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Euskaratik giza hizkuntzara

Jon Ortiz de Urbinari gorazarre

Beatriz Fernández & Ane Berro
(editore gonbidatuak)

Fontes Linguae Vasconum. Studia et Documenta

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EUSKARATIK GIZA HIZKUNTZARA. JON ORTIZ DE URBINARI GORAZARRE

Beatriz Fernández, Ane Berro (editore gonbidatuak / editoras invitadas / guest editors)

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Atarikoa / Prefacio

1. ATARIKOA

2019an beteko dira 30 urte Jon Ortiz de Urbina, Deustuko Unibertsitateko irakasleak *Some Parameters in the Grammar of Basque* liburua argitara eman zuenetik Herbeheretan Foris argitaletxearen eskutik. Ortiz de Urbinak, liburu hartan, aldakortasun sintaktikoarekin zerikusia zuten zenbait parametro esanguratsu zituen aztergai, hala nola, ergatibotasuna, hitz hurrenkera eta konfigurazionaltasuna, pro-drop parametroa (edo nahiago bada, subjektu isilaren parametroa) eta fokoaren parametroa. Orduan indarrean zegoen *Hatsarre eta Parametroen Teoria* (Chomsky, 1986) zuen abiaburu liburua, eta euskal hizkuntzalaritzan mugarrizko izateaz gainera, nazioarteko sintaxiari eztabaidara bete-betean eraman zuen euskara. Ez du horrek esan nahi, jakina, lehenago ere ezer ez zegoenik euskal sintaxian ezta nazioarteko sintaxiak euskararen berri ez zuenik ere, izatez ordurako argitaraturik zegoen-eta Rudolf de Rijk-ek erlatibakuntzari buruz idatzitako doktore tesia (1972), beste lan esanguratsu batzuen artean, Patxi Goenagaren *Gramatika Bideetan* (1989) ahaztu gabe. Alabaina, euskal hizkuntzalaritza modernoaren mugarrietako bat izan zen *Parameters*, eta harrezkero, eta bere itzalean, asko izan dira eta esanguratsuak euskal sintaxiaren eremuan egin diren lanak, gramatika sortzailearen eredu berrietatik edan dutenak gehienak, eta Ortiz de Urbinaren liburu hark bezala, euskarak giza hizkuntzaren ezaugarri behinenak zein diren deskubritzeko bidea zabaltzen duela erakusten dutenak.

Horregatik, liburu haren argitalpenaren urteurren bezperatan, aitzakia ezin hobe dugu editore zein idazleok liburu hari ez ezik, bere egileari, Ortiz de Urbinari ere gorazarre egiteko *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* aldizkariaren ale honen bitartez. Aleak nagusiki Ortiz de Urbinak jorratutako gaiez, hots, euskal sintaxiaz (eta aldakortasunaz) dihardu, baina giza hizkuntzaren inguruko gogoeta ere egin nahi du euskaratik zein beste hizkuntza batzuetatik abiatuz.

Alabaina, *Parameters* hura gogoratzera ez ezik, Jon Ortiz de Urbinari erretreta baino lehen agur egitea ere bada hona ekarri gaituena garai batean *Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia* osatu genuen lagunetako batzuk beste zenbait ikertzaileekin batera.

Mintegi hartako kideak ondokoak izan ginen: Joseba Abaitua, Pablo Albizu, Gontzal Alday, Xabier Artiagoitia, Andolin Eguzkitza, Arantzazu Elordieta, Gorka Elordieta, Beatriz Fernández, Jon Franco, Fernando García Murga, Ricardo Gómez, Itziar Laka, Joseba A. Lakarra, Alazne Landa, Javier Ormazabal, Koldo Sainz, Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria eta Vidal Valmala. Lagun hauetatik bi joanak dira urteak direla, Eguzkitza lehenik eta Sainz ondoren, eta gainerakook batean eta bestean jarraitzen dugu oraindik hizkuntzalaritzatik askatu ezinda, horrek dakarren engaiamenduak batzuei *FLV*-ko ale honetan parte hartzeko aukera eragotzi dien arren.

Bestalde, mintegi hartako kideak izan ez arren, geografia edo belaunaldia tarteko, ale honetako gorazarrean parte hartu dute Ricardo Etxeparek, José Ignacio Hualdek eta Beñat Oihartzabalek ere, baita beste zenbait ikertzaile gazteagok ere, hala nola, Ane Berrok, Iván Ortega-Santosek eta Lara Reglerok mintegikide batzuen eskutik.

Ez gara garai hartakoak, denbora ez baita alperrik igaro, baina atzera begirakoa egiten dugunean, gutxi izango dira gure artean, inor baldin bada, mintegi haren oroitzapena gogoaren ezkutaleku samur batean ondo gordea ez dugunok. Mintegi hura, zeina laurogeiko hamarkadaren hondarrean abiatu eta laurogeita hamarrekoan zehar jardun zen, hizkuntzalaritzaz oro har eta sintaxiaz bereziki gogoeta egiteko Euskal Herrian, eskolaz kanpo, genuen topaleku komun (ia) bakarra izan zen. Eta Jon Ortiz de Urbina izan zen bere sortzailea ez ezik, sustatzailea ere mintegiak iraun zuen urteetan zehar.

Ordutik hona, gauzak asko aldatu dira euskal hizkuntzalaritzan; batzuk, zeresanik ez da, onerako, eta bestetzuk, gutxienekoak ziur aski, txarrerako. Alabaina, ikerkuntza kontuetan, dudarik ez da, nabarmen aurrera egin dugu Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegiko garai hartatik: lan handia egin da sintaxian zein hizkuntzalaritzaren beste adar batzuetan, hala nola, dialektologian eta gramatika historikoan; nazioarteko goi mailako aldizkarietara heldu dira euskal sintaxilarien eta oro har hizkuntzalarien ekarpenak; ikerketa talde egonkortuak ditugu; zenbait instituziok diruz lagundutako ikerketa proiektu asko izan ditugu urteotan eta baditugu oraindik ere kide haietako askok. Horrek guztiak eraman gaitu, beste gauza askoren artean, mintegi txikiak sortzera, norberaren taldeen interesen arabera sarri askotan, nahikoa independenteak bata bestetik, urruti samar, beraz, garai hartako hamabostean behingo ostiraletako hitzordu akademiko gogoangarri hartatik.

Mintegi hartatik argitalpen bat bakarra atera zen arren, *Inkorporazioa perpaus kausatiboetan* izenekoa (1989), han, euskaraz eta oro har, hizkuntzaz hausnartzeko eta hizkuntzalaritzan lan egiteko modu bat ikasi genuen, nork bere estilora egokitu duena urteetan zehar, eta orain aipatuko ez ditugun beste maisu batzuk ondo gogoan ditugun arren, Jon Ortiz de Urbinari zor diogu neurri batean irakaspen hori: euskarara, eta oro har, giza hizkuntzara hurreratzeko modu bat; hizkuntza aldakortasunerako jakinmina; hizkuntzaren analisirako tresneria; eta batez ere jarrera akademiko bat, bere nortasunarekin zerikusi estua duena: jarrera kritiko eta gogoetatsua, aurreiritzirik gabea, ortodoxiatik ihesi dabilena beti, eszeptikoa definizioz, konplexurik gabea, arrazionala eta sendoa. Ez da gutxi hizkuntzalariok jaso duguna, aldi berean, euskara, hizkuntzak,

herriak eta oro har, gizakia, giza hizkuntza eta mundua horrenbeste maite dituen iker-tzaile fin, maisu dotore eta lagun hurkoarengandik. Horregatik guztiarengatik, Ortiz de Urbinari gorazarre.

2. FLV-KO ALE HONEN EKARPENAK

Gure ale honetako lehen lana da Joseba Abaituaren «Patrones geolingüísticos, áreas dialectales y cronologías absolutas del EHHA» [EHHAren eredu geolinguistikoak, hizke-ra eremuak eta kronologia osoak]. Lan honetan, Abaituak *Euskararen herri hizkeren atlaseko (EHHA)* (Euskaltzaindia, 2008-2016) 1808 mapak baliatzen ditu euskararen eredu geolinguistikoak zein diren zehazteko. Eredu geolinguistikoak, tipologikoki zein hierarkikoki esanguratsuak diren isoglosen abstrakzioak dira Venyk (1992) katalane-rako probatu duen bezala. Ildo horri jarraituz, Abaituak erakusten du ereduok euskararen hizkera eremuak zehazteko balia daitezkeela, baita aro historiko zehatzekin ere harremanetan jartzeko euren sorburua zein den jakin asmoz. Abaituak, orotara, 4 eredu geolinguistiko bereizten ditu Hualderen (2005) laneko kronologia osatuz euskara batu zaharretik XVI mendearen hasiera bitarteko hutsarte bate nahian.

Xabier Artiagoitiaren «A tale of two reciprocal anaphors in Basque: preliminaries» [Euskarazko anafora elkarkari biren kontakizuna: hastapenak] izeneko lana bete-be-tean lotzen zaio sintaxiaren eremuari, nahiz eta hizkuntza tipologiari eta datu histo-rikoei muzin egiten ez dien. Artiagoitiak *elkar* eta *bata bestea* anafora elkarkariak ditu aztergai. Lehena, *elkar*, zeina elkarkari bakuna den eta aitzindari plurala hartzen duen, absolutibo, datibo eta genitiboarekin marka daiteke, baina ez ordea ergatiboarekin. Bi-garrena, *bata bestea*, anafora bikoitz bat da, batetik *bat* kuantifikatzaileaz eta bestetik *-a* determinatzaileaz osatua. Anafora honek lau aldaera ditu, bi ardatzen arabera: alde batetik *bat* zenbakiak artikulua erakusten duen edo ez duen (*bat/bata bestea*) eta beste alde batetik, ergatiboa hartzen duen edo ez duen (*batek/batak bestea*). Artiagoitiak Evans-en (2008) lanean oinarritu eta anafora biak tipologikoki arakatzen ditu lehe-nik. Ondoren, azterketa sintaktikoari ekiten dio erakutsiz Rebuschiren (1988, 1989) azterbidea eta anafora hauei egotzen zizkien banaketak direla zuzenak, eta ez gerora egindako azterbidea (Rebuschi, 1993). Horretarako giltzarria *bata bestea* anafora da. Artiagoitiak corpus arakatze xheha eginez, *bata bestea* anafora XVI mendetik aurrera jasotzen dela probatzen du eta *bat bestea/bertzea*, lehengoaren aldagaia dena, berriz, geroagokoa dela (XIX mendekoa).

Bestalde, Ane Berro, Beñat Oihartzabal eta Beatriz Fernándezen «Inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia euskaraz eratortzen» izenburuko lanean, *hil da v du* bezalako arazle le-xikoak aztertu dira (Ortiz de Urbina, 2003). Lanean zehar arazle lexikoetan parte hartzen duten aditzak dekonposatzen dira, aditzaren erroa zein kategoriatakoa den kontuan hartuz (Berro, 2015), adibidez, adjektiboa ote den (*arindu < arin*) edo postpo-sizioa (*ureztatu < urez*) egoera-aldaketa aditzetan. Horrezaz gain, lanean proposatzen denez, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia Boz alternantzia da, Wood-ek (2015, 2016) islan-dierarako proposatu duen bezala. Alde horretatik, egile hauen azterbidea Oihartzabalek berak (2003) lehenik eta Ormazabalek (2008) ondoren euskararako egindako

analisietatik bereizten da, nahiz eta batez ere lehen lanean oinarritzen den eta bigarrenarekin antzekotasunak ere badituen. Azterbide sintaktikoaz gain, arazle lexikoei dagokienez, euskara zein hizkuntza mota den arakatzen da, gaiaren inguruko literatura tipologikora joaz.

Ricardo Etxepareren eta Myriam Uribe-Etxebarriaren «Word order and syntactic asymmetries in Basque modal constructions» [Hitz hurrenkera eta asimetria sintaktikoak euskararen egitura modaletan] lanak *behar* predikatu modalak osagarri gisa har ditzakeen perpauk jokatugabeak arakatzen ditu. Osagarri horiek ezaugarri desberdinak erakusten dituzte *behar* modalaren aurrean edo atzean agertuz gero. Zehazki, perpauk jokatugabea *behar*-en aurrean badago, aditz laguntzaile nagusiak perpauk jokatugabea determinatzaileekin numero komunztadura egin behar du halaberharrez, eta mendeko perpauk jokatugabea ez da onartzen denbora modifikatzaileak, ezeztapenik edota fokorik. Atzean badago, aldiz, komunztadura hautazkoa da eta perpauk jokatugabea bateragarria da denbora adberbioekin, ezeztapenarekin eta foko interpretazioarekin. Etxepare eta Uribe-Etxebarriaren (2009) ildoari jarraituz, lan honetan asimetria horien deskribapenean eta azalpenean sakontzen da, eta proposatzen da, besteak beste, numero eta pertsona komunztadura bereizi behar direla, pertsona komunztadura markek benetan klitikoek bezala jokatzen baitute.

Arantzazu Elordieta, Gorka Elordieta eta José Ignacio Hualderen «Menpeko perpausetako hitz azentugabeen foku azentuaz» lanean, Bizkaiko iparraldeko hizkeretako menpeko perpausetako hitz azentudunak aztertzen dira eta enpirikoki erakusten da badagoela asimetria bat *-ela* menpeko perpauk konpletiboen eta bestelako (*-en*, *-enean*, *-enetik* eta *-elako*) menpeko perpausen artean: lehenengoetan azentu deribatua aditzaren aurreko sintagman edo hitzean koka daiteke, baina besteetan, ordea, ez. Azken hauetan, azentuak beti egon behar du aditz laguntzaileak eta konplementatzaileak osaturiko hitz prosodikoan. Bestalde, lan honek asimetria hau azaltzeko analisi sintaktiko bat argitara ematen du: bereizketa nagusia konplementatzaileen hautaketan datzala kontuan izanik, Elordieta et aliak proposatzen dute *-en*, *-enean*, *-enetik* eta *-elako* konplementatzaileak postposiziodunak direla (Kayne, 2000, 2005) eta, horregatik, *-ela* konplementatzailearena ez bezalako fase-egitura dutela. Hartara, bi menpeko perpauk motek fase desberdinak dituzte, eta ondorioz, azentua ez da berdin ezartzen bi egituretan.

Aldizkari aleari amaiera ematen dio Iván Ortega-Santos, Lara Reglero eta Jon Francoren lanak, hots, «Wh-Islands in L2 Spanish and L2 English: Between Poverty of the Stimulus and Data Assessment» [NZ-irlak H2 gisako gaztelanian eta H2 gisako ingelesean: estimuluaren urritasunaren eta datuen analisiaren artean] izenburukoak. Lanean aztertzen da nola jabetzen diren NZ-irlez ingelesa H2 gisa duten gaztelaniadun natiboak eta nola gaztelania H2 gisa duten ingelesdun natiboak. NZ-irlak sortzen dira menpeko galde perpauk batetik NZ-hitza ateratzen denean, eta horrek murriztapenak ditu ingelesez beste hizkuntza batzuen artean. Lan honek erakusten du NZ-irla efektuak badaudela baita H1 gisako gaztelanian ere, NZ-irlez tradizioz egon den ikuspegia zailantzat jarritz.

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Patrones geolingüísticos, áreas dialectales y cronologías absolutas del EHHA

Geolinguistic patterns, dialect areas, and absolute chronologies in EHHA

Patroi geolinguistikoak, eremu dialektalak eta EHHaren kronologia absolutuak

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RESUMEN

Del análisis de los mapas publicados hasta 2018 en el *Atlas Lingüístico Vasco* (EHHA, Aurrekoetxea, 2002) se infieren cuatro patrones geolingüísticos acotados en periodos históricos concretos cuya distribución en un árbol de ramificaciones binarias completa el esquema cronológico de Hualde (2015), desde la fase del vasco común antiguo (siglos IV-VII) hasta la edad moderna del siglo XVI, momento a partir del cual la dialectología vasca se nutre de los primeros testimonios literarios. Los patrones geolingüísticos son abstracciones de isoglosas relevantes tipológica y jerárquicamente y aportan una herramienta clave para el conocimiento de la dialectología histórica.

Palabras clave: Patrones geolingüísticos; dialectología vasca; historia del euskera; Atlas Lingüístico Vasco.

ABSTRACT

As a result of the analysis of the maps published until 2018 in the Linguistic Atlas of Basque (EHHA, Aurrekoetxea 2002), four geolinguistic patterns have been identified, correlated with specific historical periods whose distribution in a tree of binary branches completes the chronological scheme of Hualde (2015), from the phase of old common Basque (4-7th centuries), to the modern age of the 16th century, when the knowledge of Basque dialectology starts being supplied by literary texts. Geolinguistic patterns represent tipologically and hierarchically relevant isogloss abstractions and provide a key tool for the study and understanding of historical dialectology.

Keywords: Geolinguistic patterns; Basque dialectology; History of Basque; Linguistic Atlas of Basque.

LABURPENA

2018ra arte Euskararen Herri Hizkeren Atlasean (EHHA, Aurrekoetxea, 2002) argitaratutako mapen azterketatik abiatuta, aldi historiko zehatzetara mugatutako lau patroï geolinguistiko identifikatu dira. Patroï horiek adarkadura binarioko zuhaitz batean banatuta, Hualderen eskema kronologikoa (2015) osatzen dute, antzinako euskara komunetik (IV.-VII. mendeak) XVI. mendeko Aro Modernora arte. Ordutik aurrera, euskal dialektologiaren lehen lekukotza literarioak ditugu. Patroï geolinguistikoak tipologikoki eta hierarkikoki esanguratsuak diren isoglosen abstrakzioak dira, eta funtsezko tresna dira dialektologia historikoa ezagutzeko.

Gako hitzak: Patroï geolinguistikoak; euskal dialektologia; euskararen historia; Euskararen Herri Hizkeren Atlasa.

Zeren erresumak baitituzte diferent
(Axular, Gero ‘Irakurtzaileari’)

1. INTRODUCCIÓN. 2. LOS PATRONES GEOLINGÜÍSTICOS. 3. LOS PATRONES GEOLINGÜÍSTICOS DEL EHHA. 4. LAS ÁREAS DIALECTALES. 5. HACIA UNA CRONOLOGÍA ABSOLUTA DE LOS PATRONES DEL EHHA. 6. LA NIVELACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA. 7. SUBPATRONES DEL EHHA. 8. COMENTARIOS FINALES. 9. LISTA DE REFERENCIAS.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

No por ser la noción ‘dialecto’ una de las más escurridizas, indiscretas e imprecisas de la lingüística se entiende el auge adquirido por la dialectología, sobre todo la histórica, en la filología vasca. Parte del mérito tal vez se deba al laborioso trabajo de campo del dialectólogo eibarrés Koldo Zuazo, cuya alternativa al popular mapa del príncipe Louis Lucien Bonaparte, vigente desde finales del siglo XIX, ha tenido una gran repercusión entre los vascólogos. La propuesta de Zuazo (sobre todo a partir de 1998 y ss.) ha atraído la atención de varias generaciones de filólogos, pero más significativamente ha conseguido una acogida sin precedentes en los medios de comunicación, tanto en prensa escrita, o radio, como en las redes sociales. Con estos antecedentes Joseba Lakarra presentó en 2011 una extensa y erudita revisión de las propuestas de Zuazo, avivando más si cabe el interés de los especialistas y espoleando el despegue de la producción científica, que ha alcanzado un clímax, creemos, con las últimas aportaciones de José Ignacio Hualde (2015, 2017). A estas obras imprescindibles hay que añadir un copioso corpus de estudios: Iñaki Camino (2008, 2011, 2013), Gontzal Aldai (2014), Urtzi Reguero (2013, 2015, 2017), así como los del resto de novísimos filólogos de la escuela de Vitoria¹.

1 El avance de la dialectología vasca no se entiende sin la contribución de los trabajos de Borja Ariztimuño (2010 y ss.), Ander Egurtzegi (2011 y ss.), Dorota Krajewska (2016 y ss.), Julen Manterola (2015), Mikel Martínez-Areta (2013), Ekaitz Santazilia (2015 y ss.) y Eneko Zuloaga (2011 y ss.), entre otros, la mayoría accesible en las sedes electrónicas de revistas especializadas o depósitos académicos.

Otra causa que justifica el renovado interés hacia la dialectología vasca es el aumento de los datos disponibles. A las recopilaciones llevadas a cabo por el propio Zuazo, se suman las exhaustivas encuestas orales, tomadas valle por valle a un elevado número de informantes y recogidas en el Atlas Lingüístico Vasco (*Euskararen Herri Hizkeren Atlas*, en adelante EHHA, Aurrekoetxea, 2002, 2008), que ha ido publicando Euskaltzaindia en modo abierto. A ellas cabe añadir el patrimonio lingüístico del *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*, la edición digitalizada del corpus Bonaparte (Pagola, Isasi, Errasti & Fernández, 2006), así como la abundante información accesible en las bases de datos de toponimia de la CAV y Navarra.

Ciertamente el estudio diacrónico de los cambios dialectales de cualquier lengua aporta las claves de su evolución histórica. En el caso particular del euskera permite entre otras cosas comprender su extensión y supervivencia frente a otras lenguas de contacto mucho más poderosas con las que ha convivido (latín, gascón, castellano, navarroaragonés, árabe, español y francés), de las que ha tomado préstamos y calcos léxicos, morfosintácticos, semánticos y pragmáticos. Asimismo ilumina otros aspectos sociales y culturales que la historiografía ha calificado como enigmáticos. En este orden de cosas se ha ido consolidando en la bibliografía especializada el esquema de Hualde (2015) (fig. 1), que representa las principales fases evolutivas de la lengua, con tres estadios reconstruidos anteriores al proceso dialectal tal y como lo conocemos hoy, y que abarca los siglos I al XVII.

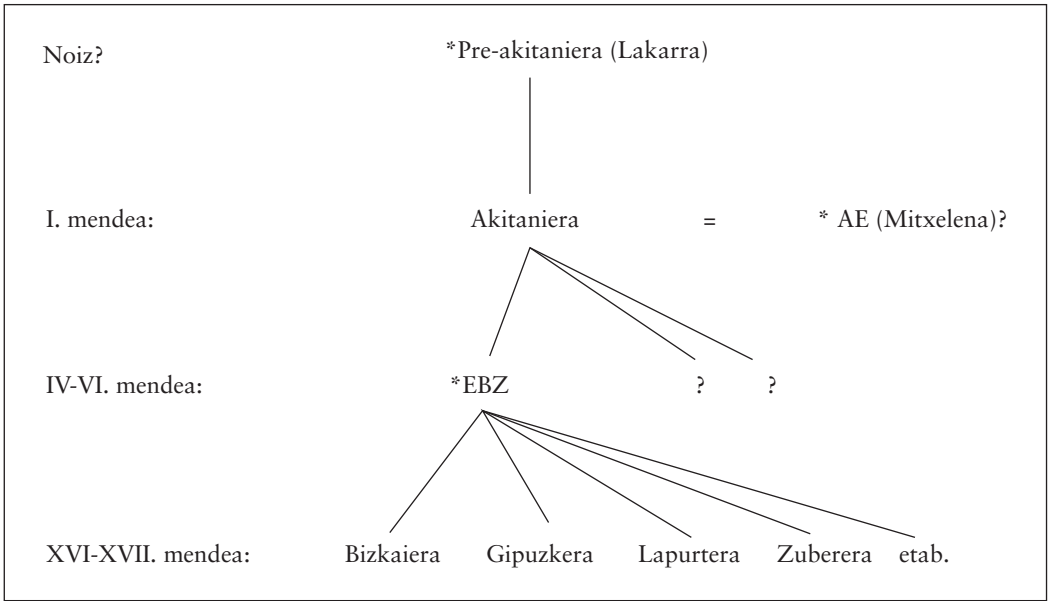


Figura 1. El ‘preaquitano’ (de Hualde) equivale al preprotovasco de Lakarra; ‘aquitano’ al ‘protovasco’ (PV) de Mitxelena (AE, *aitzin euskara*); vasco común antiguo (VCA o EBZ *euskara batu zaharra*, Lakarra, Mitxelena). Esquema de Hualde (2015, p. 131).

Este trabajo va a tratar de esclarecer el amplio hueco de nueve siglos que deja el esquema de Hualde tras las fases aquitana (siglos I-III) y tardoantigua del vasco común antiguo

(VCA, siglos IV-V/VII), hasta el comienzo de la edad moderna en el siglo XVI. Partiendo de las investigaciones de Aldai (2014) y Reguero (2013, 2015) sobre el euskera medieval y de la historiografía más reciente para ese periodo, se van a trazar correspondencias cronológicas entre cuatro fases históricas y otros tantos patrones geolingüísticos del EHHA. Los patrones geolingüísticos representan abstracciones de isoglosas relevantes tipológica y jerárquicamente (Veny, 1992) y aportan una herramienta clave para el conocimiento y comprensión de la dialectología histórica (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2011). El resultado es un árbol de ramificaciones binarias que completa el esquema de Hualde desde el VCA hasta el momento en que la dialectología vasca se nutre de los primeros testimonios literarios.

2. LOS PATRONES GEOLINGÜÍSTICOS

Para avanzar en el conocimiento de la dialectología histórica, uno de los elementos de mayor utilidad son los patrones geolingüísticos que aportan los atlas lingüísticos. De ellos ha hecho uso extensivo Inés Fernández-Ordóñez en su revisión de la historia lingüística de la península ibérica², sobre la que versó su discurso de ingreso en la RAE en 2011. La académica replantea el proceso de configuración dialectal peninsular y repasa alguno de los tópicos más difundidos de la filología hispánica. Fernández-Ordóñez destaca el hecho de que el territorio central esté articulado por varios patrones geolingüísticos detrás de los cuales se esconde una formación histórica compleja: «los territorios que pertenecieron jurisdiccionalmente al antiguo reino de Castilla no siempre presentan una única modalidad de lengua y las variedades lingüísticas existentes en Castilla no son exclusivamente castellanas en su origen». Estas variedades muchas veces se aproximan por los costados a las hablas de los antiguos reinos de León, Navarra y Aragón desde los primeros testimonios documentados; lo cual pone en entredicho la *cuña invertida* castellana de Menéndez Pidal como único esquema interpretativo. Al contrario muchas de las «innovaciones lingüísticas parecen proceder del sur, y el norte tiende a conservar un estado lingüístico más antiguo» (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2011, p. 60). La diversidad norteña contrasta con la uniformidad del centro y sur de la península, que se ha explicado por el efecto de lengua importada. Fernández-Ordóñez sin embargo reivindica la fuerza explicativa de la nivelación lingüística, que habría favorecido la adopción de unas variantes norteñas frente a otras, así como la incorporación de innovaciones occidentales y orientales, o incluso la aparición de soluciones genuinas. La nivelación explica la generalización meridional de determinadas soluciones y el arrinconamiento de otras, la expansión de soluciones que no proceden de la Castilla septentrional, o de variantes simplificadas, o de las más comunes a todos los dialectos que entraron en competencia. Fernández-Ordóñez ofrece patrones en los que se ve que

2 Los atlas utilizados son el *Atlas lingüístico de la península ibérica* (ALPI), el *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía* (ALEA), el *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Aragón, Navarra y Rioja* (ALEANR), el *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Cantabria* (ALECant) y el *Atlas lingüístico de Castilla y León* (ALCyL). Menciona también los de Castilla-La Mancha y Extremadura, así como otros específicos de los dominios lingüísticos catalán y gallegoportugués.

el centro y sur reciben innovaciones originadas en el oeste y este peninsular. Estos patrones geolingüísticos alternativos sirven para contrarrestar el excesivo protagonismo del esquema tradicional de expansión del castellano norteño³.

Por su parte, en su análisis de las áreas dialectales del catalán, Veny (1992) reconoce las limitaciones de las clasificaciones dialectales basadas en un número limitado de rasgos. «Para dar cuenta de esta transición de un dialecto a otro (o de una lengua a otra) se ha de partir de un alto número de isoglosas, una densa red de localidades y la confección de estadísticas que, según porcentajes, permiten el trazado de zonas y subzonas» (Veny, 1992, p. 208). Pero esta recomendación choca con la clasificación tradicional de los dialectos catalanes y «que *grosso modo* mantiene su vigencia». Es la que en 1926 estableció el filólogo mallorquín Antoni M. Alcover y que tiene en cuenta una única isoglosa morfológica, la desinencia de la primera persona de los verbos de la 1.^a y 3.^a conjugación⁴. Veny admite que «esto refleja una parte muy pequeña de la realidad, porque en un gran espacio se da un *continuum* lingüístico de distanciamientos y desviaciones progresivas». La geografía lingüística no está configurada por fronteras nítidas sino por «áreas de transición con escalonamiento de rasgos que pasan de una a otra modalidad lingüística». Así cuando se analiza con detalle un área concreta, como hace Daniel Recasens para el «tarragoní», se descubre una realidad compleja en la que la transición entre el catalán oriental y el occidental es un proceso en el que de forma gradual y escalonada el habla oriental se va imponiendo sobre la occidental (Veny, 1992, p. 204).

3. LOS PATRONES GEOLINGÜÍSTICOS DEL EHHA

La revisión exhaustiva del EHHA aporta cuatro configuraciones que se repiten con insistencia y que en apariencia constituyen patrones geolingüísticos significativos⁵. Para ilustrar estos patrones se han escogido variantes de los planos léxico (*ego* frente a *hegal*) y morfosintáctico (ergativo plural *-ak* frente a *-ek*), con preferencia sobre las fonéticas (*edur* frente a *elhur*). El motivo es que, pese a la preferencia de la lingüística histórica

3 «Aparte de las áreas dispuestas de norte a sur, en la península ibérica se reconocen límites lingüísticos que circulan de este a oeste, cuya gestación puede reflejar bien las diversas etapas repobladoras o bien haber tenido lugar en época posterior a la Edad Media. A grandes rasgos el espacio lingüístico peninsular está dispuesto en una doble articulación, una en que las isoglosas transcurren de norte a sur, en ejes verticales que separan, por ejemplo, gallego, portugués y catalán de la zona central, y otra articulación en que los límites lingüísticos atraviesan de este a oeste, formando ejes horizontales que dividen con frecuencia tierras repobladas en diversas épocas de tierras previamente ocupadas» (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2011, p. 25).

4 *Cant-u* (cat. central), *cant-i* (rosellonés), *cant-o* (cat. noroccidental), *cant-e* (valenciano), *cant* (balear y alguerés). Asimismo, la delimitación entre el catalán occidental y el catalán oriental se basa en el criterio único de la articulación con /e/ o /ə/ del morfema de plural femenino *-es*: occ. /es/ - or. /əs/ (Veny, 1992, p. 205).

5 Jakes Allières (1994) presentó un estudio similar a partir de los datos del *Euskalerriko Atlas Etnolingüistikoa*. Sobre la base de un corpus menor (tan solo ochenta mapas), Allières detecta cinco patrones geolingüísticos relativamente afines a los nuestros, como se verá en los comentarios finales.

por el estudio de la variación fonéticas de las voces monolexemáticas, la cronología de algunos ejemplos del EHHA nos ha parecido insegura⁶.

Los cuatro patrones principales, con sus ejemplos cartográficos, son los siguientes:

- Patrón #1 (mapa EHHA, 535 *okaran/aran* ‘ciruela’).
- Patrón #2 (mapa EHHA, 121 *ziraun/sugeitsu* ‘lución’).
- Patrón #3 (mapa EHHA, 838 *ego/hegal* ‘ala’).
- Patrón #4 (mapa EHHA, 908 *argizari/ezko* ‘cera’).

El patrón #1 ilustra la fractura occidental que de manera tan unánime recogen todas las clasificaciones de los dialectos vascos, con Vizcaya, Álava y Alto Deba, por un lado, y el resto de Guipúzcoa, Navarra y todo el País Vasco francés por otro. El EHHA ofrece abundantes ejemplos de esta división de la que se escogen cinco mapas representativos. El primero ofrece el doblete léxico de la ‘ciruela silvestre’, mapa 535, con el compuesto occidental *okaran* (*oka+aran* y sus variantes *okeran*, *okan*, *okaan*), documentado también en la Barranca navarra (Urdiain, Arbizu, Torrano), frente a la forma simple de las áreas central y oriental *aran* (*adan*, *ahan*, *arhan*)⁷. El demostrativo ‘aquel’ (en su forma más simple de absolutivo singular, EHHA, 1682) es una categoría morfosintáctica que representa muy bien el patrón #1. En la zona occidental aparece la forma reducida *a* que se contrapone con mucha claridad al resto de variantes (*h*)*ura*, (*h*)*ua*, *ue*, *ure*, *hua*. En la Barranca y algunos espacios del Alto y Bajo Deba (Bergara, Elgoibar, Deba) se detecta la variante *aura*, aparentemente compuesta por las dos soluciones principales *a+(h)ura*. Es asimismo muy representativo el contraste en la formación del paradigma de los tiempos compuestos. En la zona occidental se construyen a partir del uso auxiliar de *egin* y **edutsi* y esta solución contrasta de manera muy elocuente con las variantes central, sobre **i*, y oriental a partir de *eradun* (cfr. mapa EHHA, 1392 y siguientes, en los que se reflejan los múltiples cambios de concordancia de los auxiliares en función del número y persona de los elementos nucleares de la predicación)⁸. Otra divergencia muy marcada en el plano morfosintáctico se da en la expresión del rasgo de puntualidad, tanto en situaciones descritas como aspectualmente estáticas (‘está comiendo’ EHHA, 1759), como

6 O al menos claramente más moderna que la datación que se va a atribuir al patrón. El EHHA ofrece ejemplos de vacilaciones que parecen duraderas, occ. *idefire* ‘helecho’ EHHA, 583. La permutación *l > d* en cambio se detecta en occ. *edur/elhur* ‘nieve’ EHHA, 262, *erur* todavía en Refranes y Sentencias y en Micoleta (Mitxelena, 1971, p. 315). Sugiere un evaluador anónimo que ambas *edur* y *elur* posiblemente provengan de *erur*.

7 El corpus de divergencias léxicas que se ajustan al patrón #1 es muy amplio. Por destacar algunos ejemplos: EHHA, 1541 occidental *galdara* (frente a *bertz*, *pertz*) ‘caldero’; 562 occidental *kipula* (frente a *tipula*) ‘cebo-lla’; 260 occidental *lei* (frente a *izotz*) ‘helada’; 271 occidental *martitzen* (frente a *astearte*) ‘martes’, al que habría que sumar el paradigma de los nombres de los días de la semana y de los meses; etc.

8 Advierte un evaluador anónimo que hay ejemplos de *eradun* en textos anteriores al siglo XVIII de Álava y Guipúzcoa, con complemento en singular o plural en el primer caso, pero sólo en plural en el segundo. En zona oriental también se conoce el uso de **i* en algunos textos y glosas antiguas. Las formas orientales además incorporan el sufijo *-z* como marca de pasado. Aclara el EHHA que a la pregunta ‘los vecinos le dieron un caramelo’ los informantes respondieron con *otzen*, *otzien*, *eutzen* en zona occidental frente a *zioen*, *zien*, *zioten*, *zakoten*, *zekote*, *zeien*. Hay que reseñar que la Barranca navarra se asimila a la solución central y no a la occidental en la elección del auxiliar.

en dinámicas ('está cortando la hierba' EHHA, 1758). En zona occidental estos giros se construyen respectivamente sobre usos modales de *egon* 'estar' (*jaten dago*) e *ibili* 'andar' (*bedarra ebagiten dabil*), mientras que en zona oriental se utiliza la perífrasis aspectual *ari izan* (*belarra ebakitzen ari da, jaten ari da*)⁹.

535. Mapa: ciruela / prune / plum

GALDERA: 20201: ALG: 109: ALEANR: III. ⁸ 368

1392. Mapa: *EDUN [+iragan, haiek-hura-hari]

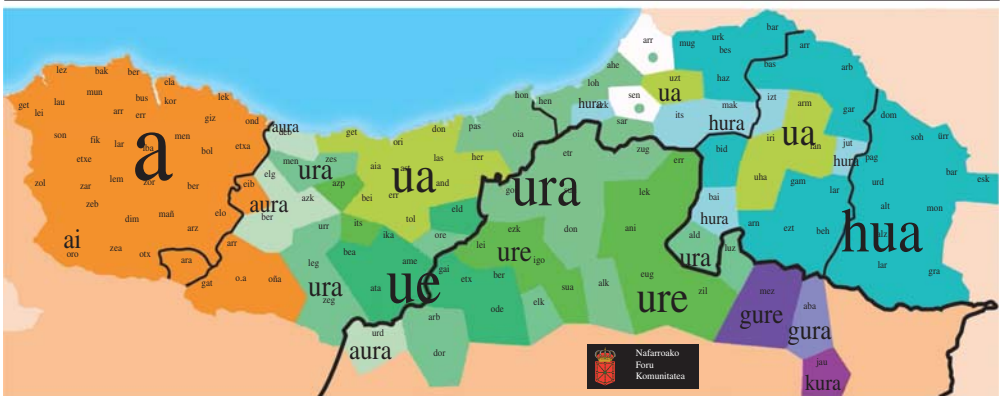
GALDERA: 91420



9 En el plano morfosintáctico es asimismo representativa del patrón #1 la divergencia de las soluciones para el ‘factitivo’ *eragin* (*jan eragin*) en zona occidental frente a la forma compuesta *arazi* (*janarazi* ‘hacer comer’) en oriente, EHHA, 1778.

1682. Mapa: aquel (absolutivo singular) / ce-là, 3ème degré (absolutif singulier) / that yonder (absolute singular)

GALDERA: 89260 ALEANR: XII, 1603



1758. Mapa: aspecto de puntualidad (situación dinámica) / aspect ponctuel (situation dynamique) / punctuality aspect (dynamic)

GALDERA: 94120 ALG: 2406



Mapas representativos del patrón #1.

Se cierra la muestra de mapas del patrón #1 con el paradigmático ejemplo EHHA, 1027 que ilustra una de las características más reseñadas del euskera occidental, el hiato de final de palabra *-a+a'* (*alaba+a* > *alabé*, *alabea*, *alabie* vs *alaba*, *alabá*, *alhabá*).

1027. Mapa: -a + a (-a bukaera + absolutibo singularra)

GALDERA: 86010



Mapa EHHA, 1027 *alaba+a* > *alabé, alabea, alabie* vs *alaba, alabá, alhabá*.

Dos mapas muy claros visualmente representan el patrón #2 cuya característica más destacada es mostrar el territorio navarro dividido en dos mitades, coincidiendo aproximadamente con el meridiano de Pamplona. En el plano léxico el mapa escogido es EHHA, 121 'lución', en zona occidental *ziraun* ('anguis fragilis', emparentado con la variante romance *sirón*) que contrasta con el compuesto patrimonial *sugeitsu* (*suge* 'culebra' + *itsu* 'ciega'), de la parte oriental, también calco del término latino del que procede la forma románica 'lucio, lución' (< **luscīdus*, *luscus* 'medio ciego').

121. Mapa: lución / orvet / slow worm / (*Anguis fragilis*)

GALDERA: 04080; ALG: 39; ALEANR: IV, 436



1718. Mapa: mucho/a(s) / beaucoup / many, much

GALDERA: 89690; ALEANR: XI, 1442



1148. Mapa: -konts + ek (kontsonante bukaera + ergatibo plurala)

GALDERA: 87310



1756. Mapa: tener-haber / avoir / have (to)

GALDERA: 94100



Mapas representativos del patrón #2.

En el plano morfosintáctico, el representante elegido es el mapa EHHA, 1148 que muestra la solución oriental para los sujetos plurales en ergativo, con la terminación *-ek* (que coincide con la del determinante ergativo plural ‘aquellos’ EHHA, 1685), frente a la general occidental *-ak* (indistinta para ergativo plural como para el singular, o el absoluto plural, mapas EHHA, 1147 y 1145)¹⁰. Particularmente representativa del mismo patrón #2 es la distribución del adjetivo cuantificador ‘mucho’ que en zona occidental opta por *asko* frente a las variantes orientales *aunitz*, *hanitz*, *hanitx*, EHHA, 1718. En el plano morfosintáctico destaca el mapa 1756 que muestra la forma occidental *daukat* ‘tener-haber’ frente a la oriental *badut* (‘tengo un hijo en América’ *seme bat daukat Ameriketan* / *Ameriketan badut seme bat*).

Los patrones #3 y #4 comparten la característica de que sus contornos coinciden con sendas demarcaciones políticas que perduran hasta la actualidad. El patrón #3 dibuja un contorno oriental nítido por el límite de las provincias de Guipúzcoa y Navarra. Entre los múltiples candidatos para representar este patrón #3¹¹, se ha elegido en el plano léxico el mapa EHHA, 838 ‘ala’, occidental *ego* frente a oriental *hegal*. En el plano morfosintáctico llaman la atención las dos variantes del adverbio ‘mejor’, mapa EHHA, 1221 *obeto* occidental, frente a oriental *hobeki*, distribución que refuerza la forma superlativa ‘lo mejor’ EHHA, 1229 *onena* occidental, frente a *hobena* oriental. La forma de marcar las subordinadas o tiempos pretéritos del auxiliar asimismo se distinguen nítidamente, *vg.* *zan* occidental, frente a oriental *zen*, EHHA, 1282. Un cuarto representante del patrón #3 muestra otra distribución de nivel morfosintáctico de considerable relieve, la que diferencia entre los dos genitivos candidatos para construir las formas perifrásticas de futuro. En el mapa EHHA, 1807 se ve el sufijo *-ko*, *-go* en zona occidental, frente a oriental *-en* (*Ez du ezer jango* / *ez du deus ere janen* ‘no comerá nada’).

10 Otros ejemplos ilustrativos del patrón #2 en el plano léxico son los mapas 1242 del numeral ‘once’ *amaika/hameka*, con la variante oriental sin diptongo; el mapa 939 del sustantivo con función adverbial ‘dentro’ *barru*, *barren/barne*; 30 de ‘pulga’ *arkakuso/kukuso*; 179 ‘murciélago’ *saguzar/gauainara*; 177 ‘erizo’ *kirikiño*, *triku/sagarroi*. La distribución del pronombre indeterminado ‘nadie’ EHHA, 1744 *inor/nehor*, *ihur* también se amolda a este patrón #2 (ver Hualde, 2015, p. 138); así como las oraciones temporales del mapa 1800 ‘Cuando me ha visto se ha marchado’ *ikusi nauenian alde egin du* / *ikusi nauelaik eskapatu da*. Con todo, avisa un evaluador anónimo, la distribución de este último fenómeno no debe de ser antigua, ya que era todavía inestable en el siglo XVIII.

11 Otro buen representante del patrón #3 en el plano léxico es el mapa de ‘cal’ EHHA, 935, con *kare* en occidente frente a *kisu* en oriente. Respeta la misma distribución el mapa de ‘azada’ EHHA, 1652, con la forma occidental palatalizada *atxur*, frente a la oriental que mantiene el diptongo, *aitzur*. En el plano morfosintáctico llama la atención la forma pronominal ‘nada’ con su doblete *ezer (ere)* para occidente, frente a *deus (ere)* para oriente, mapa EHHA, 1743. Sigue el mismo patrón #3 la distribución del tiempo presente del predicado ‘venir’ (‘Mi padre viene ahora del mercado’), siendo la forma sintética *dator* la que se implanta en la zona occidental frente a la perifrástica *(h)eldu da* en la oriental, EHHA, 1419. Pero estas muestras que se mencionan no agotan los mapas en los que la frontera navarro-guipuzcoana se distingue nítidamente.

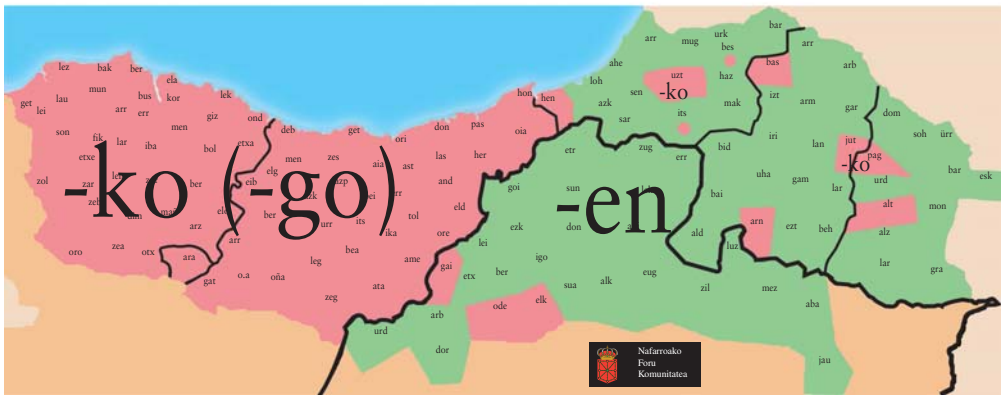
838. Mapa: alas / aile / wing

GALDERA: 28040; ALG: 434; ALEANR: 291



1807. Mapa: morfema de futuro / morphème du futur des verbes en -l/-n / future morpheme

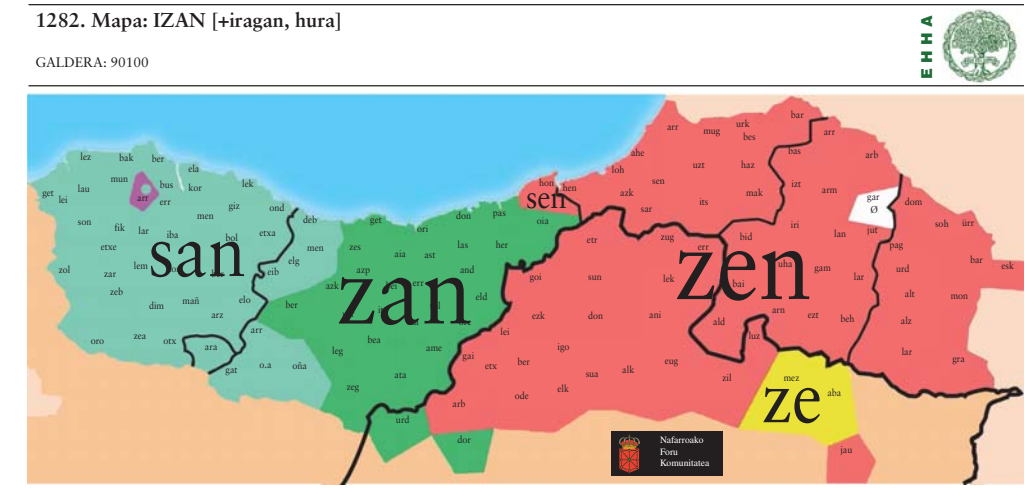
GALDERA: 94610



1221. Mapa: mejor (adverbio) / mieux / better

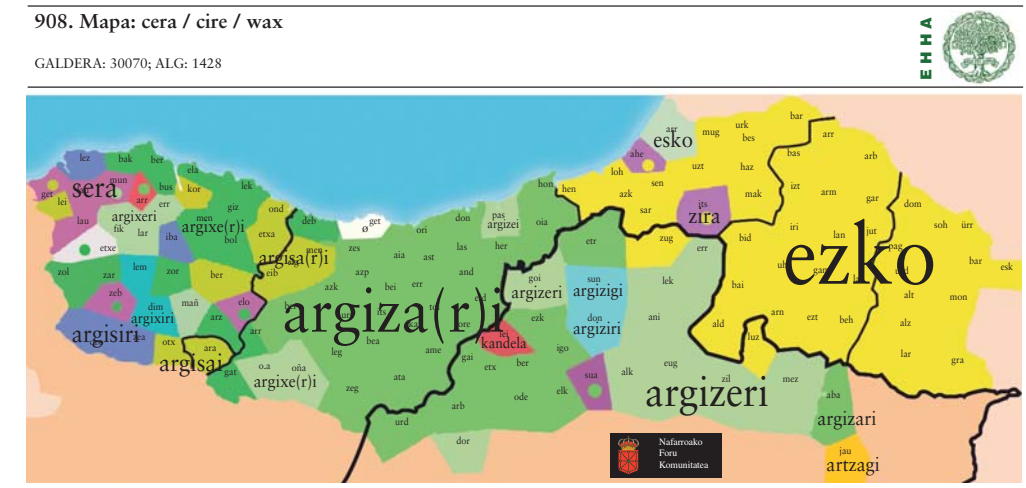
GALDERA: 88070





Mapas representativos del patrón #3.

El siguiente esquema geolingüístico que de forma clara respeta un contorno político es el cuarto de nuestra lista, que recorre por el flanco oriental la frontera francoespañola. Es muy abundante y reconocible en el EHHA, sobre todo en el apartado léxico, en el que destacan numerosos préstamos con apariencia de ser recientes. Un buen representante del patrón #4 en el plano léxico es el mapa de ‘cera’, que en la parte española adopta lo que parece un calco metonímico (lat. tardío *lucernarium* > ‘lucernario’, ‘lámpara de aceite’, ‘linterna’) *argizari*, frente al neologismo oriental *ezko*, EHHA, 908. Ejemplos adicionales son EHHA, 613 *patata* frente a *lursagar*, *pumatera* ‘patata’; 761 *mami* frente a *kallatu* ‘cuajada’; 795 *gantxo* frente a *krako* ‘gancho de la matanza’; 801 *solomo* frente a *lunka*, o *fileta* ‘lomo’; 828 *tripaki*, o *kallu* frente a *gradubla* ‘callos’; 850 *azal*, *kaskal* frente a *kusku*; 887 *egazti* frente a *pualla* ‘ave de corral’; 910 *eme* frente a *urrixa* ‘hembra’; 1007 *koltxoi* frente a *matalaz* ‘colchón’, etc.



propuesta por Koldo Zuazo, al menos en su versión simplificada (fig. 2). El mapa de Zuazo coincide con el de Bonaparte en lo que concierne a la delimitación de los dialectos occidental y guipuzcoano, y se amolda perfectamente a la superposición de los patrones #1 y #3. Por su parte, el efecto divisor del patrón #4, sobre el eje de la frontera francoespañola, se percibe con relativa facilidad en la propuesta de Zuazo, no así en la de Bonaparte (fig. 2)¹³.

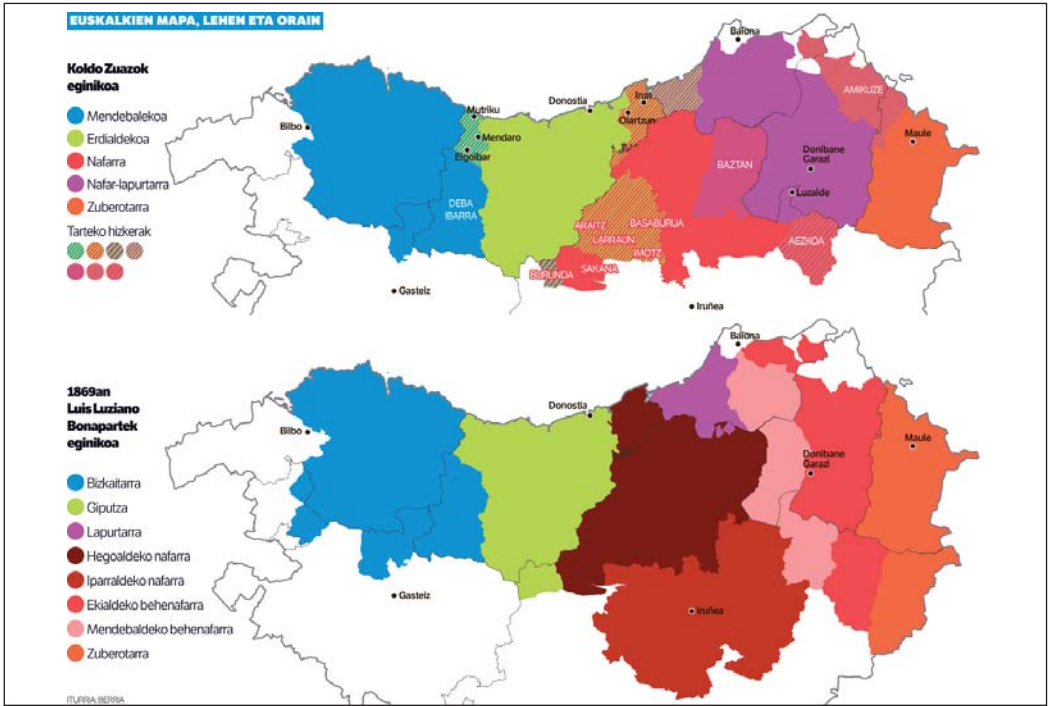


Figura 2. Los dialectos vascos, Koldo Zuazo (2014) vs Luis Luciano Bonaparte. Fuente *Berria* (23/10/2016).

Por tanto, en su cartografía dialectal, Zuazo refleja de manera nítida los patrones #1 y #3, y en una importante medida también el patrón #4. Llama la atención sin embargo que ni en el de Zuazo, ni en los de Bonaparte se refleja el patrón #2, con el territorio navarro dividido por la mitad a la altura del eje de Pamplona. Por contra, la mayor parte del área septentrional navarra se representa mediante configuraciones cartográficas complejas y hasta contradictorias. No así el extremo más oriental, donde se hallan el país de Sola y el Roncal, siempre muy bien caracterizados en estos mapas, aunque paradójicamente no se hayan reflejado en ninguno de los patrones del EHHA que se han explorado hasta el momento.

13 Aspecto en el que también ha reparado Reguero: «Zuazo observa una clara división dialectal entre el euskera del País Vasco septentrional y el País Vasco meridional» y añade «Partiendo de los datos obtenidos de su estudio, [Zuazo] propone que la dialectización del euskera comenzó en la Edad Media y ya para el siglo XVI existía una clara división: por un lado, Araba, Bizkaia y Gipuzkoa formarían un área dialectal; por otra parte, un área diferente estaría formado por Baja-Navarra, Alta-Navarra y Lapurdi. Por último, Zuberoa constituiría otra zona dialectal» (Reguero, 2015, p. 437).

¿Con qué criterio se han hecho las clasificaciones tradicionales de los dialectos vascos? El académico Luis Villasante, en referencia a las propuestas de los eruditos del país con antelación a la utilización de la metodología científica de Luis Luciano Bonaparte, destacaba cómo «los autores antiguos se suelen fijar en las divisiones políticas, considerando un tanto ingenuamente que a cada división política debe corresponder una variedad propia» (1970, p. 33). Esta percepción tradicional creemos ha quedado de alguna manera embutida en la nomenclatura utilizada por la filología vasca, siguiendo la costumbre que el propio Bonaparte estableció para referirse a los dialectos (vizcaíno, guipuzcoano, labortano, etc.). Es una correspondencia que los grandes patrones geolingüísticos del EHHA no parecen corroborar. Queda por el momento abierta la cuestión de los criterios utilizados para la clasificación dialectal.

Un aspecto que sí concita la unanimidad de los dialectólogos es la «brusca, neta y repentina» diferencia que se detecta entre pueblos limítrofes del occidente guipuzcoano, verbigracia entre Oñate y Legazpia, o entre Anzuola y Villarreal de Urrechua (Villasante, 1970, p. 37). El contraste es tan marcado que algunos estudiosos, singularmente C. C. Uhlenbeck, han planteado la posibilidad de que originalmente la variante vizcaína haya sido una lengua separada que con el tiempo y por proximidad hubiera confluído con el resto de dialectos vascos. Mitxelena en 1964 descartó esta posibilidad, demostrando que en realidad el proceso había sido el inverso, un distanciamiento progresivo y constatable en tiempos relativamente recientes. Posteriormente, en un artículo cuyo impacto está todavía lejos de agotarse, Mitxelena (1981) sitúa el inicio de la dialectología vasca en un momento que coincide con el declive del dominio romano, a partir del siglo V, y no en una época antigua o prehistórica como hasta entonces se había pensado¹⁴. Plantea la existencia de un antecesor común a todos los dialectos que se documentan a partir de la etapa literaria del siglo XVI. La bibliografía denomina ‘vasco común antiguo’ (VCA) a ese antecesor dialectal. Zuazo (2010) resume las tres razones principales que le llevan a él a apoyar esta teoría: (i) la unión interna de la lengua; (ii), las innovaciones comunes a todos los dialectos, y (iii) el parecido entre los dialectos centrales. La cuestión que nos queda pendiente es describir el proceso de fragmentación.

Urtzi Reguero (2015) atribuye a Lakarra (2011) y Camino (2011) el avance en el conocimiento del proceso de dialectización del VCA y el mérito de haber superado «la visión del árbol dialectal que presenta una fragmentación múltiple desde un punto común, defendiendo en su lugar una división binaria parecida a las propuestas para el indoeuropeo o las lenguas austronesias». La principal contribución de Lakarra habría consistido en

14 Una tradición muy arraigada atribuye el salto brusco del Alto Deba a la existencia de una antigua frontera tribal prerromana, con várdulos al oriente de esta cuenca fluvial y caristios al occidente (Zuazo, 2010, p. 140). Mitxelena 1964 y Villasante 1970 se plantean otra posible causa, relacionada con el área de influencia de las antiguas diócesis medievales (Calahorra, Pamplona, Bayona), acercándose de esa manera a la visión tripartita de los dialectos vascos que tenía Larramendi. Pero Zuazo (2010) descarta la relación directa con las diócesis, sin duda una cuestión espinosa dadas las diferencias e incertidumbres de estas instituciones tanto desde el punto de vista de su cronología (¿época visigoda, bajomedieval?) como de su extensión e implantación en el territorio (muy desigual si se comparan los obispados de Pamplona con los de Álava, o Calahorra).

desplegar un análisis razonado de los cambios que tuvieron lugar en el tránsito del protovasco al VCA, para así establecer un punto de arranque fiable del proceso dialectal. Lakarra habría sido capaz de identificar el primer nodo del árbol de bifurcaciones, al interpretar como arcaísmos una serie de rasgos que caracterizan las hablas de los valles de Roncal y Sola, en el extremo más oriental. Iñaki Camino habría llegado a una conclusión similar tras analizar «de forma minuciosa» los dialectos vascos más orientales. Recalca Reguero que estos «dos vascológicos convienen en que es en esta área donde más arcaísmos se mantienen y, por lo tanto, debió ser la primera en escindirse del resto» (2015, p. 437).

El análisis de los patrones geolingüísticos sin embargo ofrece una conclusión muy distinta, más en línea con la observación de Koldo Zuazo que hace buena la intuición de G. Lacombe. Sin llegar a la opinión extrema de Uhlenbeck, este autor propone dividir las hablas vascas en dos grandes grupos dialectales, el vizcaíno por un lado y todos los demás por otro (Lacombe, 1952, p. 260). Zuazo parece corroborar esta idea afirmando que el «dialecto occidental es con mucho el más divergente». Y añade «fue, tal vez, el primero en desgajarse del resto de dialectos. Es posible que el alejamiento de Álava y Vizcaya del reino de Navarra, y su acercamiento al reino astur, en el siglo VIII, y, más tarde, al reino de Castilla, tenga algo que ver con este hecho» (2010, p. 192)¹⁵. A la misma conclusión llega parcialmente Reguero, después de abordar el estudio más exhaustivo de los rasgos del euskera medieval que se ha publicado hasta la fecha. «Sobre todo, teniendo en cuenta varias características toponímicas» dice «hemos defendido que en la Edad Media existían dos áreas dialectales: una abarcaría la zona occidental, compuesta por los actuales territorios de Bizkaia, Araba, oeste de Gipuzkoa, algunos valles del oeste navarro y zonas vascófonas de La Rioja y Burgos; la otra área abarcaría la zona centro-oriental, es decir, el resto de Gipuzkoa y Navarra y las provincias del norte de los Pirineos». Aunque inmediatamente menciona un conjunto de innovaciones que le llevan a distinguir no dos sino tres áreas dialectales, con «un área central innovadora que abarcaría sobre todo el centro y norte de Navarra y la mayor parte de Gipuzkoa» (Reguero, 2015, p. 440). Así definida, esa «área central innovadora» tiene muchas similitudes con el patrón #2 del EHHA que se ha presentado en la sección anterior¹⁶.

5. HACIA UNA CRONOLOGÍA ABSOLUTA DE LOS PATRONES DEL EHHA

En la sección anterior se destacaba la ausencia del patrón #2 en los contornos que los principales patrones del EHHA proyectan sobre los mapas dialectales de Bonaparte y

15 Unas líneas más arriba Zuazo afirma «los dialectos verdaderamente divergentes son los que ocupan ambos extremos del país, el suletino y, muy particularmente, el occidental, de Álava, Vizcaya y el valle guipuzcoano del Deba. En este capítulo se ha visto que, en efecto, han sido muchas las innovaciones que han partido de esas áreas» (Zuazo, 2010, p. 192).

16 La significación geolingüística del patrón #2, según indica un evaluador anónimo, ha sido previamente señalada por Koldo Mitxelena (1972), Orreaga Ibarra (1996), Koldo Zuazo (1998) e Iñaki Camino (1999, 2013), además de por el mencionado Urtzi Reguero (2015).

Zuazo (fig. 2). Otro aspecto que había quedado pendiente es la posibilidad de aportar cronologías absolutas a las situaciones lingüísticas que describen estos patrones destacados. Una tercera cuestión es dilucidar el motivo por el que entre esos patrones principales ninguno refleja la singularidad lingüística del extremo oriental del territorio, que es precisamente la que Lakarra y Camino identifican como producto de una temprana bifurcación. Vamos a ver si el estudio de las cronologías absolutas aporta luz sobre estas cuestiones pendientes.

Ya se ha adelantado que Koldo Zuazo sugiere una datación muy convincente en la que encuadrar el panorama lingüístico del patrón #1, corroborado en gran medida por la cronología relativa de Gontzal Aldai (2014). Aldai aborda la periodización de la fractura occidental mediante el análisis de fenómenos lingüísticos internos, muchos de ellos constatados documentalmente para los siglos X-XI¹⁷. El proceso dialectal habría arrancado en los siglos IV-VI, dentro del marco histórico propuesto por Mikel Pozo (2016). Con él se explica la presencia del VCA en la Llanada alavesa, bien como consecuencia de una expansión desde la cuenca de Pamplona, o bien por efecto de la nivelación lingüística entre los dos espacios, a favor del vasco común que precede a la formación en Álava el euskera occidental¹⁸. Zuazo intuye el momento histórico en el que la conexión entre esos dos espacios se quiebra. Coincide en ello con la observación de los especialistas (Peterson, 2009; Lorenzo & Pastor, 2011), que han estudiado en profundidad la situación de ruptura que se produce en el territorio durante los primeros siglos de la conquista musulmana. Las excavaciones en la plaza del Castillo de Pamplona han dado a conocer un periodo de convivencia entre dirigentes invasores y población local (De Miguel, 2013). Durante esta época Pamplona habría estado subordinada política y militarmente a la sede tudelana del emirato de Córdoba, a cargo del clan muladí de los Banu Qasi (Larrea, 2009). Por su parte, las élites alavesas a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo VIII habían quebrado su dependencia jerárquica con Córdoba y entablado contacto con los focos de resistencia recluidos en la primitiva Castilla y en la incipiente corte asturiana (Larrea & Pastor, 2012). A partir del siglo X la emergente dinastía Jimena da un giro a su relación amistosa con Tudela y emprende un nuevo ciclo de beligerancia, con la conquista de Nájera¹⁹ y su aproximación a la corte leonesa y los poderes condales de Álava y Castilla (Larrea, 2009).

17 Aldai (2014, pp. 224-225) se sirve de los cartularios medievales más antiguos (siglos X-XI) para delimitar la cronología de algunas de las variantes occidentales más reconocibles, vg. *(h)uri, barri, baltz* frente a las formas generales *(h)iri, berri, beltz*. La toponimia muestra la considerable y temprana expansión de estos rasgos en Álava, Vizcaya, el Alto Deba, el valle de Lana y las Améscoas navarras, además de tierras de la actual Burgos y la Rioja Alta.

18 El autor ha expuesto numerosos argumentos, tanto internos como externos, a favor de la primera de las hipótesis, la expansión del VCA desde la cuenca de Pamplona entre los siglos IV-VI (Abaitua & Unzueta, 2011; Abaitua, 2017).

19 A comienzos del siglo X el rey pamplonés Sancho Garcés I, primero de la dinastía Jimena, se decide a extender sus dominios por la Rioja Media y Alta a expensas de los Banu Qasi tudelanos. Consigue el apoyo del rey de León Ordoño II en la conquista de Nájera en 923 y su acercamiento a la corte leonesa se traduce en una política de enlaces matrimoniales de sus hijas con los herederos al trono de León, así como con el conde castellano Fernán González.

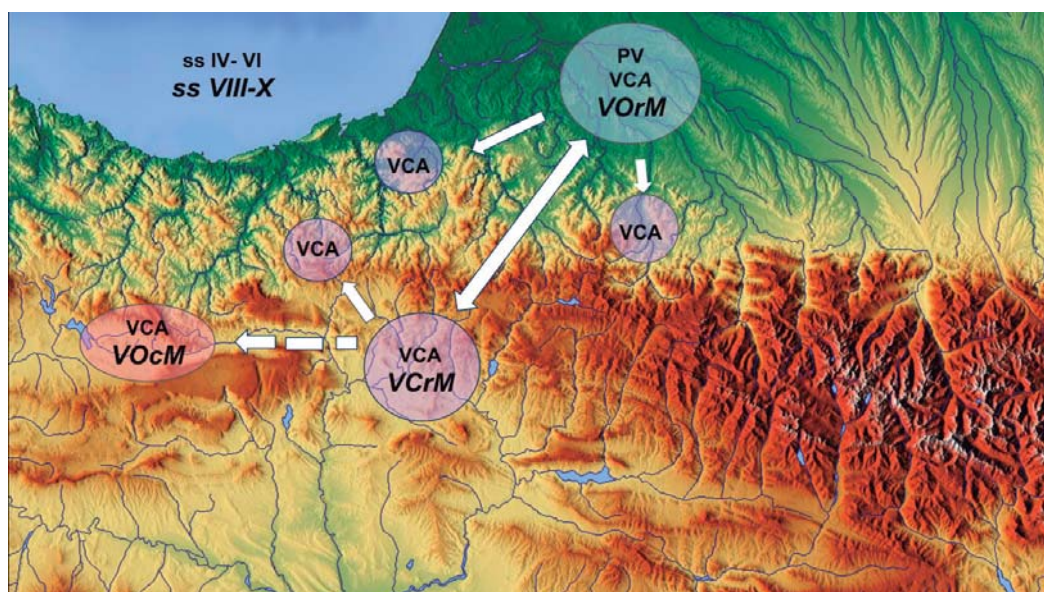


Figura 3. Dos periodos, conexión y ruptura, entre los núcleos de Álava y Pamplona, siglos IV-VI y VIII-X.

Este breve bosquejo histórico sirve para contextualizar el marcado contraste de las dos situaciones lingüísticas que perfilan los patrones #1 y #2 del EHHA. Se representan en ellas dos escenarios muy diferentes. El primero se corresponde con la situación de los siglos VIII-IX y refleja el alejamiento del área occidental respecto al núcleo de Pamplona. El segundo, siglos X-XII, ilustra justamente el efecto contrario, la reconexión del núcleo de Pamplona con el área occidental. Vamos a revisar las cronologías relativas que maneja Aldai (2014) en su aproximación al proceso dialectal y averiguar qué tienen que decir respecto a estos patrones.

Aldai (2014) sugiere tres periodos en los que encajar la cronología de los cambios occidentales. El primer periodo abarcaría hasta el siglo X y en él ubica los «rasgos occidentales sin variantes documentadas», que serían aquellos que coinciden con las características más antiguas detectadas en esa zona, es decir, las formas que no presentan variabilidad²⁰. Distingue después un segundo periodo que englobaría los siglos X-XII. Esta aproximación diacrónica de Aldai coincide exactamente con la cronología que acabamos de bosquejar como contexto temporal de los patrones #1 y #2. Con todo, el criterio de variabilidad introduce matices importantes en la datación relativa de los cambios dialectales. Por ejemplo, el mapa EHHA, 1027 con el que cerrábamos el muestreo del

20 «Si una innovación occidental no presenta variabilidad, esto implicaría que ha tenido tiempo para desplazar y suplantarse totalmente a la forma antigua. Si por el contrario la diversidad de formas está documentada, esto se tomaría como indicador de que la forma moderna no ha tenido tiempo de desplazar totalmente a la antigua. Es decir, la innovación correspondiente sería más reciente» (Aldai, 2014, p. 224).

patrón #1, refleja la disimilación del artículo singular *-a + a > -ea* tan característica del euskera occidental. Sin embargo, Aldai la considera una innovación más reciente que otros fenómenos que exhiben mayor invariabilidad, pese a reconocer su antigüedad y que «debió de haber supuesto una evolución más prolongada en el tiempo y con más ramificaciones que las anteriores» (Aldai, 2014, p. 229). Precisamente la extensión e invariabilidad de la marca de ergativo plural *-ak* significa para Aldai un indicio seguro de antigüedad «puesto que no hay testimonio (como en otros casos) del uso de *-ek* en el occidente vasco». Se desprende de esta manera que el criterio de la invariabilidad utilizado por Aldai contradice la secuencia de los fenómenos que creemos reflejan las horquillas cronológicas de nuestros patrones #1 y #2.

Mayor discrepancia se detecta respecto al periodo en que se fija la elección del morfema de la perífrasis verbal de futuro, los sufijos *-(r)en* y *-ko* (*ikusiren / ikusiko dut* ‘yo veré’, lit. ‘yo he de ver’) que ejercen análogas funciones de genitivo en la declinación nominal y que se utilizan ambos alguna vez también como destinativos. Guiado por el criterio de invariabilidad, dice Aldai que si «esta innovación carece de variantes en el occidente vasco, la conclusión a la que llego es que el morfema *-ko* (*-go*) constituye otra innovación antigua del euskera occidental» (Aldai, 2014, p. 228). Un caso paralelo es el contraste que ofrecen las «formas subordinadas con sufijos *-(e)n* o *-(e)la* de 3.^a persona singular de *izan* ‘ser’: oriental *den, zen, dela, zela* / occidental *dan, zan, dala, zala*» y que está representado en el mapa EHHA, 1282. Asimismo, la dicotomía del ergativo plural (**aek > -ak / -ek*)²¹, la explica Aldai como el resultado de una doble solución fonética para el hiato **-ae*: *da(n) + *-(e)n > *daen* y alinea la solución *dan* con el conjunto de rasgos occidentales «sin variantes documentadas en la documentación oriental»²². Estos son principalmente el ergativo plural *-ak*, la subordinada *dan*, el dativo plural *ai* y el futuro *-ko* «que parecerían innovaciones o elecciones más que arcaísmos», todas ellas candidatas a figurar entre los rasgos más antiguos del mismo primer periodo anterior al siglo X (Aldai, 2014, p. 236). Por contra, Aldai atenúa la antigüedad de otras características distintivas del euskera occidental como son la palatización de sibilantes fricativas y africadas */s/* y */ts/* tras diptongo con */i/* final (*/Vj/*), la gramaticalización de los auxiliares *egin* y **edutsi* o los sustantivos verbales en *-(k)eta*. Estos se detectan en los primeros textos de todas las zonas occidentales «en competencia con sus correspondientes variantes que hoy tenemos por exclusivamente orientales (*naiz, *ezan, -i- o -tze*, respectivamente)» pero tienen una extensión menor «que las características occidentales más antiguas» (Aldai, 2014, p. 237).

21 Un evaluador anónimo sugiere el siguiente origen para las marcas de ergativo plural *-ak < *ha-ga* y *-ek < hek*.

22 Invariabilidad con algunas excepciones: «En los diálogos de Mikoleta (Bilbao, siglo XVII), sin embargo, aparecen junto a siete ejemplos de *dala* y dos ejemplos de *dan(a)* en oraciones de relativo, otros dos ejemplos de *den* en interrogativas indirectas. Como digo, estos dos ejemplos parecen estar totalmente aislados en el euskera occidental antiguo, incluidos los *Refranes* y *Sentencias* de 1596, también representantes del euskera de Bilbao [...]. En cualquier caso, sigo pensando que las formas del tipo *dan* apenas presentan variabilidad en el euskera occidental histórico, por lo que este puede considerarse un rasgo antiguo, tanto como el ergativo plural en *-ak*» (Aldai, 2014, p. 227). Apunta un evaluador anónimo que en suletino se documenta el sufijo completivo *-ala*.

Este panorama indica claramente que la metodología seguida por Aldai (2014) y las conclusiones que se extraen de los patrones son en gran medida discordantes (*vg.* patrón #1 *-a + a > -ea*; patrón #2 distribución *-ak/-ek*; patrón #3 morfema de futuro *-ko/-en*). Por un lado hay que considerar la situación histórica que ha propiciado la configuración de los patrones geolingüísticos. Pero por otro se deben considerar los argumentos que apoyan la cronología relativa de los fenómenos lingüísticos. La congruencia entre los patrones y los momentos históricos no deja mucho margen de maniobra. Los patrones #3 y #4 parecen en este sentido claros y elocuentes. El efecto de raya geolingüística que traza la frontera franco-española en el patrón #4 y la navarro-guipuzcoana en el patrón #3 tiene en ambos casos un *terminus post quem* fácil de identificar. Pero una cosa es la causa de la distribución geolingüística, es decir, la datación de la isoglosa, y otra el momento en que se producen los fenómenos lingüísticos que se recogen en los atlas. Los dos hechos, el origen del fenómeno y la fijación de la isoglosa, no tienen por qué ser sincrónicos. La vía de compromiso entre ellos tal vez se deba buscar en el concepto de nivelación.

6. LA NIVELACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA

La nivelación se asocia habitualmente con situaciones propicias para el cambio lingüístico y puede tener consecuencias muy variadas. Fernández-Ordóñez destaca «la disminución de variantes, la reducción de inventarios fonológicos e irregularidades morfológicas y la pérdida de categorías marcadas» (2011, p. 73). Todos estos fenómenos se ven reflejados en los ejemplos de los patrones que se han explorado anteriormente. Si efectivamente, como sugiere Aldai, los criterios de invariabilidad y extensión avalan la antigüedad de las soluciones occidentales, las diferencias en su distribución que muestran los mapas del EHHA es muy probable que tengan que ver con la nivelación. Solo de esta forma es posible conjugar una misma antigüedad de características, como la del ergativo plural y la del sufijo de futuro, con patrones de distribución tan diferentes (el #2 y #3 en cada caso). Es precisamente el patrón #2 el que resulta más paradójico desde este punto de vista, porque la distribución geográfica que ofrece no casa con ninguno de los mapas dialectales que conocemos. A la suma de los territorios de Vizcaya y Guipúzcoa se añade todo el oeste de Navarra configurando un espacio común que no ha perdurado en lo político y en el que tuvo lugar la nivelación de rasgos tan significativos como la del ergativo plural *-ak*, frente al oriental *-ek* EHHA, 1148, el cuantificador *asko* ‘mucho’, frente a *aunitz* EHHA, 1718, o el uso de la forma verbal *daukat* de ‘tener-haber’, frente a la oriental *badut* EHHA, 1756.

Cabe suponer que la situación sociopolítica del patrón #2 fue alterada profundamente al fijarse los nuevos perfiles políticos de los siglos XIII (con la frontera navarro-guipuzcoana²³) y XVI (con la frontera franco-española), que han perdurado hasta el presente. Es

23 Díaz de Durana y Fernández de Larrea (2005) describen la coyuntura política de los siglos XIII-XV en los que los principales linajes guipuzcoanos adquieren una clara supremacía militar y económica sobre sus rivales navarros. Es el marco histórico que explicaría las importantes innovaciones guipuzcoanas que caracterizan el patrón #3.

la fase previa, entre los siglos X-XII, la que a todas luces se ve reflejada en el patrón #2. Los estudios históricos avalan la trascendencia de las transformaciones socioculturales que se produjeron en ese periodo. La pujante corte de Pamplona en esos siglos promueve la introducción de la orden de Cluny en la red de monasterios y abadías que estaban bajo control regio. El apoyo de la corte a esta orden se traduce en un impulso definitivo de la reforma carolingia cuyos efectos en la lengua y en la escritura son bien conocidos (Ramos, 2003). Esta reforma no solo promueve el cambio de rito litúrgico, con el abandono del rito mozárabe en favor del romano, también se cambia el tipo de letra, al pasar de la visigótica a la carolina, y se promueve la «relatinización» de los textos de los cartularios, lo que da lugar a la introducción de numerosos neologismos. Es asimismo el momento en que el esfuerzo por depurar el latín litúrgico acentúa la distancia de éste con la lengua hablada. Surge de esta manera la consciencia lingüística y el descubrimiento de la existencia de los «vernáculos» (Ramos, 2013). La reforma cluniacense tiene en la monarquía pamplonesa a su más decidida propulsora (Gordo Molina, 2015). Hacia 1020 Sancho III el Mayor donó el monasterio de San Juan de la Peña a Cluny con la idea de experimentar la reforma antes de aplicarla a otros monasterios. Pero pronto el rey de Pamplona la llevará también a los emblemáticos monasterios de San Salvador de Leyre, San Millán de la Cogolla, San Salvador de Oña y San Pedro de Cardeña. Santa María de Nájera será donada poco después por su hijo García Sánchez III.

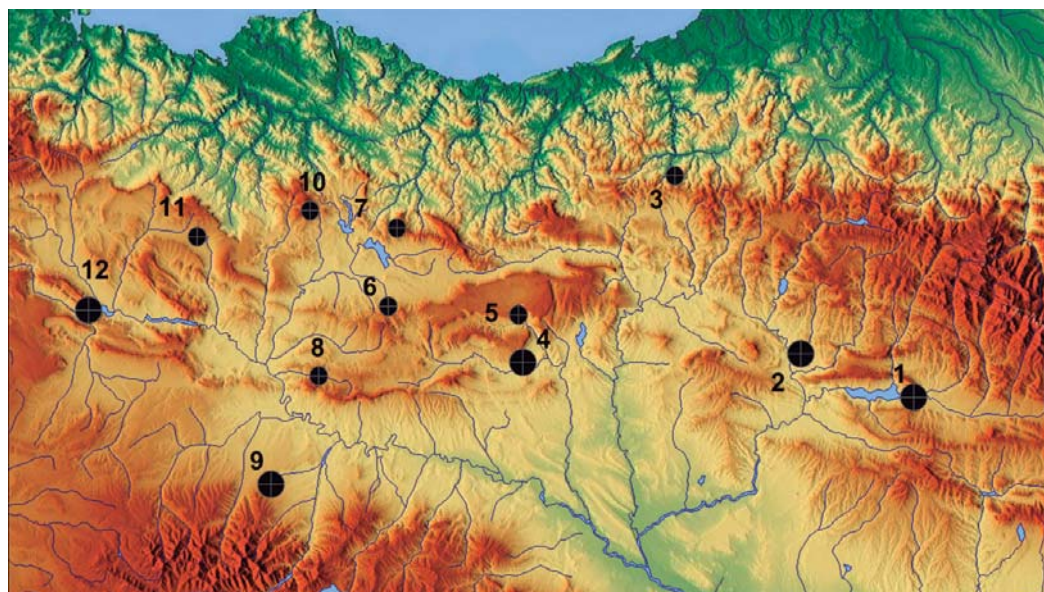


Figura 4. Red de abadías y monasterios de la casa de Pamplona, siglos X-XIII. 1: San Juan de la Peña. 2: San Salvador de Leyre. 3: Santa María de Roncesvalles. 4: Santa María la Real de Irache. 5: Santa María la Real de Iranzu. 6: Santa Pía de Laminoria. 7: Santa María de Barria. 8: San Miguel de Rivas. 9: San Millán de la Cogolla. 10: San Vicente de Acosta. 11: Santa María de Valpuesta. 12: San Salvador de Oña.

Es seguro que esta tupida red de monasterios y abadías realengas conformó un extraordinario caldo de cultivo para la generación de innovaciones lingüísticas y su rápida

propagación. Monjes y abades circulaban de una sede a otra²⁴ y muchos debieron de ser trilingües. Aunque solo queden en euskera las sucintas glosas que anotó en un códice el monje de San Millán, no cabe duda de que la comunicación en las comunidades de religiosos tuvo que ser fluida en cualquiera de las tres lenguas. Esta retícula monástica debió de ejercer de centro gravitatorio de las innovaciones y de los procesos de nivelación que seguro tuvieron lugar entre comunidades reconectadas y expansivas²⁵. En este contexto es en el que tiene sentido la hipótesis planteada por la investigadora M.^a Jesús Torrens (2014). Dice esta autora «ha sido el motor de mis pesquisas sobre los conectores vascos [...] la necesidad de hallar una explicación a una forma *do* ‘o’ que he encontrado en dos documentos de mediados del siglo XIII pertenecientes a los fondos del monasterio de San Salvador de Oña. Es este un coordinador disyuntivo hasta ahora desconocido, cuya relación con el vasco *edo* parece mucho más que una mera coincidencia» (Torrens, 2014, p. 559)²⁶. Fue un periodo propicio para el trasvase de innovaciones de las lenguas romances a la lengua vasca y de contagio de elementos funcionales del habla culta al habla popular. Coincide asimismo con «el momento de máximo influjo de rasgos orientales [navarro-aragoneses] sobre el habla del antiguo condado de Castilla»²⁷.

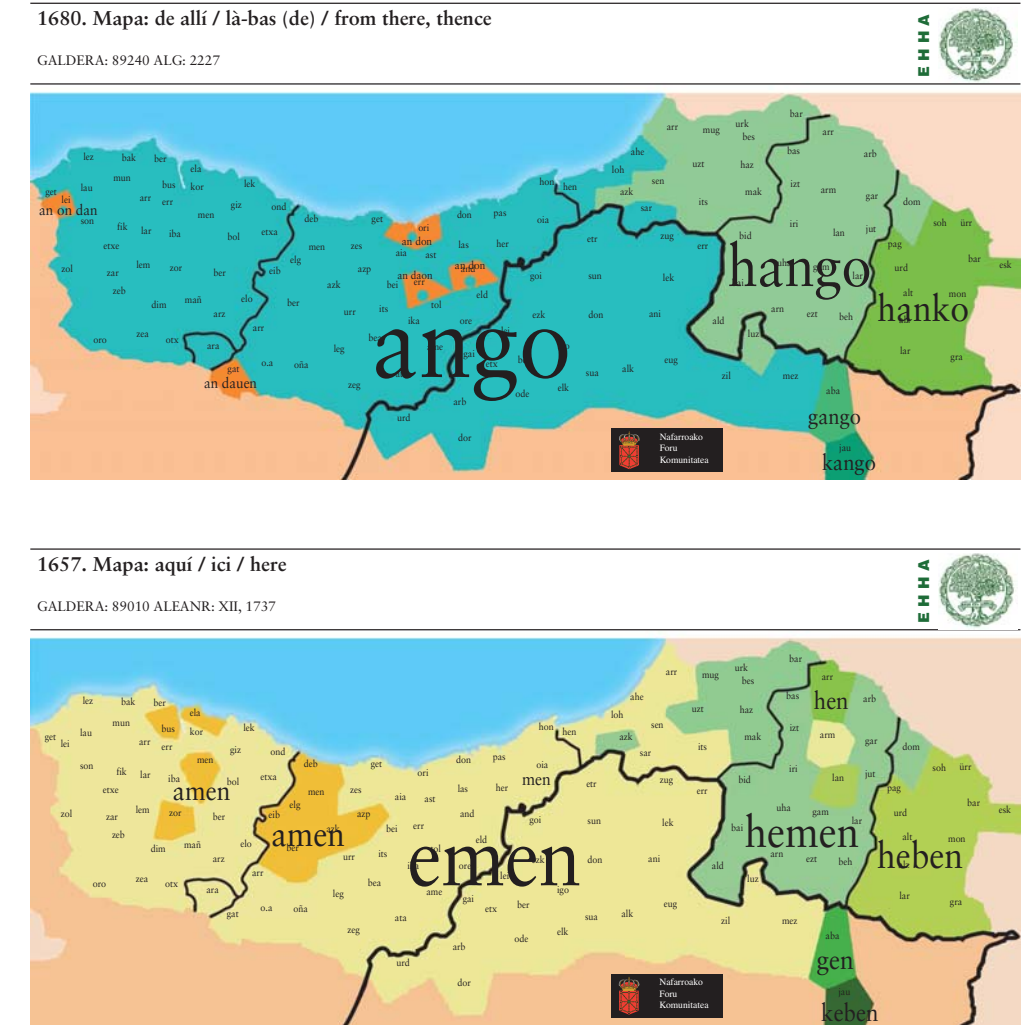
- 24 Un documento acredita el viaje del abad Íñigo de Oña desde el monasterio de San Juan de la Peña, con parada en el monasterio de Leyre, donde por primera vez firmó como abad de Oña (Pérez González, 2014). San Salvador de Oña había sido fundado en 1011 por el tercer conde de Castilla, Sancho García. De la mano de Sancho III el Mayor se convierte en el primer monasterio de la mitad occidental peninsular en recibir la reforma cluniacense, siguiendo el modelo de San Juan de la Peña.
- 25 En relación con los siglos X-XII, en los que se enmarca el patrón #2, un evaluador anónimo evoca las graves consecuencias que se derivan del vuelco de la monarquía pamplonesa hacia occidente (*cfr.* Fortún, 2000). Fortún (2000, pp. 441-452) subraya el esfuerzo navarro por el control de la Rioja Alta, y en especial, de la estratégica ciudad de Nájera. También describe cómo la reorganización del territorio fue motivo de constantes tensiones entre las aristocracias gobernantes y la antesala de la quiebra de la soberanía navarra a partir de 1199-1200. Pero puede suponerse por otra parte que el incremento de los contactos (entre tenentes navarro-aragoneses, *milites* alaveses, condes castellanos) trajo consigo el contagio cultural y lingüístico de esas élites, ya fueran civiles, militares o religiosas, en un momento de gran pujanza del área riojana. En lo concerniente a la lengua vasca, la ola innovadora occidental parece expandirse hacia Navarra pero, como advierte el evaluador, sin traspasar el meridiano de Pamplona, cuyo vuelco hacia poniente se habría producido en apariencia de espaldas a la franja oriental.
- 26 Añade Torrens «la existencia del pleonismo latino *et aut*, tampoco descrito hasta el momento [es] lo que me permite postular una evolución que podemos esquematizar como latín *et aut* > castellano medieval **edo* (*do* tras sufrir la aféresis de *e-*) > vasco *edo*. Que el étimo del euskera no puede ser un latín tardío **eto*, sino la forma evolucionada en su estado ya romance, (*e*)*do*, lo indica la presencia de la sonora intervocálica -*d*-, pues la oclusiva sorda latina en esta posición se hubiera conservado sin sonorizar» (Torrens, 2014, p. 559). Un evaluador anónimo discrepa de la etimología propuesta por Torrens dado que no responde a la estructura fonética que caracteriza a este grupo de partículas *eta*, *edo*, *ala*, *eze* (VCV).
- 27 Menéndez Pidal lo relaciona con el reinado del monarca navarro García Sánchez III (1035-1054) y propone una isoglosa que «arrancando en el mar junto a Santander, seguía por la divisoria occidental del río Miera (dejando a Trasmiera, Laredo y Vizcaya para Navarra), y pasaba luego entre Bricia y Arreba, al Oeste de Villarcayo (dejando la Vieja Castilla, Bureba y Álava para Navarra)» (Menéndez Pidal, 1966, p. 7).

7. SUBPATRONES DEL EHHA

Los cuatro patrones principales no agotan por supuesto el corpus de configuraciones geolingüísticas, pero sí ofrecen un rango de distribuciones que creemos son de mayor peso que otros subpatrones que vamos a repasar a continuación. Como hemos dicho, una de las ausencias que más llama la atención es la de un patrón que visualice el dialecto suletino. Por supuesto es posible hallar un elevado número de mapas que responden al perfil esperable para este dialecto, pero en ellos no hemos detectado variaciones de importancia comparable a las de los cuatro principales. Es revelador, por ejemplo, que el área suletina en el plano morfosintáctico comparta siempre sin solución de continuidad la variante oriental en la mayoría de los ejemplos de biparticiones que se han mencionado (vg. el demostrativo ‘aquel’ EHHA, 1682, la marca de puntualidad aspectual, EHHA, 1758 y 1759, el ergativo plural *-ek* EHHA, 1148, el dativo plural *-er*, la forma *badut* ‘tener-haber’ 1756, el morfema de futuro *-en*, etc.).

El área suletina ofrece algunas divergencias llamativas en el plano fonético, pero su antigüedad y relevancia tal vez sean menores de lo que se ha venido postulando. El caso más paradigmático es la aparición del grupo de sorda tras nasal /nk/, EHHA, 1680, *hanko* ‘de allí’, frente a la forma general con sonora (*h*)*ango* del resto. Según Lakarra (2011), esta divergencia habría sido una de las primeras en producirse, marcando una clara isoglosa del suletino (y roncalés) frente a los demás dialectos. Por este motivo Lakarra la sitúa en el nivel más alto del árbol de biparticiones dialectales. Pero su antigüedad a la vista de otros testimonios no parece tan obvia. Resulta muy significativo a este respecto que entre los datos de las cartas escritas por el roncalés Miguel Ros en los años 1616-1617 (citadas por Lakarra, 2011, p. 209 y Hualde, 2015, p. 133) aparezcan sonoras tras nasal en los sufijos *-ti(k)* y *-ko* (*nongo*, *emendi*, *emengoez*) en lugar de las formas roncalesas con nasal más sorda de textos posteriores (*nonko*, *kebenti* / *kementi*, *kebenko*). Como en otros casos, cabe la posibilidad de que nos encontremos ante la regresión reciente de un fenómeno fonético general (ensordecimiento de sonora), en lugar de ante una divergencia antigua²⁸.

28 Un anónimo evaluador menciona las variantes *saintu* y *sainta* de las cartas de Burgi de 1569, para reforzar la antigüedad de este rasgo oriental (mantenimiento de sorda tras nasal), junto con *entelegaturic* y *genteac* de la correspondencia entre Ros y Etxart (cfr. Lakarra, 2011, pp. 209-210). En todo caso, dice, estas cartas tal vez no sean representativas del habla local del siglo XVII sino un registro formal supradialectal. Préstamos romances que conservan la oclusiva sorda tras nasal (*santu*, *jente*, *denpora*, etc.) son normales también en la tradición occidental, lo que nos hace dudar de su pertinencia para justificar la antigüedad del fenómeno, al menos en los préstamos. El evaluador ofrece una nueva prueba, la del neologismo **gau-hari* > *auhari*. En la mayoría de los dialectos *au* diptonga en *abari*, *afari*, sin embargo en R *auhari* palataliza en *aigari* y en *aihari* en S. Este desarrollo, según el evaluador, sería temprano, anterior a la diptongación *au* > *a*, y exclusivo del área oriental.



Mapas de las áreas suletina y bajonavarra.

El EHHA ofrece abundantes ejemplos de otra variación fonética, la llamada sexta vocal ü (vg. mapa EHHA, 1326 con *dut/düt*)²⁹, pero su modernidad como variante labializada de una antigua *u* en «condiciones bien determinadas» no parece ofrecer dudas (Mitzelena, 1971, pp. 51-53, Zuazo, 2010, p.190). Otra variante *heben/he-men* ‘aquí’, mapa EHHA, 1657, podría postularse como antigua por ser el resultado divergente de una misma forma etimológica (< **-au-en* Mitxelena, 1971, p. 177). Pero siendo común a otros enclaves bajonavarros (Behorlegi, Landibarre, Larzabale)

29 En lo que respecta al paradigma verbal, salvo diferencias menores de tipo fonemático, el suletino comparte básicamente la misma selección y desarrollo de auxiliares que las hablas orientales del patrón #2 (Zuazo, 2010, p. 48).

en los que alterna con *hemen*, no parece razonable que la consideremos isoglosa discriminatoria.

Con diferencia, donde mejor representado se halla el subpatrón suletino es en el plano léxico. La mayoría apunta hacia innovaciones que parecen recientes, o al menos no mucho más antiguas que las que caracterizan el patrón #4. Se detectan abundantes préstamos como *xikota* ‘suelo’ (< *cicuta*) EHHA, 762, frente a la forma general *gazura* y sus variantes; *labrit* ‘perro pastor’ EHHA, 738, frente a los compuestos patrimoniales *arditxakur*, *artzaintxakur*; *borthu* ‘montaña’ (calco de gascón *còl*) EHHA 363, frente al general *mendi*; *tailis* ‘jaral’ (< fr. *taillis*), frente a *txara* (y sus variantes *xara*, *txaraka*, occidental *beresi*), entre otras muchas.

762. Mapa: suero / petit-lait / whey

GALDERA: 26370; ALEA: II, 542



363. Mapa: montaña / montagne / mountain

GALDERA: 13020; ALEANR: X, 1355; ALEANR: IV, 37



Mapas del subpatrón suletino.

Aunque limitado a unos pocos ejemplos, también el espacio bajonavarro ofrece un subpatrón característico que no tiene encaje entre los patrones principales. Destaca una singularidad fonética, la sonorización tras vibrante /rk/ > /rg/ en el adverbio *hor* ‘ahí’ cuando se le añade el sufijo ‘-ko’ EHHA, 1669 *borgo* ‘de ahí’.

Colindando por oriente con el anterior, otro subpatrón reseñable abarca longitudinalmente las áreas labortana y altonavarra. Su principal exponente es la variante fonemática del grupo *rtz* frente a *st*, bien visualizada en el EHHA por múltiples mapas, *vg.* 1236 del numeral ‘cinco’ *bortz*, que es *bost* por oriente y occidente. El perfil de este subpatrón coincide por occidente con el general #2, pero no por oriente, ya que en cuanto se adentra en Baja Navarra y hasta Sola la solución *rtz* se interrumpe a favor de la general *st*. Sorprende por esto que la solución innovadora sea la de los extremos y no la central, deducción para la que Mitxelena aporta abundantes pruebas («el paso de *rtz* a *st* se haría por mediación de **rst*, estadio en el que la sibilante tomaría la articulación apical de la vibrante», Mitxelena, 1971, pp. 363-365).

Es en el terreno de los préstamos léxicos donde las superposiciones de patrones y subpatrones ofrecen mayores indicios para la dialectología histórica. Si nos fijamos en los mapas EHHA, 816 ‘tripa’ y 817 ‘intestino’ vemos que el contorno lexemático del segundo (*h*)*ertze* (y sus variantes³⁰) es general y homogéneo y el primero no. De manera que se comprueba la irregular penetración de una especialización semántica, el préstamo *tripa*, frente al sentido más genérico de la forma patrimonial (luego se volverá sobre la interpretación cronológica del préstamo ‘tripa’). En el nivel fonemático el mapa 817 de ‘intestino’ muestra isoglosas muy representativas de los fenómenos de pérdida de *h*- y de alternancia *st/rtz* (que por cierto abarca por oriente un espacio más amplio que *bortz*, en el que además se ha recogido una forma con sibilante apical, *herse*, en lugar de la documentada con dorsal *herze*, *cfr.* OEH y Mitxelena, 1971, p. 362).

30 OEH: «*heste* (V, G, AN; Lar, Añ), *hertze* (BN; e- AN-mer-ulz, L, B, BN-baig, Ae, Sal, R; SP, Dv, H; e- Urt I 35, Lar), *herze* (BN; VocBN; e- L, B, Sal, R; VocB), *hertse* (S (+ e-)), (Sal, R, S; Gèze; h- Arch VocGr, Foix ap. Lh), *ertxe* (H). Ref.: A (*este*, *ertze*, *erze*, *ertse*, *erxe*); Bon-Ond 141; VocPir 286; Lrq (*erxe*); ContR 531; Iz ArOñ, To (*estia*), Ulz (*ertze*), Als (*estí*), R 306; Satr VocP (*ertze*); Izeta BHizt; Etxba Eib (*este*). Tr. Atestiguado desde principios del s. XVII. La forma *este* se documenta en textos occidentales (tbn. en F. Irigaray y Zubiri, en este último junto con *hertze*), y *her(t)ze* en textos orientales (sin aspiración en el único ej. suletino encontrado). Hay además *erxe* en Tartas e Inchauspe. 1. Intestino; (sobre todo pl.) tripas, entrañas.

1669. Mapa: de ahí / là (de) / from there, thence

GALDERA: 89130 ALG: 2408



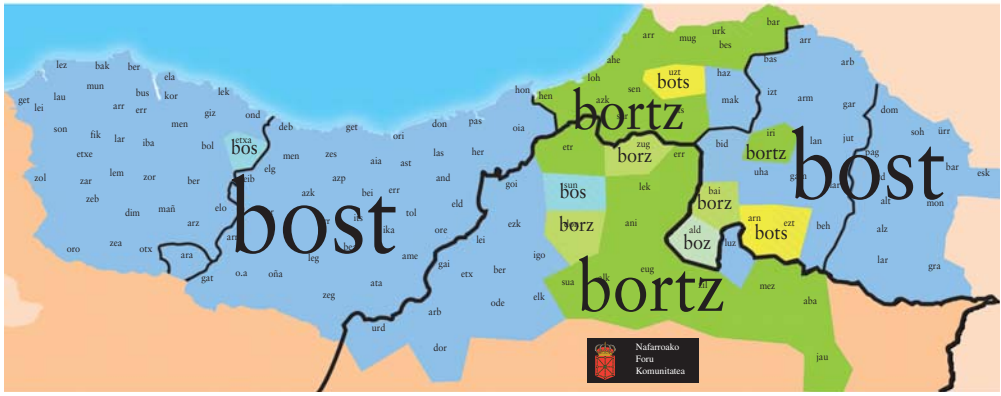
816. Mapa: tripas, entrañas / boyaux / bowels

GALDERA: 27380; ALG: 419; ALEANR: V, 670; ALEANR: 283



1236. Mapa: cinco / cinq / five

GALDERA: 88250; ALG: 2411 ikus; ALEANR: XII, 1577



817. Mapa: intestino / intestin / intestine

GALDERA: 27390



Mapas con patrones y subpatrones superpuestos.

El mapa 1542 ‘olla, puchero’ ofrece una distribución de préstamos y neologismos que puede interpretarse asimismo en clave de especialización semántica. El mapa muestra lo que parece un fondo léxico antiguo con múltiples apariciones del préstamo *tupin* (y sus variantes³¹ < gasc. *topin*), bien representado en todo el territorio. Sobre ese fondo se detecta una capa con dos formas nuevas³² *lapiko* y *eltze*, que se distribuyen complementariamente de acuerdo con el patrón geolingüístico general #2. En el mismo campo semántico de utensilios de cocina, el mapa 1538 ‘asador de castañas’ puede tomarse como otro buen ejemplo de la superposición de patrones. En él, el préstamo *padera* (gasc. occidental *padèra*, lat. *patella*) ocupa un espacio muy similar al de la variante (*h*) *ertze* del mapa 817 de ‘intestino’. Vemos que se extiende por el área meridional de la Navarra peninsular, invadiendo el espacio de *zartain*, cuya distribución, por occidente, respeta de manera nítida la frontera navarro-guipuzcona del patrón #3. En el mismo mapa 1538 se reconocen a su vez dos variantes occidentales del préstamo castellano ‘tamborín’, adaptado con inicial sorda y sonora *tanbolin/danbolin* de acuerdo con distribución prototípica del patrón #1. El préstamo *padera* ‘asador de castañas’ del mapa 1538 amplía su cobertura semántica a ‘sartén’ en EHHA, 1540 en la costa labortana y otras zonas de Guipúzcoa, donde reemplaza a la forma general *zartagin* y sus múltiples

31 OEH: «*tupina* [AN-erro, L, B, BN-baig, S; Dv; det., SP, Lar, Añ (+ -iña), H; *thüpiña* S; Foix ap. Lh), *tupin* (V-gip, L, B, Sal, R; vEys (V, L), VocB), *topina* (V, BN-ad; det., H), *topin* (-ñ V-gip; Zam Voc), *tupia* (det., Lar, Añ (G), H), *tupi* (G-to), *dupina* (BN, S; SP (det.), H (det.); -ph- VocBN, Dv), *dupin* (L, BN-baig; Hb ap. Lh, vEys (L), A (que cita a O); -ph- vEys (BN)), *topia* (det., H), *tupuina*, *tipina* (-iña S; th- Gèze, Dv (S)), *tipin* (S), *dipiña* (BN-mix, S-bas; -ph- Lander ap. DRA (BN-mix))].

32 Creemos que representan un cambio tecnológico en la forma de cocinar. En lugar de colocar el ‘tupín’ (marmita de tres pies) directamente sobre el fuego, o sobre un trébede, se empezó a sostener por sus asas (*lapiko*, *eltze*) mediante un gancho sujeto a una cadena que colgaba de una barra normalmente de hierro clavada en la pared. Este sería el sentido del dicho *Lapikuak sartainari ipur-baltz*.

variantes³³. Es llamativo observar que esta ampliación semántica de *padera* se detiene justo en el espacio en el que *padera* se complementa semánticamente con *zartain* ('asador de castañas' / 'sartén'). En el mapa 1540 de 'sartén' los perfiles del patrón #3 se desdibujan para acercarse a los del #4. Completa este repaso el mapa de un ingrediente gastronómico, EHHA 567 'zanahoria' en el que préstamos de diverso origen compiten entre sí. En la zona meridional la forma general *zanaori* (con variantes) derivada del préstamo castellano de origen andalusí **safunnárya* ocupa prácticamente todo el territorio, salvo el espacio guipuzcoano que aparece dominado por otra variante ampliamente documentada en Aragón, *azenario* (< *azanoria*³⁴). La zona septentrional se la reparten los préstamos de origen gascón *pastanaga* y *carròta*.

Creemos que cuando la distribución de los préstamos atiende a patrones y subpatrones que se superponen, su interpretación en clave cronológica es viable. Siguiendo el orden de los mapas que se han analizado, la amplia distribución del gasconismo *tupin* lo hace candidato a formar parte del léxico patrimonial más antiguo del VCA. Posteriormente, respetando el patrón #1 se habrían introducido las variantes *lapiko* / *eltze*, con una cronología que situamos entre los siglos VIII-X. Otro gasconismo, *padera* con el significado de 'asador de castañas', habría desplazado en Baja Navarra y parte de la Navarra peninsular a la forma general *zartan*, que convivía con la forma más antigua *zartagin* 'sartén' en todo el espacio oriental del patrón #3. Esta observación permite deducir que la primera expansión de *padera* muy probablemente tuvo lugar en el periodo previo a la activación del patrón #4 (frontera franco-española), pero posterior a la del #3 (frontera navarro-guipuzcoana), es decir, entre los siglos XIII y XVI, y que la ampliación semántica de *padera* a 'sartén' que se observa en la costa labortana y en zonas de Guipúzcoa habría sido posterior. En otras palabras, hay razones para pensar que el utensilio de nombre *padera* se utilizó primero como brasero para asar castañas y posteriormente en las zonas costeras amplió su sentido, haciéndose homónimo de 'sartén'. Por su parte la distribución del préstamo *zanaori* ocupa todo el espacio meridional

33 OEH: «*zartagin* (V, G, L, S (-th-); Lar, Añ, Arch VocGr), *zartagina* (S; Dv, H; -th- Gèze, H), *zartagi* (G-to-nav, AN-sept-egüés-ilzarb-olza; Lar, Dv (G), H), *zartagia*, *zartai* (G-azp-goi-bet-nav, AN-larr-araq-ulz, Sal, R), *zartain* (V-oro-z-m-gip, AN-5vill-burg, L-sar, B, BN-lab; VocB), *zartaina* (H (+ -th-)), *zartakiña* (V-gip), *zartan* (V-ger-ple-arr; H), *zartari* (AN-larr-ulz-araq, R-uzt), *zartegin*, *zartegi* (AN-ulz-erro), *zartegia* (R-is-uzt), *zartein* (L-sar), *zartei* (AN-ulz), *sartagi* (G, AN-5vill-ulz, Sal; Lcc), *sartagin* (V, G; Mic 9r, Añ, Dv (V)), *sartain* (V-m-gip, BN), *sartaina* (V-gip), *sartein* (A), *sartegi* (AN-erro), *sarten* (AN-erro), *xartagin* (AN-5vill), *xartagia* (Sal). Ref.: Bon-Ond 151.

34 OEH: «*azenario* (G, AN), *azenaia* (V-gip), *azanario* (G-bet), *azanoria* (AN, Sal, R), *azanaoria* (V-gip). Ref.: Bon-Ond 149 (azanoria); VocPir 629 (azanoria); A; Arzdi Plant1(azanaia); Elexp Berg (azenaixa)». Vidaller (2004): «*azanoria* en Exeya d'os Caballers y en Uncastiello en as Cinco Villas y en Morillo de Galligo y en a ciutat de Uesca en a Plana de Uesca, pero también en puestos tan luent de l'Alto Aragón como Calatorau y en l'Almunia de Donya Godina en a Val de Xalón, a Puebla d'Íxar en o Baixo Aragón y dica en Sarrión, en a comarca de Gúdar-Chabalambre, en o extremo sud de a Comunitat Autonoma, o que implica una distribución muiet ampla en o territorio aragonés. Unatra forma estreitament relacionada con as dos anteriors, posiblement una variant, ye *azenoria*, que s'ha documentau en Uncastiello, en as Cinco Villas. A forma desviada a partir d'ista "azenoira" s'ha documentau exclusivament en a val d'Echo, en a villa d'Echo y en a suya pedanía Ciresa». Por su parte, Corominas documenta el uso de *acinoria* en una obra del dramaturgo del siglo XVI de origen extremeño Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, autor de autos sacramentales.

salvo el área en la que irrumpe la variante *azenario*. Esta área, que coincide con la del dialecto guipuzcoano, está marcada por la intersección de los patrones principales #1 y #3. De esta forma cabe aventurar una interpretación cronológica: los siglos VIII-XII para la introducción de *zanaori* y los siglos XIII-XV para la variante guipuzcoana *azenario* (patrón #3); por su parte, la distribución de los préstamos septentrionales *pastanarre*, *karrota* y sus variantes se fija con posteridad al siglo XVI (patrón #4).

1542. Mapa: olla, puchero / marmite / pot

GALDERA: 36230 ALG: 733: ALEANR: VII. lám. 1016



567. Mapa: zanahoria / carotte / carrot (*Daucus carota*)

GALDERA: 21120; ALG: 77; ALEANR: III, 323



401. Mapa: seco / sec / dry

GALDERA: 15030; ALG: 936



252. Mapa: sequía / sécheresse / drought

GALDERA: 08310; ALG: 1100



Mapas con patrones superpuestos.

8. COMENTARIOS FINALES

El EHHA ofrece centenares de ejemplos que responden a la tipología de los patrones geolingüísticos principales que se han repasado en estas páginas. Se ha tratado de combinar dos criterios a la hora de escoger las muestras que ilustran cada patrón. Por un lado se han buscado mapas con lemas de cierta relevancia, tanto de índole léxica como morfosintáctica. Por otro se han elegido aquellos mapas que ofrecían contornos más fáciles de reconocer visualmente. Aunque no podemos ofrecer cifras estadísticas, el amplio repaso manual que se ha realizado garantiza en gran medida

la representatividad de los patrones reconocidos como principales³⁵. La pregunta es en qué puede esta tipología contribuir al conocimiento de la dialectología vasca. Si se entiende la dialectología como el estudio de la variación geográfica de la lengua, los atlas lingüísticos aportan la herramienta óptima para su estudio, dada la amplitud y exhaustividad de los datos que contienen. Gotzon Aurrekoetxea se lamenta del escaso uso que se hace de este recurso lingüístico en general y del EHHA en particular (Aurrekoetxea, 2002, p. 71). Pero las facilidades de acceso y de interpretación de los 1808 mapas que en siete volúmenes ha publicado Euskaltzaindia hasta la fecha se han revelado altamente productivas. Técnicamente, los mapas representan la variación lingüística de cada rasgo mediante contornos geográficos interpretables en clave de isoglosa. Es la acumulación de isoglosas la que permite delimitar las áreas dialectales que interesan al dialectólogo, teniendo en cuenta su tipología y rango jerárquico (Veny, 1992, pp. 198-207). En las secciones precedentes se ha justificado la elección de las muestras de acuerdo con estos criterios y ello ha permitido identificar los principales patrones geolingüísticos del EHHA. Asimismo se ha tratado de establecer una correspondencia entre esos patrones y el contexto histórico que mejor los explica. El resultado es el esquema siguiente:

1. Patrón #0, VCA, siglos IV-VII (contexto histórico de Pozo, 2016).
2. Patrón #1, VOCM - VOrM, siglos VIII-IX. Invasión árabe de 711. Álava mira a Asturias y Pamplona a Córdoba.
3. Patrón #2, VOCM, VCrM - VOrM, siglos X-XII. Génesis y expansión del reino de Pamplona hacia occidente.
4. Patrón #3, G - N, siglos XIII-XV. Conquista castellana de Álava y Guipúzcoa. Frontera navarro-guipuzcoana.
5. Patrón #4, VOC, G, AN, R - L, BN, S, siglo XVI y ss. Conquista castellana de Navarra. Frontera francoespañola.

El patrón #0 representa el fondo común y patrimonial que ha permanecido invariable desde la expansión del VCA hasta la actualidad y del que el EHHA ofrece abundantes ejemplos³⁶. Es posible representar gráficamente este esquema en un árbol de ramificaciones binarias.

35 Hay más afinidades que discrepancias entre nuestros patrones y los de Allières (1995). Dos son idénticos (nuestros #1 y #4 se corresponden con los suyos I y II). Otro es muy similar (nuestro #2 está muy cercano a su IV). Los otros dos suyos son para nosotros subpatrones (el área suletina, su III, y el V, una intersección de #1 y #2). Allières no reconoce nuestro patrón #3, al que un evaluador externo también atribuye menor entidad que al suyo III. Habrá que evitar subjetividades en revisiones futuras. Según se amplíe el corpus, podrán cotejarse más datos con los patrones detectados. Convendrá asimismo ahondar en la metodología de ponderación de los rasgos lingüísticos.

36 Son muy abundantes los mapas del EHHA que muestran una misma variedad léxica para todo el territorio: 277 *aste* 'semana', 270 *astelehen* 'lunes', 702 *asto* 'burro', 376 *harri* 'piedra', 138 *eper* 'perdiz', 1696 *ni*, 'yo', 835 *ollo* 'pollo', 532 *sagar* 'manzana', 31 *zorri* 'piojo', etc. y que atribuimos al fondo léxico común del VCA, patrón #0.

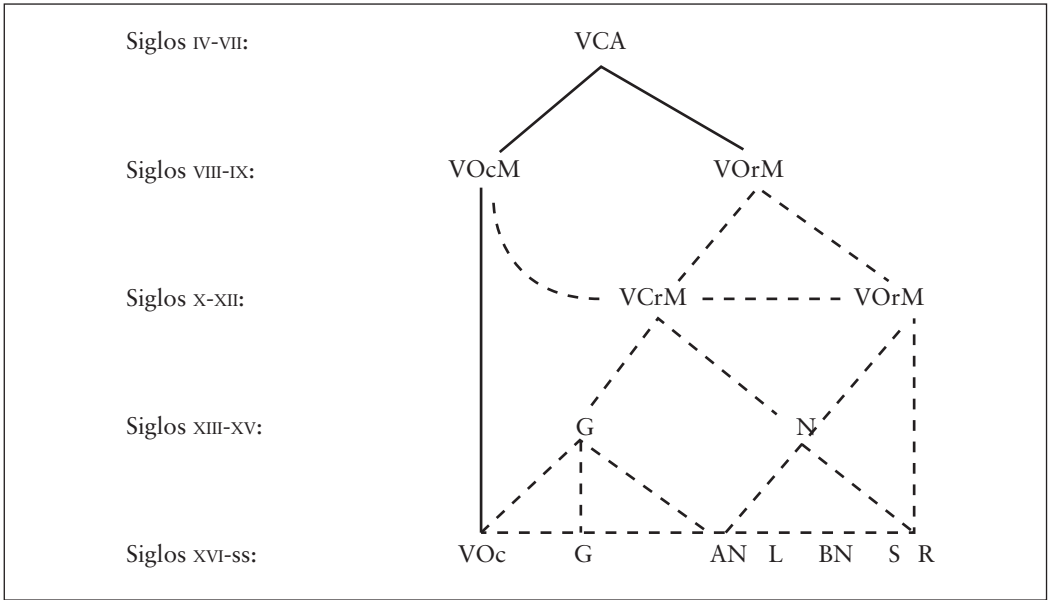


Figura 5. Árbol de bipartición dialectal, siglos VIII-XVI.

En el árbol solo se ha marcado con trazo fuerte la bipartición del patrón #1, que durante el periodo de los siglos VIII-IX fragmenta el VCA en dos ramas, la del vasco occidental medieval (VOcM), cuyo núcleo se situaría en la Llanada alavesa, y la del vasco oriental medieval (VOrM), con centro en Pamplona. El siguiente nodo del árbol se corresponde con un periodo de reconexión entre esos dos núcleos y se ha representado mediante un trazado de línea intermitente. Es el periodo en el que el emergente reino de Pamplona inicia una política de aproximación hacia el espacio occidental dominado por la corona de León y los condados de Álava y Castilla. En ese mismo periodo se detecta una leve ruptura, por el eje vertical de Pamplona, de todo el área central (vasco central medieval VCrM) y occidental (VOcM) respecto al oriental (VOrM), situación que refleja el patrón #2. Los patrones #3 y #4 representan sendas coyunturas históricas cuyo efecto ha perdurado hasta la actualidad. Son la frontera navarro-guipuzcoana que se traza tras la conquista castellana de Álava y Guipúzcoa en el siglo XIII y la frontera francoespañola que se consolida tras la conquista del reino de Navarra en el siglo XVI.

Uno de los aspectos que el EHHA pone más claramente al descubierto es el creciente distanciamiento de las innovaciones, tanto en el plano fonético como sobre todo en el léxico, que han tenido lugar en los cinco siglos posteriores a la fijación de la frontera francoespañola (siglos XVI-XX). En el plano morfosintáctico en cambio el EHHA se muestra más conservador y lo que los patrones detectados dan a entender es que las transformaciones de mayor calado se retrotraen a los tres periodos históricos más antiguos. Este efecto de visión retrospectiva hace de los patrones del EHHA una herramienta útil para escudriñar la situación dialectal anterior al siglo XVI. A partir de ese momento los autores literarios empezarán a influir con sus decisiones en la fijación del registro

escrito, con la consiguiente selección, filtrado y promoción de variantes, de las que se ha nutrido mayoritariamente la dialectología vasca (Lakarra, 1986; Camino, 2008; Zuazo, 2010, 2014; Reguero, 2017, etc.).

Salvando las distancias, pero con un sentido análogo al propuesto por Penny (2002) cuando describe la realidad lingüística del norte peninsular, creemos que en gran medida los datos del EHHA ofrecen un panorama de cambios escalonados, incluso intermitentes, más acorde con la idea de *continuo* que de espacio compartimentado en áreas y subáreas dialectales, por lo menos en lo que a la parte central y oriental del territorio se refiere. En el extremo opuesto, de conformidad con Lacombe, los datos del EHHA avalan la idea de un euskera occidental con entidad dialectal propia, cuya separación del tronco común (siglos VIII-IX) habría dejado una huella divisoria más nítida (patrón #1). Con todo, la coyuntura de reconexión que tuvo lugar posteriormente (siglos X-XII) lo harían partícipe de la serie de nivelaciones que se produjeron en ese segundo periodo, acercándolo parcialmente al área central (patrón #2).

En definitiva, se confirma en parte la intuición de Axular de que a cada reino le corresponde una forma de euskera diferente. Esto debe interpretarse obviamente en clave diacrónica, no sincrónica, ya que en gran medida la geografía lingüística vasca debe su configuración a las disputas territoriales de las monarquías reinantes en cada etapa histórica. En el largo transcurso de tiempo que va de los siglos IV al XVI, los sucesivos reajustes territoriales han ido configurando el espacio lingüístico que de manera sincrónica refleja el EHHA hoy. Desde esta perspectiva, las áreas dialectales son el resultado diacrónico de solapar unos patrones geolingüísticos sobre otros. Su gestación abarca más de doce siglos y se distribuye en lapsos aproximados de tres siglos. Las áreas dialectales que se proyectan más claramente sobre ese solapamiento son la occidental (patrón #1) y la guipuzcoana (intersección entre el patrón #1 y #3). La singularidad dialectal del área suletina no ha quedado señalada por ninguno de los patrones principales, pero es obvio que su origen tuvo que ser previo a la activación del patrón #4³⁷. El resto queda en un espacio intermedio solo afectado por un trazado antiguo derivado del patrón #2 (siglos X-XIII) y una frontera que a partir del siglo XVI ha ido generando divergencias cada vez más marcadas, sobre todo en los planos fonético y léxico (patrón #4), pero que todavía no ha desdibujado el continuo dialectal vasco que testimonia el EHHA.

37. La continuidad lingüística constatada entre las áreas suletina y roncalesa es prueba de antigüedad, muy anterior al panorama que se irá perfilando a partir del siglo XVI (patrón #4). Es conocido que en el siglo XI, cedido por el duque de Gasconia, el país de Sola pasó a formar parte del vizcondado de Bearn, lo que afectó a su relación con los territorios dependientes de la corona de Navarra.

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A tale of two reciprocal anaphors in Basque: preliminaries

Euskarazko anafora elkarkari biren kontakizuna: hastapenak

Historia de dos anáforas recíprocas vascas: preliminares

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This article is dedicated to Jon Ortiz de Urbina; I just hope it gets close to the high standards to which he has accustomed us over the years. I am grateful to M. Huarte for her help with the manuscript and to two anonymous reviewers for their generous comments; remaining errors are only mine.

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a typological perspective of Basque reciprocal expressions and reviews previous accounts of the difference between the Basque reciprocal anaphors *elkar* and *bata bestea* ‘each other, one another’. Moreover, it presents abundant data drawn from the Basque literary tradition to show that Rebuschi’s (1988, 1989) first account is in fact correct and that the predictions made by his later (1993) account regarding the distribution of *bata bestea* are not fulfilled. The overview of the usage patterns for *bata bestea* throughout the Basque literary tradition also confirms a high degree of homogeneity across dialects and periods. The article closes introducing further syntactic and interpretive differences between the two reciprocal anaphors, which should set the basis for a future account.

Keywords: reciprocals; binding; syntax; Basque texts.

LABURPENA

Artikuluak, euskal egitura elkarkarien azterketa tipologikoa egin ondoren, *elkar* eta *bata bestea* izenordain elkarkariez aurretik emandako azterbideak berrikusten ditu. Euskal testuetatik ateratako adibide ugariaren bidez artikuluak frogatzen du Rebuschi-ren hasierako azterbidea zuzena dela eta haren bigarren azterbideak (Rebuschi 1993) *bata bestea* elkarkariarentzat egiten dituen predikzioak ez direla euskal testuetan betetzen. Euskal testuetako testigantzak arakatzek erakusten du, halaber, *bata bestea*-ren erabileran ez dagoela ezberdintasun mamizkorik euskalki eta aroetan barrena. Artikuluak amaieran *elkar* eta *bata bestea* elkarkariez lehenago deskribatu gabeko alde sintaktiko eta interpretatibo gehiagoren berri ematen du, etorkizunean azterbide oso bat garatzen laguntzeko asmoz.

Gako hitzak: elkarkariak; uztardura; sintaxia; euskal testuak.

RESUMEN

Tras realizar un acercamiento tipológico a las construcciones recíprocas del euskera, el artículo revisa los análisis anteriores de las diferencias entre las anáforas recíprocas *elkar* y *bata bestea* ‘uno otro’. Se presentan abundantes datos de la tradición literaria vasca que demuestran que la propuesta inicial de Rebuschi sobre la distribución de *bata bestea* es correcta, y que las predicciones realizadas por su ulterior análisis no son adecuadas. La revisión de los patrones y variaciones de uso de dicha anáfora revela, además, un alto grado de homogeneidad en lo referente a los dialectos, así como en lo tocante a la historia de la lengua. El artículo finaliza presentando nuevas diferencias entre las dos anáforas, las cuales deberían servir como base para un estudio posterior más pormenorizado.

Palabras clave: anáfora recíproca; ligamiento; sintaxis; textos vascos.

1. INTRODUCTION. 2. BASICS ABOUT BASQUE RECIPROCAL. 3. BASQUE RECIPROCAL FROM A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE. 4. PREVIOUS TREATMENTS OF *BATA BESTEA*. 4.1. Grammarians other than Rebuschi. 4.2. Rebuschi's account of the distinction between *elkar* and *bata bestea*. 5. REBUSCHI'S DILEMMA'S RESOLUTION: *BATA BESTEA* IN THE BASQUE LITERARY TRADITION. 5.1. The anaphor *bata bestea*: when and how it is found. 5.2. When an ergative subject binds the anaphor: distribution of *batak bestea* vs *bata bestea*. 5.3. On Rebuschi's (1993) unfulfilled predictions. 6. NOTES FOR FURTHER STUDY. 6.1. Subject reciprocal anaphors? 6.2. Singular and plural antecedents. 6.3. Symmetric and alignment predicates. 6.4. Group reading. 7. CONCLUSIONS. 8. REFERENCES.

1. INTRODUCTION¹

This article is very modest in scope: after reviewing the linguistic literature on both reciprocal Basque anaphors *elkar* and *bata bestea*, it presents abundant evidence to show that the characterization of *bata bestea* depicted in Rebuschi (1988, 1989) is correct and defies the predictions made by his later account (Rebuschi, 1993). The evidence is drawn from literary texts of all periods and constitutes by itself an interesting body of data, due to the apparent variation across periods and dialects in the forms of the bipartite anaphor *bata bestea*. The variation is apparent because, as suggested in Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013), there is in fact more unity and uniformity in the use of *bata bestea* than a superficial look might make one suspect. The confirmation that the difference between *bata bestea* and *elkar* reduces to the fact that the latter needs to be bound in the smallest domain available whereas the former only needs to be bound by the first c-commanding subject, far from being a

1. I use the following abbreviations throughout the article: ABS = absolutive, ACC = accusative, ART = article, AUX = auxiliary, COMP = complementizer, DAT = dative, DGV = Diccionario General Vasco = Mitxelena & Sarasola 1987-2011, DP = determiner phrase, EGLA = Euskaltzaindia 1993, ERG = ergative, GEN = genitive, HEE = Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994, INST = instrumental, LIT = literally, LOC = locative, NBD = Narrow Binding Domain, NOM = nominative, PART = partitive determiner, PST = past tense, POST = postposition, PL = plural, PRES = present tense, RECP = reciprocal, REF = reflexive, SB = standard Basque, SG = singular, WBD = Wide Binding Domain. The Basque examples are glossed following the Leipzig glossing rules; where rendered irrelevant for the point under discussion, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses have been simplified or omitted. As usual, old examples are cited with modern orthography and stating the page number of the first edition; examples from the Bible follow the usual citation format.

result in itself, simply poses the question of why these differences should arise in the first place.

In a minimalist context, where binding theory as such is no longer taken as a separate module of grammar but hopefully reducible to other more basic operations such as movement (*cfr.* Hornstein, 2001), or Agree (*cfr.* Reuland, 2011; Picallo, 2015), the remarks I make here can only be taken as preliminary and should simply help lay the basis for a future account.

The article is structured as follows: section 2 presents a simple description of the different ways Basque has to express reciprocal constructions; section 3 focuses on the typological characterization of the main two reciprocal anaphors, viz. *bata bestea* and *elkar*; section 4 reviews the previous treatments of *bata bestea* in the literature with special attention to Rebuschi's work; section 5 provides the body of data to confirm Rebuschi's original treatment of *bata bestea* (as opposed to his last treatment in Rebuschi, 1993) and shows, on broader terms, how the use and shape of the anaphor has evolved in the Basque language. Section 6, in turn, makes a few comments on the syntactic and semantic characterization of *bata bestea*; section 7 summarizes the conclusions of the article. In the remainder of the article I assume Zuazo's (2014) division of Basque present-day dialects into Western (W), Central (C), Navarrese, Navarro-Labourdin (NL) and Souletin (S); however, as it is well-known, this state of affairs may not reflect the situation in previous stages of the language, where Labourdin and Low Navarrese were considered separate dialects; therefore, for the 19th century and previous written texts, I thus use the term *Navarro-Labourdin* implying 'Low Navarrese and/or Labourdin' dialects.

2. BASICS ABOUT BASQUE RECIPROCALS

The definition of reciprocity is beyond the scope of this article, but let us assume, for the sake of simplicity, the intuitive idea that reciprocal constructions are those which are conventional or typical for the expression of mutual situations such that «with two or more participants (A, B, ...) in which for at least two of the participants A and B, the relation between A and B is the same as the relation between B and A» (Haspelmath, 2007, p. 2088). Once we clarify this, and putting aside the different kinds of reciprocity or the type of inherently reciprocal/symmetrical predicates, it can safely be said that Basque has three typical reciprocal constructions: the two realized with the reciprocal anaphors *elkar* and *bata bestea* respectively, and the detransitivization strategy found with some verbs. I start with the latter.

Reciprocal constructions via detransitivization consist of treating a bivalent verb as monovalent, in pretty much the same strategy used for reflexivization (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989, p. 188ff):

- (1) a. Jone-k eta Miren-ek Ane ezagutzen dute
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG Ane know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know Ane'

- b. Jone-k eta Miren-ek elkar ezagutzen dute
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG *elkar* know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know each other, one another'
- c. Jone eta Miren ezagutzen dira
 Jone and Miren know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know each other' & 'Jone and Miren know themselves'
- d. % Jone eta Miren elkar ezagutzen dira
 Jone and Miren *elkar* know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know each other'
- e. Jone-k eta Miren-ek beren buru-a ezagutzen dute.
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG their head-ART know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know themselves'

A verb like *ezagutu* 'know' usually takes an ergative experiencer argument and an absolutive argument together with the transitive auxiliary **edun* 'have'; the absolutive argument can be the pronominal anaphor *elkar* (cfr. 1b); the detransitivization strategy removes one argument, and the verb simply gets one (conjoined or plural) DP marked absolutive and the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be'. This is exactly the same strategy used for reflexivization; hence, (1c) -due to its plural subject- is in fact ambiguous between a reciprocal and a reflexive reading, equivalent to (1e) with the reflexive anaphor *beren burua* 'themselves' (literally 'their head') as the absolutive object. For some speakers, there exists also the possibility of combining the detransitivization strategy with the presence of the reciprocal anaphor *elkar* (cfr. 1d).

This detransitivization process is generally mentioned in Basque grammars; see in particular Euskaltzaindia (1985, p. 111; 1987, p. 55; 1993, p. 213), Ortiz de Urbina (1989), Etxepare (2003, p. 381ff), Artiagoitia (2003, p. 617), De Rijk (2008, p. 281). However, Etxepare (2003) is, to my mind, the only author who tries to pinpoint the limits of the strategy. The mixed strategy (=1d) is expressly mentioned in the Basque General Dictionary and in Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta (1994, p. 196).

With respect to *elkar* and *bata bestea*, both are taken to be reciprocal pronouns or, in the case of the second, expressions. *Elkar*, the etymology of which is generally taken to be **hark har* 'that.ERG that' after Mitxelena (1977, p. 69), who credits Uhlenbeck (1928, p. 168) for the proposal, is a simple underived word synchronically and does not have any number morphology yet it usually takes a plural antecedent; it can be case marked with absolutive, dative, genitive or appear as a complement to any adposition. Crucially, it cannot be case-marked ergative, which is generally taken as indication that it cannot be in subject position (cfr. Salaburu, 1986a, p. 363, 370):

- (2) a. Jone-k eta Miren-ek elkarr-i esku-a eman diote
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG *elkar*-DAT hand-ART give AUX
 'Jone and Miren shook hands with each other'
- b. Jone eta Miren elkarr-en etsai bihurtu dira
 Jone and Miren *elkar*-GEN enemy become AUX
 'Jone and Miren became each other's enemy'

- c. Jone eta Miren elkarr-ekin haserretu eta elkarr-ez gaizki esaka hasi dira
 Jone and Miren *elkar*-with get angry and *elkar*-INST badly saying start AUX
 'Jone and Mary got angry at each other and started talking badly about one another'
- d. *Elkarr-ek Jon eta Miren maite ditu
elkar-ERG Jon and Miren love AUX
 '*Each other love Jon and Miren'
 (Salaburu, 1986a, p. 363)²

The reciprocal expression *bata bestea* has received much less attention in the Basque tradition, as we will see in section 4; it is a two-member anaphor consisting of the numeral *bat* 'one', generally followed by the article, and the word for 'other', either *beste* (Western, Central and Souletin Basque, some varieties of Navarro-Labourdin) or *bertze* (Navarrese, varieties of Navarro-Labourdin and some writers of Souletin) followed by the article. For convenience, I cite the anaphor under the name *bata bestea*. The numeral part shows two kinds of variation: one has to do with whether the article is used or not, but most Basque writers have used the variant with article; the second kind of variation has to do with whether the numeral bears ergative case or not when the antecedent is a subject bearing ergative case; again most writers use the variant showing ergative case. I summarize the four options here:

- (3) a. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat-a-k beste-a ezagutzen dute.
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART-ERG other-ART know AUX
- b. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat-ek beste-a ezagutzen dute.
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ERG other-ART know AUX
 (less common than a)
- c. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat-a beste-a ezagutzen dute. (less than a)
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART other-ART know AUX
- d. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat beste-a ezagutzen dute. (far less than b)
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one other-ART know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know one another'

Just like with *elkar*, *bata bestea* may bear any case marking on the second member of the anaphor but hardly any example is generally found in the literary tradition with ergative case, *i. e.* with *bata bestea* in the subject position of a transitive clause (*cfr.* Urrutia, Goitia & Artiagoitia, 2013); however, Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta (1994, p. 177) provide an example with ergative case on *bestea* for Lekeitio Basque (=4d):

2 There is, however, an isolated, well-known, example by Hiriart-Urruty: *Ohoinak eta bertze gaizki-egileak behar baititugu elgarrek elgarren lurretarik urrundu* 'Because we ought to move away ourselves thieves and other wrong-doers from each other's lands' (J. Hiriart-Urruty, *Zezenak Errepublikan*, 87, 1972 [1897]).

- (4) a. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat-a-k beste-a-ri esku-a eman diote.
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT hand-ART give AUX
 'Jone and Miren shook hands with each other'
- b. Jone eta Miren bat-a beste-a-ren etsai bihurtu dira
 Jone and Miren one-ART other-ART- GEN enemy become AUX
 'Jone and Miren became each other's enemy'
- c. Jone eta Miren bat-a beste-a-rekin haserretu eta bat-a beste-a-z
 Jone and Miren one-ART other-ART-with get angry and one-ART other-ART-INST
 hasi dira gaizki esaka
 start AUX badly saying
 'Jone and Mary got angry at each other and started talking badly about one another'
- d. ês-takiže bat-a-bestí-a-k ser égingo dabe-n
 NEG-know one-ART-other-ART-ERG what do AUX-COMP
 'They do not know what each other will do'

In Lekeitio Basque, the anaphor *bata bestea* has become a grammaticalized invariant anaphor and, hence, the first member of the anaphor never gets ergative case.

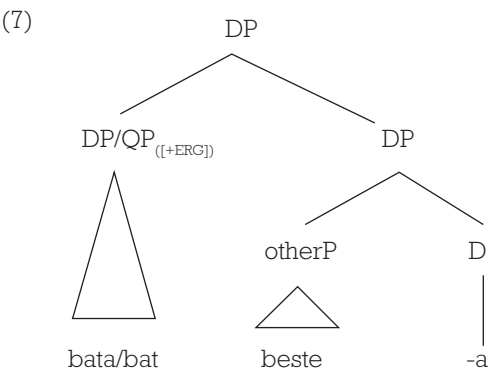
Leaving the discussion of further differences between *elkar* and *bata bestea* for subsequent sections, one offhand and obvious difference between *elkar* and *bata bestea* is the morphosyntactic composition of both: *elkar* is a simple word and as such it may take place in compounds and derived words like the following:

- (5) a. derived words: *elkargo* 'association', *elkartasun* 'solidarity', *elkartu* 'get together, unite'
- b. compound words: *elkarbizitza* 'cohabitation, living together' (< *elkar* + *bizitza* 'life, living'), *elkarrizketa* 'conversation' (< *elkar* + *hizketa* 'conversation'), *elkarlan* 'teamwork, collaboration' (< *elkar* + *lan* 'work')

Ocasionally, *elkar* is used to translate the Romance prefix *inter-* in newly coined compounds like *elkarrekintza* 'interaction', attested in Euskaltzaindia (2016), or *elkar-mendekotasun* 'interdependence' (Sarasola, 2008-2018). In most cases, *elkar* does not give rise to verbal compounds but Sarasola's (2008-2018) dictionary lists a half dozen of them: *elkarbanatu* 'divide', *elkargurutzatu* 'cross each other', *elkarjosi* 'sew together', *elkarlotu* 'tie together', *elkarreragin* 'affect each other', *elkartrukatu* 'interchange'. All of this evidence suggests that *elkar* is both a head and a phrase:

- (6) [[elkar]_D]_{DP}

Bata bestea, on the other hand, is composed by what appears to be a sequence of two noun phrases or, rather, two DPs: [Q-D] + [beste-D]. Depending on whether or not the first member of the anaphor appears with the article, the first phrase would appear to be a single QP. Thus, we may think of the following syntactic representation:



I leave the status of *beste* open; although generally regarded as a pronoun or a determiner, it is also a sort of quantifier in comparative structures: *nahi duzun beste diru* ‘as much money as you want’. In any case, *bata bestea* is totally excluded from derivation and compounds:

- (8) a. *bata-bestea-tasun, *bata-bestea-tu
 b. *bata-bestea-lan

This squares well with the idea that a bipartite (and juxtaposed) noun phrase will not be available to further morphological operations.

Having outlined the very basics of Basque reciprocals³ let us take a look at them from a typological perspective.

3. BASQUE RECIPROCAL FROM A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this section, I go over Köning and Kokutani’s (2006) and Evans’s (2008) typological classification of reciprocal expressions and, additionally, I briefly review the work of two generative syntacticians on reciprocals, Everaert (2000, 2005, 2008) and Siloni (2012).

König and Kokutani (2006) develop a preliminary typology of reciprocal constructions based on Faltz’s (1985) typology of reflexives. They draw a distinction between verbal strategies on the one hand and nominal strategies on the other. Verbal strategies are further subdivided into synthetic and compound strategies:

- (9) Ali na Fatuma wa-na-pend-an-a (Swahili)
 Ali and Fatuma 3PL-PRES-love-RECIP-final vowel
 ‘Ali and Fatuma like each other’

3 See also HEE (1994, p. 178) and Artiagoitia (2003, p. 618), who mention the combination of the quantifier *bakoitza* ‘each’ and *beste* + noun.

- (10) Tamen da-lai-da-qù (Mandarin)
 3PL beat-come-beat-go
 'They beat each other'
 (König and Kokutani, 2006, p. 276)

Nominal strategies are also subdivided into pronominal and quantificational:

- (11) Seit-dem meiden sich die beiden Professoren (German)
 since-then avoid REFL/RECIP ART two professors
 'The two professors have avoided each other since then'
- (12) John and Peter hate each other (English)
 (König and Kokutani, 2006, p. 276)

The authors make it clear that languages often use more than one strategy: for example, Romance languages and German combine both nominal strategies (pronominal and quantificational), Japanese has both a compound verbal strategy and a quantificational one. Although they mention that there are languages where reflexive structures are similar to reciprocal structures (*e. g.* German *sich* and Romance *se/si* and the like, analyzed as pronominal strategies), no room is left for detransitivization processes of the Basque type in section 2.

König and Kokutani (2006, p. 278) mention Basque *elkar* as a verbal marker that gives rise to a compound kind of verbal reciprocal. The example provided suggests something else, though:

- (13) Soldadu-ek elkar-Ø hil zuten
 soldiers-ERG.PL meet/each.other-ABS kill AUX
 'The soldiers killed each other'

That is to say, the authors claim that *elkar* may come from the verb *elkartu* 'meet, come together', in which case *elkar hil* would be some kind of compound verb (just like we see *elkar* in words like *elkarrizketa* or *elkartasun*); note, however, that they still render *elkar* as NP marked absolutive⁴. Even if we accepted that *elkar* may give rise to compound verbs, it is by all means clear that *elkar* is a DP subject to topicalization (14a) or focalization (14b); it can be case-marked with dative or can be a complement to other postpositions (14c):

- (14) a. Elkar, soldadu-ek hil zuten
elkar soldier-ERG.PL kill AUX
 'Each other, the soldiers killed'

⁴ They acknowledge in a footnote that it is not all that clear whether the marker derives from the verb or the other way around. Nonetheless, they stick to their position that examples like (13) are of the compound type.

- b. ELKAR hil zuten soldaduek
'It's each other that the soldiers killed'
- c. Elkarr-i esku-a eman diote, elkarr-ekin afaldu dute
elkar-DAT hand-ART give AUX *elkar*-with dine AUX
'They shook hands with each other, they had dinner together'

Thus, if anything, *elkar* would be an example of a pronominal strategy in König and Kokutani's (2006) typology of reciprocal expressions. *Bata bestea* would side with the quantificational strategy.

In the refined typology of reciprocal constructions developed by Evans (2008), the author makes a difference between single clause strategies and those based on multiple clauses; regarding the first group, he even makes a distinction between NP-marking or argument-marking strategies, verb-marking strategies, conjunct strategies, and adverbial or modifier strategies. Here is an example of each:

- (15) Multiple clause strategy: Yidiny
bama:-l n̩aŋaŋ bun ɖa:-ŋ / ɲayu bama ɖaybaɾ bun ɖa:-ŋ
person-ERG 1SG.ACC hit-PST 1SG.ERG man.ACC in.return hit-PST
'The person hit me and I hit him in return' (= The person and I hit each other)
- (16) NP-marking strategy: Welsh
Naethon nhw gerdded yn syth heibio i'w gilydd
AUX.3PL.PST 3PL walk in straight past to 3PL.RECP
'They walked straight past each other'
- (17) Verbal strategy: Kayardild
 - a. Bil-da miila-tha bilwan-ji
3PL-NOM delouse-ACTL 3PL-OBJ
'They delouse them'
 - b. Bil-da miila-thu-th
3PL-NOM delouse-RECP-ACTL
'They delouse each other'
- (18) Conjoint strategy:
John and Mary kissed
- (19) Adverbial strategy: Mandarin
Tamen huxiang gongji
they RECP attack
'They attacked each other' (lit: 'mutually')
(all examples from Evans, 2008, p. 52, 68, 73, 78, 81)

The NP-marking strategy is further subdivided into the type of marking that is available crosslinguistically; Evans (2008) mentions bipartite quantifiers or NPs, reciprocal nominals, reciprocal pronouns (both free or bound), reciprocal marking on a single NP, or reciprocal marking on two NPs. Interestingly, Evans (2008, p. 54) mentions *elkar* as a good example of a reciprocal nominal displaying «noun-like morphology and trigger[ing] third person singular agreement on the verb, but which do not mark the reciprocal nominal for possession» (unlike in Welsh, for example). His main source

is Saltarelli (1988). Given that the etymology of *elkar* and related variants is **hark-har* (Mitxelena, 1977), «a combination of the ergative and the absolutive of the distal demonstrative *har-*» (Trask, 1997, p. 197), Evans concludes that *elkar* is a good case of «an original binomial anaphor that fused into a single nominal root over time». Thus, the head-like behavior of *elkar* would be a result of its grammaticalization as a single reciprocal nominal (not a pronoun in Evans's terms, given that it lacks person/number morphology).

Evans (2008) does not mention *bata bestea* in the explanation of bipartite quantifiers, but the definition squares well with it: the type, «exemplified by English *each other* and its (rough) equivalents», is usually made up of an initial element meaning either 'each', 'one' or 'other', plus a second 'alterity' or equivalence expression meaning 'other' or 'some such' (Evans, 2008, p. 46). He then goes on to state that equivalents to English *each other/one another* are found in many European languages, «possibly as a result of widespread calquing into these languages from bible translations» (p. 47). Evans mentions Russian, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek and Finnish among the languages having a bipartite NP anaphor of the *each other* type. He also asserts that there are related issues to the morphosyntax of the bipartite NPs that may give rise to a further subdivision of the type: there is the question of whether the two members may have a different case marking, the possibility of gender/number inflection depending on the participant group, the degree of cohesion or independence of the two NPs, which may result into a single form (e. g. Dutch *elkaar*, generally considered a reciprocal pronoun altogether).

As the reader can easily check, the makeup of *bata bestea* fits the structure perfectly: the first part is the word *bat*, sometimes with article and sometimes without, bearing ergative case if the antecedent is so marked and the second is *beste* 'other' with the article inflected for the relevant case. Furthermore, as I will show in section 4.1, the bipartite NP has undergone grammaticalization and become a single word in some varieties of Basque, in which case the ergative case may be missing in the first part of the anaphor; finally, it can be safely said that Leizarraga's translation of the New Testament (1571) is the first systematic use of *bata bestea* (the variant *bata berzea* with more than 30 examples). To sum up, with respect to Evans's typological approach, the reciprocal anaphors *elkar* and *bata bestea* are quite prototypical of the argument marking strategy attested crosslinguistically, with the suggestion that the second anaphor possibly arose across Europe influenced by the translation of the Bible. As we will see in section 5, the history and distribution of *bata bestea* seems to back up, at least not to disconfirm, that suggestion.

In the generative tradition, there has been a tendency to group reflexive and reciprocal expressions together. However, even though the existence of local versus long-distance reflexives seems quite robust (e. g. Dutch *zich* and *zichself*), the existence of long-distance reciprocals is at best questionable (Everaert, 2000, 2005, 2008). Reflexives vary between local and long-distance reflexives but no such distinction is apparent for reciprocals with a few problematic languages like Urdu/Hindi, Marathi, Hausa, the last two of which seem to admit long distance reciprocal binding in

non-finite clauses⁵. In any event, Everaert (2008) stresses that a close attention should be paid to the morphological makeup of the reciprocals crosslinguistically before the issue is settled. This article is a step in that direction.

Another generative work that mentions a suggestive classification of reciprocal structures is Siloni (2012), who argues that, in addition to periphrastic reciprocal constructions and lexical reciprocal verbs, there is a third type, namely structures that express reciprocity as a result of a syntactic process, a type instantiated by Romance and some Slavic languages. Siloni, who works in a lexicalist framework that distinguishes between lexical and syntactic reciprocalization, argues that syntactic reciprocal verbs have a series of properties that set them aside from lexical reciprocal verbs (the latter are truly symmetrical but the syntactic counterparts are not; productivity vs lack thereof; the availability vs unavailability of reciprocal ECM verbs; whether the verb allows the so-called discontinuous construction, only possible for the syntactically constructed reciprocal verbs; the possible derivation of reciprocal event nominals *versus* lack of them in syntactic reciprocal verbs, and so on). As far I can see, both *elkar* and *bata bestea* qualify as periphrastic reciprocal constructions for Saloni and it remains to be determined whether the detransitivization strategy mentioned in section 2 should be considered lexical or syntactic, on a par with the Romance *se*-reciprocalization⁶.

Once we have provided a crosslinguistic and typological context to understand the nature of the two Basque reciprocal anaphors *bata bestea* and *elkar*, I now turn to the different analyses of *bata bestea* in comparison to *elkar*.

4. PREVIOUS TREATMENTS OF BATA BESTEA

In this section, I review the previous approaches to the anaphor *bata bestea* throughout Basque grammar in section 4.1; given the importance of Rebuschi's work, I review these in a separate section 4.2. As it will become clear, there is some discrepancy as to what

5 In principle neither *elkar* nor *bata bestea* qualify for long distance reciprocals in this sense:

(i) *Miren-ek eta Jone-k ni-ri utzi didate [elkarr-entzat / bat-a-k beste-a-rentzat lan egiten]
Miren-ERG and Jone-ERG I-DAT let AUX *elkar*-for one-ART-ERG other-ART-for work doing
'*Miren and Jon let me work for each other'

This was already pointed out by Rebuschi (1993).

6 If I understand Siloni's account correctly, the Basque reciprocalization strategy by detransitivization appears to be lexical on some counts: first it is lexically restricted to certain verbs (Etxepare, 2003); second, in examples like this:

(i) Jone eta Miren bost biderrez muxukatu dira
Jone and Miren five times kiss AUX
'Jone and Miren kissed five times'

the only possible interpretation is that there were five acts of mutual kissing, not that they each kissed the other five times with the possibility of ten actions of kissing (*cfr. Jean et Marie se sont embrassés cinq fois*, where both interpretations are available according to Siloni). However, it is true that other features suggest just the opposite: *e. g.* the lack of a discontinuous construction. I leave this issue for future research.

the exact distribution of *bata bestea* is in complement position. I will tackle this problem in section 5.

4.1. Grammarians other than Rebuschi

Most Basque grammars have paid little or no attention to the existence of two reciprocal anaphors. As far as I know, in traditional grammars prior to the 20th century only the pronoun *elkar* (or any of its variants) is mentioned; this is the case, for example, of Gèze (1873) and Ithurry (1895). Once in the 20th century, neither Azkue (1923), nor Txillardegui (1978), nor Goenaga (1980), nor Salaburu in his series of articles on binding theory (Salaburu, 1985, 1986a, 1986b), nor Saltarelli (1988) devote a single line to *bata bestea*, even though their description of *elkar* is fairly accurate and detailed. Lafitte (1962) is one of the few that draws the attention to the fact that there exists another reciprocal anaphor besides *elkar* (*i. e.* the variant of *elkar* for the dialects he describes): «La reciprocité est plus lourdement traduite par *bata... bertzea*, l'un... l'autre; *batzuek... bertzeak*, les uns... les autres» (Lafitte, 1962, p. 95):

- (20) Bat-a-k bertze-a laguntzen dute
 one-ART-ERG other-ART help AUX
 'They help one another'
- (21) Batzu-ek bertze-ri eman zuten esku
 some-ERG.PL other-DAT give AUX hand
 'Some shook hands with the others'

In this article I will not deal with (21) where we find an alleged plural version of *bata bestea*; instead, I simply focus on reciprocal expressions like *bata(k) bestea* or *bertzea*, a bipartite anaphor in Evans's terms.

Villasante (1980, p. 158-9) is one of the few authors that mentions the coexistence of two reciprocal anaphors in Basque in passing, but he gives no examples with *bata bestea* and implies that the two anaphors are equivalent. Leaving Rebuschi aside for the time being, Euskaltzaindia (1985, 1993) is one of the few attempts to clarify matters between the two anaphors: Euskaltzaindia (1985, p. 64) specifies that the genitive form of *bata bestea* is preferred over the one of *elkar* in the case of simple nouns like *oh* 'bed' and stresses that in general *bata bestea* can be used on a par with *elkar*. A similar point is made in Euskaltzaindia (1993, p. 69): the genitive form of the anaphor *bata bestea* will prevail over that of *elkar* as possessor of a common noun; other than that, the two anaphors are regarded as equivalent:

- (22) a. Peru-k eta Miren-ek {bat-a-k beste-a-ren, *elkar-ren} etxe-a
 Peru-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART-ERG other-ART-GEN *elkar*-GEN house-ART
 erre dute
 burn AUX
 'Peru and Miren burned each other's house'
 (EGLA, p. 69)

- b. Bi oilarr-ek elkar hil zuten = Bi oilarr-ek bat-a-k beste-a hil
 two cock-ERG.PL *elkar* kill AUX two cock-ERG.PL one-ART-ERG other-ART kill
 zuten
 AUX
 'The two cocks killed each other / one another'
 (EGLA, p. 69)

So, it would seem that the distribution of *bata bestea* is in fact wider than that of *elkar*⁷.

In the Basque General Dictionary (1987-2011), there are a few notes on the reciprocal anaphor *bata bestea* under the entry of *bat* 'one', which can be summarized as follows:

- a. this anaphor is taken as a synonym of *elkar*, and it is presented with two variants, *batak bestea* / *bata bestea* and *batek bestea* / *bat bestea*, in competition with each other depending on the presence of the definite article in the first part of the anaphor; the anaphor bears ergative case in both cases if the antecedent is a subject marked ergative;
- b. the dictionary suggests that the sequence of the numeral *bat* followed by the word *beste* has a syntactic unity as an anaphor, inasmuch as the correlative interpretations where they designate two separate DPs are left out of the definition: «se incluyen las construcciones *batak bestea ikusi*, *batak besteari eman*... (equivalentes a *elkar*, *elkarri*), con un sujeto plural, no, obviamente, las del tipo *batak bestea ikusi du*, *batak besteari eman dio*)»;
- c. it is mentioned that the reciprocal anaphor *batak bestea* is scarcely used in all dialects. It is not clear whether this refers to the overall use of the anaphor or to the anaphor bearing ergative case. In view of the great amount of examples with *elkar* and its variants across all dialects, it seems that the first one is the intended meaning.

Artiagoitia (2003) is a description of Basque reciprocal expressions and it has a separate section on *bata bestea*. The section contains a short morphological description of the anaphor, as well as a few remarks on its distribution and interpretation. With respect to interpretative nuances, Artiagoitia (2003) remarks that some restrictions on the use of *bata bestea* are purely semantic, not syntactic. Thus, the following contrast is more apparent than real:

⁷ However, the DGV states that older Northern writers and, presently, Southern writers have a few examples with *elkarren* as true possessor or subject inside noun phrases:

(i) Bi lagun-ek *elkarren*-en arnasa nabari [zuten]
 two friend-PL.ERG *elkar*-GEN breath.ART sense AUX
 'The two friends felt each other's breath'
 (Anabitarte, *Poli*, 1958, 105)

The same point is made by De Rijk (2008, p. 370), who claims that there are two uses (systems) of *elkar*: for some speakers (the *broad* system) it is an exact equivalent of *bata bestea* in distributional terms; for others, *elkarren* is excluded as a true possessor (the *narrow* system).

- (23) {elkarr-ekin, *bat-a beste-a-rekin} joango gara
 elkar-with one-ART other-ART-with go AUX
 'We shall go {together, *with each other}'
 (adapted from HEE, 1994, p. 177)

Though it seems rather bad to use *bata bestea* due to the lack of reciprocal or symmetrical interpretation of the predicate at hand, Artiagoitia holds that there is no restriction on using *bata bestea* with the committative, provided a clear reciprocal interpretation is available:

- (24) Gu bat-a beste-a-rekin haserretu gara
 we one-ART other-ART-with get angry AUX
 'We got angry with each other'

Artiagoitia (2003) also mentions that, unlike *elkar*, *bata bestea* occasionally permits long-clausal binding within an embedded subject, but not otherwise; this was originally suggested by HEE (1994) for Lekeitio Basque:

- (25) a. Epi-k eta Blas-ek uste dute bat-a beste-a-ren jostailu-ak polit-ak
 Epi-ERG and Blas-ERG think AUX one-ART other-ART-GEN toy-ART pretty-ART
 dir-ela
 are-that
 'Ernie and Bert think that each other's toys are fun'
 (Artiagoitia, 2003, p. 613)
- b. *Fernandez-ek eta Clemente-k Alaves-ek bat-a-k beste-a-ren
 Fernandez-ERG and Clemente-ERG Alaves-ERG one-ART-ERG other-ART-GEN
 talde-a-ri irabaziko dio-la iragarri dute.
 team-ART-DAT win AUX-that announce AUX
 'Luis Fernandez and Clemente announced that Alaves would beat each other's team'
 (Artiagoitia, 2000, p. 293)

Finally, De Rijk (2008) also mentions both reciprocal anaphors separately and terms them synthetic and analytic respectively; he further assumes that they are for most part equivalent. In his description De Rijk reiterates the idea that the possessive form of *elkar* is restricted to relational and location nouns for most speakers, even though some speakers seem to tolerate it with other nouns. As a corollary, De Rijk draws a distinction between the two variants of *bata bestea*, depending on whether the first element of the anaphor bears ergative case or not (when bound by an ergative subject):

- (26) a. Guraso-ek bat-a beste-a maite dute
 parents-ERG.PL one-ART other-ART love AUX
 b. Guraso-ek bat-a-k beste-a maite dute
 parents-ERG.PL one-ART-ERG other-ART love AUX
 'parents love one another'
 (De Rijk, 2008, p. 371)

He terms the second variant of the anaphor *pseudo-reciprocal*, implying that the variant without case-marking on the first member is the true, lexicalized, reciprocal anaphor. This description also paves the way to look into a possible syntactic variation in the use of this anaphor.

In short, what grammarians have said about *elkar* and *bata bestea* can be summarized as follows:

- a. *bata bestea* is a two-phrase or bipartite reciprocal anaphor with a plural antecedent;
- b. most grammars assert that *elkar* and *bata bestea* can be used in a similar way;
- c. *bata bestea* has a wider distribution than *elkar* in that the latter is excluded from cross-clausal binding and in that it is also excluded for many speakers from the true possessor's position (*cfr.* footnote 7);
- d. for interpretive or semantic reasons yet to be spelled out, both anaphors cannot co-occur in certain contexts and, in those cases, either one or the other is used;
- e. *bata bestea* has a form marked ergative on the first part of the anaphor when bound by an ergative subject but the use of this variant is apparently not universal;
- f. there is some variation in the configuration of the first part of *bata bestea*, given that it sometimes appears with the article and sometimes it does not.

4.2. Rebuschi's account of the distinction between *elkar* and *bata bestea*

Rebuschi takes all the credit for having studied thoroughly the different distribution patterns of Basque anaphors (both reflexive and reciprocal) with special attention to the Navarro-Labourdin dialect in a series of articles (Rebuschi, 1988, 1989, 1992, 1993). In the first two he departs from Chomsky's (1981, 1986) classical version of Binding Theory, according to which both types of anaphors (reflexives like *bere burua* and reciprocals like *elkar*) must obey Principle A:

- (27) Principle A: anaphors must be bound in their local domain

In the eighties, binding entailed coindexing and c-commanding by the antecedent; the reference of the anaphor was supposed to be provided by a local c-commanding antecedent. The notion of local domain captured the idea that antecedent and anaphor must be at a certain distance, the same sentence in the regular case. Let us take the following two examples:

- (28) a. Gu-re_i lagun-ek_j elkarr-i_{*i/j} sekretu-a kontatu diote
 we-GEN friend-ERG.PL *elkar*-DAT secret-ART tell AUX
 'Our friends told the secret to each other'
- b. Jokalari-ek_i ondo dakite [presidente-a-k eta entrenatzaile-a-k]_j
 player-ERG.PL well know president-ART-ERG and coach-ART-ERG
 elkarr-ekin_{*i/j} afaldu dute-la.
elkar-with dine AUX-that
 'The players know well that the president and the coach had dinner together
 (lit: with one another)'

In (28a), *elkar* takes reference from the subject *gure lagunek* and not from the possessive *gure*; *i. e.*, interpreting reciprocity in a loose way, the sentence means something like «friends related to us have told a secret to each other», and not «*friends related to us have spread a secret among all of us». This is a direct consequence of the subject's c-commanding *elkar*, a relation which does not obtain for *gure*. In (28b) we understand that the reference of *elkarrekin* depends on the president and the coach, the sentence cannot mean that each one of the players know the president and the coach had dinner with some other player; in other words, *elkar* cannot pick the main subject as its antecedent, it is bound to pick its antecedent clause-internally.

Rebuschi (1988, 1989) criticizes Chomsky's rigid definition of local domain and defends that two domains must be differentiated for each pronominal or anaphoric expression:

- (29) *Narrow Binding Domain (NBD)*
A given XP is a rigid binding domain for a given expression if it contains that expression and a subject
- (30) *Wide Binding Domain (WBD)*
A given XP is a wide binding domain for a given expression if it contains that expression and a c-commanding subject

Each pronoun may have separate binding conditions for the two domains; in fact, Rebuschi relies on this to account for the difference between *elkar* and *bata bestea* reported in the previous section⁸:

- (31) a. *Peio-k eta Miren-ek [*elkar-ren* ohe-eta-n] egin dute lo
Peio-ERG and Miren-ERG *elkar*-GEN bed-PL-LOC do AUX sleep
'Peio and Miren slept in each other's beds'
- b. Peio-k eta Miren-ek [*bat-a beste-a-ren* ohe-a-n] egin dute lo
one-ART other-ART-GEN bed-SG-LOC do AUX sleep
'Peio and Miren slept in each other's bed'
- (examples from Rebuschi, 1988, p. 235)

In these examples, assuming that the possessor is some kind of subject, the bracketed constituent counts as the NBD, given that it contains the anaphor under scrutiny and a subject (the anaphor itself), but it would be the entire sentence the one that counts as the WBD, given that one must get up to IP/TP to get a subject which c-commands the anaphor (*i. e.* the matrix subject *Peio and Miren*). Therefore, the different distribution of the two reciprocal anaphors can be accounted for in the following way:

8 Rebuschi always reports his data using the ergative-less variant of *bata bestea*; *i. e.* the grammaticalized version, not the pseudo-reciprocal in De Rijk's (2008) terms.

- (32) a. *Elkar* must be bound in its NBD and in its WBD
 b. *Bata bestea* must be bound in its WBD (not necessarily so in its NBD)
 (adapted from Rebuschi, 1988, p. 237)

In example (31a), *elkar* is bound in its NBD but not in its WBD, as it should; *bata bestea* in (31b), on the other hand, is bound in its NBD and free in its WBD, and nothing hinges on this given that it must be bound only in the narrower domain. The direct consequence of (32) is that *elkar* is limited to object positions and cannot show up in subject positions; *bata bestea*, however, does not have that limitation and can show up both in object and subject positions. Therefore, we expect the two reciprocal anaphors to co-occur in many (generally object) positions:

- (33) Haiek {elkarr-i / bat-a beste-a-ri} diru-a ematen diote
 they.ERG *elkar*-DAT one-ART other-ART-DAT money-ART give AUX
 'They give money to each other'
 (Rebuschi, 1989, p. 128)

Here the dative is presumably an argument of the ditransitive verb *eman*⁹, and the sentence is both the WBD and the NBD.

Rebuschi (1993) changes the approach to the difference between the two reciprocals and, based on the difference between the reflexive anaphors *bere burua* and *bere*, he ends up proposing that *elkar* must be bound in its NBD and *bata bestea* must be free precisely in the same domain:

- (34) a. *Elkar* must be bound in both the NBD and the WBD
 b. *Bata bestea* must be free in the NBD and bound in its WBD
 (Rebuschi, 1993, p. 136)

In the new approach, the definition of binding domain follows Koster (1985, 1987) without the need of mentioning the notion of subject in both cases:

- (35) *Narrow Binding Domain (NBD)*
 A given XP is a rigid binding domain for a given expression if it contains that expression and its governor
 (36) *Wide Binding Domain (WBD)*
 A given XP is a rigid binding domain for a given expression if it contains that expression, its governor, and a subject distinct from the nominal expression
 (adapted from Rebuschi, 1993, p. 136)

⁹ The relation dative-verbal projections may be mediated by *applicative* heads; see Ormazabal and Romero (2010) and Oyharçabal (2010) for two different views.

The concept of governor is not used any more in generative syntax, but we could tentatively say that the closest V, Adj, N or Postposition containing the pronoun would count as governor.

The crucial point here is that this re-definition of binding domains has the effect of changing the predictions on the distribution of the two reciprocal anaphors: in fact, if Rebuschi (1993) is right, the asymmetrical distribution of both should extend to more contexts, given that they have contradictory binding characteristics for the smaller NBD. Here are Rebuschi's own data:

- (37) a. Gu- k_i *elkar_i* ikusi dugu
we-ERG *elkar* see AUX
b. *Gu- k_i *bat-a bertze-a_i* ikusi dugu
we-ERG one-ART other-ART see AUX
'We saw one another'
- (38) a. Peio-k eta Miren-ek_i {*bat-a bertze-a-ren_i* / **elkar-ren_i*} liburu-ak
Peio-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART other-ART-GEN *elkar*-GEN book-ART.PL
irakurri dituzte
read AUX
'Peio and Miren read each other's books'
b. Peio eta Miren_i {*elkar-ren_i* / ??*bat-a bertze-a-ren_i*} lagun-ak dira
Peio and Miren *elkar*-GEN one-ART other-ART-GEN friend-ART.PL are
'Peio and Miren are each other's friends'
(all examples from Rebuschi, 1993, p. 122)

Contrary to his (*i. e.* Rebuschi, 1988, 1989) previous claims, now it is predicted that *bata bestea* (but not *elkar*) will be excluded from the object position of verbs. That will be so whether we take VP or TP as the relevant NBD. For the second pair of examples he foresees a complementary distribution similar to that of his previous account: in (38a) the bracketed DP [*X-en liburuak*] counts as the NBD and there *elkar* is not bound but *bata bestea* is free, as required. These genitives are in principle not complements, but some kind of possessors, and the noun or the determiner would count as their governor. In any case, the explanation of this minimal pair remains practically the same as in (Rebuschi, 1988, 1989). However, regarding example (38b), Rebuschi assumes that is a predicate nominal with a PRO subject inside:

- (38b') Peio eta Miren_i [PRO_i {*elkarren_i* / ??*bata bertzearen_i*} lagunak] dira

This way, the bracketed structure becomes the NBD and *elkar* must be bound there (which is the case) but *bata bestea* must be free, contrary to fact; hence the second reciprocal gives rise to an ungrammatical sentence. In short, Rebuschi's new account predicts that the reciprocal anaphor *bata bestea* will now be excluded from the object position of both verbs and nouns.

Without getting into too much detail, the refinement of the account makes two clear predictions:

1. *bata bestea* will not appear in the complement position of verbs;
2. *bata bestea* will not appear in the complement position of relational nouns¹⁰.

5. REBUSCHI'S DILEMMA'S RESOLUTION: *BATA BESTEA* IN THE BASQUE LITERARY TRADITION

Having summarized the behavior of the reciprocal anaphor *bata bestea*, we will discuss how, in which syntactic environments, and with which morphological shape this reciprocal anaphor shows up in the literary tradition in the following sections 5.1. and 5.2; section 5.3 will discuss to what extent Rebuschi's expectations are fulfilled for the Navarro-Labourdin dialect and for other dialects. I leave the study of further differences between *elkar* and *bata bestea* for section 6.

5.1. The anaphor *bata bestea*: when and how it is found

As the Basque General Dictionary explains, there are two traditions when it comes to this bipartite reciprocal anaphor. On the one hand, some writers use the definite form of the numeral *bat* and this gives rise to the forms *bata(k) bestea*, *bata(k) bertzea*, depending on which variant of the word for alterity is used (*beste-a* or *bertze-a*); in the case of the latter, the article is always used. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 provide the relevant summary for each of the variants, distinguishing two periods (16th-18th and 19th-20th).

10 There are in fact further complications, as Rebuschi (1993) is forced to make contradictory assumptions regarding all the cases where *elkar* and *bata bestea* do in fact co-occur (*e. g.* in dative complements and inside locative phrases within perception complements). See Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013) on this.

Table 1.1. Writers’ usage of *bata bestea*, 16th-18th centuries

Century	Writer	Dialect	<i>bata ber(t)zea</i>	<i>bata bestea</i>
16 th	Ettxepare	NL	x	
	Leizarraga	NL	x	
17 th	Aranbillaga	NL	x	
	Argainaratz	NL	x	
	Axular	NL	x	
	Belapeire	S		x
	Beriain	N	x	
	Etxeberri Dorre	NL	x	
	Etxeberri of Ziburu	NL	x	
	Gazteluzar	NL	x	
	Haranburu	NL	x	
	Matterra	NL	x	
	Pouvreau	NL	x	
	Tartas	S	x	
18 th	Egiategi	S	x	
	Etxeberri of Sara	NL	x	
	Haraneder	NL	x	
	Kardaberaz	C		x
	Larramendi	C		x
	Larregi	NL	x	
	Maister	S		x
	Mendiburu	N		x
	Mihura	NL	x	
	Otxoa de Arin	C		x
	Ubillos	C		x
	Xurio	NL	x	

Here is a typical example from Mirande with ergative case-marking for the first member of the anaphor:

- (39) Arrats-ez, lane-tik ateratze-a-n, bat-a-k beste-a igurikitzen zuten
afternoon-INST work-from leave-ART-LOC one-ART-ERG other-ART await AUX
'In the afternoon, upon getting out of work, they awaited each other'
(Mirande, *Idazlan Hautatuak*, 1970, p. 146)

Table 1.2. Writers’ usage of *bata bestea*, 19th-20th centuries

Century	Writer	Dialect	<i>bata ber(t)zea</i>	<i>bata bestea</i>
19 th	Agirre, Tx.	W		x
	Alzaga	C		x
	Añibarro	W		x
	Arana, J.I.	C		x
	Arbelbide	NL	x	
	Astarloa	W		x
	Azkue, E.	W		x
	Duhalde	NL	x	
	Duvoisin	NL	x	
	Frai Bartolome	W		x
	Gerriko	C		x
	Goyhetché	NL	x	
	Iturriaga	C		x
	Iturzaeta	W		x
	Iztueta	C		x
	Laphitz	NL	x	
	Lardizabal	C		x
	Legaz	N	x	
	Lizarraga	N	x	
	Mogel, J. A.	W		x
	Uriarte	W, C		x
	Zavala, J. M.	W		x
20 th	Agirre, Tx.	W, C		x
	Agirre, T.	C		x
	Anabitarte	C		x
	Arrese Beitia	W		x
	Atxaga, M.	C		x
	Berrondo	C		x
	Dihartze	NL	x	x
	Eguzkitza, J.B.	W		x
	Enbeita, B.	W		x
	Enbeita, K.	W		x
	Erkiaga	W, C		x
	Etxaniz	C		x
	Etxeita	W		x

Century	Writer	Dialect	<i>bata ber(t)zea</i>	<i>bata bestea</i>
20 th	Goikoetxea <i>Gaztelu</i>	C		x
	Inza	C, N		x
	Irazusta	C		x
	Kirikiño	W		x
	Lizardi	C		x
	Mirande	SB		x
	Mitxelena, K.	C, SB		x
	Mujika, P.	C		x
	Munita	C		x
	Orixe	C		x
	Otxolua	W		x
	Salaberria	C		x
	Txirrita	C		x
	Ugalde	C		x
	Urruzuno	C		x
	Uztapide	C		x
	Villasante	C		x

Far fewer writers, on the other hand, use the bare numeral *bat* without the article, and this gives rise to the forms *bat(ek) bestea* and *bat(ek) bertzea*, with the word ‘other’ (whether *bertze* or *beste*) always displaying the article. Etienne Salaberry is a good example of this tendency:

- (40)
- Ba-dira hiru solas

gizon euskaldun-a-z.

Ez dute

bate-k

bertze-a

BA-are three conversation man Basque-ART-INST NEG AUX one-ERG other-ART

ordaintzen bainan

bat-ek

bertze-a

lauzkatzen

pay but one-ERG other-ART complement

‘There are three conversations on the Basque man. They do not cancel each other, but they complement each other’

(Salaberry, *Ene sinestea*, 1978, p. 118)

Table 2 summarizes the practice by authors who use these article-less variants; the first occurrences are sporadic during the 17th and 18th century.

Table 2. Writers’ usage of *bat bestea* & *bat ber(z)ea*

Century	Writer	<i>bat ber(t)zea</i>		<i>bat bestea</i>		Dialect
		Systematic	Sporadic	Systematic	Sporadic	
17 th	Tartas		1 example			S
18 th	Egiategi		1 example			S
	Haraneder		1 example			NL
	Mendiburu				1 example	N
19 th	Arxu			x		S
	Duhalde		1 example			NL
	Etxagarai			x		C
	Etxamendi <i>Bordel</i>			x		NL
	Hiribarren	x				NL
	Joanategi	x				NL
	Laphitz	x				NL
	Zavala			x		W
20 th	Barbier	x				NL
	Elissalde	x				NL
	Elissanburu, J. B.	x				NL
	Elissanburu, M.	x				NL
	Etxamendi, M.			x		NL
	Etxepare, J.	x				NL
	Etxepare Landerretxe	x				NL
	Hiriart-Urruty	x				NL
	Larzabal	x				NL
	Mattin Treku	x		x		NL
	Mitxelena, S.				x	C
	Narbaitz			x		NL
	Orixe				x	C
	Oxobi		x			NL
	Uztapide				x	C
	Xalbador	x				NL

According to Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013), there is no record of a single author using *bat bestea/bertzea* in a systematic way up to Laphitz and Hiribarren, both 19th century writers of the Navarro-Labourdin dialect. Thus Etxepare, Leizarraga, Axular, Etxeberri of Ziburu, Pouvreau, Tartas, Egiategi, Etxeberri of Sara, Kardaberaz, Mendiburu, Añibarro, Duvoisin, Lardizabal, J. A. Mogel, all of them prefer the

articled variant *bat-a* as the first member of the quantificational anaphor. It seems that the generalization of *bat bertzea* or *bat bestea* is relatively new and it is confined to the French Basque Country. On the Spanish side, there are a few examples here and there (S. Mitxelena, Orixe, Uztapide) but not a systematic use.

Putting aside the issue of the presence *versus* absence of the article in the first member of the bipartite anaphor, it is remarkable that the use of this anaphor is fairly well attested in all kind of authors and dialects from the 16th century on. As expected, the anaphor is generally bound by a plural DP. Here is a couple of examples by Leizarraga:

- (41) a. Bada, ene anaieak, biltzen zaretenean iatera *batak berzea* iguriki ezazue
(Leizarraga, 1571, I Co 11, 33)
'Well, my brothers, when you gather to eat, you should await for each other'
b. Haur da ene manamendua, *batak berzea* maite duzuen, nik maite ukhan zai-
tuztedan bezala (Leizarraga, 1571, Jn 15, 12)
'This is my commandment, that you love each other as I have loved you all'

In these examples anaphor *batak berzea* occurs in object position and bound by a silent *pro* 'you all', identified by, or recoverably from, the agreement morphology of the finite verb. Similarly, the anaphor may appear as a dative complement:

- (42) Manamendu berri bat emaiten drauzuet, *bat-a-k berze-a-ri*
commandment new one give AUX one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT
on daritzozue-n
good love-that
'I give you a new command, that you love one another'
(Leizarraga, 1571, Jn 13, 34)

It can also appear as object to postpositions as well, again bound by the main subject:

- (43) Baldin-eta elkar ausikiten eta iresten ba-duzue: begirauzue *bat-a*
if-and *elkar* bite and swallow if-AUX watch one-ART
berze-a-z konsumi e-tzaitezte-n
other-ART-INST consume NEG-AUX-COMP
'If you bite and devour each other, watch out that you are not consumed by one another'
(Leizarraga, 1571, Ga 5, 15)

Finally, we find *bata bestea* in its genitive form, as a true possessor or subject of a common noun (=44a), and also as a complement to a location noun (=44b) or to a relational noun (=44c); I provide some examples by Leizarraga again:

- (44) a. Iainkoak...manatzen gaituela elkar onhets dezagun, afekzione onez eta
hipokrisia gabe, *batak berzearen* ona prokura dezagun (Leizarraga, *Othoitza*
*ecclesiastikoen forma eta catechisme*a, 1571, 61)

- 'God demands that we love one another, with affection and without hypocrisy, that we seek each other's well-being'
- b. Eta hek has zitezen tristetzen: eta hari erraiten *bata berzearen* ondoan, Ni naiz? (Leizarraga, 1571, Mk 19, 3)
'And they started being upset and saying to him one after another, am I the one?'
- c. Halaber gazteak, zareten zaharren suiet, eta guziak zareten *bata berzearen* suiet (Leizarraga, 1571, 1 P 5, 5)
'You the younger, submit yourselves to the elder, and all of you clothe yourselves with humility toward one another'

In all the three examples, the main subjects (*guk* 'we', *hek* 'they' and *zuek guziak* 'you all') are the ones that bind the anaphor. We can regard Leizarraga as the paradigmatic user of *bata bestea* in that he provides abundant examples. Nevertheless, from Leizarraga on, there are many examples of the use of *bata bestea*, across the centuries. I have arranged the examples according to syntactic position¹¹.

a. *Batak bestea* in object position:

- (45) a. Ikusazu nola *bat-a-k* *bertze-a* mesprezitzen dute-n eta
see how one-ART-ERG other-ART despise AUX-COMP and
ez-tute-n elkhar maite itxura falso-z eta gezur-mainaz baizen
NEG-AUX-COM *elkar* love appearance false-INST and lie-form but
'See how they despise one another and they do not love each other but with false appearance and lies'
(Pouvreau, *San Frances de Sales Genevaco ipizpicuaren Philotea*, 1664, 67)
- b. Ar zazue ongi *bat-a-k* *beste-a*
take AUX well one-ART-ERG other-ART
'Let you all treat one another well'
(Mendiburu, *Mendibururen Idazlan Argitaragabeak I*, 1982 [1740-1767], p. 205)
- c. ... eta etsai-ek *bat-a-k* *bertze-a* sarraskitzen zuten
and enemy-ERG.PL one-ART-ERG other-ART massacre AUX
'... and enemies massacred one another'
(Duvoisin, *Bible Saindua*, 1859-1865, Ep 7, 22)
- d. Mutil bi-ok, aspalditxoan, ezin zuten *bat-a-k* *beste-a* ikusi
boy two-ART.ERG lately can.NEG AUX one-ART-ERG other-ART see
'Lately, the two boys could not bear each other'
(Agirre, *Garoa*, 1912, p. 272)

b. *Bata(k) bestea* in dative object position:

- (46) a. Eta halatan guzti-ak *bat-a* *bertze-a-ri* zerraitza-la kondenatu ziren
and so all-ART.PL one-ART other-ART-DAT follow-that condemn AUX

11 The literature in Western and Central Basque is scarce for the 16th-17th centuries and there is no single example of *bata bestea* in it, except for Landucci's dictionary: *bata vestequin* conçertadu ('concordar uno con otro').

'And so all were condemned (as they were) following one another'

(Axular, *Gero*, 1643, 166)

- b. Ordean *bat-a-k berte-a-ri* ematen ziñotzote-n adiskidetasun-a-ren
however one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT give AUX-COMP friendship-ART-GEN
señal-ek intres ver-a zuten, Jinko-a-ren loria-ren intres-a
signal-ERG.PL interest same-ART had, god-ART-GEN glory-GEN interest-ART
'However, the signals of friendship that you gave to each other had the same
interest, the interest of the Lord's glory'
(Mihura, *Andredena Mariaren Imitacionea Jesus-Christoren Imitacionearen
gañean moldatua*, 1778, 67)
- c. Mundu-a-n enbidia / *bat-a-k beste-a-ri* / izaten oi diogu /
world-SG-LOC envy one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT have PART AUX
txit maiz edo beti
very often or always
'In this world, very often or always, we feel envy toward one another'
(Iturriaga, *Fábulas y otras composiciones en verso vascongado*, 1842, 72)
- d. bizkarr-a itzultzen dute, jalgitze-a-rekin, *bat-ek berte-a-ri*
back-ART turn AUX exit-ART-with one-ERG other-ART-DAT
'Upon getting out, they turn their backs on each other'
(Jean Etxepare, *Buruxkak*, 1910, 170)

c. *Bata bestea* as complement to adpositions:

- (47) a. Aitzitik ba-dirudi, ezen berte hitzkuntza, eta linguaia
on the contrary BA-seem that other language and speech
guztia-ak *bat-a berte-a-rekin* nahasi-ak dire-la
all-ART.PL one-ART other-ART-with mix-ART.PL are-that
'On the contrary, it seems that all other speeches and languages are mixed
up with one another'
(Etxeberri of Sara, *Obras vascongadas del doctor labortano Joannes d'Etche-
berri* (1712), 1908 [1712-1718], 93)
- b. Ikusten duk, Pello, ... Sara-k eta Zugarramurdi-k amodio guti behar
see AUX Pello Sare-ERG and Zugarramurdi-ERG love little must
zute-la izan *bat-ek berte-a-rentzat*
AUX-that have one-ERG other-ART-for
'You can see, Pello, ... that Sare and Zugarramurdi must have had little love
for each other'
(Elissanburu, *Piarres Adame*, 1889, 73)
- c. ...ez omen ditugu fonetika eta grafia, adibide-z, *bat-a beste-tik*
NEG PRT AUX phonetics and orthography example-INST one-ART other-from
edo *bat-a beste-a-rengandik* bereizten.
or one-ART other-ART-from distinguish
'We apparently do not distinguish phonetics and orthography from each other
or apart from one another'
(Mitxelena, *Mitxelenaren Euskarazko Idazlan Guztiak VII*, 1988, 171)

d. *Bata bestea* in the genitive:

Here I repeat the three positions mentioned before, that is: true possessor or subject genitive (=48b), complement to a location noun or an adposition, (=48a-d) and complement to a relational noun (=48c). It is true, however, that after Leizarraga the most usual occurrence is the second option:

- (48) a. Adin guzti-ak elkharr-i darraitza: iragaitea eta hiltzea guzti-a da bat,
age all-ART.PL *elkar*-DAT follow passing and dying all-ART is one
bat-a bertze-a-ren ondo-a-n dohazi
one-ART other-ART-GEN next-ART-LOC go
'All ages follow each other: passing and dying are one, they go one after the other'
(Axular, *Gero*, 1643, 41)
- b. ... nun nahi bei-tü ikhas dezagü-n, *bat-a-k bestia-a-ren*
where want COMP-AUX learn AUX-COM one-ART-ERG other-ART-GEN
karg-en egarten
burden-GEN.PL bearing
'So he wishes that we learn how to bear each other's burdens'
(Maister, *Jesu-Kristen imitacionia*, 1757, 40)
- c. Iñazio-ren lagun-ek ez zakiten oraino *bat-ek bertzi-a-ren* berry
Iñazio-GEN friend-ERG.PL NEG knew yet one-ERG other-ART-GEN new
'Iñazio's friends did not have yet any news of each other'
(Laphitz, *Bi saindu hescualdunen bizia*, 1867, 137)
- d. Trefl-a egiten da harbi ondo-a-n; ongi heldu dire *bat-a*
trefoil-ART do AUX turnip next-ART-LOC well come AUX one-ART
bertze-a-ren ondo-tik
other-ART-GEN next-from
'Trefoil grows next to turnip; they come one after the other'
(Duvoisin, *Laborantzako Liburua*, 1858, 95)

The most typical location nouns and adpositions with which *bata bestea* shows up are *ondo* 'next' and *kontra* 'against', even though *pare* 'on a par with', *leku* 'place', *gain* 'top', *alde* 'for', and *atze* 'back' also fairly frequent.

5.2. When an ergative subject binds the anaphor: distribution of *batak bestea* vs *bata bestea*

Some explanation is in order regarding the use of *bata bestea* and *batak bestea*. According to Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013), the use of *bata bestea* without ergative marking in contexts where the ergative marking seemed perfect is not attested until fairly recently.

First of all, the *classical* usage is easy to describe: we find the variant *batak bestea* with ergative case marking on the numeral when the antecedent itself is case marked

with ergative and the variant *bata bestea* shows up when the antecedent is an absolutive subject. Again, Leizarraga is a good reference¹²:

- (49)

a.

Orduan diszipulu-ek *bat-a-k* *berze-a-ganat* behatzen zuten
then disciple-ERG.PL one-ART-ERG other-ART-to look AUX
'Then the disciples looked at each other'
(Leizarraga, 1571, Jn 13, 22)

b.

Gogo bat-ez *bat-a* *berze-a-gana* afekzionatu-ak zarete-larik
will one-INST one-ART other-ART-to affectionate-ART AUX-COMP
'Live in harmony with one another'
(Leizarraga, 1571, Rom 12, 16)

The plural DP *diszipuluek* ‘the disciples’ binds the anaphor *batak berzea* and, since the antecedent bears ergative case, so does the (first member of the) anaphor; in the second example, on the other hand, since the subject *zuek* bears absolutive case, we find a plain *bata berzea* without ergative on *bata*.

Table 3. Three patterns for the distinction *batak bestea* / *bata bestea*

Century	Writer	Classical Use		Mixed Use		Ergativeless <i>bata bestea</i>	
			<i>Dialect</i>		<i>Dialect</i>		<i>Dialect</i>
17 th	Argaiñaratz	x	NL				
	Axular	x	NL				
	Belapeire	x	S				
	Etxeberri Dorre					x	NL
	Etxeberri of Ziburu	x	NL				
	Haranburu	x	NL				
	Pouvreau	x	NL				
18 th	Egiategi			x	S		
	Etxeberri of Sara	x	NL				
	Haraneder	x	NL				
	Kardaberaz	x	C				
	Larramendi	x	C				
	Maister	x	S				
	Mendiburu	x	N				

12 There is however one example that does not match the pattern:

(i)

Ezen guziek *bata berzearen* ondoan profetiza ahal dezakezue, guziek ikas dezatenzat, eta guziak kon-
sola ditezenzat (Leizarraga, 1 Co 14, 31)
'For all of you can prophesy one after another so that everyone may learn and get console'
The antecedent is the plural ergative *guziek*; hence one would expect *batak berzearen*.

Century	Writer	Classical Use		Mixed Use		Ergativeless <i>bata bestea</i>	
			<i>Dialect</i>		<i>Dialect</i>		<i>Dialect</i>
19 th	Astarloa			x	W		
	Azkue, E.					x	W
	Duhalde	x	NL				
	Duvoisin	x	NL				
	Frai Bartolome			x	W		
	Iturriaga			x	C		
	Iturzaeta					x	W
	Iztueta	x	C				
	Laphitz	x	NL				
	Lardizabal	x	C				
	Mogel, J. A.			x	W		
20 th	Agirre, Tx.	x	W, C				
	Barbier	x	NL				
	Enbeita, K.					x	W
	Etxepare Landerretxe	x	NL				
	Etxepare, J.	x	NL				
	Goikoetxea, J. I. <i>Gaztelu</i>					x	C
	Hiriart-Urruty	x	NL				
	Kirikiño			x	W		
	Mirande			x	SB		
	Mitxelena	x	SB				
	Orixe			x	C		
	Txirrita					x	C
	Villasante					x	C
	Xalbador			x	NL		

A close scrutiny of the Basque literary tradition reveals three patters of use: the authors, a vast majority, who basically follow Leizarraga’s tendency; those who alternate the ergative-less variant and the one with ergative in contexts which would require a consistent use; and, thirdly, the authors that systematically avoid the use of the pseudo-anaphor, to put it in De Rijk’s terms. Table 3 is a comprehensive summary of each writer’s pattern.

As representatives of the second, mixed-up, pattern we can cite Egiategi and Mirande. Even though for most part he sticks to Leizarraga's classical usage, Egiategi (1785) has a good example where the barrier between the two variants appears blurred:

- (50) a. *ben*a *Jinko*-a-k *nahi* *ükhen* *ba*-dü, *bat*-a-k *bertzi*-a-ri *zerbützü*
 but god-ART-ERG want have if-AUX one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT service
egin *genezan*
 do AUX
 'But if God wanted that we did service to each other'
 (J. Egiategi, *Lehen liburua edo filosofo Huskaldunaren Ekheia*, 1785, 167)
- b. *bat*-a *berzi*-a-ri *zor* *dügü*-netan
 one-ART other-ART- DAT debt have-COMP
 'on the occasions that we owe something to each other'
 (J. Egiategi, *Lehen liburua edo filosofo Huskaldunaren Ekheia*, 1785, 265)

Unless something is missing, an ergative case marked *pro* corresponding to the first person plural *guk* would be the antecedent of *bata ber(t)zia* in both cases, yet we only see the ergative case marking on *bata* in the first one. In Mirande's *Haur Besoetakoa* we also find both the ergatively case-marked and the ergative-less case marked versions of *bata bestea* in contexts where the antecedent bears ergative case:

- (51) a. *bi*-ek *bat*-a *beste*-a-ri *oro* *salatu* *ondoren*,... *zentzu* *bat*
 two-ERG.PL one-ART other-ART-DAT all reveal after sense one
egunero *bete*-ago *eta* *oso*-ago-a *hartzen* *zuten* *ele*-ok
 daily fill-more and entire-more-ART take AUX word-ART.PL
 'After the two revealed all to one another... words got a more complete and
 total sense every day'
 (Mirande, *Haur Besoetakoa*, 1970, 73)
- b. *Baina* *bat*-a-k *beste*-a *areago* *ez* *ezagutu*-rik *ere*, *bat*-a
 but one-ART-ERG other-ART more NEG know-POST even one-ART
beste-a-*renganako* *irrika* *lauso* *bat*, *orduan* *ere* *inor*-k *ez*
 other-ART-towards desire blurred one then even anybody-ERG NEG
ulertu-a, *geldituko* *zaigu* *beti*
 understand-ART remain AUX always
 'But even without knowing one another any further, there will always remain a
 blurred desire, one that nobody will then understand'
 (Mirande, *Haur Besoetakoa*, 1970, 93)

My interpretation of the facts is that in [*batak bestea areago ezagaturik ere*] the subject is a silent pronominal (*i. e.* PRO) equivalent to *guk* 'we-ERG' and that the anaphor *batak bestea* is in object position; thus, it turns out that Mirande pattern is contradictory. Other authors which display a similar behaviour are Astarloa, Frai Bartolome, J. A. Mogel, Iturriaga, Kirikiño, Orixe and Xalbador, the first three from the 19th century and the latter four from the 20th century.

Let us turn now to the authors that systematically use the *true* anaphor *bata bestea* without case marking on the first member *bata* even the antecedent is an ergative subject: Iturzaeta and Juan Ignacio Goikoetxea *Gaztelu* are representatives of these pattern:

- (52) alan kristinau guzti-ak *bat-a beste-a-ri* lagunduten deutse, eta alan
 so Christian all-ART.PL one-ART other-ART-DAT help AUX and so
 batzu-en egite on-ak dira beste-n mesede-rako
 some-GEN action good-ART are other-GEN benefit-for
 'All Christians help each other this way, and so the good actions by some are
 to the benefit of others'
 (Iturzaeta, *Aita Gaspar Asteteren ikasbide kristinaukorraren azalduera labu-
 rrak*, 1899, 164)
- (53) Baña bi jokabide-ok, *bat-a beste-a-ri* buru eman edo eragotzi,
 but two behavior-ART.PL one-ART other-ART-DAT head give or impede
 bearrean alkarr-en lagun eta osagarri ditezke euskal-kultura-ri
 instead *elkar*-GEN friend and complement AUX Basque-culture-DAT
 buruz
 towards
 'But these two behaviors, instead of disturbing or damaging each other, may
 be each other's ally and complement with respect to Basque culture'
 (J. I. Goikoetxea, *Gaztelu, Musika Ixila*, 1963, 5)

It should be pointed out that these authors are quite modern, either from the end of the 19th century or from the 20th century; one could add Eusebio Azkue, Txirrita, Kepa Enbeita and Villasante (in the book *Kristau fedearen sustraiak. I. Jainkoa* at least) to the list, again the three belonging to the same period (late 19th century-20th century)¹³. It is also worth bearing in mind that the Navarro-Labourdin data reported by Rebuschi in all his articles on the subject always refer to the ergative-less variant *bata bestea* as the dominant in spoken Basque; HEE describe the same situation for Lekeitio Basque¹⁴.

Nonetheless, despite the impression one might get, many of the 19th and 20th century writers such as Duvoisin, Iztueta, Laphitz, Lardizabal, Txomin Agirre, Barbier, Jean Etxepare, Hiriart-Urruty, Etxeita, Jean Etxepare Landerretxe or Mitxelena keep on using the classical pattern and case-marking the first member *bata* of the anaphor with ergative if the antecedent is an ergative DP; the same is true of previous authors such as Argaiñaratz, Axular, Belapeire, Etxeberri of Ziburu, Haranburu, Pouvreau, Duhalde, Egiategi, Etxeberri of Sara, Haraneder, Larramendi, Kardaberaz, Maister, Mendiburu. A comprehensive study of the usage in both the 20th and 21st centuries would shed more light on this variation. For the time being, one can simply say that, with the apparently random exception of Etxeberri Dorre (1677), it is not until the

13 Piarres Etxeberri Dorre's *Itxasoko Nabigazionekoa* (1677) is an isolated, single, case of an ergative-less variant in the only potential example attested. Hence, he too could be added to the list.

14 And the same seems to be true for Mallabia (K. Zuazo, p. c.) and Forua & Gernika (I. Arteatx, p. c.).

1800s that we start seeing a weakening of the ergative marking on *batak bestea* when the antecedent is an ergative subject¹⁵.

5.3. On Rebuschi's (1993) unfulfilled predictions

A look into the Basque literary tradition allows one to additionally check the predictions made by Rebuschi (1993), with some surprising results. As I said in section 4.2, in his analysis of today's Navarro-Labourdin Basque, Rebuschi's (1993) renewed account predicts that the anaphor *bata bestea* will be excluded from two syntactic contexts: from the object position of verbs and the object position of a relational noun¹⁶. The examples already given above in (41, 42, 49a) show that the prediction is not fulfilled for Leizarraga's texts.

However, these examples need not match the present situation in Navarro-Labourdin Basque; as a matter of fact, Rebuschi himself (1993, p. 122) remarks in a footnote that examples of *bata bestea* in the verb's object position can be found and that his account is limited to the present day situation. The point is that this type of example is in fact wide spread along the Basque literary tradition, both in Navarro-Labourdin Basque and outside that dialect. Below I provide two additional examples:

- (54) erbi-ek ez zuten gehiago bat-ek beste-a koskatu
hare-ERG.PL NEG AUX more one-ERG other-ART bite
'The hares did not bite each other any more'
(J. Barbier, *Supazter chokoan*, 1924, p. 31)
- (55) Bat-ek bertze-a lagundu beharko dugu, esker txarr-ik erakutsi gabe
one-ERG other-ART help have AUX thank bad-PART show without
'We shall have to help each other, without showing any ingratitude'
(J. Etxepare Landerretxe, *Mendekoste Gereziak*, 1962, p. 76)

15 A superficial look at the Contemporary Reference Prose corpus reveals that the tendency for distinguishing *batak bestea* and *bata bestea* is still operative in the 21st century, with a majority of writers sticking to the distinction:

- (i) a. antropofagia apur batekin besarkatu dugu *batak bestea* (J. Sarrionandia, *Lagun izoztua*, 424, 2001)
'We hugged one another with a little anthropofagy'
b. *Batek bertzea* laguntzen dute, osatzen dute, eta enetako egiten da hola... (M. Oxandabaratx, *Ez da musik*, 2006, p. 119)
'They help, complement, one another, and in my opinion it is done so...'

But, occasionally, some writers turn to the ergative-less variant:

- (ii) Bitartean, *bata bestea* tristatzen dute (J. Renard-I. Otegi, *Axenario*, 2006, p. 88)
'Meanwhile, they sadden one another'

16 There is, in fact, a third context, namely *bata bestea* in locational phrases with perception verbs bound by the absolutive argument that agrees with the verb:

- (i) Haiek_i sugeak_j bata bertze-a-ren_{i/??j} ondoan ikusi dituzte (Rebuschi, 1993, p. 122)
they snakes one-ART other-ART-GEN near see AUX
'They_i saw snakes_j near each other_{i/??j}'

According to Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013) most speakers do not agree with the judgements provided by Rebuschi.

Rebuschi's first prediction has a secondary tie related to the so called TO-GEN structure (Heath, 1972): if *bata bestea* cannot be an object to a verb, it will hardly show up as a genitive in nominalizations that permit the alternation between absolutive and genitive cases. But this prediction is not borne out either:

- (56) a. Oro *bat bertze-a-ren* haztatzen eta beldurr-ez, elgarr-en herabe
all one other-ART-GEN touching and fear-INST elkar-GEN shy
ginauden.
were
'We all were shy of each other, afraid of and checking up one another'
(J. Etxepare, *Buruxkak*, 1910, p. 131)
- b. Jende maiti-a-k, eman daugute / orai suiet bat berri-a, / *bat*
peopledear-ART-ERG give AUX now topic one new-ART one
bertzi-a-ren kitzika-tzeko / oraintxe da tenoria
other-ART-GEN excite-to now is time-ART
'Dear friends, they have given us a new topic, to tease one another, it is now
the right time'
(Xalbador, *Ezin bertzean*, 1969, p. 88)

Etxepare's example is significant because the anaphor is both a complement to a nominalized verb and to the relational noun *beldur* 'fear' (bearing the instrumental adposition). Regarding this latter syntactic context, that of complement of a relational noun, the examples are scarcer, but some can be provided:

- (57) Baño, batez ere, Joanes ta Malentxo ziran alkar artuak eta *bat-a*
but above all Joanes and Malentxo were *elkar* take-ART and one-ART
beste-a-ren maitale andi-ak
other-ART-GEN lover big-ART.PL
'But, above all, Joanes and Malen got along well and were big lovers of one
another'
(Aguirre, *Garoa*, 1912, p. 136)

These are examples by authors from the Spanish side of the border, but there also some from Navarro-Labourdin writers, too:

- (58) ez dute beraz deus ikus-teko-rik elgarr-ekin eskuara-k eta
NEG have thus anything see-to-PART *elkar*-with Basque-ERG and
iberotarr-a-k; ez dira *bat bertze-a-ren* seme, ez haurride, ez ahide.
Iberian-ART-ERG NEG are one other-ART-GEN son, NEG relative NEG relative
'Basque and Iberian do not have anything to do; they are neither son of one
another, nor relative, close or distant'
(Saint-Pierre Anxuberro, J., *Gure Herria*, 1921, I, p. 657)

In view of all these examples, we can conclude (a) that the proposal made by Rebuschi (1993) predicts a slightly different distribution for *bata bestea*, a prediction which is not confirmed by the data; and (b) that this anaphor can in fact appear in complement

position of both verbs and nouns. This, in turn, simply means that the account developed in Rebuschi (1988, 1989) is more appropriate. We summarize it below:

(59) Reciprocal anaphors in (Navarro-Labourdin) Basque

Anaphor	Narrow Binding Domain	Wide Binding Domain
<i>elkar</i>	bound	bound
<i>bata bestea</i>	bound or free	bound

In principle, the NBD and WBD would be defined as (35-36) above; for those speakers (*cfr.* footnote 7) who allow *elkar* in the subject position inside a noun phrase (*i. e.* as a true possessor genitive), then the condition for *elkar* should be re-formulated. Finally, although more research is needed, in principle all dialects pattern with Navarro-Labourdin with respect to the use of *bata bestea*.

6. NOTES FOR FURTHER STUDY

In this section I make a few remarks on the differences between *bata bestea* and *elkar* that should lay the basis for a future account. These remarks have to do with the possibility of finding *bata bestea* but not *elkar* in finite subject position, the possibility of *elkar*’s having a singular binder, the different distribution of the two anaphors with symmetric predicates, and the different interpretation both anaphors give rise to.

6.1. Subject reciprocal anaphors?

One interesting property of *bata bestea* is that it can surface as coda in comparative clauses. Here are some 20th century examples from Northern writers:

- (60)
- a.

Heia handi bat-ean etzan-ak ikusi zituen zazpi behor, bat bertze-a bezen
stable big one-LOC lie-ART.PL see AUX seven mare one other-ART as
ederr-ak
beautiful-ART
'He saw seven mares lying on a big stable, as beautiful as one another'
(J. Barbier, *Légendes du Pays Basque*, 1931, p. 128)
- b.

Jainko-a-k bi mirakuilu, bat bertze-a bezen ohartgarri-ak, egin
god-ART-ERG two miracle one other-ART as remarkable-ART.PL do
zituen Gedeon-en bixta-n
AUX Gedeon-GEN sight-LOC
'God made two miracles, as remarkable as one another, at the sight of Gedeon'
(J. Elissalde «Zerbitzari», *Ichtorio Saindua. Testament Zaharra. Jesu-Christo. Eliza*, 1943, p. 46)
- c.

Andrea eta biak, / haurr-a-rekin hiru, / bat bertzi-a bezen trixte /
wife-ART and two-ART.PL child-ART-with three one other-ART as sad

orai girare gu
 now are we
 'My wife and I, three with the child, are now as sad as one another'
 (Mattin Treku, *Ahal dena*, 1971, p. 52).

The interesting point is that *elkar* is ungrammatical in this kind of sentences as substituting *bata bertzea* for *elkar* in an example like (60a) clearly shows:

- (61) *Zazpi behor ikusi zituen, *elkar* bezain ederr-ak
 seven mare see AUX *elkar* as beautiful-ART.PL
 'He saw seven mares, as beautiful as each other'

Although little research has been conducted on Basque comparative structures (*cfr.* Sáez, 1989; Goenaga, 2012), it is generally assumed that the coda part of comparatives hide a full sentential structure:

- (62) Ikusi zituen zazpi behor, zureak (ederrak diren) bezain ederrak
 'He saw seven mares, as beautiful as yours (are beautiful)'

If so, then one must assume that sentences like the ones above in (60) hide a full clausal structure where the anaphor is in finite subject position:

- (63) Ikusi zituen zazpi behor, *bat bertze-a dir-en* bezain ederr-ak
 see AUX seven mare one other-ART are-COMP as beautiful-ART.PL
 'He saw seven mares, as beautiful as one another are' (*cfr.* 60a & 62)

The idea that *bata bestea* can be a finite clause subject is potentially confirmed by these two examples, although the judgements need further confirmation:

- (64) Alaere, Fray Luisen odaren eskupe osoa ez datza aapalditzat «lira» dulakoan, atalkin auetzaz olerkitza nola osatzen dunean, *bata bestea* guziarekin duten ar-emanetan baizik
 'The power of Fray Luis's ode does not lie in that he uses the lira as strophe, or in how he composes poetry with these ingredients, but in the relationship that one another have with everything'
 (J. I. Goikoetxea Gaztelu, *Musika ixilla*, 1963, p. 64).
- (65) ês-takiže bat-a-bestí-a-k ser égingo dabe-n (=4b)
 NEG-know one-ART-other-ART-ERG what do AUX-COMP
 'They do not know what each other will do'

Depending on the interpretation, Goikoetxea's example is amenable, perhaps, to an analysis where the discourse antecedent of the anaphor *bata bestea* is split between two separate (singular) noun phrases (poetry and lira); note, besides, that the anaphor has plural agreement with the finite verb, contrary to what we see in the Lekeitio Basque example.

In any case, binding of the subject anaphor *bata bestea* by a subject that it is not the one immediately c-commanding it is discarded, as we saw in example (25b).

6.2. Singular and plural antecedents

A second difference between *bata bestea* and *elkar* has to do with the latter's possibility of having a singular (though collective and/or semantically plural) antecedent:

- (66) a. Herri-eta-n jende-a-k elkar ezagutzen du
village-PL-LOC people-ART-ERG *elkar* know AUX
'In the villages, people know each other'
(Argia, 2001)¹⁷
- b. Matrimoniyo ondo artu-ba-k / alkarr-i asko zor diyo
marriage well take-ART-ERG *elkar*-DAT much debt AUX
'A married couple that gets along well owes each other a lot'
(P. Elizegi, *Errota, Pello Errotak jarritako bertsoak*, 1963, p. 136)

In the same contexts, the speakers consulted reject the use of *bata bestea*:

- (67) a. *Herrietan jendeak *batak bestea* ezagutzen du
b. *Matrimonio ondo hartuak *batak besteari* asko zor dio

Given the makeup of *bata bestea* (a bipartite anaphor with two noun phrases with explicit number marking), this is hardly a surprise. The possibility of finding *elkar* in impersonal sentences with arbitrary PRO may be related to its ability to have a singular binder; no such possibility exists for *bata bestea*:

- (68) a. Ai, maita-tzeko, alkar ezautu / bear da len-ago.
love-to *elkar* know have AUX first-more
'To love, it is first necessary to know each other'
(L. Jauregi Jautarkol, *Biozkadak*, 1929, p. 72)
- b. *Maitatzeko, *batak bestea* ezagutu behar da lehenago
'To love, it is first necessary to know each other'

6.3. Symmetric and alignment predicates

As explained in Bosque (1985), reciprocity often is related to bidirectional predicates, which sometimes have nothing to do with syntactical strategies of reciprocalization. For example, *John and Mary love each other*, with a true reciprocal pronoun, is equivalent to a bidirectional relationship such that «John loves Mary and Mary loves John»; but a similar bidirectional relationship can be established in the case of

17 Retrieved from: <http://www.argia.eus/argia-astekaria/1811/sindikalistak-irabazitako-borroketatik-ikasi-behar-du>

John and Mary are teammates (John is Mary's teammate and Mary is John's teammate) without a reciprocalization strategy being involved. In other words, semantic bidirectionality need not be related to syntactic reciprocity. And, of course, the situation can also be reversed: there might be syntactically reciprocal constructions that are not strictly related to semantic reciprocity. This may well help us understand another interpretive difference between *elkar* and *bata bestea*. In the case of predicates that denote a linear arrangement or alignment in terms of time or location, *bata bestea* is used but *elkar* is out. For example in the case of matryoshka boxes, dolls are arranged so that they are one inside the other, but this is hardly ever a symmetric relation (if A doll is inside the B doll, then the B doll cannot be inside the A doll). In cases like this, *elkar* is ungrammatical but *bata bestea* is precisely the anaphor required:

- (69) a. *bat-a beste-a-ren barru-a-n egoten dira kutxa horiek, eta bat*
 one-ART other-ART-GEN inside-ART-LOC be AUX box those and one
zabaltzen duzu eta konturatzen zara oraindik ere barru-a-n beste bat
 open AUX and realize AUX yet even inside-ART-LOC other bat
dago-ela
 is-that
 'Those boxes are inside one another, and you open one and you realize there is yet another one inside'
 (J. M. Barrie / J. Gabiria, *Peter Pan*, 2004, p. 25)
- b. * ... *elkarr-en* barruan egoten dira kutxa horiek
- c. *Messi-k lau gol-ak {bat-a(-k) beste-a-ren / *elkarr-en} {atzetik,*
 Messi-ERG four goal-ART.PL one-ART(-ERG) other-ART-GEN *elkar*-GEN behind
ondoren} sartu ditu
 after introduce AUX
 'Messi scored the four goals one {after, behind} another'

In other words, given that the locational or temporal arrangement of dolls and goals cannot accept a symmetric (or bidirectional) reading, only *bata bestea* can be used here.

6.4. Group reading

Although the differences and the judgements are rather subtle, it seems that both anaphors give rise to interpretations that need not coincide. This is particularly true in the following example with the anaphors as complement to the comitative adposition *-ekin*:

- (70) a. *Bost irakasleok elkarrekin eztabaidatu dugu proposamena*
 'The five teachers discussed the proposal {together / with each other}'
- b. *Bost irakasleok bata bestearrekin eztabaidatu dugu proposamena*
 'The five teachers discussed the proposal with one another'

The first sentence is compatible with a situation where the group of five teachers have discussed the proposal in a single, group, discussion; this is in fact the most salient reading, although it is not the only one available (it might well be the case that several

discussions have taken place so that the five teachers have taken part after all); for the (b) sentence, the group reading is impossible and more than one discussion has necessarily taken place.

A similar situation obtains when the anaphors are in argument position:

- (71) a. Bost irakasleok *elkar* besarkatu dugu
 'The five teachers hugged each other'
 b. Bost irakasleok *bata bestea* besarkatu dugu
 'The five teachers hugged each other'

Sentence (71a) is compatible with a group hug and there is no need (although it is certainly a possibility) to have a sequence of mutual hugs between two people; the second sentence, on the other hand, only has this second reading (with more mutual hugs). In this regard, then, the reciprocity invoked by *elkar* is weaker than that displayed by *bata bestea*.

It is of course tempting to relate these interpretive differences between the two anaphors to their different morphological makeup: a bipartite noun phrase with an quantifier member in the case of *bata bestea* (and the first member even bearing the same case marking as the subject) and a morphological simple form in the case of *elkar* (synchronically at least). For anaphors like the latter, a raising analysis has been proposed in the literature (Belletti, 1982; Heim, Lasnik & May, 1991) which capitalize on the quantifier nature of the anaphor and, thus, propose that the quantifier *each/one* (*bata* in Basque) raises to the matrix subject at LF. Although the raising analysis as conceived by Heim, Lasnik and May is probably on the wrong track (*cfr.* Dalrymple, Mchombo & Peters, 1994), some aspects of it seem worth pursuing.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This article has revised the morphosyntactic makeup of the two most usual reciprocal anaphors in Basque, viz. *bata bestea* and *elkar*; the first one is a bipartite quantificational anaphor (similar to English *one another* or *each other*) and the other is a single reciprocal nominal (originally also a bipartite consisting of the two distal demonstratives); Evans's (2008, p. 47) suggestion that bipartite quantificational anaphors of the *each other / one another* type proliferated in Europe due to biblical translations is certainly compatible with the Basque data on *bata bestea*, the first systematic use of which corresponds to Leizarraga's (1571) work, a translation of the New Testament.

I have shown that the bipartite anaphor *bata bestea* is attested from the 16th century texts on across all dialects and periods, and that the alleged restriction of *bata bestea* not to appear in complement position to nouns or verbs defended by Rebuschi (1993) is not confirmed by the data. Instead, it seems that Rebuschi's (1988, 1989) first account of the distribution of *elkar* and *bata bestea* is on the right track: for the majority

of speakers, the former is a narrower reciprocal anaphor in the sense that it has to be bound in the domain of the first available subject. The latter, on the other hand, is a wider reciprocal anaphor given that it only has to be bound in the domain of a c-commanding subject; hence, it can itself be a subject.

The research has also revealed that article-less variant of *bata bestea* (i. e. *bat besteal/bertzea*) is a fairly recent phenomenon (from the 19th century on) circumscribed to authors to Navarro-Labourdin or Souletin dialects. The distinction between *batak bestea* and *bata bestea* starts blurring in the case of some authors towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, but most writers keep the distinction whenever the binder is an ergative subject. Finally, I have sketched a few further differences between the two anaphors in section 6; analyzing these differences should pave the way to a proper and thorough analysis of the two anaphors in the future.

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Inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia euskaraz eratortzen

Derivando la alternancia causativa en euskera

Deriving the inchoative/causative alternation in Basque

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Eskerrak eman nahi dizkiegu *FLV* aldizkariko bi zuzentzaile izengaberi lan honen lehen idatzaldiaz egindako zuzenketa eta iruzkinengatik, baita Fernando Zuñigari ere gogoeta tipologikoagatik. Lan honek Eusko Jaur-laritzaren diru-laguntza jaso du IT665-13 ikerketa proiektuaren bidez eta Espainiako Ekonomia eta Lehiakor-tasun Ministerioarena FFI2014-51878-P ikerketa proiektuaren bidez. Emaita hauek ekarri gaituen ikerke-tak Europar Batasunaren ikerketarako, teknologia garatu eta erakusteko Zazpigarren Esparru Programaren laguntza jaso du 613465 hitzarmenaren bitartez.

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LABURPENA

Lan honetan, euskarazko aditzen inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia arakatu dugu. Proposatzen dugun analisian, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia Boza alternantzia da: Bozak espezifikatzaile bat islatzen duenean, aldaera arazlea sortzen da; bestalde, Bozak argumenturik ez duenean espezifikatzaile gunean, aldaera inkoatiboa dugu. Wood-i (2016) jarraituz, alternantzian aurkitzen diren hutsuneak erroen interfaze-jarraibideei egotzi dizkiegu, eta batzuek dituzten esanahi idiosinkrasikoak erro-alosemiaren bidez azaldu ditugu. Azkenik, ergatibo subjektuaren rola eta arazle esanahia sintaxi konfiguraziotik eratortzen direla proposatu dugu, eta ez buru sintaktiko jakin baten islapenetik.

Gako hitzak: inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia; antikausatiboa; arazlea; egoera-aldaketa aditzak; Boza; aditz laguntzailearen txandakatzea.

RESUMEN

En este trabajo analizamos la alternancia causativa en euskera y proponemos un análisis de la misma como alternancia de Voz: cuando el núcleo Voz proyecta un especificador, se crea la configuración causativa; por el contrario, si el especificador no se proyecta, entonces surge la configuración incoativa. Siguiendo a Wood (2016), proponemos que la ausencia de una u otra de las configuraciones se debe a las instrucciones de interfaz de las raíces, y explicamos algunas acepciones idiosincrásicas apelando a la alosemia de las raíces. Por último, defendemos que el rol del sujeto ergativo y su significado causativo se derivan de la configuración sintáctica, y no de un núcleo sintáctico en concreto.

Palabras clave: alternancia causativa; anticausativos; incoativos; causativos; verbos de cambio de estado; Voz; alternancia de auxiliar.

ABSTRACT

In this work, we explore the inchoative/causative alternation found in Basque verbs. We propose that this alternation is a Voice alternation: when Voice has an argument in its specifier position, the causative variant emerges; in contrast, when there is no such argument, we get the inchoative variant. Following Wood (2016), we argue that the lack of alternation found in some verbs is due to the lack of a corresponding interpretation in the LF-instructions of those verbs. On the other hand, we explain the idiosyncratic meaning found in certain structures by means of root-allosemy. Finally, we propose that the interpretation of the ergative argument and the causative semantics is derived from the syntactic configuration, rather than from the projection of a certain syntactic head.

Keywords: inchoative/causative alternation; anticausative; causative; change-of-state verbs; Voice; auxiliary alternation.

1. ATARIKOAK. 2. ARAZLE LEXIKOAK ETA INKOATIBO/ARAZLE ALTERNANTZIA. 2.1. Egoera-aldaketa aditzak. 2.2. Posizio-aldaketa aditzak. 2.3. Leku-aldaketa aditzak. 3. EUSKARA UNIBERTSO TIPOLOGIKOAN: ADITZ LAGUNTZAILEAREN TXANDAKATZEA. 4. INKOATIBO/ARAZLE ALTERNANTZIA: AZTERBIDE BAT. 4.1. Inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia, Boz alternantzia gisa. 4.2. Inkoatibo/arazle alternantziarik gabeko errorik ba ote? 4.3. Erroen interfaze-jarraibideak. 4.3.1. Aldaera inkoatiboa edota arazlea onartzen ez dutenak. 4.3.2. Esanahi idiosinkrasikoko aldaerak eta erro-aloemia. 4.4. Ergatiboaren interpretazioa. 5. ONDORIOAK. 6. ERREFERENTZIAK.

1. ATARIKOAK

Jon Ortiz de Urbina irakasle miretsi eta adiskide maiteak jorratu dituen askotariko gaien artean daude egitura arazleak, *Parameters in the grammar of Basque* (1989) liburu gogoangarrian ez ezik, geroagoko lanetan ere aztertu dituenak (Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia, 1989; Ortiz de Urbina, 2003, agertzeaz). Guk lan honetan, *inkoatibo/arazle* alternantzian agertzen diren *arazle lexikoak* (Comrie, 1989) aztertu nahi ditugu, zehazki egoera-, posizio- eta leku-aldaketa aditzekin batera jasotzen direnak, hala nola, egoera-aldaketa adierazten duten *hil da* v *du* bezalakoak (Ortiz de Urbina, 2003, 592. orr.).

Alternantzia horiek eta bestelako arazle lexikoak, xehetasunez arakatu ditu Oihartzabalek (2003), eta Berrok (2015), arazle lexiko hauetan parte hartzen duten egoera-, posizio- eta leku-aldaketa aditzak dekonposatu ditu, erroaren kategoria aditza ez ezik, bestelakoa ere badenean. Adibidez, egoera-aldaketa aditzen artean agertzen dira: izenak (*damutu* < *damu*), adjektiboak (*arindu* < *arin*) edo postposizioak (*ureztatu* < *urez*); eta leku-aldaketa aditzen artean, berriz, postposizioak (*atera* < *ate-ra*) eta *-ka* bezalako atzizkiak (*mailakatu* < *maila-ka*).

Euskara, bestalde, *alternantzia ekipolenteak* erakusten dituen hizkuntza da: erro bera (*hil*) darabilgu aldaera batean zein bestean (*hil da* v *hil du*), eta aditz laguntzailearen txandakatzea da (*izan* v **edun*) bata bestetik bereizten dituen (Haspelmath, 1993; Nichols, Peterson & Barnes, 2004). Euskaraz ez dago, beraz, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia adierazteko ez morfema arazlerik ezta *antikausati-*borik ere.

Euskararen hautu tipologikoa gorabehera, lan honetan, euskararen inkoatibo/arazle alternantziari azterbide berri bat eman nahi diogu, Oihartzabalen (2003) azterbidea aintzat hartuz, baina aldi berean, zenbait alderditan bereiziz, Arazle burua errefusatzuz besteak beste. Honi dagokionez, gure azterbidea Ormazabalena (2008) ez bezalakoa ere izango da. Lanean proposatuko dugunez, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia Boz alternantzia da (Alexiadou, 2010, 2014; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer, 2006, 2015; Wood, 2015, 2016 beste batzuen artean). Boz buru horrek, baldintza jakinetan, kanpo argumentua gaineratuko du bere espezifikatzailean. Ondorioz, aldaera arazlea eratorriko da. Kanpo argumentua gaineratu ezean, aldiz, aldaera inkoatiboa eskuratuko da. Arazle burua ez da, beraz, kanpo argumentua, hots, arazlea eratorpena sartzan duen burua. Bestalde, aldeak alde, gure azterbideak badu Ormazabalen (2008) analisiaren antzekotasun zantzurik. Egile honen ustez, aldaera arazleak ez ezik, inkoatiboak ere badu *kaus*a geruza bat, eta gure analisisian, Arazle bururik ez dagoen arren, Boz buru bera dago aldaera batean zein bestean. Gainera, Ormazabalek (2008) bezala, bi aldaeretan gertakari egitura bera dela proposatuko dugu. Azkenik, erro batzuek tes-tuinguru jakinetan jasotzen dituzten esanahi idiosinkrasikoak *erro-alo-semiaz* (Wood, 2016) azalduko ditugu.

Lanak ondoko atalak izango ditu. Bigarren atalean, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzian parte hartzen duten aditzak aztertuko ditugu: egoera-aldaketa aditzak (2.1), posizio-aldaketa aditzak (2.2) eta leku-aldaketa aditzak (2.3). Hirugarren atalean, inkoatibo/arazlea adierazteko munduko hizkuntzen artean agertzen diren estrategia tipologikoen berri emango dugu eta euskara unibertso horretan non kokatzen den ikusiko dugu. Laugarren atalaren hasieran (4.1), inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia Boz alternantzia dela erakutsiko dugu; (4.2) atalean, alternantzia murriztapenak dituzten erroez eztabaidatuko dugu; ondoren (4.3), erro-alo-semia arakatuko dugu eta azkenik (4.4), ergatibo argumentua arazle gisa nola interpretatzen den ikusiko dugu. Bosgarren eta azken atalean, ondorio nagusiak bildu eta gerora begirakoak zehaztuko ditugu.

2. ARAZLE LEXIKOAK ETA INKOATIBO/ARAZLE ALTERNANTZIA

Arazleen artean, badira bereziki egoera-aldaketa aditzekin zerikusia duten *arazle lexikoak*. Aditz horiek *inkoatibo/arazle* alternantzian parte hartzen dute, ondoko adibide hauetan ikus daitekeenez.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | Katua hil da ¹ | |
| | b. | Haurrak katua hil du | (Oihartzabal, 2003, 224. orr.) |

1 Lan honetan ondoko laburdura hauek erabiliko ditugu: a = aditz txikia; adb = adberbioa; adj = adjektiboa; Boza = Boza; Boza_j = Determinatzaile-tasunik ez duen Boza; Boza_[D] = Determinatzaile-tasuna duen Boza; D = determinatzailea; Denb = Denbora; e = event (ebentua); PTx = perpaus txikia; s = state (egoera).

Adibide hauetan, *hil* egoera-aldaketa adierazten duen aditzak bi aldaera erakusten ditu: alde batetik, aldaera inkoatiboa (1a), zeinetan argumentu bakarra dagoen, subjektua alegia, eta *gaia* rol tematikoa eman zaion; beste alde batetik, aldaera arazlea, zeinetan gai osagarriari subjektu *arazlea* gaineratzen zaion. Egitura inkoatiboa iragangaitza da eta, euskara aditz laguntzailea txandakatzen duen hizkuntza den aldetik, *izan* da hautatu den aditz laguntzailea; aldiz, egitura arazlea iragankorra da eta hortaz, aditz laguntzaile iragankorraren erroa *-u-* erakusten du *-geroago* ikusiko dugunez (2 atala), estrategia tipologikoen artean dago inkoatibo/arazlea alternantzia aditz laguntzailea txandakatuz adieraztea². Azkenik, absolutiboa ezarri zaio argumentu bakarrari egitura inkoatiboan, eta ergatiboa eta absolutiboa ezarri zaizkie subjektu eta osagarriari, hurrenez hurren, egitura arazlean (ikus baita Etxepare, 2003, 391-2. orr. eta Ortiz de Urbina, 2003, 592. orr.).

Alternantzia honetan ager daitezkeen aditzak dira absolutibo argumentuak nolabaiteko aldaketa jasaten duela adierazten dutenak, hots, egoera-aldaketa aditzak (2), (1) adibideetan ere ikusi ditugunak bezalakoak, posizio-aldaketa aditzak (3) eta leku-aldaketa aditzak (4).

- (2) a. Zuloa handitu da
b. Jonek zuloa handitu du
- (3) a. Umea eseri da
b. Aitak umea eseri du
- (4) a. Umea oheratu da
b. Aitak umea oheratu du

Bestalde, aditz bihurkariak (5), agerpen aditzak (6) eta jarduera/ekintza aditzak (7) ezin daitezke alternantzia honetan agertu. Argumentu bakarreko aditzak dira eta absolutibo subjektua dute, (2a) (3a) eta (4a) aldaerak bezalaxe, baina ez dira bateragarriak ergatibo subjektu arazle batekin (5b) (6b) (7b) (Oihartzabal, 2003).

- (5) a. Pello orraztu da
b. #Maddik Pello orraztu du² (Oihartzabal, 2003, 234. orr.)
- (6) a. Nire oroitzen ondotik, bi mirakulu gertatu dira
b. *Nire oroitzek bi mirakulu gertatu dituzte (Oihartzabal, 2003, 237. orr.)
- (7) a. Pello kanpoan jostatu da
b. *Maddik Pello kanpoan jostatu du (Oihartzabal, 2003, 235. orr.)

Hurrengo ataletan (2.1-2.3), inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia onartzen duten aditz taldeak aztertuko ditugu xehetasunez, Oihartzabalek (2003) eta Berrok (2015b) egindako deskribapenetan oinarrituz –ikus baita Ormazabal (2008, 645. orr.)–.

2 Aditz bihurkarietan, aldaera iragankorra (5b) gramatikala da izatez, baina bere esanahia ez da (5a)ren gainean eraikitzen. (5a) adibidean, *Pellok* orrazten du bere burua, eta (5b)n, aldiz, *Maddik* orrazten du Pello.

2.1. Egoera-aldaketa aditzak

Egoera-aldaketa aditzek barne argumentuaren egoeran –fisikoan zein psikologikoan– nolabaiteko aldaketa gertatu dela adierazten dute. Oihartzabalek aipatzen dituen aditzen artean ondokoak daude: *arraildu*, *belztu*, *berotu*, *edertu*, *eritu*, *hautsi*, *hil*, *hoztu*, *idortu*, *puskatu*, *urtu* eta *zabaldtu* (Oihartzabal, 2003, 237-238. orr.). Gehienetan, aditzon erroa izen edo adjektibo gisa ere erabiltzen da aditzeko testuinguru horretatik kanpo (e. g. *hotz*, *ur*, *zabal*). Horregatik, hain zuzen, aditz horiek *eratorriak* direla proposatu izan da, hau da, aditz bihurtu baino lehen, izen edo adjektibo gisa islatu direla (Hale & Keyser, 1993). Oihartzabalek (2003) ere ildo horri jarraitu zion, baina gure oraingo azterbidea bestelakoa izango da, geroago ikusiko dugunez (3. atala).

Beheko zerrendan ikus daitezke izen eta adjektibo gisa ere erabil daitezkeen erroekin euskaraz ditugun hainbat aditz. *Izenezko* aditzen artean, bi sail bereiz daitezke erroaren arabera (Berro, 2015b): (i) gizabanakoen ezaugarriak izendatzen dituztenak, eta (ii) egoera psikologiko zein fisiologikoak izendatzen dituztenak.

(8) *Izenezko aditzak:*

- a. Gizabanakoen ezaugarriak izendatzen dituzten erroekin: *adiskidetu*, *alargundu*, *amatu*, *apaiztu*, *atxilotu*, *gizondtu*, *mutildu* etab.
- b. Egoera psikologikoak/fisiologikoak izendatzen dituzten erroekin: *arduratu*, *aspertu*, *atsekabetu*, *beldurtu*, *damutu*, *egarritu*, *gosetu*, *haserretu*, *ilundu*, *izutu*, *zikindu* etab.

(9) *Adjektibozko aditzak:*

- a. Bakunak: *aberastu*, *agortu*, *ahuldu*, *alaitu*, *argitu*, *arindu*, *apaindu*, *apaldu*, *argaldu*, *astundu*, *atzarri*, *azkartu*, *eskatu*, *garbitu*, *gorritu*, *moteldu*, *zuritu* etab.
- b. Konplexuak: *ahaldundu*, *areagotu*, *betikotu*, *etxegabetu*, *etxekotu*, *euskaldundu*, *gaurkotu*, *gutxiagotu*, *itxuragabetu*, *larriagotu*, *zordundu*, *lotsagabetu*, etab.

Adjektibozko aditzen artean ere, batzuk are gehiago dekonposa daitezke, alegia, adjektibo gisa erabiltzen dena ez da erro soil bat, baizik eta atzizki batez (*-dun*, *-ago*, *-ko*, *-gabe*) sortutako osagaia³.

Egoera-aldaketa aditzetan, arazle lexikoak erabat produktiboak dira (Oihartzabal, 2003), are gehiago, erroa izen edo adjektibo gisa erabiltzen denean testuinguru horretatik kanpo.

- (10) a. Udaberriarekin bazterrak laster berdatu ziren
- b. Udaberriak bazterrak laster berdatu zituen (Oihartzabal, 2003, 238. orr.)

3 -*Ko* eta -*gabe* postposizioetatik har litezke, eta ondorioz, beren gainean eraikitako aditzak postposizioetatik *eratorritakoak* direla pentsa liteke.

Inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia murriztuagoa dute, aldiz, instrumentalaren gainean (eta harekin batera *-ta-* morfema gaineratuz) eraikitzen diren aditzek. Sail honetakoak dira, esaterako, *ondorioztatu*, *legeztatu*, *argiztatu*, *balioztatu* eta *ureztatu*. Talde honetan sailkatzen diren aditz gehienek aldaera arazlea onartzen dute bakarrik, eta ez inkoatiboa:

- (11) a. Lorezainak geranioak ureztatu ditu
b. *Geranioak ureztatu dira

Alabaina, postposizio instrumentala daramaten aditz gutxi batzuek alternantzia onartzen dute (eg. *odoleztatu*, *aireztatu*, *koloreztatu*, *gorriztatu*).

- (12) a. Aitak gela aireztatu du
b. Gela aireztatu da

2.2. Posizio-aldaketa aditzak

Inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia jasan dezakeen beste aditz talde bat posizio-aldaketa aditzena da. Predikatu horietan, barne argumentuak aditzak adierazten duen espazio konfigurazioa hartzen du eta horrela, barne argumentuak nolabaiteko aldaketa jasaten duela ulertzen da (Levin, 1993), 2.1 atalean deskribatutako egoera-aldaketa aditzetan bezalaxe. Sail honetan zerrendatu ditzakegun aditz batzuk hauexek dira: *etzan*, *jaiki*, *eseri/jesarri/jarri*, *altxatu*, *kokatu*, *geratu*, *paratu*. Bestetik, aditzezko testuingurutik kanpo erabil daitezkeen erroak dira: *belaunikatu* (<*belauniko*), *gelditu* (<*geldi*), *zutitu* (<*zutik*), *zintzilikatu* (<*zintzilik*) eta *-ka* atzizkiaz sortutako batzuk (*mailakatu*, *lerrokatu*, *sailkatu*). Erro edo osagai horiek adberbio gisa ere erabiltzen dira.

2.3. Leku-aldaketa aditzak

Leku-aldaketa aditzak dira, egoera-aldaketa aditzekin batera, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia onartzen duten aditz-talderik handiena. Predikatu hauetan, barne argumentuak leku-aldaketa bat jasaten du eta aditzak mugimenduaren norakotasuna edo helmuga adierazten du. Bestelako mugimendu aditzek, hala nola, mugimenduaren modua adierazten dutenek, ez dute oro har horrelako alternantziarik erakusten.

Hemen zerrendatu daitezke aditzezko testuinguruan bakarrik erabiltzen diren predikatu batzuk (*atera*, *joan*, *aldendu*, *amildu*, *arrimatu*, *goititu*, *igan/igo*, *jalgi*, *sortu*). Nolanahi ere, talde honetako aditz gehienen erroek edo barne osagaiek bestelako erabilerak dauzkate aditzezko testuingurutik kanpo: batzuek adberbio gisa (*hurbildu* (<*hurbil*), *urrundu* (<*urrun*)) eta gehienek adlatibo postposizio sintagma gisa (Berro, 2015ab). Azken horietako batzuk zerrendatu ditugu behean.

- (13) *aberriratu*, *adineratu*, *argitaratu*, *aurreratu*, *aitzinatu*, *alboratu*, *alderatu*, *atzera-tu*, *atzerriratu*, *aurpegiratu*, *azaleratu*, *azpiratu*, *barneratu*, *barruratu*, *basoratu*, *bateratu*, *begietaratu*, *bururatu*, *elkarretaratu*, *elizaratu*, *etxeratu*, *itsasoratu*, *le-horreratu*, *mahaigaineratu*, *etab*.

Postposizio instrumentalaren gainean eraikitzen diren aditzek ez bezala, adlatibo postposizioaren gainean sortzen diren aditzak guztiz emankorrak dira eta oro har, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia izaten dute (Oihartzabal, 2003).

- (14) a. Umea oheratu da
 b. Aitak umea oheratu du

Adibideotan ikus daitekeenez, *oheratu* aditzak argumentu bakarra (14a) edo bi (14b) har ditzake. Bietan absolutibo argumentuak leku-aldaketa bat jasaten du, *ohea* helburu duena. (14b) adibidean, leku-aldaketa hori ergatiboz markatutako argumentuak eragin du, arazleak alegia.

3. EUSKARA UNIBERTSO TIPOLOGIKOAN: ADITZ LAGUNTZAILEAREN TXANDAKATZEA

Aztergai dugun inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia (1), ez da, jakina, euskaraz bakarrik agertzen, eta gramatika sortzaileko lanetatik aparte, arreta handia eskaini zaio baita hizkuntza tipologiako lanetan ere. Gure lanak ez du helburu tipologikorik eta hortaz, ez du eremu honetan sakonduko, baina komeni da, euskarak, alternantzia honi dago-kionez, gainerako hizkuntzen artean zein leku betetzen duen zehaztea. Horretarako, Haspelmath-i (1993) jarraituko diogu hurrengo lerrootan.

Inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia hiru motatako egituren bitartez azaltzen da Haspelmath-en arabera (2003, 90-92. orr.). Lehenik, *arazle alternantzia*n, aldaera inkoati-boa da oinarritzko forma (eta hortaz, forma sinplea) eta aldaera arazlea morfologikoki konplexuagoa da. Izatez, aldaera inkoatiboan zein arazlean, aditzek itxura bera dute, baina arazlea konplexuagoa da inkoatiboan baino. Haspelmath-en esanetan, konplexu-tasun hori ager daiteke hizki baten bitartez (15a), aditz arazle batez (15b) edo erroaren aldaketaz (15c).

- | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (15) | a. | Georgiera | <i>duy-s</i> | 'sukaldata (iragg.)' |
| | | | <i>a-duy-eb</i> s | 'sukaldata (iraggk.)' |
| | b. | Frantsesa | <i>fondre</i> | 'desegin (iragg.)' |
| <i>fair fondre</i> | | | 'sukaldata (iraggk.)' | |
| c. | Arabiera | <i>darasa</i> | 'ikasi' | |
| | | <i>darrasa</i> | 'irakatsi' | |
- (Haspelmath, 2003, 91. orr.)

Bigarrenik, *antikausatiboan*, aldaera arazlea da oinarritzkoa eta inkoatiboan mor-fologikoki konplexuagoa da, adibidez, gaztelaniazko *romper* aditzaren aldaera an-tikausatiboan *romperse* da. Antikausatiboan konplexuagoa da, beraz, eta hizki batez (gaztelaniazko *se*) edo antikausatiboan adierazten duen aditz batez zehazten da. Hi-rugarren eta azkenik, *alternantzia norabidegabeak* (ing. *non-directed alternations*) bereizten ditu Haspelmath-ek, eta euren artean, *ekipolenteak*, *supletiboak* eta *ambi-trantsitiboak* (edo *labile*) bereizten ditu. Anbitrantsitiboetan (16a), erro bera erabiltzen

da aldaera inkoatibo zein arazlean; supletiboetan (16b), berriz, aditz erro batek bes-
tea ordezkatzan du;

(16)	a.	Grekeraz	<i>svíno</i>	'kanpora joan'
				'iraungi'
	b.	Errusiera	<i>goret</i>	'erre (iragg.)'
			<i>žeč</i>	'erre (iragg.)'

Ekipolenteetan azkenik, erro bera dugu, baina hizkiez (17a), aditz laguntzailea txan-
dakatur (17b) edo erroaren aldaketaz (17c) bereizten dira bi aldaerak.

(17)	a.	Japoniera	<i>atum-arū</i>	'bildu (iragg.)'
			<i>atum-eru</i>	'bildu (iragg.)'
	b.	Hindiera-urduera	<i>šurū honaa</i>	'hasi (iragg.)'
			<i>šurū karnaa</i>	'hasi (iragg.)'
	c.	Lituaniera	<i>lužti</i>	'apurtu (iragg.)'
			<i>laužti</i>	'apurtu (iragg.)'

(Haspelmath, 2003, 91. orr.)

Kontuan izan Haspelmath estrategia morfologikoez ari dela oro har, hots, inkoa-
tibo/arazle alternantzia hori nola adieraz daitekeen morfologikoki. Hortaz, ondo-
ren euskararen inguruan esango dugunak zerikusia du inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia
adierazteko estrategiekin, ez, jakina, inkoatiboaren edo arazlearen beraren existi-
tzearekin.

Zehaztaper honen ostean, ikus dezagun, bada, unibertso tipologiko honetan, eus-
kara non koka ote daitekeen. Hasteko, euskaraz ez dago halako arazle alternantzia-
rik inkoatibo/arazleei dagokienez. Inori *ikasi* v *irakatsi* bezalakoak gogora baletozkio,
kontuan hartu beharko luke *-ra* hizkia jasotzen duten *arazleak* ez direla gaur egun be-
netako arazleak, ezaguna denez *irakatsi* ez delako *ikasiren* arazlea ezta *erakutsi* *ikusi*-
rena ere (*ikasiren* gaur egungo arazlea *ikasarazi* da eta *ikusirena*, berriz, *ikusarazi*).
Euskaraz, morfema arazlea ez da dagoeneko produktiboa, arabieraz ez bezala (15c).
Bestalde, hemen aztergai ditugun alternantzetan, hots, egoera-aldaketa, posizio-
aldaketa eta leku-aldaketa adierazten duten horietan, ez dago halako *-ra* hizkidun al-
daera arazlerik. Hortaz, ezin daiteke esan arazle alternantzia morfologikoa dagoenik,
ez Haspelmath-en oinarritzko tipologian ezta Nicholson et alii-ren (2004) tipologia
zehatzagoan ere.

Bestalde, euskaraz ez dago ezta alternantzia antikausatiborik ere, hots, ez dago anti-
kausatiboa markatzeko estrategia morfologikorik (gogoratu, lehen esan dugun bezala,
antikausatiboak aldaera inkoatiboa markatzen duela). Beste hizkuntza batzuetan, hala
nola, islandieraz, antikausatiboa adierazteko estrategien artean dago aldaera inkoati-
boa morfema antikausatiboaz adieraztea (Sigurdsson, 2012; Wood, 2015). Euskaraz,
ez dago halakorik eta, guk dakigula behintzat, ezta egon ere.

Alternantzia hau adierazteko, arazle morfologikorik ez badago ezta antikausatiborik ere, Haspelmath-en eta Nichols et alii-ren (2004) tipologietako alternantzia norabidegabeak baino ez zaizkigu gelditzen, eta itxuraz, alternantzia ekipolentea litzateke euskaraz jasotzen dena, hindiera/urdueraz dagoen bera alegia (Haspelmath, 2003)⁴, euskaraz ikusi dugunez, erro bera (*hil*) darabilgulako inkoatibo zein arazlerako, eta aditz laguntzailearen txandakatzeak (*izan* v **edun*) dakarrelako bien arteko bereizketa (*hil da* v *hil du*). Aditz laguntzailearen txandakatzeari dagokionez, Nichols et alii-k (2004, 152. orr.) euskara bera ez ezik, Kaukasoko zenbait hizkuntza eta Ipar Australiako hizkuntzak aipatzen dituzte. Adibidez, Kaukasoko ipar-ekialdeko ingusheraz, *ieghaz-d.uoda* ‘haserretu’ (lit. haserre-joan) v *ieghaz-d.ug* ‘hasererrarazi’ (lit. haserre-eraman) jasotzen da, hots, inkoatibo/arazle alternantziarako euskaraz bezala, aditz laguntzailea txandakatzen da. Nichols et alii-k (2004, 190. orr.) euskarari egozten dizkioten ezaugarri zehatzak gainerako hizkuntzetakoekin konpara daitezke.

Jakina, aditz laguntzailearen txandakatzearekin batera, badira sintaktikoki esanguratsuak diren beste alderdi batzuk, hala nola, argumentu bat (aldaera inkoatiboa) edo bi (aldaera arazlea) izatea; argumentu bakarrari absolutibo kasua ezartzea (aldaera inkoatiboan) eta arazlea den argumentuari eta gaiari, absolutibo eta ergatibo kasuak, ezartzea, hurrenez hurren, dagokien komunztadurarekin batera (aldaera arazlean). Alabaina, hauek ez dira euskarari soilik dagozkion alderdiak, izatez, aldaera inkoatiboan oro har, argumentu bakarra espero dugulako, iragangaitza den aldetik, eta arazlean, berriz, argumentu bi, iragankorra (edo *iragankortua*) delako. Aditz laguntzailea txandakatzea tipologikoki esanguratsua da, baina ez ordea, inkoatiboa argumentu bakarrekoa izatea edo arazlea argumentu bikoia, hori delako, oro har, batetik zein bestetik espero duguna.

Hurbilketa tipologikoa alde batera, gure azterbidean, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia Boz alternantzia ere bada, ondoren ikusiko dugunez, eta Boz alternantzia hori dago zeinahi delarik inkoatibo/arazlea adierazteko estrategia morfologikoa. Euskaraz, hindiera/urdueraz edo ingusheraz bezala, aditz laguntzailea txandakatuz azaltzen da alternantzia, baina mekanismo sintaktiko bera da euskaraz zein bestelako estrategia morfologikoak darabiltzaten hizkuntzetan osatzen dena. Horixe da, behintzat, gure hipotesia. Hurrengo atalean emango diogu erantzun formala euskarak alternantzia honetan erakusten duen hautu tipologikoari eta munduko hizkuntzetan oro har inkoatibo/arazle alternantziari dagokionez azaltzen den mekanismo unibertsalari.

4 Fernando Zuñiga (buruz buru).

4. INKOATIBO/ARAZLE ALTERNANTZIA: AZTERBIDE BAT

4.1. Inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia, Boz alternantzia gisa

Euskaraz inkoatibo/arazle alternantziari orain arte eskaini zaion analisirik osoena Oihartzabalek (2003) eman digu, eta analisi horren oinarriak gure lan honetara ere ekarriko ditugu. Ormazabalen (2008) analisiak ere bere aldetik badu oihartzunik gurean. Nolanahi ere den, guk lan honetan, beste bide berri bat urratu nahi genuke, aspaldion gaiaren inguruan argitaratu diren zenbait lanetatik abiatuz. Lan hauen oinarrian dagoen teoriaren arabera, inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia Boz alternantzia da (Alexiadou, 2010, 2014; Alexiadou et al., 2006, 2015; Wood, 2012, 2015, 2016 beste batzuen artean): Boza islatzen baldin bada eta argumentu bat baldin badu bere espezifikatzaile gunean, aldaera arazlea izango da; oso bestela, Boza islatzen ez bada, edota espezifikatzaile tematikorik ez badu, aldaera inkoatiboa izango da. Alde horretatik, Bozaren eta balizko argumentu tematiko baten islapenak baldintzatuko dute aditzak adierazten duen gertaeraren interpretazioa eta kanpo argumentuak jasotzen duen interpretazio bera ere. Euskaraz ere halaxe dela proposatuko dugu lan honetan. Gainerakoan, beste lan batzuetan, kanpo argumentuari dagokionez proposatu dena, guk ergatibo argumentuaren analisira ere ekarriko dugu Berrori (2015b) jarraituz. Ikusiko dugunez, gure proposamenean ez dago gertaera-egituraren inolako desberdintasunik aldaera arazlearen eta inkoatiboaren artean (Ormazabal, 2008; *cfr.* Pylkkänen, 2002/2008; Oihartzabal, 2003).

Boza izaki kanpo argumentuaren islapena edo islapenik eza baldintzatuko duena, bi *zapore*etakoa (ing. *flavor*) delako ustea izango dugu Wood-ekin (2014, 2015, 2016) bat etorritz.

- (18) a. Bozak_(D) erkatu behar duen D-tasun bat du –sarritan, D kategoriako zerbaitekin batuz Espez,BozS gunean–.
b. Bozak_{ij} ez du D-tasunik, eta ez du espezifikatzailearen beharrik.

(Wood, 2015)

Wood-en proposamena (eta ildo berekoak) ulertzeko berebiziko garrantzia dauka ulertzeak erroek ez dutela berez argumentu egiturekin zerikusia duten egiturazko tasunik. Horregatik, edozein erro edozein egituratan aurki daiteke (Borer, 2005). Alabaina, erroa inguruko ezaugarri sintaktikoen arabera interpretatzen da (Wood, 2016: 2). Gainera, lan honetan Morfologia Banatuan egiten diren lanetan bezala (*e. g.* Marantz 1997, 2001, 2007), erroek kategoriarik ez dutelako ideiatik abiatuko gara eta, hortaz, *apaiztu* edo *handitu* bezalako aditzetan, a txikiaren osagarri gunean ez da izen edo adjektiborik islatuko, ezpada kategoriarik gabeko erro bat.

Hipotesi honi jarraituz, beraz, gure lanari hasiera eman dioten adibideen analisisia ikus daiteke (19) eta (20)an, aldaera iragankor eta inkoatiborako, hurrenez hurren.

- (19) a. Haurrak katua hil du
 b.
-
- (20) a. Katua hil da
 b.
-

Ikusten denez, HIL erro bera agertzen da perpaus txikian eta Boz burua bi zuhaitzetan dago. Alabaina, aldaera arazlean (19), $\text{Bozak}_{\{D\}}$ *haurrak* kanpo argumentua gaineratzen du bere espezifikatzaile gunean, bere D-tasuna erkatuz horrela, eta aldaera inkoatiboan (20), berriz, $\text{Bozak}_{\{\emptyset\}}$ ez du D-tasunik eta ez du, beraz, kanpo argumenturik sartzen. Honi dagokionez, ez dago euskararen eta Wood-ek islandierarako proposatu duen analisiaren arteko alderik, nahiz eta hizkuntza bien artean alderik baden: euskaraz, islandieraz ez bezala, ez dago antikausatiborik, baina badago aditz laguntzailearen txandakatzea, zeina, goian ikusi dugunez, inkoatibo/arazlea adierazteko estrategia tipologikoen artean dagoen. Analisi sintaktikoak, hortaz, aditz laguntzailearen txandakatzea azaldu behar du *hil da* v *hil du* eratorriko baditu. Honi dagokionez, aditz laguntzailea eratorpenaren arabera dela proposatuko dugu lan honetan. Baldin eta aditz laguntzailea Denb(ora) buruan sortzen bada, orduan $\text{Boza}_{\{\emptyset\}}$ adjunktatzen zaionean, *izan* gisa azalerazten da (*hil da*); aldiz, Denb buruari $\text{Boza}_{\{D\}}$ adjunktatuz gero, *-u-* erroaren bitartez azalerazten da (*hil du*). **Edun*, beraz, aditz laguntzaile eratorria da hurbilketa honetan.

4.2. Inkoatibo/arazle alternantziarik gabeko errorik ba ote?

Goian (2. atala) deskribatu ditugu euskaraz inkoatibo/arazle alternantzian parte har dezaketen erroak (*i. e.* egoera-, posizio- eta leku-aldaketa aditzetako erroak) eta erro horiek aditzaz gain, har dezaketen bestelako kategoria zein den kontuan hartuta sailkatu ditugu. Alabaina, mintzagai dugun gaiari dagokionez, berebiziko garrantzia duena da ea erro hauek guztiek inkoatibo/arazle alternantzian parte hartzen duten edo ez. Gure galderak hauek dira beraz: ba ote da inkoatibo/arazle alternantziarik gabeko errorik? Ba al da aldaera inkoatiboa bai, baina arazlea ez duen errorik, edo alderantziz, arazlea duen errorik aldaera inkoatiboa izan gabe?

Jakina, goian deskribatu ditugun aditzek printzipioz aldaera bat zein bestea (eta hortaz, alternantzia) erakusten dute, baina batzuek badirudi bi aldaeretatik bat baino ez dutela (eta ondorioz, alternantziarik ez) –ikus baita Ormazabal (2008, 645. orr.)–. Adibidez, *Egungo Euskararen Hiztegia* (EEH), edo Elhuyarren hiztegia joaz, *ureztatu* aditzari dagokionez, batek zein besteak *du* dela adierazten dute (**edun* aditz laguntzaile iragankorraren aipamena eginez), hots, aldaera arazlea baino ez dutela pentsarazten dute. Hala egiten dute baita *garaztatu* edo *ihinzatu* aditzekin ere. *Nola erran* hiztegiak (NE), bere aldetik, aditz iragankortzat jotzen du, baxenafar-lapurterazko tradizioko *urtatu* bezalaxe. Alternantziarik ez duen errotzat hartu beharko genuke, beraz, *ureztatu* (eta *garaztatu* eta *ihinzatu*), hiztegi horietara begira bederen. Alabaina, adibidez, *Ereduzko Prosa Gaur* (EPG) corpusera joaz –kontuan izan EEH corpus honetan oinarritzen dela–, badira tarteka, aldaera inkoatiboa (hots, *da*) erakusten duten adibideak, hala nola, ondokoak:

- (21) a. Lur arin eta gozoak erraz ureztatu daitezke ibaiko urekin (Lierni Arrieta, «Ebroren igitziak», 2003/09/07, *Argia*, 1910)
 b. Jabetzan hartzera zoazten lurraldea, berriz, bere mendi eta ibarrekin, *zeruko euriz* ureztatzen da (Askoren artean, *Elizen arteko biblia*, 2004, Dt 11,11)

Hau bezalako agerraldiak ez dira beharbada oso sarriak izango (ez dugu hemen maiztasun aldetiko azterketa egin ezta egin asmorik ere), baina kualitatiboki esanguratsuak dira bi alderditatik gutxienez: batetik, aldaera inkoatiboa erakusten dute, hots, hiztegiek jasotzen ez dutena, eta beste alde batetik, modifikatzaile bana erakusten dute, (21a) adibideak *ibaiko urekin*, komitatibo sintagma (*-kin*) eta (21b) adibideak, berriz, *zeruko euriz*, instrumentala (*-z*). Luze joko luke eta azterketa beregaina mereziko luke komitatiboak eta instrumentalak kanpo argumentuarekin (viz. ergatiboarekin), eta kasu zehatz honetan, arazlearekin zein zerikusi duen eztabaidatzea, baina kontuan hartu beharra dago (21a,b) adibideetako komitatiboa eta instrumentalak aldaera arazle bateko subjektu gisa ere eman litezkeela (22):

- (22) a. Ibaiko urek lur arin eta gozoak erraz ureztatu ditzakete
 b. Jabetzan hartzera zoazten lurraldea, berriz, zeruko urak ureztatzen du

4.4. atalean ikusiko dugunez, aldaera inkoatiboan (21a,b), indar arazlea postposizio sintagmen bidez adierazi ahal izateak erakusten du aldaera inkoatiboak berak

kausazko esanahia duela, eta hortaz, arazletasuna ez dela bakarrik aldaera arazleko ezaugarria.

EPGn badira, bestalde, egitura iragangaitzaren bestelako agerraldiak, hala nola:

- (23) Baratzeak eskuz ureztatuko dira, eta horretarako hainbat aska egongo dira baratze parte bakoitzean (Iñaki Lasa Etura, «Herritarrentzako baratze sare», *Berria*, 2012/10/24)

Alabaina, hau bezalakoak ezin ditugu inkoatibotzat hartu, inpertsonaltzat baino⁵. Kontuan izan, adibidez, azken adibide honetako instrumentala erreminta gisa hartzen den gorputz atala dela (De Rijk, 2008, 742. orr.), eta (22)n ez bezala, ezin daitekeela arazlea izan:

- (24) *Eskuek baratzeak ureztatuko dituzte

Nolanahi ere den, eta gai nagusira itzuliz, ez da harritzekoa aldaera inkoatiboa agertzea komitatiboarekin edo instrumentalarekin. Gure ustez, testuinguru sintaktiko jakinek (hala nola, indar arazlea adierazten duen komitatiboaren eta instrumentalaren agerpenak) errazten dute aldaera inkoatiboaren agerpena. Oihartzabalek ere, alternantzia bete-betean erakusten duten beste erro batzuekin, hala nola, *berdeturekin*, (21,22) bezalakoak ere jasotzen ditu, goian (10) adibideetan erakutsi dugunez. Beraz, itxuraz alternantziarik ez duten erroek ere alternantzia erakuts dezakete testuinguru jakinetan (Rappaport Hovav, 2014; Alexiadou, 2010, 2014; Wood, 2016), eta erakutsi ezean, geroago ikusiko dugunez (4.3), erroek duten Forma Logikoko (FL) interpretazio-jarraibideei zor zaie (eta ez dena delako aditzaren berzko inongo ezaugarri).

Kontrako norabidean ere gerta daiteke dena delako erroak alternantziarik ez erakustea, hots, aldaera inkoatiboa izatea, baina arazlea nekezago onartzea. Oihartzabalek (2003, 241, 18 oin-oharra) aipatzen dituen artean dago *loratu* (edo *loretu*).

- (25) a. % Maiatzeko eguzkiak gereziondoak loratu ditu
b. Gereziondoak loratu dira maiatzeko eguzkiarekin⁶

Loratuk barrutik arazitako gertakaria (ing. *internally caused event*) adierazten du (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995) eta beste hizkuntza batzuetan bezala, nekez

5 Badira inpertsonaltzat hartu ezin daitezkeen beste agerraldi iragangaitz batzuk, hala nola, ondoko zortziko txikian ageri dena: *Ezin bizi gintezke / aterkirik gabe, / Gipuzkoan geratu da / busti bezain grabe / hola jarraitu ezker / galduta bait gaude / ureztatuko gara / landareen pare* (Miriam Juaristi, *Berria*, 2011 azaroak 16). Litekeena da egitura bihurkaria izatea hauxe.

6 Oihartzabalen (2003) adibidea da lehena eta gu hirurona bigarrena.

onartzen dituzte kanpo arazleak⁷, izatez barruko arazleak dituzten erroek (Wood, 2016, 18. orr.). Ez da, hortaz, harrigarria aldaera arazlea onargaitza izatea hitzun batzuentzat. Horregatik, erro honi dagokionez, EEHk *da* dakar (aldaera inkoatiboaren berri emanez) eta NE hiztegiak ere aditz iragangaiztat hartzen du *loratu* adiera honetan; *du* aldaerarako, hots, arazlerako *loretan jarri*, *lozez bete* adierak ematen ditu. *Ereduzko Prosa Gaur* (EPG) corpusetik jaso ditugu aldaera arazle hori erakusten duten zenbait adibide:

- (26) a. Udaberriak baino goizago loratzen du zuhaitza xoriak bere kantuz (Josanton Artze, M. Itzaina, «Jainkoa, bizia, jendea», *Herria*, 2001/08/09, 6. orr.)
 b. Ez dezadan ahantz ere erraiteko Burgaintzi taldea, Amikuzetik komitatuta, bere kantu eta dantzez egun hori loratu duena. (Bego, «Pilota», *Herria*, 2004/09/30, 7. orr.)
 c. Baratze zabalak eskaini aukeraz baliaturik, zizelatutako artelan garaikideek loratzen dutela gunea, soinu, kantu eta dantzen artean eguna pasatzea proposatzen dute (Nora Arbelbide, «Badüzia une poule para vender?», *Berria*, 2006/03/30)

Aldaera arazlea erakusten duten adibide hauetako *loratu* erroak esanahi idiosinkrasikoa du, metaforikoki eraikia baita esanahia, hots, ez da loratze hutsa hemen adierazten dena, batez ere (26b,c) adibideez ari garela, zeinetan Burgaintzi taldeak eguna lortu duen (b), eta artelan garaikideek gunea (c). Hauek eta antzeko adibideak, bai alternantziarik itxuraz ez dutenak bai esanahi idiosinkrasikoak erakusten dituztenak aztertu eta azalduko ditugu hurrengo atalean. Ikusiko dugunez, (26) bezalako agerraldiak *erro-alosemiaren* bidez azal daitezke.

4.3. Erroen interfaze-jarraibideak

Jo dezagun, beraz, badirela alternantzia erakusten ez duten erroak, eta erro berak askotariko interpretazioak izan ditzakeela. Halakoak erro-alosemiaren hautapenari egotzi izan zaizkio literaturan (ikus Arad, 2003, 2005, eta bere ildoko lanak, eta berriki Anagnostopoulou & Samioti, 2014 eta Wood, 2016 beste batzuen artean).

⁷ Barrutik arazitako gertakariak adierazten dituzten aditzak alternantzia arazlean ere ager daitezke, berriki McKoon & Macfarland-ek (2000), Wright-ek (2001, 2002) eta Alexiadou-k (2014) erakutsi duten bezala. Nolanahi ere, murriztapen gehiago dauzkate kanpo argumentuari dagokionez. Kanpotik arazitako gertakariak adierazten dituzten aditzetan, kanpo argumentua egilea izan daiteke arazle izateaz batera (i), baina barrutik arazitako aditzetan, kanpo argumentua egonez gero, arazle soila izan behar da, inolako egiletasunik gabea (ii).

- (i) a. Atea zabaldu da
 b. Jon-ek atea zabaldu du (Jon = egilea/arazlea)
 (ii) a. Landarea loratu da
 b. *Jon-ek landarea loratu du (Jon = egilea/arazlea)
 c. %Udaberriak landarea loratu du (Udaberria = egilea/arazlea)

Lan honetan ez dugu murriztapen honetaz jardungo. Besterik gabe, loratze esanahia mantentzen duen *loraturen* aldaera arazlea bazterrekotzat joko dugu.

Atal honetan, lau kasu aztertuko ditugu eta proposamen bateratu bat egingo dugu. Lehenik eta behin, aldaera inkoatiboan bakarrik ager daitezkeen aditzak arakatuko ditugu (*e. g. etorri, erori*). Bigarrenik, kontrako kasuak aztertuko ditugu, hots, aldaera arazlea besterik ez duten aditzak (*e. g. ekarri, atxilotu, legeztatu*). Hirugarrenik, *loratu* aditza arakatuko dugu. 4.2 atalean ikusi dugunez, *loratuk* aldaera inkoatiboa bakarrik onartzen du oro har, baina egitura arazlean ere ager daiteke, baldin eta esanahi idio-sinkrasikoa jasotzen badu. Laugarren eta azkenik, *ureztatu* aditzaren jokabidea aztertu eta azalduko dugu. *Ureztatuk* egitura arazlea izaten du gehienetan, baina inkoatiboa ere onar dezake, egoera-aldaketaren arazlea komitatibo edo instrumental sintagma baten bidez azaleratzen bada –ikus 4.2–.

Kasuon azterbidea, Harley (2014) eta Wood (2016) lanetan sustraitzen da. Morfologia Banatuan, erroak eduki fonologikorik eta semantikorik gabe sartzen dira sintaxian (*e. g. Halle & Marantz, 1993, 1994; Harley & Noyer, 1999; Embick & Noyer, 2007*). Informazio hori sintaxiaren ondoren gaineratzen da. Horretarako, Harley-k (2014) eta Wood-ek (2016) proposatu dutenaren arabera, erro bakoitzak sintaxi ondorengo jarraibide zerrenda bat dauka, Forma Fonetiko (FF) eta FL interfazeetan haren zer egin behar den zehazten dutenak. Erroen *interfaze-jarraibideak* dira. Jarraibide hauek finkatzen dute, besteak beste, erroek izango duten interpretazioa. Erro batek interpretazio bat baino gehiago izan ditzake egitura sintaktikoaren arabera, edo gerta liteke erro batek interpretaziorik ez edukitzea egitura sintaktiko jakin batean. Lan honetan, erroen ikuspegi hori abiapuntutzat hartuko dugu, eta berriki aipatutako kasuak azalduko ditugu banan-banan: aldaera inkoatiboa edota arazlea onartzen ez duten aditzak (*e. g. erori, ekarri, legeztatu*) aztertuko ditugu 4.3.1 atalean, eta 4.3.2 atalean, aldaera arazlea edota inkoatiboa esanahi jakin batekin edo testuinguru sintaktiko zehatz batekin bakarrik onartzen dituzten aditzak, *i. e. loratu* eta *ureztatu*, arakatuko ditugu.

4.3.1. Aldaera inkoatiboa edota arazlea onartzen ez dutenak

Goian (4.1) dagoeneko esan dugunez, Boza bi zaporetan ager daiteke sintaxian –(18) errepikatzen dugu hemen–:

- (27) a. Bozak_[D] erkatu behar duen D-tasun bat du –sarritan, D kategoriako zerbaitekin batuz Espez,BozS gunean–.
b. Bozak_[0] ez du D-tasunik, eta ez du espezifikatzailearen beharrik.
(Wood, 2015).

Bozak_[D] eta Bozak_[0] Kratzerren (1996) bi Boz buruei dagozkie, alegia, aditz iragankorretako Bozari eta aditz iragangaitzetako Bozari, hurrenez hurren. Euskaraz ere bi bertso horiek daudela proposatuko dugu hemen. 4.1. atalean adierazi dugun bezala, aldaera inkoatiboan, Boza_[0] islatzen da, hau da, D-tasunik gabeko funtzio burua. Aldaera arazlean, ordea, Boza_[D] dago, eta horren ondorioz, Bozaren espezifikatzaile gunean D-tasuna duen argumentu bat islatu behar da.

Bestalde, esana dugu dagoeneko erro guztiek dituztela interfaze-jarraibideak. Horrek esan nahi du eratorpen sintaktikoan erroak ahoskatzera bidaltzen direnean, jarraibide

horiek bete behar direla, bai FFn bai FLn. Esate baterako, Harley-ren (2014) arabera, ingelesezko *throw* ‘bota’ aditzak honako zehaztapenak dauzka (28).

- (28) a. FFko jarraibideak b. FLko jarraibideak
 $\sqrt{_{77}} \Leftrightarrow /θrow/$ $\sqrt{_{77}} \Leftrightarrow \langle \text{«botaka egin»} / [a \text{ } [\text{ } ______] \text{ } [up]_p]]_{as}$
 $\Leftrightarrow \langle \text{«tapaki arina»} / [i \text{ } [\text{ } ______]]$
 {bestelako adierak beste testuinguru batzuetan...}
 $\Leftrightarrow \langle \text{«throw»} / \text{nonahi}$

Goian esan dugun bezala, erroak sintaxian sartzen direnean, ez dute eduki semantikorik ezta fonologikorik ere. Horregatik, indizeak erabiltzen ditugu erroak behar bezala bereizteko sintaxian ($\sqrt{_{77}}$, $\sqrt{_{25}}$, $\sqrt{_{37}}$ etab.), hainbat lanetan egiten den bezala (Pfau, 2000, 2009; Acquaviva, 2008; Harley, 2014). FFn, $\sqrt{_{77}}$ erroak /θrow/ ahoskera dauka. FLn, erroaren interpretazioa inguruko egitura sintaktikoaren araberrakoa da. a txikiaren eta *up* partikularen testuinguruan, ‘botaka egin’ esanahia dauka. Bestalde, i(zena) ren eremuan, aldiz, ‘tapaki zuria’ adierazten du, eta azkenik, gainerako testuinguru guztietan, ‘bota’ esan nahi du.

Wood-ek (2016) islandierarako egin duen bezala, euskarazko arazle/inkoatibo alternantziako aldaera baten gabezia erroen interfaze-jarraibideen bidez azalduko dugu. Beraz, proposatuko dugu *eror* bezalako erro batek honako interfaze-jarraibideak dauzkala:

- (29) a. FFko jarraibideak b. FLko jarraibideak
 $\sqrt{_{25}} \Leftrightarrow /eror/$ $\sqrt{_{25}} \Leftrightarrow \langle \text{«beherantz joan»} / [Boza_{\emptyset} [a \text{ } [\text{ } ______]]_{aS}]_{BozS}$
 $\sqrt{_{25}} \Leftrightarrow \langle \text{«goibeldu»} /$
 $[Boza_{\emptyset} [a \text{ } bihotza/gogoa [\text{ } ______]]_{aS}]_{BozS}$

Arazle/inkoatibo alternantzia agertzen diren aditz erroek bi egituretan interpretatu ahal izateko, bi testuinguruak egon behar dira zerrendatuta interfaze-jarraibideetan. *Handi* erroak, adibidez, horrelako interfaze-jarraibideak izango lituzte:

- (30) a. FFko jarraibideak b. FLko jarraibideak
 $\sqrt{_{37}} \Leftrightarrow /andi/$ $\sqrt{_{37}} \Leftrightarrow \langle \text{«neurri handia»} / [adj [\text{ } ______]]_{adjS}$
 $\sqrt{_{37}} \Leftrightarrow \langle \text{«handiago bihurtu»}$
 $/ [Boza_{\emptyset} [a \text{ } [\text{ } ______]]_{aS}]_{BozS}$
 $\sqrt{_{37}} \Leftrightarrow \langle \text{«zerbait handiago egin»} / [Boza_{\{D\}}$
 $[a \text{ } [\text{ } ______]]_{aS}]_{BozS}$

Handik ezaugarri bat adierazten du adj buruaren aldamenean; a txikiaren ondoan, aldiz, gertaera bat adierazten du, eta gertaera hori desberdina da Bozaren zaporearen arabera. Boza_∅ ren ondoan, *handik* adierazten du «handiago bihurtu»; Boza_{D} ren ondoan, ordea, argumentu egile edo arazle batek eragindako gertaeratzat interpretatzen da, hots, «zerbait handiago egin». Beraz, *handi* egitura inkoatiboan (hau da, Boza_∅ ren testuinguruan) zein egitura arazlean (alegia, Boza_{D} ren testuinguruan) ager daiteke, bi egiturak interpreta daitezkeelako FLn.

kasurako esango dugu ergatibo argumentuaren arazle adiera egitura sintaktikotik eratortzen dela, eta hortaz, ergatiboa argumentuaren interpretazioa konfigurazioaren arabera zehazten dela (ikus horrelako analisi baterako, Berro, 2015b).

Aditzak zati txikiagotan bana daitezkeela aspaldiko ideia da (e. g. Lakoff, 1965; Dowty, 1979; Jackendoff, 1990 beste askoren artean). Esate baterako, *hil* arazlea (*kill* ingelesez) *hil-arazi* (*cause to die*) osagaietan bana daiteke, eta *hil* inkoatiboa (*die*) beste bi osagaitan, hots, *hil bilakatu* (*become dead*); azken egoera adierazten duen osagaia (*hil-dead*) eta gertaera bera (*bilakatu-become*). Osagai banaketa horretan oinarrituz, tradiziozko lan gehienetan (e. g. Dowty, 1979), aldaera arazleak eta aldaera inkoatiboak azpigerakari egitura desberdina dutela proposatu izan da:

- (41) a. *hil* inkoatiboa: [BIHURTU [y <EGOERA_{hil}>]]
 b. *hil* arazlea: [x ARAZI [BIHURTU [y <EGOERA_{hil}>]]]

Gertakari egitura syntaxian islatzen dela (Hale eta Keyser, 1993 *et seq.*) asumituz, lan batzuetan, aldaera arazlean, inkoatiboan ez dagoen buru bat –arazle burua– islatzen dela proposatu izan da (hala nola Pykkänen, 2008 [2002]; Cuervo, 2003 eta Oihartzabal, 2003 euskararako). Alabaina, 4.1 atalean esan dugun bezala, lan honetan ez dugu uste aldaera inkoatiboa eta arazlea gertaera egiturari dagokionez bereizten direnik (Ormazabal, 2008). 2 eta 4.2 ataletan ikusi dugunez, aldaera inkoatiboak, *berdetu* eta *ureztaturenak* adibidez, bateragarriak dira indar arazlea adierazten duten postposizio sintagmekin. Horrek erakusten du aldaera inkoatiboek ere arazitako egoerak adieraz ditzaketela, eta hortaz, arazletasunik ez zaiela falta. Alexiadou-k (2010), Alexiadou et alli-k (2006, 2015) horrelako grekerazko eta ingelesezko adibideak erabiltzen dituzte, besteak beste, aldaera inkoatiboak arazlearen gertaera-egitura bera duela esateko.

- (42) a. The water on the surface gets warm from the sun.
 b. My problem is that my den gets cold from the cold air in the garage.
 (Alexiadou et al., 2015, 49. orr.)

(42a,b) adibideetan, *from the sun* ‘eguzkiarekin’ (lit. ‘eguzkitik’) eta *from the cold air in the garage* ‘garajeko haize hotzarekin’ (lit. ‘haize hotzetik’) preposizio sintagmek egoera aldaketan (*i. e.* *get warm* ‘berotu’ eta *get cold* ‘hotzitu’) indar arazleak adierazten dituzte. Hortaz, ezin esan daiteke aldaera inkoatibo horietan arazletasunik ez dagoenik. Aldaera arazleetan arazle buru bat dagoela proposatzen den lanetan, ezin da azaldu nola diren zilegi horrelako preposizio sintagmak, izan ere, aldaera inkoatiboan ez legoke arazle bururik eta ondorioz, ezingo litzateke sortu preposizio sintagma horiekin bateragarria den esanahi arazlerik.

Horregatik guztiagatik, Alexiadou et alli-ren (2005, 2015) lanetan esandakoa on-tzat hartuko dugu: alternantzia honetako aldaera biak, alegia, aldaera inkoatiboa eta aldaera arazlea, berdinak dira gertaera egiturari dagokionez. Bietan dago a txiki bat eta bakarra (*cfr.* Ramchand, 2008), gertaera bat adierazten duena. Arazle/inkoatibo alternantzia, beraz, ez da gertakari egituraren alternantzia, baizik eta Boz alternantzia (Alexiadou, 2010; Alexiadou et al., 2015; Wood, 2015, 2016). Lanean zehar proposatu

dugun bezala, aldaera arazlea sortzen da Bozak argumentu bat hartzen duenean bere espezifikatzaile gunean. Bozak ez duenean espezifikatzailearik, aldaera inkoatiboa sortzen da.

Arazle bururik ez badago gertakari egituran, sortzen den galdera bat da ea nola lortzen duen ergatibo argumentuak behar duen interpretazioa, hots, arazlearena. Atal honetan galdera hori erantzuten saiatuko gara. Wood-ek (2012) eta Berrok (2015b) egin bezala, kanpo argumentuaren interpretazioa Bozaren osagarriaren interpretazioarekin hertsiki lotuta dagoela proposatuko dugu: zehazki, ergatibo argumentuak arazle adiera lortzen du, baldin eta Bozaren osagarri gunean kausazko gertaera bat badago.

$$(43) \quad \llbracket \text{Boza} \rrbracket \leftrightarrow \lambda x_e. \exists e_s. \text{kausazko gertaera}(e). \text{arazlea}(x, e)$$

Bozak ez ditu, izatez, arazle argumentuak sartzen. Besterik gabe, osagarri gunean duen gertaerarekin gertaera-identifikazioa egiten du eta argumentu bat gaineratzen du gertaera horri loturik. Halaber, kasu jakin batean, hots, osagarri duen gertaera kausazkoa denean, Bozaren espezifikatzaileak arazle rola izango du, (43)n ikus daitekeen moduan.

Alabaina, gure analisiaren arabera, syntaxian ez da arazle bururik islatzen, eta hortaz, kausazko interpretazioa beste nolabait azaldu beharra dago. Alexiadou et alii-ren (2005, 2015) ildotik (ikus baita ere Ramchand, 2008 eta Berro, 2015b antzeko ideietarako), proposatuko dugu arazletasuna a txikia osagai egoeradun batekin bat egiten duenean sortzen dela.

$$(44) \quad \text{Baldin eta } \exists e, \exists s [\text{gertaera}(e) \wedge \text{egoera}(s) \wedge e \rightarrow s], \text{ orduan kausazko gertaera}(e)$$

(44)k honako esanahi hau dauka hitzez: baldin eta gertaera bat badago eta egoera bat badago, eta gertaerak egoera eragiten badu, orduan gertaera kausazko gertaeratzat interpretatuko da⁹. Ergatibo argumentuari dagokionez, kausazko gertaera bat baldin badago, gainean gaineratzen den Bozaren espezifikatzaileak –alegia, ergatibo argumentuak– arazle rola hartuko du.

Horrenbestez, proposamen honekin arazle rola edo kausazko interpretazioa ez da oinarritzen syntaxi buru jakin batzuetan, syntaxi konfigurazio osoan baino.

5. ONDORIOAK

Lan honetan euskararen inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia aztertu dugu. Erakutsi dugunez, alternantzia horretan parte hartzen duten aditzen artean daude egoera-, posizio- eta leku-aldaketa adierazten dutenak. Euskaraz, beste hizkuntza batzuetan ez bezala, ez

⁹ Osagai egoeraduna dagoen ala ez erroak berak baldintzatzen du. Harley-ren (2005) arabera, erroak gertaerak edota egoerak izenda ditzakete. Kausazko gertaeren kasuan, erroek egoerak izendatzen dituzte.

dago ez aldaera arazlea adierazteko morfema arazlerik ezta aldaera inkoatiboa markatzeko antikausatiborik. Oso bestela, euskaraz, aditz laguntzailearen txandakatzean (*izan* v **edun*) datza alternantzia, adibidez inghusera kaukasiar hizkuntzan bezala.

Lanean proposatu dugu inkoatibo/arazle alternantzia hori Boz alternantzia dela azken batean: aldaera inkoatiboan Boza₀, hots, D-tasunik gabeko funtzio burua islatzen dela aldarrikatu dugu; aldaera arazlean, berriz, Boza_(D), Bozaren espezifikatzaile gunean D-tasuna duen argumentu bat gaineratzera dakarrena. Bestalde, aldaeretako baten gabezia, FLko interfaze-jarraibideei egotzi diegu, Wood-ek (2016) islandierarako bezala. Azkenik, erro baten ezohiko aldaera, hala nola, *loraturen* aldaera arazlea, esanahi metaforikoarekin lotu dugu edo *ureztaturen* aldaera inkoatiboa testuinguru jakin batekin, eta bata zein bestea erro-alosemiaren bitartez azaldu dugu.

Hemen plazaratzen dugun hipotesi sortak izango du zer hobetua gerora begira, baina erroen teoriak azalduko ditu agian, orain artean ez gramatika teoria orokorrak ez euskaraz gramatikak azaldu ez dituen zirrikituak. Izan bedi hau bide horretan urrats berri bat horren maitea dugun bide urratzaileari segika.

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Word order and syntactic asymmetries in Basque modal constructions

Hitz hurrenkera eta asimetria sintaktikoak euskararen egitura modaletan

Orden de palabras y asimetrías sintácticas en las construcciones modales del euskara

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ABSTRACT

This work focuses on a subset of modal constructions in Basque: those involving the necessity modal *behar* ('need/must'/'have to'). *Behar* can take either a DP or an uninflected clause as its complement. Uninflected clauses can, in some varieties of Basque, naturally occur preceding or following the predicate. Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009) show that the differences in word order correlate with a number of intriguing syntactic asymmetries. In this paper, we extend the relevant observations to include modal stacking, as well as the effect of complement-internal left peripheral elements in the availability of agreement with the matrix auxiliary, which we show to be different for Person and Number agreement.

Keywords: modal predicates; *need/have to*; word order alternations; person vs. number agreement; Basque.

LABURPENA

Behar izenetik eratorritako predikatu modalek izaera desberdineko osagarriak har ditzakete euskaraz, tartean jokaturabeko perpausak. Zenbait hizkeratan jokaturabeko perpaus horiek predikatuaren aurretik zein ondotik ager daitezke. Etxepare eta Uribe-Etxeberriaren lanaren haritik (2009), erakutsiko dugu jokaturabeko perpausak posizio aldetik erakusten duten aldakortasuna lotua dela asimetria sintaktiko jakingarri zenbaitekin: predikatuaren aurretik edo ondotik agertzeak ondorioak ditu besteak beste komuntaduran, predikatu modalen orden erlatiboan, eta ezker periferiako elementuak predikatu modalaren osagarrian agertzeko posibilitatean.

Gako hitzak: modu predikatuak; *behar*; hitzorden alternantziak; pertsona vs. zenbaki komuntadura; euskara.

RESUMEN

Los predicados modales derivados del nombre *behar* «necesidad» en euskara pueden tomar complementos de tipo nominal o clausal, y entre estos últimos, cláusulas de infinitivo. Estas cláusulas de infinitivo pueden además aparecer por delante o por detrás del predicado modal en algunas variedades del euskara. Etxepare y Uribe-Etxebarria (2009) muestran que estas diferencias en el orden relativo de predicado y complemento clausal dan lugar a una significativa serie de asimetrías sintácticas. En este artículo, extendemos las observaciones realizadas en aquel trabajo incluyendo datos referidos a la acumulación de predicados modales, la disponibilidad de elementos pertenecientes a la periferia izquierda, y las relaciones de concordancia.

Palabras clave: predicados modales; *deber/necesitar*, alternancias en el orden de palabras; concordancia de persona vs. número; euskara.

1. THE SYNTACTIC CONFIGURATIONS OF THE BASQUE MODAL PREDICATE *BEHAR*. 2. THE RELATIVE ORDER OF THE MODAL PREDICATE AND ITS COMPLEMENT. 2.1. The order *uninflected clausal complement-modal predicate*. 2.2. The order *modal predicate-uninflected clausal complement*. 3. RELATIVE ORDER, AGREEMENT AND INTERVENTION EFFECTS. 4. PERSON VERSUS NUMBER AGREEMENT. 5. CONCLUSIONS. 6. REFERENCES.

1. THE SYNTACTIC CONFIGURATIONS OF THE BASQUE MODAL PREDICATE *BEHAR*¹

As illustrated in (1), the modal predicate *behar izan* (‘need’/‘must’/‘have to’) behaves as a regular transitive verb: it takes ergative subjects, nominal complements with absolutive case, and transitive auxiliaries.

- (1)
- (Ni-k_{ERG}) [aldizkari hori]-Ø_{ABS} behar dut
(I-ERG) journal that-ABS need AUX[3sgA-1sgE]
‘I need that journal’

As is the case with regular transitive clauses, the auxiliary verb in (1) agrees both with the subject and the object of the predicate. Thus, if we change the subject and the object in (1), the auxiliary shows a different agreement pattern, as illustrated in (2) and (3).

- (2)
- Zuek_{ERG} [aldizkari horiek]-Ø_{ABS} behar dituzue
You(pl) journals those-ABS need AUX[3plA-2plE]
‘You guys need those journals’

1 In the glosses, E/ERG stands for ergative, A/ABS for absolutive, D/DAT for dative, BEN for beneficiary, GEN for genitive, LOC for locative, ALA for alative, *sg* for singular, PL for plural, *det* for determiner, NOM for nominalizer, *imp* for imperfect, *irr* for irrealis, INF for infinitival/uninflected clause, SC for small clause and PTC for particle.

- (3) Ni-k_{ERG} zu-Ø_{ABS} behar zaitut
 I-ERG you-ABS need AUX[2sgA-1sgE]
 'I need you'

Following the general pro-drop character of the language, the arguments of *behar* *izan* can be dropped.

- (4) a. Ni-k_{ERG} [aldizkari horiek]-Ø_{ABS} behar ditut
 I-ERG journals those-ABS need AUX[3plA-1sgE]
 'I need those journals'
- b. pro_{ERG} pro_{ABS} behar ditut
 PRO PRO need AUX[3plA-1sgE]
 'I need them'
- (5) a. Zu-k_{ERG} ni-Ø_{ABS} behar nauzu
 You-ERG I-ABS need AUX[1sgA-2sgE]
 'You need me'
- b. pro_{ERG} pro_{ABS} behar nauzu
 You-ERG I-ABS need AUX[1sgA-2sgE]
 'You need me'

Behar (izan) (henceforth, *behar*) thus seems to behave as a regular transitive verb.

In addition to nominal complements, the transitive predicate *behar* can also take uninflected clausal complements² as illustrated in (6), where the infinitival clause precedes the modal predicate.

- (6) (Ane-k) etxe-ra joan behar du
 Ane-ERG house-ALA go need AUX[3sgA-3sgE]
 'Ane needs to/must/has to go home'

Notice that in (6) *behar* also functions as a transitive modal verb. Although the verb of the uninflected complement of *behar* is an unaccusative predicate (*joan* 'go'), the auxiliary selected in (6) is transitive (*du*) and the matrix subject bears ergative case (-*k*). This is otherwise impossible in Basque. Thus, unless *behar* is present, the unaccusative verb *joan* ('go') can never take transitive auxiliaries or ergative subjects, as shown in (7), which is ungrammatical in Basque.

2. In this paper we will use the term *clausal* in a loose way, as a mere terminological device to distinguish DP complements from complements with a more complex structure and an embedded predicate. For a detailed discussion of the internal structure of the modal complement, see Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009, 2012).

- (7) *
- (Ni-k)

joan

dut
- I-ERG

go

AUX[3sgA-1sgE]
- 'I have gone'

We therefore conclude that in (6) the transitive auxiliary *du* is selected by *behar*, and not by the embedded verb *etorri* ('come'). We take this as evidence that *behar* projects its own thematic structure (see Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria, 2012 for details)³.

As shown in (8), in addition to intransitive complements, *behar* can also take uninflected complements headed by a transitive predicate.

- (8)
- Ni-k_{ERG}

liburu-a-Ø_{ABS}

irakurri

behar

dizut
- I-ERG

book-DET-ABS

read

need

AUX[3sgA-2sgD-1sgE]
- 'I need/must to read the book to you'

Notice that in this case the matrix auxiliary agrees both with the matrix ergative subject (*nik* 'I_{ERG}') as well as with the embedded arguments (the absolutive complement *liburua*, 'the book'_{ABS}, and the dative argument *zuri* 'you'_{DAT}).

2. THE RELATIVE ORDER OF THE MODAL PREDICATE AND ITS COMPLEMENT

Although in all the examples introduced in the previous section where *behar* takes an uninflected complement this complement precedes *behar*, clausal complements, unlike DP complements, can naturally occur both preceding and following the modal predicate

3 The modal structure exemplified in (6), where *behar* behaves as a transitive verb selecting an ergative subject and a transitive auxiliary, coexists and contrasts with an alternative structure, illustrated in (i) below. Note that (i) is parallel to (6), but in this case the subject surfaces with absolutive case and the auxiliary is intransitive.

(i)

(Ane-Ø_{ABS})

etxe-ra

joan

behar

da

Ane-ABS

house-ALA

go

need

AUX[3sgA]

Ane needs to/must/has to go home'

(i) is a case of reanalysis, in which the modal predicate presumably lexicalizes a functional head, and auxiliary selection corresponds to the embedded lexical verb. Balza (2010, 2018) analyses these cases as instances of functional restructuring, an analysis that we assume here. In this paper, we leave aside this type of structures and concentrate in those modal structures where *behar* behaves as a transitive predicate.

in many Basque varieties⁴. Thus, the modal structure under analysis allows for two different configurations, which we illustrate in (9-10), depending on the relative word order between the modal predicate and its clausal complement.

- (9) Lehenago etorri behar duzu
 earlier come need AUX[3sgA-2sgE]
 'You must come earlier'
- (10) Behar duzu lehenago etorri
 need AUX[3sgA-2sgE] earlier come
 'You must come earlier'

2.1. The order *uninflected clausal complement-modal predicate*

The orders in which the modal complement precedes the modal predicate present properties which are typical of restructuring contexts (see Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria, 2009). Thus, the auxiliary agrees in person and number with all the arguments of the embedded non-finite clause, and this agreement is obligatory, as shown below. Consider (11):

- (11) (Zu-k_{ERG}) [horrelako aldizkari-ak]-Ø_{ABS} erosi behar zenituzke
 You-ERG this-way-GEN journal-DET.PL.-ABS buy need AUX.IRR[3plA-2sgE]
 'You would need to read books like these'

In (11) the auxiliary verb *zenituzke* shows agreement both with the ergative subject (*zu* 'you') and the absolutive DP (*aldizkariak* 'journals'), the complement of *erosi* 'to buy'. As shown in (12a), if we add a third argument, like a dative DP (an argument of the embedded predicate), the main auxiliary also has to agree with it. If the auxiliary fails to agree with any of the embedded arguments, the result is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (12b-c).

4 The varieties that we take into consideration here correspond roughly to the area encompassing Irun, Erreterria and Oiartzun (see also Balza, 2018). These are not the only varieties in which sequences like (10) are possible. Such sequences are also frequent in Eastern varieties, for instance. But in the relevant speech of this area, the rightward construction of modal predicates is one among many others, which are not necessarily associated with modality. As shown by Haddican (2005) for instance, it is typical of Oiartzun Basque to have rightward constructions with a dummy *egin* 'do', which are reminiscent of the modal constructions in the sense that they also seem to project an independent predicate. In these varieties, sequences like (ia,b) coexist with the ones in (10):

- (i) a. Jon in da berandu etorri
 Jon done AUX[3sgA] late arrive
 'Jon arrived late'
- b. Jone-k in du berandu etorri
 Jon-ERG done AUX[3sgA-3sgE] late come
 'Jon arrived late'

This may be a relevant fact when we compare the data here with data coming from other varieties in which surface sequences like (10) are also possible. See Balza (2018) for corpus related data on this issue. For a sample of the Basque of Irun see Alzola (1994). We will not address here the issue of why uninflected complements to the right and to the left of the modal predicate can have different sizes and involve different structures. Also, although the uninflected clausal complements to the right of the modal predicates are usually interpreted as involving focalization, here we will leave aside many issues concerning information structure. For related discussion on word order and modals, see Etxepare and Haddican (2017).

- (12) a. (Zu-k_{ERG}) Mattin-i_{DAT} [horrelako aldizkariak]-Ø_{ABS} erosi behar
 You-ERG Mattin-DAT that-way-GEN journal-DET.PL.-ABS buy need
 zenizkioke
 AUX[3plA-3sgD-2sgE]
 'You would need to buy journals like these to Mattin'
- b. *(Zu-k_{ERG}) Mattin-i_{DAT} [horrelako aldizkariak]-Ø_{ABS} erosi behar
 You-ERG Mattin-DAT that-way-GEN journal-DET.PL.-ABS buy need
 zenioke
 AUX.IRR[3sgA-3sgD-2sgE]
 'You would need to buy journals like these to Mattin'
- c. *(Zu-k_{ERG}) Mattin-i_{DAT} [horrelako aldizkariak]-Ø_{ABS} erosi behar
 You-ERG Mattin-DAT that-way-GEN journal-DET.PL.-ABS buy need
 zenituzke
 AUX.IRR[3plA-2sgE]
 'You would need to buy journals like these to Mattin'

(12b) is bad because the main auxiliary doesn't show number agreement with the embedded object (the form *zenioke* shows singular agreement with the embedded object, which is plural and not singular). (12c) is bad because the form *zenituzke* does not show agreement with the embedded dative.

As we would expect from restructuring configurations, this configuration does not admit an independent temporal modifier in the embedded complement. In (13a) the adverb *atzo* ('yesterday') modifies *behar*: the need is thus located in the temporal span that corresponds to *yesterday*. As soon as we add a temporal modifier in the embedded complement, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (13b), where we have added the adverb *gaur* ('today').

- (13) a. Jone-k atzo etxe-an egon behar zuen
 Jone-ERG yesterday home-LOC be need AUX.PAST[3sgA-3sgE]
 'Jon had to/needed to be home yesterday'
- b. *Jone-k atzo gaur etxe-an egon behar zuen
 Jone-ERG yesterday today house-LOC be need AUX.PAST[3sgA-3sgE]
 'Yesterday Jon had to/needed to be home today'

One could argue that the ungrammaticality of (13b) is based on a semantic restriction: the incompatibility of licensing the two adverbials 'yesterday' and 'today' in the same sentence. However, as we will show in the next section, the constraint must be syntactic, as the double adverbial modification is possible when the embedded uninflected «clause» surfaces following, instead of preceding, *behar*. The problem is not adjacency either, as topicalizing one of the adverbs for instance, does not improve the sentence:

- (14) *Atzo, Jone-k gaur etxe-an egon behar zuen
 yesterday Jone-ERG today house-LOC be need AUX.PAST[3sgA-3sgE]
 'Yesterday, Jon had to/needed to be home today'

Complement-modal configurations do not license negation in the embedded complement either. Thus, while a negative embedded complement is possible in other languages, as illustrated by the Spanish and English modal sentences in (15), its Basque counterpart in (16) is totally ungrammatical.

- (15) a. Debes no quedar-te en casa tanto tiempo
must-you neg stay-CL at house so long
'You must not stay at home for such a long time'
b. You must not stay at home alone
- (16) a. *Zu-k [etxe-an **ez** geratu] behar duzu
You-ERG home-LOC NEG stay need AUX[3sgA-2sgE]
'You must not stay at home'
b. *Zuk [**ez** etxe-an geratu] behar duzu
c. *Zuk [etxe-an geratu **ez**] behar duzu

As shown by Irurtzun (2007), focus can be independently licensed in non-finite domains in Basque. In that case, and unlike what happens in finite clauses, adjacency between the focalized element and the verb is not required (from Irurtzun, 2007, p. 163):

- (17) A: [Kepa-k ardoa eda-te-a]-Ø_{ABS} arraroa da
[Kepa-ERG wine drink-NOM-DET]-Ø_{ABS} strange AUX[3sgA]
'It is a strange thing for Kepa to drink wine'
B: Ez, [JULENE-K ardoa eda-te-a]-Ø_{ABS} da gauza arraroa
No, [Julene-ERG wine drink-NOM-DET] AUX[3sgA] thing strange
'No, it is a strange thing for JULENE to drink wine'

The modal construction under analysis does not license focalization within the embedded complement. Compare (18a), an informationally neutral sentence, with (18b), which has focus on the indirect object *Elenari* 'to Elena':

- (18) a. (Gu-k) [Andoni-ri opariak-Ø eman] behar dizkiogu
We-ERG [Andoni-DAT books-ABS give need AUX[3plA-3sgD-1plE]
'We need to give the presents to Andoni'
b. *(Gu-k) [ELENA-RI opariak-Ø eman] behar dizkiogu
We-ERG [Elena-DAT books-ABS give need AUX[3plA-3sgD-1plE]
'We need to give the books to Elena'

Finally, complement-modal configurations present restrictions in modal stacking. Thus, we take (19b) to be sensibly worse than (19a):

- (19) a. Erosi nahi izan behar dugu
buy want be need we.have
'We need to wish to buy it'
b. *Erosi behar izan nahi dugu
buy need be want we.have
'We wish to need to buy it'

(19) raises the question of why modal stacking is impossible in (19b) but possible in (19a). Assuming the problem is not semantic (witness the fact that the English translations are perfectly interpretable), a possible answer comes from Cinque's hierarchy of functional projections, in which necessity modals are shown to occur in a position hierarchically higher than volitional modals (Cinque, 1999, p. 106).

- (20) MoodP*speech act* > MoodP*evaluative* > MoodP*evidential* > ModP*epistemic* > TP(Past) > TP(Future) > MoodP*irrealis* > ModP*alethic* > **ModP*necessity*** > ModP*possibility* AspP*habitual* > AspP*dispositional* > AspP*prepetitive*(I) > AspP*frequentative*(I) > **ModP*volitional*** > AspP*celerative*(I) > TP(Anterior) > AspP*terminative* > AspP*continuative* > AspP*retrospective* > AspP*proximative* > AspP*durative* > AspP*generic/progressive* > AspP*prospective* > ModP*obligation* > ModP*permission/ability* > AspP*completive* > VoiceP > AspP*celerative*(II) > AspP*prepetitive*(II) > AspP*frequentative*(II)

If modal stacking obeys a hierarchy such as the one in (20), we expect the relative order of possibility modals and necessity modals to be fixed too. Necessity modals should dominate possibility modals. This is what we find in Basque, as shown in (21):

- (21) a. Erosi ahal izan behar dugu
buy can be need AUX[3sgA-1plE]
'We must be able to buy it'
b. *Erosi behar izan ahal dugu
buy need be can AUX[3sgA-1plE]
'We are able to buy it'

Finally, by transitivity, we expect that volitional modals will necessarily be below both possibility and necessity modals, as is the case. Any order in which the volitional verb follows either the possibility modal or the necessity modal is impossible:

- (22) a. Erosi nahi ahal izan behar dugu
buy want can be need AUX[3sgA-1plE]
'We need to be able to want to buy it'
b. *Erosi ahal (izan) nahi izan behar dugu
buy can be want be need AUX[3sgA-1plE]
'We need to want to be able to buy it'
c. *Erosi ahal (izan) behar izan nahi dugu
buy can be need be want AUX[3sgA-1plE]
'We want to have to be able to buy it'

Co-occurrence restrictions in modal sequences follow naturally from an expanded Cinquean hierarchy under the assumption that modal verbs are functional heads. But we have seen that Basque necessity and volitional modals do not seem to fall under this category, witness the transitive status of the necessity modal in cases in which the embedded predicate is unaccusative (*cfr.* ex. (6), (9) and (10)). The modal predicate *nahi izan* 'to want' behaves as necessity modals in this regard:

- (23) Etorri nahi du
 come want AUX[3sgA-3sgE]
 'She/he wants to come'

How can we reconcile the transitivity of the modal predicate and the stacking restrictions? In this paper we will only sketch a possible approach. Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2012) propose the following underlying structure for denominal modal constructions: for them, the relation between the modal *behar* and its complement is one that involves a predication relation. Thus, the structure underlying an example like (24a) involves a small clause in which *behar* is the predicate and the clausal complement is the subject. This small clause is selected by a benefactive adposition, which takes the subject of the clause as its external argument. The construction can be intuitively paraphrased as «coming is a necessity for the subject». The adpositional phrase is selected by an intransitive copula, which we characterize as BE:

- (24) a. Etorri behar du
 come must AUX[3sgA-3sgE]
 'He/she needs to come'
 b. ...BE [Subject P_{BEN} [SC [_{InfinP}...etorri_{COME}...] behar_{NEED}]

The analysis is inspired by Harves and Kayne's (2012) analysis of *need*-type denominal modals in English, which also involves an independent nominal predicate *need*. Unlike in Harves and Kayne's analysis though, in Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria's analysis of the Basque denominal necessity modal, the noun *behar* does not incorporate into the higher copula. The structure in (24b) is reminiscent of the modal configurations one can observe in Celtic languages like Irish Gaelic (25a), from Hansen and De Haan, 2009), or Breton (25b), (from Kerrain, 2010, p. 79, *apud* Arbres, see Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria, 2012). In Celtic languages, the nominal predicate expressing necessity occurs right after the finite copula, a position typically reserved to predicates in existential constructions, and the subject of the modal predicate is independently introduced by a benefactive preposition:

- (25) a. Tá feidhm orm teach a thógáil
 be.pres need on.me house PTC build.NOM
 'I have to build a house'
 b. Ret e vo deoc'h kas ho mab d'ar skoll
 obligation P will to.2pl send your son to the school
 'You will have to send your son to school'

In Basque, the benefactive adposition incorporates into the silent copula BE, and this is at the origin of the transitive auxiliary employed in these constructions. In other words, transitivity is not directly related to *behar*, but to the adpositional structure that dominates the predication relation between *behar* and the non-finite clause. Since *behar* does not incorporate, it is free to raise into some functional projection in the higher clause. This functional projection could correspond to Cinque's necessity modal projection in the case of *behar*:

- (26) $[_{\text{MoodNec}} \text{ behar Mood}^0 \dots \text{BE+P} [_{\text{Subject}} (\text{P}_{\text{BEN}}) [_{\text{SC}} [_{\text{InfInP}} \dots \text{etorri} \dots] (\text{behar})]]]$

From that position, the necessity modal *c*-commands the rest of the verbal structure, including other modals that can be embedded in the non-finite clause:

- (27) $[_{\text{MoodNec}} \text{ behar Mood}^0 \dots \text{BE+P} [_{\text{Subject}} (\text{P}_{\text{BEN}}) [_{\text{SC}} [_{\text{InfInP}} \dots [_{\text{MoodVol}} \text{ nahi Mood}_{\text{vol}} \dots] (\text{behar})]]]]]$

The configuration in (27) obeys Cinque's hierarchy, which concerns functional heads. Thus, it is not the direct relation between the noun *behar* and the embedded volitional modal that matters, but rather the scope relation between the higher modal head and the embedded modal head that hosts the volitional noun *nahi* 'wish'. The same goes for the relative order of possibility and necessity modals.

2.2. The order *modal predicate-uninflected clausal complement*

The modal structures with the word order *behar*-infinitival complement present important differences when compared to those analyzed in the previous section, where the modal predicate follows its infinitival complement. Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009) note, for instance, that number agreement becomes optional when the infinitival follows the modal. Compare in this regard the examples in (28a,b), in which the clausal complement follows the modal, and in which both singular and plural agreement with the embedded object are possible, with (29a,b), where the infinitival complement precedes the modal predicate. Within the latter pair of sentences, only the one displaying number agreement with the object is grammatical (29b).

- (28) a. (Ni-k_{ERG}) behar nuke $[_{\text{I-ERG}} \text{ need AUX.IRR}[3\text{sgA-lsgE}] \text{ such-DET.PL.-ABS more.often see}]$
 'I would need/would have to see things like that more often'
 b. (Ni-k_{ERG}) behar nituzke $[_{\text{I-ERG}} \text{ need AUX.IRR}[3\text{plA-lsgE}] \text{ such-DET.PL.-ABS more.often see}]$
 'I would need/would have to see things like that more often'
- (29) a. *(Ni-k_{ERG}) $[_{\text{I-ERG}} \text{ such-DET.PL.-ABS more.often see}]$ $[_{\text{I-ERG}} \text{ need AUX.IRR}[3\text{sgA-lsgE}] \text{ behar nuke}]$
 b. (Ni-k_{ERG}) $[_{\text{I-ERG}} \text{ such-DET.PL.-ABS more.often see}]$ $[_{\text{I-ERG}} \text{ need AUX.IRR}[3\text{plA-lsgE}] \text{ behar nituzke}]$

Besides inducing optional agreement, the modal structure where *behar* precedes its clausal complement also allows for embedded temporal modification (30), as well as for the occurrence of left peripheral elements such as negation or focus in the infinitival dependent (31)-(32):

- (30) Jone-k atzo behar zuen $[_{\text{Jone-ERG}} \text{ yesterday need AUX.PAST}[3\text{sgA-3sgE}] \text{ today house.LOC be}]$
 'Jon needed yesterday to be at home today'

- (31) (Ni-k) behar nuke [hori-Ø_{ABS} **ez** erosi/ahaztu]
 I-ERG need AUX[3sgA-1sgE] [that-ABS NEG buy/forget]
 'I must not buy/forget that'
- (32) a. Behar duzu [ZURE ALABA-RI musu bat-Ø_{ABS} eman]
 Need AUX[3sgA-2sgE] your daughter-DAT kiss one-ABS give
 'You must give a kiss TO YOUR DAUGHTER'
- b. Behar duzu [ZURE ALABA-RI eman musu bat-Ø_{ABS}]
 Need AUX[3sgA-2sgE] your daughter-DAT give kiss one
 'You must give a kiss TO YOUR DAUGHTER'

Note that, as in nominalized clauses, adjacency between the focus and the predicate is not required in (32), with the order modal predicate-infinitival. The negation occurring in (31) is bona fide clausal negation, not constituent negation. This negation for instance, can license n-words in Basque, as shown in (33):

- (33) (Ni-k) behar nuke [deus-Ø_{ABS} (ere) ez erosi]
 I-ERG need AUX.IRR[3sgA-1sgE] anything-ABS even NEG buy
 erosteko adikzio honetatik libratzeko
 buy.NOM.for addiction this.from free.NOM.for
 'I should not buy anything (in order to get rid forever of this addiction to shopping)'

Finally, the presence of a rightward dependent can result in sequences which are not allowed in leftward modal stacking. For instance, volitional predicates can dominate necessity modals, when the latter occurs to the right:

- (34) a. *Erosi behar izan nahi luke
 buy need be want AUX.IRR[3sgA-3sgE]
 'He/she wants to need to buy it'
- b. Nahi luke erosi behar izan
 want AUX.IRR[3sgA-3sgE] buy need be
 'He/she wants to need to buy it'

Word order alternations have no effect in the admissibility of *possibility*>*necessity* scope relations, suggesting this is a semantic restriction, not a syntactic one (see Ramchand and Svenonius, 2014, for a critical assessment of Cinque's hierarchy as a purely syntactic one)⁵:

5 A search in Google for the English sequence *able to have to* yields not a single example. The English translation corresponds to an impossible sentence in English too.

- (35) a. *Erosi behar izan ahal dugu
 buy need be can we.have
 'We are able to have to buy it'
- b. *Ahal dugu erosi behar izan
 can AUX[3sgA-lplE] buy need be
 'We are able to have to buy it'

What makes rightward branching special for co-occurrence restrictions? We will not go into the precise structure underlying the rightward cases, but we just note that in Cinque's approach, modal stacking follows from the rigid ordering of functional heads in the clausal structure. For this, modal predicates must be part of a single functional domain. In other words, ordering restrictions in modal sequences are a signature of monoclausality. A possibility therefore, is that modal sequences that involve rightward dependents are bi-clausal, and therefore correspond to different functional domains. In other words, their relative order is irrelevant in that case.

3. RELATIVE ORDER, AGREEMENT AND INTERVENTION EFFECTS

How should we interpret the apparent optionality of agreement when the modal precedes the infinitival? Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009) propose that the apparent optionality arises as a consequence of locality restrictions. We have seen that rightward infinitival dependents may show a level of structural complexity that is not available to leftward dependents. Infinitival-internal focus operators, negation or temporal modification arise only when the infinitival follows the modal predicate, not otherwise. Agree (Chomsky, 2001) is an operation that obeys locality restrictions, either of the cyclic sort (phasal locality), or of the relative sort (intervention). If rightward infinitivals can be structurally more complex than leftward ones involving a biclausal structure, it is possible that the optionality of agreement is actually due to the presence of a structural configuration that does not allow Agree to apply. That structural factors are at play was shown by Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009) in the context of negation. Consider the following apparent case of optionality of agreement:

- (36) a. Behar nituzke gurasoak-Ø_{ABS} maizago ikusi
 need AUX.IRR[3plA-lsgE] parents-ABS more.often see
 'I should see my parents more often'
- b. Behar nuke gurasoak-Ø_{ABS} maizago ikusi
 need AUX.IRR[3sgA-lsgE] parents-ABS often.more see
 'I should see my parents more often'

Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009) note that the optionality disappears if negation intervenes:

- (37) a. *Behar nituzke ez guraso-ak-Ø_{ABS} hain maiz ikusi
 need AUX.IRR[3plA-lsgE] NEG parents-ABS that often see
 'I should not see my parents that often'

- b. Behar nuke ez guraso-ak-Ø_{ABS} hain maiz ikusi
 need AUX.IRR[3sgA-1sgE] NEG parent-PL-ABS that often see
 'I should not see my parents that often'

Balza (2018) on the other hand observes that the relative scope of the focus and the modal predicate in modal constructions is sensitive to the word order alternation. A sentence such as (38) in Basque is ambiguous between two possible readings:

- (38) Iberdrola-ko akzio-ak-Ø_{ABS} bakarrik saldu behar dituzu
 Iberdrola-GEN share-PL-ABS only sell need AUX[3plA-2sgE]
 'You (only) have to sell Iberdrola company shares (only)'

In the first reading, the only thing that you need to do is to sell Iberdrola company shares. In the second reading, what you must do is to sell those shares and those shares only. So under the first reading, if together with Iberdrola shares you sell other shares, it will be an unnecessary but permissible step. A follow up sentence such as (39) is possible under that reading:

- (39) Iberdrola-ko akzio-ak-Ø_{ABS} bakarrik saldu behar dituzu,
 Iberdrola-GEN share-PL-ABS only sell need AUX[3plA-2sgE]
 baina ez da deus-Ø_{ABS} pasa-tzen
 but NEG AUX[3sgA] anything happen-IMP
 beste norbait-en akzio-ak-Ø_{ABS} saltzen ba-dituzu
 other someone-GEN shares-PL-ABS sell-IMP if-AUX[3plA-2sgE]
 'You only have to buy Iberdrola shares, but it's alright if you buy some other shares'

Under the second reading, a continuation like the one in (39) is not possible. *Modal-complement* orders allow us to isolate the second reading. Consider for instance the following minimal pair, involving a rightward non-finite dependent:

- (40) a. Behar dituzu Iberdrola-ko akzio-ak-Ø_{ABS} bakarrik saldu
 need AUX[3plA-2sgE] Iberdrola-GEN share-PL-ABS only sell
 'You (only) have to sell Iberdrola shares (only)'
 b. Behar duzu Iberdrola-ko akzio-ak-Ø_{ABS} bakarrik saldu
 need AUX[3sgA-2sgE] Iberdrola-GEN share-PL-ABS only sell
 'You have to sell Iberdrola shares only'

(40a), which shows agreement with the embedded object, allows the same readings as the restructuring configuration in (39). (40b), with lacks the plural number agreement affix, only allows narrow scope for the shares. This is why the same continuation that is possible in (39) sounds pragmatically odd in this case:

- (41) Behar duzu Iberdrola-ko akzio-ak-Ø_{ABS} bakarrik saldu
 Need AUX[3sgA-2sgE] Iberdrola-GEN share-PL-ABS only sell

baina ez da deus-Ø_{ABS} pasa-tzen
 but NEG AUX[3sgA] anything-ABS happen-IMP
 beste norbait-en akzio-ak-Ø_{ABS} sal-tzen ba-dituzu
 other someone-GEN shares-PL-ABS sell-IMP if-AUX[3plA-2sgE]
 'You have to buy only Iberdrola shares, #but it's alright if you buy someone else's shares'

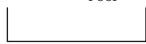
Why should this be so? Why the interaction between scope and agreement?

Ettxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2008) argue in the context of pairs such as (42a,b) that focus operators can occupy two syntactic positions in the clause structure: one in the vicinity of the vP, and one dominating TP. The two positions become directly observable in the context of negative sentences:

- (42) a. LIBURU-A-Ø_{ABS} ez du Jone-k liburutegi-ra itzuli
 Book-the-ABS NEG AUX[3plA-2sgE] Jone-ERG library-ALA returned
 'It is the book that Jon has not returned to the library'
 b. Jone-k ez du LIBURU-A-Ø_{ABS} itzuli liburutegi-ra
 Jon.erg NEG has book-the-ABS returned library-ALA

Note that in (42b), where the focus follows the finite auxiliary, the focus position cannot be in-situ, as it precedes the Postpositional Phrase *liburutegira* «to the library», unlike in (42a)⁶. If Ettxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria are right in claiming that in addition to a high focus position there is an additional focus position that can be internal to the TP (see also Belletti, 2005), then the position of the *only*-phrases in (40a,b) becomes ambiguous. They could lie in the vicinity of the vP, or they could occupy a focus position higher than TP. What would the eventual consequences of such a choice be in the context of agreement? In the case in which the focus occupies a position in the vicinity of the vP, there is no reason to claim the presence of an independent T in the embedded complement. But if there is no intervening T, the only syntactic Probe that can reach for agreement features is the highest T, the one corresponding to the matrix clause. If this is the case, we expect agreement to manifest in the auxiliary. This option would correspond to (40a), with the underlying structure in (43a). In (43a), the embedded focus position dominates the vP. There is no embedded T, and the object sits in the lowest Focus Phrase. Since there is no T within the infinitival complement, there is no intervening Probe, and the matrix T (the finite auxiliary) can probe for Number features in the embedded clause, reaching the focalised object. In (43b), T is present in the embedded complement, and intervenes in the Agree operation, as a closer Probe. The result is an intervention effect.

6 An alternative analysis would have the focus in-situ with the postpositional phrase in some right adjoined or right dislocated position, as in Arregi (2001). We don't think however that the intonational contour of the sentence requires any pause between the lexical verb and the postpositional phrase. For a criticism of the generalized use of the right dislocation option as a means to explain the adjacency between focus operators and lexical or finite verbs, see Irurtzun (2007).

- (43) a. $[_{TP} \text{Aux}^\circ \dots [_{FocP} \text{DP-only Foc}^\circ [_{vP} \dots (\text{DP-only}) \dots]]]]$
 (Agree)
- b. $[\text{Aux} \dots [_{TP} T^0 \dots [_{FocP} \text{DP-only Foc} \dots]]]]$
 (Agree)

The intervention effect accounts in a simple way for the apparent optionality of agreement. But why should agreement correlate with ambiguous relative scope? In Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria's (2012) account of the underlying structure of denominal modals in Basque, the nominal *behar* and the non-finite clause constitute a Small Clause. Assuming an asymmetric structure for Small Clauses, (as in Den Dikken, 2006), in which a Relator links the two terms of the predication relation, the focus feature will c-command the predicate *behar* and therefore the original merging position of the modal noun will be one that allows the relative scope *focus > modal*:

- (44) $\dots [_{\text{Small Clause}} [_{\text{RelatorP}} [_{FocP} \text{DP-only Foc}^\circ [_{vP} \dots]] \text{Rel}^\circ \text{ behar }]]]$

If as suggested by Moro (2001) and Chomsky (2013), among others, the Small Clause corresponds to a symmetric configuration, then the subject and the predicate will c-command each other, and the original position will allow for both readings:

- (45) $\dots [_{\text{Small Clause}} [_{FocP} \text{DP-only Foc}^\circ [_{vP} \dots]] \text{ behar}]]]$

Let us come back to the negation cases. Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009) note, as illustrated in (37a) that negation blocks agreement with the embedded object when it intervenes between the matrix auxiliary and the embedded object. We repeat the relevant example below:

- (46) *Behar nituzke ez guraso-ak-Ø_{ABS} hain maiz ikusi
 need AUX.IRR[3plA.lsgE] NEG parents-ABS that often see
 'I should not see my parents that often'

Although negation is known to intervene in phenomena involving Agree, as in pseudopassives (47a), or in Clitic Climbing (47b), it is not evident why it should be so.

- (47) a. Se necesitan (*no) cerrar acuerdos rápidamente
 CL need.3PL NEG close agreements rapidly
 'It is required that agreements (not) be closed rapidly'
- b. Lo quiere (??no) comprar
 CL want.3SG NEG buy.INF
 'He wants (not) to buy it'

From a Relativized Minimality perspective, the blocking effect of negation is unexpected. It does not have the relevant features that would impede establishing a link

between the clitic or the object Goal and the Probe. One possibility that we would like to explore is that the presence of negation may imply the presence of other functional elements that can stand in the way of Agree. In Laka’s (1990) classical analysis of sentential negation in Basque, the presence of clausal negation implies a temporal projection. Laka argues that negation in Basque, or to be more precise, a functional head that hosts not only negation, but also emphatic affirmation and in some dialects foci, dominates the IP. She calls this projection Sigma Phrase. The structural position of Sigma becomes manifest for instance in IP-ellipsis, which leaves negation untouched in Basque:

- (48)
- Jone-k ardo-a-Ø_{ABS} maite du,

Jone-ERG wine-DET-ABS love AUX[3sgA-3sgE]

baina Miren-ek ez (du—————ardo————maite)

but Miren-ERG NEG (Aux[3sgA-3sgE] wine-DET-ABS love)

'Jon loves wine but Miren doesn't'

On the other hand, Haddican (2004, 2005, 2008) argues that negation in Basque, *ez*, is not originally merged in its surface position, but rather raises to that position from (the specifier of) a lower NegP in the vicinity of the vP:

- (49)
- $$[_{PolP} (Neg) Pol^o [_{TP} T^o \dots [_{NegP} (Neg) Neg^o [_{vP} \dots]]]]$$

The low position of negation in Basque shows up overtly in some dialects, which allow post-auxiliary negation (see recently Etxepare, 2016):

- (50)
- Jon-ek du ez deus erosi

Jon-ERG has not anything-ABS bought

'It is Jon who didn't buy anything'

Under Haddican’s analysis, which we assume here, the negation particle can actually occupy two positions: one in the vicinity of the vP, and another one in a left peripheral Polarity head. The latter implies the presence of T. In fact, the relevant configurations are similar to what we concluded for focus (*cfr.* 43). If the focus position is the highest one, then there is an intervening T, and therefore the matrix T cannot reach into the embedded object Goal. If the negation is the lower one, the one that occupies a position in the vicinity of the verbal phrase, then T does not need to be present. In those cases, the matrix T can Agree with the embedded object. The two structures are represented in (51a,b).

- (51)
- a.
$$[_{TP} Aux^o \dots [[[_{PolP} Neg Pol^o [_{vP} \dots DP \dots]]]]$$

(Agree)

b.
$$[Aux \dots [_{PolP} Neg Pol^o \dots [_{TP} T \dots [_{vP} DP \dots]]]]$$

(Agree)

That the presence of T may be relevant is shown by the fact that independent temporal modification in the embedded infinitival has the same effect, blocking agreement with the embedded object:

- (52)
- a.

*Jon-ek atzo behar zituen

[gaur liburu-ak-Ø_{ABS}

Jon-ERG yesterday need AUX.PAST[3plA-3sgE] today book-DET.PL-ABS

ekarri]

bring

'Yesterday Jon had to bring the books today'
- b.

*Jon-ek atzo behar zizkion

[gaur liburu-ak-Ø_{ABS}

Jon-ERG yesterday need AUX.PAST[3plA-3sgD-3sgE] today book-DET.PL-ABS

ekarri]

bring

'Yesterday, Jon had to bring him/her the books today'

Notice that the blocking effect of an intervening negation can be circumvented if the object moves to a position higher than negation, as shown by the contrast between (53a), where the embedded complement follows negation, and (53b), where it precedes the negative head as a result of syntactic movement. Compare also (53c) and (53d), involving focalization (syntactic movement) of the embedded complement to the matrix high focus position.

- (53)
- a.

*Behar nituzke ez gurasoak-Ø_{ABS} hain maiz ikusi

need AUX.IRR[3plA-1sgE] NEG parents.ABS that often see

'I should not see my parents that often'
- b.

Behar nituzke gurasoak-Ø_{ABS} ez hain maiz ikusi

need AUX.IRR[3plA-1sgE] parents.ABS NEG that often see

'I should not see my parents that often'
- c.

GURASOAK behar nituzke ez hain maiz ikusi

parents.ABS need AUX.IRR[3plA-1sgE] NEG that often see

'It is MY PARENTS that I shouldn't see so often'
- d.

*GURASOAK behar nuke ez hain maiz ikusi

parents.ABS need AUX.IRR[3sgA-1sgE] NEG that often see

'It is MY PARENTS that I shouldn't see so often'

As the contrast in (53c-d) shows, movement of the embedded complement out of the embedded domain to the matrix focus position triggers obligatory number agreement with the matrix auxiliary.

Why should the position of the object in all these examples make a difference? Let us consider (53a-b) first. In our terms, the position of the object in these cases is one that circumvents the embedded T. Negation in PolP dominates T in Basque, and therefore an element that sits in the Spec of Polarity Phrase (or in a higher position) is outside the minimal domain of T. In other words, configurations such as (54) are perfectly possible:

- (54)
- [Aux... [PolP DP Neg° [TP (DP) T°...(DP)...]]]

(Agree)

With the DP outside the minimal domain of T, there is nothing that intervenes between the matrix T and the object, and therefore agreement becomes possible again. The contrast in (53c-d) provides further support for this hypothesis: focalization to the matrix FocP takes the embedded object out of the minimal domain of the embedded T, enabling the embedded object to enter into an agreement relation with the matrix T.

The grammatical status of sentences having the representation in (53) questions the relevance of Chomsky's Activation Condition (Chomsky, 2000), as an integral part of the Agree operation (see also Etxepare, 2006, 2012; Boskovic, 2007). The DP in the Specifier of NegP has already valued its case feature with the embedded T. This does not preclude the object to establish an agreement relation with T in the matrix clause, reflected in the finite morphology of the auxiliary.

A similar effect arises in the case of adverbial modification: if the object precedes the adverb, agreement becomes possible again (55a).

- (55) a. Jon-ek behar zituen [liburu-ak-Ø_{ABS} gaur ekarri]
 Jon-ERG need AUX.PAST[3plA-3sgE] book-DET.PL-ABS today bring
 'Jon had to bring the books today'
- b. Jon-ek behar zituen [liburu-ak-Ø_{ABS} ez ekarri]
 Jon-ERG need AUX.PAST[3plA-3sgE] book-DET.PL-ABS not bring
 'Jon had to not bring the books'

(55) corresponds to a configuration in which the T head associated to the adverb *gaur* 'today' does not intervene between the Goal and the matrix T Probe. In that context, agreement is possible.

4. PERSON VERSUS NUMBER AGREEMENT

Unlike Number agreement, Person agreement (first and second person) is obligatory, regardless of the relative position of the Goal. In other words, there is no way not to Agree with Person:

- (56) a. *Jon-ek behar zuen [zu-Ø_{ABS} ez ekarri]
 Jon.ERG need AUX.PAST[3sgA-3sgE] you-ABS NEG bring
 'Jon needed not to bring you'
- b. *Jon-ek behar zuen [zu-Ø_{ABS} gaur ekarri]
 Jon-ERG need AUX.PAST[3sgA-3sgE] you-ABS today bring
 'Jon needed to bring you today'
- b'. *Jon-ek behar zuen [gaur zu-Ø_{ABS} ekarri]
 Jon-ERG need AUX.PAST[3sgA-3sgE] today you-ABS bring
 'Jon needed to bring you today'

The sentences in (56a,b) become acceptable if the matrix auxiliary includes the agreement affixes corresponding to Person:

- (57) a. Jon-ek behar zintuen [zu-Ø_{ABS} ez ekarri]
 Jon-ERG need AUX.PAST[2sgA-3sgE] you-ABS NEG bring
 'Jon needed not to bring you'
- b. Jon-ek behar zintuen [zu-Ø_{ABS} gaur ekarri]
 Jon-ERG need AUX.PAST[2sgA-3sgE] you-ABS today bring
 'Jon needed to bring you today'

Why this difference between Number and Person agreement? Our proposal capitalizes on the logic we employed to account for the optionality of Number agreement in the previous cases. This optionality, we argued, is an illusion, one that follows from the fact that the relevant left peripheral elements, like negation and focus, can occupy different positions in the clause structure. When the left peripheral operators dominate Tense, an intervention effect arises, as T is the closest agreeing head for an argument embedded in the infinitival complement, and it stands on the way of a higher probe (in our cases, the higher matrix auxiliary). The fact that person agreement does not show optionality should, we think, be related to the special status of person agreement when compared to number. We will claim that person agreement is an instance of cliticization.

Ettxepare (2006, 2012; see also Preminger, 2009) provides some arguments that person and number agreement obey different locality restrictions in the context of Long Distance Agreement. Under certain configurations, agreement with the object of a nominalized clause is possible in Basque. Consider in this regard the following minimal pair:

- (58) a. [Atzerritarr-ak-Ø_{ABS} ekartzea]-Ø_{ABS} baztertu dute
 Foreigner-DET.PL-ABS recruiting-ABS decline AUX[3sgA-3plE]
 'They declined recruiting foreigners'
- b. [Atzerritarr-ak-Ø_{ABS} ekartzea]-Ø_{ABS} baztertu dituzte
 Foreigner-DET.PL-ABS recruiting-ABS decline AUX[3plA-3plE]
 'They declined recruiting foreigners'

In (58a), the finite auxiliary shows default third person singular agreement in number for the nominalized clause, its syntactic object. In (57b), the auxiliary shows plural object agreement, that can only correspond to the absolutive object inside the nominalized clause (*atzerritarrek* 'foreigners'). If the internal object is singular, plural agreement in the finite auxiliary becomes impossible, as shown in (59):

- (59) * [Atzerritar bat-Ø_{ABS} ekartzea]-Ø_{ABS} baztertu dituzte
 Foreigner one recruiting-ABS decline AUX[3plA-3plE]
 'They declined recruiting a foreigner'

Number Long Distance Agreement is possible under certain conditions, which imply the absence of an intervening DP in the embedded nominalized clause, as well as

conditions related to the expression of embedded Tense⁷. Long Distance Agreement can also target Person, as shown below:

- (60) a. Munipa-k-Ø_{ABS} [_{Non-finite} gu-Ø_{ABS} botatzen] saiatu dira
 Policeman-DET.PL-ABS us-ABS ousting try AUX[3plA]
 'The policemen tried to oust us'
- b. Munip-e-k [_{Non-finite} (gu-Ø_{ABS}) botatzen] saiatu gaituzte
 policemen-DET.PL-ERG us-ABS ousting try AUX[1plA-3plE]
 'The policemen tried to oust us'

In (60a), the auxiliary agrees in number with the absolutive subject, and there is no agreement with the nominalized dependent, which is headed by an inessive postposition. In (59b), the finite auxiliary has two agreement indexes: an ergative one, corresponding to the matrix subject *munipek* 'policemen', and an absolutive one, corresponding to the pronoun *gu* 'us', the object of the non-finite dependent. (60b) constitutes an example of Long Distance Agreement in Person, as the object is not the object of the matrix predicate but of the embedded one.

Etxepare (2012) observes that Person and Number agreement do not have the same distribution. Person agreement is confined to typical restructuring predicates, such as *try*, *manage*, *decide*, or *plan*. Number agreement is possible with those predicates, but also with non-restructuring predicates. The verb *baztertu* 'discard' is a case in point (61a,b):

- (61) a. [Atzeritarr-ak-Ø_{ABS} ekartzea]-Ø_{ABS} baztertu dute
 Foreigner-DET.PL-ABS recruiting-ABS decline AUX[3sgA-3plE]
 'They declined recruiting foreigners'
- b. [Atzeritarr-ak-Ø_{ABS} ekartzea]-Ø_{ABS} baztertu dituzte
 Foreigner-DET.PL-ABS recruiting-ABS decline AUX[3plA-3plE]
 'They declined recruiting foreigners'

Unlike with a verb like *try*, Person Long Distance Agreement is not possible with *baztertu* «discard»:

- (62) *[zu-Ø_{ABS} ekartzea]-Ø_{ABS} baztertu zaitugu
 you-ABS recruiting-ABS decline AUX[2sgA-1plE]
 'We discarded recruiting you'

There is nothing in the auxiliary form itself that is wrong (*zaitugu* is an existing form of the auxiliary paradigm). The crucial factor seems to be the predicate type. Only restructuring predicates allow for Person Long Distance Agreement. Let us note that

⁷ We refer the reader to Etxepare (2006, 2012) and Preminger (2009) for a detailed discussion.

restructuring predicates are those that allow clitic climbing. Thus *intentar* ‘try’ licenses clitic climbing in Spanish, but *descartar* ‘discard’ does not:

- (63) a. Lo intentamos invitar (lo)
 cl-acc tried.1PL invite.inf CL-ACC
 ‘We tried to invite him’
 b. *Lo descartamos invitar (lo)
 CL-ACC discarded.1PL invite.INF CL-ACC
 ‘We discarded inviting him’

If we stick to restructuring predicates, Person and Number also differ in the following: although Person Long Distance Agreement across several restructuring predicates is possible (64a), Number Long Distance Agreement is not (64b):

- (64) a. [_{InfP} [_{InfP} Zu-ri lagun-tze-n] segitzea]-Ø_{ABS} pentsatu
 You-DAT help-NOM-POST continue-NOM-DET plan
 dizugu
 AUX[3sgA-2sgD-1plE]
 ‘We decided to continue helping you’
 b. *[[_{InfP} [_{InfP} gutunak bidaltzen] segitzea] pentsatu
 letters-ABS send.NOM.in continue.NOM.DET plan
 dizkizugu
 AUX[3plA-2sgD-1plE]
 ‘We decided to continue sending you letters’

The example in (64a) is reminiscent of clitic climbing in other languages, as in the Spanish (65):

- (65) Te hemos pensado seguir mandando (te) cartas
 CL-DAT have.1PL thought continue-INF sending (CL.DAT) letters
 «We have decided to continue sending you letters»

(64b) on the other hand, includes Number agreement with the embedded object, and this is not possible. In other words, the search domain for the Probe may involve more than one clause in the case of person LDA, but not in the case of Number LDA. Etxepare (2012) claims that this asymmetry is due to the fact that Number agreement is established once and for all in terms of Chomsky’s Agree (Chomsky, 2001), and is therefore circumscribed to phasal domains. Person Long Distance Agreement on the other hand, involves movement to the edge of the clause, and can therefore become available to the higher auxiliary. In other words, Person agreement behaves as a special clitic.

There is a further difference between Number and Person agreement in Basque, which points in the same direction. Long Distance Agreement is only possible with the absolutive in Basque. It turns out that Person absolutive agreement in Basque is a morphologically reduced instance of ordinary personal pronouns, unlike Number agreement, which

has no relation with the pronominal paradigm. The relation between absolutive Person affixes in the auxiliary and pronominal forms is evident from the following simple list⁸:

- (66)
- | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Ni | (pronoun 1s), | n- | (agreement affix) |
| Zu | (pronoun 2s), | z- | (agreement affix) |
| Gu | (pronoun 1pl), | g- | (agreement affix) |
| Zuek | (pronoun 2pl), | z- | (agreement affix) |

Only in the context of Person Long Distance Agreement can thus we talk about cliticization. If we extend this analysis to the modal configurations, we may obtain a rationale of why Person agreement is obligatory, no matter the position of Negation or Focus. First and Second person clitics establish a syntactic relation with the C-domain, which accounts for why they can cyclically raise into the matrix auxiliary (see San Martín, 2001 for the relation between C and Person in Basque). Person affixes (D_{Person} in the representation below) cliticize onto the C-T domain (67).

- (67)
- Aux... [TP D T°...[vP ... (D)...]]]

From that position it cliticizes onto the matrix auxiliary, where it manifests itself in the form of Person agreement:

- (68)
- Aux+D... [TP (D) T°...[vP ...DP (D)...]]]

5. CONCLUSIONS

A detailed examination of the denominal necessity modal *behar* in Basque shows two different syntactic configurations: one in which modals precede their non-finite dependents, and one in which they follow them. The latter configurations present properties which correspond to restructuring constructions: absence of left peripheral elements in the dependent, temporal dependencies, transparency for agreement, and rigid ordering in modal stacking. The former present a more flexible syntax: non-finite dependents that follow their modal predicate can be opaque to agreement relations, contain left peripheral elements such as negation or focus, allow independent temporal modification, and permit different ordering alternatives in modal stacking. Our conclusions thus converge with other recent investigations in the area of Basque modal constructions, such as Balza (2018). We have refined and completed some of the earlier work we have done on this issue (Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria, 2009), and include a discussion on

8 The relation between *zuek* and *z-* is perhaps not immediately evident. But *zuek* as the second person plural pronominal is a recent addition to the Basque pronominal paradigm. It is a complex form, composed of *zu* ‘you’, the ancient 2 person plural pronoun, and the demonstrative *hek* ‘those’. The construct replaced the plural *zu*, originally the second person plural pronoun that evolved into a polite singular form (Manterola, 2015). The form to which the affix should be compared is thus *zu*.

the different status of Number and Person agreement in the context of modal predicates. We have reached the conclusion, in line with previous similar claims by Etxepare (2006, 2012), that absolutive Person agreement, unlike Number agreement generally, is a manifestation of clitic climbing to the C-T domain. Our discussion also establishes that the so-called Activation Condition (Chomsky, 2000), relating agreement and Case checking in a single operation, cannot be sustained (see also Bhatt, 2005; Etxepare, 2006; Boskovic, 2007; and Saito, 2016).

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Menpeko perpausetako hitz azentugabeen foku azentuaz

Sobre el acento nuclear de las palabras léxicamente átonas de las oraciones subordinadas

On focal accent of unaccented words in subordinate clauses

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Eskerrik beroenak eman nahi dizkiegu gure hiztunei, beraien denbora eta hain datu baliagarriak eskaintze-
agatik. Lan honen bi zuzentzaile anonimoei ere eskerrak eman nahi dizkiegu, egin dizkiguten oharrei esker
lanak sendotasuna eta argitasuna irabazi duela uste baitugu. Jon Ortiz de Urbinari ere gure eskerrona adierazi
nahi diogu, bere lan aitzindariak eta bere analisi fin eta dotoreetarako maisutasunak inspiratu baitituzte he-
men aurkezten dugun bezalako ikerlanak. Azkenik, ikerketa hau Eusko Jaurlaritzako dirulaguntza jasotzen
duen *Hizkuntzalaritza Teorikorako Taldea (HiTT)* GIC12/61 IT769-13 eta Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko
FIU 11/14 ikerketa taldeen ekintzen barruan kokatzen da.

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LABURPENA

Lan honetan Lekeitioko hizkeran menpeko perpausetako azentu nagusia non kokatzen den aztertzen dugu, asimetria interesgarri bat erakutsiz. *-ela* perpaus barruan dagoen aditzaren aurreko hitz azentugabeak foku azentua jaso dezakeen bitartean, *-en*, *-enean*, *-enétik*, *-elako* perpaus barrukoak ezin du azentua eraman. Enpirikoki baieztatu dugu kontrastea gertatu egiten dela, eta kontrastea azaltzeko proposatzen dugu auzia ez datzala osagarri-adjunktu bereizketan, baizik eta zein fase-eremu sintaktikori eragiten dion azentu ezarketak menpeko perpausetan. Horretarako, iradokitzen dugu *-ela* izan ezik, beste konplementatzaileak posposiziodunak direla eta, ondorioz, fase desberdinetan ezartzen dela azentua.

Gako hitzak: azentu nagusia; fasea; menpeko perpausa; posposizioa.

RESUMEN

Examinamos la posición del acento nuclear en varias oraciones subordinadas de la variedad del vasco de Lekeitio y describimos una nueva asimetría. Mientras que una palabra léxicamente átona que precede al verbo subordinado lleva el acento nuclear en oraciones con *-ela* ‘que’, no es así en otros tipos de subordinadas. Verificamos este contraste empíricamente y ofrecemos un análisis sintáctico para la asimetría. Nuestra propuesta es que la explicación tiene que ver con el dominio de fase sintáctica en el que se asigna el acento. Sugerimos que, con la excepción de *-ela*, todos los otros subordinantes son complementantes pospositivos y que, en consecuencia, el acento se asigna en fases diferentes.

Palabras clave: acento nuclear; fase; cláusulas subordinadas; posposición.

ABSTRACT

We examine the position of the sentential main accent in subordinate clauses in Lekeitio Basque describing a new asymmetry. Whereas a lexically unaccented word preceding the subordinate verb in a clause with *-ela* ‘that’ will carry the main accent, that is not true in clauses with other complementizers. We empirically verify this unusual contrast and provide a syntactic analysis for this asymmetry. We propose that the explanation has to do with the phase-domain where accent assignment takes place. We suggest that, except for *-ela*, all other complementizers are postpositional and that, consequently, accent is assigned at different phases.

Keywords: Nuclear stress; phase; embedded sentence; postposition.

1. SARRERA. 2. METODOLOGIA. 3. EMAITZAK. 4. ANALISI SINTAKTIKOA. 4.1. Kontrastea: *-ela* vs. beste konplementatzaileak. 4.2. Azentua eta faseak. 5. ONDORIOAK. 6. ERREFERENTZIAK. 7. ERANSKINA.

1. SARRERA

Lekeition eta oro har Bizkaiko iparraldeko hizkeretan hitzak bi taldetan banatzen dira prosodiaren aldetik: badira hitz azentudunak eta azentugabeak (Hualde, 1997; Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta, 1994, besteak beste). Azentudunek azentua beti silaba jakin batean daramate, gaztelaniaren edo ingelesaren hitz lexikalek bezala. Azentugabeek, aldiz, ez dute berez azenturik.

Horrez gain, badago hala ere murriztapen bat esaldiaren prosodian: azentu bat gauzatu behar da edo aditzaren aurrean dagoen sintagman edo aditzean bertan. Ez dago, beraz, azenturik gabeko esaldirik. (1) adibidean hitz guztiak azentudunak dira. (2)-n, berriz, denak azentugabeak dira, baina badago azentu bat aditzaren aurrean. Jun-ek eta G. Elordietak (1997) azentu honi ‘derived accent’ edo azentu deribatua deitzen diote (ikus aurretik Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta, 1993). Hurrengo esaldiak lekeitierazkoak dira:

(1)	Zúen lagúnen amúma etorrikó-da ¹	‘zuen lagunen amuma etorriko da’
(2)	Zure lagun ¹ en alabiá etorri-da	‘zure lagunaren alaba etorri da’

1 Aditz nagusiak eta laguntzaileak unitate bat (hitz prosodiko bat) osatzen dute azentu ezarketarako, horregatik idatzi dugu aditzen sekuentzia gidoi batekin. (1)-eko esaldian, bi aditzek osatzen duten unitatearen azkenaurreko silaban ezartzen da azentua, ez aditz nagusiaren azkenaurreko silaban. (2)-ko esaldian ez da azenturik nabaritzen bi aditzak direlako azentugabeak eta esaldi bukaeran doinuaren (intonazioaren) maila oso baxua delako esaldi bukaeran (ikus Hualde et al., 1993, 1994 edo Elordieta, 1998 xehetasun gehiagorako).

Oro har, azentu deribatua aditz nagusiaren aurre-aurrean dagoen hitzean kokatzen da, (2)-n bezala. Kontuan izanik euskaraz oro har aditz jokatuaren aurrean doan osagaia fokutzat har daitekeela (euskalaritzako terminologian, «galdegaitzat») –baina ez nahitaez, SOA ordena neutroan perpaus osoa izan baitaiteke fokua–, esan daiteke azentu deribatuak foku interpretazioa ematen duela. Badira, hala ere, konplexutasun batzuk azentu deribatuaren kokapen arauan. Hasteko, aditza trinkoa bada, azentua aditzean bertan kokatzen da, ez galdegaigunean dagoen sintagman, ikus (3):

- (3) a. Gure lagun_{ERG}en alab_{ACC}ia datór 'gure lagunaren alaba dator'
b. *Gure lagun_{ERG}en alab_{ACC}ía dator

(3)-n galdegaia [*gure lagun^{en} alab^{ia}*] sintagma da, nahiz eta azentua aditz trinkoan egon. Kasu honetan, beraz, egitura prosodikoa eta sintaktikoa ez datoz bat.

Bigarrenik, perpausaren galdegaia baieztapena baldin bada (*verum focus*) partizioak darama azentu deribatua (4)-ko adibidean bezala (Hualde et al., 1994, 61. orr.):

- (4) Zure lagunen alabia etorri da

(2) eta (4) testuinguru pragmatiko desberdinetan erabiliko lirateke. (2) ‘nor etorri da?’ galderaren testuinguruan erabil daiteke edo baita informazio berria emateko ere. Bestalde, (4)-k proposizioa egia dela baieztatzen du.

Hemen aipatutako arazo horietaz ez dugu ezer esango. Aldiz, galdegaiaren azentuaren arauak daukan beste alderdi korapilatsu bat izango dugu aztergai; alegia, azentu deribatuaren kokapena menpeko perpausetan. A. Elordietak (2002) erakusten du menpekotasun motaren arabera, galdegaiaren azentua menpeko aditzaren aurrean kokatu daitekeela *-ela* konplementatzailea duten menpeko esaldietan, hitz edo sintagma hori fokua denean (5), baina beste konplementatzaile bat duten menpeko esaldietan hau ezin dela, eta, aitzitik, azentua aditz laguntzailea+konplementatzaileak osaturiko hitzean kokatzen dela (6). Beraz, nahiz eta galdera bat egon aurretik menpeko esaldiko subjektuari buruz, azentuera ezberdina dago bi esaldi motetan²:

- (5) a. Nor etorri dala esan dau?
b. Zure lagunen alabiá etorrí dalá esan dau
- (6) a. Nor etorri dalako esan dau hori?
b. Zure lagunen alabia etorrí dalakó esan dau hori

2 Egia esan, bai (5)-n eta baita (6)-n ere, azentu bat dago aditz nagusiaren azken silaban eta beste bat aditz laguntzaile+konplementatzailearen azken silaban. Horregatik idatzi ditugu menpeko esaldiko bi aditzak beraien arteko gidoirik gabe. Espazio-arrazoiengatik ezin gara artikulua honetan aditz nagusiaren azentuaz aritu; menpeko esaldiko aditzaren aurre-aurrean dagoen hitzak azentu nagusia jaso dezakeen ala ez eta menpeko esaldien artean honen inguruan dagoen ezberdintasunaz asimetria aztertzea mugatuko gara. Nolanahi ere, ez genuke aipatu gabe utzi nahi Ortiz de Urbina berak (1994)-ko lan batean ohartarazi zuela aditz nagusiak azentua jasotzen duela laguntzailea aditz nagusia klitizizatzen delako, hitz prosodiko bat osatuz.

Badirudi *-ela* atzizkia daramaten perpaus konpletiboak bereziak direla. Menpeko perpaus hauetan menpeko aditzaren aurreko sintagmak hartzen du galdegaia-
ren azentua. Beste menpeko perpaus guztiekin, aldiz, galdegaia-
ren azentua aurreko sintagman ez, baizik eta menpeko aditz jokatuan kokatzen da (A. Elordieta, 2002; Arregi, 2006).

Artikulu honek bi helburu ditu. Alde batetik, enpirikoki baieztatu nahi dugu zein den galdegaia-
ren azentuaren kokagunea menpeko perpausetan, izari akustikoak az-
tertuz. Bigarrenik, azalpen sintaktiko bat proposatu nahi dugu ikusten dugun ba-
naketarako.

2. METODOLOGIA

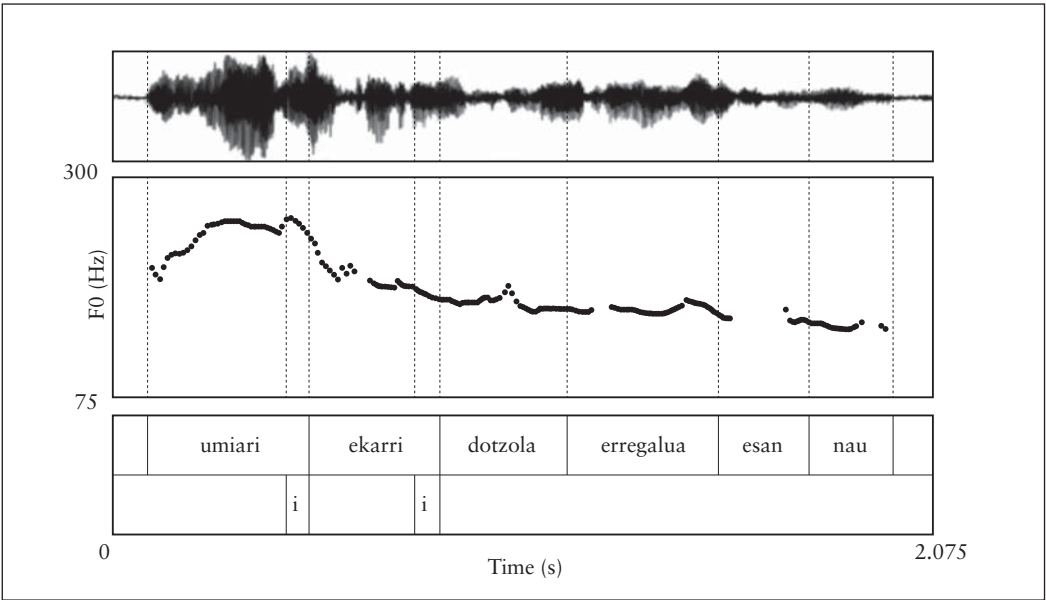
Hamar esaldi sorta eratu ditugu. Guztiak dira *nz*-galdera bati erantzuten dioten esal-
diak, hau da, foku estua dutenak. Esaldi sinpleetan, foku estua edo galdegaia aditz na-
gusiaren aurre-aurrean kokatuko da (*cfr.* (7)). Menpeko esaldietan, foku estua menpeko
aditzaren aurre-aurrean doa (*cfr.* (8)). Adibidez:

- (7) a. *Nóri ekarri dótzo erregalúa?*
b. *Umiari ekarri dotzo erregalúa*
- (8) a. *Nóri esan dau erregalúa ekarri dotzola?*
b. *Umiari ekarri dotzola erregalúa esan dau.*

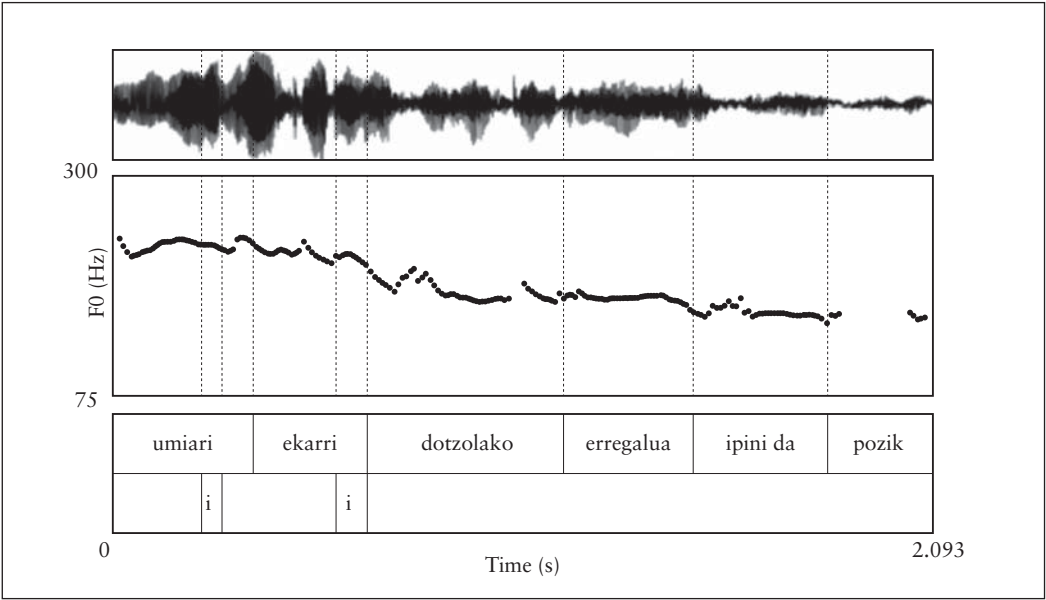
Horietako bostetan hitz guztiak lexikalki azentugabeak dira. Beste bostetan menpe-
ko perpausaren aditzaren aurrean dagoen hitza lexikalki azentuduna da. Esaldi sorta
edo talde bakoitzak zazpi esaldi ditu: perpaus sinple bat eta sei perpaus konplexu atziz-
ki menderatzaile desberdinekin. (9)-n horren adibide bat ematen dugu (zerrenda osoa
artikuluaren bukaeran jarri dugu, eranskinean):

- (9) a. *umiari ekarri-dotzo erregalúa*
b. *umiari ekarri dotzola erregalúa esan dau*
c. *umiari ekarri dotzolako erregalúa ipiñi da pozik*
d. *ía umiari ekarri dotzon erregalúa pregunta dau*
e. *umiari ekarri dotzonian erregalúa ipiñi da pozik*
f. *umiari ekarri dotzon erregalúa da merkia*
g. *umiari ekarri dotzonetik erregalúa dabill pozik*

(9)-n mendeko aditzaren aurrean dagoen hitzak (*umiari*) azentua badarama, espe-
ro dugu tonu beheakada bat ikustea hurrengo silaban, Lekeitioko hizkeran azentua
H*L kontornu baten bidez gauzatzen baita (G. Elordieta, 1998). Beraz, *umiari* hitzaren
azken bokalaren tonua eta *ekarri* hitzaren lehen bokalaren tonua neurtzen baditugu,
alde nabari bat aurkituko dugu printzipioz, ikus 1. irudia. Aldiz, *umiari* hitzak ez
badu azenturik hartzen, bi silaben arteko tonu aldea askoz txikiagoa izango da, ikus
2. irudia.



1. Irudia: *umiarí ekarri dotzola erregalúa esan nau* ‘umeari ekarri diola erregalua esan dit’. *Umiarí* hitzak gal-degaiaren azentua darama.



2. Irudia: *umiarí ekarri dotzolako erregalúa ipini da pozik* ‘umeari ekarri diolako erregalua ipini da pozik’. *Umiarí* hitzak ez du azenturik.

Esan bezala, kontraste hau Bizkaiko iparraldeko doinu-azentuzko hizkeretan aurkitzen da. Hemen erabili ditugun adibideak lekeitierazkoak dira, baina Arregik (2006) ondarruerazko datuak aurkezten ditu. Guk, ebidentzia esperimentalak jasotzeko,

Lekeitioko hiru hiztuni eta Amorotoko beste hiztun bati eskatu diegu esaldi zerrenda osoa irakurtzeko bi aldiz, hurrenkera arbitrario batean (10 esaldi sorta x 7 esaldi x 2 errepikapen x 4 hiztun = 560 *token*). Lekeitioko hiztunak bi emakume eta gizon bat izan dira, 19-52 urte bitartekoak; bi goi-mailako ikasketadunak eta bat goi-mailako ikasketak egiten ari dena. Amorotoko hiztuna emakumezkoa izan da, 19 urtekoa, goi-mailako ikasketak egiten ari dena.

Analisi akustikoa PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2017) programaren bidez egin dugu. *Textgrid*-etan bi bokal segmentatu ditugu eskuz: galdegaigunean dagoen hitzaren bokal azentuduna eta partizipioaren azken bokala, 1-2 irudietan erakusten den bezala. Tonu (F0) neurketak automatikoki atera ditugu *script* edo programa berezi batekin.

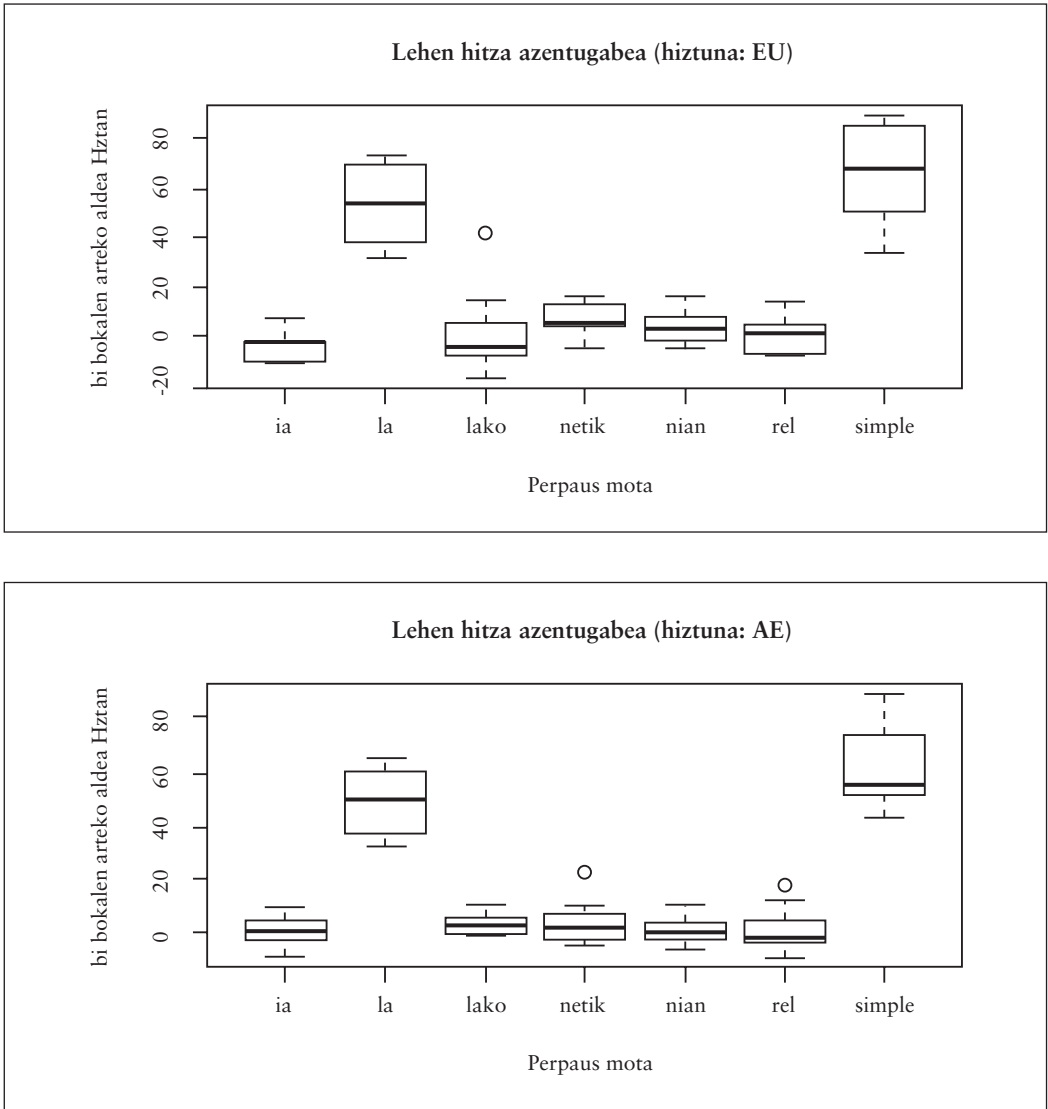
Esan bezala, segmentatu ditugun bi silabetako F0 balioak konparatuz, diferentzia handiak espero ditugu lehen hitzak fonologikoki H*L azentu bat daramanean; hau da, (a) hitza lexikalki azentuduna denean eta (b) lexikalki azentugabea bada ere galdegaiazen azentua jasotzen duenean. (b) kasuan perpaus sinpleak eta *-ela* atzizkia duten konpletiboak ditugu. Beste kasu guztietan aldea askoz txikiagoa izan beharko litzateke, hipotesiari jarraituz: lehen hitza lexikalki azentugabea denean eta menpeko aditz laguntzaileak *-elako*, *-en*, *-enian* edo *-enétik* atzizkia daramanean.

Analisi estatistikoa egiteko R/Rstudio (R Core Team, 2017; R Studio Team, 2017) erabili dugu.

3. EMAITZAK

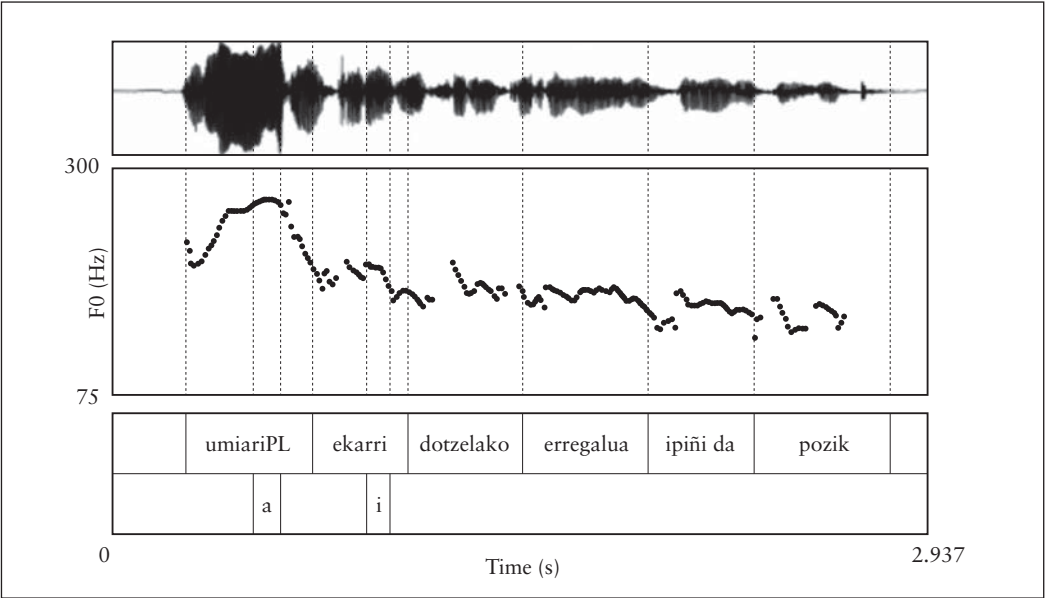
Emaitzak irudietan aurkezteko esaldiak bi taldetan banatu ditugu aditzaren aurrean dagoen hitzaren azentuera lexikalaren arabera³. 3. irudian galdegaigunean dagoen hitza azentugabea da. Ardatz bertikalean bi hitzen arteko aldea Hz-tan erakusten da. Ikusten den bezala, neurketa honek alde batetik perpaus sinpleak eta *-ela* daukaten konpletiboak jartzen ditu eta bestetik beste esaldi mota guztiak. Ez dago gainjartzerik. Bi bokalen arteko batez besteko aldea (lehen hiztuna/bigarren hiztuna) 65,9/62,2 Hzkoa da esaldi sinpleetan eta 54,2/49,4 Hzkoa *-ela* duten konpletiboetan. Beste esaldi mota guztietan, batez bestekoak askoz txikiagoak dira: *ia* = -3,7/0,7; *-elako* = 1,6/3,6; *-enétik* = 6,5/4,2; *-enian* = 3,3/1,3; erlatibozkoak = 0,2/1,3. Hipotesia, beraz, baieztatu dugu.

3 Lau hiztun grabatu eta aztertu baditugu ere, zorritzarrez ez dugu astirik izan datu guztiak segmentatzeko. Hemen bi hiztunen emaitzak baino ez ditugu analisi estatistikoan sartuko. Datuak kuantitatiboki oso antzekoak dira bi hiztunen artean. Lehen hiztunak ez zekien gure hipotesia zein zen, eta bigarren hiztuna egileetarikoa bat da (biak emakumeak). F0 kontornuak ikusita argi dago beste bi hiztunek ere kontraste berberak egiten dituztela, galdegaiazen azentua posiblea delarik *-ela* duten menpeko esaldietako aditzen aurrean baina ez beste konplementatzaileak dituzten menpeko esaldietan. Lekeitioko hiztunen eta Amorotoko hiztunaren arteko ezberdintasun bakarra da Amorotokoak azentu deribatua hitzaren azkenaurreko silaban ezartzen duela, Markinan eta Ondarroan egiten den bezala (Hualde, 1997, 201-221. orr.).



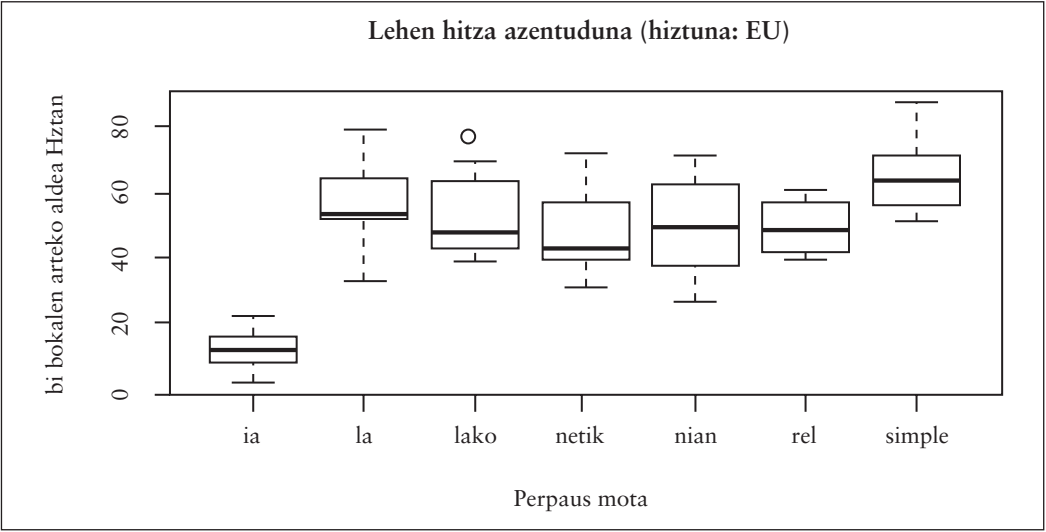
3. irudia: neurtutako bi bokalen arteko aldea Hz-tan, aditzaren aurrean dagoen hitza lexikalki azentugabea denean. (Bi hiztun).

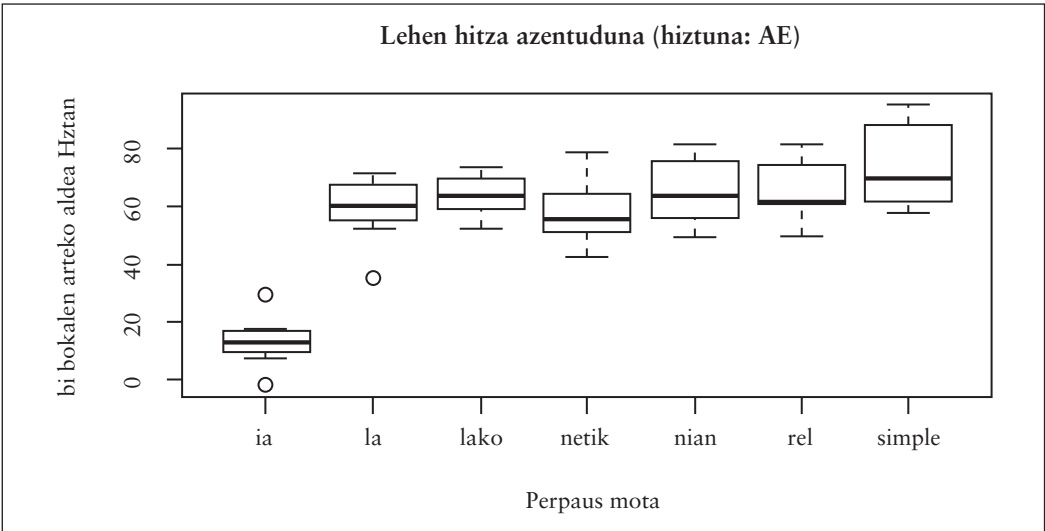
Egoera guztiz desberdina da galdegaigunean dagoen hitzak (lehen hitza gure neurketan) azentu lexikala daukanean. 4. irudian lehen aditzak *-elako* lokailua darabena, 2. irudian bezala, baina aditzaren aurrean dagoen hitza azentuduna da (*umiári* ‘umeei’).



4. irudia: *umiári ekarri dotzeláko erregalúa ipiñi da pozik* ‘umeei ekarri dielako erregalua ipini da pozik’. *Umiá-ri* hitza azentuduna da.

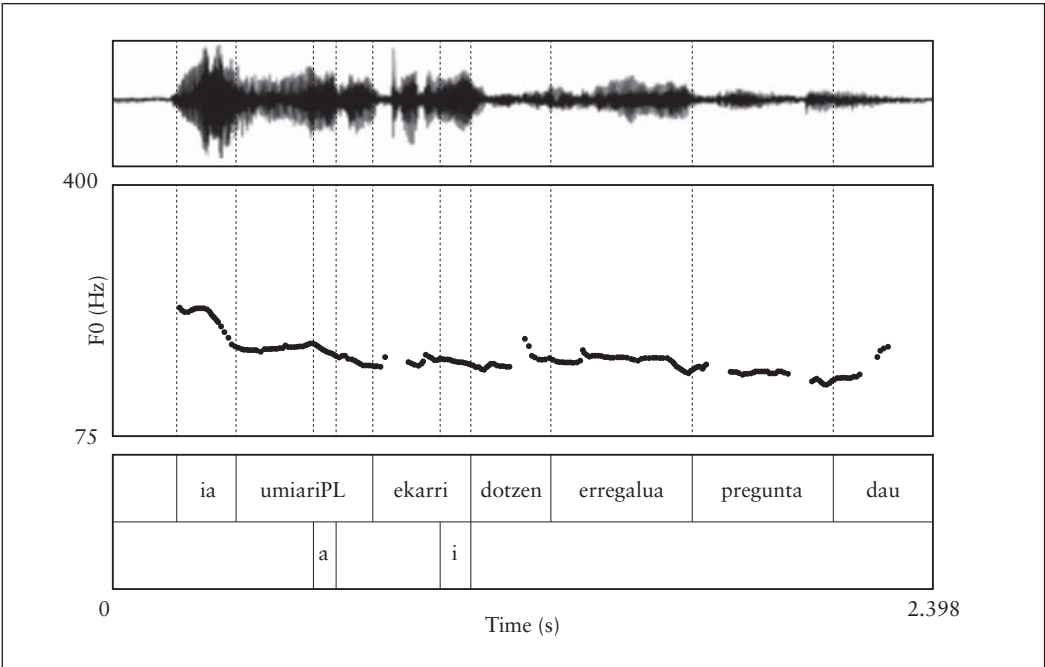
Kasu honetan ‘*ía*’ duten esaldiak alde batetik doaz, oso diferentzia txikiekin (batez bestekoa, lehen hitzuna/bigarren hitzuna: 11,5/12,9 Hz), eta beste talde batean beste esaldi guztiak alde askoz handiagoekin, 50 Hz ingurukoak bi hitzuntzat (batez bestekoak: *-ela* = 55,8/59 Hz; *-elako* = 52,2/63,8 Hz; *-enétik* = 48,5/57,3 Hz; *-enian* = 48,1/65,5 Hz; erlatibozkoak = 49,5/64 Hz; eta sinpleak = 65,9/73,3 Hz).





5. irudia: neurtutako bi bokalen arteko aldea Hz-tan, aditzaren aurrean dagoen hitza lexikoki azentuduna de-nean. (Bi hiztun).

Hemen gertatzen dena da *ía* partikula menperatzailea azentuduna dela, ikus 6. iru-dia. Arrazoi horregatik kasu honetan gure lehen neurketa esaldiaren bigarren azentuari dagokio.



6. irudia: *ía umiári ekarri dótzen erregalúa pregunta dau* ‘ea umeei ekarri dien erregalua galdetu du’. *ía* hitza azentuduna da eta hurrengo azentua, *umiári* hitzean, beheratu egiten du.

Beraz, hemen interesatzen zaigun kontrastea ez da ikusten galdegaigunean dagoen hitza lexikoki azentuduna denean, baina bai, eta oso argi, hitz hori azentugabea denean. Galdera da zergatik *-ela* atzizkia daramaten perpaus konpletiboak bereziak diren eta haien barruko hitz azentugabeak soilik eraman dezakeen galdegaiaren azentua.

Analisi estatistikorako datu guztiak kontuan hartu genituen (guztira 280 esaldi) eta hiru mailako aldagai bat sortu genuen (Esaldi Mota): esaldi sinpleak, konpletiboak eta beste menpeko esaldiak. Neurtutako bi bokalen f0-ko aldeen efektu mistoko erregresio analisi bat egin genuen R programaren bitartez (R Core Team, 2017) lme4 paketeko *lmer* funtzioarekin (Bates, Maechler, Bolker & Walker, 2015) (p-ren balioak *afex* pake-tearekin lortu ziren, Singmann, Bolker, Westfall & Aust, 2017). Faktore tinko bezala Esaldi Motaren eta Azentu Motaren arteko interakzioa aukeratu genuen, non Esaldi Mota faktoreak hiru maila dituen eta Azentu Mota faktorea lehen hitzari dagokion (azentuduna edo azentugabea den). Gure hiztunek esaldiak bi aldiz errepikatu zituztenez, errepikapena ere sartu genuen faktore tinko bezala. Faktore aleatorio bezala hiztuna eta esaldiaren lehen hitza sartu ziren. Hau da, erregresioak (*lmer*) honako egitura du: $f0_{diff} \sim \text{EsaldiMota} * \text{AzentuMota} + \text{Errepikapena} (1|hiztun) + (1|hitz)$.

Hurrengo konparaketen emaitzak estatistikoki esanguratsuak ziren erregresio horretan: konpletiboak vs beste menpekoak (Est. = -10.08, $t = -2.77$, $p < 0.01$) eta bere interakzioa Azentu Mota faktorearekin (Est. = -39.75 Hz, $t = -7.61$, $p < 0.001$); konpletiboak vs sinpleak (Est. = 12.16 Hz, $t = 2.58$, $p < 0.05$). Errepikapenak ez zuen efekturik.

Beraz, gure analisiaren emaitzek erakusten dute *-ela* konplementatzailea duten esaldien eta beste menpeko esaldien arteko F0-ko aldeak estatistikoki esanguratsuak direla eta diferentzia horiek askoz handiagoak direla galdegaian dagoen hitza azentugabea denean. Bigarrenik, *-ela* konplementatzailea duten esaldien eta esaldi sinpleen artean dauden aldeak ere esanguratsuak dira.

4. ANALISI SINTAKTIKOA

4.1. Kontrastea: *-ela* vs. beste konplementatzaileak

Gorago aipatu dugunez ((5), (6) adibideak), azentu nagusiaren kokapena aldatu egin da menpeko perpausa motaren arabera (A. Elordieta, 2002; Arregi, 2006). A. Elordietak ohartarazi zuen asimetria bat zegoela azentu nagusiaren kokapenean, menpeko perpausa osagarri perpausa izan *-i. e.*, *-ela* konplementatzaileduna– ala adjunktua *-i. e.*, *-elako/-enean* konplementatzaileduna– (ikus (9)-ko adibideak), eta proposatu zuen asimetriak lotura zuela egitura sintaktikoarekin, adjuntuak irla sintaktikoak direlako, eta azentu nagusiaren ezarketak ezin duelako irla barruan eragin⁴.

4 Arregik (2006) beste analisi bat proposatzen du, baina funtsean Elordietak (2002) aztergai dituen perpaus mota berak aztertzen ditu, eta kontraste bera dagoela berresten du.

Hala ere, menpeko perpaus gehiagori erreparatuz gero, berehala konturatuko gara banaketa nagusia ez dela gertatzen *osagarri perpausak* vs. *adjunktu perpausen* artean, baizik eta *-ela* perpausak vs. *-en/-enean/-enétik...* perpausen artean datzala. Hau da, gakoa menperatzailearen hautaketan bertan datza, ez horrenbeste menpeko perpausaren funtzio sintaktikoan. Izan ere, zehargalderak osagarri perpausak izan arren, desberdin jokatzen dute azentu nagusiaren kokapenari dagokionez, adjunktu perpausekin lerrokatuz. Hurrengo adibideek erakusten duten bezala, (11)-ko eta (12)-ko menpeko esaldiek portaera berdina dute, nahiz eta (11)-koak adjunktu funtzioa izan eta (12)-ko zehargaldera esaldi nagusiko aditzaren osagarria izan⁵:

- (10) [Zure lagun^{en} alabiá etorrí dalá] esan dau
 (11) [Zure lagun^{en} alabi^a etorrí dalakó] esan dau hori
 (12) [(í)a zure lagun^{en} alabi^a etorrí dán] pregunta nau

Gauza bera gertatzen da *-en* menderagailua hautatzen duten bestelako izen-predikatu perpausekin ere, *dudia daukát zeure alabi^a etorríko (ete) dan* motakoekin, alegia. Hauetan ere aditz jokatuaren aurreko osagaiak ezin du azentua jaso, espero bezala gure hipotesia bide onetik badoa. Era berean, hurrengo adibideek erakusten dute foku azentuaren banaketa ez dagoela zuzenean lotuta aditz nagusiaren izaerarekin, hots, *esan* motakoa den (hizkuntza germaniarretan MCP edo perpaus nagusiaren itxurako mendekoak hartzen dituen) edo faktiboa den⁶:

- (13) a. [etxe barrijá erosí dozulá] ahaztu jat
 b. [etxe barrijá erosí dozulá] jakin dot

(10)-(13)-ko datuek aditzera ematen dutenez, soilik *-ela*-dun menpeko osagarri perpausaren barneko argumentuak jaso dezake azentua; beste kasuetan aditz laguntzailean kokatzen da. Ondoko lerroetan asimetria hauen berri eman dezakeen proposamen bat aurkeztu nahi dugu, azken urteetan sintaxiaren eta PF-ren arteko interfazeaz diharduten hainbat lanetan irekitako ildotik. Zehazki, azentu nagusia ezartzen duen arau fonologikoa sintaxian zikloak bereizten dituen *faseekin* elkarreraginean dagoela proposatuko dugu (Legate, 2003; Adger, 2007; Kratzer & Selkirk, 2007; Kahnemuyipour, 2009; Downing, 2010; Ahn, 2015).

5 Zuzentzaile batek iradokitzen du beharbada manten daitekeela Elordietak (2002) azentua jaso ezin izatea irla sintaktikoak izateari leporatzen zion ideia, aintzat hartuta *-en* zehargalderetan operatzaile baten mugimendua gertatzen dela. Datu gehiagorekin aztertzeke kontua den arren, ez dugu uste adjunktu perpaus^{en} eta *-en* zehargalderekin irla-efektu berberak erakusten dituztenik; izan ere, ezaguna da zehargalderak irla ahulak direla ateraketa kontuetarako (eta, ondorioz, hiztunen arteko barne-aldakortasun gehiago dago), adjunktu perpaus^{en} irla sendoen efektuak erakusten dituzten bitartean. Bestalde, azken urteotan eztabaida bizia dago «irla efektuak» benetan sintaxiaren kontuak diren, ala kontu semantiko-pragmatikoa den (besteak beste, Szabolcsi, 2006; Boeckx, 2012).

6 Eskerrak eman nahi dizkiogu zuzentzaile anonimoetako bati datu hauek gure analisisira batu ditzagun iradokitzeagatik.

4.2. Azentua eta faseak

Ezaguna denez, hainbat lanetan argudiatu da perpauseko azentu nagusiaren kokapena (NSR) ez dela ‘erabakitzen’ eratorpen sintaktiko osoa burutu arte, baizik eta zatika, zikloka, gertatzen dela (Bresnan-en (1971) aspaldiko ideia garatuz). Adger-ek (2007) eta Kratzer-rek eta Selkirk-ek (2007) diotenez (ikus baita Legate, 2003; Kahnemuyipour, 2009), hipotesirik sinpleena da pentsatzea azentu ezarketaren eremu fonologikoak badiela bere baliokidea eremu sintaktikoan: fasea (Chomsky, 2001, 2004, 2006). Uriagerekaren (1999) *Ahoskatze Anizkuna* (*Multiple Spell-out*) analisis oinarrituz, ideia da azentu nagusia ziklikoki ezartzen dela fase bakoitza *Ahoskatze-gunera* (*Spell-out*) bidaltzen den bakoitzean. Azterbide honetan lan egiten duten lanetan estandarra denez, Ahoskatze-gunera bidaltzen dena fase-buruaren osagarria da bakarrik; burua bera eta haren espezifikatzailea hurrengo fasera arte ‘erabilgarri’ daude eratorpen sintaktikorako. Horrek esan nahi du azentuaren ezarketak fase-buruaren osagarrian dauden elementuei bakarrik eragingo diela (Legate, 2003; Adger, 2007; Ahn, 2015).

Era berean, garrantzitsua da azpimarratzea azterbide honetan Ahoskatzea fasearen eremu barruko mugimendu guztiak egin ondoren gertatzen dela. Ondorioz, azentu nagusia ezartzen duen arau fonologikoak mugimenduen ondoren geratzen diren osagaiak eragingo die fase bakoitzean. Ikusiko dugunez, mugimendua gertatu den ala ez onartzeak ondorioak izango ditu aztergai dugun *-ela* vs. *-en/-enétik/-enean/-elako* kontrastea azaltzeko.

Azentu nagusia nola ezartzen den iragartzeko, NSR erregelaren bertsio hau erabiliko dugu, Adgerren (2007) formulazioa egokituz⁷:

- (14) a. Errepikatu azentu nagusia hurrengo zikloetan (faseetan)
- b. Azentua duen osagairik ez badago, eskuinaldean dagoen osagaiarena islatu

Azkenik, aS eta JokS⁸ (= CP Chomskyren 2001, 2004 eta ondoko lanetan) sintagmez gain, PosS ere fasea dela (Abels, 2003, 2012) onartuko dugu.

Ikus dezagun nola eratortzen dugun aztergai ditugun menpeko perpausen azentuaren gauzapena. Apur bat sinplifikatuko ditugu goragoko perpausak, deribazioa errazteko asmotan:

- (15) [Zure alabiá etorrí dalá] esan dau
- (16) [(í)a zure alabia etorrí dán] pregunta nau
- (17) [Zure alabia etorrí dalakó] esan dau hori

7 Adger (2007, 28. orr.): a. Project the highest stress to the next line of the grid.
b. In the absence of a highest stress, project the rightmost. [*cfr.* Gussenhoven, 1983].

8 Hemen Jon Ortiz de Urbinari (1999, 2008) jarraitzen diogu Rizzi-k (1997) abiatutako Konplementatzaile Sintagmaren zatiketaren analisisa euskarara ekarriz, hau da, JokS = Jokatua Sintagma, buru azkena da, eta haren goragoko kategoria funtzionalak (FokuS, TopS eta IndarS) buru lehenak.

Has gaitezen *-ela* konplementatzaileak perpausen deribazioarekin⁹. Chomskyri (2001) jarraituz, aditz ezakusatiboetako *aS* ‘akastuna’ da eta ez da fasetzat hartzen. Beraz, deribazioak aurrera egiten jarraituko du ezer Ahoskatu gabe hurrengo fasera arte: ‘etorri’ aditza lehenik *a* aditz txikira igoko da, gero Denb txertatuko da, aditza bertara mugituko da eta [zure alabiá] DenbS-ren espezifikatzaileira igoko da. Hurrengo, Jokatua fase-burua txertatuko da, [A-Denb] Jok burura igoko da, eta honen osagarria den DenbS bidaliko da Ahoskatze-gunera. DenbS-n [zure alabiá] bakarrik dago, eta berak jasotzen du azentu nagusia menpeko perpausaren barruan.

$$(18) \quad [_{\text{JokS}} [_{\text{DenbS}} \text{zure alabiá } t [_{\text{aS}} t t]] \text{etorri dala}]$$

-en eta *-elako* konplementatzaileak perpausari dagokienez, eratorpenak *-ela* perpausekin proposatu dugun modura lan egiten du, desberdintasun batekin: Kayne-k (2000) frantseseko eta beste hizkuntza batzuetako konplementatzaileei buruz iradokitakoari jarraituz, *-en*, *-enétik*, *-elako* motako konplementatzaileak **posposiziodun konplementatzaileak** direla proposatuko dugu, ondoko egitura proposatuz:

$$(19) \quad [_{\text{PosS}} [_{\text{JokS}} [_{\text{DenbS}}]]]$$

Era berean, Kaynerekin (2000, 2005) batera proposatuko dugu posposiziodun Konp honek DenbS-ren mugimendua erakartzen duela. Oinarri hauek aintzat hartuz, *-ela* duten menpeko perpausekin dagoen alde honetan datza: Pos fase-burua txertatzen denean, Jokatua buruan dagoen osagaia Pos-ra mugitzen da, eta DenbS Pos-ren espezifikatzaileira. Hartara, PosP fasearen osagarria (JokS) Ahoskatze-gunera bidaltzen denean, osagarri hau hutsik dago, ez du izaera fonologikorik (aditz jokatuaren eta DenbS-ren azternak bakarrik daudelako). Hortaz, (14b)-ren arabera, PosP osoan eskuinaldean dagoen elementuak (aditz jokatuak) jasoko du azentu nagusia. PosP fasearen ertzean (espezifikatzailean) dagoen DenbS ez da konputatzen Ahoskatze-gunerako¹⁰.

$$(20) \quad [_{\text{PosS}} [_{\text{DenbS}} \text{zure alabiá } t] [_{\text{JokS}} [t_{\text{DenbS}} [_{\text{aS}} t t]] t] \text{etorri dalakó}]$$

9 Lanaren orrialde-kopuruaren muga dela eta, hemen aurkezten dugun eratorpenean egitura nahiko sinplifikatu dugu, eta tradizionalizat jo daitekeen buru-mugimenduaren azterbidea onartu dugu (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Laka, 1990; Elordieta, 2001). Zuzentzaile batek ohartarazten duenez, aldiz, azterbide honek baditu arazo batzuk (besteak beste, morfema ebidentzialak aditzaren eta laguntzailearen artean agertzea, edota ezeztapenaren hurrenkera), eta iradokitzen du arazoak saihesteko gure proposamenari eutsi dakiokela onartuz gero aditza Aspektu burura mugitzen dela lehenik, eta hau postposizioduna baldin bada, haren osagarria den [zure alabiá] sintagmak jasoko duela azentua, espero bezala. Iradokizun honek xehekiago aztertzea merezi du, dituen ondorioengatik, baina nolana ere, garrantzitsua da azpimarratzea ez duela zalantzan jartzen gure proposamenaren muina edo izpiritua.

10 Proposamen honek, gainera, lagun gaitzake ulertzen zergatik erakusten dituzten irla efektuak (batzuk ahulak, besteak sendoagoak) posposiziodun konplementatzaileak daramaten perpausak:

(i) ??? Nori galdetu duzu [t saria eman dioten]?

(ii) *Nor abiatuko zarete mendira [t etorriko denean]?

Izan ere, egitura horietan DenbS P-ren espezifikatzailean badago, ateraketa nekezagoa gertatzea espero izatekoa da.

5. ONDORIOAK

Lan honen abiapuntua eta xedea menpeko perpausetako azentu nagusiaren kokapena aztertzea izan da. Zehazki, aditz aurreko hitz azentugabeei erreparatu diegu, horietan soilik ikus daitekeelako *-ela* menpeko perpausen eta *-en*, *-enétik*, *-elako*, *-enean* menpeko perpausen arteko asimetria interesgarria azentu deribatuaren kokapenari dago-kionez. Alde batetik enpirikoki baieztatu nahi izan dugu asimetria benetan gertatzen den, eta bestetik kontraste honi azalpena bilatu nahi izan diegu. Emaitez erakusten dutenez, kontrastea egiazkoa da; *-ela* menpeko perpausaren aurreko hitz azentugabeek azentua jaso dezakete, baina azertu ditugun beste menpeko perpausen aurreko hitz azentugabeek ez. Hauetan, azentua aditz laguntzaileak eta konplementatzaileak osatzen duten hitz prosodikoan kokatzen da.

Asimetriaren berri emateko, PF-ren eta sintaxiaren arteko harremana aztertzen duten hainbat lanen ildotik (Legate, 2003; Adger, 2007; Kratzer & Selkirk, 2007; Kahnemuyi-pour, 2009; besteak beste), azentuaren ezarketaren eremu fonologikoa fase sintaktikoa dela proposatu dugu, eta hala, ziklikoki, faseka, erabakitzen dela. Faseak *a*, *Jok*, eta *P* direla aintzat hartuz, proposatu dugu eratorpen sintaktikoan eratutako fase bat *Aboskatze-gunera* bidaltzen den bakoitzean azentu nagusiaren ezarketaren araua aplikatzen dela, eta hurrengo fasean berriro, perpaus osoa islatu arte. Adgerren (2007) formulazioa (14)-n egokitu dugu, eta menpeko perpausetako hitz azentugabeek erakusten duten jokabide desberdina azaltzeko *-ela* konplementatzaileak perpausak eta besteak egitura desberdina dutela proposatu dugu. Zehazki, iradoki dugu *-ela* izan ezik, beste konplementatzaileak postposiziodun konplementatzaileak direla, eta Kayneri (2000) jarraituz, Konp honek DenbS-ren mugimendua erakartzen duela bere espezifikatzaile-ra. Horrela, azentuaren ezarketak fase-buruaren osagarrian dauden elementuei baka-rrik eragiten badie (Legate, 2003; Adger, 2007; Ahn, 2015), arau honek ez du «ikusten» espezifikatzailean dagoena, eta, horrenbestez, posposiziodun konplementatzailea duten menpekoetan (14b) aplikatzen da eta eskuinaldean dagoen aditz jokatuak jasoko du azentu nagusia. *-ela* konplementatzailea, aldiz, ez da posposizioduna, eta, ondorioz, DenbS ez da mugituko, eta aditzaren aurreko hitzak jasotzen du azentu nagusia.

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7. ERANSKINA

[Azentu markak hiztunek ahoskatutakoa islatzeko dira. Ez ziren azentu markak jarri hiztunei aurkeztutako esaldietan, hiztunen ekoizpena ez baldintzatzeko. Azentu markak bakarrik singularra eta plurala bereizteko erabili ziren, adib. *lagunari* vs. *lagunári*; *umiari* vs. *umiári*].

- Hitz azentugabeak menpeko aditzaren aurrean

nire diruá emon nau
 zure diruá emón nabelá esan dau
 zure dirua emón nabelakó esan dau hori
 ía zure dirua emón nabén pregunta dau
 zure dirua emón nabenián esan dau hori
 zure dirua emón naben mutillá ikusi dot.
 zure dirua emón nabenétik dabill preguntáten mutilla

ogidxá erosi dau
 ogidxá erosi dabelá esan nau
 ogidxa erosi dabelakó esan nau hori
 ía ogidxa erosi dabén pregunta nau
 ogidxa erosi dabenián esan dau hori
 ogidxa erosi daben umiá ikusi dot
 ogidxa erosi dabenétik dago líbre Jon

beren alabiá ikusi dogu
 beren alabiá ikusi dogulá esan dotzagu
 beren alabiá ikusi dogulakó pregunta gaitxuz hori
 ía beren alabia ikusi dogún pregunta gaitxuz
 beren alabia ikusi dogunián abixa dotzagu
 beren alabia ikusi daben irakasliák abixa dotzo
 beren alabia ikusi dogunétik gagoz hamen

lagunarí deitxu dotzagu
 lagunarí deitxú dotzagulá esan dotzat
 lagunari deitxú dotzagulakó esan dotzat hori
 ía lagunari deitxú dotzagún pregunta nau
 lagunari deitxú dotzagunián esan dotzat
 lagunari deitxú dotzon neskia dá Míren
 lagunari deitxú dotzagunétik dago hasarratúta Míkel

umiarí ekarri dotzo erregalúa
 umiarí ekarrí dotzola erregalúa esan dau
 umiari ekarrí dotzolako erregalúa ipiñi da pozik
 ía umiari ekarrí dotzon erregalúa pregunta dau
 umiari ekarrí dotzonian erregalúa ipiñi da pozik

umiari ekarrí dotzon erregalúa da merkia
umiari ekarrí dotzonétik erregalúa dabill pozik Jone

- Hitz azentudunak menpeko aditzaren aurrean

nire bideúa emon nau
zure bideúa emón nabelá esan dau
zure bideúa emón nabelakó esan dau hori
ía zure bideúa emón nabén pregunta dau
zure bideúa emón nabenián esan dau hori
zure bideúa emón naben mutillá ikusi dot
zure bideúa emón nabenétik dabill preguntáten mutilla

liburúa erosi dau
liburúa erosí dabelá esan nau
liburúa erosí dabelakó esan nau hori
ía liburúa erosí dabén pregunta nau
liburúa erosí dabenián esan dau hori
liburúa erosí daben umiá ikusi dot
liburúa erosí dabenetik dago líbre Jon

beren alábak ikusi doguz
beren alábak ikusí doguzelá esan dotzagu
beren alábak ikusí doguzelakó pregunta gaitxuz hori
ía beren alábak ikusi doguzen pregunta gaitxuz
beren alábak ikusí doguzenián abixa dotzagu
beren alábak ikusí dabezen irakasliák abixa dotzo
beren alábak ikusí doguzenétik gagoz hamen

lagunári deitxu dotzagu
lagunári deitxú dotzagulá esan dotzat
lagunári deitxú dotzagulakó esan dotzat hori
ía lagunári deitxú dotzagún pregunta nau
lagunári deitxú dotzagunián esan dotzat
lagunári deitxú dotzon neskia dá Míren
lagunári deitxú dotzagunétik dago hasarratúta Míkel

umiári ekarri dótze erregalúa
umiári ekarrí dotzéla erregalúa esan dau
umiári ekarrí dotzeláko erregalúa ipiñi da pozik
ía umiári ekarrí dótzen erregalúa pregunta dau
umiári ekarrí dotzenián erregalúa ipiñi da pozik
umiári ekarrí dótzen erregalúa da merkia
umiári ekarrí dotzenétik erregalúa dabill pozik Jone

Wh-Islands in L2 Spanish and L2 English: Between Poverty of the Stimulus and Data Assessment

NZ-irlak H2 gisako gaztelanian eta ingelesean: estimuluaren urritasunaren eta datuen analisiaren artean

Islas-Q en Español L2 y en Inglés L2: entre la pobreza de estímulo y el análisis de los datos

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ABSTRACT

This paper sheds light on the acquisition of wh-islands in L2 English spoken by native speakers of Spanish and L2 Spanish spoken by native speakers of English as well as on the distribution of wh-islands in L1 Spanish. A grammaticality judgment task with a 7-point Likert scale provides evidence that wh-island effects are present in L1 and L2 Spanish as well as L1 and L2 English. The L1 Spanish facts challenge the received view of wh-islands in this language, in keeping with recent developments which show that islands are more widely attested across languages than previously thought. These facts also highlight the dialogue between L2 research and replication studies thanks to the use of native control groups.

Keywords: wh-islands; L2 acquisition; data assessment; poverty of the stimulus; experimental syntax.

LABURPENA

Artikulu honek argitu nahi du nola jabetzen diren NZ-irlez ingelesa H2 gisa duten gaztelaniadun natiboak eta gaztelania H2 gisa duten ingelesdun natiboak. Artikuluak, halaber, NZ-irlak arakutzen ditu H1 gisako gaztelanian. 7 puntuko Likert eskalako gramatikaltasun juzkuei buruzko azterketa batek erakusten du NZ-irla efektuak sortzen direla bai H1 eta H2 gisako gaztelanian bai H1 eta H2 gisako ingelesean. Bestalde, H1 gisako gaztelanian lortutako emaitzek zalantzatan jartzen dituzte NZ-irlez tradizioz izan den ikuspegia eta bat egiten dute aspaldi honetako joerekin, zeinek agerian uzten duten lehenago uste zena baino hizkuntza gehiagotan daudela irla sintaktikoak.

Gako hitzak: NZ-irlak; H2ren jabekuntza; datuen analisia; estimuluen urritasuna; sintaxis experimental.

RESUMEN

Este artículo estudia la adquisición de las islas-q en el inglés como L2 hablado por nativos de español y en el español como L2 hablado por nativos de inglés, así como la presencia de islas-q en español como L1. Un estudio de juicios de gramaticalidad con una escala Likert de 7 puntos proporciona evidencia de que los efectos de isla-q están presentes tanto en español como L1 y L2, como en inglés L1 y L2. Los resultados del español como L1 cuestionan la visión tradicional sobre las islas-q en esta lengua. Asimismo también evidencian la importancia del diálogo entre la investigación en L2 y los estudios de réplica o evaluación de datos.

Palabras clave: islas-q; adquisición de L2; evaluación de datos; pobreza del estímulo; sintaxis experimental.

1. INTRODUCTION. 2. THE RECEIVED VIEW ON WH-ISLANDS IN L1 ENGLISH AND L1 SPANISH. 3. THE VIEW FROM THE L2. 4. METHODOLOGY. 4.1. Participants. 4.2. Design. 5. RESULTS. 5.1. Spanish. 5.2. English. 5.3. Linguist versus non-Linguist. 5.4. Basque Spanish vs. Non-Basque Iberian Spanish. 6. DISCUSSION. 7. CONCLUSION. 8. FUTURE WORK. 9. REFERENCES. 10. APPENDIX. RAW DATA AND EXPERIMENTAL STIMULI. 10.1. Experimental Stimuli. 10.1.1. English - Base Lexicalizations of the Experimental Conditions. 10.1.2. Spanish - Base Lexicalizations of the Experimental Conditions.

1. INTRODUCTION

So-called syntactic islands are domains opaque to wh-extraction. The crosslinguistic variation in those island or locality effects, their relation to Universal Grammar (UG) and their acquisition have figured prominently in the theoretical literature (see Boeckx, 2012 for perspective). Here we focus on a subcase of syntactic island, namely, the wh-island, which involves the extraction of a wh-phrase out of an embedded interrogative clause. According to the literature, English is a paradigmatic case of a language where the wh-island constraint is active in contrast to Spanish, which shows a slightly more complex phenomenon in that wh-island effects are constrained to a fewer set of environments than those reported for English (Torrego, 1984), hence the contrast in grammaticality in (1) and (2)¹:

(1)	??What _i do you wonder [_{wh-island} whether John bought t _j]? English
(2)	¿Qué _i no sabes [_{wh-island} si Pedro compró t _j]? Spanish
	what not know.2SG if Pedro bought
	'What do you wonder whether Pedro bought?'

1 The judgment in (2) corresponds to the received view in the theoretical literature; our data. Part of our goals in this paper is to determine its acceptability using experimental data collection methods, therefore, we restrict ourselves to the description in the literature at this point in the paper, for the sake of exposition.

In her study on the acquisition of wh-islands in second language acquisition, Reglero (2003) used a grammaticality judgment task to determine whether second language learners (sequential bilinguals) can acquire wh-island effects (or lack thereof). According to her results, native speakers of English learning Spanish and native speakers of Spanish learning English both converge with the grammar of the target language, that is, the former are able to learn that the wh-island constraint is not active in Spanish in certain contexts, whereas the latter are able to enforce wh-islands uniformly in English. This result is particularly relevant in the context of generative grammar, as it provides evidence for the access to UG in L2 (second language) acquisition (*e. g.*, see Hawkins & Chan, 1997; Hawkins, 2000; Epstein, Flynn & Martohardjono, 1996 and Flynn, 1987 for various proposals concerning the access to UG in L2) given familiar poverty of the stimulus considerations. Specifically, island constraints pertain to the tacit knowledge of the native speakers and are not taught in language classes. It is unclear how parameter resetting could take place, particularly given the absence of negative evidence for L1 (first language) Spanish / L2 English subjects, whose native language allows for island violations as opposed to the target language, *unless* UG is accessible for L2 learners. In particular, if these subjects were to transfer their native grammar to the target language, the resulting grammar of the target language would be consistent with all the input –their grammar would overgenerate producing structures that in L1 English constitute island violations–, unless L2 learners have full or partial access to UG at the L2 level studied by Reglero (*e. g.*, for instance, under the Full Transfer/Full Access hypothesis, Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996, at early stages of acquisition transfer would be relevant, though UG can guide L2 acquisition at later stages). Various factors, however, call for further research on this issue. First, Reglero's results show that only 68% of Spanish L1 speakers accept wh-extraction out of wh-islands, which is not particularly high. Second, recent advances in experimental syntax have unveiled the existence of wh-island effects in closely-related languages, namely, Brazilian Portuguese and Italian (see Almeida, 2014 & Sprouse, Caponigro, Greco & Cecheto, 2016 for Italian, respectively). In the former case, the island effects are subliminal, meaning that the island effects are present in the language though the effect does not reach the ungrammaticality threshold, in contrast to the Italian case. Third, López Sancio (2015) also provides evidence for locality restrictions for a subset of wh-island structures in Spanish. Still, López Sancio's study includes wh-islands embedded under the verb *preguntarse* 'to ask oneself'. Unfortunately, this verb enforces particularly strict locality restrictions on its complement clause –a potentially idiosyncratic behavior of this verb (Torrego, 1984)– and, thus, its behavior might not be fully representative of Spanish. Thus, a study of wh-islands embedded under verbs other than *preguntarse* is in order. The goals of this research are (i.) to evaluate the results of Reglero (2003); (ii.) to assess the received view of wh-islands in Spanish which considers these to be inactive at least in certain contexts to be discussed below.

Our results show that (i.) the wh-island constraint is more pervasive than previously thought in L1 Spanish; (ii.) L2 Spanish speakers and L2 English speakers converge on the target grammar. Given (i.), the native speakers of Spanish learning English already have the wh-constraint present in their L1 grammar, as opposed to the poverty of the stimulus scenario discussed. In particular, the similarities between L1 Spanish and L1 English can help explain how L2 speakers converge with the target grammars (though access to

UG would explain it as well –both explanations are not incompatible with one another). Taken together, these results provide further evidence challenging the active vs. inactive island dichotomy taken for granted in syntactic theories of crosslinguistic variation of wh-islands (see Almeida, 2014; Sprouse et al., 2016 and López Sancio, 2015 for related discussion). Moreover, the present research emphasizes the relevance of L2 acquisition studies for current debates on data collection methods in syntax and data assessment in general. Specifically, two data-gathering methods are commonly used in linguistics: (i) non-quantitative processes lacking formal data collection protocols or statistical analysis; and (ii) experimental (formal) methods, as used in other domains of the cognitive sciences. While the traditional approach is found throughout, the second («experimental syntax») is becoming more widespread. As part of this shift, classical theoretical data have been questioned (Edelman & Christiansen, 2003; Ferreira, 2005; Gibson & Fedorenko, 2010a, 2010b) and the first large-scale comparisons of the data collected through non-quantitative methods and data collected through experimental methods –data assessment– have been carried out. Sprouse, Schütze and Almeida (2013) found a 95%, and Sprouse and Almeida (2012), 98%, convergence rate between traditional judgments and data gathered experimentally for a 10-year period of research in English published in a top journal and an English syntax textbook, respectively. Spanish has not been studied so thoroughly (though see Ortega-Santos & Uriagereka, 2018 for relevant research). Crucially in the present context, research on L2 includes native speaker control groups for methodological reasons. This entails that L2 research includes a form of data assessment, even if not discussed as such explicitly. Thus, our research underscores the relevance of the dialogue between the L2 literature and the literature on data collection methods.

Other questions briefly considered for methodological reasons are whether there is microvariation in wh-islands in Basque Spanish as opposed to non-Basque Iberian Spanish. Specifically, we studied the Spanish dialect spoken in the Basque Country and the L2 English of that same population. Thus, we included the comparison between Basque Spanish and non-Basque Iberian Spanish, in case language contact could lead to any divergence in the results. We also considered whether linguists and non-linguists diverge in their results (see Sprouse, 2013 for an overview on research on the latter issue), as part of the participants had training in linguistics.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we discuss the received view of wh-islands in Spanish. Section 3 offers a review of previous research on these constructions in L2 acquisition. Methodological considerations are addressed in section 4, followed by an analysis of the results in section 5, a discussion in section 6, a conclusion section and a future work section. The stimuli and other relevant information are included in the appendix.

2. THE RECEIVED VIEW ON WH-ISLANDS IN L1 ENGLISH AND L1 SPANISH

Syntactic islands have received significant attention within generative grammar ever since Ross' (1967) seminal work. In this paper we focus on wh-islands, where extraction out of an embedded interrogative wh-clause yields ungrammatical results in lan-

guages such as English, (3), when compared to the corresponding embedded non-wh clause, (4) (*e. g.*, see Rizzi, 1990, Pesetsky, 1997 and Sprouse et al., 2016; example (1) is repeated for the sake of exposition):

- (3) ??What_i do you wonder [_{wh-island} whether John bought t_i]? = (1) *English*
 (4) What do you say [that John bought t_i]? = (2) *English*

Lately, there has been a shift in the explanation of locality effects. In particular, grammatical theories are being increasingly challenged by so-called processing theories. The former consider islands to be part of the grammar (see Chomsky, 1973 and Rizzi, 1990 for an approach in terms of so-called subadjacency and Relativized Minimality, respectively; more recently, see Chomsky's [2013] account in terms of labeling/the Extended Projection Principle (EPP); see Ortega-Santos, 2016 for critical discussion of the latter approach). In turn, the latter consider islands to arise due to the processing complexity of the resulting structures (*e. g.*, Kluender, 2004 and Hofmeister & Sag, 2010)². For current purposes, the exact theoretical machinery responsible for wh-island effects is orthogonal to the argument being made. Rather, we will focus on the acquisition of wh-islands in L2 Spanish and L2 English. In doing so, we will assess whether the received view concerning wh-islands in L1 Spanish (and L1 English) is accurate, which is essentially a data assessment component or a replication study.

Within the received view on *wh*-islands, these are active in English, but inactive in Spanish (Torrego, 1984), hence the following grammaticality contrast between (3) and (5):

- (5) ¿Qué_i no sabes [_{wh-island} si Pedro compró t_i]? = (2) Spanish
 what not know.2SG if Pedro bought
 'What do you wonder whether Pedro bought?'

Torrego's description, however, is slightly more nuanced, in that she shows embedded clauses to constitute an island provided that (i.) the interrogative complementizer heading the embedded clause triggers *wh*-inversion (hence the contrast in (6) as *por qué* 'why' does not trigger inversion, in contrast to *a quién* 'for whom'), or (ii.) the embedded clause is embedded under the verb *preguntarse* 'wonder', (7) (Torrego, 1984, p. 115 and fn. 25, respectively; her data and judgments)³.

2 A third option is that locality constraints are a conventionalized property of the grammar that is functionally grounded (*e. g.*, Berwick & Weinberg, 1984). For instance, Ortega-Santos (2011) argues that Relativized Minimality is grammaticized as a real constraint that is grounded as a response to memory. See also Reglero (2011) for an analysis of the acquisition of wh-islands in Spanish under the Minimalist framework.

3 According to an anonymous reviewer, (6a) is unacceptable. If so, his or her grammar may have particularly strict locality properties or else he or she may require inversion with *por qué*. For discussion on the properties of subject verb inversion under wh-movement, including the case of *por qué*, see Gallego (2007).

- (6) a. *¿Qué_i dices que no te explicas por qué Juan se habrá*
 what say.2SG that not understand.2SG why Juan RFLX have FUTURE
comprado t_i?
 buy.PART
 'What do you say that you don't understand why John will have bought?'
- b. **¿Qué_i dices que no te explicas a quién_x (le) ha comprado Juan t_i t_x?*
 what say.2SG that not understand.2SG to who (CL) have buy.PART Juan
 'What do you say that you don't understand for whom John has bought?'
- (7) **¿A quién_i te preguntas si ellas entregaron el libro t_i?*
 To whom RFLX wonder.2SG if they.FEM give.PST.3PL the book
 'Who do you wonder if they have given the book to?'

In turn, the wh-inversion or V-preposing rule under wh-movement, which is related to wh-island effects by Torrego, is illustrated in (8) (her data):

- (8) a. *¿Qué_i querían esos dos t_i?*
 what want.PST.3PL those two
 'What_i did those two want?'
- b. **¿Qué_i esos dos querían t_i?*
 what those two want.PST.3PL

Crucially, Spanish, in contrast to English, has wh-inversion in embedded clauses, see (6)b, as assumed in Torrego's (1984) description of wh-island effects in Spanish presented in this section.

3. THE VIEW FROM THE L2

The literature on the L2 acquisition of islands typically focuses on issues such as to what extent parameterized locality principles thought to be part of UG can guide L2 acquisition (*e. g.*, White, 1988) or how parameter resetting takes place (*e. g.*, Uziel, 1993). More specifically, there are two main views regarding UG access in the field of L2 acquisition. According to the first view, also known as the 'No Access hypothesis' (Clahsen & Muysken, 1986; Schachter, 1988; Bley-Vroman, 1990), L2 learners cannot access UG when acquiring a second language. L2 acquisition is guided by other mechanisms such as problem-solving strategies. Under a related model, L2 learners have partial access to UG. That is, UG can be accessed through the L1, but parameter values cannot be reset. This approach is known as the 'No Parameter Resetting hypothesis', as discussed in Hawkins and Chan (1997) and Hawkins (2000). According to a second view, L2 learners have full access to UG (the 'Full Access hypothesis'), also including the possibility of parameter resetting (Epstein et al., 1996; Flynn, 1987). A variant of this hypothesis is the 'Full Transfer/Full Access hypothesis' (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996), which states that both UG and the L1 are responsible for L2 acquisition. That is, the initial state of L2 acquisition corresponds to the entire L1 grammar. When the L1 and L2 differ in their values, UG may guide resetting the relevant parameter from the L1 to the L2 value (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996; White, 2003).

The two main views of UG access have been investigated in the acquisition of (wh)-island constructions. In particular, Bley-Vroman, Felix, & Ioup (1988), Johnson (1988), Schachter (1989), Johnson and Newport (1991), and Hawkins and Hattori (2006) claim that L2 learners do not access UG or only have partial access in the acquisition of wh-islands. This is based on the non-native judgments of L2 learners in the acquisition of islands in English. According to Johnson (1988), for example, there are critical period effects in the L2 acquisition of island constructions by L1 speakers of Chinese and Spanish. In contrast, Martohardjono (1993), Uziel (1993), White (1989, 2003) argue that full access to UG is possible when acquiring islands. For instance, Martohardjono (1993) found that L2 learners (L1 Indonesian, L1 Chinese, and L1 Italian) could identify ungrammatical sentences that violate abstract universal principles. The relevant knowledge, Martohardjono (1993) argues, must come from UG.

Previous studies on English-Spanish bilinguals related to our topic of study, have focused on Torrego's (1984) V-preposing rule, adjunct islands and so-called that-trace effects (Montrul, Foote & Perpiñán, 2008 for L2 Spanish; see also Reglero, 2003 for that-trace effects as well) or movement restrictions affecting wh-adjuncts (see Turrero-García, 2016 for a study of the interpretation and production of these structures), where the latter are known to be more restrictive than those affecting wh-arguments; in turn, for discussion of wh-scope and wh-copy constructions in the L2 Spanish spoken by native speakers of English, see Liceras, Alba de la Fuente and Walsh (2011)⁴.

A particularly relevant piece of research in the present context is Reglero (2003). Specifically, Reglero focuses on wh-islands (and that-trace effects) in English and Spanish L2 learners (sequential bilinguals), that is to say, our object of study. In her study, three language proficiency groups (beginner, intermediate, and advanced) completed a Grammaticality Judgement Task in written form. Participants were presented with contextualized grammatical/ungrammatical wh-island cases, which had to be judged as either 'good', 'neutral' or 'bad'. The grammatical wh-island cases in Spanish involved extraction of a subject, as in (9), and ungrammatical controls consisted of extraction of an adjunct over a complement, as illustrated in (10) (context is the same in both examples). Note that the English counterpart of (9) is ungrammatical in this language.

- (9) Context: *No sé dónde había escondido María los juguetes.*
 not know.1SG where had hidden Mary the toys
 'I don't know where Mary had hidden the toys'

4 Gutiérrez Mangado's (2005) dissertation focuses on long-distance wh-questions in the L2 English of Basque-Spanish bilinguals ranging from 8 to 18 years old. In her oral production task, she found, for instance, so-called wh-copying which is a UG option not present in either the L1 or the L2 input. Thus, she concludes that access to UG is responsible for that data.

Montrul, 2003; see Slabakova, 2006b for a detailed literature review of studies on this issue; see also the previous discussion in this section).

Within the processing theories of islands, if wh-islands were a processing effect, that is to say, if those islands were hard to process to the point that the perception of acceptability would be low, the same result could follow, provided that crosslinguistic differences can be accounted for (see Arnon, Snider, Hofmeister, Jaeger & Sag, 2006; Hofmeister & Sag, 2010 and Ortega-Santos, 2011). Either of those approaches could explain the data; linguistic transfer –without access to UG–, in contrast, would not be able to⁶. This being said, Reglero’s evidence that wh-islands are not active in Spanish L1 has to be qualified: Spanish L1 speakers only accepted wh-island cases 68% of the time, a surprisingly low percentage if wh-islands are not active in the syntactic context studied by Reglero. Moreover, López Sancio (2015), using a 7-point Likert scale and a slightly different data set, provided evidence that wh-island effects are attested in Spanish. Similar evidence has been found in closely-related languages, namely, Brazilian Portuguese and Italian (see Almeida, 2014 and Sprouse et al., 2016, respectively).

Furthermore, it is worth noting that López Sancio’s study used *preguntarse* as the main verb in the wh-island cases (his data):

- (12) ¿Qué_i te preguntas si Rocío vio t_i?
 what RFLX wonder.2SG if Rocío saw
 ‘What_i do you wonder whether Rocío saw t_i?’

As noted in section 2, *preguntarse* enforces particularly strict locality restrictions on its complement clause –a potentially idiosyncratic behavior of this verb– and, thus, its behavior might not be fully representative of Spanish (Torrego, 1984). Thus, it is important to control for this independent factor.

Given this state of affairs, our goal is to evaluate the results of Reglero (2003) and the received view on wh-islands in L1 Spanish, so as to establish whether a poverty of the stimulus scenario is indeed attested in L2 English and, thus, whether unambiguous evidence for the role of UG in L2 acquisition is available.

6 Still, transfer explanations are not mutually incompatible with UG access theories, as both approaches can be combined, as noted in this section.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Participants

L1 participants were recruited at the educational institutions of the authors and through social media, whereas the L2 participants were recruited through the said educational institutions exclusively. Their participation was strictly voluntary. We restricted ourselves to L1 Iberian Spanish to make sure the data come from a full-pro drop variety (*cfr.* Toribio, 2000 and Pöll, 2015 for Caribbean Spanish), since the grammaticality of the extraction of wh-subjects out of wh-islands has been argued to co-vary with pro-drop properties (see Chomsky, 2013; judgments for Spanish correspond to Iberian Spanish throughout the paper). L2 English speakers were recruited at the University of Deusto, which means that the participants are speakers of Basque Spanish, potentially with various degrees of Basque-Spanish bilingualism. Thus, for the L1 Spanish control group speakers of Basque Spanish were recruited. Their results were compared to those of speakers of other Iberian varieties of Spanish, just to verify whether there is some microvariation across varieties of Iberian Spanish. We also gathered information concerning the linguistic training of the Spanish L1 participants, as a non-trivial part of them came from the professional network of the authors in contrast to the L2 and English L1 participants. We compared the results of the participants with training in linguistics (*e. g.*, at the MA or BA level or above) to the results of those without any significant training, since the issue of whether linguist and non-linguists or naïve speakers differ in their acceptability judgments has been repeatedly raised by critics of generative grammar, as part of the discussion on experimental/quantitative methods as opposed to more informal data collection methods usually found in this field (see Sprouse 2013 and references therein for an overview). For the rest of the subpopulations (English L1 speakers and the two L2 groups), the chances that they could have training were considered significantly lower and, thus, no information about it was gathered. L2 speakers took placement tests (the Cambridge Test for Adult Learners and a DELE test, for English and Spanish, respectively) after the experiments to determine their level of proficiency in the L2. The results of intermediate and advanced participants were analyzed separately. The participant numbers are as follows:

- L1 Spanish: 37 native speakers; out of these, 13 were speakers of Basque Spanish, 24 were speakers of Iberian dialects other than Basque; 21 had significant linguistics training and 16 had not.
- L1 English: 29 native speakers of American English
- L2 Spanish: 18 intermediate learners; 23 advanced learners
- L2 English: 27 intermediate learners; 29 advanced learners

4.2. Design

Following the methodology in Sprouse et al. (2016) and Almeida (2014), a grammaticality judgment task using a 7-point Likert scale was designed for L1 English, L1 Spanish, and the respective L2's. English experimental items were modeled after their work with the addition of the linguistic context, whereas the corresponding Spanish stimuli were translated (stimuli are included in the appendix). Part of the fillers

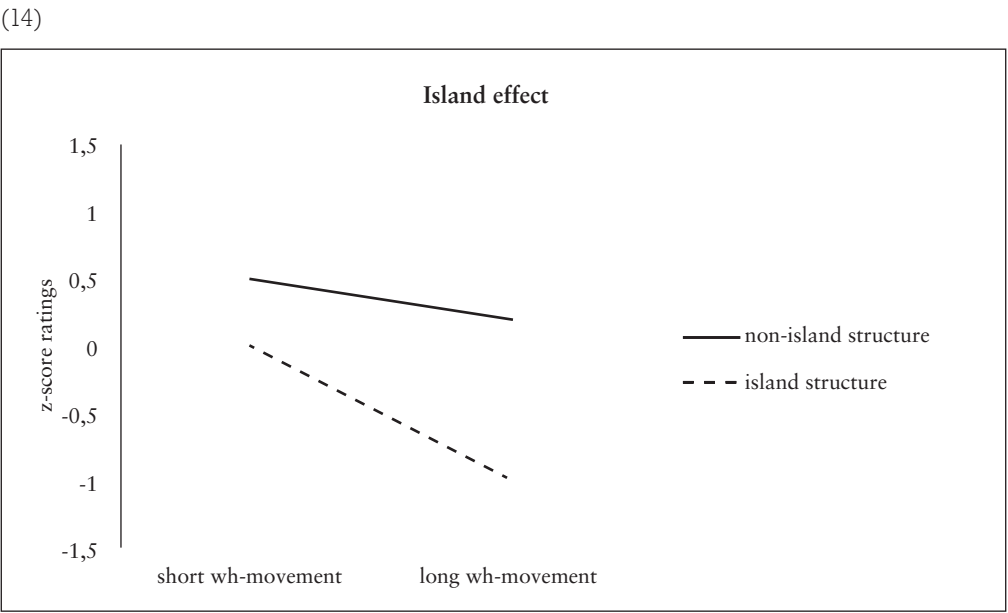
correspond to data found in the theoretical literature (with the addition of the context) and part were created for the experiment. In the case of the English fillers, these were mostly borrowed from Almeida's work. Experiments included a factorial design - four conditions to tease apart the effect of the length of the wh-movement from the effect of the presence/absence of the island on the perception of acceptability. (13)a and (13)c exemplify short-distance wh-movement. The embedded clause is a (potential) island only in the latter case, though the wh-movement would not cross it. In turn, (13)b and (13)d exemplify long-distance wh-movement. The embedded clause constitutes a (potential) island for the wh-movement only in the former case (we include preverbal traces of the wh-moved subject even for Spanish for the sake of exposition):

- (13) a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
 Context: *Alguien piensa que Pablo escribió un informe.*
 someone think.3SG that Pablo write.PST.3SG a report
 'Someone thinks Paul wrote a report.'
 Sentence to evaluate according to the context:
 ¿Quién_i *t_i piensa que Pablo escribió el informe?*
 who think.3SG that Pablo write.PST.3SG a report
 'Who_i *t_i* thinks Paul wrote the report?'
- b. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
 Context: *Tú piensas que alguien escribió un informe, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.*
 you think.2SG that someone write.PST.3SG a report, but NEG
 be.2SG entirely sure of who be.PST.3SG
 'You think someone wrote a report, but you are not entirely sure who it was.'
 Sentence to evaluate according to the context:
 ¿Quién_i *piensas que t_i escribió el informe?*
 who think.2SG that write.PST.3SG the report
 'Who_i do you think *t_i* wrote the report?'
- c. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
 Context: *Alguien no sabe por qué Juan escribió el informe.*
 someone not know.3SG why Juan write.PST.3SG the report
 'Someone doesn't know why Juan wrote the report.'
 Sentence to evaluate according to the context:
 ¿Quién_i *no t_i sabe por qué Juan escribió el informe?*
 who not know.3SG why Juan write.PST.3SG the report
 'Who_i *t_i* doesn't know why Juan wrote the report?'
- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
 Context: *Alguien escribió un informe, pero no sé por qué.*
 someone write.PST a report, but not know.3SG why
 'Someone wrote a report, but I don't know why.'
 Sentence to evaluate according to the context:
 ¿Quién_i *no sabes por qué t_i escribió el informe?*
 who not know why write.PST.3SG the report
 'Who_i don't you know why *t_i* wrote the report?'

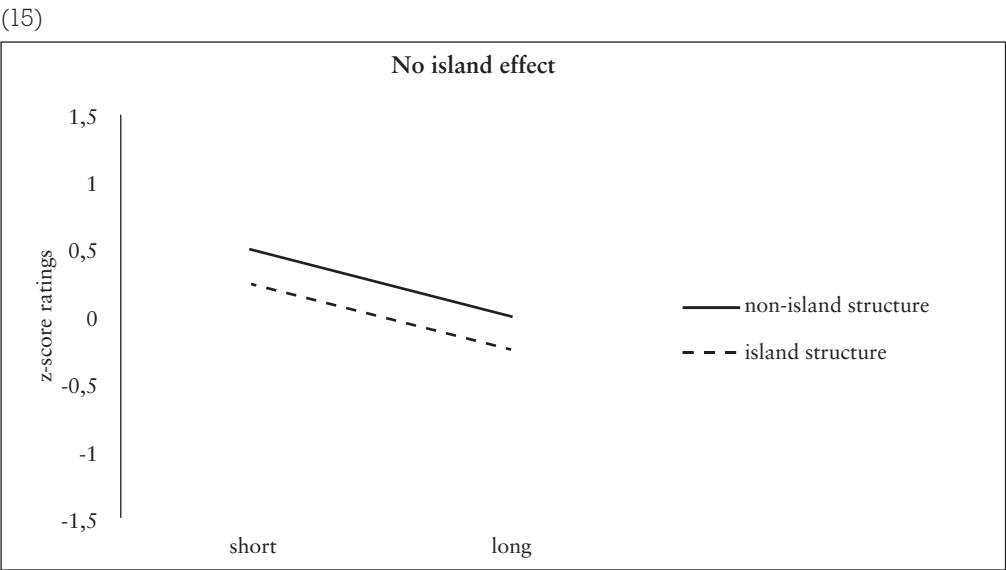
In the words of Sprouse et al (2016, p. 333), the logic in this design is as follows:

Long-distance dependencies tend to be more difficult to process than short-distance dependencies. If this processing difficulty impacts acceptability judgments, then sentences with long-distance dependencies will be rated lower than sentences with short-distance dependencies regardless of whether island constraints are violated. Similarly, island structures often involve more complex structures (e. g., complex NPs) or meanings (e. g., embedded interrogatives). If these structures and/or meanings impact acceptability judgments, sentences containing island structures will be rated lower than sentences that do not contain island structures regardless of whether extraction from islands takes place. What this means in practice is that for an island effect to be a phenomenon in need of a grammatical explanation, the island effect must be defined as a decrease in acceptability over and above the independent decreases caused by the individual components of the sentence.

Acceptability ratings will be able to provide evidence for the presence of island effects under the scenario in (14) below, which shows superadditivity indicated by non-parallel lines:



In contrast, the absence of island effects would correspond to the scenario in 15, indicated by parallel lines (see Sprouse et al., 2016):



Following Sprouse et al. (2016), we also report the differences-in-differences (DD) score (Maxwell and Delaney, 2003). This score is calculated «by subtracting the difference between two conditions related by one factor from the difference between the two conditions related by the other factor, such as $DD = [(13)a - (13)c] - [(13)b - (13)d]$ (in examples above from this paper). [...] If there is an island effect, the result will be positive, and the size of the number will indicate the size of the island effect in the unit of measure of the ratings» (Sprouse et al., 2016, p. 314)⁷.

Some remarks concerning the choice of the data set are worth making: we included an intervening wh-item whose morphology unambiguously reveals it is a wh-item as opposed to Spanish *si* ('if/whether'), used by López Sancio (2015), who followed Sprouse et al. (2016). Specifically, we used *por qué* 'why'. The choice of the intervening wh-word is also relevant in that Torrego's (1984) proposal argues island effects to be absent when the embedded wh-element does not trigger inversion in the embedded clause, *por qué* being a case in point. Thus, we can put Torrego's claim to a test, in a way that would not be possible if we had chosen an argumental wh-element. Finally, as noted in the previous section, Torrego (1984, fn. 4) notes that *preguntarse* in Spanish (the verb used by López Sancio, 2015), bans the extraction from its interrogative complement clause, in contrast to Italian⁸. We chose a different main verb to control for this factor. Moreover, unlike the previous studies (Almeida, 2014; Sprouse et al., 2016 and López Sancio 2015), we included a context for all the sentences in the experiment to make our experiment closer to Reglero's.

7 For potential issues with DD scores, see López Sancio (2015, p. 45). Still, we included the results for the readers to be able to compare our work with the multiple wh-island studies which use DD scores.

8 Torrego does not provide an explanation for this behavior and just notes the potentially idiosyncratic property of *preguntarse* 'wonder'.

10 base lexicalizations were created and these were distributed along ten lists following a Latin Square design. There were 30 fillers and participants saw each condition only once, which resulted in a 15:2 filler/experimental items ratio. The acceptability of the fillers varies widely so participants would use the whole grammaticality scale and there was approximately a 1:1 grammatical / ungrammatical sentences ratio. Experiments were posted on Qualtrics.

After reading the instructions, participants had a 6 sentence practice period. The practice period was similar to the fillers in that the sentences included any kind of structure other than wh-islands. Furthermore, they were designed with various degrees of well-formedness and/or deviance, so as to make participants use the whole scale and not just the extremes. After the practice period, the participants were informed that the experiment would start. The beginning of the experiment consisted in a 10 sentence adaptation period, where the sentences were presented in random order; afterwards, 24 sentences, including the test items were presented in random order.

5. RESULTS

We assessed differences in Spanish and English proficiency across four studies (two per language). Each analysis used a 3 × 2 × 2 mixed ANOVA. The between-subject variable was proficiency with three levels (intermediate, advanced, native). The within-subject variables were the length of the wh-movement dependency (Long wh-movement, that is to say, wh-movement originating in the embedded clause, vs. Short wh-movement, that is to say, wh-movement originating in the matrix clause) and the Island vs. Non-island. To avoid scale biases, raw ratings were transformed into z-scores following Sprouse et al. (2016), Almeida (2014) and López Sancio (2015). The discussion is based on the z-scores, though we include the raw data and ANOVA tables based on the raw data for Spanish and English in the appendix for researchers interested in accessing that information.

5. 1. Spanish

Average ratings and standard deviations for each sentence type in Spanish are reported in Table 1 and the ANOVA table is displayed in Table 2.

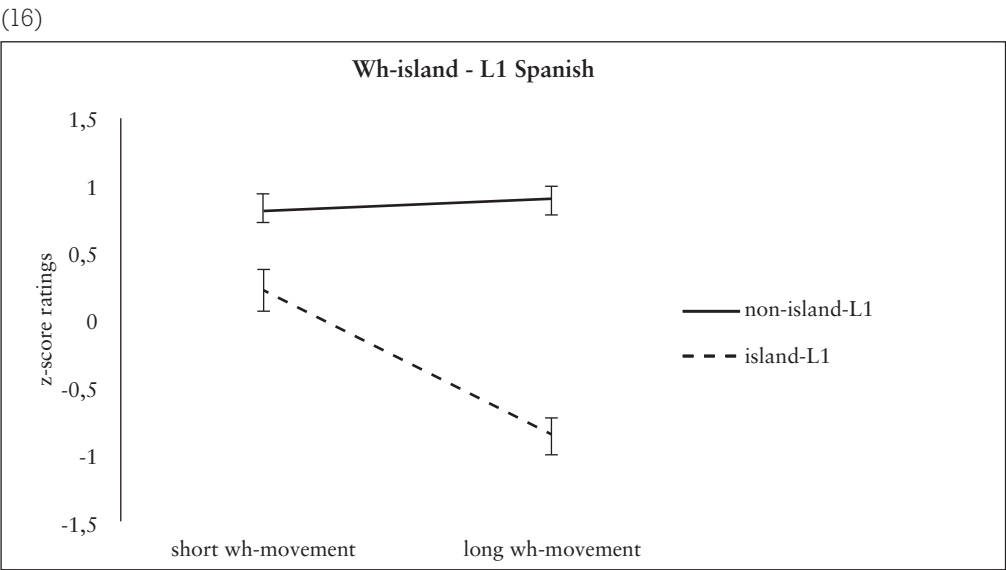
Table 1. Mean rates and standard deviations per condition (Spanish)

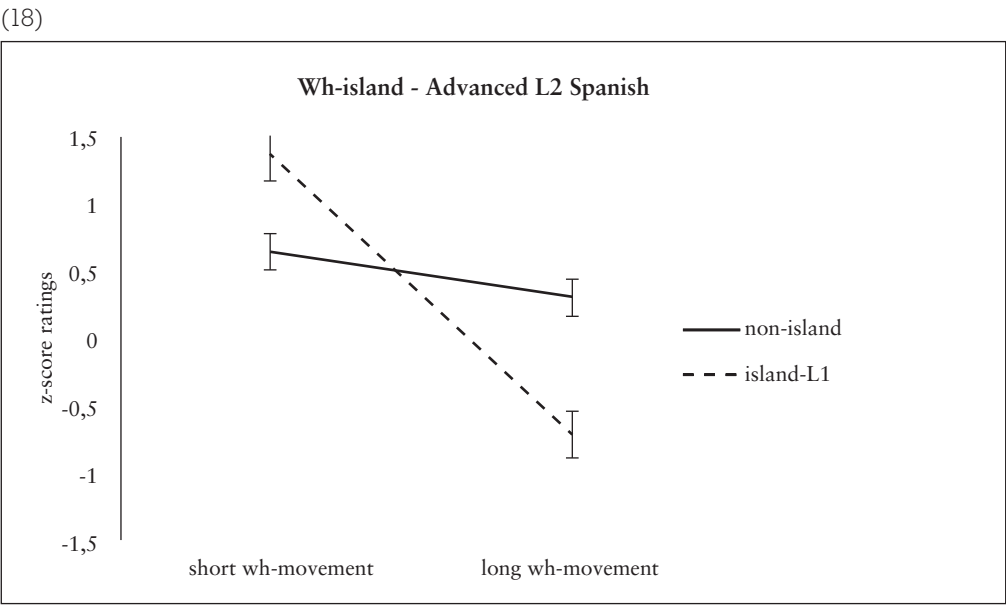
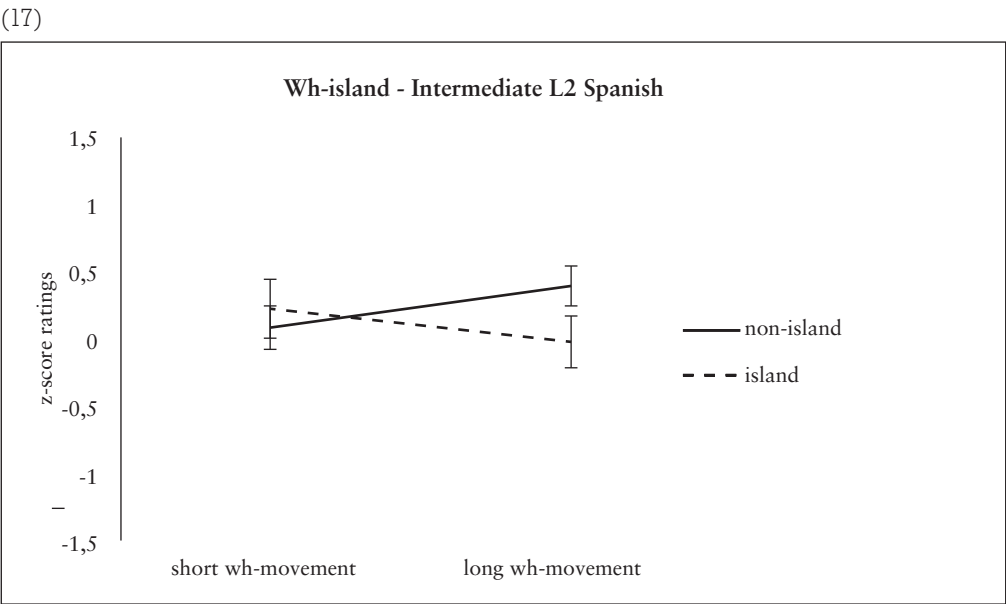
	Non-island				Island			
	Short		Long		Short		Long	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Spanish L1	.824	.518	.888	.466	.214	.859	-.872	.748
Intermediate L2 Spanish	.071	0.791	.382	.726	.215	.924	-.032	.860
Advanced L2 Spanish	.653	.738	.307	.751	.137	1.042	-.717	.894

Table 2. ANOVA table for Spanish

	Df	F	p	η_p^2
<i>Main Effects</i>				
Proficiency (L1/L2 level)	2,75	1.09	0.342	0.028
Island	1,75	65.01	<.001	0.464
Length	1,75	21.39	<.001	0.222
<i>Interactions</i>				
Island * Proficiency	2,75	12.60	<.001	0.251
Length * Proficiency	2,75	5.48	0.006	0.128
Island * Length	1,75	15.94	<.001	0.175
Island * Length * Proficiency	2,75	1.538	0.221	0.039

As expected, Non-Island was rated as more grammatically correct than Island, and Short Length was rated higher than Long (but for L1 Spanish, in the latter case), whereas Long + Island condition received the lowest ratings. This is illustrated in the graphs in (16)-(18). Remember that non-parallel lines provide evidence for island effects, whereas parallel lines correspond to the absence of island effects (see section 4; see Sprouse et al.’s, 2016 superadditivity). L1 Spanish shows non-parallel lines and the Long + Island condition received the lowest ratings, a clear instance of an island effect, (16). In the intermediate and advanced L2 Spanish cases, the Short Length ratings differ from L1 Spanish (see the discussion of the statistics for details), but the Long + Island condition received the lowest ratings as well, (17) and (18), respectively.





The DD score for L1 Spanish is 1.15; 0.558 for intermediate Spanish; and 0.508 for advanced Spanish.

For the Island $\times$ Length interaction, post-hoc comparisons indicated that there was no difference for Length in the Non-Island condition ($p = .917$), but Short > Long ($p < .001$) in the Island condition. For the Island $\times$ Proficiency interaction, both the Advanced and Native speakers rated Non-Island as more grammatical ($p < .001$ for both), but the Intermediate speakers rated both Island conditions as equally grammatical ($p = .435$). For the Length $\times$ Proficiency interaction, both the Advanced and Native speakers rated Short Length as more grammatical ($p < .001$ for both), but the Intermediate speakers rated both Length conditions as equally grammatical ($p = .835$).

5.2. English

Average ratings and standard deviations for each sentence type in English are reported in Table 3 and the ANOVA table is displayed in Table 4.

Table 3. Mean rates and standard deviations per condition

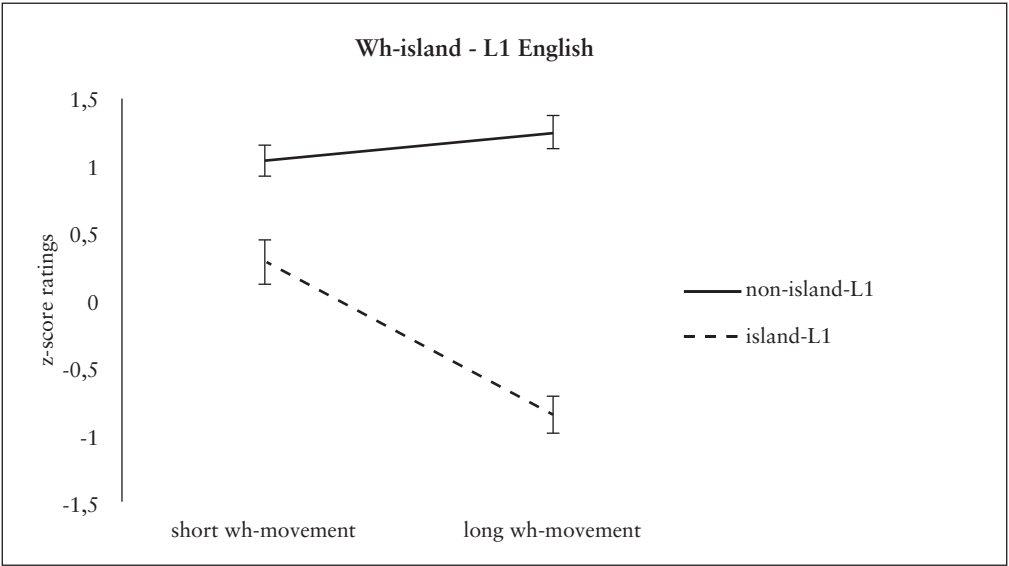
	Non-island				Island			
	Short		Long		Short		Long	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
English L1	1.038	.580	1.248	.599	.289	.773	-.861	.769
Intermediate L2 English	.749	.596	.471	.829	.320	.879	-.838	.692
Advanced L2 English	.983	.728	.877	.557	.738	.941	-.805	.672

Table 4. ANOVA table for English

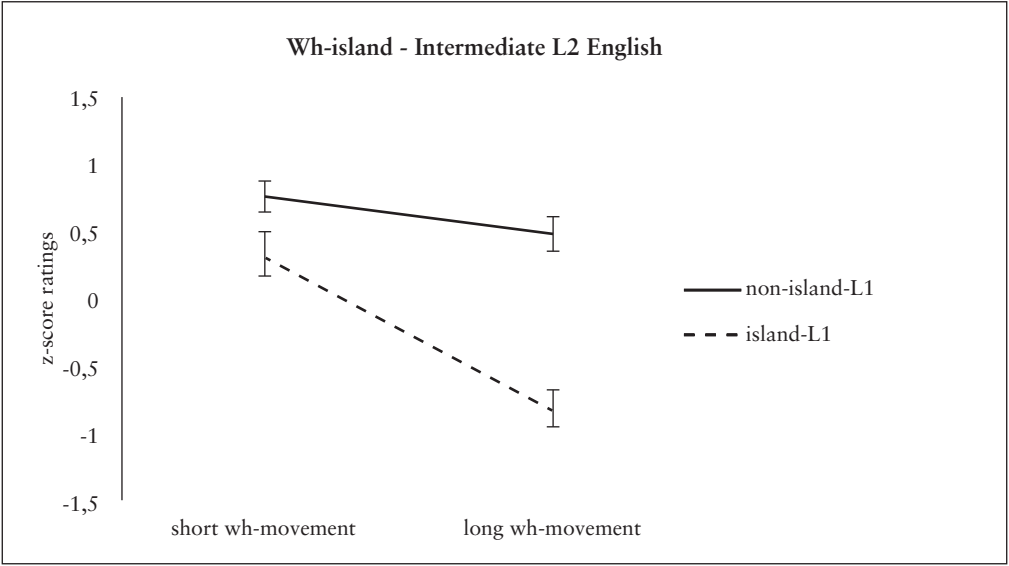
	Df	F	P	η_p^2
<i>Main Effects</i>				
Proficiency	2,82	4.55	0.013	0.100
Island	1,82	195.75	<.001	0.705
Length	1,82	63.36	<.001	0.436
<i>Interactions</i>				
Island * Proficiency	2,82	4.99	0.09	0.109
Length * Proficiency	2,82	1.59	0.211	0.037
Island * Length	1,82	72.95	<.001	0.471
Island * Length * Proficiency	2,82	1.44	0.242	0.034

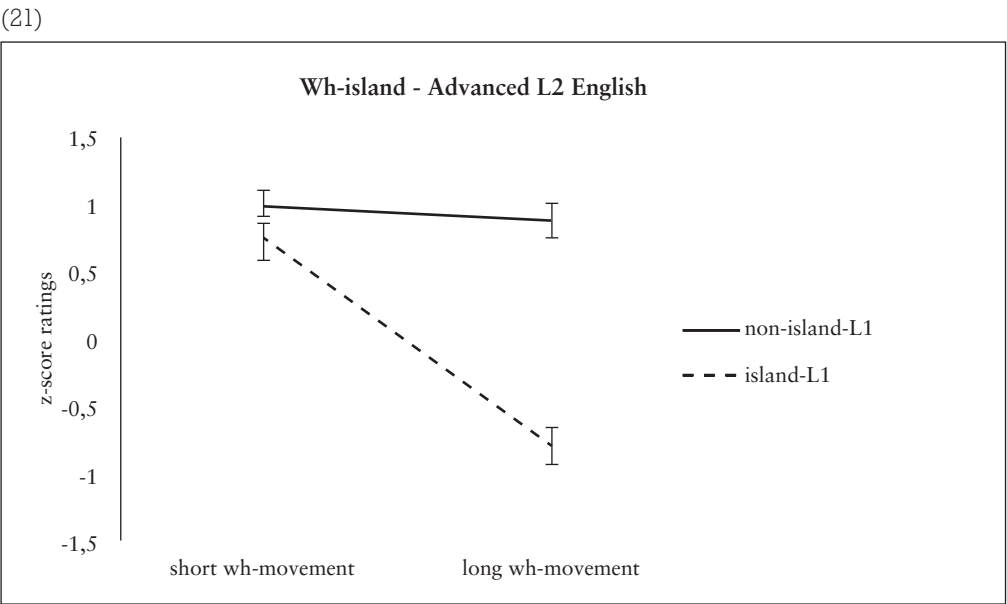
As in the case of L1 Spanish, Non-Island was rated as more grammatically correct than Island, and Short Length was rated higher than Long (but for L1 English, in the latter case), whereas Long + Island condition received the lowest ratings. This is illustrated in the graphs in (19)-(21), where, again, the non-parallel lines provide evidence for island effects, an effect that is attested in each graph.

(19)



(20)





The DD score for L1 English is 1.36; 0.88 for intermediate English; and 1.437 for advanced English. For the Island $\times$ Length interaction, post-hoc comparisons indicated that there was no different for Length in the Non-Island condition ($p = .460$), but Short wh-movement > Long wh-movement ($p < .001$) in the Island condition. For the Island $\times$ Proficiency interaction, Native and Advanced speakers gave higher ratings than Intermediate speakers in the Non-Island condition ($p < .031$), but there were no differences in the Island condition ($p > .052$). For the Length $\times$ Proficiency interaction, Native speakers rated Long wh-movement (originating from within the embedded clause) as more grammatical than did Intermediate speakers ($p = .003$), but there were no differences for Short wh-movement (originating from within the matrix clause) ($p = .426$); however, Advanced speakers were more likely to rate Short wh-movement as more grammatical than were Intermediate speakers ($p = .046$).

5.3. Linguist versus non-Linguist

We assessed differences between linguist versus non-linguist native Spanish speakers. The within-subject variables were the length of the wh-movement (Long vs. Short) and the Island vs Non-Island. The between-subject variable had two levels (Linguist versus Non-linguist).

The descriptives are displayed in Table 5, and the ANOVA table is displayed in Table 6.

Table 5. Mean rates and standard deviations per condition

	Non-island				Island			
	Short		Long		Short		Long	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Non-linguist	0.83	0.582	0.77	0.609	0.37	0.998	-1.13	0.662
Linguist	0.82	0.478	0.98	0.302	0.35	0.733	-0.67	0.761

Table 6. ANOVA table for Linguist vs Non-linguist

	df	F	P	η_p^2
<i>Main Effects</i>				
Linguist	1,35	3.523	0.001	0.292
Island	1,35	148.490	<.001	0.809
Length	1,35	33.820	<.001	0.491
<i>Interactions</i>				
Island * Linguist	1,35	2.078	0.158	0.056
Length * Linguist	1,35	1.050	0.312	0.029
Island * Length	1,35	25.039	<.001	0.417
Island * Length * Linguist	1,35	0.24	0.879	0.001

Like the language analyses above, Non-Island was rated as more grammatically correct than Island, and Short Length was rated higher than Long. For the Island $\times$ Length interaction, post-hoc comparisons indicated that there was no difference for Length in the Non-Island condition (p .636), but Short wh-movement > Long wh-movement (p < .001) in the Island condition. There were no interactions between the between-subjects variable (Linguist) and either of the within-subjects variables (Island, Length).

5.4. Basque Spanish vs. Non-Basque Iberian Spanish

Last, we assessed differences between Basque versus non-Basque native Spanish speakers. The within-subject variables were the length of the wh-movement (Long vs. Short) and the Presence vs Absence of an island. The between-subject variable had two levels (Basque versus non-Basque). The descriptives are displayed in Table 7, and the ANOVA table is displayed in Table 8.

Table 7. Mean rates and standard deviations per condition

	Non-island				Island			
	Short		Long		Short		Long	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Non-Basque	0.83	0.473	0.99	0.288	0.355	0.733	-0.842	0.762
Basque	0.80	0.613	0.70	0.656	-0.465	1.035	-0.926	0.746

Table 8. ANOVA table for Basque Spanish vs. non-Basque Iberian Spanish

	df	F	P	η_p^2
<i>Main Effects</i>				
Basque	1,35	2.136	0.153	0.058
Island	1,35	129.27	<.001	0.787
Length	1,35	28.558	<.001	0.449
<i>Interactions</i>				
Island * Basque	1,35	0.158	0.693	0.005
Length * Basque	1,35	0.26	0.872	0.001
Island * Length	1,35	20.956	<.001	0.375
Island * Length * Basque	1,35	1.520	0.226	0.042

Once again, Non-Island was rated as more grammatically correct than Island, and Short Length was rated higher than Long. For the Island $\times$ Length interaction, post-hoc comparisons indicated that there was no difference for Length in the Non-Island condition ($p = .807$), but Short > Long ($p < .001$) in the Island condition. There were no interactions between the between-subjects variable (Basque) and either of the within-subjects variables (Island, Length).

6. DISCUSSION

The data provides evidence for the following:

(a) wh-islands are attested in both L1 English and L1 Spanish; (b.) advanced L2 Spanish speakers are able to acquire the corresponding structures successfully, and both intermediate and advanced L2 English speakers do so, too⁹. The L1 Spanish data are interesting in that we expanded the inventory of structures considered so far. In particular, we elaborated on previous research on this issue, namely, López-Sancio (2015), by studying a novel context and controlling for an independent factor (*e. g.*, we avoided the use of the verb *preguntarse* ‘ask oneself’; see section 4.2 for details). Evidence is provided that wh-elements hosted in an embedded CP give raise to wh-island effects even if the wh-element does not induce subject-verb inversion (*cfr.* Torrego’s 1984 seminal work; though see fn. 3 for a potential interfering factor, namely, the fact that *por qué* may force subject-verb inversion at least for a subset of the speakers). In that respect, this research adds to a growing body of work on the crosslinguistic variation in wh-island effects by providing experimental evidence that wh-islands are more widely attested across languages than previously thought (Almeida, 2014 and Sprouse et al., 2016). Moreover, the result highlights the importance of L2 acquisition research for the study of data collection methods in syntax: Any divergence between data collected in non-quantitative studies and data collected through experimental methods is particularly relevant, as it may help us understand the source of any hypothetical differences—replication is, after all, crucial to scientific standards.

With regard to the L2 data, inasmuch as the current results reveal that the wh-island constraint is present in L1 Spanish, it becomes possible to hypothesize that L2 speakers are transferring their L1 grammar when learning English as an L2. The results do not allow us to rule alternative hypotheses: *e. g.*, L2 islands may arise not because of transfer, but because L2 learners have access to wh-islands specified by UG (Reglero, 2003). Alternatively, (wh-)islands and locality effects may arise from processing difficulties that affect the perception of acceptability (*e. g.*, Kluender, 2004 and Hofmeister & Sag, 2010) both in L1 and L2 languages. Nonetheless, our result is a welcome addition to the debate on the role of UG. In particular, recent trends emphasize the need to minimize UG (*e. g.*, Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch, 2002), thus calling earlier UG-centric approaches to islands into question. The results for L1 English are consistent with previous studies (*e. g.*, see Sprouse et al., 2016). In turn, the L2 Spanish data can receive the same explanation as the L2 English data (though see fn. 9 for discussion of certain nuances). Furthermore, the results did not reveal any difference in the island effects depending on the training in linguistics or the dialect (Basque Spanish / Non-Basque Iberian dialect).

9 L2 English speakers appeared to have a higher L2 level than their L2 Spanish counterparts, a fact that may explain the differences in the behavior of the two intermediate groups. In particular, for the intermediate L2 Spanish speakers, who did not show a statistically significant island effect (though the DD score revealed an island effect), it is hypothesized that their developing grammars prevented them from properly judging the sentences, *e. g.*, because of independent difficulties with the lexicon or the grammar, though this issue may merit further research.

7. CONCLUSION

This research has enhanced our knowledge of the crosslinguistic variation in wh-island effects by providing experimental evidence that wh-islands are more widely attested in Spanish than previously thought (*cfr.* Torrego's [1984] seminal work). In particular, we elaborated on previous research on this issue, namely, López-Sancio (2015), by studying a novel context and controlling for an independent factor, namely, the choice of the main verb the wh-island is embedded under. López-Sancio used the verb *preguntarse* 'ask oneself', in spite of the fact that this verb has been argued to show potentially idiosyncratic tight locality constraints. We also use an unambiguously [+wh] complementizer, namely, *por qué* 'why' as opposed to *si* 'if', as we hypothesized that this may help L2 speakers detect the potential island. Thus, we expanded the range of contexts studied so far. Our results indicate that Spanish and English both show wh-island effects and that the L2 speakers converge with the target grammar. This is a relevant result in that it adds to our knowledge of the L2 acquisition of the wh-islands, but also it clarifies the Spanish L1 data. Such a clarification was necessary, given that Reglero (2003) showed that the lack of wh-island effects in Spanish L1 was not as clear-cut as one may expect judging from the literature (only 68% of her Spanish L1 sample found structures involving wh-movement out of a wh-island to be acceptable). Moreover, recent results provided evidence for the existence of L1 Spanish wh-islands in slightly different syntactic context (López Sancio, 2015) and in closely-related languages (see Sprouse et al., 2016 for Italian and Almeida, 2014 for Portuguese). Finally, this research highlights the intersection between the research on L2 acquisition and the debate on data collection methods (see Sprouse, Schütze & Almeida, 2013). In particular, the use of native control groups in L2 research entails a form of data assessment that can inform the latter line of research.

8. FUTURE WORK

Participants rated sentences according to the context provided. Still, questions arise as to the exact interpretation that participants are giving to the sentences, particularly in the L2 (see Turrero-García, 2016 for relevant research on wh-adjuncts in L2 Spanish). Moreover, Torrego's (1984) description of wh-islands in Spanish is linked to a subject-verb inversion rule (a. k. a., V-preposing rule), whose effects provide evidence for successive cyclic wh-movement. In our research, wh-islands are found even when no inversion is attested. A logical step is to study these successive cyclic effects, potential variation in subject-verb inversion with *por qué* and the relation of these properties to wh-islands.

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10. APPENDIX. RAW DATA AND EXPERIMENTAL STIMULI

Table 1. Mean rates and standard deviations per condition for Spanish - raw data

	Non-island				Island			
	Short		Long		Short		Long	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Spanish L1	6.30	1.222	6.43	1.015	4.89	2.011	2.19	1.713
Intermediate L2 Spanish	4.94	1.731	5.44	1.338	5.06	1.514	4.78	1.833
Advanced L2 Spanish	5.96	1.461	5.35	1.555	4.91	1.929	3.00	1.954

Table 2. ANOVA table for Spanish - raw data

	Df	F	p	η_p^2
<i>Main Effects</i>				
Proficiency (L1/L2 level)	2,75	0.38	0.686	0.010
Island	1,75	76.68	<.001	0.506
Length	1,75	25.44	<.001	0.253
<i>Interactions</i>				
Island * Proficiency	2,75	16.79	<.001	0.309
Length * Proficiency	2,75	7.21	0.001	0.161
Island * Length	1,75	17.54	<.001	0.190
Island * Length * Proficiency	2,75	2.89	0.062	0.072

Table 3. Mean rates and standard deviations per condition for English - raw data

	Non-island				Island			
	Short		Long		Short		Long	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
English L1	5.93	1.252	6.34	1.233	4.52	1.883	1.97	1.451
Intermediate L2 English	5.52	1.221	5.00	1.641	4.67	1.961	2.26	1.318
Advanced L2 English	5.97	1.451	5.69	1.285	5.34	1.818	2.14	1.329

Table 4. ANOVA table for English - raw data

	Df	F	P	η_p^2
<i>Main Effects</i>				
Proficiency	2,82	1.99	1.43	0.046
Island	1,82	206.26	<.001	0.716
Length	1,82	70.58	<.001	0.463
<i>Interactions</i>				
Island * Proficiency	2,82	4.38	0.016	0.097
Length * Proficiency	2,82	1.36	<.001	0.032
Island * Length	1,82	79.27	<.001	0.492
Island * Length * Proficiency	2,82	1.43	0.244	0.034

10.1. Experimental Stimuli

10.1.1. English - Base Lexicalizations of the Experimental Conditions

- (1) Paradigm 1
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Someone thinks Paul wrote a report.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Paul wrote the report?
- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Someone doesn't know why Paul wrote the report.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Paul wrote the report?
- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: You think someone wrote a report, but you're not entirely sure who it was.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think wrote the report?
- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Someone wrote a report, but I don't know why.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why wrote the report?
- (2) Paradigm 2
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Someone thinks Andrew wrote a song.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Andrew wrote the song?
- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Someone doesn't know why Andrew wrote a song.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Andrew wrote the song?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: You think someone wrote a song, but you're not sure who it was.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think wrote the song?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Someone wrote a song, but I don't know why.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why wrote the song?

(3) Paradigm 3

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Someone thinks that Robert washed the clothes.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Robert washed the clothes?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Someone doesn't know why Robert washed the clothes.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Robert washed the clothes?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: You think someone washed the clothes, but you're not sure who it was.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think washed the clothes?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Someone washed the clothes, but I don't know why. After all, they were not dirty.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why washed the clothes?

(4) Paradigm 4

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Someone thinks that Scott swept the floor.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Scott swept the floor?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Someone doesn't know why Scott swept the floor.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Scott swept the floor?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: You think someone swept the floor, but you're not sure who it was.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think swept the floor?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Someone swept the floor, but I don't know why.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why swept the floor?

- (5) Paradigm 5
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Someone thinks that Joe opened the door.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Joe opened the door?
 - b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Someone doesn't know why Joe opened the door.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Joe opened the door?
 - c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: You think someone opened the door, but you're not sure who it was.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think opened the door?
 - d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Someone opened the door, but I don't know why.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why opened the door?
- (6) Paradigm 6
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Someone thinks that Edward received the award.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Edward received the award?
 - b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Someone doesn't know why Edward received the award.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Edward received the award?
 - c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: You think someone got an award, but you're not sure who it was.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think received the award?
 - d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Someone received an award, but I don't know why.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why received the award?
- (7) Paradigm 7
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Someone thinks that Kevin copied the exam.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Kevin copied the exam?
 - b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Someone doesn't know why Kevin copied the exam. Truth be told, it was very easy.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Kevin copied the exam?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: You think someone copied the exam, but you're not entirely sure who it was.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think copied the exam?
- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Somebody copied the exam, but I don't know why. After all, it was very easy.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why copied the exam?
- (8) Paradigm 8
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Someone thinks that Tom painted the wall.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Tom painted the wall?
- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Someone doesn't know why Tom painted the wall. Truth be told, it did not look that bad.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Tom painted the wall?
- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: You think someone painted the wall, but you're not sure who it was.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think painted the wall?
- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Someone painted the wall, but I don't know why. After all, it did not look that bad.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why painted the wall?
- (9) Paradigm 9
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Someone thinks that Fred stole the money.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks Fred stole the money?
- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Someone doesn't know why Fred stole the money. Truth be told, he is rich.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why Fred stole the money?
- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: You think someone stole the money, but you're not entirely sure who it was.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think stole the money?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Somebody stole the money, but I don't know why. After all, nobody here lacks anything.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why stole the money?
- (10) Paradigm 10
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Someone thinks David pruned the roses.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who thinks David pruned the roses?
- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Someone doesn't know why David pruned the roses. Truth be told, the rosebush did not look so bad.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who doesn't know why David pruned the roses?
- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: You think someone pruned the roses, but you're not entirely sure who it was.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who do you think pruned the roses?
- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Someone pruned the roses, but I don't know why. After all, the rosebush did not look so bad.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: Who don't you know why pruned the roses?

10.1.2. Spanish - Base Lexicalizations of the Experimental Conditions (see the English counterparts for the translation)

- (1) Paradigm 1
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Alguien piensa que Pablo escribió un informe.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Pablo escribió el informe?
- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Juan escribió el informe.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Juan escribió el informe?
- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Tú piensas que alguien escribió un informe, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que escribió el informe?
- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Alguien escribió un informe pero no sé por qué.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué escribió el informe?

(2) Paradigm 2

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Alguien piensa que Andrés compuso una canción.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Andrés compuso una canción?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Andrés compuso una canción.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Andrés compuso una canción?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Tú piensas que alguien compuso una canción, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que compuso la canción?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Alguien compuso una canción, pero no sé por qué.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué compuso la canción?

(3) Paradigm 3

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Alguien piensa que Javier lavó la ropa.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Javier lavó la ropa?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Javier lavó la ropa. La verdad es que no estaba particularmente sucia.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Javier lavó la ropa?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Tú piensas que alguien lavó la ropa, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que lavó la ropa?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Alguien lavó la ropa, pero no sé por qué. Después de todo, no estaba tan sucia.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué lavó la ropa?

(4) Paradigm 4

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Alguien piensa que Roberto barrió la cocina.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Roberto barrió la cocina?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Roberto barrió la cocina.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Roberto barrió la cocina?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Tú piensas que alguien barrió la cocina, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que barrió la cocina?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Alguien barrió la cocina, pero no sé por qué. No parecía muy necesario.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué barrió la cocina?

(5) Paradigm 5

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Alguien piensa que Jorge abrió la puerta.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Jorge abrió la puerta?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Laura abrió la puerta.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Laura abrió la puerta?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Tú piensas que alguien abrió la puerta, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que abrió la puerta?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Alguien abrió la puerta, pero no sé por qué.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué abrió la puerta?

(6) Paradigm 6

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Alguien piensa que Jorge recibió el premio.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Jorge recibió el premio?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Jorge recibió el premio.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Jorge recibió el premio?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Tú piensas que alguien recibió el premio, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que recibió el premio?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Alguien recibió el premio, pero no sé por qué.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué recibió el premio?

(7) Paradigm 7

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Alguien piensa que Santi copió el examen.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Santi copió el examen?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Santi copió el examen. Al fin y al cabo, era muy fácil.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Santi copió el examen?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Tú piensas que alguien copió el examen, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que copió el examen?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Alguien copió el examen, pero no sé por qué. Después de todo, era muy fácil.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué copió el examen?

(8) Paradigm 8

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Alguien piensa que Pedro pintó la pared.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Pedro pintó la pared?

- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)

Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Pedro pintó la pared. En realidad no se veía tan mal.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Pedro pintó la pared?

- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Tú piensas que alguien pintó la pared, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que pintó la pared?

- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)

Context: Alguien pintó la pared, pero no sé por qué. Después de todo, no se veía mal.

Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué pintó la pared?

(9) Paradigm 9

- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND

Context: Alguien piensa que Eduardo robó el dinero.

- Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Eduardo robó el dinero?
- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Eduardo robó el dinero. Al fin y al cabo, es rico.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Eduardo robó el dinero?
- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Tú piensas que alguien robó el dinero, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que robó el dinero?
- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Alguien robó el dinero, pero no sé por qué. Después de todo, aquí a nadie le falta de nada.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué robó el dinero?
- (10) Paradigm 10¹⁰
- a. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Alguien piensa que Julio cortó el árbol.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensa que Julio cortó el árbol?
- b. SHORT WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (no violation)
Context: Alguien no sabe por qué Julio cortó el árbol. En realidad, no se veía tan mal.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabe por qué Julio cortó el árbol?
- c. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, NON-ISLAND
Context: Tú piensas que alguien cortó el árbol, pero no estás totalmente seguro de quién fue.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién piensas que cortó el árbol?
- d. LONG WH-MOVEMENT, ISLAND (potential violation)
Context: Alguien cortó el árbol, pero no sé por qué. Después de todo, no se veía tan mal.
Sentence to evaluate according to the context: ¿Quién no sabes por qué cortó el árbol?

10 The English counterpart uses ...*pruned the roses* instead of ...*cortó el árbol* 'cut down the tree'. We chose that version for English to avoid adding the particle 'down' to the verb phrase, thus keeping verb phrase length approximately the same across languages and across lexicalizations.

Idazlanak aurkezteko arauak

Idazlan argitaragabeak onartuko dira, Foru Komunitateko bi hizkuntza ofizialetako edozeinetan idatziak, euskaraz edo gaztelaniaz, baita frantsesez edo ingelesez idatziak ere.

Soilik onartuko dira euskarri digitalean igorritako jatorrizkoak. Ondoko helbide elektronikora igorri beharko dira: fontes@navarra.es.

Ondoko artxiboak igorriko dira:

- 1) Artikuluaren identifikazio-datuen dokumentua, webgunean eskuragarri:

http://www.culturana Navarra.es/uploads/files/identifikazio_datuak.doc

- 2) Artikuluaren testua, hau ere Word edo LibreOffice formatuan. Bertan adieraziko da irudi, taula eta grafiko guztien kokapena, egileak egoki irizten dion tokian eta dagozkien argazki oinekin, elementu horiek testuan txertatu gabe. Aldizkariak bere gain hartzen du kokapen hori aldatzeko eskubidea, maketazio arazoei erantzuna emateko. Testuak anonimoa izan behar du. Ez da paratuko egiletza identifikatu dezakeen erreferentziarik.
- 3) Artxibo bat testuan azaltzen den irudi bakoitzeko, behar bezala identifikatuak, hurrenez hurren zenbakituta. Testuan izan behar duten kokapena zehazteko orduan zenbakitze bera erabiliko da. Irudi artxiboak .tiff edo .jpg formatuetan aurkeztuko dira, gutxieneko erresoluzioa 300 ppp. dutela. Irudi guztietan adieraziko da zein den jatorria, berdin egilearena bada zein kanpo iturri batetik jasoa bada. Kasu honetan, jatorria eta erabiltzeko baimena adieraziko dira.
- 4) Excel artxibo bakar bat taula guztiendako. Taula edo grafiko bakoitza kalkulu orri bereizi batean adieraziko da, hurrenez hurren zenbakituta. Zenbakitze bera erabiliko da testuko kokapena zehazteko.

Testuaren egitura

Artikuluak ordena metodologiko bati segitu behar dio, informazioari tratamendu eraginkorra eman ahal dakion dokumentazio-zentroetan, eta bete behar ditu ISO arauak eta UNESCOrenak:

- Izenburua. Lanaren edukiarekin bat etorri beharko du modu esplizituan; gehienez ere hamabi hitzeko luzera izanen du.
- Sarrera, bertan zehazturik ikerketaren gaia, gai hori zertan den, xedeak eta informaziorako erabilitako materiala.
- Erdiko atalak. Testuaren gorputza, ikerlana garatzen duena; aipuak eta oharra hortxe paratuko dira.
- Hondar atalak. Ondorioak eta emaitzak, erreferentziak eta, halakorik bada, eranskinak.

Artikuluaren goiburuan izenburua joanen da, artikuluaren hizkuntza berean eta gaztelaniaz, euskaraz eta ingelesez, artikuluaren gainerakoak duen letra mota berarekin. Inolaz ere ez da dokumentu honetan adieraziko egilearen izena. Aparteko dokumentu batean joanen da.

Artikulu bakoitzak laburpen edo abstract bat izanen du, artikuluaren hizkuntza berean eta gaztelaniaz, euskaraz eta ingelesez, gehienez ere 700 karakterekoa, tarteak barne, paragrafo bakarrean, eta bertan jasoko dira lanaren xedea, erabilitako metodologia eta atera diren ondorioak, modu laburrean.

Halaber, gako hitzak ere adieraziko dira, gehienez ere bost, hizkuntza beretan, datu basean identifikazioa errazteko asmoz.

Tartekiak edo kapituluaren goiburuak zenbaki arabiarrekin zenbakituko dira. Sarrerak izenburua behar du beti, eta 1 zenbakiarekin zenbakituko da. Hiru goiburu mailatara arte onetsiko dira.

Testuaren formatua

Artikuluko testua ondoko arauetara egokituko da:

- Jatorrizkoak gehienez ere 78.000 karaktere izanen ditu, tarteak barne, hor sartzen direlarik oharrak, koadroak, grafikoak, bibliografia eta eranskinak. Ez dira hor barne hartuko laburpen guztiak, gako hitzak eta beste hizkuntza batzuetako izenburuak.
- Times New Roman letra motan idatziko dira, 12 izaria erabilirik eta 1,5eko lerroartearekin.
- Beste hizkuntza batean idatziriko hitz solteak kurtsibaz azalduko dira, baita metalinguistikoki erabilitako terminoak ere. Halaber, kurtsibaz idatziko dira liburuen izenburuak eta aldizkarien izenak. Baztertu egingen da letra lodien eta azpimarren erabilera.
- Testuen transkripzioetan, laburrak badira (bost lerro baino gutxiago), latindar komatxoak (« ») eta letra biribila erabiliko dira. Luzeak badira, aparte ezarriko dira, komatxorik gabe, lerro koskatuetan, eta testu orokorrekoan baino izari txikiagoan (10 puntu). Gangarrak (‘ ’) erabiliko dira hitz bakanen adiera edo itzulpenetarako.
- Oharren deiak goi-indizeetan goraturiko zenbakien bidez eta parentesirik gabe adieraziko dira. Orri oinetan ezarriko dira, inoiz ere ez testu bukaeran, 10 izariko Times New Roman letra motarekin eta 1,5eko lerroartearekin. Zenbakitze arabiarrarekin zenbakituko dira, hurrenez hurren.
- Letra larriak erabiliko dira, hizkuntza bakoitzaren arauen arabera, horretarako nor diren erakundeen irizpide edo gomendioei jarraikiz. Hitz osoak letra larriekin soilik erabiliko dira akronimoen kasuan. Hasierako letra larria erabiliko da izen berezietan, erakunde edo korporazio izenetan, ez ordea izen arruntetarako: errege, konde, aita santu, katedrala, apezpiku...

Erreferentzia bibliografikoak

APA arauak jarraituko dira erreferentzia bibliografikoetarako. Hona hemen oinarritzko arau batzuk. Xehetasun handiagoetarako, kontsultatu:

http://culturanavarra.es/uploads/files/APA_EUS.pdf

Testu barruko erreferentzia bibliografikoak:

- Erreferentzia bibliografiko hutsak testu barruan jarriko dira, inoiz ere ez orri oinean. Egilea-urtea sistemari jarraituko diote: egilearen lehen deitura (erreferentzia zerrendan bi deiturak azalduko dira; lan berean aipaturiko bi egile edo gehiagok deitura bera badute, testuan aipatuko dira deiturarekin eta izenaren inizialekin. Inizialak gibelean joanen dira, eta deituratik bereizteko koma erabiliko da), argitaratze urtea eta orrialde zenbakiak, komez bereizia, dena parentesi artean (Hualde, 1995, 13-15. orr.). Egilearen izena testuaren parte bada, parentesian urtea eta orriak adieraziko dira. Aipu berean hainbat testu aipatzen direnean, puntu eta komarekin banatuko dira.
- Egile eta urte bereko argitalpen bat baino gehiago aipatzen denean, letra xeheak gehituko dira, hurrenez hurreneko ordena alfabetikoan, espaziorik gabe: (2016a, 2016b).
- Hiru egile baino gehiagoko aipu motetarako, kontsultatu webguneko arauak. Artikuluaren bukarako zerrenda bibliografikoan egile guztiak aipatuko dira.

Erreferentzia zerrenda:

- Testuan espresuki aipaturiko erreferentzia bibliografiko guztiak eta soilik testuan berariaz ageri direnak sartuko dira testuaren bukaeran. Bi baldintza hauek betetzen ez dituzten erreferentzia guztiak baztertu egingen dira.
- Erreferentziak alfabetikoki zerrendatuko dira, egilearen deituren arabera edo, kasua bada, lehen egilea, izenaren inizialak eta egiletza bakoitzaren barnean, ordena kronologikoaren arabera. Egiletza eta urte bereko argitalpen bat baino gehiago aipatzen denean, letra xeheak gehituko dira, hurrenez hurreneko ordena alfabetikoan, urtearen ondotik.
- Erreferentzia bibliografikoak ondoko arauetara egokituko dira:
 - Egilearen deitura letra xeheekin joanen da, salbu eta deitura bakoitzaren iniziala. Horren ondotik izenaren inizialak joanen dira letra larriz eta puntua azkenik. Egile bat baino gehiago dagoenean,

egileak komekin banatuko dira, salbu eta azkena, aurrez “&” zeinuarekin joanen baita. Jarraian urtea idatziko da parentesi artean eta puntua itxierako parentesiaren ondotik.

- Liburuak honela aipatuko dira: izenburua kurtsibaz, puntua (.), argitalpenaren tokia, bi puntu (:) eta argitaletxea.

Egilea, A. (urtea). *Izenburua*. Tokia: Argitaletxea.

- Liburu bateko kapitulua horrela aipatuko da:

Egilea, A. A. & Egilea, B. B. (urtea). Kapituluaren izenburua. A. Argitaratzailea, B. Argitaratzailea & C. Argitaratzailea (arg.), *Liburuaren izenburua* (xxx-xxx. orr.). Tokia: Argitaletxea.

- Egiletzarik gabeko kapitulua, izenburua egilearen posizioa aurreratzen da:

Izenburua. (urtea). A. Argitaratzailea (arg.), *Liburuaren izenburua* (xx. arg., xx. alea, xxx-xxx. orr.). Tokia: Argitaletxea.

- Aldizkarietako artikulua honela aipatuko dira: izenburua letra biribilez eta komatxorik gabe, puntua (.), aldizkariaren izena kurtsibaz, jarraian koma eta liburukia zenbaki arabiarrekin eta kurtsiban, koma (,) eta artikulua guztiko orriak edo soilik aipurako erabilitakoak.

Egilea, A. A., Egilea, B. B. & Egilea, C. C. (urtea). Artikuluaren izenburua. *Argitalpenaren izenburua*, xx, orr-orr.

- Argitalpen elektronikoaren erreferentziak paperezko argitalpenetako antzekoak izanen dira. URLa honela adieraziko da:

Egilea, A. A. (urtea). Artikuluaren izenburua. *Argitalpenaren izenburua*, xx, orr-orr. <http://www.xxxxxxxx helbidetik berreskuratua>.

- Ez dira adieraziko berreskuratze datak, ez bada iturriaren materiala denborarekin aldatu daitekeelako.

- DOI bat esleitu bazaio argitalpenari, honek URLa ordeztu du.

Egilea, A. A. (urtea). Artikuluaren izenburua. *Argitalpenaren izenburua*, xx, orr-orr. doi: xxxxxxxxxxxx

- «Doi» identifikatzailea (*digital object identifier*) soilik idatziko da argitalpenari loturiko identifikazio hori egon badagoenean.

Artikulua eta argitalpena onartzeko prozesua

Behin jatorrizkoa jaso ondoren, erredakzio kontseiluak erabakiko du lana baztertu edo onartuko den aztertzeko, gehienez ere astebeteko epean. Aztertzeko onartua bada, bi kanpo ebaluatzailei emanen zaie. Horiek, gehienez ere hilabete eta erdiko epean erabakiko dute artikulua:

Onartua den: bi aztertzaileek «argitaragarri» edo «iradokitako hobekuntzekin argitaragarri» dela irizten badiote.

Baztertua den: a) bi aztertzaileek «ez argitaragarri» dela irizten badiote edo b) aztertzaile batek ez argitaragarri dela irizten badiote eta besteak bigarren bertsioa berriz ere aztertua izan dadin eskatzen badu.

Onartze bidean: a) bi aztertzaileek eskatzen badute bigarren bertsioa aztertua izan dadila. b) aztertzaile batek artikuluari argitaragarri edo iradokitako hobekuntzekin argitaragarri dela irizten badiote eta besteak uste badu baztertu egin behar dela edo eskatzen badu bigarren bertsioa aztertua izan dadila. Kasu honetan artikulua hirugarren aztertzaile bati igorriko zaio. Aztertzaile honek uste badu lana argitaragarria edo iradokitako hobekuntzekin argitaragarria dela, lana onartuko da. Baztergarritzat badu, lana baztertuko da. Bigarren bertsioa aztertu dadila eskatzen badu, hala egingen da.

Edozein delarik ere egileak kasua hartutako erabakiaren jakinarazpena jasoko du. Salbu eta lehen kasuan, artikulua egileari itzuliko zaio, ebaluatzaileek iradokitako aldaketak egin ditzan edo, kontrako kasuan, argitaratzeari uko egin diezaion.

Behin betiko onespenezaren ondotik, egileei lehen inprimaketa-proben sorta bat igorriko zaie, zuzenketa egin dezaten. Oroz gain, inprimategiko akatsen zuzenketa izanen da, edo gramatika arloko aldaketak; izan ere,

egileek bidalitako idazlanak behin betiko testuak izan beharko dira. Argitalpenak ez atzeratzeko, zuzenketak gehienez ere hamar egunean jasotzen ez badira, Vianako Printzea Erakundeko Argitalpen Bulegoak egingen ditu zuzenketak, horien gainean inolako erantzukizunik izan gabe.

Argitaletxeak beretako gordeko du idazlanak aldizkariak berezko dituen arau zientifiko eta tipografikoetara egokitze ahalmena, baita egileei artikulua berregiteko eskatzeko ahalmena, ebaluatzaileei segitu beharrez, edo testuak, oharrak eta irudiak aldatzeko ahalmena ere.

Behin-betiko onartzearen notifikazioa jasota, Egileza aitortzen eta eskubide lagapen dokumentua igorri behar da ahal bezain laster fontes@navarra.es helbidera.

<http://culturana Navarra.es/uploads/files/egilezaaitortpena.doc>

Egileak onartzen du, argitaratzeko arau gisa, Nafarroako Gobernuak artikulua erreproduzitu ahal izatea, osorik nahiz partez, baita haren digitalizazioa ere, haren egokitzapena edo itzulpena barne, beharrezkoa izanez gero. Halaber, onartzen du jendeari artikulua berri ematea komunikazio globaleko sareetan eta beste euskarri digitaletan, argitalpenaren kopia digitalizatua eskura jarritz Nafarroako Gobernuaren webguneetan edo harekin ikusteko duten beste erakunde batzuenan, zabalkunde eta ikerketa erabileretarako, ez bestetarako. Artikuluak *open access* zigiluarekin eta Creative Commons lizentziarekin dibulгатuko dira (BY-NC: aitortpena, ez komertziala).

Argitalpenaren ondotik, artikulua argitaratzen den aldizkariaren ale bat utziko da egile bakoitzaren eskutik, baita haren pdf bat ere.

Normas para la presentación de originales

Se admitirán trabajos inéditos redactados en cualquiera de las dos lenguas oficiales de la Comunidad Foral, castellano y euskera, así como en francés e inglés.

Solo se aceptarán originales remitidos en formato digital, que se harán llegar a través de la siguiente dirección electrónica: fontes@navarra.es.

Los envíos incluirán los siguientes archivos:

- 1) El documento de datos de identificación del artículo, disponible en la página web:

http://www.culturana Navarra.es/uploads/files/datos_identificacion.doc

- 2) El texto del artículo, igualmente en formato Word o LibreOffice, en el que se señalará la ubicación de todas las imágenes, tablas y gráficos en el lugar que el autor o autora estime oportuno y con sus respectivos pies de foto, sin insertar dichos elementos en el texto. La revista se reserva el derecho de modificar su ubicación en atención a los problemas de maquetación. El texto debe ser anónimo. Se evitarán las referencias que puedan identificar la autoría.
- 3) Un archivo por cada una de las imágenes que aparezcan en el texto, debidamente identificados según numeración correlativa. Se utilizará la misma numeración al marcar su ubicación en el texto. Los archivos de imagen se presentarán en formato tiff o jpg con una resolución mínima de 300 ppp. En todas las imágenes se hará constar su procedencia, tanto si es del autor o autora como si ha sido tomada de una fuente externa. En este caso, se hará constar la procedencia y la autorización para su utilización.
- 4) Un único archivo Excel para todas las tablas, donde cada tabla o gráfico figurará en una hoja de cálculo diferenciada, numerado correlativamente. Se utilizará la misma numeración al marcar su ubicación en el texto.

Estructura del texto

El artículo debe seguir un orden metodológico con el fin de contribuir eficazmente al tratamiento de la información en los centros de documentación, y las normas de la UNESCO y la ISO:

- Título. Debe responder de manera explícita al contenido del trabajo, su extensión no debe sobrepasar las doce palabras.
- Introducción, donde se defina el tema investigado, estado de la cuestión, objetivos y material de información utilizado.
- Partes centrales. Cuerpo del texto donde se desarrolla la investigación y donde deben situarse las citas y notas.
- Partes finales. Conclusiones y resultados, lista de referencias y, en su caso, apéndices.

El artículo irá encabezado por el título en la lengua en la que esté redactado y en castellano, euskera e inglés, con el mismo tipo de letra que el resto del artículo. En ningún caso se hará constar en este documento el nombre de su autor o autora, que irá en un documento aparte.

Cada artículo vendrá precedido de un resumen o *abstract* en la lengua en la que esté redactado y en castellano, euskera e inglés, que consistirá en un resumen de no más de 700 caracteres con espacios, en un solo párrafo, donde se recoja el objetivo del trabajo, la metodología empleada y de forma sucinta las conclusiones principales a las que se haya llegado.

Se harán constar también las palabras clave, con un máximo de cinco, en los mismos idiomas, a fin de facilitar su identificación en las bases de datos.

Los ladillos o encabezados de capítulos irán numerados con números arábigos. La introducción debe ir siempre encabezada y numerada con el número 1. Se aceptarán hasta tres niveles de encabezados.

Formato del texto

El texto del artículo se ajustará a las siguientes normas:

- El original contendrá un máximo de 78.000 caracteres con espacios, incluyendo notas, cuadros, gráficos, bibliografía y anexos, y excluidos todos los resúmenes, las palabras clave y los títulos en otros idiomas.
- Estará escrito en tipo de letra Times New Roman de cuerpo 12, con espacio interlineal de 1,5.
- Las palabras sueltas escritas en otra lengua aparecerán en cursiva, así como los términos utilizados metalingüísticamente. También irán en cursiva los títulos de libros y los nombres de revistas. El uso de negrita y el subrayado quedan excluidos.
- En las transcripciones de textos, si son breves (menos de cinco líneas), se pondrán comillas latinas (« ») y redonda. Si son largas se pondrán aparte, sin comillas, en líneas entradas o sangradas y en cuerpo menor que el del texto general (10 puntos). Se utilizarán las comillas simples (‘ ’) para acepciones o traducciones de términos aislados.
- Las llamadas de las notas se indicarán con números volados en superíndice y sin paréntesis. Se colocarán a pie de página, nunca al final del texto, en letra tipo Times New Roman de cuerpo 10 y espacio interlineal de 1,5. Estarán numeradas de forma correlativa con numeración arábiga.
- El uso de mayúsculas se realizará atendiendo a las normas de cada lengua según dictamen o recomendación de las instituciones acreditadas para ello. El uso de palabras completas con mayúsculas se circunscribirá exclusivamente a los acrónimos. Se empleará inicial mayúscula en nombres propios, instituciones o corporaciones, nunca para los nombres comunes: rey, conde, papa, catedral, obispo...

Referencias bibliográficas

Se seguirán las normas APA para las referencias bibliográficas. Ofrecemos aquí unas normas básicas. Para mayor detalle, consultar:

http://culturanavarra.es/uploads/files/NORMAS_APA.pdf

Referencias bibliográficas dentro del texto:

- Las referencias exclusivamente bibliográficas se colocarán dentro del texto, nunca en nota a pie de página, y seguirán el sistema de autor-fecha: primer apellido del autor o autora (en la lista de referencias aparecerán los dos apellidos; si dos o más autores citados en el mismo trabajo tienen el mismo apellido, se citarán en el texto con el apellido y las iniciales de su nombre pospuestas y separadas del apellido por una coma), año de publicación y números de página, separados por comas, todo entre paréntesis (Hualde, 1995, pp. 13-15). Si el nombre del autor es parte del texto, en el paréntesis se indican el año y las páginas. Cuando se citen varios textos dentro de una misma cita se separarán con punto y coma.
- Cuando se cite más de una publicación con la misma autoría y año, se añadirán letras minúsculas en orden alfabético correlativo a continuación del año, sin espacio: (2016a, 2016b).
- Para tipos de cita con más de tres autores, consultar las normas en el sitio web. En la lista de referencias al final del artículo se reseñarán todos los autores.

Lista de referencias:

- Se incluirán al final del texto todas las referencias bibliográficas citadas de forma expresa en el texto y solamente las referencias bibliográficas citadas de forma expresa en el texto. Todas las referencias que no cumplan estas dos condiciones serán eliminadas.
- Las referencias irán ordenadas alfabéticamente según los apellidos del autor o, en su caso, primer autor, seguido de las iniciales del nombre, y dentro de cada autoría por orden cronológico. Cuando se cite más de una publicación de la misma autoría y año, se añadirán letras minúsculas en orden alfabético correlativo a continuación del año.
- Las referencias bibliográficas se ajustarán a las siguientes normas:
 - El apellido del autor deberá figurar en minúsculas, salvo la inicial de cada apellido, seguido de la inicial o iniciales del nombre con mayúscula y seguida de punto. Cuando haya más de un autor,

los diversos autores se separarán por coma, excepto el último, que irá precedido del signo «&». A continuación se anotará el año entre paréntesis y punto tras el paréntesis de cierre.

- Los libros se citarán de la siguiente manera: título en cursiva, punto (.), lugar de la edición, dos puntos (:) y editorial.

Autor, A. A. (año). *Título*. Lugar: Editorial.

- El capítulo dentro de un libro se citará de la siguiente manera:

Autor, A. A. & Autor, B. B. (año). Título del capítulo. En A. Editor, B. Editor & C. Editor (eds.), *Título del libro* (pp. xxx-xxx). Lugar: Editorial.

- Capítulo sin autoría, el título se adelanta a la posición del autor:

Título. (año). En A. Editor (ed.), *Título del libro* (xx ed., vol. xx, pp. xxx-xxx). Lugar: Editorial.

- Los artículos de las revistas se citarán de la siguiente manera: título en redonda sin comillas, punto (.), nombre de la revista en cursiva, seguido de coma y del tomo en números arábigos y en cursiva, coma (,) y páginas de todo el artículo o solo las utilizadas para la cita.

Autor, A. A., Autor, B. B. & Autor, C. C. (año). Título del artículo. *Título de la publicación*, xx, pp-pp.

- Las referencias a publicaciones electrónicas serán similares a las de publicaciones en papel, haciendo constar el URL de la siguiente manera:

Autor, A. A. (año). Título del artículo. *Título de la publicación*, xx, pp-pp. Recuperado de <http://www.xxxxxxxxxx>

- No se incluirán fechas de recuperación, a menos que el material de la fuente pueda cambiar con el tiempo.
- Si se ha asignado un DOI a la publicación, este reemplaza al URL.

Autor, A. A. (año). Título del artículo. *Título de la publicación*, xx, pp-pp. doi: xx.xxxxxxxxxx

- El identificador «doi» (*digital object identifier*), se consignará únicamente en los casos en los que exista esa identificación asociada a la publicación.

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Una vez recibido el original, el consejo de redacción determinará si el trabajo debe ser rechazado o es aceptado para su revisión, en un plazo máximo de una semana. En caso de ser aceptado para su revisión, se remitirá a dos evaluadores externos, que dictaminarán, en el plazo máximo de un mes y medio, si el artículo es:

Aceptado: si ambos revisores lo califican como «publicable» o «publicable con las mejoras sugeridas».

Rechazado: a) Si ambos revisores lo consideran «no publicable» o b) Si un revisor lo considera no publicable y el otro solicita que se envíe la segunda versión de nuevo a revisión.

En vías de aceptación: a) Si ambos revisores solicitan que la segunda versión sea enviada a revisión. b) Si un revisor considera el artículo publicable o publicable con las mejoras sugeridas, y el otro lo considera rechazado o solicita que la segunda versión se envíe a revisión. En este caso el artículo se enviará a un tercer revisor. Si este revisor considera el trabajo publicable o publicable con las mejoras sugeridas, el trabajo será aceptado. Si lo considera rechazado, el artículo será rechazado. Si solicita que la segunda versión sea enviada a revisión, así se hará.

En todos los casos el autor o autora recibirá notificación de la resolución tomada. Salvo en el primer caso, el artículo será devuelto al autor o autora para que realice los cambios sugeridos por los evaluadores o, en caso contrario, desista de su publicación.

Tras la admisión definitiva, se enviará a los autores un juego de las primeras pruebas de imprenta para su correspondiente corrección. Estas correcciones consistirán exclusivamente en corrección de erratas de imprenta o cambios de tipo gramatical, ya que los originales enviados por los autores son textos definitivos. Para evitar retrasos en las publicaciones, si en un máximo de diez días no se reciben las correcciones, el Negociado de Publicaciones de la Institución Príncipe de Viana procederá a su corrección, declinando toda responsabilidad.

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Tras la publicación, se entregará a cada autor un ejemplar de la revista en la que se publica el artículo y un pdf del mismo.

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- 1) The Article identification details document, available on the website:
<http://www.culturana Navarra.es/uploads/files/identification.docx>
- 2) The text of the article, also in Word or LibreOffice, indicating the locations at which the author considers that the images, tables and graphs should appear, together with their relevant captions, without inserting these elements in the text. The journal reserves the right to modify these locations in order to solve layout issues. The text must be anonymous. All references which may identify the author must be avoided.
- 3) A file for each of the images appearing in the text, duly identified by consecutive numbering. The same numbering should be used to mark their location in the text. Image files must be submitted in .tiff or .jpg format with a minimum resolution of 300 dpi. The sources of all images, both those created by the author and those obtained from external sources, must be stated. In the case of images obtained from external sources, their exact origin and proof of authorisation for their use must be given.
- 4) A single Excel file containing all the tables and graphs, each on a separate, consecutively numbered spreadsheet. The same numbering should be used to mark their location in the text.

Structure of the text

The article should follow a methodological order so as to contribute effectively to the processing of information in documentation centres, and UNESCO and ISO standards:

- Title, referring explicitly to the contents of the text and no longer than twelve words.
- Introduction, defining the subject under study, state of the art, objectives and information resources used.
- Body of the text, developing the main points of the article and containing the quotations and footnotes.
- Results and conclusions, reference list and, where appropriate, appendices.

The article should be headed with the title in the language in which it is written, and in Spanish, Basque and English in the same font as the rest of the article. Under no circumstances should this document contain the name of the author, which will be indicated in a separate document.

Each article must be preceded by an abstract in the language in which it is written, and in Spanish, Basque and English, which will consist of a summary of no more than 700 characters with spaces in a single paragraph, explaining the objective of the work, the methodology employed and, succinctly, the main conclusions reached.

The keywords (maximum of five) must also be listed in the same languages to facilitate identification of the article in databases.

Sub-headings and chapter headings must be numbered with Arabic numerals. The introduction shall be entitled and numbered with the number 1. Up to three levels of headings may be used.

Format of the text

The text of the article must conform to the following rules:

- The original should contain a maximum of 78,000 characters with spaces, including footnotes, tables, graphs, reference list and appendices, and not including the abstracts, keywords and titles in other languages.
- It must be written in Times New Roman, 12 pt, and be 1.5-spaced.
- Single words written in other languages and terms used metalinguistically should be italicised. The titles of books and journals should also be italicised. No part of the text should be in bold or underlined.
- Short quotations (less than five lines) should be in regular type and inside outward-pointing double angle brackets « ». Longer quotations should be inset in a smaller font than the rest of the text (10 points) without quotation marks. The meanings or translations of isolated terms should be in single quotation marks (‘ ’).
- Footnotes should be indicated in the text by superscript numbers without parentheses. Footnotes should appear at the bottom of the relevant page, not at the end of the text, in Times New Roman, 10 pt, 1.5-spaced. They must be numbered consecutively with Arabic numerals.
- Capitalisation should be used in compliance with the rules of each language according to the opinion or recommendation of the relevant official institutions. The use of capital letters for entire words should be limited exclusively to acronyms. Initial capital letters should be used for proper nouns, institutions and corporations, never for common nouns: king, count, pope, cathedral, bishop, etc.

References

The APA style should be used to cite sources. A few basic rules are outlined here. For further information, please consult

<http://culturanavarra.es/uploads/files/APAENG.pdf>

References within the text:

- Bibliographic references should be credited in the text, not in footnotes, according to the author-date system: author's first surname (both surnames should appear in the reference list; if two or more authors cited in the same work share the same surname, they should be cited in the text with the surname followed by a comma and the initials of their first names), year of publication and page numbers, separated by commas and all within parentheses (Hualde, 1995, p. 13-15). If the author's name forms part of the text, then the year and the page numbers should appear afterwards in parentheses. When citing various texts within the same citation, these should be separated by semicolons.
- When citing more than one publication by the same author published in the same year, consecutive lower-case letters should be added to the year, with no space: (2016a, 2016b).
- For citations with more than three authors, consult the rules on the website. All the authors should be listed in the reference list at the end of the article.

Reference list:

- All the references expressly cited in the text must be listed at the end of the text and all the references listed must be expressly cited within the text. All references which do not meet these two conditions should be removed.
- The references should be ordered alphabetically by the surnames of the author or, where appropriate, those of the first author, followed by the initials of his/her first names. References to the same author should be ordered chronologically. When citing more than one publication by the same author published in the same year, consecutive lower-case letters should be added to the year.
- The references should comply with the following rules:
 - Only the first letter of the authors' surnames should capitalised. The surnames should be followed by a comma and then the initial or initials of the authors' first name/s in capitals, each followed

by a full stop. When there is more than one author, the different authors should be separated by commas, except the last one, which should be preceded by an “&”. This should be followed by the year in parentheses and a full stop after the closing parenthesis.

- Books should be listed as follows: title in italics, full stop (.), place of publication, colon (:), and publisher.

Author, A. A. (year). *Title*. Place: Publisher.

- Chapters within books should be listed as follows:

Author, A. A. & Author, B. B. (year). Title of the chapter. In A. Editor, B. Editor & C. Editor (eds.), *Title of the book* (pp. xxx-xxx). Place: Publisher.

- Book chapter in a multivolume anthology:

Author, A. A. (year). Title of the chapter. In Editor, B. B. (ed. of the anthology), *Title of the anthology: vol. x. Title of the volume* (pp. xxx-xxx). doi: xxxxxxxx.

- When a chapter is not attributed to an author, the title takes the position of the author:

Title. (year). In A. Editor (ed.), *Title of the book* (xx ed., vol. xx, pp. xxx-xxx). Place: Publisher.

- Articles from journals should be listed as follows: title non-italicised without quotation marks, full stop (.), name of the journal in italics, followed by a comma and the issue in italicised Arabic numerals, comma (,) and all the pages of the article or just those cited.

Author, A. A., Author, B. B. & Autor, C. C. (year). Title of the article. *Title of the publication*, xx, pp-pp.

- References to electronic publications should be as for print publications, stating the URL as follows:

Author, A. A. (year). Title of the article. *Title of the publication*, xx, pp-pp. Retrieved from <http://www.xxxxxxxx>

- Do not include the date of retrieval unless the source material is likely to change over time.
- If a DOI has been assigned to the publication, this replaces the URL.

Author, A. A. (year). Title of the article. *Title of the publication*, xx, pp-pp. doi: xx.xxxxxxxx

– DOIs (*digital object identifiers*) are only used for publications to which one has been assigned.

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Upon receipt of the original, the editorial board will determine whether the work should be rejected or accepted for review within a maximum period of one week. If it is accepted for review, it will be sent to two external reviewers who will decide, within a maximum period of one month and a half, if the article should be:

Accepted: if both reviewers qualify it as «publishable» or «publishable with the suggested improvements».

Rejected: a) If both reviewers consider it «unpublishable», or b) If one reviewer considers it unpublishable and the other asks that the second version be sent again for review.

In the process of being accepted: a) If both reviewers ask that the second version be sent for review. b) If one reviewer considers the article publishable or publishable with the suggested improvements, and the other considers that it should be rejected or asks that the second version be sent for review. In this case, the article is sent to a third reviewer. If this reviewer considers the work publishable or publishable with the suggested improvements, the article will be accepted. If he/she considers that it should be rejected, the article will be rejected. If he/she asks that the second version be sent for review, then it will be sent.

In all cases, the author will receive notification of the decision taken. Except in the first case, the article will be returned to the author so that he/she can make the changes suggested by the reviewers or withdraw it from publication.

After final acceptance, the authors will be sent a set of the first proofs for correction. Given that the originals sent by the authors are the definitive texts, these corrections will consist solely of correcting misprints

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