegi. Euskaraz ere testuingururik gabe eta ordena neutroarekin emandako adibideetan normalean perpaus okerrak lortzen dira. Begira (21)-i:

(21) *Jonek ez du arraina jan, eta Pellok haragia.

Baina hori nire ustez desegokitasun pragmatikoaren ondorio da, ez da berez baldintza sintaktikoa: izan ere, lehenengo perpausean ezezkotasuna izango genuke galdegaia, bigarrenean objektua, eta bi elementu horiek ezin dira pragmatikoki egoki erlazionatu.

Ezezko perpausen baldintza sintaktikoei begiratzeak auzia bere osotasunean hobeto ulertzen laguntzen digu. Horrela, (21)-en ezeztapena bera genuen galdegai, baina Oihartzabalek (1985) agertzen duen bezala, bada ezezkoen artean beste mota bat, berak «zati-ezeztapendun» deitzen dituenena: perpaus horietan asertzio positiboa daukagu, eta ezezkoa alde aurretik emana delarik, ezezko horri dagokion osagaia da galdegai bakarra. Begira (22)-ri:

(22) Pellori zer ez zaio gustatzen? Pellori **arraina** ez zaio gustatzen.

⁸ Salbuespen horiek Siegel (1984) eta Authier-en (1990) lanetan zehazten dira.

Arraina izango genuke galdegai bakarra. Horrelako perpausetan, bada, zilegi da hustuketa:

- (23) Pellori **arraina** ez zaio gustatzen, eta Mireni **haragia**.

Eta ildo beretik jarraituz, ezeztapena perpaus osoari dagokion adibideetan (hau da, (21) bezalakoetan), eskuineko perpausuan ezkerreko galdegaiari (alegia, ezeztapenari) gogor egingo dion galdegai egoki bat badugu adibidea zuzena izango da. Hori gertatzen da (24)-n:

- (24) Olanok ez du Espainiako itzulia irabali, baina Indurainek Frantziakoa bai.

Beraz, euskararen datuei begiraturaz bederen literaturan ezezko perpausuetan hustuketa egitearen aurka eman den debekua ezin izango litzateke inolaz ere mantendu. Behin gehiago, berez baldintza pragmatikoa dena baldintza sintaktiko modura interpretatu da literaturan, baina ikusten dugu hustuketa egituren eskakizun pragmatikoak betetzen direnean debeku sintaktiko hori zentzurik gabea suertatzen dela.

Gainera, ezeztapendun eta baieztapendun adibideekin ari garelarik, bada *Verb Phrase Deletion* deitutako fenomeno bat hustuketatik nahikoa hurbil dagoena, baina zenbait ezaugarritan alden du egiten dena:

- (25) John doesn't speak Basque, but Peter does.

Euskaraz ere badira paretsukoak, ezeztapena eta baieztapena agerian izan ohi dituztenak:

- (26) a) Jon ez da mendira joan, eta Miren ere ez.
b) Jon mendira joan da, eta Miren ere bai.

Ni ordea era honetako adibideak hustuketarekin batera biltzearen aldekoa naiz, eta uste dut (24) bezalakoekin erlazionatu beharko genituzkeela. Hustuketa-egiturei buruz esan dugu bi mintzagairi buruzko pareko iruzkina dugula, beti ere galdegaiak kontrajarriak direlarik. (26) bezalakoetan eskuineko perpausuko hondakina mintzagaitzat hartzen dugu, eta mintzagai horri buruzko iruzkina ezkerreko perpausuan eman den bera da, horregatik agertzen da *bai* adberbioa baieztakoetan eta *ez* ezezkoetan. Hori da desberdintasun bakarra. Gainerakoan antzerako jokaera dute. Adibidez, hustuketan bezalaxe hauetan ere bigarren perpausuan agerian geratzen den elementua edozein izan liteke:

- (27) a) Parisen Joxek lagun onak ditu, eta Erroman ere bai.
b) Datorren urtean Atxaga ohorezko asteasuar izendatuko dute, eta Lope-tegi ere bai.

Era honetako adibideak *Aditz Sintagmaren Ezabaketa* deiturapean bildutako egitura bereziak bagenitu, sarritxotan beren deiturari men egin ezinik geratuko lirateke. Beraz, laburpen modura, ezezko perpausekin ere izan ditzakegu hustuketa-egiturak, eta ingeleseko *Verb Phrase Deletion*-en tankera-koak euskaraz hustuketarekin batera bildu behar dira.

3.5. *Anbiguotasuna eta mugimendua*

Euskaraz ez da ikusten anbiguotasunen aurka inolako debeku berezirik: (28a) perpausak (28b) eta (28c) interpretazioak izan ditzake:

- (28) a) Gobernuak esan du ekonomiak gora egin duela, eta oposizioak behera.
 b) Gobernuak esan du ekonomiak gora egin duela, eta (gobernuak esan du) oposizioak behera (egin duela).
 c) Gobernuak esan du ekonomiak gora egin duela, eta oposizioak (esan du ekonomiak) behera behera (egin duela).

Egia da berriro ere irakurketarik ohikoena hutsunea ezker muturrean duena dela, baina nire ustez sintaxiarekin zerikusirik ez duten zenbait faktorek izan lezake hor eragina: a) eskuineko perpausa azkena emandako osagairekin juntatzeko joera; b) lehenengo perpausaren subjektu nagusia informazio zahartzat hartzeko joera. Hortaz, Hankamerrena bezalako debekuek ez lukete zentzurik izango.

Badira ordea zenbait adibide irakurketetako bat eragotzia dutenak. Begirara (29)-ri:

- (29) a) Mikel damutu zen Pello **mendian** ikustean, eta Josu hondartzan.
 b) Mikel damutu zen Pello **mendian** ikustean, eta (Mikel damutu zen) Josu hondartzan (ikustean).
 c) *Mikel damutu zen Pello **mendian** ikustean, eta Josu (damutu zen Mikel) hondartzan (ikustean).

Itxura batean aurrekoaren oso parekoa da, baina (29c)-ko irakurketa debekaturik dago. Dena den, arrazoa ez doa Hankamer-ek proposatutako bide-tik: badirudi hondakinen artean egiturazko distantzia jakin bat behar dela, eta distantzia hori baino handiagoa dagoenean adibideak okerrak suertatzen direla. Horrela, ohartzen gara NZ hitzek mugimendurako zeharka dezaketen distantzia ((a) adibideak) eta hustuketako hondakinen artean ((b) adibideak) dagoena berbera dela. Gramatikaltasun-irritziak ere pearn doaz:

- (30) a) Zer erosi du Joxek?
 b) Nik katua erosi dut, eta zuk zakurra.
- (31) a) Non gustatzen zaio Joni erosketak egitea?
 b) Joni erosketak Mamut-en egitea gustatzen zaio, eta Mireni Eroskin.

baina...

- (32) a) *Nork irakurri dut t idatzitako liburua?
 b) *Nik Kunderak idatzitako liburua irakurri dut, eta Mirenek Atxagak.
- (33) a) *Zer aldegin zuen Mirenek t ikusi ondoren?
 b) *Mirenek aurkezpena ikusi ondoren aldegin zuen, eta Joxek ekitaldi nagusiak.

Azken batean hau guztia orain arte erabili dugun ikuspegiarekin oso ondo dator: euskaraz informazio pragmatikoa sintaktikoki era jakin batera adierazi ohi da, eta horretarako sintaxi-egituran kokagune eta mekanismo bereziak proposatu dira. Mintzagaiari zer tratamendu eman ez dago argi, baina fokalizatutako elementuei dagokienez guztiak bat datoz mugimendua egon dela onartzean. Hustuketan ere horrelako zerbait badela sinestera bultzatzen gaituzte orain arteko datuek: hondakinetakoa bat ezkerreko perpauseko galdegaiari kontrajarri behar zaio, berau ere galdegai delarik; fokalizazioa eta NZ-hitzen mugimendua egiturazko distantzia jakin baten arabera bakarrik egin litezke, eta gauza bera gertatzen da hustuketan ere, (30)-etik (33)-rako adibideetan ikusi dugunez.

4. Ondorioak

1. atalean hustuketa-egituren berri emateko hainbat analisi eman ditugu. Esan dugu guztiak ere sintaxi-egitura soilari bakarrik begiratzen diotela. Haietako zenbait egitura sintaktikoko guztizko paralelotasunaren gainean eraikirik daudenez, hemen erabili ditugun adibideetako asko ezin dituzte esplikatu. Berdin gertatzen zen esanahia lortzeko perpausaren mugetatik kanpora begiratzen zuen hustuketari zegokionez ere. Hustuketa-egituren alderdi pragmatikoaren garrantzia nabarmendu ondoren eta euskaraz hustuketak nolako jokaera duen agertu ostean, badirudi ezabaketaren analisisia eta analisi interpretatiboak direla errazen egokitu litezkeenak. Bien artean hautatzeko berriz ondorengo bezalako adibideek lagun diezagukete:

- (34) Nik gehienetan galdu egiten dut, eta zuk irabazi.

Hustuketan fokalizazioa dagoela onartzen badugu, Ortiz de Urbinak (1989) aditzaren fokalizaziorako egiten duen analisiari jarraituz *irabazi* mugitu ondorenekoa besterik ezin liteke izan. Beraz, hustuketan mugimenduaren ondorengo ezabaketa izango genuke: hondakinetakoa bat edo batzuk mintzagai izango genituzke, eta mintzagaiei orotara ematen zaien tratamendu bera eman beharko litzaieke, ziurrenera perpauseko beste elementu guztiak baino goragotik zintzilikatuta; galdegai modura ulertzen dugun hondakinak fokalizatutako elementuek eta NZ-hitzen bezalako mugimendua izango luke; gaineratiko elementuak, lehenengo perpauseko elementuekiko berdintasunez

ezabatu egingo lirateke. Era honetan, hustuketa egituren ezaugarri pragmatikoak eta debeku sintaktikoak uztartu ahal izango genituzke, eta literaturan proposatu diren debeku berezietara (sintaxiaren aldetik «ad hoc» direnak, eta ikusi dugun bezala okerrak) jo ordez hustuketaren ezaugarri orokorren arabera esplikatu ahal izango genituzke datuak.

Badira, gainera, zenbait adibide oraindik garbiago erakusten dutenak hustuketa-egiturak karakterizatzeko lehenengo beren alderdi pragmatikotik abiatu behar dela, eta gero mintzagai-galdegai horiek sintaktikoki nola adierazten diren begiratu. Esaterako, orain arteko adibideetan galdegaia fokalizatutako elementu bakarra izan dugu, baina Osak (1990) adierazten du, euskaraz elementu bat baino gehiago ere izan litezkeela perpaus bateko galdegai, nahiz praktikan era honetako galdegai konplexuak asko izaten ez diren. (35) perpausaren azpimarratutako guztia izango genuke bere aburuz galdegai:

(35) Aitak ez du untzia leihotik aurdiki, untzikoa atetik baizik.

Aukera bera dugu hustuketan ere:

(36) Joko olinpikoetarako txartela lortu dugu Mirenek eta nik: *nik*_(mintz) atzo
Bartzelonan_(gald) lortu nuen marka, eta *Mirenek*_(mintz) gaur Parisen_(gald)

Horrelakoei hustuketatik kanpora ere eman beharreko tratamendu sintaktikoa zein den ez dago garbi, baina hustuketaren ikuspegi egoki bat izateko egitura sintaktiko soilaz gain alderdi pragmatikoa ere oso kontuan izan behar dela erakusten digute⁹.

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⁹ Amaitzeko, gogorazi nahi nuke Mitxelena bera izan zela perpausaren alderdi sintaktikoei eta pragmatikoei dituzten erlazioak aztertzen lehenetako bat euskal hizkuntzalaritzaren alorrean, 1981ean Deustuko Unibertsitateak argitaratu zuen «Mintzagaia eta galdegaia euskaraz» artikulua bidez. Bere lanaren ikuspegi zabalaren erakusgarri bat gehiago.

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ABSTRACT

Gapping: syntax and pragmatics

Gapping structures have been taken as a conjunction of two (or more) clauses, one full and the rest with the verb and possibly some more constituents elided, leaving as remnants the subject and one nonverbal element of the predicate. It has been posited in the literature that these constructions need to be syntactically parallel, and have to meet certain conditions: number of constituents left behind, strict syntactic parallelism between the elements in both conjuncts, gapping disallowed in negative sentences, examples of unacceptable ambiguity... But all these conditions were «ad hoc» and had no syntactic justification. In our analysis of gapping structures, we claim that gapping must be characterized in terms of pragmatic information. This way, gapping structures would be highly parallel and contrastive structures, where we have two topics in contrast, and about those contrasting topics we make very similar comments or rhemes. The second rheme has a focus that contrasts with the focus of the previous sentence, and the repeated material is left unrealized. This characterization in terms of pragmatic structure (with its reflex in the syntactic structure) explains more satisfactorily the behaviour of the Basque gapping structures: when the pragmatic conditions required for gapping (and the derived conditions of syntactic structure) are met, we find perfectly acceptable counterexamples to the constraints and conditions posited in the literature, and the grammaticality judgements of the Basque data are well justified, without «ad hoc» conditions.

Isoglosen aldaketa Nafarroako hainbat hizkeratan

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Jakina denez, isoglosa bat da ezaugarri linguistiko baten muga neurtzeko lanabesik hoberena. Baina isoglosak ez dira irmoak ezta finkoak ere, aitzitik, mugitzen dira hizkuntza bezala, etengabeko aldaketan daude. Hau dela eta, diakronian zehar isoglosa berriak sor edota desagertu daitezke.

Hauxe da gure lan honen helburua, testuetan oinarrituz aztertu nahi dugu epe zehatz batean —mende bat gutxi gora-behera kasu gehienetan— zein ezaugarri galdu, zein sortu eta aldaketa hauek gradualak edo bapatekoak izan diren. Azkenik, ahal den heinean, aldaketa hauen arrazoietan sakontzen ahal izango gara.

Egia da guk ez dugula ingelesek dialektologia historikorako duten aberastasuna testu zeharren sailan, Caminok dioen bezala: «ez gaude usaturik dialektologi alderaketak egitera».

Esan bezala, lan honetarako testuak baliatzen ditugu, testuen lekukotasun zaharrarekin jolasten ari gara, eta hartaz, huts egiteko arriskua dugu. Izan ere informazioa beti partziala da, dokumentuek ez dutelako beti hizkuntz mintzatua islatzen, eta gauza anitz izkuta ditzaketelako, besteak beste, idatzi zuenaren jarrera.

Baina, bestaldetik, garai hartako informazio bakarra da, eta dialektologia historikoa egin nahi badugu eta euskalkien nolakotasuna zein den eta zein izan den jakin nahi izanez gero, testuetan oinarritu behar dugu. Gutxi dira testuak, baina, honekin jokatu behar ezinbestez. Saiatu gara, dena dela, toponimiaren bidez lortu dokumentazio zaharrarekin osatzen, gutxienez, iturri bat baino gehiago izateko.

Honetarako goinafarrera barneko bi hizkera hartuko ditugu ikergai —Erroi-barkoa eta Ultzamakoa— eta hauetaz dakigun diakronia, alegia, mende batekoa, gutxi-gora behera, testuen bidez aztertuta, gaurko hizkerarekin parekatu nahi izan dugu.

Gainera, horrela, hizkuntz datuen azterketa soilarekin ez gara gelditzen. Jakin badakigu arriskutsua dela eragile extralinguistikoen bidetik abiatzea,

baina honetan saiatzen gara, nahiz badakigun anitzetan espekulatibo xamar gerta daitezkeen, datuek interpretazio bat baino gehiago izan ditzaketelako. Nolanahi dela ere arrazoiak bilatzen saiatzen gara eta zein eragile dagoen isoglosen aldaketaren atzean ematen ditugu. Izan ere, gure ustez, diakroniaren garrantzia ukaezina da, eta ikuspegi hau landu behar da dialektoen irudi osoa-goa eta egiazkoagoa izan nahi badugu.

Erroko testu batzuk Satrustegiren 1987 urteko liburuan agertzen dira. Eskuizkribuak XIX. mendekoak dira, zehazki ez dakigu zein urtetakoak, (18...) agertzen baita idatzirik. Hauetaz gain, bada herri honetako beste eskuizkribu bat iragan mendeko mende bukaerakoa edo (ik. Ibarra 1997).

Ultzamako testuez den bezainbatean, iragan mende bukaerakoak eta honen hasierakoak dira erabilitako bi dotrina (ik. Ibarra 1992). Garai berekoa da Makirriaingo (Olaibar) dotrina ere (ik. Díez de Ulzurrun 1960). Horrezaz gain, Xuarbeko iragan mendeko beste batzuk erabili ditugu (ik. Satrustegi 1995), baina ez argitaratutako guztiak. Izan ere, Larraintzarko parrokiaren aurtitutako batzuk ez dira fidagarriak, Unanuko ezaugarri pila erakusten baitute. Azkenik Etsain (Anue) herriaren aurkitu batzuk ere —uste XIX. mendekoak direnak— kontuan hartu ditugu (ik. Goldáraz 1995).

Diakroniaren epeari dagokionez, belaunaldi bat omen da hoberena lan baten esparru gisa hartzeko Fisiak-en arabera (1985: 264), eta tarte hauxe da kasu askotan erabiliko duguna, beti ere fenomenoei data zehatza ematen saiatuz.

Isoglosen aldaketaren arrazoiak adstrato baten eraginez azal daitezke, askotan mugimendu hauek kanpoko eraginaren bidez motibatuak dira, eta horregatik ezin dira ulertu kanpoko elementuei erreferentzia egin gabe. Gainera dezadan, batzuetan, euskalkiaren beraren barne joerak direla eragileak eta besteetan prestijioaren eraginaren ondorioak.

Izan ere, ezaugarri linguistikoak ez dira nolnahi barreiatzen, aldiz, baldintza egokiak ematen zaizkie zabaltzeko. Honela bada, beste hizkera batzuetako hitzunek bereak egiten dituzte hizketa-ohitura ezberdinak pixkanaka beren gain hartuz. Gainera, aldaera batak bestea ordezkatu baino lehen, aldi luze batean bien koexistentzia gertatu dela erakusten digute dialektologia-azterketek.

Forma baten egokitzapena sortzen da hizkuntz aldaketak gertatzen direnean hizketen ukipenaren ondorioz. Kasu hauetan, tradizionalki norma ezberdinak dituzten hiztunak ukipenean sartzen dira, eta beren ezaugarriak baztertu eta bestearenak bereak egiten dituzte.

Honen ondorioz, eremu bateko berezko norma tradizionalak erabiltzeari uzten zaio, eta lehenago bi hizkera horiek markatzen zuten diferentzia —beren artean desberdinak egiten zituena— orain desagertzen da. Honenbestez, isoglosa batek ezabatzeko edo mugitzeko joera izan dezake.

Askotan, isoglosa baten aldaketa agerian geratzen da adin ezberdinetako hiztunak hartuz. Horrela, berrikuntzen hedapenak zein nolakoa izan den inplikatzeko du adin ezberdineko jendearen hizketa ikertzea. Gainera, hizkuntz

aldaketa baten ikerketa egin nahi badugu, aldaketak izan diren eta hauen norabidea zein izan den jakiteko medoto bat da hiztun-erkideko bat aztertzea eta hogeit urte ondoren, ikerketa errepikatzea.

Gure kasuan, behialako dokumentuez gain, kasu batzuetan hiztun zahar eta gazteagokoen lekukotasunekin jokatu dugu, idatzizko datuen aberasgarri. Gure azterketa hurrengo ezaugarriotan oinarrituko da.

Honelako eskema laburtzen du Shouten eta Pieter van Reenek (1989: 136) isoglosen mugimenduari buruz hiru epe aintzat hartuz. Honen bidez argi ikusten da nola izan daitezkeen isoglosen inguruko posibilitate guztiak:

1. epea	2. epea	isoglosa
1. graduzko diferentzia	> graduzko diferentzia	> ez dago isoglosarik
2. bapateko diferentzia	> bapateko diferentzia	> iraunkorra
3. graduzko diferentzia	> bapateko diferentzia	> isoglosa sortzen
4. bapateko diferentzia	> graduzko diferentzia	> isoglosa ezabatzen

1. Osagarri zuzena genitiboan

Erroko izkribuetan izen sintagmak absolutibo markaren ordez, genitiboarena eraman ohi du. Ekialdeko eta goinafarrera hegoaldekoaren euskalkien ezaugarria den hau, honeraino hedatzen zen ikus dezakegunez. Egun, ordea, oso kasu gutxitan mantentzen da.

Genitiboaren isoglosa *bait*-aurrizkiaren pareko zen, goinafarrera eta iparraldeko euskalkiak hartuz. Euskarak, honenbestez aukera bikoitza egin zuen —absolutibo zein genitibo— eta gerora, mendebaldeko euskalkietan absolutiboa eta ekialdekoetan genitiboa nagusitu zen.

Morfema hau onartzen duten nominalizazioak honakoak dira: *-tzera*, *-tzeko*, *-tzeagatik* izenordainei ere aplikatzen zaie delako genitibo hau. Erroko XIX. mendeko testuetan barra-barra agertzen dira honako adibideak. Hona hemen:

manchan borratceco, ofendituen aplacatceco, aien quentceco, becatari gucien salbacera, enorabuenain ematera, zure alabacera, llaguen untacera, gure erremediacera, salvacioaren conseguiceco, vecatarien salvaceagatic, magestaile sanduaren recibiceco (Ik. Ibarra 1997: 278).

Gaur egun, Erroibarren ordu luzeak egon ondoren, morfema honen erabileraren testigatu dugu, baina, ez maiztasun handiz. Hona adibideak: *astoin kar-gatzera*, *agoain ziletzeko*, *trago baten eitera*, *udein pastera* eta Picabeak (1985: 232) bildu hauek: *...eta afal aitzinean yoaten naiz aiden ikustera*.

Dakikegunez, ezaugarri honen atzerapena ez da hizkera honetan bakarrik gertatzen, ultzameraz —GN iparraldekoan— antzeko zerbait gertatu baita. Azterturiko dotrinetan *-ren* genitiboa usu agertzen zen: *torriko dela illen ta bizien*

juzguetzera. Arren itcultcera. Arren errecibitceco. Txandaketak izan arren, doctrina berean *illec ta vicieci juzguetzera* agertzen baitzen (Ik. Ibarra 1992).

Berebat gertatzen zen Xuarbeko testuetan, hauetan honakoak eriden ditugu (Satrustegi 1995: 530, 531, 527): *janarien jaterra. Confesio onaren egoteco. Magestadearen alabanecetan. Gorpuzaren pintacen.* Ekialderagoko eremuetan —Etsaingo (Anue) testuetan ere— opatu ditugu honelakoak: *burla oyen adicen, pena oyen esplicaceco* (Goldáraz 1995: 372, 373)¹.

Egun, ordea, Ultzamako hizkera honetan genitiboaren erabilpena ia erabat galdu dela baieztatu dezakegu, izan ere ordu luzeetako grabaketak egin ondoren, batean edo bitan agertu zitzaigun forma hau Beuntzan: *nere erriko autoan ikustera* eta Alkotzen: *bei baten eroatera*.

Datu hauek guztiak kontuan harturik, ezaugarri honen galera azken urte honetan gertatu dela esan dezakegu. Areago oraindik, urte batzuren buruan, ziurrenik, erabat desagertuko dela uste dugu. Atzeraketa graduala edo maiztasuneko da, gaur kasu bakan batzuetan entzuten baita.

2. Ergatibo pluralaren: -ek/-ak

Erroibarren ditugun behialako datuak aztertu ondoren, argi ikusi dugu garai horretan ergatibo pluralak *-ek* bukaera zuela gehienetan.

Azterturiko sermoietan *-ek* nagusi den honako kasuak eriden ditugu: *profeta sanduec erranic, ainguiruec eta justoec icusten eta beidacendiotela. Profetec baiño iaquintasun gueiago, tempestadec eta tormentec arrallacencioten uncia*; D testuan honakoak ditugu: *guciec resucitatu bear dugula, denec dugu obligacio, gure obrec merezi duten premioa* (Satrustegi 1987). Dena den, batzuetan, *-ec* agertzen da bokal asimilazioaren ondorioz nahiz singularra izan: *Virginec baiño inocencia eta humildade gueiago*.

Haatik, nahiz eta maiztasuna *-ek* morfemaren aldekoa izan, salbuesperen bat bazegoen garai horretan ere: *gure obra onac... inder aundie dute, sorrac aitceutela* (Satrustegi 1987: 272).

Egungo hizkeran txandaketa askoz biziagoa da, eta froga daiteke elkarrizketa luzeak egin ondoren, herritik maizago ateratzen diren hiztunek, esaterako, Marcos Saragueta mekiriztarrak gehiago txandakatzen duela herri bereko Juanito Ernagak baino. Era berean, Lintzoiango Sotok, hiztun garbiak, nahiko tinko eusten dio *-ek-ri*, baina Urnizako azken hiztunak ez zuen bereizketarik egiten.

Hiztunekin jarraituz, Perpetua Saraguetak *-ek* nahi *-ak* zerabiltzan: *bere bi alabek negar anitz egin omen zute* (Satrustegi 1985b: 139) *eta apezak ere hala iten dine!* (Saragueta 1979c: 16). Baina, kontuan har Perpetuaren senarra baztandarra zela eta berak ere han eman zuela denbora zerbait, eta hartaz

¹ Lizarraga Elkanokoen lanetan agertzen da noiz edo behin, baina ez modu sistematikoan: *Christoen persequitza (133 or.)*, *bazemate quéntzera vicia (136 or.)* (ik. Lizarraga 1994).

bere hizkerak Baztango hainbat ezaugarri erakusten zituela. Hegoalderago jarraituz, Esteribarko Eugin *-ak* da nagusi.

Honainokoa laburbilduz, esanen dugu egun txandaketa anitz ere handiagoa dela aspaldikoa baino Erroibarren, eta egun ere eraginaren bat duten hiztunekin *-ak* nagusitzeko joera agertzen dela.

Berebat gertatzen da Ultzama ondoko haran honetan, isoglosaren aldaketa bat gertatu da. Esaterako Olaibarko hizkeran, behiala, dotrinen bidez daki-kegunez (1828 urtekoa)-*ek* morfema bizirik mantentzen zen: *Espritu Santi Jaunc**e** bacarric in zuen obra ori?, Ez baizik Trinteteco iru person**e**c, Yndezagule Jangoicoaren borondatea lurrean gaudenoc, ala nola itembaitute Bienabenturatu Zeruetan dauden**e**c*.

Mende eta erdi bat beranduago, ordea, Artolak (1985: 111) zioenaren arabera, gaur egungo euskaraz ez da desberdintasunik egiten: «Pluraleko 3. pertsonak, agente aktibo denean, ez du, beste zenbait azpieuskalkitan bezala, *-ek* partikula hartzen, beti ere *-ak* delakoarekin geratuz: *larrak kentzen di(d)eten pañ(u)eloa, eta gizonak, tiretu zioten arranoai*.

Areago oraindik, egungo Ultzamako elkarrizketa laxoan ez da *-ek/-ak* bereizketarik egiten, ezta duela ehun urteko dotrinetan ere. Xuarbeko iragan mendeko testuetan, ordea, bereizketa egiten zen (ik. Satrustegi 1995: 528, 531, 532): *autore gueienec erraten dute, jaquin bezate mi gaistoa dutenec, beren miac Jangoicoa ofenditcen empleatcen dituztenec*.

Datuak aurrean ditugula, bi aukera ditugu datu hauen azalpena emateko. Ultzaman txandaketa bazegoen, egun bereizketa egiteari utzi zaio. Olaibarren gauza bera gertatu da. Litekeena da hurbilen daukan hizkeraren ezaugarriak hartzea —Olaibarko kasuan ultzamerarenak— non ez den bereizketa hori egiten. Edota hizkuntz heriotza dela medio azaltzea, honekin adierazi nahi dugu gelditzen diren gutxiak erdi-hiztunak direla eta euskara kili-kolo egiten dutela, eta hau dela eta bereizketa egiteari utzi diote Erroibarren eta Ultzaman².

3. *Dio-dako* datiboari dagozkion formak

Hirugarren pertsonari gagozkiola, Bonaparte printzea lapurteraren eta behe-nafarreraren arteko bereizketa honetan oinarritu zuen: «lab. *dio* (il le lui a), nav. occ., nav. or. *dako*; lab. *diozta, diozka* (il les lui a), nav. occ., nav. or. *dazko*». Azterketa sakonagoa egiten duenean Pikabeak (1993: 65), Hiriart-Urrutyren obran ez ezik mende honetako idazle nafar-lapurtar obretan irakurri ahal dela dio.

Egun Erroibarko egungo hizkeraren ezaugarria da *nork* sistemaren 3. pertsonaren *-ako-*, *-akote-* formak *-io-*, *-iote-*ren orde, nahiz hauek sistematiko-

² Oroit, bidenabar, goinafarrera hegoaldeko hizkeretan ez dagoela batasunik alde honetan. Horrela, Elkano eta Garesko euskara ekialdekoa litzateke, *-ek* baitarabilte eta Oltza eta Goñikoa mendebaldekoa *-ak* nagusitzen baita: *gizonak satonte*.

ki erabiltzen ez diren. Yrizarrek (1985: 288) aztertu zuen forma hauen banaketa zehatza GN hegoaldekoan eta lan horretan horrela zioen:

«La línea de máxima penetración comprobada de las formas *-ako*, *-eko* es la constituida por Erro-Linzoáin-Viscarret-Mezquiriz-Lusarreta-Arrieta-Oroz-Betelu-Azparren, los cuatro primeros en el valle de Erro y los cuatro últimos en el de Arce.»

Iragan mendean, ordea, gaur egun hain ohikoak diren 3. pertsonari dagozkion formak —*dako*, *zekote*, *dakote*, *nekote*— ez ziren inon agertzen. Hauen ordez, *-e-* eta *-ote-* morfemen txandaketa besterik ez zegoen: *beartu ciela*, *erranicien*, *devecacen ciotela*, *erraten ciote*, *equencen cioten*, *abarri-catui tiote*, *estaltcen tiogutela*, *sufricentiogutela*.

Honenbestez, eta gure alderdiari dagokionez, forma hauek berriak dirateke, azken urte hauetan agertzen baitira; zehatzago izanez XX. mendean edo XIX. mendearen bukaeran. Yrizarren ustez, forma hauek behenafarreratik hedatu dira, (1985: 287) bere ustez hauen agerpena 1866 urte inguruan hasi zen goinafarrera hegoaldean, Orreagan, hain zuzen, eta geroago hegoalderago zabalduz joan omen ziren. Dakiguna da XX. mendearen hasieran jaiotako jendeak bazerabiltzala.

Behenafarrerak, Pikabeak argi frogatzen duenez, eragin handia izan zuen gainerako euskalkietan eta baita XIX. mendeko lapurtera literarioan ere. Batez ere aditz laguntzaile iragangaitzetan, iragankorretan baino, bereziki ekialdeko idazleengan. Dena den, aintzat hartu behar dugu isoglosa honek hegoaldeko GN ere bere baitan hartzen duela eta Iruñerriko XVI. eta XVII. mendeetan *draco* agertzen zela (Kerejeta 1991: 168).

Egungo hizkera eta behialako testuak alderatuz gero bi aukera dauzkagu forma hauek direla eta:

- Edo gune hedatzailea bat baino gehiago izatea, alegia, behenafarrera —gure ustetan hau dateke aukera ziurrena— eta GN hegoaldekoa, Iruñea ingurukoa.
- Forma hauek ospe gutxikoak izatea, eta horregatik testu idatzietan ez agertzea, nahiz herriak erabili.

4. Aditz bukaerako *-n-*ren galera

Erroibarko hizkeraren ezaugarri nabarmen bat da iraganeko aditzen azkeneko *-n-*ren galera. Gaurregun Erroibarko eta Esteribarko hiztunek *-n* gabeko formak erabiltzen dituzte gehienetan, nahiz eta txandaketaz, *nio*, *zeko*, *neko*, *nue*, *nitze*, *ze* entzun ohi dira aise asko.

Dakikegunez, 1922 urtean jada, Intzak egindako azterketan, forma hauek eriden zituen: *zitze*, *zine* eta *ze*.

Zehatzago izanen gara. Erroibarko Mezkitritzen egun diformismoa nagusi da, Lintzoainen *-n* gabeko aldaerak dira gailen, nahiz *zizkiren* & *zikire*, *ziti-*

ren (Yrizar 1992: 250) badiren eta Aurizberrin ere *-n* gabeko aldaerak nagusi dira, *ze & zen* kasua salbu (Yrizar 1992: 194). Bestaldetik, ondoko Aezkoan eta Artzibarren dimorfismoa da ohikoen.

Caminok (1997: 247) Aezkoan honako dimorfismoak arruntak direla erakusten digu, batez ere gizonaekoengan. Haren ustez, iraganeko *-n* morfemaren galera Aezkoan osoki gailendu gabeko joera da. Horrez gain, Ipar Euskal Herriko aldaera *-n*-dunak aezkerara berriz mugikortasun handiko gizonak ekarriak diratekeela dio.

Itzul gaitezen Erroibarrera, aurreko mendeetako Erroko testuetan ez zen ezaugarri hau agertzen. Kasu bakar batean besterik ez genuen eriden: *erraten ciote*.

Dударik gabe, *zuen* edo *zen* bezalakokoak zaharragoak dira. Halarik ere, ez dirudi eremu honetan sortutako berrikuntzak direnik hauek, izan ere ondoko Eguesibarren barra-barra erabiltzen zituen Lizarraga Elkanokoak (1748-1835) *-n* gabeko hauek mende bat lehenago. Hau dela eta, litekeena da gune hedatzailea Iruñea eta bere ingurua izatea, eta hemendik hedatuz joan zirela. Alegia, Eguesibarren edo betetzen hasi eta mende bat beranduago Errora hedatzea eta baita Aezkoara ere?

Testu hauetan agertu ez izanaren arrazoa ez dut uste testu idatzitakoen jantzi ikutuari zor dionik, izan ere, Beriainek *-n* dun eta *-n* gabeko aldaerak erabiltzen zituen, nahiz mende bat beranduago Lizarragak eta Elizalde *-n* gabeak erabili.

5. *Gau, gori, gura* erakusleak

Goinafarrera hegoalderaino, Erroibarreraino, hedatu da lehen graduko erakusle singularrek eta beren deklinatuek hartzen duten *g*- kontsonantea hitz hasieran. Bide batez esango dugu, aipatutako erakusle hauek izenki baten atzetik gordetzen direla, ez balio anaforikoan, nahiz analogia dela medio erronkarieraz eta aezkeraz izenordeetan ere eriden ditzakegun. Mitxelenak (*FHV*: 247) ekialdeko euskalki hauek kontserbatzaileagotzat zituen.

Azterturiko Erroko testuetan aurkitutako adibideak hauek dira: *lastimoso gontan, sandu gonena, misterio gau, obra gau, pissca gau, gonequin, gracia gura*, 3. graduan ere sortzen da kasu bakar batean: *denbora gartaco, doctrina gonequin*.

Baina, garai hartan ere ez zen erabat sistematikoa erabilera hori. Esaterako, Erroko D testuan ez da behin ere agertzen eta B-n txandaketa dago (ik. Ibarra 1997: 275): *vide ontaz, sandu ontaic, munduontaco*. Esan dezakegu *g*- > \emptyset bilakabidearen hasiera ikusten dela adibide hauetan.

Egun, gure ustez, txandaketa areagotzen ari da, frogatu dugu hiztunetik hiztunera badagoela aldea, alegia, herritik gutxien atera diren hiztunek eta euskara hobekien atxiki dutenek maiztasun handiagoz mantentzen dituzte kontsonante protetikoak. Esaterako Mezkirizko Juanito Ernagak ia sistemati-

koki protetikoak erabiltzen ditu eta aldiz, Marcos Saraguetaren grabaketetan —kanpora gehiagotan atera den hiztuna da hau— txandaketa areagotzen da. Bestetik, mendebalderago joan ahala joera hau iluntzen doa, eta Esteribarko Eugin kasu gutxitan aurkituko da *g-* hau (ik. Ibarra 1995b: 299).

Honainokoa laburbilduz, gure ustetan, ekialdeko eta arkaikoago den ezaugarri honen gibelatzearen hastapenak agerian gelditzen dira gaur, besteak nagusituz doazen heinean.

Caminok dioen bezala (1997: 413), Ameriketara hain erabiliak diren erregela aldakorren azterketa egin liteke honekin, eta beronetan neurtu kontestuetak eta kontestuetako gertakariak, aezkeraz nagusi delako hori baina aldakuntza anitz dago.

Hala ere, deigarria da beronek kasu batean dioena (ik. Camino 1997: 412), laurogei bat urteko emazteki batek herskaridun zerabilen eta haren erraina zenak berrogeita bostekoak edo ez. Egoera honen isla dateke berau, alegia, zenbat eta gazteago eta kanpo-harreman handiago izan, ekialdekoak diren ezaugarri hauek gibelean uzten dira pixkanaka-pixkanaka eta besteak nagusitzen doaz.

6. Yod zaharraren bilakabidea

Erroibarko egungo hizkeran, yod zaharrari dagokion ebakera nagusia igurzari sabaikaria da, lexema gehienetan bakan batzuetan izan ezik. Hauek dira belarez ebakitzen direnak: [*x*]uan, [*x*]a ere, [*x*]ende eta egungo mailegu berri guztiak. Hauetaz salbu, gainerako guztiak igurzari sabaikaria dute: *yaiki*, *yokatu*, *yan*, *yeitsi* etab. nagusi izanik.

Egia da fonema zehatz honetan zaila dela jakitea, testu idatzien bidez, zein fonema ordezkatzan zuen grafia bakoitzak. Oztopoak oztopo, azterketa xehen ondorioz (ik. Ibarra 1995b: 284), suposatzen dugu egoera hori ez zela horrelakoa beti izan eta txistukari frikari sabaiaurreko ahoskabea ere hedatua egon zela.

Oraindik orain, Erron hainbat toponimotan fonema hori mantentzen da: *Xauregi* etxe izenean, *xela* «gela» eta baita Erroko eta Lintzoango esamolde solte batzuetan ere: *bier xai*. Perpetua Saragueta mezkiriztarrak ere badu *xorratzea* idatzirik: *patatak erein eta xorratzea andre lana ze* (Saragueta 1979c: 34) nahiz bere idazkietan *ian* eta *iakin* bezalakoak izan.

Datu hauek aberastera datoz, Erroibarko gainerako herrietako toponimoak, latinetikako maileguetan fonema hau zerabiltzaten: *mendiko xunkadia* (NTEP 1996: 108) Larraingoan eta Urnizan *xunkanxoko* (NTEP 1996: 147), eta ez direnetan ere bai, hona berriz Larraingoan *xitopinadi* (NTEP 1996: 109) «el pineral de los gitanos»³.

³ Toponimo hauek ere azal dezakete fonema honen bilakabidea. Dokumentazio zaharrean Auritzen eta Orreagan *juringoa*, *río de* (1818), agertzen da. Gerora mende honetan (1981) *surín-*

Hona bada gure irudikoz, hainbatetan suertatu dena: [š] erabiltzen zen tokian gaur sabaikaria ez txistukaria nagusitu da. Honengatik guztiarengatik, badirudi aldaera hedatuenak, nahiz ondoko aezkera ere sabaiaurrekoa erabili, alegia —eremu gehienez bizirik zegoenak— irabazi duela.

Gauza bera gertatzen da Olaibarren, Iruñea ondoko ibar honetan. Egungo ikerketek frogatzen dute *yoan nitze* eta *yotzen nion* erabiltzen dela, baina, behiala <ss> eta <s> nagusi ziren Makirriaingo kateximan ikusten denez: *meressi, ssauchi, ssabe, ssatean, ssarririk, ssabearen, sayetan, satera*⁴. Baina <j> eta <g> grafemak ere erabiltzen omen ziren: *jauci, lujuriezco* eta *progi-mo*, eta ez bakarrik gaztelaniaren maileguetan, jatorrizko hitz berezi batzuetan ere: *jayo, jaun, Jangoicoac*.

Hau guztia ikusirik, argi dago isoglosa baten mugimenduaren aurrean gaudela, Olaibarren eta Erroiabarren. Guk geuk, «cisplamplonés»-ez mintzo ginenez horrela genion:

Gurez ustez, [y] —goinafarrera zati handian hedatzen dena— nagusitu da eta [x]-k eremua galdu du. Hau da, hain zuzen ere, gaur egun falta den aldaera; gaur euskara mintzo den eremuan ez da [š] rik, ez bada toponimo bakan batzuetan bederen. (Ibarra 1995b: 283)

Hona bada fenomeno honen bilakabidea, alde batetik berrikuntza bat egin da, aezkerarekin batera sabaiaurreko ahoskabea hartuz, eta gero, aldaki zaharrenari atxiki zaio ingurukoaren eraginez. Alegia, atzerunzko eta aurrerunzko pausua gertatu da, hurrenkera honetan: lehenengo [j], gero sabaiaurrekoa, eta berriro [j]. Antzeko zerbait iradokitzen du Caminok (1991b: 935) Aezkoarako Orbarako dotrinan.

Hizkuntz ukipenaren eraginez gertatu bide da hau, inguruan dauden iparraldeko GN-ren hizkera askoren eraginez. Izan ere, ondoko ultzameraz eta baztaneraz, Olaibartik hurbil dauden eremuetan, [j] nagusi zen.

Caminok aezkeraz (1191: 43) *yo/xo* eta *yar/xarri*, *yan/xan* dimorfismoak erakusten ditu. Txandaketa hau gertatzen da igurzari sabaiaurreko ahoskabea arrunta zen lekuetan, haren ustez prestijioaren arrazoia dago honen azpian gizonen egiten duten bilakabide bat delako.

Azkenik, egun beste fonema baten hedapena frogatzen ari gara, dudarik gabe, mailegu askotan [x] fonema hedatzen doa. Esaterako ultzamarrek duela 50 urteko testuetan *yornala* erraten zuten (ik. Izagirre 1966). Dena den, beste hizkeretan gertatzen den moduan, gero eta indar handiagoz, gaztelaniaren eraginez belarea poliki-poliki nagusitzen ari da: *garaje, jertsea...*

gua, arroyo agertzen da. Eta egungo ahoskeran beti da *xoringoa* edo *xubingoa*, baina sabaiaurrekoarekin (ik. NTEP 1996: 47).

⁴ Oroit bedi Eguesibarko Elkanoko Lizarragak *xakin, xan, xarri, xasi, xito, xosi* aldaerak zerabiltzala.

7. Hurbileko bokal asimilazioa

Euskaraz oso bilakabide hedatua da hau. Goiko bokalen ondoko *a* bokalaren hersketa, alegia, *egie, burue, gezurre* eta horrelakoak ematen dituena. Hau goinafarreraren eta beste hizkera batzuen berrikuntza da. Erroibarko egungo hizkeran barra-barra eriden ditzakegu honakoak: *andie, orduen, errien, lengusuek*. Eta hitzez kanpoko morfemetan ere gordetzen da delako bilakabide hau: *erosi gebe, Mezkiriz te, berrogei te, urrunego, aur betek, gauza zuri bet, zelai bet*.

Aitzitik, Erroko joan zen mendeko testuak aztertzen baditugu, argi frogatuko dugu ez dela oparoa bilakabide hau: *cerua, buruac, becatua, cristaua, infernua, eternua, frutua, mundua, erdian, miseria, furia, errabia*. Hala ere, adibideren bat eridengo dugu: *eguie, dizule, atarie, guciec, moduen, trabajue, becatue*⁵.

Gauza bera frogatzen dute toponimia alean haran guztian bildu datuek, inongo adibidean ez dugu horrelakorik eriden: *zelaia* (Larraingoa NTEM 1996: 109), *pazeria* (Larraingoa NTEM 1996: 108), *usainbizcarra* 1850 urtean *useinbixker* eta *usain, rieca de* 1723-an, (ik. NTEM 1996: 133), egun, ordea *useñnerreka* (NTEM 1996: 133) eta *bizker (bordabizker, pinebizker)* ahoskatzen dira Erroibarren⁶.

Hegoalderago joanez, Esteribarrera hurbilduz, Larrasoñako XVIII. mendeko testuak hartuz gero (ik. Satrustegi 1987: 57), ia-ia ez da hurbileko bokal asimilaziorik agertzen. Bi kasutan besterik ez dugu: *dire, gucie*. Gaur egun, aldiz, arruntak eta arauzkoak dira asimilazioak Esteribarren.

Hala ere, kontuan izan behar da idatzitako testuetan soilik oinarrituko bagina, esango genuke aurreko mendean asimilazioa urriagoa izan zela eta denbora pasatu ahala areagotu dela. Baina, honek ez du esan nahi asimilaziorik ez zegoela. Izan ere, testu idatzia beti da jasoagoa eta beti estaltzen dira hizkera mintzatuko gertakari asko. Horiek horrela, fenomeno bat betetzen denean, orduan dira testu idatzia zerbaiten froga, baina ez fenomeno bat betetzen ez denean.

Nolanahi dela ere, testu idatzien gora-beherak alde batera utzirik, datu hauekin argi xamar ikusten da XX. Mendearen zehar bilakaera hau areagotu dela.

8. -r(t)z- taldea

Sánchez Carriónnek idatzitako artikuluxka batean, Imotzen gertatzen hasi berria zen isoglosaren aldaketaren berri ematen zigan:

«Oscoz, que originariamente parece haber tenido la forma labortana (erran) era localidad donde, hasta hace muy poco tiempo, confluían las dos

⁵ Gogora bedi, Elkanoko Lizarragak ez zituela honakoak erabiltzen. Hauen ordeez *gucia, ardiac, achuriac, buruas, vicia, agradecitua, mundua...* ziren arruntenak (Lizarraga 1994: 262).

⁶ Diakroniari dagokionez, Iruñerriko toponimia aztertu ondoren, badakigu fenomeno hau ez zela gauzatzen. Ber gisa gertatzen da Olluibarren, bokal asimilazioa XIX. mendearen bukaera arte edo gure mende honen hasiera arte ez da islatzen.

formas. Finalmente ha sido *esan* la que ha acabado por imponerse.» (Sánchez Carrión 1974: 261).

Guk geuk (Ibarra 1995: 225) hauxe bera frogatzen genuen. Ultzama-ko euskarari eferentzia eginez, Muskitzen, gehien erabiltzen ziren formetan *-st-* taldea nagusitzen hasia zen (*bost*, *beste*, *ostegune*, *ostirela*); baina ez hain ohikoetan oraindik, *-rtz-* gordetzen zen, esaterako *ertze* «intestino».

Bistan denez, atzerakada geografikoa gertatzen ari da, gaur *-st-* dugun herri batzuetan, lehen *-rtz-* genuen. Toponimiaren bidez argi azaltzen da hau, esaterako *Etxebertzia* ageri da Erbitin. Bistan denez, toponimoak arkaismoen gordetzaille dira, eta hartaz, izen honek izen propio gisa funtzionatzen du, nahiz gaur eremu horretan *-st-*dunak diren nagusi.

Era berean, Echaidek (1989: 51, 344) honako datuak ematen ditu Atezko zenbait herritan. Gure ustez, herri hauek *-rtz-* eremuaren barruan sartzen dira, baina forma asibilatuaren agerpenaren hasiera erakusten hasten dira.

Berasain, Beuntza: *bost*

Aroztegi, Berasain eta Gerendiain: *bestiak*

Berasain, Gerendiain: *ostegune*, *ostiela*

Etxaideren inkestan ere (1989: 52, 53) *orztegune* eta *ortzillera* formak agertzen dira Etxalekun; egun, ordea ez dira horiek horrela ebakitzen eta hauen ordeztan *-st-*dunak ditugu. Azkeneko datu bat da Bonaparteren dotrinetan agertzen den *merchede*, gaur *mesede* ordezkatu duena.

Dialektologilari ospetsu hauek diotenez, adin ezberdineko jendearen mintzamoldea aztertzeak badu bere munta:

«Studying then diffusion of innovations in apparent time involves surveying the differences between the speech of people at different ages, while keeping the other independent variables such as sex, social and region the same.» (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 165).

Datu hauek kontuan izanik, esan genezake berrikuntza linguistikoko bat gertatzen ari dela azken 20 urteotan, guk hauxe frogatu genuen Muskitzen, Atezko mugan dagoen herrian. Herri honetan emakume helduenak *erran* erabiltzen zuten eta gazteago batek, 15 urte gazteago zenak, *esan*.

Erroibarren antzera gertatzen da, are gehiago, Lintzoainen eta Mezkiritzen forma hauek ospe gutxikotzat hartzen dira, eta *-st-*dunak askoz finagoak iruditzen zaizkie. Caminok Lintzoainen egin elkarrizketa batean hauxe bera testigatu zuen (ik. Camino 1997: 38), bere aitzinean *erran* eman beharrean *esan* ahoskatzen zuenean hiztun zahar batek «iduri du uskarago» zioelarik. Halaber, ene amatxi zenari behin baino gehiagotan entzun nion hauxe bera esaten forma hauei buruz «zakarrak dire oyek», eta hauen ordeztan *esan* eta *bost* hobesten zituen.

9. *-tiko* bukaera aditzaren geroaldian

Ezaguna da Nafarroako hizkera askok duten bukaera, *-tu* morfemari *-ko* georaldikoa eranstea, *-tiko* egiten dute, *-tuko*-ren ordeaz. Esaterako, elkarrizketa laxoan honakoak gertatzen dira Erroibarren: *kasoratiko*, *begiratiko*, *bil-diko*, *kendiko*, *sartiko*, *akonpañatiko*, *gelditiko*, *merkatiko*, *artiko*. Fenomeno hau heltzen da Esteribarreraino, eta inguruko Anuen, Ultzaman eta Baztanen ere arrunta da.

Aezkoan ez dira batere ezagunak etorkizuneko *-tiko* aldaerak, nahiz noiz edo behin Caminok testigatzen dituen (Camino 1997: 300). Aitzitik, *-tu*, *-du* + *behar* egiturakoetan *-tiar* forma arrunta da: *frakasatiardu*, *zikindiardut* etab. Bide batez esan Elkanoko Lizarragak ere ez zituela hauek erabiltzen.

Baina, itzul gaitezen gure eremura. Erroibarren, egun elkarrizketa arruntan arauzkoak diren hauek testuetan ez dira agertzen. Egia esan, *duzie* eta *diziet*, alegia, *u/i* txandaketa erakusten duten beste formak agertzen direla Erroko sermoietan, baina ez *-tiko* horiek. Posible da, arestian genioen bezala, testu idatzietan ez erakustea hizkera bizian gertatzen zen bilakabide bat, baina, zalantza hori ezin argitu dugu. Hau baita daukagun testigutza urria.

Parekatzekoa da ultzameraren egoerarekin. Ultzamako dotrinetan, aurreko mende bukaeran eta honen hasieran idatzitakoetan erabiltzen ziren, behintzat aditz batzuetan (ik. Ibarra 1992: 930) honelakoak genituen: *barcatiko ti-rezule*, *acabatiko*, *batayetico*. Hartaz, Ultzaman lehen eta orain arruntak dira erabilera hauek.

Erroibarren, aldiz, berrikuntza baten aurrean gaude, mende honetan heldu dena inguruko eremu horien eraginez? Izan ere *u/i* txandaketa egon denean, hizkera honetan *i* hautatu da. Gogora bedi, bidenabar, aspaldikoak direla *zilo*, *diziet...*; hartaz, litekeena da forma hauetara xx. mendean hedatu izana.

10. Aldaketaren arrazoiak

Isoglosa hauen aldaketa aztertu ondoren, ikusi dugu zein diren nagusitu diren aldaerak, zein galdu etab. Euskalki bat aztertzerakoan, argi utzi behar baita zer den berrikuntza, zer arkaismoa eta zer aukeraketa, eta hiru irizpide hauen arabera, abiatu behar dugu ezaugarri dialektologikoen azterketan.

Honetan gaudela, aldaketan eragin duten hainbat arrazoi saiatuko gara ematen, nahiz badakigun ebidentzia hauen arrazoiak bilatzea zaila dela, eta huts egiteko arriskua ere ez dela nolana hikoia.

Kasu batzuetan aldaketa graduala da eta prozesua ez da oraindik burutu, besteetan, ordea, aldaketa aspaldian gertatu zen. Batzuek eta besteek erakusten dute hizkera-aldaketak ez direla formula matematika bat bezala suertatzen, baizik eta prozesu baten ondorio direla.

Hizkuntzalaritzak erakusten duenez, hizkuntz bilakabideetan badago joera fonetikoki gastatuagoak diren aldaerak, alegia, gorputz fonetiko txikiago

erakusten dutenak erabiltzeko. Esaterako, latinak eman dituen hitzak hizkuntz erromanikoetan, motzagoak dira. Adib. *auriculam* > *oreja*, *oculos* > *ojos*, *frigidus* > *frío*, *fides* > *fe*.

Hurbileko bokal asimilazioaren kasua ez da forma motzagoak erabiltzeko joera soilik. Baina, poliki aztertzen badugu forma hau fonetika aldetik, artikulazio ikuspuntutik ahoskatzeko «errazagoa» da bestea baino, alegia /a/ fonema /e/ bihurtzen da /i/ eta /u/ bokalen eraginez, eta hori fonetikoki garatuago den aldaera da. Izan ere, hizkuntzak erabiltzen direnean gastatu egiten dira, eta ondorioz, forma garatuagoak ematen dituzte. Hau dateke forma hauek garatu izanaren arrazoia eremu honetan, hizkera beraren barne garapena baino ez da bilakabide hau, gure ustez.

Esan bezala, azterturiko kasuen artean eragile ezberdinak daude, areago oraindik, kasu askotan, arrazoi batek baino gehiagok dute eragin. Batzuetan, hizkuntz heriotzaren ondorio dira. Esaterako, nor-nork aditz sistemaren galean eragina izan du heriotz bideko egoerak. Antzeko egoeran dauden hizkerak, aezkerak etabar gauza bera erakusten dute. Alegia, forma estilistikoen murrizketa gertatzen da, eta gainbehera maila guztietara hedatzen da.

Beste kasu batzuetan, bi aldaera lehiakide daudenean, erregularrena hartzeko joera izaten da; hari honi jarraikiz, eta behiala euskarak aukera bikoitza baldin bazuen osagarri zuzena hartzeko orduan, gero eta maizago hedatuen dagoena —absolutiboarena, alegia— hartzeko joera nagusitu dela baieztatzeko. Honekin batera, ekialdeko eta kasu honetan ere iparraldeko formen gibelatzea agerian geratzen da. Ber gauza esan genezake -g > ø bilakabideaz Erroibarren.

Beste hirugarren arrazoi bat dateke gainerako euskalkiek dute formen eragina, alegia forma hedatuenak zientzuek diren, horiek nagusitzen doaz. Arrazoi honen erantzule izan daiteke *-ek* ergatibo pluralaren formen galera. Izan ere, nagusi diren hizkeretan, eta honekin esan nahi dugu hiztun multzo handiena dutenak, horietan ez da berezketa hori egiten eta posible da kutsatzea. Hala ere, badakigu hizkuntz ahultasunaren egoerak ez diola inolako mesederik egiten berezketa hau mantentzeari.

Argiagoa da, dudarik gabe, *yod* zaharraren atzera-aurrera pausoak Erroibarren eta Ultzaman. Arestian genioenez, gainerako hizkeren eraginaren pean suertatu dira. Ber gauza esan dezakegu *-ako-* erroaz osaturiko aditzen joeraz.

Antzera gertatu omen da iraganeko *-n-*ren galerarekin, Lizarragako ereduaren eragina izan da? XX. mendearen hasieran topa baitzitezkeen, eta, al-diz, iragan mendeko testuetan kasu bakar batean.

Azkenik beste bi ezaugarri hauek ditugu: lehena *gau*, *gori*, *gura* erakuslearen ahultasuna. Nahiz *g-*dunen eta gabekoen txandaketa aspaldikoa izan, egun areagotzen ari da eta *au*, *ori*, *ure* nagusituz doaz. Ekialdeko hizkeren ezaugarrien ahultasuna agerian geratzen da beronetan.

Erran/esan dimorfismoaren atzean, edo hobeki esanda *erran*-en gibelatzean, badirudi prestijioaren arrazoia dagoela, arestian aipatutako arrazoiengandik.

Deigarria da zer izan daitekeen hiztun batentzat «prestijioa» edota «forma ospetsuak». Izan ere Etsaingo testuetako egilea, Etsainen jaio eta Beuntzan (Atetz) apez egon zen 40 urtetan, alegia ultzamera garbia mintzo zen bi herrietan. Hala ere, bere *Galbarioac uscaraz ofrecimentua* lanean *degu, degun* eta *dut/det* adizkiak erabiltzen ditu, nahiz gainerako ezaugarriak ultzamera garbian ematen dituen. Esan bezala, forma «arrotz» horiek sartzen zituen, eremu honetan, sekulan erabili ez direnak, ia erabateko ziurtasunez. Antza denez, apez honi ere Gipuzkoako euskara egokiagoa iruditzen zitzaion.

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ABSTRACT

Isoglosse shift in several Navarrese varieties of Basque

The aim of this article is to analyze the shift of the isoglosses in the Northern-high (Ulzama's variety) and the Southern (valley's variety) Navarrese dialects of Basque. The goal of our analysis is to explore what the innovations, archaisms and choices in the analyzed dialects are.

The isoglosses we chose for the analysis are the following: the appearance of the genitive morpheme instead of the absolutive one in the nominal phrase. This feature was usual in the Eastern and Northern dialects, and also in the last century's writings of Ultzama and Erro valleys, but it has now disappeared and has been replaced by the absolutive marking.

The ergative plural in *-ek* and in *-ak*. Nowadays the plural morpheme in *-ek* is dying and the *-ak* morpheme is taking over in areas close to Ultzama as well as the Erro valley, this morpheme being the same for both singular and plural phrases. The loss of the protetic *g-* is also gradual on the demonstrative forms of the Erro variety.

In other cases, the movement of isoglosses is much sheerer. In the case of the three-personal verbs, there is a 3rd person dative morpheme, *-ako*, which is used in the entire Erro valley; however this morpheme does not appear in last century's writings.

The loss of the *-n* morpheme in the past form of the verbs seems to be a new process; similarly, vowel assimilation converting *a* in *e* under the influence of high vowels *i* or *u* and the choice of *-tiko* instead of *-tuko* in the future morphemes also seem to be innovations in this dialect.

The group *-rtz-* of *bertze*, *bortz*, etc., which alternates with *-st-* in other dialects, is losing ground to the sibilant group, which is the normal pronunciation of the central area dialects. Finally, the advance and withdrawal of the old *yod* completes the phonetic panorama.

The reasons for the shift in each isoglosse are different. In some of them we can see the effects of language death. This situation drives speakers to choose, if there are two options, the most regular of them. In other situations, the influence of other dialects make some forms look as «prestigious» in relation to others. We also observe that dialects which are disappearing have not much influence on others. To finish, in other cases the reason for the change is the speech's evolutions that cause forms more developed, shorter phonetically speaking.

Onomastika, euskararen azterketarako tresna

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«Mixelena Katedra»-k antolatu lehen jardunaldietan parte hartzeko gonbitea luzatu zigutenean eskuartean genituen ikerketa lanez ihardukitzeko eskatu ziguten. Antolatzaileen eskakizunari jarraikiz aurkezten dugun lan hau egin, eginxe edo egiteko ditugun lanen iruzkina besterik ez da.

Gure zereginak, toponomastikaren barrenean, hiru alorretakoak dira partikulazki:

1. Normalizazioaren ingurukoak.
2. Toponomastikaren ikerketa (etimologia eta).
3. Toponomastikaren eta dialektologiaren artean dauden harremanen azterketa.

Aurrenekoaren alorrean eginkizun asko dira, horien artean hurrengo hauek:

1. Normalizazioaren ingurukoak

1.a) *Toponimia normalizatzerakoan ibiltzen diren irizpideetan sakondu beharra*

Toponimia normalizatzerakoan dauden arazoaren artean, bat aipatu nahi dugu bereziki: gaurdaino bai Nafarroan eta bai beste herrialdeetan toponimia normalizatu dugu, bai nagusia eta bai txikia, arauak eta erregelak eman ditugu, gomendioak ez ezik, baina uste dugu ez dugula izan ematen genituen irizpide horietan sakontzeko aukerarik, erraten genituen gauza horietaz gogoeta egiteko egokierarik, edo agian erran behar genuke lanak beti lehia biziz eskuetaratu zaizkigula, nola ez dakigula. Kontua da, nolana ere, gogoeta hori eskas izan dugula, eta beharbada arrazoi honengatik, tartean egindako lana txarresten zuen —noiz arrazoirekin, noiz gabe— kritika bortitz errukigaberen bat ere izan da, Nafarroako toponimia nagusiari dagokionez.

Sakondu behar ditugun puntuen artean hauek daude:

Irizpideetan, bai toponimia txikiaren arloan eta bai toponimia nagusiarenean, *tokian tokiko ezaugarri dialektalak* begiratuko direla erraten da¹. Hor-taz, aurren-aurrena, tokiko ezaugarria zer den definitu behar genuke, eta ezaugarri horietako bakoitzari nolako estatusa eman behar diogun, duen antzinasuna, hedadura eta munta —hizkuntz maila, besteak beste— aintzat harturik. Hizkera arruntean nola jokatzten den ere kontutan hartzekoa da.

Adibidez, toponimia txikiaren arloan, goranzko bokalek eragindako hersketa baztertzen dugu, eta *Mendiburuko iturria* paratu dugu *Mendiburuko itturrie* erraten den lekuan. Era berean, eta zentzuzkoa irudi du, *itturri*-ren moduko palatalizazio automatikoak baztertzen dira, euskara batuan egiten den moduan. Beste aldetik, *baztar*-en tankerako bat ontzat hartu da Nafarroan egindako toponimia txikiaren bilketan. Bada, baita ere, maiz alde batera uzten den arren gure ustetan ontzat hartzekoa den disimilazio zahar eta zabaldu bat; gehienbat mendebaldeko hizkeretan gertatzen den *-a + -a > -ea* (eta *-ia...*) delakoaz ari gara. Orain arteko lan batzuetan aintzat hartu ez bada ere, Arrasateko toponimia biltzen duenean (Ormaetxea, 1996) *-ea* eman da, zuzen gure irudiz, disimilazio horrek nahiko estatusa baitu toponimoen normalizazioa egiten denean kontuan edukia izan dadin.

Toponimia nagusian ere «agrabio konparatibo» batzuk egin dira Nafarroan. Toki batzuetan, bertako hizkera aintzat harturik (Baztan), *-oz* onartu zen herri izenen bukaeran, inguruko ibar guztietan herri izen horiek *-otz*-ez ebatkitzen badira ere; antzeko zerbait dugu Erronkari haraneko *Bidangoze*-rekin, konparazioe, Zaraitzun *Bidangoze* baitzen. Zaraitzuko *Espartza*, bestalde, *Espartza* normalizatu da (eta honetan agian Iruñerriko *Espartza*-k eragin duke), Pirinioetako ibarrean *Espartza* erraten bazen ere, eskuarki bederik. Malerreka aldean, berriz, *Aurtitz*-en tankerakoak hautetsi ziren, bertakoek *-z*-z bukatutako aldaera ibiltzen zuten eta duten arren.

Nolanahi ere, gogoan eduki beharra dago egindako normalizazio lanek bidea urratu eta markatu dutela, eta egun atzera egiteko orduan oso kontuz ibili beharra dagoela, izen batzuk onarturik egon baitaitezke, gaurgero. Orain aitzinera orain gibelera ibiltzeak ere baditu bere arriskuak (adarra jotzen ari garela pentsa daiteke, adibidez).

Toponimia nagusiaren arautzean gogoratzen zaigun beste puntu arazo emaila bat *faktore linguistikoei eta faktore soziolinguistikoei nolako garrantzia eman behar diegun* erabakitzea da. Hor dago, adibidez, *Iruña/Iruñea*-ren kasua, edo, beste arlo batean, *Zolina/Zolia*-ren moduko pareak, euskara galdu den alderdian. Egia da soziologikoki izenik ezagunena —«izen ezaguna» ere erran genezakeela uste dut— *Zolina* da, baina gure toponimia benetan normalizatu nahi badugu leku bakoitzeko euskaldunek —Arangurengoek kasu honetan— euskara galdu aurretik ibiltzen zutena hartu beharko dugu

¹ Toponimia txikian bakarrik espezifikoa; generikoan batuaren arauak ibiltzen dira, oro har.

kontuan, ez egun, euskara galdu ondoan, ibiltzen dena, hau soziologikoki oso egokia ez datekeen arren, apika.

Honelakoetan arriskua Erdi Arora itzultzea da. Gure irudiz *forma zaharkituak*, *Goroziain*-en modukoak, saihestekoak dira, aspaldixkotik *Grózin* erran baita; zaharkiturik zer dagoen eta zer ez dagoen ezin da, dena den, Euskal Herriko bazter guztietan berdin neurtu. Beste aldetik, *aldaera laburtu* edo hiperlaburtuak ibiltzea, zenbaitek nahi luketen bezala, bazter uztekoa dela uste dugu. «Jatorragoak» direlakoan *Olazti*, *Otsagi*... eta abar ibili edo ibiltzen dira, baina bide honetan barrena abiatuz gero beldur gara ez ote dugun jakinen non gelditu. Alegia, bi horiek onetsi behar omen dira, jendeak horrela erratan duelako, baina, orduan, *Beute* (*Berute*), *Dorro* (*Dorrao*), *Eaurta*, *Jaurta* (*Jaurrieta*), *Elgorgia* (*Elgorriaga*), *Goizuta* (*Goizueta*), *Ibizta* (*Ibiltzieta*), *Sauta* (*Saragueta*)... eta antzeko «trakeskeriak» ere onartu beste biderik ez genuke, eta iruditzen zaigu hau sobera urruti joatea dela, izen normalizatuen alorrean; besterik da ahozko erabilera. Puntu honetan, seguruenen, euskaraz zaharrak eta hedatuak diren arauak eta eskola eta kultura eskas izatearen ondore diren bilakaerak bereizi behar genituzke.

Semantika kontuak direla medio alde bat utzi den izen bat *Alu* (Allo) da. Kasu honetan badakigu euskaraz *Alu* erran izan dela —izen hau oraindik bizirik dago, nahiz desitxuratua, toponimia txikian—, baina ez dugu uste bere horretan euts dakiokoenik, «Alukeria» izanen bailitzateke «ni Alukoa naiz», «ni Alura noa» edo «ni Alutik heldu naiz» erran behar izatea, konparazione.

1.b) *Deituren normalizazioan oraino kontuan hartu ez den punturen bat kontuan hartu beharra*

Deituren normalizazioaren arloan uste dugu Onomastika batzordeak moldatu eta aurki karrikatutako den *Euskal Deituren Izendegia* eman beharreko lehen pausoa besterik ez dela, seguraski huts eta erratu batzuk dituzkeena, baina, nolana ere, eman beharrekoa, gizarte eskaerak beharturik osatu baita. Lana taiutzerakoan oinarritzat hartu diren irizpideak zenbaitendako ez dira egokiak izanen, baina anitzetan zirt edo zart egin behar izaten da, hots, alde batera edo bestera jo. Hemen ingurune fonikoa kontuan hartu da, bai eta etimologia ere, garbia zenean, baina tokian tokiko ebakerak lehentasuna izan du horien aldean —txistukarien sailean, konparaziorako—.

Bada, dena dela, *Izendegia*-n, gure irudiz hobekixego molda genezakeen puntu bat, baina, lehen saioa izanik, hau barkatzekoa dela uste dugu, ezin baita lehen saioan dena ongi eta akatsik gabe egin, non ez den lana zenbait urtez gibelatu nahi. Deitura jatorriz patronimikoez ari gara, izan daitezen soilak, izan daitezen konposatuak. Lehenak, soilak alegia, oso bakanak dira bilduman, gauzez ongi oroitzen bagara, eta bakarrik etorki euskaldun garbikoak direnak sartu dira (*Mikeleitz* konparaziorako), afrikariz idatzirik. Konposatuetan, berriz, egun «espainoltzat» hartu ohi diren *Diaz*, *Pérez*, *Ruiz*... eta

beste azaltzen zaizkigu, eta *Izendegia*-n bere horretan eman dira, azenturik gabe hori bai, baina gainerakoan zeuden-zeudenean uzten direla.

Orain, Nafarroako dokumentazioa ikusirik, eta nahiz ikerketa gehiago egin beharra dagoela uste dugun, deitura konposatuaren osagarri diren patronimiko horiek afrikariz izkiriatzeko aukera eman zitekeela iruditzen zaigu —aukera gehiegi izanen luke irakurleak orduan, apika—, eta ez gure uste zoro horietako batengatik, erran izan baita, kritikatzeko noski, zenbaiten iritziz *-tz-* *-z-* baino euskaldunagoa dela.

Izan ere, Nafarroan garbi ikusten da hainbat patronimikok, Erdi Aroan, bukaeran afrikaria dutela —honetan agiria izkiriaturik dagoen hizkuntza garrantzizkoa da—. Cf. *Dietz* (*Roy Dietz*, *e Martin Dietz*; *Johan Dietz de Çuaçu*; *Lope Dietz de Gorritz luçea*), *Lopetz* (*Garcia Lopetz*; *Sancho Lopetz*), *Peritz* (*Miguel Peritz*; *Martin Peritz d'Aldaua*; *Martin Peritz de Arbiçu*), *Ruitz* (*Ferrant Ruytz*; *Martin Ruytz d'Alviçu*; *Sancho Ruitz*, *Marie Ruitz*); *Santxetz* (*Johan Sanchetz*; *Pero Sanchetz d'Iguzquiça*); *Xemenitz*, *Txemenitz* (*Peyre Chemenitz de Uelçuñçe*; *Miguel Xemenitz de Gaçolatz*)... eta zer erranik ez *Ortitz* (*Petrus Ortitz de Deyerri*; *Sancho Ortitz*). *Peritzenea*-ren tankerako oikonimo bizieta aurkitzen dugun afrikariak ere gure uste hori indartzen du.

Ezaguna da euskarak joera erakutsi duela bukaerako lekunean afrikaria ibiltzeko, eta patronimikoen arlo honetan ere norabide horretan ibili behar genukeela uste dugu. Nola eta noraino, ordea, erabakitzeke eta finkatzeko dago, ezinbestekoa den ikerketa egin ondoren.

2. Toponomastikaren ikerketa (etimologia eta)

Bigarrenari doakionez, eta aurreko puntuarekin lotuaz, erran behar dugu gure kezka une hauetan toponimian eta antroponimian azaltzen diren zenbait atzizkik elkarrekin duten lotura aztertzea dela lehenik, eta atzizki horiek hizkera arruntarekin dituzten harremanak ikertzea gero. Jatorria, iturburua, hots, atzizki horien nondikakoa ere gure interesen barrenean dagoen gaia da.

Gure azken lanetako batean (Salaberri, 1997: 36) honela genioen:

«A. Irigoienek aipatzen duen *-itz*, *-tz* atzizki [patronimiko] horren balioa eta guk lan honetan aztertu dugun *-tz(a, e)*, *-itz(a, e)* atzizkiarena oso hurbil daude, bai adieraren aldetik, eta bai formaren aldetik, eta ez dakigu zer neurritan eragin duten batak bestearengan, ez eta biendako iturburu amankomuna proposatu behar den ere. *Almandotz*-en kasuan *Alamando*-ren baserria, etxea... ulertu edo *Alamando*-ren tokia ulertu, aldea ez da handiegia, eta behar bada bi atzizki horien artean harreman estuak izan direla pentsatu behar genuke».

Lan horretan, aipuan ikus daitekeen gisan, ez ginen ausartu ugaritasunez-kotzat hartu izan den atzizkiarendako eta zenbait toponimo nagusitan azaltzen den *-(e, i)tz* atzizki «patronimikoa»-rendako etorki bera proposatzen, horrela dela gero eta sinetsiago bagaude ere, nahiz arazoak badiren, bien arteko lotura

azaltzeko. Nolanahi ere, garbi dago latineko genitiboan oinarria duen atzizki patronimikoak eta zenbait herri izenetan dugun atzizki homonimoa bat-bera direla, eta bien jatorrian dagoena, hots, biek komunean dutena, «jabetza» dela, gero hau batean «semea edo alaba»-tzat hartu behar bada ere eta bestean «baserria, lurra»-tzat (cf. *Agoitz*, *Aio*, *Aionis*-etik, Irigoienek, 1987: 195, argitu zuenez).

Garbi dago, baita ere, *Agoitz* eta besteren kasuan zerbait falta dela, pixka bat hagiotoponimian azaltzen diren —latineko genitibotik atera bide dira— santu izenetan bezala. Ez dugu gai honetan sakondu nahi, baina *Sandi-*, *Santi-* duten hagiotoponimo ez bakanak (*Sandiandri*, *Sandiaondore...*; *Sandiatiri*, *Santiatiri...*; *Sandijusti* —eta *Done Justi*—; *Sanditume*, *Sanditome* —eta *Done Tome*—; *Santilari*; *Sandilaurendi*; *Santitisi...*) aipatu kasu horretatik (genitibotik) atera dirateke, Irigoienek (1983: 19-20) nominatiboaren dobleteak izan zitezkeen *-i-z* bukatu aldaerak ere aipatzen zituen arren. Honек erran nahi luke, agian —eta hau ere hobeki ikertu behar den gaia da— sintagmaren ardatz den izena (*monasterium*, *ecclesia...*) ezabatua zegoela horrelako sintagmetan, hastapenean behintzat, gero araua zabaldu eta ezabaketaren beharrik ez zegoela pentsa baldin badaiteke ere.

Orobat erran daiteke *Agoitz*, *Almando(t)z*-en tankerakoez; hau da, *Agoitz*-en moduko toponimo baten kasuan pentsatu beharko dugu *fundus Aionis*-en gisako batean zegoela oinarriturik, eta gero sintagmaren ardatza zen izena desagertu zela. Aitzinago, patronimikoeekin agitzen den bezala —hauetan *Aionis filius*, *Aionis filia*-ren moduko bat proposatu behar genuke, *Agoitz* patronimikotzat ere agertuko balitzaiagu— izena desagertu eta atzizkiak kasu batean toki balioa hartuko zukeen eta bestean patronimikoarena (cf. *ilurde*, **ilurdo* izenaren gainean [*Bazcoare Ilurde* zegoen Lizarran XIV. mendean] moldatuta dauden *Ilurdotz* herri izena —Esteribar— eta patronimikoa —*Beila Illurdotz*, Leiren—), handik aurrera edozein oinarri erants zekiokoelarik. Honetarako ez dirudi latinaren esku-hartzearen beharrik dagoenik.

Gainera, eta azpimarratzekoa da, gure atzizkiak etorkiz «baserria, lurra» adierazten duenean jatorri latineko beste atzizki ezagun baten erabat kidekoa da, adibideetan ikusiko dugun gisan; Caro Barojaren begikoa zen *-ain*-ez ari gara, hain zuzen ere. Cf. adibidez, **Akut* izenaren gainean eraikirik daudekeen *Akutain* Nafarroako despoblatua (Longida; Idoate, 1958: 314) eta Jaurrietako *Akutiz* (*Eriz Akutiz*; M. Duque, 1983: 54) patronimikoa; *Berasko*-n oinarriturik dauden *Beraskoitz* (*Beskoitze* egun) Leizarraga handiaren sortuerria eta patronimikoa (*Munio Berascoiz*, *Galindo Berascoiz*, M. Duque: 1983: 25, 39; *Toda Uerascoiz*, Lacarra, 1965: 51) eta duen ur onagatik ezaguna den Nafarroako *Beraskoain* herri izena, *Belascoáin* deitua erdaraz orain eta lehen, *Blascoain* ere dokumentatua (cf. *Belasko*, *Blasko...*).

Beste adibide batzuk hauek dira:

—**Beraxa*-tik atera den *Beraxaiz* (M. Duque, 1983: 108), patronimikoa eta *Beratsain* Nafarroako herria (Atetz). Hau ez da osoki segurua baino egiantz handikoa da.

—*Eriz* (*Eritz*, itxuraz) izenetik atera den *Eriziz* patronimikoa (*Tota Ericiz*, *Sancio Ericiz de Adoain*, Martín Duque, 1983: 25 eta 52), guk dakigula herri izen bilakatu ez dena (bi *Eritze* ditugu halere Nafarroan. Mitxelenak ez zuen uste *Eriz*-ekin lotu behar zirenik, AV, 216b), eta beharbada Ibargoitiko despoplatua zen *Eriztain*, *Eristain*, aurreko **Eritzain* batetik irten zatekeena, interbertsioz.

—*Etsai* (*Etxai* aldaera palatalizatua bide dago *Echay de Ezcurra* izen dokumentatuaren azpian²) izenetik abiatuak Iruñeko dokumentazioan 1302an ageri den *Johan d'Etssaytz* dugu (García Larragueta, 1976-77: 123), eta Doneztebeko toponimia historikoan eta bizian —honetan azkenaurrekoa besterik ez dago— ditugun *Etsaitzubi*, *Etsaitzubieta*, *Etsaizbaratze*, *Etsaizlanda*, *Etsaizlarre*, *Etsaizlurra* (Andres Iñigo, 1996: 116-118). Hauekin lot liteke, agian, Anueko *Etsain* herri izena.

—*Garindo* izenetik Zuberoako *Garindein*/*Garindañe* atera dateke, eta *Garino*, *Garinno* aldaera ongi dokumentatutik (M. Duque, 1983: 13, 26, 36) Orbaibarko *Garinoain* (AV, 18). Patronimikoen artean *Garindoiz* dugu (M. Duque, 1983: 49, 102).

—*Gardel*, *Gardele*: honen patronimikoak *Gardeleiz*, *Gardeliz* dira (M. Duque, 1986: 26, 97); *-ain*-ekin *Gardelain*, *Gardalain* despoplatua dugu Oibar haranean (Salaberrri, 1994). Araban *Gardelegi* dago, beste atzizki batekin.

—Baztango *Gartzain* azaltzeko Cara Barojak (1945: 72) *García* proposatzen du, eta Mitxelenak (AV, 17, 267) ontzat hartzen duela dirudi, atzizkia dela-eta ezagunak diren oztopoak mahai gainean ezartzen baditu ere; Mikel Belaskok (1996: 210) **Gartz* pertsona izen identifikatugabearen oinarrituz azaltzen du. Gure irudiz *Garzea*, *Garze* aldaera ongi dokumentatutik abiatuta errazago azal daiteke, hau da, **Garzeani* batetik, edo atzizkia garai batetik aurrera beregaina zela onartzen bada, **Garzeain*-etik. Patronimiko ugarien artean *Garzeitz* dago.

—*Gariso* (*Garcia Gariso*, Lacarra, 1965: 110), *Galisso*, *Calisso* (*Galisso Garceiz* = *Calisso Garceiz*, ib., 77) izenetik abiatuak seguru aski Nafarroako *Garisoain* azaltzen ahalko dugu (*-ss-* izkiriaturik ageri ohi da Erdi Aroan; ikus *NHI*, 162). Ez dugu izen honen patronimikorik ediren, oraino. Mikel Belaskok (1996: 207) **Gariso* izen identifikatugabearen oinarritzen du herri izen hau, baina garbi dago izartxoaren behar handirik ez dagoela, kasu honetan.

—*Gendul(e)* izenetik abiatuak Nafarroako *Gendulain* herri izena (Esteribar, Longida, Odieta, Zizur zendea) azal daiteke (Caro Baroja, 1945: 72; Mitxelena, AV, 18). Patronimikoak *Genduleiz* (M. Duque, 1983: 64, 152), *Gendulez* (Lacarra, 1965: 3), *Genduliz* eta *Gentuliz* (latin itxuraz) dira (M. Duque, 1983: 6, 14).

—*Muniain* (Artzibar, Gesalatz, Iguzkitza): Caro Barojak proposatu (1945: 74-75) eta Mitxelenak onartu bezala (AV, 18, 457), badirudi *Munio-*

² *Echay de ezcurra*, Ezkurra, 1552, Atarrabiako protokoloak, 1. k., 82. zkia.

rekin lotu beharra dagoela. Patronimikoak, beste anitzen artean, *Munioiz* (Ciérbide, 1993: 72), *Munioz* (ib., 56) dira.

—*Otxandiano* Bizkaiko herri izena Caro Barojaren arabera (1945: 88) *Ochoa andia*-tik eratorri beharra dago; bukaera, bistan denez, beste toponimo askotan opatzen dugun *-ano* da, ez *-ain*, bi atzizkiok oinarri berari erantsirik ere opatzen baditugu ere, baina ez herri izen bera aditzera emateko, jakina (cf. *Barañain/Barañano*). Badirudi Mitxelena AV-en ados dagoela Caro Barojarekin, hor gauzak gure ustean zeharo garbi ez badaude ere. Izen hau azaltzeko beste bide bat *Otsando*, *Otxando* izen ezagunetik abiatzea litzateke, edo honen **Otsande*, **Otxande*-ren moduko aldaera batetik (cf. *Ilurde* eta *Ilurdotz* edo *Lope* < *Lop* < *Lopo*). Patronimikoetan *Ochandez* ere badugu (Lacarra, 1965: 365), *Ochandoiz* (ib., 29), *Ossandoiz* (M. Duque, 1983: 125) eta *Ossandoc* (Lacarra, 1965: 29) ez ezik, eta **Otxandeano*-ren moduko batetik *Otxandiano* erdiesteko lehenik eta *Otxandio* gero arazorik ez dago.

—*Otsakain*: Mikel Belaskok dioenez (1996: 343) seguru aski *Otsoko* izenetik eratorri beharra dago; patronimikoak *Osocoiz* (Carrasco, 1973: 296), *Ochocoitz* (García Larragueta: 1976-77, 65) dira, besteak beste.

—*Santsoain*, *Antsoain* (Urraulbeiti, Orbaibar, Antsoain zendea): Caro Barojak (1945:75-76) eta batik bat Mitxelenak (AV, 58) garbi ikusi zuten bezala, *Santso*, *Antso* dago Nafarroako herri izen horien azpian. Patronimiko ugarien artean —denek hasieran *s-* dutela— *Sansoiz* (Lacarra, 1965: 51) da hurbilena dagoena.

—*Urdain*: Caro Barojak (1945: 76) ikusi zuen gisan, *Urde*-ren tankerako izen batez pentsatu beharra dago Burundako herri izena azaltzeko. *Urde*-rekin lotua dagoen *urdain*-etik («zerrizaina» jatorriz; ikus AV, 585) edo hobeki erran, *urdain* horren elkarketako aldaera den *urdan*-etik (< **urdani*), berez «jabegoa» adiera bide zuen atzizkiaren eransketaren ondorioz (ikus goitiago erran duguna) Esteribarko *Urdanitz* aterako zen, eta hemendik, gero, *Urdániz* (erdaraz)/*Urdaitz* (euskaraz) (ikus Salaberri, 1993).

Nafarroan (Goñerrian) dugun *Urdánoz/Urdotz* lehenagoko *Urdanotz* batetik atera dira, eta hau, bere aldetik, aipatu dugun *urdan*-en gainean eraikitako patronimiko itxurako toponimoa (cf. *Ilurdotz*) izan daiteke, Nafarroako Erdi Aroko dokumentazioan oso garbi ikusten baita atzizki patronimikoaren aldaera desberdinen arteko zalantza, zenbaitetan aldaera desberdin horiek oinarri diferentexeari (bokalduna, bokalik gabea...) zor badakioke ere. Konparaziorako ikus adibide hauek: *Lope Galindoiz* = *Lope Galindoniz* (Lacarra, 1965: 88)/ *Exemen Galindez* (ib., 190); *Galindo Galindiç de Içena* (García Larragueta, 1957: 375); *Ochoa Marcoiz* (Ostolaza, 1978: 175); *Roy Marcoyc* (García Larragueta, 1957: 425)/*Martin, fi de Sancha Maria Arcoiz* (Carrasco, 1973: 234)/ *Maria Marcoz* (Lacarra, 1965: 321)/*Pero Marquiz* (Carrasco, 1973: 229); *Garçia Marquiz* (ib., 307)/*Ochoa Marcuz de Ylardia* (Mitxelena, AV, 22). Erdi Aroan *Urdanz* patronimikoa dugu Nafarroan (*Eneco Urdanz*; Ostolaza, 1978: 38).

—*Zuriain*: Caro Barojak (1945: 76) *Zuri*-tik eratortzen du; K. Mitxelenak Barojaren ekarpena iruzkintzean *Zuriain Zuri*-tik ateratakotzat ematen

badu ere (AV, 18), gero, *zuri*-ren eratorriak aztertzerakoan (ib., 632) ez du *Zuriain* aipatzen, eta liburuko izen aurkibidean galdera markaz horniturik opatzen dugu Esteribarko herriaren izena, honen eta *zuri*-ren arteko lotura dudazkotzat hartzen zuela adierazteko. M. Belaskok (1996: 441) **Zuri*-tik eratorzen du, Caro Barojaren oinatzetan, eta gerok ere hortik atera dela uste dugu. Patronimikotzat *Curitz* dugu Uharte Garaziko *Petri Curitz* deizioan (Ciérbide, 1993: 103).

Hortaz, garbi gelditu dela uste dugu patronimiaren eta toponimiaren artean dagoen lotura estua dela; hain estua ezen forma bera —*Beraskoitz*, *I(l)lurdotz*— patronimikotako nahiz herri izentako azal baitaiteke, jatorriz eza-batu datekeen izena, kasu batean eta bestean, desberdina izanagatik. *-(e, i)tz*-en eta *-ain*-en arteko (neurri bateko) baliakidetzak ere garbi gelditu dela uste dugu.

Besterik da, ordea, ugaritasunezkotzat hartu izan den —berez tokizkoa zela frogatu genuela uste dugu. Ikus Salaberri, 1997 *-tze*, *-tza* atzizkia eta *Beraskoitz*, *Ilurdotz*-en azaltzen den *-(i)tz* bera den erratea. Hemen, lehenik, *-tze* eta *-tza* berez atzizki beraren aldaera bana besterik ez diren jakin behar genuke seguru, edo bi atzizki diferente diren.

Aipatu ditugun *Agoitz*, *Beraskoitz*, *Ilurdotz* herri izenetan oinarriturik, daitekeena da garai batez *-(e, i)tz* tokizkotzat sentitu eta toponimia txikira ere zabaltzea, eta adibidez, *baba*, *patata*, *tipula* eta besteri eranstea, *babatza*, *patatatze*, *tipulatze* eta abar sortuz, baina hemen bada, dena dela, oztopo handi bat: nondik atera dira *-tze*, *-tza*-ren bukaerako *-e*, *-a* horiek? Zeren, erran bezala, atzizki patronimikoa *-(e, i)(t)z* izan ohi baita, hots, txistukariz bukatu aldaera. Pentsa liteke agian, *-tze*-ren kasuan, azkeneko *-e* hori *atze*, *aurre*-rekin agitu bezala toki izenetan deklinatzearen ondorio dela? Baina, *-tza*-renean, horrela balitz ere, nola azaldu bukaerako *-a*?

Guztiarekin ere, oroitu beharra dago patronimiko batzuek bukaeran *-e* izan dutela, gurean gutxienak izan diren arren: *Aprez Lequentize*, *Tellu Vinquentize* eta *Veila Laquentize* (Mitxelena, 1988: 602), *Sancho Garceice*, *Aceñar Garceice*, *Fortun Garceice* (Lacarra, 1965: 115). Izan ere, ez da atzendu behar patronimikoen iturritzat maiz *-icus* atzizkiaren *-ici* genitiboa eman izan dela, eta honetatik abiaturik *-(i)tze* atera zitekeela, erromantzez behintzat, euskaraz amaierako *-i > -e* pausoa ezin baita erraz azaldu; konponbidea euskarak hartu orduko atzizki horretan *-e* zegoela pentsatzea litzateke.

-Tza-ri dagokionez, ez dugu aiantzi behar forma zaharra *-(t)zaha* zela, eta, beraz, zail samarra dirudi gure *-(e, i)tz* honekin lotzea. Bestalde, garbi dago toponimian, nagusian eta txikian, hasieran *-tze* zena *-tz* bilakatu dela zenbaitetan (cf. *Elortz*, *Olatz*...), hau da, bukaerako bokala galdu dela, *-larre*, *-luze*-ri usu gertatzen zaien bezala, baina kontrakoa ez da, dakigunez, gertatu, hots, ez dugu lehenik *-tz* eta gero *-tze* izan. *-Tza*-k bere horretan irauten du, bokala galdu gabe.

Beste alde batetik, eta gerok (1997) iradoki bezala, *erortza*-ren modukoetako atzizkia aditzetan aurkitzen dugun atzizkiarekin lot liteke agian, *eror-*

tze-rekin alegia, eta *egoitza*-ren tankerakoak *egoiten*-en gisakoekin, azken kasu honetan tarteko *-i-* hori, *Agoitz*, *Beraskoitz*-en modukoetan dugun *-i-* horren bitartez —erroa, ikusi bezala, latineko genitiboan du— azal litekeelarik. *Erortza/egoitza* txandakatzea, *Ilurdotz/Beraskoitz* txandakatzearekin aldera daiteke, hots, patronimikoek aurkezten duten dantza ezagunarekin (*Enekoitz/Eneko(t)z/Enekitz*).

Afrikaridun atzizkia aditzarekin lotzeko dakusagun beste arazo bat *-tz-/te-* oposaketa da, *n-ez* eta txistukariz bukatzen diren aditzetan, baina honek agian izan lezake bere azalpena. Oroitarazi nahi dugu, dena dela, zenbait patronimikok —gutxik gure artean (*Eneco Enecoint*, J. Jurío, 1968: 63; *Galindo Mainxoit*, M. Duque: 1983. Cf. *Sancio Mainxoiz de Villanoua*, ib. 59), gehiagok hemendik beheiti; ikus Gonzalo Díez Melcón, 1957— *-t* hutsa aurkezten dutela. Toponimian *Lete* (*Leete*, *Lehete*), *Ipete*... badira, eta ozen ondoan *-de* dutenak ere bai (*Bizkarde*, *Epelde*...).

Honela dakusagu bada guk gai hau une honetan, arazo eta oztopoz betarik, baina zalantzek eta ezjakinak osatzen duten horma beltzaren zirrikituetatik iluntasuna hausten duten argi izpiak sartzen direla, etorkizun itxaropentsu baten igerle.

3. Toponomastikaren eta dialektologiaren artean dauden harremanen azterketa

Hirugarren puntua dela eta, erran beharra dugu gure tesiaren helburuetako bat (Salaberri, 1994) toponomastikaz baliatzea izan zela, dialektologia-erendako argigarriak izan zitezkeen datuak ateratzeko. Gero moldatu ditugun lantxo batzuen ere bai, besteak beste Iruñean egin berri ditugun Dialektologia jardunaldietan aurkeztutako lanarena.

Hemen garbi utzi nahi ditugu puntu batzuk. Lehenbizikorik, toponomastikaren azterketatik atera ditzakegun ondorioak mugatuak direla, bereziki aditzari eta joskerari dagokienez, nahiz eta arlo horietan ere argitasun zenbait erdiets daitezkeen. Emaitzarik jorienak fonetika-fonologia, eratorpen eta hiztegi arlokoak izan ohi dira.

Erran beharra dugu, orobat, Nafarroan bederen alderdi guztiak ez direla berdin aberatsak, edo bestela erran, dialektologiaren aldetik eremu batzuk beste batzuk baino interesgarriagoak direla. Hemen, labur-zurrean, oraindaino egin ditugun azterketetan ukitutako puntu gutxi batzuk baizik ez ditugu aipatuko:

- [j]-en ebakitze ahoskabea ([š]). Hau Oibar haraneko Ageza eta Eslabako toponimo gutxi batzuetan aurkitzen dugu: *Arrixauzkuneta* (< *harri* + *xauzi* + *gune* + *-eta*) genuen Agezan, eta *Sabizábal* (< *Xaugizabal*; mendi baten izena da, zeinen lehen osagaia, *xaugi* alegia, *ja(u)lki*, *jalgi* «atera»-rekin lotua dagokeen partizipioa dela iruditu baitu. Morionesen lehen *Jaugi* eta orain *Auría* deitzen den gaina dago), eta

- Sirgún* (< *Xauzgun* < *xauzi* + *-gun*) Eslaban. Norbaitek xehetasun gehiago nahi baditu Salaberri, 1994: 102-103 eta 296-298 ikus dezake.
- Artaxoako *-(r)e* sudurkaririk gabeko genitiboaren hondarkia. Hizkuntzaren muga luzaroan egon den herri honetan bakarrean aurkitzen dugu *-(r)e*; inguruetan, dakigunez, *-n-dun* formez besterik ez dago. Ditugun lekukoak mordoxka dira, eta ez dugu uste zalantzarako biderik dagoenik; egia da, dena den, tarteka *-n-dun* aldaera ere azaltzen dela. Lekuko garbienak XVI. mendekoak dira, baina XVIII. mende arte, eta baita XIX. mende arte (euskara galtzen den garai arte) irauten dutenak ere badira.
 - Ameskoa eta Lanako despalatalizazioa edo bustidurarik eza, [inV] testuinguruan. Orain gutxi Iruñean izan ziren dialektologia jardunaldietan erran bezala, Ameskoetan XVII-XVIII. mendeetan aldaera bustiak eta bustigabeak txandakatzen dira, baina azken hauek besteak halako bi dira, eta gaur egun bizirik ditugun toponimoetan [inV] besterik ez dago. Lanako joera, irudiz, oraindik nabarmenagoa da puntu honetan, dokumentazio guztian, guk dakigula, behin bakarrik ageri baita *-gaña*; beste guztietan [inV] dugu. Egia da, bestalde, bizirik ditugun toponimoak, ibar honetan, pare bat besterik ez direla, baina hauetan ere despalatalizazioa dugu.

Laburdurak

AV: *Apellidos vascos*, Koldo Mitxelena, Txertoa, Donostia, 1989, 4. argitarapena.

NHI: *Nafarroako Herri Izendegia-Nomenclátor Euskérico de Navarra*, Euskaltzaindia, Nafarroako Gobernua, Iruñea, 1990.

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ABSTRACT

Onomastics, a tool for the study of Basque

In this paper the author presents the type of investigation he is developing recently. The author's three main areas of interest are the following: a) normalisation of place names, b) investigation on toponomastics (etymology and so on), and c) the relationship that exists between toponomastics and dialectology.

Concerning the first point, the author explains that up to the present a lot of normalization work has been done, but that the need for doing things urgently has prevented investigators from theorizing about that normalization. In the second point the author presents his attempt to clarify the origin of some Basque suffixes which appear not only in place names but also in patronymics, examining at the same time the etymology of some of the names underlying the mentioned formations. In the third and last point the author aims to show that the results that can be obtained from the analysis of place names are not very rich. There are, nevertheless, some interesting data that must be used in dialectological investigations.

En torno a la onomástica vasca

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1. Recorro a este título tan cómodo para tratar de algunas cuestiones que pueden resultar de interés, a propósito de los estudios de onomástica relacionados con la lengua vasca, en este encuentro que nos reúne bajo el nombre y la memoria de Luis Michelena, él mismo una figura destacadísima también en este campo.

Si es grande la importancia de la onomástica para conocer el pasado de cualquier lengua, lo es más en casos como el nuestro, en que los textos, en sentido estricto, tardaron tanto en llegar. De modo que los vascólogos siempre se han encontrado con la perentoria necesidad de expresar los materiales onomásticos de los siglos más o menos remotos, tanto en nombres de persona como de lugar.

Excede los límites de este trabajo el remontarnos mucho, por ejemplo, hasta Humboldt, quien nos visitó en dos ocasiones tratando de tocar con las manos lo que a él y a otros muchos parecía una evidencia: que el euskara era ni más ni menos que el ibérico. Dicho de otro modo: Humboldt era un *vasco-iberista*, denominación moderna (anterior a 1914, por lo menos) para una idea con varios siglos de antigüedad, y pensemos en Poza, Baltasar de Echeave, Larramendi y otros.¹

¹ José Miguel Azaola (comunicación personal, de 1997) me ha hecho ver que, contrariamente a lo que yo había escrito (Knörr 1997), no fue Caro Baroja el creador de los términos *vasco-iberismo* y *vasco-iberista*. Azaola citaba como prueba el libro de Pedro Aguado Bleye, *Manual de historia de España*. Y, en efecto, si leemos esta conocida obra de quien fue catedrático del Instituto de Bilbao y miembro de la Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya, en el volumen I de la 5.^a edición, de 1927, págs. 75-76, encontramos lo siguiente: «... se supone que el euskera o lengua vasca procede del ibero, aduciéndose, en comprobación, la existencia de nombres geográficos (toponimia) que pueden explicarse por la lengua vasca, en toda la Península, en el Sur de Francia (Aquitania), en Sicilia y Córcega y en el Norte de África (Berbería). Esto parece indicar identidad de nuestra población primitiva y la de estos países, aunque la lengua por sí sola no basta para determinar un tipo étnico. El problema del vasco-iberismo. La identificación entre vascos e iberos constituye el problema llamado del *vasco-iberismo*, problema no resuelto y que tiene un doble aspecto: el lingüístico y el etnológico. Para algunos historiadores,

2. Avanzando más hacia nuestro tiempo, es evidente que los estudios sobre onomástica vasca deben mucho a trabajos realizados desde el último cuarto del siglo XIX. Buen ejemplo de ello son las investigaciones de personalidades como Achille Luchaire (principalmente Luchaire 1877 y 1881 / 1973)² y Fidel Fita (Fita 1883). Debemos al primero, como se sabe, el haberse percatado del carácter vasco o vascoide de nombres aquitanos de la época romana y haber hecho un análisis en modo alguno desdeñable de los elementos de la toponimia vasca. En cuanto a Fita, por el momento dejaremos a un lado otros muchos méritos, que el País no le ha reconocido como merece, entre ellos el haber editado la *Corografía de Guipúzcoa* de Larramendi y el *Suplemento* de Araquistain al diccionario de su no menos ilustre compañero en la Compañía de Jesús. Aquí recordemos sus observaciones acerca de los nombres de la Reja de Álava, ese precioso documento de 1025 que editó junto con la relación, incompleta, de los pueblos alaveses que contribuyeron al cerco de Tarifa, de 1294. Señalemos que por los mismos años apareció el interesante trabajo de Pott sobre los apellidos vascos (Pott 1875). Y antes de concluir esa centuria, en 1897, apareció un trabajo meritorio, a pesar de sus complicadas y arbitrarias clasificaciones, el *Tratado etimológico de los apellidos euskéricos*, de Sabino Arana (Arana Goiri 1965).

3. A decir verdad, lo que vino después no fue muy granado ni de muy alta calidad, exceptuando algunos estudios como los de Menéndez Pidal (sobre todo Menéndez Pidal 1952). El sabio director de la Real Academia Española nos dejó no pocos materiales vascos de índole onomástica diseminados en su ingente obra, y, entre otras cosas, fue el descubridor del origen de *Chamar-tín*, en cuyo primer elemento identificó el antropónimo vasco *Aita*, *Egga*, etc.

los que siguen la doctrina de Von Humboldt, en toda España existe un fondo lingüístico claramente perceptible y anterior a las invasiones celtas, púnicas y romanas, y este fondo es de tipo vasco; para esta escuela los vascos, al menos en su lengua, son una supervivencia ibera. Otros historiadores niegan todo parentesco entre los vascos y su lengua y los iberos y el idioma o idioma ibéricos. Y, finalmente, otro grupo menos importante se desentiende de las dos cuestiones anteriores, para afirmar la existencia en la Península de un fondo lingüístico, anterior a lo celta y a lo latino, e independiente de las lenguas ibérica y vasca». En nota a pie de página Aguado Bleye mencionaba la tesis doctoral de Enrique Eguren (uno de los *Tres tristes trogloditas* —con Barandiaran y Aranzadi—, bautizados así por un periodista, injustamente por lo que toca al adjetivo, como solía decir Barandiaran), *Estado actual de la Arqueología y Prehistoria vasca*, Bilbao 1914, con esta indicación: «La primera parte, dedicada al estudio del vasco-iberismo. Es muy interesante, aunque no se destacan con precisión las referencias de más autoridad». En su tesis, leída el año anterior, Eguren dedica muchas páginas al *vasco-iberismo*, designado así.

² Luchaire había publicado en 1874 sus «Remarques sur les noms de lieux du Pays Basque» (LUCHAIRE 1874), base del texto posterior, capítulo IV de su *Étude sur les idiomes pyrénéens de la région française*. A la vista de la obra vascológica de Luchaire, hay que dar la razón a Lacombe, quien, en su necrológica, y tras mencionar sus principales trabajos vascológicos, escribió (LACOMBE 1908: p. 809): «... tout Basquisant lira [...] avec fruit les travaux précités, qui sont fort estimables et contiennent d'utiles renseignements, en dépit des erreurs qu'ils renferment».

No podemos dejar de mencionar a Federico Baraibar (Baraibar 1919), consciente como pocos de la importancia de las formas toponímicas antiguas. Un seguidor y admirador de Baraibar³ es Odón de Apraiz, autor de un erudito trabajo acerca de la toponimia antigua (Apraiz 1920), por más que su idea de un cambio $r > l$, (*H*)uribarri > (*H*)ulibarri, etc., en los nombres de pueblos alaveses se haya revelado errónea, como certeramente probó Michelena (Michelena 1977: 313); el maestro renteriano señaló que es al revés: las formas (*H*)ulibarri, etc. son las antiguas, y quedaron fijadas por mor de su carácter oficial, en tanto que la gente empleaba las formas evolucionadas. Al lado de Apraiz, atento a la ciencia lingüística, alguien como Echalar (Echalar 1915) se nos presenta como un discípulo de Astarloa y Cejador, de tan buena voluntad como pobres capacidades, en su trabajo, extrañamente célebre, «Disertación sobre el análisis e interpretación de los nombres toponímicos vascos»⁴. Coetáneo de Apraiz, pero también a mucha distancia de él en formación lingüística, Justo Gárate se prodigó antes y después de la guerra civil con artículos sobre nombres de lugar, muy dado al *partit pris*, por ejemplo, cuando ve en *Durango* un supuesto **Padurango* con aféresis (Gárate 1953 y Gárate 1961).⁵

En cambio, es digno de mención el empuje dado a la recogida de los nombres de lugar y también de apellidos a partir del famoso llamamiento de 1915, titulado *Patronimia y toponimia vasca. A los vascos de buena voluntad*, firmado por Arturo Campión, Federico Baraibar, Eduardo Velasco López-Cano, Manuel de Arriandiaga y Luis Eleizalde⁶, llamamiento completado el año siguiente por el folleto, de carácter práctico y destinado a los recolectores de topónimos y apellidos, *Indicaciones elementales sobre la formación de voces toponímicas vascas*, que sabemos es fundamentalmente obra de Eleizalde⁷. Aunque los frutos no fueran tan abundantes como el entusiasmo inicial auguraba —y ante todo por la guerra civil y sus consecuencias— podemos citar aquí el rico repertorio de Eleizalde (Eleizalde 1922-1930, 1963-1964) como principal resultado.⁸

³ «Baraibar era un florentino», solía repetir Apraiz (comunicación personal).

⁴ El eco de Astarloa es patente ya en la primera página, donde Echalar escribe que «se puede señalar cierta significación constante que se observa en determinadas sílabas iniciales y finales» (Echalar 1915: p. 1.049).

⁵ Gárate quería extender la aféresis también a *Gasteiz*, de un hipotético **Sagasteiz* (comunicación personal). Véase el comentario de Michelena (Michelena 1973: p. 12): «Refiriéndome a un caso concreto, citado por el mismo Gárate, yo no confiaría demasiado en la corrección de su etimología de *Durango*. La posibilidad de que *Durango* continúe un antiguo **Padurango* es eso, una posibilidad, y naturalmente no incurriré en la temeridad de intentar probar lo que no es posible. Pero, si ha caído una sílaba inicial, ¿qué nos garantiza que haya sido *pa-* y no *pe-* o *ti-* o *ku-*?».

⁶ Ver el texto en *Euskalerrriaren alde* 5, 1915, 242-246.

⁷ Comunicación personal de Odón de Apraiz.

⁸ Para la historia de estos proyectos es interesante Ciérbide 1985.

4. En este recuento selectivo, es obligado citar la aparición, en el desierto posterior a 1939, del libro *Materiales para una historia de la lengua vasca en su relación con la latina*, de Julio Caro Baroja (Caro Baroja 1945), una obra cuyas cualidades están a la vista. Es el primer intento serio de interpretación de la toponimia vasca de origen latino, siguiendo los pasos de Fita, Meyer-Lübke, Aebischer, Menéndez Pidal y otros. Es lástima que esta obra no haya contado con un índice de nombres en ninguna de las tres ediciones que ha tenido. Ello hubiera facilitado infinitamente el manejo de un libro imprescindible, escrito por un hombre de una sólida formación clásica, por no mencionar otros saberes.

Es verdad que una parte de los nombres vascos citados por Caro Baroja no han encontrado aún explicación satisfactoria, y ello a pesar de trabajos de otros autores, como «Álava pre-romana y romana: estudio lingüístico», de M. Lourdes Albertos (Albertos 1970). Y, por otro lado, sigue siendo un misterio la terminación *-ano*, en topónimos como *Aprikano* en Álava o *Gollano* en Navarra, cuya vocal final está en estridente contradicción con el mantenimiento de la *-u* en los préstamos del latín.

5. Situados ahora en el comienzo de la segunda mitad del siglo xx, salta a la vista la enorme aportación de Luis Michelena en el campo que nos ocupa. No pretendemos hacer aquí un balance del académico, de cuya «omnipresencia» en los estudios vascos habló Jean Haritschelhar en una ocasión especial (Haritschelhar 1982: 21). Indiquemos que Michelena cultivó este campo en trabajos específicos, como el magnífico *Apellidos vascos* —primera edición 1953—, «De onomástica aquitana» —de 1954—, o «Introducción fonética a la onomástica vasca» —de 1956—⁹, y también con innumerables juicios y observaciones dispersos en libros y artículos. Interesa poner de relieve que Michelena fue lector voraz de un cúmulo admirablemente extenso de textos relevantes para la onomástica del País, buscando y rebuscando información no sólo en la literatura vasca y en los repertorios como el mencionado de Eleizalde, sino también en fuentes históricas de todo género, incluso las más inopinadas, que se habían publicado hasta entonces y las que iban saliendo. Entre éstas últimas ocupan un lugar especial las editadas por José María Lacarra y su escuela, y nada tiene de extraño que Michelena se estrenara en el primer número de *Fontes*, en 1969, con un brillantísimo trabajo acerca del volumen I del Cartulario de Iratxe (Michelena 1969), aparecido cuatro años antes.

A falta de mejores instrumentos, los nombres de persona y de lugar fueron para Michelena un medio excelente para descubrir no pocos arcanos de la lengua antigua y moderna. «Me han apasionado y me apasionan los problemas de la reconstrucción del protovasco», dejó escrito expresamente (Michelena 1973: 240). Pero había algo más en esa búsqueda entre nombres

⁹ «Que es como un subproducto de *Apellidos [vascos]*», según dice él mismo, *Apellidos vascos*, p. 240.

propios: «Además, si he de expresar francamente mi mayor deseo, quería y quiero poner en relación nuestros apellidos y topónimos con los de otras lenguas, ante todo con los de las vecinas» (Michelena 1973: 238). Es decir, singularidad vasca, sí, pero no como meteorito caído del cielo, sino pieza de un conjunto histórico-cultural variopinto.

No rehuyó Michelena la polémica abierta, en cuestiones que le parecían esenciales. Citemos el artículo «Nota marginal sobre la huella latina en la lengua vasca», una parte del cual está dedicado a rebatir opiniones de M. Lourdes Albertos acerca del carácter indoeuropeo prerromano de muchos topónimos de Álava en la Antigüedad (Michelena 1972: 13-25).

5. Los años anteriores y posteriores a la muerte de Michelena han visto un muy esperanzador florecimiento de los estudios onomásticos en nuestro País, en múltiples direcciones. Algunos, como es evidente, han venido a completar y ampliar trabajos del maestro, y es obligado mencionar aquí la tesis de Gorrochategui acerca del aquitano (Gorrochategui 1984). Hay que citar igualmente los libros de la colección académica *Onomasticon Vasconiae*, inaugurada en 1984 con el primero de los volúmenes que Jimeno Jurío (a quien tanto debemos) ha consagrado a la toponimia de la Cuenca de Pamplona (Jimeno Jurío 1986). En esa misma serie han visto la luz materiales imprescindibles, desde las tres contribuciones fundamentales de López de Guereñu sobre la toponimia alavesa (López de Guereñu 1989) hasta la tesis de Salaberri Zaratiegi (Salaberri Zaratiegi 1994), encomiable esfuerzo de aprovechamiento de los nombres de lugar para identificar los rasgos del euskara que se hablaba en una amplia comarca navarra, pasando por volúmenes como el que recoge las I Jornadas de Onomástica celebradas por Euskaltzaindia (Knörr - Líbano 1991), o los repertorios de toponimia medieval de Ángeles Líbano, en proceso de edición (Líbano 1996 y 1997).

6. La onomástica vasca ha sido también objeto de estudio en obras generales sobre el euskara. Es el caso, por ejemplo, de *A history of Basque*, de Robert L. Trask (Trask 1997), un libro que era necesario, y sobre todo para los lingüistas de todo el mundo interesados en nuestra lengua.

Ahora bien, junto a una presentación muy digna de los problemas de esta rama de la ciencia lingüística, observamos en la obra de Trask algunos defectos que eran evitables si el autor hubiera tenido más a mano documentación esencial. Sirvan estas pocas anotaciones: *Leitz* (léase *Leitza*) no debe confundirse con *Leniz* (p. 330). Hay cierto consenso en la etimología de *Araba* < *Alaba* < *A-laua* < lat. *planum* (p. 332). *Legutio* es un producto muy reciente y de ciertos medios euskaltzales, por analogía con *Otxandio*, siendo la forma antigua *Legutiano* (p. 336)¹⁰. En cuanto a la relación de nombres de lugar de

¹⁰ Como es sabido, en euskara se ha dicho y se dice *Billerle*, *Millerle*, < **Billarreale* < castellano *Villarreal*, nombre hasta hace poco oficial que pierde terreno a ojos vista en beneficio del recuperado *Legutiano* de la carta puebla.

Elorrio, villa tan familiar (en los dos sentidos de la palabra) a Trask, sorprenden algunos comentarios, por ejemplo: *Aiztikua*, que para el autor es un enigma, aparece en las Fogueraciones de Vizcaya (Irigoyen - Olasolo 1998) como *Aresticua*, lo que hace el nombre diáfano. *Azpotxa*, del que Trask escribe «perhaps better *Aspotxa*, from *haspo*», es una conocida contracción de *Arespakotxaga*, < (*h*)aretx + bakotx + -aga, «lugar del roble único». *Zuburruti*, donde Trask supone *zur* «madera» + *barruti* «cercado», no puede ser más que *Zubiurruti*, forma atestiguada de ese topónimo de Elorrio en 1745 (y nada infrecuente en Vasconia, por ejemplo *Zubiurrutia* en Artajona, en 1268¹¹), con lo que su sentido está fuera de toda duda: «allende el puente», cf. *Urazurrutia*, topónimo de Bilbao (con marca de instrumental determinado, es decir, *ur-a-z*), que tiene su equivalente en castellano allí: *Allendelagua*.

7. Reciente es asimismo un artículo de Joaquín Gorrochategui sobre la onomástica de nuestra lengua, «Basque names» (Gorrochategui 1995), compendio pedagógico de unos usos detectados a través de los siglos. Nunca agradeceremos lo suficiente estos trabajos en un ámbito con graves carencias aún de manuales y estudios fundamentales.

Me permitiré dos o tres observaciones a este trabajo. Por ejemplo, me inclinaría a pensar que *García de Lotza* (Leire 331, en el mismo documento figura *Eneco de Lotza*, el donante¹²) no debe relacionarse con *lotsa* (*lotza* por error en el artículo) «vergüenza», sino con la aldea de Peñacerrada llamada *Loza*, cuya forma vasca era muy probablemente *Lotza*, sin duda de *lohi* «barro» + el sufijo abundancial *-tza*, en la Reja escrito *Loza*. En efecto, hay que tener en cuenta que el donante cede a Leire sus casas de Dorroño, pueblo treviñés próximo. También creo que *-ote* (p. 750), lejos de tener «augmentative value», es el frecuente sufijo de diminutivo, con no pocas variantes, y pensemos en *Enecot*, *Semerot*, *Juangot*, *Juangote*, *Ochote*, etc., sufijo que vemos en lenguas vecinas, cf. el apellido bearnés actual *Navarrot*. En la p. 750, naturalmente, hay que leer *Novenera*, la conocida pecha (el texto dice *Noverena*). Sobre *Aurgutia* (Iratxe 224, año 1198), que el autor traduce «who has few sons», quizá podría proponerse la explicación (*h*)aur + *gutia*, «niño pequeño». *Arriestaria*, en la p. 754, actual *Arrastaria*, no debe confundirse con la vecina comarca de Ayala. Y en esa misma página léase *Jandonebiquendioste*, no *Jaudone-* (< *Jaundonebikendioste*, «detrás [de la ermita] del (señor) San Vicente»), labrantío de Los Huetos (Álava), en 1587, en el repertorio de López de Guereñu (López de Guereñu 1989).

8. Merece la pena, entre otras cosas, repasar los ricos materiales de la tesis de Andres Iñigo, *Toponomástica histórica del Valle de Santesteban de Lerín*, publicada no hace mucho (Iñigo 1996). Y merece la pena no sólo por los méritos de la obra, sino porque se trata de una zona de la que sabíamos bien poco.

¹¹ Jimeno Jurío 1968: p. 157.

¹² Martín Duque 1983: p. 428.

Espigando entre los muchos aspectos dignos de comentarse, podríamos empezar por *Irugun* (p. 77), nombre de un barrio de Ituren. El autor prefiere recurrir a *-gun*, lo que acaso no sea correcto, si tenemos en cuenta el carácter secundario de esta forma respecto a *-un*, *-une*, *-ue*. Más adelante habla Iñigo de la caída de la *-e* en casos como *Lezaun*, *Ataun*, etc. Me parece incontestable que *-un* es anterior a *-une*.

Dudo también acerca de la relación de *Anodia* (p. 92), topónimo de Doneztebe, con *ano(h)a*, dado que esa segunda *a* pertenece al tema (< lat. *an-nona*).

El autor hace bien al conectar *Aparan* (p. 93), vega de Doneztebe, con *ap(h)o*, que en composición es *ap(h)a-*. Sin embargo, hay que señalar que *apaburu* y *zapaburu* no son «topónimos alaveses». Son palabras del léxico común, en el romance de Álava *zapaburu* y *sapalburu* (por cierto, las formas con *z-* quizá por contaminación de *zapa(du)*, *zapa(tu)*).

El topónimo *Arridia*, de Doneztebe (p. 98), es buen recordatorio contra el arraigado prejuicio de atribuir el sufijo *-di* sólo a fitónimos.

Andres Iñigo da como una de las dos soluciones posibles de *Azpeltza* (p. 104), pieza de Doneztebe, remitir a *ezpel*, y recuerda que Patxi Salaberri Zaratiegi, en su tesis, asociaba *Azpilkueta* con *ezpel*, proponiendo como origen **Ezpelkoeta* (con *-ko* diminutivo). Dicha asociación con *ezpel* me parece correcta, pero sigo creyendo que el segundo elemento es *leku*. *Azpilkueta* y variantes, por tanto, serían «Bojedales», < **Azpil-lekueta* < **Ezpel-lekueta*.

No es de extrañar un neotopónimo como *Bearzana* (p. 106), frontón de Doneztebe. Es éste un campo mal estudiado entre nosotros. Merecería la pena recoger todo ese cúmulo nombres de casas, como *Gure ametsa*, etc., tan usual sobretodo en chalés (y no raras veces con poco gusto).

A propósito de *Bunagorri* (p. 109), loma entre Doneztebe y Legasa, no estará de más mencionar los dos nombres de Bera citados por Eleizalde: *Bunoa* y *Bunokoiturria*.

Es interesante la observación de Iñigo acerca de la inexistencia de *karrika* en la documentación toponímica (p. 127).

Hay pasajes realmente brillantes en esta tesis, como cuando Iñigo analiza el nombre *Topilloberro* (p. 149), terreno de Doneztebe, proponiendo un primitivo **Ttopillo*, sin duda híbrido. Asimismo acertado me parece suponer, como hace el autor, **Pútzeta* para *Puzta* (p. 312), pastizal de Ituren. Dicho sea de paso, aunque no debiera hacerlo de paso, uno de los grandes méritos de la tesis es haber marcado los acentos y haber atendido debidamente a estos fenómenos.

Acierta Andres Iñigo al abstenerse de emitir juicios en cantidad de nombres oscuros. De momento son misterios nombres como *Donaritz*, ladera de Doneztebe, pero uno difícilmente puede resistirse a pensar en **Done Eritz*a > **Dona Eritz*a, «San Félix», con cambio regular *e* > *a* y artículo determinado como algunos hagiónimos antiguos (cf. *Frantziskua*, etc.). La misma precaución muestra el autor ante *Azardurruna* (p. 171), nombre de lugar de El-

gorriaga, topónimo que piensa, creo que con mucha razón, no es relacionable con *urrun*. ¿Quizá con *Durruma*, o algo parecido, «San Román»?

Sobre *Entzelaka* (p. 177), topónimo de Elgorriaga, ¿cabría pensar en *pentze*, *euntze* y variantes? Si en el habla de la comarca *elaka* es palabra viva, como dice el autor, «pequeño hundimiento», no parece haber dificultad mayor para una explicación así.

Toda buena tesis está cargada de sugerencias para un lector medianamente interesado en estas materias. Por ejemplo, *Argorte* (p. 219), terreno de Ituren, es explicado por el autor a partir de *harri* + *gorta*, y mediante disimilación vocálica de **Ar-gorta* > *Ar-gorte*. Me pregunto si no podríamos pensar en una fosilización apocopada de la forma disimilada con artículo, es decir, **Ar-gorta* + *a* > **Ar-gortea*, de donde > *Argorte* por apócope. Y a la vista de este nombre, a uno necesariamente le tenía que venir a las mientes el del pueblo treviñés de *Argote*, que hasta ahora se nos aparecía por completo opaco. Naturalmente, en *Argote* tendríamos una pérdida disimilatoria, **Argorte* > *Argote*.

En *Bagoiz* (p. 235), topónimo de Ituren, la haplología propuesta por Iñigo (**Bagobakoitz* > *Bagoitz*) vendría facilitada quizá por la forma de composición *baga-*, es decir, **Bagabakoitz*.

¿Podría pensarse quizá que en *Ieregilur* (p. 266), también en Ituren, hay una aféresis de *O-*? En apoyo de esta suposición cabe alegar que siempre aparecen las formas *Iger-*, no *Ier-*. Por otro lado, *Oieregi* consta en esta misma documentación.

Creo que no puede haber dudas en *Belaberatz* (p. 361), en Zubieta, como procedente de *bela* + *beratz(a)*, este segundo elemento derivado de *berar*, «hierba», cf. Michelena, *Apellidos*, n.º 151. Lo mismo diría para *Beratzazelai* (p. 172), en Elgorriaga, que el autor escribe *Berazazelai*.

Difícil parece que *Ekaitz* (p. 369), monte de Zubieta, pueda relacionarse con *hegi*. Como dice el autor, no hay que olvidar que los compuestos de *hegi* nunca pierden la *-i*, y baste con mencionar *hegigoa*. Pero entonces ¿cuál es ese primer elemento? ¿Quizá *egu*, antecesor del antiguo inesivo *egun* (Knörr 1990: 128)? La dificultad es que no encuentro paralelos vascos o románicos de algo parecido a *Maldía* en toponimia.

Es curioso ver en la toponimia el eco de lugares apartados, sí, pero que tenían una presencia en la mente de los habitantes de este microcosmos del Valle de Santesteban. *Tunizea* (p. 545), oicónimo de Ituren, es buen ejemplo.

Respecto de la normalización, —uno de los fines de esta tesis, sin duda—, las soluciones están bien fundadas. Nos asalta la duda, no obstante, en nombres como *Arriaundi* o *Landaundia*, dado que (*h*)*aundi* es más o menos reciente. En el caso de *Arizmendi*, parece que no es aconsejable la forma *Aritzmeni*, pese a la pronunciación.

Por lo que respecta al índice de topónimos, hay algunos que no figuran, como *Ibargoiera*, *Reparatcea* o *Çurrumeaca*. Por otro lado, hubiera sido deseable el listado de todos los nombres de lugar que aparecen en la obra, sean

o no del valle. La utilidad y, en suma, el valor de la obra habrían sido mayores con la relación completa. También hubiera sido de agradecer una lista de todas las palabras comentadas, sean o no vascas, v.g. *batán*, *archero*, *pixar*, *elaka*, etc. Romanistas y vascólogos habrían visto con buenos ojos un léxico así. Entre las palabras romances, me permitiré mencionar unas pocas: *confraría*, *cimiterio*, *trullar*, *endrecera*, *pipalla*, *ancharia*, *feneral*, etc.

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ABSTRACT

About the Basque onomastics

This article aims to show some of the most significant advances in the field of Basque onomastics since the beginning up to the present. It takes into account the decisive contributions of Michelena to these studies, and divides the wide time span into three periods: the first one, about the early investigations on Basque place and personal names; the second one is a brief review of Michelena's seminal works on these items, and in the third period the author examines some relevant works published after Michelena's death (1987).

Lau gramatika eta sari bat

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1. Sarrera*

Euskalari guztiek ezagun dute, izenez bederen, Darrigol apaizak XIX. mende hasieran idatzi zuen euskal gramatika (Darrigol [1827]). Gutxiagok dakite, ziurrenik, gramatika hori —edo, ikusiko dugun bezala, haren beste bertsio bat— 1829an Parisen euskal gramatikaren analisiari buruzko sari baten irabazle suertatu zela.

Komunikazio honetan Parisko sariketa haren testuingurua eta bertan parte hartu zuten beste lau gramatikak —berriki arte ezezagunak zirenak— aurkeztu nahi nituzke. Hasteko, Volney Sariketaren sorreraz eta orduko giroaz mintzatuko naiz eta 1829ko sariketaren ezaugarriak zehaztuko ditut; bigarrenik, aurkeztu ziren gramatiken ezaugarriak emango ditut, hala nola euren egileei buruz dakigunaren berri; hirugarrenik, epaimahaikideez hitz egingo ditut; bukatzeko, sariketaren epaiaren gorabeherak aurkeztuko ditut.

2. Volney Sariketa eta ideologoak

2.1. Constantin-François Chasseboeuf, Volney printzea (1757-1820), Frantziako ideologoen taldean sartu ohi da. Ideologoen taldeko beste kide hauek aipa ditzakegu, besteak beste¹: Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy taldeko buruzagia (1754-1836), Pierre Jean George Cabanis medikua (1757-1808), Marie François Pierre Gonthier Maine de Biran (1766-1824),

* Eskerrik beroenak datuen bilketan eta interpretazioan lagundu didaten Piedad Frías, Mari Jose Kerejeta, Beñat Oyharçabal eta Mario Saalbach-i. Nire eskerrona, orobat, zirriborrea irakurri eta beren oharrez aberastu zuten Agurtzane Elordui, Beñat Oyharçabal, Blanca Urgell eta Koldo Zuazori. Lan hau PI95/118 ikerketa-proiektuaren barruan sartzen da.

¹ Ideologoei buruz, ik., esaterako, Auroux, Désirat & Hordé (1982), Busse & Trabant (1986) eta Moravia (1974).

François Thurot filosofo eta itzultzailea (1768-1832), Joseph Marie de Gérando (edo Degérando) (1772-1842) eta Dominique Joseph Garat politikari euskalduna (1749-1833)².

Ideologoen Frantziako Iraultzaren ondoren gramatika orokor eta filosofikoaren lekukoa hartu zuten, baina euren lana ez zen hainbeste Port-Royaleko jaunek 1660an jorraturiko ildo arrazionalista kartesiarretik bideratu; aitzitik, Condillac-ek eta bestek hedatutako sentsualismo empiristan zehar mugitu ziren. Hala eta guztiz, Condillac-en ideia asko kritikatu zituzten, gogor kritikatu ere. Ideologoen ekarpenen artean gizahizkuntzaren alderdi subjektiboa nahiz alderdi soziala nabarmentzea dago —«une institution sociale» dio Destutt de Tracy-k—, nolabait ondorengo garapen ezagunak (Saussure) aurreratuz. Orobat, XIX. mendeko hizkuntzalaritza historiko eta konparatzailearen aitzindari zuzenak izatea ere nabarmendu da (ik., esaterako, Chevalier 1976 eta Rosiello 1967). Humboldt-ek, Euskal Herrira etorri aurretik Parisen izan zen urteetan (1798-1801), ideologoak ezagutu zituen eta prusiarraren lanetan euren ideien eraginaz ohartu gaitezke, nahiz eta zenbaitek (Aarsleff 1977) eragin horren pisua urrutiegi eraman duten.

Baina ideologoak ez ziren hizkuntzaren azterketaz —edo artean hertsiki loturik zegoen filosofiaz— soilik arduratu. Izan ere, euren izenak maiz agertzen zaizkigu mende-mugako Frantziako egoera politiko-sozial bereziari atxikiak: Iraultza (1789-92), Konbentzioa (1792-94), Direktorioa (1795-99), Kontsulatua (1799-1804), Inperioa (1804-14), borboien itzulera (1814-30) eta, azkenik, nonbait amaitzearen, 1830eko uztailleko iraultza burgesaren ondoren, orleanstarren dinastiaren ezartzea (1830-48). Liberalak eta aurrerakoiak izaki, ideologoak Frantziako Iraultzaren alde azaldu ziren. Orobat, Direktorioa jausiaraziko zuen Lainotearen³ 18ko kolpean parte hartu zuten; nolahi ere den, ondoren Napoleonen Kontsulatuaren eta geroko Inperioaren kontra azaldu ziren.

Ideologoak, bestalde, historia, zuzenbide, antropologia, ekonomia eta bereziki hezkuntzaz arduratu ziren (Chervel 1977; Delasalle & Chevalier 1986). Hezkuntzari buruzko arazoak sutsuki eztabaidatu ziren Iraultzako Biltzarretan, eta ideologoen zuzenean parte hartu zuten beraietan. Ondorioz, Konbentzioak gramatika orokorra sartu zuen Eskola Zentralen (*Ecoles Centrales*) —hots, bigarren hezkuntzako eskolen— ikasketa-planetan (Chevalier 1976; Désirat & Hordé 1981). Aldiz, Kontsulatuaren garaian Napoleonek Eskola zentralak itxi zituen eta Lizeoak sortu ziren; harrezkero, gramatika orokorraren ikasketak debekatuko ziren.

² Gogoan izan Garat izan zela Condillac-en lanen berrargitalpenaren (1798) bultzatzaile nagusia (Aarsleff 1975: 433). Halaber, urte berean Garatek Frantziako Akademiaren hiztegiaren hitzaurrea idatzi zuen (Auroux 1992: 370). Garaten bizitzari buruz, ik. orain Duhart-en (1997) biografia, lehen pertsona idatzia; Garaten euskarari buruzko testuez eta XIX. mendeko Dominique Garatekin izandako nahasketaz, ik. Goyhenetche (1992).

³ Iraultzak ezarritako egutegiko izenak euskaratzeko Rica Esnaolak (1975) argitaratu testuetan oinarritu naiz.

1795eko Konstituzioak —III. urteko Frutilitzaren 5eko Konstituzioak— Zientzia eta Arteetarako Institutu Nazional bat sortarazi zuen. Institutu honek II. klasean bildu ziren ideologoak, zientzia moral eta politikoez arduratzen baitzen, eta bereziki 1. atalean, «Sentsazioen eta ideien analisiari» eskainian hain zuzen ere.

2.2. Volney-k medikuntza eta historiako ikasketak egin zituen⁴. Besteak beste, geografia, nekazaritza eta meteorologia landu zituen. Hizkuntzalaritzaren arloan, bereziki Ekialdeko hizkuntza zaharrei buruz arduratu zen; horrela, Egiptora eta Siriarara bidaiara egin zuen (1782-1785). 1789an Biltzar Nazional Konstituziogilean diputatu izan zen. 1794an Historiako irakasle aritu zen Parisko Ecole Normale-n eta 1795-98 bitartean Estatu Batuetan ibili zen. Handik itzulita, Napoleonen kontra agertu baitzen, jarduera politikoa amaiera eman behar izan zion. 1814an Luis XVIII.ak Frantziako pare izendatu zuen.

Volney hizkuntzen poligenesiaren aldekoa izan zen (Aurox 1992: 49), ateo batengan baizik ezin aurki zitekeen ikusmoldea alegia. Lan gehiena Asiako hizkuntzak Europako alfabetoaren bidez transkribatzeko metodoak aztertzen eman zuen (Volney 1819b; Volney 1820). Beste lan batean, aldiz, gramatika filosofikoaren oinarriak ezarri zituen (Volney 1819a)⁵. Bestalde, William Jones-ek Kalkutan sortutako Asiatick Society-ko kidea izan zen, baina epaile ingelesak ez bezalako iritzia zuen sanskritoari buruz: izan ere, sanskritoaren ezizitiarren hizkuntza zela uste zuen (Volney 1819b: 409-410, *apud* Droixhe 1978: 11), gure artean Chahok irudikatuko zuen ikusmoldearen antzekoa, nonbait; bidenabar, Europan XVIII. mendean eta XIX. mende hasieran aski arrunta zen sanskritoaren eta ezizitiarren hizkuntzaren estekadura (ik., esaterako, Droixhe 1978: 86-99).

2.3. Volney printzeak bere testamentuan (1820/4/22an datatua) 24.000 libe-
ra utzi zituen Frantziako Institutuak sariketa bat sortzeko. Sarien bitartez bi azterketa-mota bultzatzea nahi zuen: batetik, hizkuntzen azterketa filosofikoa eta, bestetik, Asiako hizkuntzak alfabeto latindarraren bitartez («en lettres européennes») transkribatzeko saioak. Testamentuak espreski dio sariak ezin direla erabili frantses gramatikaren eta hiztegiaren azterketak bultzatzeko.

Guztiarekin ere, Désirat-ek (1988) erakutsi du sariketaren bilakaera hizkuntzalaritzaren bilakaerarekin batera joan zela, aldiari aldiko gaiei leku egin baitzitzaie. Lehenbiziko urteetan (1822-1833) sariketaren gaiak garaiko eztabaida baten inguruan kokatzen dira: Rémusat eta Humboldt-en arteko eztabaida, pentsamendu landuaren eta hizkuntz egituren konplexutasunaren arteko erlazioaz hain zuzen (ik. aurrerago §4.5.). Horrenbestez, Volney Sariketaren

⁴ Volney-ri buruz, ik., esaterako, Deneys & Deneys (1989), Désirat (1988), Désirat & Hordé (1980), Gaulmier (1951), Roussel (1988) eta Sibenaler (1992).

⁵ Azpimarratu behar da, halere, hizkuntzen azterketa filosofikoaren barruan gramatika konparatzaile hasiberria ere sartzen zuela Volneyk, beste ideologo batzuekin bat etorritik (Droixhe 1978: 228).

ildoa «hizkuntzen azterketa filosofikotik» bideratzen da, Ekialdeko idazke-
ren transkribapenaren proiektua alboratuz; urte batzuetan (1836-1840) bi hel-
buruetarako sari bana eman ondoren, 1841ean transkribapenaren proiektua
behin betiko baztertzeko baimena helduko zen⁶. Orobat, lehenbiziko urteetan
hizkuntza semitikoan azterketak saritzen direlarik, 1850-70 bitartean hizkun-
tza indoeuoparrei buruzkoak sarituko dira. Epaimahaikideak orientalistak
dira lehen urteetan; 1833tik aurrera, berriz, indoeuoperaren ikertzaileek or-
dezkatuko dituzte. Beraz, apurka-apurka sariketa aurreneko helburuetatik
urruntzen da eta, aldi berean, hizkuntzalaritza alemaniarraren pisua gero eta
nabarmenagoa gertatuko da: Pott, Steintal, Schleicher eta Bopp bezalako
autore ospetsuek lortuko dute saria, nahiz kasu batzuetan gibelamendu han-
diz (esaterako, Bopp-ek 1866an!).

2.4. Aurreko xehetasunek lagundu ahal izan digute, menturaz, Dassancek
(1922: 559) bere buruari egiten zion galderari erantzuteko: zer dela-eta hau-
tatu zuen Institutuak «euskararen sistema gramatikaren analisi arrazoitua»
1829ko sariketaren gaia izan zedin? Galdera ez zen funsgabea, gaiak ez bait-
zuen ematen, lehen begi-kolpean behinik behin, Volney-k sariketa sortzean
buruan zituenen artekoa izan zitekeenik. Hala ere, oraintsu aipatu dudan
Humboldt eta Rémusant-en arteko eztabaidaren testuinguruan koka geneza-
keelakoan nago. Zorritzarez, 1829ko sariketaren deialdiak, 1828ko apirilaren
4koak (de Sacy 1828), ez du arazo horretaz deus gehiago zehazten. Baina
bestelako datu interesgarriak eskaintzen dizkigu:

- a) Saria 1.200 liberakoa izan zen.
- b) Institut-eko kideak («membres résidants») ezin ziren sariketara aur-
keztu.
- c) Txostenak idazteko hizkuntzak frantsesa eta latina ziren.
- d) Txostenak jasotzeko epea 1829ko urtarrilaren 1 arte luzatzen zen eta
Institut-eko idazkariari bidali behar zitzaizkion, bidalketa-gastuak or-
dainduta («francs de port») jakina.
- e) Txostena identifikatzeko epigrafe edo ezaugarri moduko esaldi bat ja-
rri behar zen. Aldiz, egilearen izena, epigrafearekin batera, gutunazal
lakratu baten barruan txostenari erantsi behar zitzaion.
- f) Txostenak ez zitzaizkien egileei itzuliko, baina hauek alde zurretik
behar zituzten kopiak har zitzaizketen.

Sariketara bost txosten aurkeztu ziren eta, hasieran esan bezala, euren
artean Darrigolena suertatu zen irabazle. Beste bik ohorezko aipamena
merezi izan zuten. Ikus ditzagun jarraian txosten bakoitzaren nondik-nora-
koak.

⁶ Proiektu honen kontrako arrazoietan alfabeto unibertsalaren eta hizkuntza unibertsalaren
arteko nahasketa izkututzen da, ideologoen azken hau arbuizaten baitzuten (Désirat 1988:
340).

3. Lau gramatikak

Darrigolen gramatika aski ezaguna izan bada ere, harrigarria dirudi Volney Sariketara aurkeztu ziren gainerako lanek berriki arte Frantziako Institutuko artxiboan gordeta eta inoren interesik piztu gabe iraun izanak⁷. Darrigolen garaikideek, jakina, Parisko saria aipatu ohi zuten, baita XIX. mende osoan eta XX. mende hasieran zehar ere⁸. Adibidez, Vinsonek (1891-98: 281-282) beste lau lehiakide izan zituela ere esaten digu⁹; areago, bibliografiako 1.038 zenbakiaren pean Volney Sariketaren historia baten berri ere ematen du, Brière-rena (Brière *s.d.*)¹⁰. Baina auzi honi buruzko lanik osoena ziurrenik Louis Dassance-ren artikulua da (Dassance 1922), bertan biltzen baitira XIX. mendeko lanetan zehar sakabanaturiko oharrak, baina baita errepikatzen orduko argibideen itzalgunek ere.

Esaterako, txostenak izengabe aurkeztu zirenez, luze iraun zuen euren egiletasunari buruzko zalantzak, bereziki ohorezko aipamena lortu zuten 3. eta 5. txostenei dagokienez; beheraxeago ikusiko dugu kasu bakoitza, baina aurrera dezadan orain Darrigolen balizko lehiakideen artean Humboldt, Lécuse, Ader¹¹ eta Monlezún¹² aipatzen zirela.

Hauexek dira 1829ko Volney Sariketaren Darrigolen lehiakide izan ziren lau txostenak, Batzordeak eman zizkien zenbakien arabera aurkeztuak (Archives de l'Institut 40H10):

2. Segure, Abbé, «Dissertation sur la langue basque, envoyée au concours propose par l'Académie française, et adressée à Monsieur le Secrétaire de l'Académie française par l'individu dont le nom se trouve dans la partie cachetée de papier».

⁷ 1995eko urriaren 27an Frantziako Institutuko Artxiboan kausitu nituen, 1829ko Volney Sariketari zegokion 4H10 karpeteraren barruan, espero zitekeen bezala.

⁸ Mende honen bukaerako aipameneren hotsak azkoz apalagoak dira; baina ik., esaterako, Urkizu (1991: 56).

⁹ Bidenabar, Vinsonen bibliografiak ere Institut-en sari bat jaso zuen 1894an (Urquijo 1907: 11).

¹⁰ Vinsonek ematen dion datazioak —1829, galdera ikurrak lagundurik— agian liburua ez zuela zuzenean ezagutu edo gainbegiratu bat baino ez ziola egin pentsarazten digu; izan ere, Brière-ren liburuak 1832 arteko sariketen berri damaigu.

Bidenabar, aski nabari da Brière-ren liburuari darion amorru tonua. Brière 1827 eta 1831ko sariketetara aurkeztu zen; irabazi ez zuelarik, eta epaimahaiak egotzitako kritikek minduta, liburua idaztera deliberatu bide zuen, Volney Sariketako epaimahaiak sortzailearen gogoia betetzen ez zutela, eta betetzeko asmorik ere ez zutela, frogatzeko asmoz: «Je suis forcé à dire et de prouver à la Commission qu'elle n'a jamais compris la pensée de Volney, et qu'elle ne s'est jamais mise en devoir de la réaliser» (Brière *s.d.*: iv).

¹¹ Jean Joseph ADER baionesa (1796-1859), *Résumé de l'histoire du Béarn, de la Gascogne supérieure et des Basques* (Paris, 1826) liburuaren egilea izan zen (Bilbao 1970hh: *s.u.*).

¹² Jean Justin MONLEZÚN (1800-1859) *Histoire de la Gascogne* baten egilea izan zen (Auch, 1846-1850, 6 lib.); ik. Bilbao (1970hh: *s.u.*). 1847tik Auch-eko kalonjea izan zen.

3. Izengabea, «Analyse raisonnée du système grammatical de la langue basque...».
4. Lagarde, «Analyse du Système grammatical de la langue Basque...».
5. Görres, Ernest Maurice Guido, «Structura grammatica Linguae Hispanorum veterum indigenae id est: Vasconicae philosophice explicata nec non comparata variis tum Orientis tum Occidentis linguis».

3.1. Falta den lehen zenbakia, jakina, Darrigolen txostenari zegokion, baina eskuizkribua ez dago gaur egun Institut-eko paperen artean. Ezagutu ahal dugu, halere, Darrigolen txostena, Antoine d'Abbadiek 1833an egin zuen kopia bati esker, egun Frantziako Biblioteka Nazionalean gordetzen dena (Darrigol 1833 [1828]). Pentsatu behar dugu Abbadie-k Institut-en kopian zuela eskuizkribua, Brière-k esaten baitigu berak bertan kontsultatu zuela¹³. Gainerako lau gramatikak ezin izan ditut oraindik lasai aztertu, mikrofilmak geureganatu berri ditugu eta. Nolanahi ere den, bakoitzari buruzko zenbait xehetasun aipa ditzaket:

3.2. Abbé Segure-ren gramatika, 1828ko abenduaren 30ean jaso zuten Institutuan, Paristik bertatik bidalia. Bi koadernotan biltzen da: lehen koadernoak zenbatutako 57 orri ditu eta bigarrenak, zenbatutako 91 orrialde.

3.3. Izengabeko hirugarren txostenaren epigrafeak honako hau dio: «*Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra*»; hau da, Horazioren *Oda ad Septimium II*, 6-2. Hau ere abenduaren 30ean jaso zuten eta Urkhuray-n (Lapurdi)¹⁴, abenduaren 11ko data dauka. Zenbatutako 153 orrialde ditu. Funtsean Larramendiren gramatikan oinarritzen da, eta Harrieten gramatikatik hartzen du «birdeklabinabideari» buruzkoa (*Aitarenenarenenganicoarenarena*; Harriet 1741: 449).

Txosten honek Batzordearen ohorezko aipamen bat lortu zuen. Epaimahaiak deskribapen gramatikalaren egokitasuna goraiatzan badu ere, hasierako atalek dakartzaten etimologia ausartetan ez da fidatzen, onartezinak direla deritzo:

On remarque dans le n.º 3 un grand nombre d'observations et de détails grammaticaux propres à faire juger les procédés en usage dans l'idiôme basque. On peut considérer cette partie du travail de l'auteur comme offrant les matériaux d'une bonne grammaire. Il en faudrait élaguer une foule de rapprochements étymologiques, tous plus ou moins hasardés, qui remplissent les premiers chapitres, et auxquels la Commission ne saurait accorder son approbation. (Izengabea 1829: 2)

¹³ Cf. «...j'ai dû recourir, en conséquence, au manuscrit que se trouve dans les cartons de l'Institut» (Brière *s.d.*: 91); oroit bedi Brière-ren lana 1832 ondorengo delá. Halarik ere, Brière-k «Darrigot» idazten du beti, Institut-en 1829ko epai-agirian agertzen zen moduan. Louis Dassance-ri (1922: 560) esker dakigu originala XX. mende hasierarako behintzat galdua zela. Bestalde, berak bigarren kopia bat zuela diosku, Pierre Dassance apaizarena izan zena. Nolanahi ere den, ez dirudi Institut-eko paperak zuzenean begiratu zituenik, gainerako txostenen egileen izenez ez baita ziur agertzen.

¹⁴ Kanbo eta Hazparne arteko Urkhoi auzoa da segurki (B. Oyharçabalek esana).

Txostenaren bukaeran bibliografia labur bat dator eta bertan, inprimatu-tako bertsozko lanen artean, ondoko hauek aipatzen ditu, besteak beste:

- a) Etxeberri Sarakoaren *Meditations* (Salamanca 1708).
- b) Egile berberaren *Les Nöels* (1706).
- c) Aranbururen himnoak.
- d) Larramendiren «poésies nationales» (Burgos 1729), euren artean «l'Épître au roi Philippe V» agertzen delarik.

Dubarat-ek (1913) argitaratutako gutun bati esker dakigu hirugarren txosten honen egilea Eugène Garay de Monglave (1796-1873) faltsifikatzaile ospetsua izan zela, *Altabizkarreko kantua* apokrifoen egilea, hain zuzen¹⁵. Datu honek lagundu ahal digu, menturaz, bibliografia-oharren balioa tentuz neurtzen. Izan ere, bere buruaz ere badio 200 liburu baino gehiago idatzi dituela, gehienak historiari buruzkoak, nahiz eta ezagutzen zaion lan bakarra aipaturiko kantu apokrifoa izan (ik. Goyhenetche 1993: 284), euskaldunei buruzko ohar laburren bat kendurik (Garay de Monglave 1833). Eta ohar honexek ematen digu, hain zuzen, Garay de Monglave-ren egiletasunaren gakoa. Bertan errepikatzen dira beste inon aurkitzen ez diren bibliografia-oharrok:

Entre las obras en verso impresas, se citan: 1.º, las Meditaciones religiosas del doctor Juan de Echeverri, Salamanca, 1708; [les *Nöels*] del mismo autor, 1706; los himnos del hermano Juan de Aramburu, Bilbao, 1730; los poemas nacionales del padre Larramendi, Burgos, 1729. (Garay de Monglave 1833 [1932: 293-294])

Pasarte honek, beraz, balio bikoitza du: batetik, testu-parallelotasunak Garay de Monglave-ren egiletasuna bermatzen du; bestetik, bibliografia-aipamen hauek faltsuak dira. Nolanahi ere den, ohar hauen iturria ezaguna da, gramatika osoaren iturria dena, alegia: Larramendiren *El imposible vencido*¹⁶. Larramendik «Apendiz de la Poesía Bascongada»-n, gramatikako azken kapituluan, han-hemenka aipatzen dituen poesi lanak jaso zituen Garay de Monglave-k eta datu bibliografikoak bere kasa osatu zituen, falta ziren tokian urtea eta lekua ipiniz eta Larramendiren beraren kasuan haren poesieta-rako izenburu besarkatzailea asmatuz. Halaber, Etxeberri Ziburukoaren *Manual devotioenezcoa Meditazio* bilakatu zuen eta, *Noelekin* batera, Sarakoari leporatu zion. Azken errakuntza honetan ez da euskalaritzaren historian bakarra suertatzen; oroit bedi Humboldt-ek ere Etxeberri biak nahastu zituela behin bederen (ik. Gómez 1996: 610).

¹⁵ Garay de Monglave-ren bizitzaz, ik. Etchecoin (1935).

¹⁶ Ene eskerrona Blanka Urgell-i, Larramendiren gramatikako azken kapituluarekiko lotura zuzenez ohartarazi baininduen.

Altabizkarreko kantuaren gorabeherak askotan kontatu dira; denbora luzez benetakotzat hartu zen (ik., esaterako, Francisque-Michel 1857: 235), harik eta Bladé-k faltsifikazioa salatu zuen arte (Bladé 1863, 1869). *Altabizkarreko kantua* lehenbiziko aldiz 1835. urtean agertu zen, Garay de Monglave-ren artikulu batean (Garay de Monglave 1835). Monglave-k kanta aurkezten du oso zaharra delakoan, Orreagako gatazkatik aurrera ahoz igorria. Eta Orreagako gatazka da, hain zuzen ere, kantaren gaia: nola euskaldunek Karlo-magnoren armada garaitu zuten. Monglave-k esan zuen, gainera, kanta hau pergamino batean ikusi zuela —la Tour d’Auvergne-k Donostian 1794an aurkitua—, baina berak ez zuela zuzenean pergaminoko testua argitaratzen, baizik eta ahozko bertsioetatik berreraikitako testu zaharra.

Jakina, hauek guztiak asmakeriak baino ez dira. Ez zegoen pergaminorik, ez ahozko tradizioirik. Egia haxe da eta Wentworth Webster euskalari ingelesak azaleratu zuen 1883. urteko artikulu batean: Garay de Monglave Baionakoa zen eta ez zekien euskaraz. Garai batean Parisen bizi izan zen; Parisen euskal ikasleen tertulietara joan ohi zen eta bertan euskal kantak entzuten zituen. Tertulia hauetarako bururatu zitzaion *Altabizkarreko kantua* idaztea eta halaxe egin zuen, baina frantsesez noski. Tertuliakide batek, Luis Duhalde Ezpeletakoak euskaratu zuen, baina honek ere ez bide zekien euskarara askorik eta ez zuen jakin ezta bertso egokietan itzultzen ere. Nolanahi ere den, badirudi faltsifikazioa zela —eta jatorriz frantsesez idatzia— aspalditxotik gauza jakina zela zenbaitentzat; Abbadie-k 1859an hala adierazi zuen behintzat (ik. Vinson 1878).

3.4. Lagardek Mauletik igorri zuen bere txostena, 45 orrialdeko koaderno bat hain zuzen ere, eta abenduaren 31n jaso zuten Institutuan.

Ezin izan dut autore honi buruzko xehetasun ziurrik aurkitu, baina baliteke Jon Bilbaoren Bibliografian aipatzen diren bi lanetariko baten —edo bien— egile bera izatea (Lagarde 1835; Lagarde 1859). Edo, agian, Mauleko diputatu eta alkate izan zen Lagarde abokatua (ik. Hourmat 1995).

3.5. Abenduaren 31n bertan jaso zen Görres-ek Munich-etik bidali zuen txostena, latinez idatzita dagoen bakarra alegia. Gramatika hau oso letra txukunez idatzita dago; orrialdeen kanpoaldeko ertzak nahiko haundiak ditu, batzuetan glosak sartzen dituelarik; koadernoak azal gogor urdinak ditu eta orrialdeak zenbatu gabe daude.

Görres-en txostenaren antolamendua aski bitxia da, garai hartako gramatiken ohiko egiturarekin alderatzen badugu behinik behin. Azkenurreko orrialdean ondoko aurkibide hau dakar:

Proemium.

Cap. I. De indole phoneticā linguae Vasconicae.

Cap. II. De radicibus verborum, primum in universum, deinde Vasconicis.

Cap. III. De derivatione et compositione.

Cap. IV. De Verbo et ejus conjugatione.

Cap. V. De declinatione et postpositionibus.

Cap. VI. De constructiones.

Batzordeak txosten honentzako ohorezko aipamena gomendatu zuen. Merezimendu gisa honako hau azaltzen du:

Le n.º 5, écrit en latin, contient beaucoup de recherches profondes et des considérations d'un ordre élevé sur la philosophie grammaticale. Le point de vue d'où l'auteur a considéré son sujet l'a conduit à des comparaisons qui attestent un esprit exercé aux méditations et aux recherches sur la métaphysique des langues. (Izengabea 1829: 2-3)

Guido Görres-en bizitzari buruzko zerbaitxo ere badakigu. Alemaniarrak, 1805ean Koblenzan sortu zen eta 1852an Munich-en hil. Bonn-en historia eta filosofiako ikasketak burutu zituen. Bere lanik ezagunena Joana Arko-koaren biografia da (*Die Jungfrau von Orleans*; Ratisbona, 1834). 1838an, Georg Philips-ekin batera, *Historisch-Politischen Blätter* aldizkari katolikoa sortu zuen, egun bizirik dirauena. Bestalde, kantu izpiritualetarako hitzak idatzi zituen (esaterako, *Marienlieder* bilduma; Munich, 1843). Askoz ezagunagoa da, ordea, Guidoren aita, Johann Joseph Görres (Koblenza 1776 - Munich 1848), Alemaniako Erromantizismo katolikoaren ordezkari nagusietakoa izan baitzen. Bere jarduera politikoa eta katolizismoaren aldarrikatzaile lana alde batera utzita, aipa daiteke Historia Naturaleko eta Fisikako irakaslea izan zela Koblenzako eskola batean (1804) eta Heidelberg-en (1806-1807); bertan ezagutu zituen mugimendu erromantikoen autore nagusiak. Erromantizismoan arrunta den Ekialdearekiko lilurak jota, persiera aztertu zuen (*Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt*, 1810) eta, Eliza Katolikoaren defentsaren ordainez, Historiako katedra lortu zuen Munich-eko Unibertsitatean (1826).

Baina bosgarren txosten honen egiletasuna izan da, dudarik gabe, gehien aipatu dena eta, aldi berean, ilunen gorde dena. Izan ere, Michel d'Abbadie-k —Antoine-ren aitak—, Batzordearen erabakia jakin baino lehen, Darrigoli bidali zion gutun batean honakoa adierazten dio: beste lau lehiakideen artean Humboldt, Lécuse eta Ader izan zitezkeela. Areago dena, aurreraxeago Dassance-k berak ziurtzat ematen du Humboldt-en egiletasuna: «L'auteur du Mémoire n.º 5 était, comme le faisait prévoir M. d'Abbadie, le célèbre philologue prussien Guillaume de Humboldt» (Dassance 1922: 563). Humboldt-en aipamena sarri agertzen zaigu, latinez idatzitako txosten bakar honen egiletzat ematen delarik. Susmo dut ideia horren sorburua Michel Abbadie-ren aipatu gutuna bera izan zela, hain zuzen, baina kontua da zuzenean nahiz zeharka —Pierre Dassancek idatzitako Darrigolen biografiaren bitartez (Dassance 1842)— gure egunetara iritsi zela (cf., besteak beste, L. Dassance 1922: 561, 563; Urkizu 2002: 31)¹⁷.

¹⁷ Areago dena, Urkizuk Dassance-k emandako balizko autoreen zerrenda oker bertsua erre-pikatzen du: «Akademiak deitutako Volney sarira bost lan aurkeztu ziren, egileak, besteak beste, Humboldt, Lécuse, Ader eta Garay de Monglave izan zirelarik» (Urkizu 2002: 31). Badirudi Abbadie-ren bizitza aztertzekeo Frantziako Institutura jo bazuen ere, ez zituela bidenabar bertan dauden Volney Sariaren karpetak miatu.

4. Batzordea

1829ko apirilaren 24an Frantziako Institutuaren jendaurreko bilera izan zen¹⁸, urte hartako Volney Sariketaren epaia eta hurrengo urteko gaia ezagutarazteko. Saria eman behar zuen Batzordea, bere aldetik, egun batzuk lehenago bildu zen, apirilaren 15ean. Bileran hartan agertu ziren epaimahaikideak honako hauek dira: Destutt de Tracy, Sylvestre de Sacy, Pierre-Antoine Bruno Daru, Andrieux (Frantziako Akademiako idazkaria), Etienne Marc Quatremère eta Abel Rémusat. Lehenago esan bezala, aurreneko urteetan Batzordea osatzen zutenak gehienbat orientalistak izan ziren, baita ideologoen taldekoak ere. Ikus ditzagun banan-banan bakoitzari buruzko xehetasun batzuk, epaiaren nondik-norakoak azaldu aurretik.

4.1. Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy (Bourbonnais 1754 - Paris 1836)

Destutt de Tracy Biltzar Nazionaleko diputatua izan zen (Gouhier 1970). Liberala izaki, La Fayette-ren alderdiari atxiki zitzaion. 1793an, Lazturarekin, atxilotu zuten eta heriotz zigorra ezarri zioten. Gilotinatu behar zuten baino bi egun lehenago (Berolitzaren 9an) Robespierre-k boterea galdu zuen eta honexek salbatu zuen. Lainotearen 18ko kolpearen ondoren senatore izan zen. Inperioaren garaian karguan jarraitu zuen eta borboien itzulerarekin Frantziako pare izan zen. Direktorioarekin Hezkuntza publikoa antolatzeke batzordean parte hartu zuen eta irakaskuntzaren berrantolaketa lan garrantzitsua egin zuen.

Condillac-en ikaslea izan zen. 1796an Institutuan sartu zen eta 1808an, Frantziako Akademian. Ideologoen taldeko buruzagitzat hartu izan da. Institutuan «Mémoire sur la faculté de penser» lana (1798) irakurri zuen; lan honetan azaltzen da lehenbiziko aldiz *ideologia* hitza (=‘ideien zientzia’) eta, orobat, ideologoen pentsamenduen adierazpen garbiena dela esan izan da (Aarsleff 1977: 227). Bere lan nagusia *Eléments de Idéologie*-ko bost liburu-kietan (1801-1815)¹⁹ biltzen da.

4.2. Antoine Isaac Sylvestre de Sacy (1758-1838)

XIX. mende hasieran Parisen sanskritoeko eskuizkribu-bilduma handi bat aurkitu zen eta haren inguruan Ekialdeko hizkuntzak aztertzeke gune bat sortu zen (Kukenheim 1966 [1962]: 51). De Sacy eskola horretako zuzendaria izan

¹⁸ Institutua lau akademiak osatzen zuten: Frantziako Akademia, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Académie des Sciences eta Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.

¹⁹ I. *Idéologie proprement dite* (1801, 1804², 1817³); II. *Grammaire générale* (1803, 1817²); III. *Logique* (1805); IV-V. *Traité de la volonté et de ses effects* (1815). 1817ko edizioak faksimilez berrargitaratu ziren 1970ean.

zen, Léonard Chézy (1773-1832) indianista frantsesarekin batera. Ecole des langues orientales-en arabiera irakatsi zuen eta geroago persiera ere bai Collège de France-n. Ikergune horretara helduko dira gramatika konparatzailearen sortzaileak, besteak beste, Humboldt, Grimm anaiak, Schlegel anaiak eta Bopp.

Halaber, de Sacy Roseta harria aztertu zuten lehenbizikoetarikoa izan zen, baina ez zuen arrakastarik izan. Bere lanik ezagunena *Principes de grammaire générale* (Paris, 1799) da. Bertan, Cuvier-en anatomia konparatzaileari buruzko lanetan oinarriturik, *sistema* eta *egitura* bezalako kontzeptuak sartu zituen hizkuntzalaritza konparatzailean.

4.3. Pierre-Antoine Bruno Daru (Montpellier 1767 - Meulan 1829)

1784tik administrazio militarrean sarturik, zenbait kargu izan zituen; besteak beste, Napoleonen armadaren intendente orokorra (1806), Estatuko idazkaria (1811) eta Gerrako Ministroa (1813) izan zen. 1806an Institutuan sartu zen, Horazioren poemen itzulpenei eta beste lan batzuei esker lortutako ospeagatik. 1819an Frantziako pare izendatu zuten. Bere lanen artean *Histoire de la République de Venise* (1819) eta *Histoire de la Bretagne* (1826) nabarmendu ditzakegu.

4.4. Etienne Marc Quatremère (Paris 1782 - 1857)

Sylvestre de Sacy-ren arabierazko ikaslea izan zen Collège de France-n eta, ondoren, hebreerazko, siriakozko eta kaldeozko irakaslea bertan; 1832tik persierazko irakaslea Ecole des langues orientales-n. Koptoera eta egiptoera zaharra hizkuntza bat bera zirela erakutsi zuen lehenbizikoa izan zen, Champollion-en (1790-1832) hieroglifikoen dezifratzeari bidea zabalduz.

4.5. Jean Pierre Abel Rémusat (1788 - 1832)

1815etik txinerako irakaslea dugu Collège de France-n. Hizkuntzalaritzaren historian Rémusat ezaguna da bereziki Humboldt-ekin txinera dela-eta izan zuen eztabaidagatik (Delasalle & Chevalier 1986: 163-178), gorago aipatua. Hizkuntza klasikoak herri zibilizatuen eredu ziren aspaldidanik, eta txinerrak paradoxa bat eskaintzen zion ikuspegi honi: nolatan Txinako zibilizazio eta literatura zahar eta handiak hain hizkuntza sinpleaz baliatu ziren, «gramatikalik» gabeko hizkuntza batez alegia. Bestalde, idazkera ideografikoak kratilisten eta hizkuntza unibertsalen asmatzaileen lilura erakarri zuen xvii. mendean geroztik, txinerari hizkuntza filosofikoaren etiketa ezarri zitzaizolarik.

Eztabaida, funtsean, honelaxe laburbil daiteke: Humboldt-ek hizkuntzen egitura morfologikoari giza adimenaren aberastasunaren erakusgarria deritza. Rémusat-ek, aldiz, giza adimenaren indar handiena begien bistako mor-

fologiarik gabeko hizkuntzetan irudikatzen dela uste du, txinera delarik adibide garbiena. Hau da, txinera bezalako hizkuntza bat ezin da azterketa morfologiko eta sintaktikoaren arabera atxiki, sintaktikoa soilik onartzen baitu: diskurtsoan markatzen dira hitzen arteko erlazioak, irudimenak gidaturik. Hortaz, Rémusat-ek ez die hizkuntz formei garrantzi handiena ematen, baizik eta gizakien sorkuntzarako ahalmenari.

Rémusat-ek txineraren gramatika bat idatzi zuen (*Elémens de la grammaire chinoise*, 1822) eta urte berean Humboldt-ek Berlingo Akademian *Über das Entstehen des grammatischen Formen, und ihren Einfluss auf die Ideenentwicklung* txostena irakurri zuen (ik. Humboldt 1991). Rémusat-ek Humboldt-en ondorioak eztabaidatu zituen bere *Mélanges asiatiques*-en (1825) eta, beroni erantzunez, hurrengo urtean Humboldt-ek gutun luze bat bidali zion²⁰. Azkenik, 1828an Sylvestre de Sacy-k eztabaidaren iruzkina idatzi zuen *Journal des Savants* agerkarian.

5. Epaiaz

Ikus ditzagun Batzordeak epaia justifikatzeko erabili zituen arrazoiak. Lan honen hasieran esan dudan bezala, 1829ko Volney Sariaren irabazlea Darrigol izan zen. Garay de Monglave-ren eta Görres-en txostenek, bestalde, Batzordearen ohorezko aipamen bana lortu zuten.

Darrigolen txostenaren merezimenduen artean, Batzordeak euskal aditz jokoaren azalpena du bereziki gustuko (Izengabea 1829: 2). Ez da batere arraroa, aditzaren azterketa baita gramatika orokorraren zutabeetariko bat. Joera desberdinak gorabehera, gramatika orokorrean Port-Royaleko lanetatik aurrera jarraitzen den analisi bat aditz bakarraren teoria da. Luze joko luke hemen teoria horren oinarri filosofikoak eta gramatikalak azaltzeak (ik., adibidez, Auroux 1984, Donzé 1967, Joly 1972, Swiggers 1981 eta Wheeler 1995); baina ziur aski pentsa daiteke batzordekideek teoria horren erakusgarri enpirikoa ikusi ahal izan zutela Darrigolen proposamenetan, euskarazko datuek eskaintzen zieten eskema garbi, erregular eta «filosofikoan».

6. Bukatzeko

Aurkeztu ditudan ohar labur hauek, alde batetik, Volney Sariketara aurkeztu ziren gramatiken argitalpenerako aurrean gisa sortu dira; bestetik, neurri batean, Darrigolen txostenak zergatik irabazi zuen ulertzeko testuingurua

²⁰ Rémusat-ek berak argitaratu zuen gutuna, bere oharrez horniturik (Paris, 1827). Askotan argitaratu da eta zenbait hizkuntzatara itzuli ere; ik., esaterako, Humboldt-en Berlingo txostena ere biltzen duen gaztelaniazko itzulpena (Humboldt 1972).

eskaintzen saiatu naiz. Hainbat arazo utzi ditut, halere, ukitzeke, hurrengo lanen batean azaltzeko asmoz: Darrigolen bi testuen —eskuizkribuaren eta argitalpenaren— arteko erlazioa, bereziki datazioaren auziari dagokiona; sarruketara aurkeztu ziren gramatika-lan bakoitzari atxiki dakizkiokeen helburuak, metodoak eta teoriak; eta, azkenik, lanok euskalaritzaren historian eta Europako hizkuntz ideien historian kokatzea.

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ABSTRACT

Four Basque grammars and one prize

The aim of this paper is to present the four Basque grammars that, together with Darrigol's one, entered the *Prix Volney* of 1829 in Paris, as well as to outline the context in which that competition took place. Since then, these four grammars have remained in the Archives of the Institut de France, and apparently no attention has been given to them by any bascologist. Firstly, I deal with the group of the *idéologues*, in which the prince Volney has been included, and I explain briefly Volney's biography and the constitution of the prize that took his name; next, I consider the 1829 edition, whose subject was the «reasoned analysis of the grammatical system of the Basque language». Then, I offer some data on the four grammars that competed with Darrigol's one and give evidence of what we know about each author, which may help to clarify some doubts on the authorship of some of these works. Finally, I stop for a while with the members of the commission that decided to grant the prize to the grammar of Darrigol, and with the possible reasons behind that decision.